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THE TUDOR PLANTATIONS IN IRELAND
BEFORE 1571



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CHAPTER XI

SUSSEX AND HIS CRITICS. II

1562-1563

Before *Sussex* departed for court in January 1562 his brother had already informed Cecil¹ that the rumours of change were causing unease, a perilous thing in Ireland 'where the people be naturally addicted to sedition, desirous of alterations', and the evil looked for the day 'to cry liberty'. He knew the queen and her council sought to reduce expenses 'as the burden thereof may seem tolerable', but she must also 'provide for the security and preservation of this her crown and realm as the rebellious septs and factions shall neither be in force to undermine it, nor once able to shake any pillar thereof'. The talk was that the English army would be discharged completely, and in effect people were gathered to watch the tree of English rule fall, the only question being which way.

At court Cecil made detailed enquiries of Kildare, unbraiding him for his part in the negotiations with Shane the autumn before.² At some point *Sussex* added his charges against Kildare,³ seven in all, which included the accusation that he worked to persuade the people to hate English government and the army, and that he continually exclaimed against its disorders, bringing the soldiers into infamy. It appears that Kildare also protested against the use of martial law. It was all part of the conflict over the claims of O'Neill, which were being considered at the same time.⁴

Fitzwilliam gave *Sussex* a gloomy picture of conditions in Ireland. The cesses for the forts which the council had agreed

¹Radcliffe to Cecil, 12 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no.9).

²Cecil's notes, 1 Feb. 1562 (ibid., no.15).

³'Notes of Kildares's evil doings' c. Dec. 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/4, no.87).

⁴Bagwell, *Tudors*, II. 35-38.

upon were not being delivered, 'stealths go through the county of Kilkenny at noondays out of Leix', and he expected things to get worse.⁵ Sir Thomas Cusack, in contrast, gave a more optimistic picture, which also reflected a different point of view.

According to him the quiet was universal,

such as in no man's memory the better hath been seen, so as if the north parts were perfectly ruled and the forts of Leix and Offaly committed to the government of such as need no aid nor impositions of the country, and order for presidents to be established in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, it would reduce this realm to great wealth, civility, and obedience... and in short time answer... a revenue sufficient to sustain the charges of the same, and so her highness disburdened of her superflous garrisons and her English subjects relieved of the present charges they of necessity do bear...

He assured Cecil⁶ that loyal subjects could raise 2,000 horsemen, archers, and harquebusiers, without expense to the crown to resist any Irish captain's malice.

I have known these many years the government and policy of this realm and in all orders devised for reformation none could be compared to this way if it may so stand with the queen's... pleasure. Thus may a crew of 300 men of war suffice to attend upon the governor... Otherwise if this great garrison should remain it cannot be remedied, but besides her majesty's great charges her English pale should be sore impoverished and thereby daily riseth great clamour.

Cusack had put his finger upon the crux of the whole matter. A balance sheet of the crown's expenses drawn up on 10 January 1562 for most of 1561 showed⁷ that it owed 13,047 Irish at the beginning of the period, that 15,975 sterling of money and supplies had been sent to Ireland, and that some 2,500 Irish was the expected total income from Ireland, where expenses incurred or to be incurred came to 26,500 Irish. More money would therefore have to be sent and by early March a warrant had been issued for 20,200 to be taken to Ireland.⁸ As before, the military establishment was responsible for nearly all of the expense.

The renewed protest of the Anglo-Irish at the load they

⁵7 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no.20).

⁶17 Feb. (ibid. no. 33).

⁷Memorandum of the charges of Ireland from 28 Feb. 1561, annotated by Cecil 10 Jan. (ibid. no. 8).

⁸Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 10 Mar. 1562 (ibid., no. 39).

were carrying may have prompted the government to send money to Ireland to pay the expenses there. The Anglo-Irish law students in London submitted an account of these burdens⁹ which was serious enough to prompt counter-queries from Sussex.¹⁰ These were answered by the students,¹¹ which prompted a more elaborate defence by Sussex,¹² and that in turn was responded to by the students.¹³ The exchange probably went on over several weeks in February and March, and by early April the whole affair was given a hearing by the English privy council in its chambers with the students present, led by Richard Netterville and Garrett Wesley.

And my lord of Sussex affirmed our book was penned and made in Ireland, he knew by whom. We said as we truly might, none in Ireland did ever make the same. Well, said he, your fathers will be angry with you. Moreover I know there is come within this month a book out of Ireland. Why do you not show the same? And I know the master of the rolls/John Parker/ hath gone from place to place to get men's hands to a book and the lords have refused to put their hands to the same. For the points of our book, said we, they are so true as any gentleman will put his hand to the same.

In their examination in Ireland Wesley was able to fix an approximate date for the hearing because he was committed to the fleet for a fortnight, including St George's day.¹⁴ John Parker had also become involved as will be seen.

The complaints of the students have been summarized elsewhere,¹⁵ but certain specific charges and the exchanges which they prompted shed much light on colonization and its dislocations. The central point at issue was the army and its supply, which involved the two forts in Leix and Offaly in particular. The quartering of the army, the cesses levied for the garrisons, and the prices paid for what was taken, all fell on the five shires of the pale, Dublin, Kildare,

⁹ A book comprehending divers articles specifying the miserable estate of the English pale of Ireland Anno 1560 & 1561' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 51).

¹⁰ 'Interrogatories' (ibid., no. 52)

¹¹ 'The gentlemen of Ireland's answer...' (ibid., no. 54).

¹² 'The answer of the Earl of Sussex... to the book of articles...' (ibid., nos. 55-7).

¹³ 'The Irishmen's replication...' (ibid., no. 58).

¹⁴ Examination, 26 Nov. 1562: Council of Ireland to the Lord Great Seal, 4 Dec. (B.M., Add. MS 40,061).

¹⁵ Bagwell, *Tudors*, ii. 46-48, 51.

Meath, Westmeath, and Louth, creating misery and impoverishment. The widespread use of martial law, exempting soldiers from the common law, was deplored in detail. The manipulation of the coinage reform to the loss of the individual subject was protested. In addition to what he lost on being paid in coin subsequently devalued there was also the loss under what was 'commonly called the queen's price'. Wheat was bought at 4s. which would sell for 1 6s. 8d. in the market, malt at 2s. 8d. which would bring 13s. 4d., a beef for 8s. which would market at 1 13s. 4d., and sheep for 1s. which would bring 4s. What was taken was in excess of the needs of the two forts, and the students argued that there was private profit somewhere. Sussex rebutted that the market prices came from a time of dearth, and cited figures that the cesses for the two forts were less than in the time of Bellingham. In general he demanded to know where the students got their figures, with the implication that they were privy to information that was supposed to be secret.

The students charged that some poor men had to provide carriage for the corn for the forts at 8d. for a distance of forty miles. There were those who had offered their corn gratis to escape. When pressed to cite an example they said that John Dunkerley, victualler of the fort in Leix, had paid that amount for corn brought from the barony of Rathoath in co. Meath to Naas. They also charged that the labourers required by the government had been used 'to repair and build private men's houses, walk, and ditches', and on demand specifically named 'Ticroghan, Mr. Parker's house, Ballybirley, Mr. Wakely's house, and a house of Mr. Cowley's'. On that point the students were compelled to admit that the cesses of men and carriage were not used for building Parker's house 'but for the casting of a trench of a great length for defence of all those borders. Ballybirley, etc., be forts made in Offaly for the defence of that country, and no private men's houses'.¹⁶

The students asserted that two horsemen with four horses

¹⁶ 'An abstract of the Irishmen's articles and answers', 21 Mar. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 59).

and four men to care for them were placed on every ploughland, where they ate their heads off, causing each ploughland a charge of 60 sterling a year besides subsidy and other cesses. In another article they stated that a husbandman must pay 15d. sterling a day to be quit of the demands of the soldiers. The horsemen were only gone when there were hostings. In cases where the cessors could not get the grain required sales were forced of cattle and goods and the tenant allowed but 4s. credit for 1 6s. 8d. of goods sold.

Sussex retorted to the charges on quartering by asking three questions 'Whether the country where the soldiers be placed be not better inhabited than others, and whether the same be not there placed by the nobility and the council? And whether you can devise any better way for the entertaining of those soldiers?' The students denied that the soldiers caused inhabitation or wealth for where the soldiers were placed in wealthy areas they had not yet succeeded in destroying them, but they had done more in that direction than the enemy had in many years. The nobility agreed reluctantly, against their judgment, to the placement so as not to be accused of failing to do service.

The students charged that the sum of exactions demanded caused the husbandmen and their families to desert their holdings and beg, 'or occupying the same by grazing...' Thus in one barony, not one tenth of a shire, 'there are twenty farms waste and utterly void at this present', and the same was true in varying degree elsewhere, with the ground unplanted for lack of seed. They enlarged on the weight of these burdens on an area no larger than 'some one shire of England', which was charged with 30,000 a year and pushed daily 'into waste and utter decay to the great grief of the landlords who thereby are undone, and also to the famishing of the silly /simple/ and miserable tenants...' The situation was forcing many, 'contrary to their nature and bringing up', to flee and

to dwell under the savage and rude sort of Irishmen, choosing rather to inhabit under them than to abide the excessive burden wherewith they are laden in the place where they and their forefathers have dwelt wealthily since Henry the second's days, at which time our ancestors went from hence and placed themselves

Sussex wanted to know if the farms deserted were any good, for example would the owner let them for 12d. an acre. He also wanted to know how they knew the figure of 30,000. The students retorted that despite offers of the farms at 12d. an acre there were no takers, and that their figure had been arrived at by mathematics. They cited the barony of Duleek in co. Meath which was rated at 30 ploughlands and charged 3,300. A book on it had been prepared for Sussex to show him 'the charges of the whole country'.

Sussex was scornful of their figures and pointed out that the twenty farms in question might amount to a total of only a few acres. Dearth and scarcity had caused them to be abandoned. Further, if there were any English tenants fled to the Irish for dwelling it was because the landholders

seek to let their ground for such excessive rents of corn, cattle, and butter as the people cannot live thereof. By reason whereof they have of long time and daily do decay the English breed that were wont to manure the ground and take weapon in hand for their defence, and do now only seek to let their possessions in the inlands and borders to the Irish churls that will yield most rent...

Such tenants were not able to defend themselves and the army became a necessity. If such landholders had lands which they could not lease 'there shall be found a gentleman as good as be in Ireland' who would take such lands on lease at the same rents the landholders had received in the past twenty years. The students countered that their rents were 'not so enhanced as any English tenant should therefore flee to the Irishry', but that able men had offered to serve the queen for nothing more than 'an host's house for them and their horses'. One of their number had been able to raise eight or ten archers for service from his own tenants, but now he could not produce two, they were 'so sonsumed by cess and soldiers'. In answer to the twenty void farms Sussex's final arguement¹⁷ was that 'truth it is that many have forsaken the plough, the cause whereof was the great scarcity whereby they were not able to buy seed corn, which necessity appeared least of all where soldiers were placed'.

¹⁷'An abridgement...' of the articles and answers, c. Apr.1562 (P.R.O. S.P. Ire. 63/5 no. 60).

The students for their part also charged that many government officers, such as Fitzwilliam, Stanley, and Warren, took what they wanted at cress prices, while on the other hand

we say that in Leix and Offaly these years past divers captains, as Mr Lieutenant /Sir Henry Radcliffe/, Cowley, Wakely, Cosby, with others inhabiting and having farms there, had great store of corn and yet were not contributory to any charge...

The students' declared object was to promote the fullest inquiry into the conduct of the government in Ireland and of the army in particular. Thus they were corrected on certain points, while many others were directed against a system the origins of which were necessarily complex, but they created enough disturbance to receive a hearing for themselves at the privy council.

Sussex's attitude at that hearing has already been made clear, and throughout his answers he cast doubts on the ability of such 'scholars' to know the true realities of the situation while deploring the fact that they had access to information that was supposed to be secret. He variously suggested that they were the children of traitors and attainted fathers, that they had been duped, and that they were acting without their parents knowledge. Their attack on the victualling of the army was to have it withdrawn, and 'consequently the government brought amongst themselves, which is the mark they shoot at'. To the crown he asserted that the army could not be continued without such arrangements, even at a place like Berwick, and that while he would welcome a commission to the nobility and his council it should be very carefully considered before a general commission were sent:

The presumption is great and the example dangerous that common persons should gather a reckoning of the whole charges that the people of a realm yield unto their monarch by subsidies, provisions, or any other ways, and to exhibit the same by way of complaint as a matter not tolerable, with the request that the same may be tried by the voice of the commonality...

Temporarily the earl seems to have discomfited these critics, but they had raised issues that would not be buried and would be heard from again.

At the same time the articles of the students were being presented, negotiations with Shane O Neill were continuing. In

an effort to reduce him to order Cecil noted several points, among them the decision to treat with him to determine 'how a session and an assembly of some councillors and lawyers might be established at Armagh to minister English laws to the people of Tyrone', which was to be divided 'into shires and cantreds'. The bonnaght was to be reduced to rent, which Cecil seems to have intended would be used to pay the establishment in Armagh.¹⁸ Certainly in the articles of the covenant between Elizabeth and Shane it was set forth that the garrison there was to be retained by the crown. For peace with its neighbours it would be victualled from the English pale, and Shane on his part would allow their free passage on the presentation of proper creditials.¹⁹

Shane undoubtedly protested against such an article, and among those consulted for advice in dealing with him was Sir Henry Sidney. He urged that the garrison in Armagh be kept, and was thus at one with Elizabeth and Sussex.²⁰ From Ireland Fitzwilliam wrote that the captains and others 'planted' in Armagh were in good order and doing Shane no harm.²¹ In the articles which Shane signed the conditions regarding Armagh were retained, with the addition that the queen agreed to provide 'works' to make the city more populous and O'Neill promised safe conditions.²²

Three days before Shane signed the articles Elizabeth informed Fitzwilliam that Sussex was to return to Ireland, thereby removing any speculation as to his successor. Fitzwilliam was 'to take order for the levy of the cesses heretofore accorded upon for the⁷ victualling both for our forts and castles there and also for our said lieutenants' household and retinue...', which was probably an attempt to show his critics that they had made

¹⁸Means to be used with Shane O'Neill', memorandum by Cecil, c. Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 43).

¹⁹20 Mar. (ibid., no. 47).

²⁰Cecil 'Sir H. Sidney's opinion upon...Shane O'Neill. 11 Apr.' (ibid., no 78).

²¹Fitzwilliam to Elizabeth, 14 Apr. (ibid., no. 78).

²²Indented articles of Elizabeth and Shane, 30 Apr. 1562 (ibid., no. 99).

little progress.²³ In Ireland the council had already ruled that Fitzwilliam as lord justice was to have the same cess for his household that Sussex had.²⁴

Before he had the news of Sussex's return Fitzwilliam complained of the rumours from England to the contrary. The government had 'done what we may to stop the people's gaping after a new government as also for the reporting it, and that those things which were before ordered and agreed on...be obediently performed'. There had been no preys on Shane's people but 'Mr. Bogenal's tenants and divers other have tasted twice or thrice of their extreme spoilings, yea some killed by them...'. In the pale Fitzwilliam was observing three leaders of the critics at work: Christopher Cheevers 'getting of consents and hands for the nobility and best sort of gentlemen', Sir Patrick Barnewall of Stackallen doing the same with the chief husbandmen, and 'a lawyer called Barnaby Scurlock' dealing with the cities and towns. The three were 'all wise and of great credit among the countrymen' and Fitzwilliam could see no good coming from their activity. He then enlarged on an analysis of the Irish nature, which sought vengeance twenty and twenty-five years after an event.²⁵

It was a disturbed month for Fitzwilliam. It began with a minor land revolt in Wexford where Anthony Colclough's extensive lands, centering in Tintern, were burned. Fitzwilliam predicted the same for other lands 'in the hands of Englishmen', and that there was collusion between 'the best' such as Ormond and Kildare and those openly in revolt. The chief sept involved were the Keatings, 'a name greatly friended with in that county', with Richard Keating as the 'chief doer'. Fitzwilliam was able to calculate that if Richard could be made to confess the queen

²³Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 27 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 97). Insertion by Cecil.

²⁴25 Apr. (Bodl., Carte MS 58 (10,504), no.9).

²⁵Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 27 Apr. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 97).

would gain 'better than 1,000 in goods and lands, besides quietness in those quarters for many years after'.²⁶ A month later he had still not caught Keating, but he claimed that he had cleared all the other rebels out of Wexford, at least until winter or harvest, where they had done all they could, burning houses and spoiling the tenants of the men of those houses.²⁷ The revolt is of interest as an Anglo-Irish protest against the new English settlers.

In the pale the protest took another form. John Parker, master of the rolls, asked permission to come to England to discuss Ireland's state, and the things with which he understood that Sussex charged him. According to him the lord lieutenant had stripped him of his farms, but he denied having anything to do with making a 'book' against Sussex.²⁸ Fitzwilliam was generally wary of the close ties of many of the judges and gentry and cited the collection of cesses as being commissioned by the judges and Irish councillors to come at the time of year which pinched most, so that 'a gentleman of credit among the common sort' was able to get the commission for cesses sent over to England.²⁹ On the heels of that came the full-scale protest of twenty-eight pale gentry, backing up the law students. They, like the students, wanted a commission to examine matters and hoped it would include Baltinglass and John Parker, 'a man sithens his first coming out of England so upright and just in his dealing as it is not to be doubted but that he will make answer to any trust committed unto him...' They also spoke of Sidney as having cherished them during his government and 'will (we believe) bear testimony'. A separate letter to Dudley thanked him for furthering their cause, and asked that he influence the queen to send a sommission

²⁶Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 4 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no.5).

²⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 5 June (ibid., no. 17).

²⁸Parker to Elizabeth, 3 May, Parker to privy council, 3 May (ibid., nos. 3, 4).

²⁹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 13 May, 1562 (ibid., no. 8).

of inquiry.³⁰

Their argument was well put and detailed, covering in the main the same ground that the students had. They could not see that the queen's charges were in any way lightened, and stressed the disorder of the captains and soldiers 'whereof the martial law is a great occasion, which law hath in a manner set division between us as though we were not all your grace's subjects'. They asserted they were prepared to act as well as any subjects to help relieve the queen of her burdens.

As if Fitzwilliam did not already have his hands full Shane returned to Ireland at the end of May. He presented Fitzwilliam with a letter from Elizabeth saying that O'Neill was to be assisted in putting Tyrone in order,³¹ and the government was instructed that he was to be regarded as a good subject. Should any difference arise with him regarding the titles of land, rents, or services they were to be heard by a commission consisting of the barons of Slane and Louth, Sir Thomas Cusack, and Terence Daniell, dean of Armagh.³² For his part Fitzwilliam wished that Shane and his kind would spend four or five months at court every two years as the resulting quiet was cheap at the price.

In England one dispute that had to be settled was that between Ormond and Desmond.³⁴ The latter's depredations, according to Ormond, included a prey taken from Francis Cosby and conveyed into Desmond's jurisdiction where he said Desmond had 'fallen out with all the lords and gentlemen of the west and they with him'³⁵

³⁰Gentlemen of the pale to Elizabeth, 27 May, to Dudley, 27 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, nos. 12, 13).

³¹Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 5 May (Bodl., Carte MS 58(10,504), no. 17). Received from Shane, 26 May.

³²Elizabeth to [Council of Ireland?], 6 May (ibid., no.10).

³³Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 5 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no.17).

³⁴See Bagwell, Tudors, ii. 42-3, 48-9.

³⁵Ormond to Sussex, 2 Feb. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5 no.16).

The Queen summoned them both to London, and Fitzwilliam had difficulty getting Desmond there. The justice had to issue a series of proclamations throughout Munster putting Desmond's possessions under the queen's peace in his absence.³⁶

Once Desmond was in England Cecil catalogued his misdemeanors and the remedies for them.³⁷ Cecil's dealings with the earl did not increase his opinion of him. Desmond was placed in house arrest under the custody of Winchester, where it was thought he would learn his duty,³⁸ and the secretary's comment was that 'he is a fool, a traitor, and no such dreadful man as hath been thought... He hath forced the queen to proceed thus with him...'³⁹

In a matter of days the treatment produced an abject submission on Desmond's part for which he did not have to surrender his lands.⁴⁰ A set of articles, which Sussex helped to draft, stated that he would enjoy his lands to which his officers would have free entry, and Desmond agreed to be obedient to a long list of items.⁴¹ The three manors of Clonmel, Kilfeacle, and Kilsheelan in co. Tipperary, which had been the objects of contention, were confirmed as Ormond's, a decision which Desmond agreed to accept and abide by.⁴² The south of Ireland had been put to rest for the moment.

At the same time that the Ormond and Desmond quarrel was being resolved preparations for Sussex's instructions were being made. The first memorandum on the subject⁴³ noted that surrender and

³⁶Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 7 Feb. (Bodl., Carte MS 58(10,504), no. 7). Proclamations, 28 Mar.-10 May (ibid., no.14).

³⁷Notes by Cecil, 20 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 65/6 10, 11).

³⁸Cecil to Sir Thomas Challoner, 8 June (Cal. S.T.for., 1562, no. 170).

³⁹Cecil to Throckmorton, 7 June (B.M., Add. MS 35,831).

⁴⁰18 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no. 25), 21 June, 24 June, (Acts Privy Council, 1558-70).

⁴¹28 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, nos. 30, 31).

⁴²Letters patent, 6 July (ibid., nos., 46, 47).

⁴³22 Apr. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 90).

regrant was to be used anew and posed the question whether Elizabeth would have the recipients at court. It was also asked 'in what form the states to be granted in Leix and Offaly shall be made, and what rent shall be reserved upon every acre'. Two weeks later Cecil added that the rent was to be 2d. an acre for the first seven years, and afterwards 3d.⁴⁴

The point had also been noted that there was to be a 'commission for buying of farms by contribution of the country for victualling of the forts and provision of the governor's house, and cesses to be discharged in that respect'. Two weeks later Cecil added that this was to be done 'by redeeming of the leases of the port corn, etc., whereunto it is informed that the country will be contributory'. The idea had been put forward by the students as a remedy for cess in which the tithes were to be used for feeding the soldiers, the leases of the tithes being recovered as they expired. The students said that the idea had been discussed in the Irish house of commons in 1560. The object was not to make the holders lose their interests but to prevent the leases being renewed, which had happened in the past.⁴⁵ Nothing, however, was said about the country being willing to help buy up the leases.

Cecil envisioned a new session of parliament at which the laws would be codified, homage would be done, and a conferring 'with the states of the realm how three councils might be established; viz, at Armagh for Ulster, at Limerick for Munster, and at Athlone for Connaught'. He also wanted a council for riots and similar offences 'likt to the star chamber', but captains of countries were to be encouraged to come to England to receive their lands from the queen. Thus he saw O'Donnell, O'Neill, and MacGuire coming as the earls of Thomond and Clanricarde had.

⁴⁴ Copy of a memorandum by Cecil, 5 May (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 25).

⁴⁵ 'The gentlemen of Ireland's answer...' c. Mar. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 54).

That these ideas were in accord with Sussex's is indicated by his own notes in June,⁴⁶ and by a detailed 'State of Ireland' as it was when he came in 1556 and as it was in 1562 with his ideas of its future reform.⁴⁷ In general Sussex was confident that he had prevailed over all his critics, and that his government in Ireland had been a success. According to him each distinct area was now obedient to the laws and in order, as for example in one area

the O'Conors and O'Mores be expelled out of Leix and Offaly and the possessions thereof bestowed upon mere Englishmen that now dwell upon the same; save that certain of the O'Conors and O'Mores which have submitted themselves to live under the obedience of the laws have certain possessions given unto them within those countries...

That arrangement would increase the security of the pale and the queen's revenues by at least £500. In addition the O'Ferralls under Kildare, the O'Kellys under Fitzwilliam, and O'Carroll, O'Molloy, O'Meagher, MacCoghlan, and O'Melaughlin were living in obedience under either the rule of Radcliffe, or of Fitzwilliam as captain of Athlone, 'and do for the most part desire to give over Irish order, to hold their lands of the queen by succession, to have their countries made shire ground, and to live under the obedience of the laws'.

The Kavanaghs under Heron, the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles under Wingfield, Thomond, Clanricarde, and even the Scots in the north were in order and at peace. O'Reilly, O'Donnell, MacCarthy Mor and O'Rourke all wanted to be made earls under the terms of surrender and regrant.

Sussex wished to capitalize on the situation by continuing the Kavanaghs' under the government of an English born man who should govern them by the name of a sheriff and have also the order of the rest of the county of Carlow... He would be supported by the custody of Leighlin Bridge, Ferns, Carlow, and Enniscorthy with their lands when their leases were up, thus

⁴⁶Two memoranda by Sussex, 6 June, 13 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire. 63/6, nos. 18, 23).

⁴⁷Endorsed 'Ireland 10 June 1562 Sussex', (B.M., Add. MS 4767 For a copy see Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 237).

disburdening subjects. Similarly the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, and the marches of cos Dublin and Kildare would be placed under a 'warden of the marches', whose authority would overlap with the sheriff of Carlow, and who would be supported by the custody of 'castle McKinnigan, Wicklow, and other places not now by me remembered'. In what Sussex considered the heaviest responsibility in Ireland 'for care, expenses, and travail' the areas

now called the King's county and the Queen's county... there should be as now a governor of English birth over both, to whose orders all the Irish captains adjoining must be as they now be obedient, and for his better maintenance to have the custody and farm during his charge of both the forts with the territory thereto appointed... and certain farms in the English pale next adjoining with a force of 40 horsemen, 200 footmen, and 200 Kerne.

Sussex was using the existing arrangements in Leix and Offaly as a springboard for what he proposed in the other provinces, which was nothing less than a revival of the idea of presidential government, as Cecil's notes had indicated. Thus he referred to 'certain articles' already drawn up for a president and council in Munster, a reference which suggests Edward Walshe and the ideas he had been advocating since 1552. Sussex had a scheme whereby part of the incomes of the sees of Cashel and Limerick would go toward the support of that presidency, and those of the see of Meath toward a similar one to be established at Athlone for Connaught. In each case the military head of the existing arrangement would be withdrawn in favour of the bishop on the council, and the same was proposed with the archbishop of Armagh for the presidency in Ulster. Sussex also proposed that where Sir Nicholas Bagenal seeketh to exchange Carlingford, the Newry, and others his possessions there with the queen's majesty for lands in England, it shall be good if that exchange take place to appoint those possessions to the use of the president as places indeed most fit for that purpose.

In the north Sussex saw Shane opting for a regular succession of inheritance as O'Reilly and MacCarthy Mor had, which was a cornerstone of Sussex's system for order. Under that order exactions would be reduced and so would the garrison, the latter by some 350 men, with an attendant saving to the crown.

Unfortunately for Sussex his critics continued their campaign unabated. John Parker asserted that he was as concerned as

anyone that Ireland 'may still be kept by English blood, English law, and Christian religion', and recounted how Sussex had taken most of his living from him. Parker wanted to know upon what grounds Sussex asserted that he had written a 'book' and went about collecting signatures for it, but he also asked if the contents of the book were true. As an example of his dealings with Sussex he put some questions of his own:

...upon what occasion after his lordship had granted me Ferny Priory in Leix, and my name for the same presented to her majesty there in England, he gave it to his brother. And upon what occasion he refused me of some parcel of Offaly, being a neighbour adjoining thereunto and had not only lost much in the country with death of six of my men, but had the living I live upon in the wars twice ruined, and no man in that quarters sustained so much mischief as I.

Parker had been stung into action by a summons to England.⁴⁸

The 'book' in question,⁴⁹ described by the nineteenth century calendar as slanderous, was certainly not the product of Parker, but it may have had a connexion with William Bermyngham, who appeared in England about this time.⁵⁰ Acting on his own and coming on his own expenses Bermyngham was prepared to go very far in denouncing the government of Sussex and all its members. The 'book', whether his or not, contended that that the law students had not hit one twentieth of the abuses. The failure of the queen's revenue to rise was because the increases were going to Sussex, Radcliffe, Stanley, Fitzwilliam, Wingfield, Heron, Cowley, Stafford, Cosby, 'and an infinite number of such cormorants' who 'gaping for private gain have from naked persons enriched themselves to great wealth and sustenance...' in the queen's service, without regard to her interests. The author suggested that the emperor Vespasian's handling of such types was revelant: Treat them as sponges; when full, wring them.

In thirty pages of argument and example one point is worth seizing. When such ones saw a farm in someone's hands who was born in Ireland, with the lease nearly expired, 'he will have more special regard and study how to compass the purchase of a new

⁴⁸Parker to Cecil, 29 June, Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 30 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, nos. 33, 36).

⁴⁹June, 1562 (ibid., no. 37).

⁵⁰Bagwell, Tudors, ii. 50.

lease of your majesty thereupon, than to practice any good point of service...'. Having got the lease it was no part of his intention to dwell on it himself. Instead 'he causeth to be noise abroad by his ministers that he hath such a lease, and he that giveth most shall have it. Then the poor innocent people that hath no hope to obtain anything directly from your majesty but through the evil hands of those wicked merchants', were forced to pay what was asked. Those who did such things were 'not contented to be merchants only, but must also become famous lawyers. They have obtained into their hands the authority of the martial law'. Under it the common law was set aside and great spoils were produced, making students of it from 'every needy hungry cormorant that hath nought of his own, resorting into that realm'. It was the essence of the point of view of the Anglo-Irish critics, but carried much further than they had done.

Cecil was sufficiently interested to make extensive notes on a set of questions submitted by Bermyngham,⁵¹ and also to draw up a list of members of the privy council 'or of such like credit' to go to Ireland and consult with Sussex with instructions on the subjects of law, revenue, and the reduction of charges. The list included Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, Sir William Cordell, Sir William Mildmay, Thomas Mildmay, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Nicholas Arnold, the soliciter, and the attorney of the wards.⁵² By the beginning of July the privy council had narrowed the list to Sir William Cordell, Sir Nicholas Arnold, and Thomas Mildmay, who were to be ordered to be ready in seven or eight days to depart for Ireland.⁵³

The most pressing business was to get Sussex instructed before his return to Ireland, which was accomplished before the commission was created.⁵⁴ Of Shane nothing could be said except

⁵¹'Interrogatories'. c. June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no.28).

⁵²Memorandum by Cecil, June (H.M.C., Salisbury MSS, vol. I, no. 853).

⁵³1 July (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

⁵⁴Elizabeth's instructions to Sussex, draft, 3 July, (P.R.O., S.P.Ire., 63/6, no.4). Signed copy 4 July, 1562, (Cal. Carew MSS 1515-74, no. 235).

that the agreement of 30 April be carried out thoroughly. O'Donnell, O'Reilly and MacGuire, were to be sent to England to receive titles after surrender and regrant, and any others who wished to do so were to be encouraged to come. A parliament was to be held at which homage was to be done, the laws codified, and a court like that of star chamber established. The nobility were to be conferred with to see if they would accept councils at Limerick for Munster, at Athlone for Connaught, and at Armagh or Newry for Ulster 'as we ourselves have in conference with our cousins of Ormond and Kildare found them very willing thereto'. The general structure of these councils was outlined.

The latter part of these instructions were drafted by Cecil and he redrafted some of the crucial paragraphs of the first part. The section on cess originally began as it appeared by the report of Sussex and 'by complaints of our people there' how desirous the inhabitants of the English pale were to have the burden eased. Cecil got the phrase quoted struck out and made several other corrections to produce the final result. The idea was to redeem the leases of certain lands, tithes, and port corn, so that they might be channeled toward victualling. The practice of revising re-leases for that purpose was to be continued. And where the crown understood that subjects were willing to contribute towards the redemption of such leases, the Irish council was to be consulted, and whatever relief was accomplished was to be applied to a comparable reduction of cess.

The section on Leix and Offaly was thoroughly worked over and redrafted. The results of the survey which Sussex had had made the preceding winter had been inspected at court and were commented upon. Then that was struck and it was observed that where order had been given Sussex to grant the two according to the act provided

our pleasure is that ye shall proceed to the execution thereof, reserving unto us besides all other services for every acre of ground to be granted during the first seven years 2d. And after that yearly for every /acre/ 3d. In doing whereof we would ye should set apart all unnecessary delays.

The urge to do the thing had also been present in the section which was struck.

Sussex had already spoken of the lands as being 'bestowed upon mere Englishmen that now dwell upon the same',⁵⁵ so that the quiet period from the autumn of 1558 had been used to consolidate the settlement. What remained to be done was to determine the nature of the grants and to insure the crown a rent. The prolonged delay was questioned at court for among the things the commission that Cecil envisioned was to consider were the surveys of Leix and Offaly and consult with Sussex 'in what sort we may be best answered of our yearly revenue of the same, and of such services as are requisite to be reserved of our tenants there'.⁵⁶

A large English commission was in accord with Sussex's wishes apparently, for he listed the same seven names that Cecil did for it.⁵⁷ In addition to Leix and Offaly they were to investigate the revenue and its arrearages, debts, and a reform of cess worked out with Sussex on the basis of using the leases of port corn as a relief. They were to deal with the codifying of the statutes, the better keeping of records, and anything else that furthered their work. With Sussex and the council they were to consider 'how other our countries, besides the five English shires, might be reduced to order and governance by yearly sheriffs and justices of peace and such like...', and also the three councils for Connaught, Ulster, and Munster, 'as be here in the marches of Wales, and in the north parts of our realm of England', which were not to be a charge to the crown. Indeed the object of the commission was summed up in the article that they were to find how the government there 'might be less chargeable unto us than it is'. There should either be increased revenue to maintain the extra soldiers, or their numbers should be diminished for 'some difference should be made betwixt the times of peace and war'. Confidence was expressed that Sussex would help the commission.

⁵⁵See p. *supra*.

⁵⁶Instructions to commissioners, *q.* July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6. no. 50).

⁵⁷Notes by Sussex, 11 July, 1562 (*ibid.*, no. 51).

Now these instructions were not sent as the English commission did not go to Ireland, for in their place Sir Nicholas Arnold was sent alone to raise a commission in Ireland. So much Cecil carefully noted on the instructions, a fact of which Sussex was unaware when he made his notes on 11 July, as he probably continued to be unaware until after his departure from court. Yet some change had been in motion since the privy council had reduced the number of the commission to three as evidenced by its action of 1 July. The yeast of William Bermyngham, who was prepared to argue that it was the government themselves who were the source of abuses in Ireland, had begun to work. Thus Sussex himself, his brother Sir Henry Radcliffe, Fitzwilliam, and all other members of the government, many of whom were army captains, and the other army captains, had become the object of the queen's suspicions. A set of instructions for Sir Nicholas Arnold was drawn on 7 July, if Cecil's endorsement is correct,⁵⁸ though it was not until 16 July that Elizabeth summoned ^{Arnold} as she 'mindeth to employ him on her service'.⁵⁹

What Arnold was to do in Ireland was set forth in brief compass. He was to notify Sussex that he was to take a muster of the army, of which the details were included. She acted, said the queen, on the advice of Bermyngham, sergeant of Meath, who stated that she had lost £10,000 on abuses of the system. Included in commission with Arnold were the viscount Baltinglass, John Eustace, Gerald Sutton and Patrick Sarsfield for co. Kildare, the lords Dunsany and Louth, the chief justice of common pleas James Dowdall, the solicitor Sir Christopher Cheevers, and Barnewall of Kricston for cos Meath and Louth, the chief baron of the exchequer Christopher Barnewall of Gracedieu, the lord Talbot de Malahide, and Richard Fynglas the sergeant-at-Law, for co. Dublin, and any others Arnold wished to associate with him.

⁵⁸Elizabeth's instructions to Arnold, 7 July (P.R.O., S.P., Ire., 63/6, no. 49). See copy in Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 127-8, which was entered on 24 Nov. 1562.

⁵⁹16 July 1562 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

Thus the final commission in Ireland was to be largely a gathering of those whom Sussex regarded as his enemies. Arnold was to investigate all abuses, in conjunction with Sussex and Fitzwilliam.

That Arnold placed a large interpretation on the last provision of his instructions is evidenced by his account of a conversation he had the following month with William Bermyngham,⁶⁰ who had stopped at Arnold's house on his way back to Ireland. Bermyngham gave him twenty-three questions to be asked of the government in Ireland, of which numbers eleven and twelve are typical:

What charge the queen and country have been at for Leix and Offaly and what revenues the crown hath thereof, and whether there be any habitation there or no, and how much it is. What grants of lands and farms...these six years to what men of service, and what bribes were received therefore. What rewards, and allowances have been given these six years, to whom and for what...

The refrain 'these six years', the time of Sussex's government, was part of the declared purpose of Bermyngham to lay bare the abuses 'by the governors and captains of England to the rest of his countrymen'. Their use of martial law, cess, coyne and livery, and the crown revenue would all be scrutinized.

Sussex had returned to Ireland on 24 July and made the discovery that the contents of his instructions and other business was known before his arrival. He thus concluded that Bermyngham and others had not been to England in vain.⁶¹ It was the beginning of a series of shocks for the earl. One of his first acts was to give instructions to various commissions of Anglo-Irish government officials to be conveyed to the gentry of counties Dublin, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, and Carlow. They were to be told that the queen knew of the burden of cess and intended to dispose of the tithes to help, towards which she understood that they were willing to make a contribution for redeeming the leases. Further views would be entertained, and

⁶⁰ Arnold to Cecil, 13 Aug., enclosing 'interrogatories' of Bermyngham (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no. 67).

⁶¹ Sussex to Cecil, 26 July, 1562 (ibid., no. 58).

the matter should be dealt with promptly, for the time of the lord lieutenant's cess and those of the forts was at hand.⁶²

The results of consultation were prompt and disheartening. There were very few who would agree to contribute to redeeming the leases of tithes; most holders preferred to bear the burden of cess. What they were most anxious to be rid of was the quartering of soldiers and horses, and attendant expenses, 'subsidy and hostings only excepted'. Sussex and the government told a delegation of holders that while the numbers of the army would go up or down, depending on peace or war, the deputy's household and the forts 'were matters of continuance', and they should therefore avail themselves of an opportunity to be rid of cess, but the offer was declined. The government had concluded after further consultation that the only solution was to take enough tithes from everyone who had them to counterbalance the cesses and reduce the rent of each holding accordingly. This proposal was signed by the entire government, including Kildare, Baltinglass, Sir John Plunkett, Sir Francis Herbert, and John Parker.⁶³ The English government's response was the prompt but cautious reply that they could not decide such a matter until they had detailed information on cess and its necessity,⁶⁴ which may have been a means of gaining time until Arnold had begun his investigation.

Arnold had arrived in Ireland on 20 August, and Sussex said that he would do all that he could to assist him, but he was also convinced that the object of the pale gentry was to be rid of all the soldiers and to have a new government, and that Bermyngham's object was to breed mutiny.⁶⁵ Arnold lost no time in meeting with his associates and soon had a thorough questionnaire prepared for examining the soldiers, the cessors, army captains, and

⁶²Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 1 Aug., enclosing instructions given to county commissions (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no. 61, 61.I)

⁶³Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 20 Aug. (ibid., no. 68)

⁶⁴Privy council to Sussex and council, 31 Aug. (ibid., no. 77).

⁶⁵Sussex to Cecil, 23 Aug. (ibid., no. 69), based on Cusack to Sussex, Aug. 1562 (ibid., no. 78).

government officers.⁶⁶

A storm was brewing and it soon broke. John Parker was summoned before the Irish council and examined in Arnold's presence on the things he was supposed to have written against Sussex. The result was such that Sussex told Elizabeth that 'it may peradventure seem to your majesty that I do abase myself much... to deal with a person of his sort...'. If he had been his equal he would have asked satisfaction, but with 'such a person as John Parker' he must appeal to her for redress. One item that Parker was queried on was to explain why he wrote

that the earl was offended with him for answering to Sir Henry Radcliffe in council that if every man at that board would do his duty the Mores and Conors would prosper but a while, and who they be at that board that he knoweth have not done their duty in that or any other thing...

Sussex recalled the days when Parker was imprisoned under Mary and he had got him released, taking care of his wife in the meantime. He did not record, though he must also have recalled, that Parker began his career in Ireland as secretary to Sir Anthony St Leger.⁶⁷ Sussex complained to Cecil 'I am not born for Ireland only. My service may be used in other places...'⁶⁸

In a reply, carefully drafted by Cecil, Elizabeth ruled that since the whole council was agreed on the articles unless Parker could show good cause he was to answer them, and the council in turn were to comment on his answers. The results were to be sent to her, and those who were discussed in the exchanges were not to have access to them.⁶⁹

Sussex's primary concern during this period was the north, where the commission for dealing with Shane, including Sir Thomas Cusack, were doubtful of his intentions, and regarded him as a danger. Sussex was anxious that no more than Cecil, Elizabeth, Dudley and Pembroke know of these doubts.⁷⁰ James MacDonnell

⁶⁶ Arnold to Cecil, 27 Aug., enclosing 'interrogatories' (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/6 nos. 74, 74I).

⁶⁷ Sussex to Elizabeth, 6 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 4), enclosing 'Articles...' (ibid. nos. 4I., II).

⁶⁸ 7 Sept. (ibid., no. 8).

⁶⁹ Elizabeth to Sussex and councils, 11 Oct. (ibid., no. 25).

⁷⁰ Sussex to Cecil, 1 Aug. (ibid., 63/6, no. 62), and to Dudley 1 Aug. 1562 (ibid., no. 63).

wished to know why his agreement with Elizabeth had not been made final, and Sussex had explained that her meeting with Mary of Scotland had not yet taken place, but he would ask her for a decision.⁷¹ Shane, for his part, was renewing his connexions with the MacDonnells, seeking to bind them to himself,⁷² and among his many demands of the government he was asking anew that the garrison in Armagh be withdrawn. A meeting with Shane at Dundalk was arranged for 14 September in an effort to have him perform the terms he had agreed to.⁷³

An index of Shane's effect on the whole Irish scene was provided by the government's dealings with the O'Conors and O'More. In February 1562 Cecil, examining the Irish council book had noted how Donough O'Connor had been delivered out of prison, had gone into rebellion again and been killed in the wars.⁷⁴ Thus, apparently, a connexion with Shane had been broken. On Sussex's return the Irish government could report that 'some of the Mores and Conors that did not heretofore submit themselves have now offered submission...',⁷⁵ and Sussex included among them 'Lysagh O'More, that broke prison out of Leighlin'.⁷⁶ Such submissions were to be accepted in good faith but proper security and conditions were to be exacted. A month later Fitzwilliam was reporting that 'the small remnant of Mores and Conors are very strange grown, demanding very far above that now which before Shane's return from England they would gladly have been pleased with...' He predicted that until Shane was dealt with they would 'lie off, comforting themselves with hope of his lewd doings'.⁷⁷

⁷¹Sussex to Elizabeth, 12 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6 no.66)

⁷²Sussex to Elizabeth, 29 Sept. (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p.205).

⁷³Sussex to Elizabeth, 26 Aug. (*ibid.*, p.202). See Bagwell, Tudors, ii. 51-55, for details of Shane's behaviour.

⁷⁴Cecil: 'A brief collection of points... to be considered... of Shane O'Neill', 14 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/5, no. 32).

⁷⁵Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 1 Aug. (*ibid.*, 63/6, no.61)

⁷⁶Sussex to Cecil, 1 Aug. (*ibid.*, no. 62).

⁷⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 31 Aug. (*ibid.*, no. 76).

Radcliffe informed Sussex that Ony McIgoe had submitted and he thought the rest of the O'Mores would do so as well.⁷⁸ Cosby in Stradbally added that Ony had agreed 'to clearly forsake the sept of his kinsmen' and he wanted Sussex 'to help him to a portion of land that he may better serve...' The rest of the O'Mores would want to know whether Sussex intended peace or war, but Cosby thought he could swing them the way Sussex wished.⁷⁹

Though Sussex and the commissioners went north Shane did not appear at Dundalk for the meeting. Negotiations at a distance continued with him, though several of the Ulster chieftans, including Con O'Donnell, MacGuire, and O'Reilly were on the side of the government,⁸⁰ and James MacDonnell pressed Sussex anew for Elizabeth's patent, so that he and Sorley boy could remain free of Shane's domination.⁸¹ Sussex had already written to Cecil⁸² to say that while the queen hesitated his object had been to keep MacDonnell from Shane, and he assured James that he was expecting the patent daily.⁸³

On Sunday, 4 October, Shane had made a night raid and taken the twenty-two cattle which the garrison at Armagh had out to pasture. Two days later he restored seventeen of them,⁸⁴ but Sussex was convinced that the object of the raid was to draw out the ward of sixty hacquebusiers under Thomas Masterson, and then cut them off from the fort. Masterson had refused to be drawn.⁸⁵

In theory the government was still at peace with Shane, and

⁷⁸Sir Henry Radcliffe to Sussex, 2 Sept. (B.M., Cott. MS Vespasian F. XIII, no. 14).

⁷⁹Francis Cosby to Sussex, 8 Sept. (*ibid.*, no. 15).

⁸⁰Bagwell, *Tudors*, ii. 52, 55-57.

⁸¹MacDonnell to Sussex, 28 Sept. (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 207).

⁸²Sussex to Cecil, 12 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no.27).

⁸³Sussex to MacDonnell, 16 Oct., (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 207).

⁸⁴Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 13 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 28).

⁸⁵Sussex to Elizabeth, 15 Oct. (*ibid.*, no. 29).

even wrote a letter to Elizabeth in his favour asking that she receive Shane's messenger and the petitions he brought.⁸⁶ So much was done to placate Shane, evidently, but a few days later they wrote to Elizabeth again, asking that she ignore the first letter.⁸⁷ To the privy council, who had asked for a statement of policy on 6 October, the Irish government spelled out the need to reduce Shane, to govern Ireland with more moderate charges, and 'to have a special foresight to the fortifying and safekeeping of Armagh'. As for Shane he 'must either be reformed by persuasion and good advice; or by force'. Since experience left no further hope for the first course war was therefore inevitable, and the object would be to expel, not reform him. He sought the 'whole seignory of Ulster' and would use all means, including the Scots, to obtain it.⁸⁸

Having given their unanimous opinion the Irish government proceeded to the practicalities. If Shane had his usual force, then 200 horsemen and 600 footmen in Armagh, backed by the assistance of the realm, would be sufficient. But if he got the aid he expected an equal number of men would be necessary in the O'Donnell castle of Lifford on the river of Lough Foyle, and if Scots came in there would need to be an equal number at Carrickfergus or the mouth of the Bann river. It was not advised to take the field immediately because of the lack of food and forage for such forces, difficulties of supply, and 'that a town could not be built and fortified so speedily this time of the year at Armagh to lay them in garrison'. Instead it was suggested that a year's campaign begin on 1 March 1563. A town could be built at Armagh during the winter to be ready for the garrison in the spring, and for free passage 'to build certain bridges upon divers rivers, and to defend them with bulwarks'.

⁸⁶Sussex and Council to Elizabeth, 20 Oct. (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p.207).

⁸⁷Sussex and Council to Elizabeth, 26 Oct. (*ibid.*, p.208).

⁸⁸Sussex and council to the privy council, 26 Oct. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 34).

The whole undertaking would be the greatest in Ireland, past, present, or future, as Shane was 'the person most perilous to subvert this state that hath been bred in Ireland'. Once it was accomplished the queen 'may then settle (as we perceive she now was disposed to do) a government to be directed by justice'.

The whole plan had the stamp of Sussex, who wished to be called to court for consultation, though it also had the signature of Baltinglass, Kildare, Parker, Cusack, and other peers and gentry. The criticism of Sussex and his government had not abated however. Earlier in the month that government had answered the privy council's request for specific information on cess.⁸⁹ In the fort in Leix there were 300 men, and the same in the fort in Offaly, with 20 men each in Athlone and Carrickfergus. For these and for the lord lieutenant's household they were accounting for 5,400 pecks of grain, besides 500 pecks from 'leases made and appointed for these provisions'. Animals for provision were 'cessed upon the Irishry' and the victuallers reported that about one third were undelivered. It was argued that the garrisons in the forts should be continued and that their numbers could be adjusted upward or downward later as circumstances dictated. It was also argued that if one fourth of the tithes were taken from their farmers and used for cess, some 11,000 pecks, the provision of the lord lieutenant's house of 4,300 pecks and 7,000 pecks for the forts, could be discharged by that means. It was shown that in six weeks the lord lieutenant's household had consumed 190 pecks of wheat, 323 pecks of malt, 4 tuns of wine 132 beeves, and 454 mutton, which with other expenses came to £418:10:2. On average the expenses were £70 a week, or £3,640 a year, even at cess prices.

Such was precisely the situation that the Anglo-Irish were attacking. A letter was addressed to the queen by Patrick Nangle baron of the Navan, and several Cusacks, Caddells, Eustaces,

⁸⁹Sussex and council to the privy council, 5 Oct., enclosing six weeks of the lord lieutenant's household expenses from 24 July to 6 Sept. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, nos. 23, 23I).

and others, including Sir John Alen, whose signature was embedded among the rest.⁹⁰ Where they had been reported as saying they would make no contribution to be rid of cess, unless all soldiers were withdrawn, they had thought it necessary to send the copies of their answers to show their true views and loyalty.⁹¹ They could not make any contribution because of the poverty of the English pale from cesses and 'other impositions and disorders much more grievous and intolerable'. If they were discharged of these burdens, 'saving the old and accustomed charge, and the army placed in such sort and places as the poor subjects should not be so disquieted by them as they are', then the gentry had offered to 'strain' themselves to make more contribution. 'We never meant we wished the discharge of the whole army'. They recognised the need for a force to defend the pale from small 'stirs' of the Irishry, for it was the area which supplied the hostings. To investigate all the abuses within it, where Arnold 'hath no commission but for taking of the musters', they asked that he be given a larger one, and that Elizabeth suspend judgment until she had its report. Then she could compare what was necessary to keep the governor's house and the forts going with the titnes she had in her hands and those recently let which she might have kept. Therein lay the solution to the whole problem, and their object in writing was to enable her 'to have the truth'.

At the centre of their grievances was cess, of which the following table⁹² shows the progress:

⁹⁰ 21 Oct. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 31).

⁹¹ 'Articles against...Sussex', (B.M., Add. MS 40,061).

⁹² From the figures and prices given in Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, and from figures and prices cited from the council book from 1543 to 1556 (B.M., Add. MS 4,763).

| Irish pecks | Wheat | Beer Malt | Oats | Oat Malt | Beeves | Mutton | Swine | Value at cess prices |
|-------------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|--------|--------|-------|----------------------|
| 1549 | 4,800 | 2,080 | | 4,160 | 2,120 | | | 1,653 |
| 1554 | 182 | 180 | | | 420 | 920 | | 296 |
| 1556 | 4,000 | 1,334 | | 2,666 | 1,000 | | | 1,800 |
| 1557 | 1,000 | 866 | | 534 | 240 | | | 579 |
| 1558 | 3,269 | 1,678 | 1,000 | 3,360 | 1,240 | | 570 | 2,183 |
| 1559 | 3,269 | 1,678 | 700 | 3,360 | 1,240 | | 570 | 2,158 |
| 1560 | 3,269 | 1,678 | 700 | 3,360 | 1,240 | | 570 | 2,158 |
| 1561 | 1,868 | 1,244 | | 2,480 | 1,340 | | 610 | 1,287 |
| 1562 | 1,868 | 1,244 | | 2,480 | 1,340 | | 610 | 1,287 |

Before the time of Sussex they were paid something like market prices for such preemptions, and before the last four or five years they were seldom cessed for the deputy's household.

Further

they were not wont commonly to be charged in other governor's times with so much corn to the forts as the said years they have been and though in Bellingham's time, who first won the countries of Leix and Offaly, they were charged with corn and beeves, yet he eased them much otherwise in putting the army and horses from them in places of service.

The issue of transporting the grain to the forts at little or no payment was raised again by the gentry who complained that 'when their garrons came to the forts, without respect had to their weakness and lack of provender, they have been driven to bear wood to the forts without money, meat, or drink, to the men or garrons'. Then on their return trip the horses had been laden with hides, the standard by-product of the forts, and other carriage to the extent that the animals were lost.

The quartering of soldiers on tenants was deplored, and the payments and provisions relating to the practice.

But if the soldiers did so well use the farmers as they were used in the earl of Surrey's time, Skeffington's, Bellingham's, and other governors, they would not so much weigh their payment. But now, specially sithens the martial law began, the soldiers doth too much abuse the farmers in beating of the farmer and his wife and taking their goods and pawning the same for money, or drinking it, when the soldier cannot have meat and drink to satisfy his delicate appetite, which the farmer is not able to give him.

Between cess and quartering some farmers were so reduced that

they did not have corn to sow with or to feed their families. Then if the commissioners could find no corn for cess the farmer's goods were taken, or if destitute they were put in ward. Quality entered in as well for some farmers, 'having such soils as would bear no fair corn, could not have such corn as grew on their land received of them but must have bought fair corn to pay the cesses' and when certain gentry sent copies of the commission to the crown they were put in Dublin castle for five or six weeks. That incident was probably the one that Fitzwilliam had commented on in May (see p.). As for quartering, the Meath holders cited the way that Sussex spread his troops there at no payment at which 'certain of our tenants left our farms and land and some of them upon persuasion took their farms again conditionally that if the lord lieutenant had come ever to Ardraccon it should be lawful unto them to leave their farms'.

The fact that the Irish council was packed with Sussex's men, many of whom were army captains, was deplored at length, for it meant that the petitioners were always misrepresented at court, as their experience of the spring before had shown. They did not presume to meddle, 'knowing well enough that our sovereign and her grace's...council there can and will devise better for us than we can imagine...', but if they were asked they could nominate two or three from the Irish council, and two or three from co. Meath, who could make a better declaration.

Although said charges and disorders hath so impoverished our tenants that few of them are able to pay their rents yet we assure your worships⁹³ the same is not half so grievous unto us as the fame of our discredit to be sought by beating in our most dear sovereign the queen's majesty's head that we desire Irish government, and the difference set between us and those of the birth of England here.

The first point they wished made to Elizabeth was an eloquent rejection of the idea that they desired Irish rule, for the petitioners would rather serve 'in the most servile office in her highness kitchen than to live as they do or under their government...' It was their critics who were the proper suspects for

if the order used by captains having the rule of countries here were thoroughly known to her majesty it should appear that it is

⁹³The 'articles' were probably addressed to Dudley.

they that desire Irish government in that for their own gain they prefer the Brehon Irish law...and other Irish customs unto her grace's laws'.

Interestingly, Cecil had made notes of the requests for renewals of the captainships of Irish countries: Stanley for Dalton's country, Radcliffe for his area, Heron for the Kavanaghs, and Henry Cowley for Carbury or Bermyngham's country,⁹⁴ so that the matter was before the crown.

The second point the petitioners raised was the gap that was made between them 'and those here born in England', which showed in 'every soldier's talk that we can brook no Englishman, which is their common objection against every crime laid to their charge, and chiefly in severing us from living both under one law...' They asserted that the martial law was brought in under Sussex for the purpose of such a severance, as were other criticisms of them. They desired only that Elizabeth

have our demeanours towards the English nation here inquired of ...whereof we count ourselves members even as we were born in England...and Mr Agard and Mr Parker, who a long time have been here and in whom such courtesy do remain as to English nation is commonly incident and divers others here, we are sure will witness that we put no difference between those born in England and us, and that such of them as are honest are as dear unto us as we are to ourselves.

The petitioners concluded with four detailed statements of the harm done by the use of martial law. There was the distrust created by it, the encouragement to soldiers to do evil, the contempt it brought to the endeavour to enlarge the use of the common law, and the denial of redress to 'simple husbandmen' and others. No one knew how to proceed under it, and the threats of retaliation made them prefer to bear injuries without redress, 'the remedy of which mischief we judge only to consist in setting us all under one law as we were wont to be'. That remedy would not hurt the queen's service, for the value of soldiers as protection was known, and no one wanted to proceed against them 'without a good ground'.

Arnold had been occupied with the musters of the companies since August and by November he seems to have worked his way

⁹⁴Memorandum of petitions...', before 20 Nov. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 45).

through the men of Fitzwilliam, Radcliffe, Stanley, Wingfield, Girton, Warren, Cowley, Portas, Bagenal, Heron, Agard, Delves, and Kyng. The men under Sussex were not included. Arnold's castigation was general and he claimed to have found some £9,994 of 'checks' or irregularities, which was remarkably like the figure Bermyngham had promised, as Cecil must have observed.⁹⁵ By the end of November Arnold was discussing the results with the Irish government. It is evident that he did not get on well with Sussex, but he seems to have behaved correctly within the limits of his commission, though not co-operatively, as Sussex wished.⁹⁶ He wrote to Arnold, suggesting a method of procedure for entering offenders so that he could have the completed musters. He would then pay the soldiers who had not offended, which he could not do without the commission's report, being restrained from doing so by the queen's letters. If they did not have such authority they were to let him know in writing. He felt the commission should construe their authority to make the completed musters and he would in like manner make the pay so that their actions were of a piece, and could not be misrepresented in England.⁹⁷

The result was not successful for in a matter of days Sussex and his associates were endeavouring to explain away as misunderstandings all the complaints, of which those born in England bore the brunt. On cess they insisted that the amounts had declined 'as well appeareth by the council books, and may further be declared by the report of Mr William St Loe and Mr Ralph Bagenal for the time that they had charge in the forts.⁹⁸

The attention of the lord lieutenant was being pulled to the north again. Sir John Bellow reported renewed raiding on the part of O'Hanlon's son and his men in the co. Louth

⁹⁵Musters from 22 Aug. 1559, and notes on them, with marginal annotation by Cecil, c. Oct. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, nos. 37, 38).

⁹⁶Sussex's account of their relations, c. Nov. (ibid., no. 50).

⁹⁷Sussex to Arnold, 27 Nov., (ibid., no. 49; B.M., Add. MS 40,061).

⁹⁸'Certain notes of the Irish doings, 8 Dec. 1562', (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 55).

area,⁹⁹ and the town of Dundalk said that MacMahon was poised on those borders, of which they and Sir John were the sole defence, 'intending (as we suppose) to invade us or the English pale'.¹⁰⁰ As Bellow had complained that he could get no satisfaction from Shane, so the town reported on a constriction that he was practicing upon them. They had always traded with the inhabitants of Tyrone, buying and selling from them. Indeed, their prosperity depended upon that trade, but Shane O'Neill had cut it off and would not allow them to collect any debts, with the result that the town decayed and many of its inhabitants wished to move elsewhere.¹⁰¹

Early in December Sussex sent Captain William Piers to confer with James MacDonnell. Piers was to explain why Elizabeth had refused to conclude the agreement with the MacDonnells. She had been stopped by their claim that certain points in the articles contradicted their allegiance to the queen of Scotland.¹⁰² Sussex had need to placate MacDonnell, who expected him to deal with a wrong done to his family.¹⁰³ In the period while Sussex was waiting for O'Neill to come to Dundalk in September Alaster mc Randal boy MacDonnell, who had served against Shane, asked the lord lieutenant to call before him 'himself, Andrew Brereton, then farmer of Lecale, Bryan MacPhelym, Savage, MacCartan, and divers in those parties' to bind them together in friendship so that there should be mutual trust and they could resist Shane together. Sussex did as they asked, 'since which time mcRandal boy coming, as it is affirmed upon trust, into Lecale and supping with Andrew Brereton was that night in the town of Ardglass murdered and his brother with divers of his men slain at the same hour in the country where they lay'.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹Bellow to Sussex, 28 Nov. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XII, no. 159)

¹⁰⁰Corporation of Dundalk to Sussex, 30 Nov. (ibid., Titus B. XIII, no. 26).

¹⁰¹Corporation of Dundalk to Sussex, undated, c. Nov. 1562? (ibid., Vespasian F. XII, no. 9).

¹⁰²Instructions to Piers, 10 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 56)

¹⁰³Thomas Randolph to Cecil, 16 Dec. (Cal. S.P. for., 1562, no. 126)

¹⁰⁴Sussex to the privy council, 24 Apr. 1563 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 36).

This event happened sometime in the autumn of 1562 for it was known in Scotland by mid-December. When complaint was made to Sussex he ordered Brereton 'with the freeholders of Lecale' to appear at Dundalk and answer for the death of mcRandal boy and Gillespie, his brother, but Brereton 'excused his coming for fear of the way, and making sale suddenly of his interest in Lecal to the earl of Kildare took shipping in Lecale and departed the realm without my knowledge or licence...' Sussex was left with the approbrium of having both connived at the murder and Brereton's escape. James MacDonnell refused to allow Sorley boy to enter Elizabeth's service until they had the queen's patent and the murder was dealt with, and the feeling was general that those who served the queen came to no good end. Sussex wanted Brereton sent back, either to clear himself 'after the custom of Ireland', or if guilty to be punished in such fashion that Sussex's innocence would be established, 'and take away the scruple from the Irish that seek to serve her majesty'.¹⁰⁵ He was to discover as St Leger had before him, that Brereton was too well connected for such a simple solution.

The whole incident must have been the background to a situation that Sussex reported at the end of December:

Some attempts have been made of late to procure certain of the Mores to join with Hugh MacShane and certain of the Byrnes and Toolles and to rebel upon persuasion that I would cause them all to be killed in their beds this Christmas, upon knowledge whereof I have so wrought with every of them as they know the untruth and remain satisfied.

At the same time Sussex intended to go to Armagh and parley with O'Neill to keep him from doing damage,¹⁰⁶ but circumstances intervened and Sussex did not reach Armagh until 7 April 1562.¹⁰⁷

During the long period of preparation for a new northern expedition Sussex found the time to write a new and enlarged version of the ideas which he had presented in his paper on the

¹⁰⁵Sussex to the privy council, 24 Apr. 1563 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire 63/8, no.36). James MacDonnell to Sussex, 4 Apr. 1563 (Cal.S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p.214).

¹⁰⁶Sussex to the privy council, 28 Dec. 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 58).

¹⁰⁷Sussex's journey, 7 June 1563 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 238).

'State of Ireland' in June 1562 (see p. supra), in which he gave his 'opinion...as well for the ordering of Ulster, as the government of the whole realm, after Shane O'Neill shall be expulsed'. He prefaced the report by saying that it was based on his seven years labour as deputy or lieutenant.¹⁰⁸ The dominant theme in his 'opinion' was how to reduce the queen's English and Irish subjects to obedience to the law, and for the Irish he had come to envisage a selective use of the Brehon law that they might 'live under the direction of certain constitutions more agreeable to their natures and customs'.¹⁰⁹ However, every Irish captain was to be induced to accept 'surrender and regrant' with its principle of inheritance, and then they might convert coyne and livery, bonnaght, and other exactions 'into a rent for their own gain' as well as paying the crown one.

In Leinster and Meath where government control was greatest Sussex wanted to keep the Kavanaghs, O'Tooles, and O'Byrnes 'under the government of an England born captain, as they now be', who would continue to have a retinue 'to be found upon the country with authority to execute martial law. While Sussex was thereby confirming his critics he went on to assert that these Irish came every term to the queen's courts in Dublin, 'and be there empanelled upon quests and juries as other freeholders of English blood be', a practice which he wished to see continued.

Similar arrangements were to be made for the seven Irish countries bordering on the new King's county and Queen's county and between them and the Shannon. They were to continue to be under the lieutenant of the two counties who was to have under his command

40 horsemen, 200 footmen, and 200 kerne, whereof 20 horsemen, 100 footmen to be placed in the fort in the Queen's county, 20 horsemen, 100 footmen to be placed in the fort in the King's count, and the 200 kerne to be abroad in the counties with their captains as they now be, at the finding of their captains...

¹⁰⁸At Armawghe, the - day of - 1562', (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 236). Sussex's report of June 1562 (*ibid.*, no.237) is earlier in date and hence the order is incorrect in the Carew calendar. While the second report was prepared at the end of 1562 it must have been dispatched from Armagh a few days later in April 1563.

¹⁰⁹See Bagwell, Tudors. 11. 49-50. He follows the order of the Carew calendar and so treats this paper out of sequence.

Sussex reckoned that those forces would cost a total of £4,556 18s. a year, and that the bonnaght of the seven surrounding Irish countries would bring in £1,455 a year.

Without providing an answer Sussex raised the question regarding the rest of the English in Leinster and Meath whether the 'idle men of war' they maintained by coyne and livery, and other exactions, for defence against the Irishry, 'might not be utterly left off, and such a way devised for maintaining of men of war as without spoil might defend the English with better order and as much surety as the other'. He did propose that the act compelling men to dwell in their lands on the borders be qualified with appropriate penalties, and that if it were not fulfilled the principal governor might lease such lands for thirty years to a person of English blood, reserving a rent for the landlord and giving preference to the person who reported the negligence, if they were suitable. In two other cases he asked for acts to enable him to lease land for thirty years to persons of English blood. The first case was where persons in the English pale let their lands to tenants of Irish birth and blood to increase their rents. Where the land lay in shire ground the lease was declared void, and the governor empowered to act. The second case involved the same people allowing their lands to lie waste in order to increase the rent of other lands, which made the people lack sustenance, the queen lack people, and increased prices. Sussex wanted authority when such land had been vacant for two years to re-lease it. It is plain that he was preoccupied with the colonizing aspects of the problem rather than the divisive effect his solutions would have on the pale English.

As in June 1562 a great deal of Sussex's 'opinion' was taken up with a detailed exposition of placing presidential systems in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. Sussex deliberately omitted certain problems in regard to Munster and Connaught, and in any case his more thorough treatment of Ulster is of greater interest as regards the kind of resettlement Sussex envisioned. He

began with the basic premise that Shane did not intend to keep the articles he had signed at court and that he must be expelled from Ulster. Since his country of Tyrone was the largest one there outside of Tyrone it was to be divided between three branches of the O'Neills. O'Donnell, MacGuire and others were to be induced to accept surrender and regrant, and the MacDonnells were to be granted their requests 'which they earnestly seem to desire' as a means of securing their service and to put off the day when they might have to be dealt with. The place of Armagh in such a scheme was made plain. In order to levy the queen's rights and see all orders kept it would be necessary to build a strong town there which would be the headquarters of a military president of English birth with a council and 100 English horsemen, 300 English footmen, 200 galloglas, and 200 kerne at his disposal. He was also to have command of all other forces in Ulster. He and his English forces would have to be paid, and supplied by the crown be cess. The bonnaught of Ulster was reckoned to be £4,070 and the pay of the garrison £5,623 11s.

Sussex saw further income being derived from the proceedings of justice. Among those proceedings would be forfeitures arising out of capital crimes. When such cases arose the president was to award the forfeited holding to a deserving soldier, who would pay the crown a rent, and with the help of the surrounding country and some payment by the crown he was to build a properly sited castle on the holding. These castles would be in addition to those which the president was to build and garrison at strategic places, together with bridges over the principal rivers, properly guarded. Some of the existing castles were the property of the earldom of Ulster and could be used as the crown saw fit. Sussex propounded the triple advantage that the queen's possessions would increase, the power of the O'Neills decrease, and in their place would be English settlers.

His plans did not stop there. All the havens were to be in the queen's possession and wards were to be placed in those which

had castles, paid for by their surrounding country, which would also build castles at havens which did not have them. The crown would then have control of the customs and of the coast which faced Scotland. The capstone of the system was stated thus: 'To draw the people of those parts to a more civility a walled town is to be made at Knockfergus, and another upon the river of Lough Foyle, at the charges of the countries adjoining or at the queen's charges, upon a rent reserved in the fee farm'.

These two major ports were to handle all the trade that was laden or unladen between Carlingford and Galway. To encourage that trade the two towns were to be given liberal charters. The town on the river of Lough Foyle must have been a reference to Derry as a site, and it was added that if the queen exchanged lands with Sir Nicholas Bagenal, Newry was also to be treated as a major town, and the three towns would be a source of support and supply to the president as well as a great means for keeping all the adjoining areas in obedience. Sussex was not to accomplish very much of the program he outlined in Ulster but his description made plain what had been intended for Armagh and what was intended in Ulster for the future.

Sussex ended his 'opinion' with an estimate of costs for the whole of Ireland, a subject on which Elizabeth always seized. He wanted to retain a garrison of 2,000 men, costing some £22,500 a year, against which he anticipated an income of £18,500. He saw casualties, excheats, and forfeitures providing some £3,000 to £4,000 a year additional income to the crown, and so Ireland would bear its own charges within a year and a half of his plans being put into execution.

LEIX AND OFFALY : THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

1563-1564

In September 1562 Sussex informed Elizabeth that 'I send unto your highness herewith a draught of the states to be granted of your lands in Leix and Offaly in such sort as by advice of your council I mean presently to proceed, except your majesty countermand the same'.¹ Since she had instructed him in July to 'set apart all unnecessary delays' it is hardly likely that she countermanded the form Sussex proposed for the grants, but it is clear that there was at least some exchange on the point for Cecil noted the reception of 'an advertisement for Offaly and Leix, with a copy of an indenture', dated 10 November.² The documents and correspondence regarding that exchange do not appear to have survived, but the form which Sussex proposed in September does and in the main it seems to have been used to frame the indentures or fiants actually drawn.

Sussex supplied an emendation of his own at the very outset. James Stanihurst, the recorder of Dublin, had called to his attention that where the draft stated that the queen granted the lands, the act of 1557 demanded that Sussex should grant them, for proof whereof he showed me the act in the roll wherein it seemeth indeed that by the words of the act the grant must pass from me and in my name by order therein prescribed, although neither in the penning thereof there was any such meaning, neither any such construction since that time gathered thereupon, till this present.

Sussex sent a copy of the act and asked that the draft of the grant be amended accordingly and 'returned to me with expedition that I may proceed...'. He described Stanihurst as penning a new act to be passed in the next parliament for confirming the estates to be passed by letters patent for Leix and Offaly, 'for that certain matters were for the benefit and sure defence of those countries to be comprised... which by law were not

¹ 6 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 6).

² Memorandum of Irish correspondence to England since 20 August, c. Dec. 1562 (*ibid.*, no. 7).

warranted except the same were by parliament confirmed'.³ In the event parliament did not meet and such an act was not passed, but in February and March 1563 the fiants for the grantees of Leix and Offaly were completed and the holders received them.

The contents of these grants as Sussex outlined them⁴ and as they were drawn⁵ reflect the 'orders' which he had first proposed to Mary in 1557,⁶ and which in turn were a reflection of her instructions to him in 1556. Thus the grantees were to answer the summons of the lord lieutenant, the constable of the fort, or other governor, 'with the greatest part of their force, armed in warlike manner at their own charges', and equipped with three days victuals, to defend the county or to go against any Irishmen bordering upon it. Once a year they were to produce all men under their rule to be booked by the constable, and to answer for their deeds in that county for that year. They were to keep open or shut all fords or passages on their lands as the constable directed and were not to pluck down 'any castle, bridge or togher, or plash', or any pass, 'except only the pass border upon an Irish country'. The grantee was required to live upon his grant, maintaining his principal residence there. He was not to 'marry, make gossipred, or foster with any person of Irish nation'⁷ other than such as have states of inheritances, and their children, within the King's county or Queen's county'.

The last provision suggests the point at which the divergence from the instruction of 1556 and the 'orders' of 1557 began, for the grants of 1563 were designed to apply to English, Irish, and Scots alike. Thus there were no separate provisions for each group as there had been earlier, nor were some of the provisions

³Sussex to Cecil, 8 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no.10).

⁴'A form of a lease or grant...of part of leix or Offaly. 1562' (ibid., no. 6,III).

⁵Grant of Geoffrey Phillips, 3 Feb. 1563 (B.M. Add. Charter 40,143). The terms are summarised in the fiant of Henry Cowley, 3 Feb. (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz. no. 474). and David Flody's, 16 Mar/ 1563 (Lodge, Records of the Rolls, vol.1, pp.155-56,P.R.O.I).

⁶See p. *supra*.

⁷Correction as in 'A form of a lease or grant...', (ibid.).

quite so stringent. They were a product of the policy to include some of the O'Conors and O'Mores in each county as grantees, and also of the thinking which Sussex was doing in 1562 and 1563 towards finding a modus vivendi with the Irish and Irish practices. All grantees were to answer the laws of the realm and not to 'suffer any coyne or livery or Irish exaction to be taken upon their lands', but they were not to use Brehon law 'in any cause against any subject answerable to the laws of the realm of Ireland'. By implication they could do so with those Irish who were not in shireground. Another provision was slightly softened; 'servants appointed to be kept upon the said lands shall have and use for the most part (aswell) the English language in their houses, lands and mansions...as vesture and English governance to their power in the same'. The grantees were not to keep or entertain 'any idle persons of Irish blood' who were accustomed to bear arms or who were born out of the county 'without the licence and assent of the constable of the ...fort and of the most of the gentlemen of that county'. Finally no grantee was to receive pay 'of any person to attend upon him and serve him in wars or warlike sort, nor become follower to any person whereby he or his should be forced to serve, aid, or assist him in any journey or roads'.

In the instructions and 'orders' the English were not to keep any Irish except those necessary for husbandry, but it seems clear that the grants for 1563 were designed to create a common community of English and Irish in which an English order rather than English blood was to be the determining factor. Certain provisions still pointed the other way however. The provision requiring the maintenance of armed men was expanded so that every grantee was to settle 'upon every ___ acres one lawful able horseman of English surname and blood...for the better inhabiting and preservation of the same, and shall have good and sufficient horses, armour, and weapons for them...' While the number of acres had not been settled the armed men of earlier years had definitely become horsemen. In another provision the crown granted that a widow should have for her life a dower of one-third of the estate, provided all the dues were rendered, but if she

married any of the Irish nation, 'although he be a denizen', the dower was void.

The form of tenure by which the grantees were to hold of the crown was finally settled in the grants as fee-tail. The grant was to be held of the crown 'as of the two principal forts in those counties by knight's service, viz by the service of the twentieth part of one knight's fee, when escutage runneth within this realm of Ireland...', a device for retaining the rights of wardship, marriage and other feudal dues for the crown. Under the entail the grantee was not to alienate or grant any part of the estate in fee-simple, fee-tail, or term of life, except for the third part which they could alienate 'to any of their younger sons for term of life or lives', depending on whether more than one son was involved. The most remarkable feature proposed by Sussex was the provision for inheritance. The grantee was to enjoy the holding for life, the remainder was to go to 'one of the lawful begotten sons', whom the grantee was to nominate within his own lifetime. This departure from primogeniture, with its overtones of the Brehon laws and the Irish practice of tanistry, was in conformity with Sussex's thinking at the time regarding the use by the crown of certain Irish practices, and must have been an attempt to insure that each holding would always be in the hands of an heir capable of defending it and rendering the services due from it.

The rent was fixed according to the rate already established: 2d. an acre for the first seven years, and after that 3d. an acre. After those seven years were up, during which time the grantee was to have secured his position, he or his heirs, if they were of age, were not only to answer the summons for the defence of the two counties but also any hostings in any part of Ireland as law and custom directed. From the outset the grantee was to render a customary plough day for every plough in use on his lands, doing whatever work the constable of the fort directed within the bounds of the shire, or in lieu of the work making a payment of 3s. for each plough day.

One other provision of the grants played a part in determining their rents. The crown reserved 'all great trees, and timber trees now growing or hereafter to be growing upon the premises...' The lord lieutenant had the authority to allow the grantee to take sufficient large trees for the necessary buildings on the grant as well as timber for house repairs, plough repairs and cart repairs, and wattle and small wood for building were exempt from the terms of the grant. The acreage used in determining the rents therefore excluded the heavy timber, and such woods as were mentioned in grants were fringe areas designed presumably for pannage and pastureage. The importance of this provision will be apparent when the rent and acreage of each grant is considered.

Before examining the individual grantees in the two counties the nature and structure of the army in Ireland should be grasped for the planters were in large measure either field or subordinate officers in it, or were serving in the ranks. The following table⁸ gives a picture of the 2,317 men which Arnold found in his preliminary muster before 17 November, 1562:

| | Offi- cers | Horse- men | Harque- busiers | Arch- ers | Kerne | Armed Pike |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|-------|---------------|
| Sussex | 6 | 50 | 100 | | | |
| Fitzwilliam | 6 | 20 | 70 | | | |
| Radcliffe | 8 | 40 | 50 | 50 | 100 | |
| Captain Lyppiat | | | 25 | 25 | | |
| do Stanley | 6 | 30 | 50 | 50 | 100 | |
| do. Travers | 1 | 6 | 6 | | | |
| do. Wingfield* | 8 | 24 | 44 | 50 | | |
| do. Agard | 4 | 40 | | | | |
| do. Warren | 4 | 40 | 100 | | | |
| do. Girton | 4 | 40 | | | | |
| do. Heron | 4 | 20 | 15 | 15 | | |
| do. Cowley | 6 | | 50 | 50 | 20 | |
| do. Portas | 5 | | 25 | 25 | | |
| Matthew Kyng | 1 | 10 | | | | |
| William Piers | 1 | | 10 | 10 | | |
| Ward of Athlone | | | 10 | 10 | | |
| Francis Randolph | 1 | | 4 | 4 | | |
| Thomas Eliot | 5 | | | | | |
| O Dempsey | 1 | | | | 40 | |
| Richard Keating | 1 | | | | 40 | |
| Thomas Fleming | 1 | | | | 100 | |
| John Plunkett | 1 | | | | 60 | |
| Nicholas Bagenal | 6 | | 44 | 50 | | |
| Captain Wakely | 4 | 50 | | | | |
| James Parkenson | 2 | 50 | | | | |
| Brain Fitzwilliam | 8 | | 140 | | | 60 |
| Francis Cosby | 1 | | 4 | 4 | 100 | |
| Totals | 99 | 420 | 767 | 393 | 560 | 60 |

*Wingfield also had 18 gunners and artificers under his command.

⁸Anno 1562. 4 Eliz. The total of the bands in Ireland! (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/7, no. 61).

Travers and Warren, though both planters, were dead before the grants were made, but Warren's company included many Welsh, among them a Morgan and Davy ap Rice, and a Hugh and Richard Johns, each a pair of harquebusiers and archers. Wingfield, who succeeded Travers as master of the ordnance had a Thomas Morris and a John ap Rice under his command. The same two names, both harquebusiers, appear in Captain Henry Cowley's company, in which Emery Lee, John Darcy, and Richard Pepper all were archers and Thomas Axening was sergeant. Its ranks contained at least fifteen Welsh. While Captain Heron was not a planter his ensign of foot was Robert Hartpole, and one of his horsemen was Patrick Kethrington. That the spelling of the last name might be amended is indicated by Captain Girton's horsemen, two of which were Robert Hetherington and Edward Glacters. Lyppliat's company included Francis Appleyard and John Alee, a harquebusier and archer respectively. Sir Henry Radcliffe's company fittingly had the largest number of familiar names. His horsemen included Matthew Lynte, John Alee, William Fyn, John ap Richard, John Dunkerley, and both John Thomas the elder and the younger, presumably with the surname of Bowen. The name Robert Newton appears both as the porter of the fort in Leix and as a horseman of Radcliffe's. The ensign of his footmen was Nicholas White, and among the harquebusiers were a Griffith Mannering and a Morgan Evans, Welsh names appearing in numbers among Radcliffe's men. In addition many names which would later appear in the precincts of Maryborough are to be found there.⁹ In all the companies mentioned it is not always possible to tell if the same individual was appearing in two companies or if there were two people of the same name or if either of them were the same person who appeared as a planter in Leix and Offaly. In some cases gentlemen were being carried as men at arms for purposes of pay, but it is also seems clear that gentlemen could be made from those same ranks.

⁹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 31 Mar. 1561, enclosing Matthew Kyng's muster of the army (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/3, nos 47, 47.I).

A slightly later muster of Sussex's household with a critical gloss by William Bermyngham reveals all of these points.¹⁰ Francis Randolph, constable of Carlow, and its garrison were all carried as soldiers. So was Henry Davells, who was identified as a petty captain of Heron's. In similar manner John Pygott was actually a petty captain of foot to Radcliffe, Robert Cowley a petty captain of Henry Cowley's, Redmund Bermingham a soldier of Cowley's, Robert Mainwaring a soldier of Wingfield's, and Richard Pepper, who had had a pay in Fitzwilliam's company, was in Cowley's company, thus appearing in three places. Other transfers were also interesting. Richard Mainwaring had been petty captain of the horsemen that Wingfield commanded, and William Furre had been an ensign in Audley's company and a pay in Heron's company. Alexander Cosby, the son of Francis, was described as being 'at school in England', and Anthony March as an officer in Sussex's household, where William Vicars was 'yeoman of the cellar'. That they were parts of the plantation settlement might have been commented on as well.

The pattern of that settlement, and its relation to the army, can be seen by examining a list of the planters and the military services they owed which was drawn up about May 1564 when the granting of the two counties was virtually complete. There the principal townland or capit of each holder can be seen and the number of armed men he was required to maintain on his holding.¹¹

Most of the fiants for the persons listed were made in February and March, 1563. The first group of fourteen grants in Offaly made on 3 February included Captain Wakely, Henry Warren, the son of Captain Humphrey Warren, Sir Thomas Tyrrell, John Sankey, Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin, Richard Croft and Henry Duke, Geoffrey Phillips, Walter Bermingham, Robert Cowley,

¹⁰Book delivered by Sussex 21 Mar. 1563. Mustered 4 May 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 23).

¹¹See Appendix I, the Leix and Offaly section, taken from B.M., Cott. MS Titus B.XII, no. 51. Appendices II and III give the services and the specific townlands held at a slightly later date.

Captain Henry Cowley, Thomas Morris, John ap Rice, Richard Pepper, and Redmund Bermingham. At an undetermined date, but probably at the same time, Thomas Axeming received his grant.¹² Cowley and some of his men had been provided for.

There were no more fiants made for Offaly until 16 March when a further group of six holders were placed, most of whom seem to have served under Cowley. Included were his ensign, David Flody, and Humphrey Reynold and John Baynam, both of whom served under Cowley if Baynam is the John Banninge given in Cowley's muster. Of the other three, David Sumpter, John Davy or Davies, and John Till, nothing is known of the origins of Sumpter or Davy but there was a John Till mustered as a harquebusier in Cowley's company. Why the number of horsemen to be provided was left blank in the fiants for each of these six holdings is a puzzle, but the fact is reflected in the 1564 list of the original grantees and the total number of horsemen due from the county is therefore somewhat reduced.

Other grants were made in Offaly later in 1563. On 30 March the first native holder, Teig or Thady mcCall, an O'Conor, was given his first fiant. On 18 June Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of Lackagh in Co. Kildare and Lea castle in Leix was granted a detached portion of Offaly in co. Kildare. On 6 October Peter Leicester received a grant and on 25 October two more grants were made to natives, Lysagh mcMorrough O'Conor and Charles O'Conor, a son of Brian, which will be discussed in more detail later.

The remainder of the grants in Offaly were completed in the first half of 1564. On 9 February Thady mcCahir O'Conor and Callough mcTeig O'Conor were given a joint holding. Along with Thady mcCall O'Conor they were officers of kerne and their men were presumably settled with them. The most distinguished Irish captain of Kerne, Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey, chief of his name,

¹²No fiant survives for Axeming, but his lands were granted to Henry Cowley on 22 Mar. 1576 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no.3001).

received a grant on 12 March of virtually all of the territory of Clannalier. On 5 May George Leonard and Charles O'Connor were given a joint grant. On 6 May William Furies received a grant as did Anthony March and Francis Appleyard on 9 May. Both Furies and March had caught the critical eye of William Bermyngham in his gloss on Sussex's household and Appleyard was a soldier in Lypplatt's company.

The plantation of Offaly was complete and only two planters are unaccounted for in the 1564 list. Nicholas Herbert did not have his lease of Monasteroris converted into a grant until 1574, and the fiant for Redmund ofe Fitzgerald's grant does not survive though his letters patent were made before 17 November 1563.

The total number of planters in Offaly was thirty-seven of which some eighteen were English by birth and nine were English by blood, i.e., Anglo-Irish. There were seven Irish and three Welsh, judging by the surnames and such information as we have about them. Of the total, at least twenty had definite connections with the army either as officers or as rank and file, eleven of them being Captain Henry Cowley and men connected with him. Included in the twenty were nine of the English by birth, and the three Welsh. If every planter had the number of horsemen he was supposed to maintain the county would have produced eighty-seven 'able horsemen of the English name and blood', but that description of them in 1564 only enumerated seventy-eight, for in several grants the provision was left blank. On the basis of the numbers given there should have been 108 male heads of families who were English by birth or descent and therefore in theory a settlement of several hundred English in all. It is impossible to say how exactly the conditions were fulfilled, though it is probable that they were only partially, for the substitution of Irish for English among the horsemen must have been relatively simple. Unlike the fiants for the leases in 1551 and 1552 the planters themselves are rarely designated as 'gentleman' 'soldier' or 'yeoman', but two fiants of the grants are exceptions. Richard Croft and Henry Duke were described as 'gentlemen', and so was Francis Appleyard, who appeared as a

soldier in Lyppiat's muster. It seems clear that all the planters, having been granted lands, were meant to be taken as gentlemen, regardless of where they were recruited.

In Leix, as on previous occasions, the pattern of settlement was more complicated than that of Offaly. The first group of twelve grants in Leix was not made until 28 February 1563. Included were Thomas, earl of Ormond, Edward Brereton, who was a brother of Andrew Brereton and had once served under Nicholas Bagenal,¹³ Francis Cosby, in command of the ward at Monasterevin and general of the Kerne, Captain Hugh Lyppiat, John Pigott, petty captain of Radcliffe's footmen, Nicholas White, their ensign, John Dunkerley, the victualler of the fort in Leix who served as a horseman under Radcliffe, and Patrick Hetherington, a horseman under Heron. In addition the galloglas captains Callough mcTurlough MacDonnell and his son Hugh mcCallough received grants as did two Irishmen, Fergonamyn O'Kelly and Teig or Thady MacDonagh, who was identified as a surgeon.

Seven more grants were made in Leix on 8 March. Among the grantees were Henry Davells, Heron's petty captain, and Arthur Tomen, possibly a native of co. Wexford¹⁴ and the Arthur Tomy in Heron's company. Grants were also made to Maelmurry mcEdmund MacDonnell, Thomas Keating, possibly a relative of Richard the captain of Kerne, Donald MacGilpatrick, who had been a planter in Leix since the first leases, Moriatagh mcLysagh mcConnell O'More, and Thady duf MacMorgh. At that date no native had yet received a grant in Offaly.

On 16 March five more grants were made in Leix, all of them to natives. Moriortagh oge O More and Kedagh MacPiers received grants as did Edmund, Walter and John Keating, all three presumably related to Thomas and Richard Keating.

Among the nine grants made on 30 March were Robert Hartpole,

¹³Andrew Brereton to Bellingham, c.1548, and Nicholas Bagenal to Croft, 11 Nov. 1551 (Cal.S.P. Ire., 1509-73, PP.98,118).

¹⁴An Arthur Tomy of Enniscorthy received a pardon on 12 Nov. 1569 (Cal. grants Ire., Eliz., no 1442).

Heron's ensign of foot, and Matthew Skelton alias Lynt, a horseman of Radcliffe's. In the uplands of Shievemargy Turlough mcAlexander MacDonnell received a large grant where he was to maintain 'ten able Scots-English galloglas'.¹⁵ Near him was Richard Keating, probably related to the other Keatings and the commander of kerne. Hugh mcDermott O'Dempsey received a grant which was absorbed by Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey within a year. Thady O'Dowlin and Frynne O'Kelly received grants and Morgh mcCarroll and David mcMorgh were placed near one another. They were probably father and son and both MacEvoys.

On 8 April a grant was made to Thomas St Leger, who seems to have been of the Anglo-Irish branch of that family. There are no further grants in Leix recorded until 17 August 1563 when Captain George Delves received a large holding for which he was to provide ten horsemen 'of the English name and blood', the standard formula for all the horsemen in both counties in which it was also stipulated that they were to be equipped 'with sufficient horse and armour'.

The 1564 list shows that there were other planters who received grants before May of that year, though the fiants recording the transactions were either not made or do not survive. A particular case in point involves the seven sons of Giles Owinden or Hovenden who are shown with seven holdings, nearly all of them subdivisions of the original lease of Giles. In 1571 two of the brothers were granted his holding, having absorbed the lands of four others. The additional portion, Cullenagh, was granted to John Barrington on 12 May 1564, a fact not recorded in the 1564 list which provides a terminal date for it.

The list also indicates four other planters and establishes that the records of their grants, though lost, must once have existed. John Thomas Bowen had held the lease of Ballyadams since 1551-52. Though his grant is not forthcoming, livery was granted to his son Robert in 1570 and he surrendered the estate

¹⁵Lodge, Records of the Rolls, vol.1, 337-8(P.R.O.I.).

in July 1578 and was regranted it on 31 August.¹⁶ Captain William Portas held Blackford or Monaferrick but aside from the 1564 list the first evidence of its ownership is its surrender by Portas on 24 May 1576 and its regrant to Robert Hartpole on 5 June.¹⁷ Robert Newton, a horseman of Radcliffe's and porter of the fort in Leix, is named in the list but the only other record of him as a planter is his inclusion as a onetime holder in subsequent grants of Pallas. The holder of Shrule in Slievemargy, a man called variously John Barre, John O'Barre, Shane O'Barre, and 'Shane yberre', seems to have been an Anglo-Irishman seated at Friarstown, co. Carlow.¹⁸ The list shows that he owed four horsemen, the only definite fact known of his estate aside from its surrender by him in May 1576 and its regranting to Robert Hartpole in June. Similarly Lysagh MacConnell or MacConor, who is present in the 1564 list but not recorded elsewhere, also surrendered his estate in 1576 so that it might be granted to Hartpole.

Finally two native holders, John O'More and Lysagh mcConnell O'More, are named in the 1564 list. They do not appear elsewhere as planters though it is recorded¹⁹ that Cosby and Owny MacLysagh O More killed Shane MacMoriertagh O More and his cousin Lysagh MacConnell O'More at some date in 1564, probably the winter of 1564-65. They are possibly the two holders named in the list. Sit Barnaby Fitzpatrick appears there as the holder of Killeany, and the only other evidence of his ownership is his surrender of it on 16 June 1578 and its regrant to him on 18 August.²⁰

In Leix the total number of planters was fifty-one of which some twelve were English by birth and another twelve were English by blood. There were twenty-two Irish, twice the percentage in Offaly, five Scots and one Welsh. Of the total

¹⁶Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos 1490, 3359, and Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., James I, no.21, of 14 Jan. 1622

¹⁷Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos. 2811, 2838.

¹⁸See for example a lease of 3 Mar.1551 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI no. 719)

¹⁹T.C.D. MS H. 4. 31.

²⁰Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos. 3327, 3415.

at least twenty had definite army connections, a smaller percentage than in Offaly. There was nothing on the scale of the dominance of Captain Henry Cowley and his company, but five of the men served under Redcliffe and four of them under Heron. Among those twenty men were thirteen of the English by birth and the one Welshman. At the full requirement for horseman the county should have produced a hundred but the list of 1564 gave ninety-six as the total, again because the provision had been left blank in some grants. In Leix there was also the addition of thirty-five galloglas. In all in Leix there should have been 121 male heads of families who were English by birth or descent, and as in the case of Offaly a settlement of several hundred English as a result, but the same objections obtain for it is unlikely that all the conditions were fulfilled. The status of only two planters was indicated by the fiants, where Thomas St Leger was described as a 'gentleman' as was George Delves, who was a 'gentleman pensioner' in England. Again the presumption is that all were to be taken as gentlemen by the nature of their grants.

For the two counties as a whole there were eighty-eight planters of which nearly half can be proved to have had a definite connection with the army. There were thirty English by birth, twenty-one English by blood, four Welsh, four Scots, and twenty-nine native Irish. That rough division into thirds may have been an accident, but it may also have been the result of a deliberate policy to produce a mixed settlement in which the English would predominate but the native element would also be represented. If all of the 174 horsemen were actually English by birth or blood there would have been 262 English men at arms, but it is difficult to see such an Irish holder as Lysagh O'Connell O'More taking care to see that his three horsemen were genuinely of English birth or blood.

Each planter probably used men from the army to tenant the land, perhaps men from the unit he commanded if he were an officer, not only to provide the horsemen required but generally to secure possession of the grant. Thus the galloglas were scattered throughout Leix, and Sussex in his 'opinion' of the

spring of 1563 could speak of the 200 kerne under the lieutenant of the two counties as being spread through the two under their captains 'as they be'. In essence it was the same system that he had proposed in the 'consignation of Leix' and the 'division of Offaly' in the spring of 1557, in which kerne, galloglas, and soldiers seem to have formed the foundation of the settlement proposed.

Surprisingly few of the proposed grantees of that year were granted the same lands in 1563 or 1564. In Leix in 1557 Captain Lyppiat was to have Cullenagh, and in 1563 was granted Ballyknockan. In 1557 Hartpole was to have a different grant as was Donald MacShane MacGilpatrick, but Portas was mentioned for Blackford both in 1557 and 1564 and Bowen for Ballyadams. John Dunkerley had Clonreher in both lists, and the Hovendens held their grant throughout though they were not mentioned in 1557. Otherwise the grantees of 1563 were a complete change. In Offaly there was more continuity between those proposed in 1557 and the grantees of 1563 and 1564. In 1557 Parker was to have Killeigh, which he subsequently held at great cost, but Killeigh simply does not appear in the holdings of 1563 and 1564. Its status was in conflict. Correspondingly in 1557 Cosby was to have part of Geashill but in the later grants he was a holder in Leix. Anthony March and Robert Cowley received grants different from the holdings proposed for them in 1557. Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey was to have had a part of Clanmalier in 1557 and his subsequent grant included the whole of it. On the other hand Richard Pepper, Henry Cowley, Herbert, Wakely, Croft, and Warren received exactly what had been proposed for them, and so did Teig MacCahir O'Conor, Teig MacCall O'Conor, and Charles O'Conor. The Offaly list of 1557 was drawn up after the Leix one and its closer correspondence to the list of subsequent grantees is an indication that the division of the two counties evolved by degrees under Sussex.

That evolution would have been accomplished in the period after the summer of 1558 when peace was established in the two

countries, and more probably in the period after Sussex's return from England in the summer of 1559. Each succeeding set of Elizabeth's instructions to him seem to assume that there were people there to whom the lands could be leased or granted and the deleted section on Leix and Offaly in the draft of Sussex's instructions in July 1562 is very informative.²¹ As per previous instructions the inhabitants or tenants were to receive grants 'and to build houses as well for the strength of the said country as for the increase of people', with the whole area being divided 'into townships and farms'. Elizabeth next indicated that a substantial part of each of the two counties was already allotted. Then:

Our will and pleasure is that no time be delayed for the granting out of the said farms to such persons as shall by you be thought meetest for the inhabitings, peopling, strength, and good order of the said country, and to have such estates as thereby they remain upon the said lands without granting or letting the same to any other for any manner of profit, gain, or improvement.

There was the key to the prolonged delay in making final what had already been done in fact. Some of the planters had been in place since the original leases of 1551. Some had been proposed in 1557 and some had been in position since that time. Sussex's procrastination, which prompted Elizabeth's command to 'set apart all unnecessary delays', had its origin in the planters themselves. The point is best made by Rowland White, lord of the Dufferin, in a paper addressed to Cecil about 1571.²² In a general argument inveighing against the expense and negative results of maintaining a private army by the crown he asked what services the captains of Leix and Offaly had done while they and their men were on the queen's pay keeping that area. He then answered his own question:

Forsooth, it was kept waste and not inhabited. Nor yet since it was first won in all the time after the queen paid the wages and the country the charges of all their provisions sent to the forts to them.

²¹P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no. 41.

²²Salisbury Manuscripts, Hatfield, Vol.207, no. 18. 1567 is noted on the jacket of the document, but see note 23.

During all which time they neither killed the rebellers nor banished the outlaws nor yet procured their banishment until the queen gave them those countries in fee-farm, and then they planted the same soon after for their own commodities with tillage and manurance.

They removed all those who were impediments to their possession, and those they could not deal with were removed with the help of the earl of Kildare. Then the captains held the two counties in peace and quiet, 'and as profitable possession as any part of the English pale'. Therefore 'what service they did against the enemies was for their own turn and since their own time of fee-farm, and not before while it was the queen's'.

In a second version of the same paper which White addressed to Elizabeth,²³ he developed his argument further, saying that Leix and Offaly

yeildeth to your crown a yearly rent, although not so much as it standeth your majesty in wages to the farmers thereof that do dwell upon the same for the only keeping and defending of the same. Unto whom was paid wages before [of] £30,000 for keeping thereof waste, and [who] could not find the means to make twenty acres worth a penny a year rent to the queen's majesty. But since they have had property and fee-farm thereof they have learned the way to make every acre worth 20d. a year rent to themselves, and that well paid by the poor churls and native inhabitants of those countries, whom they could not frame to any better use but as enemies to the queen's majesty whiles her highness was at the charge of keeping. But since they have obtained and had the fee-farm thereof to themselves they have found the mean to make of those that erst were called rebels to the queen to become to themselves profitable tenants.

Allowing for the rhetoric in White's remarks there are certain things in them which cannot be found elsewhere. It is plain that the arguement over tenure, begun when Cecil was a principal secretary under Sussex, and that those who were to hold the two counties would settle for nothing less than fee-tail, the tenure which White calls fee-farm. Their preference was for fee-simple, undoubtedly, for under it they could have alienated or sold their interests at will. The tenure they received meant that they had a permanent interest in their holdings and despite the queen's wish that they not let them 'for any manner of profit, gain, or improvement' it was precisely that incentive that set

²³The disorders of the Irishry in the Irish pale...the state of the English pale, the cost of waste and decay thereof... The internal evidence points to a date of 1571 or 1572 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/1, nos. 72, 73).

the planters to work. Even the smallest holding would have required some assistance to make it viable, and while we have examined the placing of horsemen, galloglas and kerne, such holdings as they may have been leased would not have provided the necessary labouring force to cultivate the areas involved. No rental survives of any planter for the early period of the plantation nor was there any specific examination by a commission of what arrangements the planters had made for working their lands. Consequently it is difficult to tell what numbers were employed or how they were disposed by the planters but White tells us that they used 'the poor churls and native inhabitants of those countries'. Probably in many cases the individual tenant never left the townland in which his land was from the time of the O'Mores or O'Conors until the grants were made in 1563 and 1564.

Certainly such evidence as the fiants provide points to the retention of the native Irish. In 1566 Oliver Fitzgerald of Morett and Shanganagh in Leix and his wife Giles O'More received a pardon, to which a list of some thirty names was attached. Sidney noted that Fitzgerald was willing to answer for the people listed, who must have been his men and tenants. A Leigh, a Walsh, and an O'Kelly were named as being from Shanganagh, and also included in the list were O'Dorans, MacManus, O'Lawlor, Bourke, MacTirrelagh, O'Lyne, and other Irish names.²⁴ The same day Lysagh MacKedagh and Cahir MacKedagh O'More submitted thirty names and Sidney made the same note in regard to them.²⁵ These servants were all, or nearly so, from the seven septs of Leix, but no placename was given as the two O'Mores did not have a grant in the plantation. On the other hand Owen macLysagh O'More of Ballyroan was granted a pardon a few weeks later along

²⁴31 May 1566 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 871).

²⁵Ibid., no. 875.

with three other Irish horsemen and six kerne, all from Ballyroan.²⁶ A year later²⁷ Peter O'More, a kerne of Ballyroan, was granted a pardon together with Moriertagh mac Owen O'More of Rakeenduff, gentleman, and two kernes and three husbandmen of his own, one of the husbandmen being an O'Doran. Two other O'Dorans also received pardons, who came from the neighbouring townland of Kilrory. John O'Doran, senior, was one of two husbandmen pardoned there, and John, junior, was a kerne. Conor O'Doran, husbandman, of Tymahoe nearby, and David MacLow, a kerne from the same place were also pardoned. The interesting point is that Kilrory was the property of Francis Cosby and Tymahoe was still leased to Captain Edward Randolph. Soon Rory macLysagh O'More, gentleman, and Cahir O'Doran, kerne, both of Tymahoe also received pardons. With them were Donald MacGilpatrick of Ardlea, and Geoffrey mcMoriertagh MacEvoy, a kerne of Mountrath.²⁸

In Offaly the most detailed information concerns the estate of Teig MacCahir and Callough MacTeig O'Conor in the southeast corner of that county. Three sets of pardons²⁹ for them and their men show three kerne and eighteen husbandmen from their townlands. James MacGawle, kerne, appeared first from Clonsast and then from Derrymollen, and Thady O'Mony, kerne, from Kilclancorkry. In Ballinowlart Conor O'Morghayn was a husbandman as were an O'Kelly and an O'Beaghan. In Clonsast two O'Dowrans, an O'Conolayne, and an O'Donnell were husbandmen. In Bracknagh three O'Donnells, two Moylls, an O'Conolayne, and a Dempsey were husbandmen. In three other townlands an Irish husbandman was named. Dermot mcHugh O'Dempsey appeared first as a husbandman from Clonsast, but later as a kerne from Kilclonbrenan, which belonged to Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey. Two of his townlands

²⁶ 14 Aug. 1566 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no.930).

²⁷ 11 July 1567 (ibid., no. 1102).

²⁸ 13 Aug. 1567 (ibid., no. 1113).

²⁹ c.1565-66, 16 June 1569 (ibid., nos. 947, 1387, 1388).

produced three O'Beaghans as husbandmen in a fiant of 1569.³⁰ That year a pardon was given to a John O'Mony, husbandman of Cloncreen, which belonged to John Apprice,³¹ and also to Garret oge mcGarret duff O'Conor, gentleman, and Murrough O'Money, husbandman, both of Coolcor, which belonged to John Wakely.³²

The galloglas were planted entirely in Leix, where in 1573 five sons of Callaugh mcTurlough MacDonnell of Tinnakill and some sixty-five other named men were pardoned.³³ A similar pardon of the same number from Tinnakill in 1600 underscores the suspicion that a battle of galloglas was involved in each case.³⁴ However if those named were the tenants of that holding under Callaugh mcTurlough, as well as being galloglas, the results are of interest. After Callaugh's five sons were five MacConnells, four MacCourays, three MacTurloughs, two MacGeralds, two MacCormics, and one MacHugh, all of whom could have been Scots. Of the nearly fifty names remaining almost all were Irish, and some of them local. Thus an O'More, two MacEvoys, an O'Morgho, an O'Kenan, a MacKeoris, and two O'Dalys, appeared with five o"Dullans, who were probably O'Dowlings, and four O'Kellys. There were seven O'Fullans, which had become O'Folan and O'Falan by 1600, three O'Farralls, three O'Brennans, two MacGennans, two O'Bryans, two O'Trassys, two O'Bergins, an O'Madden, an O'Briggin, an O'Hoye, and a Maguire. A John Sutton and two pipers completed the list.

Assuming these seventy men to have been the tenants of Tinnakill, which at that date was supposed to produce sixteen galloglas, the density of population must have been quite high, for by the grants and rental charged they were occupying a space reckoned at 1310 acres. Therefore each man had something less than twenty acres for himself and his family. The

³⁰6 June (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1364).

³¹16 June (*ibid.*, no. 1388).

³²6 June 1569 (*ibid.*, no. 1372).

³³20 Apr. 1573 (*ibid.*, no. 2225).

³⁴15 Dec. 1600 (*ibid.*, no. 6453).

question of the size of acre involved and the methods of reckoning it must be investigated.

In 1615 George Hartpole made a grant of '6 acres great country measure, ancient measure of arable land in Marrygagh of Queen's county'.³⁵ Other grants of the early seventeenth century speak of 'great country measure' and 'country measure' and 'great measure'.³⁶ While these grants do not define the unit described, beyond suggesting it was large, it is fairly clear that the measure goes back to the first surveys of Leix and Offaly, those taken under Cowley and Michael Fitzwilliam, his successor, or to an even earlier period. The problem is to determine the size of acre in which those two surveyors were thinking.

Like most such questions about the plantation there is no direct simple answer, but there are resources to supply one. The Munster plantation in the 1580's and 1590's provoked an attempt to standardise the measurement of land in Ireland, where a variety of measures, all of them larger than the statute acre, were in use. One of these measures, which has since come to be known as the Irish or plantation acre, was in use at the beginning of the sixteenth century,³⁷ but it was only one among many. In 1585 Carew noted five in common use in Munster, those with rods, polls or perches of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 21 feet, 24 feet, 27 feet, and 29 feet.³⁸ The length of the perch is the determining

³⁵Deeds in Chancery Inquisitions, Queens Co., 4 Jan. 1615. (P.R.O.I., 1A 49. 3, p.143).

³⁶Ibid., pp. 62, 65, 74-5, 83, 358. Grant 20 Sept. 1539 in Lodge, Records of the Rolls, Vol. VI, p.245 (P.R.O.I.).

³⁷Description of Ireland, c.1514 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Hen. VIII, 60/1, no. 5.).

³⁸Cal. Carew MSS, 1603 - 24, no. 221.

factor in the size of the acre, and in any given county in England or Ireland no more than five measures seem to have competed with each other, though the number of possible variations is quite large. Maitland cited several progressions, one of which included a perch of $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and suggested that the statute perch was a compromise between 15 and 18 feet perches.³⁹ A 16foot perch was in common use as well. The following table shows Carew's figures and some other relevant and possible variations:

| Perches | | Mile | Acre | Ratio |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|---------|
| In Feet | In Yards | In Yards | In Square Yards | of area |
| $16\frac{1}{2}$ | $5\frac{1}{2}$ | 1760 | 4840 | 1 |
| 18 | 6 | 1920 | 5760 | 1.19 |
| $19\frac{1}{2}$ | $6\frac{1}{2}$ | 2080 | 6760 | 1.40 |
| 21 | 7 | 2240 | 7840 | 1.62 |
| $22\frac{1}{2}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$ | 2400 | 9000 | 1.86 |
| 24 | 8 | 2560 | 10,240 | 2.12 |
| $26\frac{1}{2}$ | $8\frac{5}{6}$ | 2826 | 12,484.4 | 2.58 |
| 27 | 9 | 2880 | 12,960 | 2.68 |
| 29 | $9\frac{2}{3}$ | 3093.3 | 14,951.1 | 3.09 |
| $30\frac{1}{2}$ | $10\frac{1}{6}$ | 3253 | 16,564.5 | 3.42 |
| 31 | $10\frac{1}{3}$ | 3306.7 | 17,484.3 | 3.614 |
| 33 | 11 | 3520 | 19,360 | 4.00 |

It can be seen that by doubling the length of the perch the area is increased four times, a matter of no small moment in determining rents, services, and profits. It is clear from even a cursory examination of the Munster plantation instructions, leases, and grants, that a determined effort was made to introduce the statute acre as the standard unit of measure in Ireland, an effort that lasted at least into the first decade of the seventeenth century. Thus Sir Warham St. Leger was to appoint at his own expense 'a skilful man to measure the number of English acres, at the rate of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the perch', that his

³⁹F. W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, (ed. 1960), pp. 434-38. Line 4, p.436, should read ...'rods of 12 feet and 24 feet...'.

lands contained; 'in order that they may be passed to him by plot set down...'.⁴⁰ That there was novelty in the unit specified is evidenced by an act which began by defining a parish to be 12,000 acres, based on a 16 foot perch, which would produce a square measuring

every way thirty four furlongs and twenty-five poll, and some odd fouts, which of the measured miles doth contain every way four miles, one quarter, and twenty-five poll, but of usual⁴¹ miles in England little varying from three miles every way.

The meaning of that passage is rather startling for the 4.25 miles mentioned is the statute mile, which at 640 acres to the square mile produces the 12,000 acres required. What then were 'usual miles in England', if not that which has come to be known as the English mile? The mile in question was the one based on the 24 foot perch and produced an acre more than twice the size of the statute acre. This was the league of twelve furlongs which was a common unit of measurement in Domesday Survey and was known as the Cheshire mile. There was also a league of ten furlongs, approximately the length of the so-called Irish mile. Thus the English were used to longer miles and larger acres than that mile which was defined by the English parliament of 1592 as containing 'eight furlongs and every furlong to contain forty...poles and every...pole to contain sixteen foot and a half'.⁴² To them as to the Irish the statute acre seemed small.

The standard set by that act was applied to Ireland. Sir Edward Filton received an extensive grant in cos Limerick and Tipperary on 3 September 1587, 'amounting in all to 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands, and rated to 11,515 acres of English measure at the rate of 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the perch'.⁴³ In the case of his lands it is clear that the original unit of measure was based on a perch of 31 feet or 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ yards. A grant to Captain Robert

⁴⁰Commission to the council of Munster, 21 June 1591 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 5561).

⁴¹Act for planting of habitations in Munster... c.1585 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/121, no. 41).

⁴²A. E. Berriman, Historical Metrology, pp. 170-71.

⁴³Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 5032.

Collum in co. Limerick on 18 August 1595 produced another Irish acre. Among the lands granted were some 'containing 33 burgage acres, making 18 Irish acres', then '30 acres of small measure...making in all of Irish measure 20 acres...',⁴⁴ and finally '51 acres of small measure making 17 of Irish measure...'

We have here two equations:

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1 burgage acre | = | .545 Irish acre |
| 1.83 burgage acres | = | 1 Irish acre |
| 1 acre of small measure | = | .333 Irish acre |
| 3 small acres | = | 1 Irish acre |

Both the burgage acre and the small acre are smaller than the Irish measure, which seems to have a constant value. The acre which best satisfies the conditions of the equations is the acre with a perch of 29 feet or $9\frac{2}{3}$ yards, with the burgage acre being the acre of a 21 foot perch and the 'small acre' being the statute acre. A few days later in co. Tipperary George Sherlock received an extensive grant⁴⁵ which included 'Croshard, containing one acre of great measure of the country making four acres of the standard measure of Ireland'. It is not possible to tell from his fiant whether that standard measure is the statute acre.

However two leases to John Lee of parts of the estate of David Sutton, attainted, in co. Kildare do tell something of the relationship of great measure to standard measure. Sutton's lands were to be resurveyed before they were re-leased, and the task was done by Francis Capstock, deputy surveyor to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. In his first lease Lee received lands containing '60 acres great measure according to the custom of the country, making 180 acres standard measure...' The second lease included land in the barony of Offaly, near to the planted counties, which measured '10 acres great measure of the country making 40 acres standard measure'.⁴⁶ In the latter case it is plain that an acre with a 33 foot or 11 yard

⁴⁴Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 5947.

⁴⁵31 Aug. 1595 (ibid., no. 5950).

⁴⁶1 June 1592, 29 Mar. 1593 (ibid., nos. 5745, 5803).

perch was being reduced to a statute acre, and so the one to three increase of the former case is once again the 29 foot or $9\frac{2}{3}$ yard perch which was found in Munster. A few years earlier Eustace Harte also received some of Sutton's lands in Kildare which included Sillothill, one of the detached bits of Offaly, 'and the lands of Tippenan, containing 40 acres of great measure being 120 of the standard measure',⁴⁷ again the ratio of one to three.

That ratio brings us to what is perhaps the most informative holding of all, three townlands in the co. Kildare portion of Clanmalier which until 28 September 1567 were appropriated to the monastery of Evin. At that date they were surrendered and a licence to alienate them was issued on 31 January 1569. On 11 or 12 March 1577 they were granted to James, third son of Redmund Fitzgerald, under the conditions of the plantation of Offaly of which they were a part, at a rent of £8 Irish.⁴⁸ On 26 February 1613 a commission was issued to take an inquisition of these lands, which was done at Philipstown on 20 March.⁴⁹ It was found that in 1577 the queen was seized in fee of

certain messuages, 70 acres arable of the country measure, containing 210 acres English standard measure, a watermill and 80 acres wood, pasture, and bog country measure making 240 acres standard measure in Harristown.

Divers messuages, 59 acres arable making 150 acres standard measure and 80 acres wood, etc., making 277 acres standard measure in Ballirickard.

Divers messuages, 48 acres arable making 144 acres standard measure and 300 acres pasture making 900 acres in Moilerstown alias Ballymoyler.

The revised figures of 450 acres and 427 acres were entered o in the margin for Harristown and Rickardstown, but not the 1044 acres for Myerstown in the transcript which Lodge made in the eighteenth century. He may have been sceptical of the correctness of the original document, for some of the figures

⁴⁷ 28 Aug. 1588 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 5258).

⁴⁸ Ibid., nos 1131, 1252, and 2988.

⁴⁹ An imperfect copy of the inquisition in Latin is in Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., James I, no. 9, King's Co., and a fuller version in English in Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas. I, p.269, but the most accurate version seems to be that of Lodge, Records of the rolls, vol4, p.458, P.R.O.I. quoted above. The commission for the inquisition (ibid., vol3, pp 272-3) and the grant of 1577 (ibid. vol1, p.440)

seem odd, and yet there is a possible and plausible explanation for each.

To begin with there are certain other townlands involved as well, particularly in the case of Mylerstown. They appear in a grant of the three townlands which was made to Sir John King and Sir Adam Loftus on 19 December 1614. Cloneybeg, which is mostly bog, was a part of Harristown. Two hamlets were mentioned in connection with Rickardstown and three with Mylerstown, which also had half of Ardellis.⁵⁰ That would account for the large amount of pasture mentioned for Mylerstown, which as a modern townland contains only some 244 acres. Further the original acreage found for the three townlands, 150 acres for Harristown, 139 acres for Rickardstown, and 34 acres for Mylerstown makes a total of 637 acres. Now if 3d. an acre was charged as the crown rental in 1577, which seems likely as the holding was reckoned as a part of the plantation, the rent would be almost exactly the £8 Irish which it was charged with, since 640 acres would render £8. Thus the acreage found in 1613 was the acreage of the grant of 1577. Yet in 1577 the acreage entered into the grant was 100 acres for each of the three units, making a total of 300 acres.⁵¹ The same acreage was entered in the grant of 1614, despite the finding of the inquisition of the year before. That acreage represented the fiscal acreage of the holding for purposes of reckoning dues and services from the holding. As we have seen the actual acreage of the holding was another matter.

In the inquisition the acreage of Harristown and Mylerstown was revised to statute acreage by applying the ratio of one to three, which implied the acre with a perch of 29 feet or $9\frac{2}{3}$ yards. In the case of Harristown the results were very accurate. The 450 acres found by that method match the 464 acres which the Ordnance Survey records for Harristown, Upper

⁵⁰Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, P.297.

⁵¹Lodge, Records of the Rolls, vol. 1, p.440 (P.R.O.I.).

and Lower. Mylerstown concealed whole townlands under its heading, which accounts for the very large amount of pasture reckoned under it. At first the figures for Rickardstown seem confused for two new ratios were used in recording its revised acreage, but they make sense in relation to the other ratios. The 59 acres arable which becomes 150 acres suggests a perch of $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet or $8\frac{5}{6}$ yards. The '80 acres of wood, etc.,' which becomes 277 acres does so on the basis of a perch of $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet or $10\frac{1}{6}$ yards. Woodland seems always to have been reckoned in a larger perch than the local standard, as two examples from England in 1706 show where perches of 18 feet were called woodland-measure in one place and in another a perch of 24 feet was called forest-measure.⁵² In the case of Rickardstown measurements must have been taken to determine the new acreage, and they in turn must reflect some accuracy in estimation and measurement in the 1550's and 60's.

That brings us squarely to the problem of the size of acre in which Cowley thought in his survey of Leix and Offaly, and also the one which Michael Fitzwilliam used in his revision a decade later, the results of which were used to determine the rents and services of the grants. The general complaint of the planters in the 1550's was that Cowley had overestimated the number of acres which he reckoned to be in each holding. Certainly he was using a large acre and on the basis of the argument propounded here he provides one important clue. In Offaly he speaks of a place where there were '8 acres of great measure which are 20 acres of the small measure', a ratio of 2 to 5, or one acre which was 2.5 times as large as the other.⁵³ Now Cowley's mind was unembarrassed by thoughts of the statute acre, which makes its appearance thirty years later and so the obvious solution of the acre of a $26\frac{1}{2}$ foot perch reduced to one of a $16\frac{1}{2}$ foot perch does not seem the correct solution. Rather

⁵²O.E.D. 'Pole'.

⁵³Edmund Curtis (ed.), 'Survey of Offaly', loc. cit., p.625.

he seems to have been thinking of two acres, one larger and the other smaller than the acre that was usual. The following table points to the solution:

| Perches | | Mile | Acre | Ratio |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|---------|
| In feet | In yards | In yards | In square yards | of Area |
| 21 | 7 | 2240 | 7840 | 1 |
| 29 | 9 $\frac{2}{3}$ | 3093.3 | 14,951.1 | 1.91 |
| 33 | 11 | 3520 | 19,360 | 2.47 |

The acre with a 33 foot perch is two and one half times the size of the acre with a 21 foot perch, but it is also four times the size of the statute acre. To Cowley it was 'great measure' and it must surely have been the acre referred to by that name and by 'great country measure' of the 1590's and after, which was converted to statute acreage at the ratio of one to four. To Cowley even the acre of a 21 foot perch seemed small, and so it would in an area where an acre 'of the country measure' was converted at a ratio of three to one, which brings us back to the acre of a 29 foot perch, standing between his great and small acre. That it was the acre which he and the jurors of the western part of co. Kildare, Leix, and Offaly normally reckoned in, seems clear.

His figure for the breadth of Offaly as being some 16 miles is almost exactly the same as the 15 miles which the scale of the Leix and Offaly map shows at the beginning of the 1560's. The same distance in statute measurement is about 23 miles, and if a 3000 yard mile is used the distance by Cowley becomes 28 miles and by the map about 26 miles. The re-survey which was carried out shortly after the map does not survive as such, but some of the figures from it do and the grants were based upon it. Cowley's survey of Offaly does survive. In it he enumerated 13,706 acres of arable and 3650 acres of pasture for a total of 17,356 acres approximately. In the draft of her instructions to Sussex of 1562 Elizabeth spoke of the re-survey of Offaly containing the number of 12,000 acres, over and besides the lands as yet not allotted', based on 'the

measuring of the said country' and its division into units with 'every of the same several natures of lands as arable and pasture, whereof we have seen particular books...'⁵⁴ When the grants were completed in the 1560's the total acreage in them for which rent was charged came to 16,826 acres, nearly the same total that Cowley had computed. Yet in virtually every instance where a direct comparison is possible the re-survey had made a reduction in the number of acres which Cowley had found. Kilduff in Offaly was reduced from 110 acres of Cowley to 90 acres. Other holdings were reduced as follows: 1016 to 620 acres, 230 to 150 acres, 370 to 200, 190 to 100 acres, 210 to 180 acres, and in Leix a holding by Cowley's reckoning in excess of 216 acres to 151. In another instance in Leix a townland given by Cowley as 70 acres was raised to 100 acres. The acre used in the survey was certainly not a smaller acre than Cowley's or the results would have stayed constant or even increased, for it is plain that there was an attempt to correct his over-optimism regarding the contents of individual townlands. The re-survey simply corrected and amplified in details.

The totals for Cowley's survey of Leix have not survived, but in the draft of her instructions in 1562 Elizabeth spoke of the 'book of the country of Leix containing the number of 18,000 acres of all sorts, over and besides such lands as be not yet allotted'. A summary of the acreage in the completed grants comes to some 21,788 acres, and in the case of Leix another assessment was made about 1576 which produced 21,483 acres.⁵⁵ As in the case of Offaly Cowley's figure was probably not very different.

A detached portion of Offaly which Cowley missed in his survey provides an interesting insight into the relationship between the acreage of his day and the present. Callaghtown or Ballynagalliagh was granted to Sir Maurice Fitzgerald in 1563 at 56 acres of arable and pasture. In the troubled times

⁵⁴ 3 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/6, no. 3).

⁵⁵ 'The particular of the lands as well inhabited as waste in the Queen's county', c. 1576 (Carew MSS, Lambeth MS 628, f.135).

of the Down survey it was recorded as having 48 acres and 2 roods of profitable land and 128 acres of unprofitable land which would convert into 286 statute acres. In the Books of Survey and Distribution it had 140 profitable acres or 226.7 statute acres. In 1814 its bog was surveyed as 59 acres and 3 roods, and the Ordnance Survey gave its area as 303 acres, 1 rood, and 37 perches, leaving its profitable acreage as 243 statute acres and 2 roods. Each set of figures is rational with the other figures, except the figure given in the original grant as it stands. However, if the acre 'of the measure of the country' was used a factor of at least three should be applied which gives it 168 acres of arable and pasture. A factor of four is possible, but the acre of the 29 foot perch was common, and its area equalling three statute acres can be used to convert the acreage of the two planted counties and the resulting figures will still be on the side of caution. That the acre of those plantations was equal to at least three statute acres seems plain.

Elizabeth had instructed Sussex to charge 2d. an acre rent for the first seven years and 3d. thereafter. In so doing Cowley's arguments for a graduated rent were accepted in a simplified form, but his scale of rents was reduced in most cases. Cowley's rents were based on the arable acres, as for example his survey of the Lordship of Killabban found 299 arable acres and 40 acres of wood and underwood which he extended at 3d. an acre.⁵⁶ The arable would have produced £3 14s. 9d. at that rate, and Hovenden was charged £3 15s.⁵⁷ In 1571 when his two sons were granted the holding the re-survey had greatly increased the acreage to 532 acres and 444 acres respectively, for which rents of £6 13s. 6d. and £5 11s. were charged, based on 3d. an acre for both arable and pasture. Even so 714 acres of arable were found, more than twice Cowley's figure. An increase in

⁵⁶ Extent and Survey taken by Walter Cowley, 7 Mar. 1549 (Carrigan MSS, unnumbered volumes. No.9 on NLI microfilm positive 908, negative 500).

⁵⁷ 29 Nov. 1549 (Cal. fiants Ire., Ed.VI, no. 407).

tillage may have caused the larger figure, but it may also have been a correction of one of Cowley's very first survey's.

In the case of his survey of the Cistercian abbey of Leix done a few months later in September 1549⁵⁸ his figures remained the accepted ones into the seventeenth century, though the rent was heavily revised downwards. He found 822 arable acres, 128 acres of wood and underwood, and 346 acres of bog for which he suggested a rent of nothing the first year, 6^s 7 the second, 15 the third, and 21 4^s. 9^d. for the fourth year and thereafter. He stated that he used a factor of 6^d. an acre, which applied to the 822 arable acres produces 20 11^s. On 8 November 1549 the abbey was leased to William Cantwell at an unstated rent, but when he surrendered it on 3 February 1552 it was stated to have had 810 acres of arable and pasture, 121 acres of wood, and 141½ acres of underwood.⁵⁹ When it was leased to Matthew Kyng on the following day he was charged a rent of 22 4^sd. 9^d., which was still basically Cowley's rent of 6^d. an acre. Ormond's grant of 1563 gave the acreage as 820,⁶⁰ and so it was stated to be in 1576,⁶¹ and again in 1622.⁶² The interesting thing is that Ormond was charged a rent of 6 16^s. 8^d. for the first seven years and then 10 5^s. thereafter, that is at 2^d. and then 3^d. an acre. Aside from the evidence that Cowley's acre was still regarded as a standard one there is also the clear indication that the rent was based on the arable and pasture alone, that is on land that was cultivated or capable of being cultivated. It was that acreage which interested Elizabeth in 1562, and the acreages which Lodge copied from the grants, though variously given as a acres or b acres arable and pasture or c acres arable and d acres of pasture, wood and underwood, with an occasional bit of bog enumerated, were all aimed to produce the same result.

⁵⁸Carrigan MSS, loc. cit.

⁵⁹Lodge, Records of the Rolls, vol.i, p.110 (P.R.O.I.).

⁶⁰Ibid., vol. ii, p.105.

⁶¹Carew MSS. Lambeth MS 628, folio 136 dorso.

⁶²Report of 1622 (B.M., Add MS 4756).

Bog, barren mountain, and the great woods were never included in the calculation for the rent. Bog and mountain were regarded as unprofitable land and rights to them were held in common. The great woods, as the terms of the grants had stipulated, were reserved to the crown save for the common rights conceded in them, and the wood and underwood mentioned within the rented acreage must have been susceptible of use as pasture, lying on the fringes of or separate from the forests. Thus the acreages given in the grants tell only a part of the whole story of the acreage of the two counties.

Within the limits of the grants the rents were fixed in every case in 1563 and 1564 according to a strict calculation of 2d. and then 3d. from the stated acreage, and rent and acreage, can be deduced from each other whenever one or the other is not forthcoming. In fixing the acreage it is possible that a given planter received a beneficial acreage, for in most cases in the two counties the acreage fixed in the grants for the rents was also the fiscal acreage cited even into the next century. In other cases downward adjustments were made as early as Sidney's first deputyship. Yet the acreage on the whole was evidently meant to represent real acreage, as the assigning of the numbers of horsemen and galloglas suggests. The number of acres which was supposed to provide a horseman was always left blank in documents concerning the plantation, but in 1576 the planters of Leix asserted that 'we are bound to keep a horseman upon every six score acres', that is one for every ploughland. An examination of the way the horsemen were placed suggests that the rule was strictly enforced as to the number required from the smaller holders. In Offaly William Furrer with 100 acres owed a horseman and so did Anthony March with 90 acres. Sir Maurice Fitzgerald with 56 acres was stated not to owe any horsemen. In Leix Thomas St Leger owed a horseman for 88 acres as did Robert Hartpole for Ballinrahin with 65 acres and Thomas Keating for Ashfield with 67 acres. Walter Keating with Coolhenry at 48 acres did not owe a horseman and it is plain that half a ploughland was the dividing line. Above it one owed

a horseman. Such accuracy does not suggest that the acreage was deliberately reduced.

For those who owed two, three, or four horsemen the calculation seems to have been made with fair accuracy. Thus Thady and Callough O'Connor owed three horsemen for 458 acres and Henry Cowley owed four horsemen for the 587 acres of Edenderry, where the bare minimum would have been 480 acres. In Leix John Dunkerley owed three horsemen for 454 acres as did Brereton for 411 acres and Donal MacGilpatrick for 431 acres. The two Hovendens each owed four horsemen for 534 acres and 444 acres respectively, as did Robert Newton for 485 acres. Only in the case of the second Hovenden were more horsemen charged than there were ploughlands.

When four horsemen were required an adjustment was made in favour of the planter concerned in most cases. Redmond Oge Fitzgerald owed five horsemen for Clonbulloge as if it were 600 acres when in fact it was 727 acres by the rental, a ploughland more than the horsemen required. Robert Cowley owed only five horsemen for 758 acres. Ormond owed six horsemen which implied a holding of 720 acres when in fact Abbeyleix contained 820 acres. Bowen owed six horsemen for Ballyadams which in fact was 902 acres by the rental. In each of these cases another horseman might have been required, and there are two cases where two more horsemen might have been required. Cosby held Stradbally at a rental based on 1385 acres but he was to keep only nine horsemen, which implied an area of 1080 acres. Delves was to keep ten horsemen, the number required for 1200 acres, whereas Shaen was rented on the basis of 1520 acres.

That the armed men could be reckoned with exactness is evident in Owen McHugh O'Dempsey's grant of Clanmalier. He was required to provide nineteen horsemen in Offaly, which posited 2280 acres, and six footmen in Leix. The footmen also seem to have been reckoned as one per ploughland, for if 720 acres is added to 2280 acres the total is 3300 acres and Clanmalier was rented to O'Dempsey as 3302 acres. The galloglas

in Leix seem to have been required with similar exactness for in each grant which required them the ratio was always one galloglas to eighty acres.

The placing of galloglas brings us back to those seventy men found in Tinnakill. The holding was to provide sixteen galloglas but it seems clear from the two sets of pardons regarding it that a whole battle of galloglas were maintained there. The rent for the holding was £16 7s. 6d. Irish for 1310 profitable acres. At a factor of three to one the statute acreage would have been 3930. Thus an even division would have given each man fifty-six acres and even if each man had fifty acres or less of profitable land, allowing the MacDonnell captain 400 or 500 acres of his own, the results would not be unreal. Further, of the townlands of the grant which can be identified the Ordnance Survey gives an acreage of 6524, so that the 3930 profitable acres account for only about one half of the grant. There was extensive bog in the area and the 1560's map shows it as being heavily wooded so that the remaining half would be largely forest. It was the kind of country that galloglas could cope with, and there were other galloglas settlements on the mountainous land of Slievemargy, as well as some kerne, for the same reason apparently.

That barony is a good example of the way the rentals were determined for both crown and holder. In 1549⁶³ Cowley surveyed it at 1420 arable acres, 638 acres of pasture, and 770 acres of wood and underwood, and he recommended a graduated rent which after five years would amount to £32 6s. 8d., roughly 4d. an acre for the arable and pasture. Brian Jonys was given a lease of it at a final rent of £33 6s. 8d., which was the rent that Peppard paid when he took over the lease, and continued to pay until 1557. In his dispute with Sussex he argued that in that year he realised £208 income from the holding, having built it up from nothing.⁶⁴ Therefore he was getting some 6.25 times the

⁶³14 Feb. (Carrigan MSS, Loc. cit.).

⁶⁴See p. supra.

rent he paid the crown, or better than a five fold increase. Rowland White later argued that that grantees of c. 1571 were realizing 20d. out of every acre, each acre rendering 3d. a year rent to the crown by that time, which was a ratio of 6.67, or again better than a five fold increase. The only two definite pieces of information we have about the rentals are in substantial agreement with each other.

In the grants of 1563 and 1564 Slievemargy was divided among some fifteen holders, who were to pay an initial rent of £24 17s. 8d. at 2d. an acre, and a final rent of £37 6s. 6d. The increase in value to the crown must have been offset by the difficulty and uncertainty of collection from so many holders. Their rent was based on an arable and pasture acreage of 2976, in contrast to the 2058 acres that Cowley had found. A factor of three raises that acreage to some 8929 profitable acres. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was asserted that the barony contained some 20,541 statute acres of arable and pasture and some 11,340 acres of bog and mountain,⁶⁵ which was rather less than the total acreage of 35,491 which the Ordnance Survey found in 1841. A comparison of the figures given with the map of the 1560's and a map with modern contours makes it clear that a large part of the barony was regarded as forest and mountain. Thus the progression from nearly 9000 acres to more than 20,000 acres of arable and pasture probably represents clearance of land.

Indeed, the county as a whole had large stretches of wood with some mountains and bog to off set the land in cultivation. In 1805 the mountain and bog within the area that had been planted was given as 44,435 statute acres. In an incomplete survey of Leix the bog commissioners enumerated 11,626 statute acres of bog in 1814,⁶⁶ but there was bog which was not surveyed. In 1841 the Ordnance Survey found a total of 215,985 statute acres in the area of Leix which had been

⁶⁵Daniel Cahill, Map of the Queen's county, from an actual survey made for the grand jury in 1805.

⁶⁶Third Report of the Commission on the bogs in Ireland, 1814

planted.⁶⁷ In 1805 the arable and pasture was given as 147,706 acres, which combined with the bog and mountain made 192,141 statute acres. It can be seen that the 1805 figures are slightly underestimated and if raised in proportion would make the area of bog and mountain about 50,000 acres and the arable and pasture about 166,000 acres.

The acreage of profitable land, arable and pasture, from the grants of the period 1563 to 1571 is a total of 21,788. A three fold increase gives a statute acreage of 65,364, which combined with 50,000 acres of bog and mountain gives a total of 115,364 statute acres. That figure is 100,000 acres below the total statute acreage and is a fair estimate of the amount of forest which still covered Leix in the 1560's. By 1800 that 100,000 acres had been largely cleared to make the 166,000 acres of pasture and arable found then. Such a reconstruction is a conjectural one but it is not unreasonable.

In the case of Offaly the picture is even more clear. Aside from the small area of Croghan Hill there is no mountain there, though the bogs are very extensive and were completely surveyed by the bog commissioners. They found some 79,600 acres of bog in Offaly, including that portion of King's Co. which lay in the present co. Kildare.⁶⁸ In 1841 the Ordnance Survey found 197,572 statute acres in the area that was planted in Offaly,⁶⁹ leaving some 118,000 potential acres of pasture and arable. In the grants from 1563 to 1571 there was enumerated 16,826 profitable acres, arable and pasture, which with a factor of three would give 50,478 statute acres. That would leave about 67,000 statute acres of forest in the Offaly of the 1560's, which again is a not unreasonable figure.

For the two counties as defined in 1557 the composite picture is as follows. The total statute acreage is 413,557 of which some 130,000 was mountain and bog. The acreage of arable

⁶⁷ Commissioners report on the census of 1841, pp.108, 110. In the barony of Portnahinch the parishes of Ardea and Coolbanagher are reckoned as part of Leix. The parish of Lea appears in the Offaly figures.

⁶⁸ First, Second, and Third Reports of the Commissioners on the bogs in Ireland, 1810, 1811, and 1814.

⁶⁹ Commissioners report on the census of 1841, pp.40, 66, 68, 108.

and pasture as revised would be 115,842, and so the forest would have been some 167,000 acres. Even allowing for a beneficial acreage of 25% in favour of every planter, that is, concealed arable and pasture, a figure which is almost certainly very excessive, the results would not be strikingly different. Then there would be 145,000 profitable acres, 130,000 unprofitable acres, and 138,000 acres of wood.

In any event the rents charged by the crown on the grants were not onerous. Cowley's rates had been revised to produce an initial rent of about $\frac{2}{3}$ d. a statute acre and a full rent of 1d. a statute acre. For the grants of 1563 and 1564 a conjectural rental can be reconstructed though not the actual one, for most of the grants were not enrolled as patents and many of these early grants have been lost or destroyed. A more complete picture emerges in 1571 and will be examined later. If the total profitable acreage of the first grants is taken something like the following emerges, with Offaly having 17,000 acres and Leix 21,500:

At 2d. an acre for the first seven years

| | |
|--------|-----------------------|
| Offaly | £ 141 13s. 4d. |
| Leix | £ 179 3s. 4d. |
| | <u>£ 320 16s. 8d.</u> |

At 3d. an acre thereafter

| | |
|--------|------------------|
| Offaly | £ 212 10s. |
| Leix | £ 268 15s. |
| | <u>£ 481 5s.</u> |

Such figures were well below the £1000 to £1200 promised with the first leases in 1551-52, even allowing that all these figures were in Irish currency. If as has been suggested the planters were able to rent their lands for more than six times the rent they paid the crown they were realizing nearly £2900 of which £2400 would be above the rent due the crown, but in practice even at the 3d. value the crown was not getting that rent and correspondingly it is doubtful if most of the planters were realizing a five fold increase. Certain holdings in both counties, mostly Fitzgerald property, were held without the payment of rent to the crown, and will be dealt with in more

detail later.

In addition there is no information in 1563 and 1564 about the towns growing up around the two forts, though they must have been there, nor is there any mention of the great villages mooted in the 1550's. The picture that emerges is of a very rural scene, organised for defence against its enemies.

CHAPTER XIII

The Recall of Sussex and a Commission in Bankruptcy

1563 -- 1564

Sussex's winter campaign to the north in 1563 was long in getting under way. The town of Dundalk complained that they simply could not victual every escort that went with the supplies to Armagh.¹ They also declined to be hosts to troops at cess prices, despite Shane's renewed activity. Cess was the lord lieutenant's primary worry. He could not get supplies for the two forts, for the relief of Armagh, or to provision the force to be sent. One of his difficulties was that he could not tell why he wanted the supplies, and when Sir John Plunkett returned from England with Elizabeth's resolve to carry out the expedition, Sussex planned a meeting with the nobility on 4 March in Dublin in an effort to move things. He remarked to Cecil that one would suppose that the object of the country was 'to keep up an O'Neill and to set up a new O'Brien.'²

After the meeting of 4 March Sussex and the council prepared an order of battle which called for the army to advance on 20 and 21 March. Cess was to be paid in two monthly installments and the supplies for Armagh were to be sent to Carlingford by ship, taken to Newry by boat, and from there to Armagh by horse. Counties Dublin, Meath, and Louth were to supply 500 labourers with food for ten days who were to be used 'to cut the great pass in the Fews' when Sussex gave the order.³ The day of march soon had to be put off until 3 April, because of the scarcity of supplies.⁴

The ~~dates~~ of the extant state papers show that from 29 January to 1 March Sussex was staying at Holmpatrick in expectation of moving northward. It was probably there that both the granting of Leix and Offaly was arranged and Sussex's detailed 'opinion'

¹Corporation of Dundalk to Sussex, 10 Jan. 1563 (B.M., Cott. MS Vespasian F. IX, no. 27).

²Sussex to privy council, 5 Feb., 19 Feb., 1 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, nos. 8, 11, 12). Sussex to Cecil, 5 Feb., 1 Mar. 1563 (ibid., nos. 9, 13).

³5 Mar. (ibid., no. 14).

⁴Sussex and council to Elizabeth, 16 Mar. (ibid., no. 20).

written, which was datelined as being from Armagh (see pp.). During March he returned to Dublin to wrestle with the problem of supply, where even the council offered him opposition on the subject of cess. Sir Thomas Cusack seems to have managed to be on both sides of that question for Sussex sent him to court warmly recommended for all his help. Cusack was sent from Armagh which Sussex reached on 6 April after leaving Dundalk on the 4th. To Cecil Sussex expressed the hope that he would come out of the war with honour, after which he implored 'a service in any other place.

Sussex returned to Newry on 8 April 'to fetch the ordnance, munition, and working tools and other necessaries there, and so returned to Armagh with them the 11th day.'⁶ A memorandum shows those supplies to have included 400 pick axes and mattocks, 300 felling axes, 150 hedging bills, 300 reaping hooks, and 1000 shovels and spades.⁷ From the 12th, which was Easter Monday, until the 15th the army rested, 'looking for the galloglas and kerne that should have been with us the 12th day...'. Enough of Shane's cattle had been taken for the army's supply, and more could have been taken if they had had the kerne and galloglas. Their arrival continued to be expected from 17 to 20 April, 'and in that time we began to fortify the churchyard, a place sufficient to receive in surety the baggage of the whole army...'. On 21 April 'we went into the Trowghe which is taken for one of the strongest fastness in Tyrone, and passing through it we discovered all that country, whereby we may of our own knowledge understand what is to be done there hereafter...'. On the 22nd they returned to Armagh with the prey that they had taken, which would have been greater if they had had the kerne and galloglas, for 'we would not overtravail the English footmen in gathering of the cattle...'.

Sussex could report to the privy council on 24 April that the work of fortification at Armagh was nearly finished and that he

⁵Sussex to Cecil, 31 Mar. 11 Apr. 1563 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, nos. 25, 28).

⁶Sussex to the privy council, 24 Apr. (ibid. no. 34).

⁷'Emptions... for the furniture of Ireland the 16th of April 1563' (ibid., no. 30).

intended leaving the next day for Dandalk, to collect two more weeks of victuals, but he also complained bitterly to Elizabeth and Cecil, with concrete details, of his lack of supplies. 'I have been commanded to go into the field and have not one penny of money. I must lead forth an army and have no munition. I must continue in the field and see not how I shall be victualled...the poor supply that is, I have scratched up here...'⁸ His next remark is the first information we have of an interesting development. He asked where his supplies were; they were supposed to have left England on 5 March, 'but I yet hear nothing of them.' As in a previous campaign there was an arrangement to supply the theatre of activity direct from England, and again it has miscarried.

Such was Sussex's concern that in four days time he had moved southward to Holmpatrick. His object there was to 'speak sharply' to the inhabitants of the English pale, but he could get neither kerne nor corn for the army in the field. He thought that the provisions from England had been landed in Waterford. He was convinced that if he had had the kerne he needed he could have finished Shane in twenty days. Something of his urgency can be grasped from the agreement which he enclosed with the Irish council to have his household cess ground and sent to Armagh.⁹

Soon Sussex was in the north again where the war was conducted in a surround of bog and wood. He intended moving to Clogher, but his great concern was still the shortage of supplies for Armagh and he was in Dundalk trying to remedy the situation. On 15 May he was to return to Armagh in order to rendezvous with 'MacGuire and the rest,' beyond Dungannon on 19 May. Shane had not been idle, making a show before Armagh while Sussex was in the pale, though it was not Shane but the supply difficulty that brought matters to a halt.¹⁰ Sussex could not meet MacGuire for his council informed him that

⁸Sussex to Cecil, 24 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 33). Sussex to Elizabeth, 24 Apr. (ibid., no. 35).

⁹Sussex to Cecil, 28 Apr. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 38).

¹⁰Sussex and council to the privy council, 11 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 45).

they could not raise the kerne he desired. If Sussex had had those 400 kerne 'they might have gathered the cattle and put them in the custody of the horsemen in the plains, while the footmen had fought with the evenmy.' Shane, however, had put his cattle across the Bann among the Scots, 'he having light footmen to drive away the cattle from the English footmen,' thus possessing both the choice an advantage. Sussex intended to find an even larger force of kerne himself, and he had ordered a general hosting to assemble in Dundalk on 14 June to fill the gap.¹¹

In private Sussex gave a general review of the situation to Cecil.¹² He foresaw three dangers to success: the pale English, the Scots, and the supposedly loyal Irish. To these was now added a fourth in rumours of a war between France and England. Certainly the earl had found difficulties in getting his supplies from a society which had lost faith in him and felt unjustly imposed on for support. Even the common pale dweller was involved for on Easter day, 11 April, there had been an incident at Armagh in which 'certain churles, as they call them here that lead the garrons,' were killed while attempting to steal away with the horses. Sussex complained that he had had the same trouble with all the pressed labourers for Armagh.¹³

The Scots were perhaps Sussex's greatest worry. In his 'opinion' he had argued that Elizabeth should grant them their requests, and separate them from the Irish, thus rendering them more easy to expel if necessary. In Armagh he had dealt with correspondence to James MacDonnell on 14 April, his declared object being to keep James and Shane apart. Sussex continued to negotiate with the Scots and was able to send the English government an exact set of articles desired by James 'and no otherwise will he agree to.' James was assured that Elizabeth would send him the letters patent for the articles 'as they do well agree with such articles as heretofore have been considered.' James wanted a twenty-one year lease of all lands

¹¹Sussex and council to the privy council, 20 May (ibid., no. 47).

¹²20 May (ibid., no. 46).

¹³Sussex to Cecil, 26 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 49).

'between Inver and Bush (rivers),' which he claimed as his old inheritance, and also the captainship of the Route, between the Bush and Mann rivers, for which he would pay sixty beeves a year and attend hostings with twenty-four norsemen and sixty footmen. His other conditions were similar to the earlier ones, regularising the Scots' position as acceptable subjects.¹⁴

It was against such a background that Sussex had to explain the murder of Alaister and Gillispie MacDonnell and ask for the punishment of Andrew Brereton. He was justified in doing so, for at the Scottish court, where James MacDonnell had gone, James told the English ambassador Randolph that while he was willing to help against Shane he expected the murderers of his two kinsmen to be punished. Sorley Boy in Ireland was an even more dubious proposition. He told the government that Shane was his best defence, 'and though I and others take him for a wild man, yet he can understand what he hath to do.'¹⁵

The crown also understood what it had to do, for it was noted on the back of the articles sent from James MacDonnell on 24 April that indentures fulfilling them were drawn up and sent to Ireland on 24 May.¹⁶ Elizabeth instructed Sussex and Curwen, the chancellor, to pass them under the great seal of Ireland.¹⁷ The necessity to placate the Scots in Ulster seems to have grown out of the renewed tension with France. That same situation made the Scots also suspect as enemies, a fact which emerged as the summer went on.

What happened next in the north is far from clear. The Irish council had given orders for a general hosting to assemble in Dundalk on 14 June,¹⁸ and in the meantime Sussex led an expedition from Armagh on 1 June which took him to Dungannon and beyond. He returned

¹⁴ Sussex to the privy council, 24 Apr., enclosing James MacDonnell's articles and Sussex and council to James MacDonnell, 14 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, nos. 34, 34 II, 34 III).

¹⁵ Sussex to Cecil, 20 May, enclosing extracts of a letter from Randolph received on 15 May (ibid., no. 46).

¹⁶ Ibid., no. 34 ii.

¹⁷ 25 May 1563 (ibid., no. 48).

¹⁸ 19 May 1563 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-1571, p. 128).

to Armagh on 4 June and arrived in Dundalk on 6 June. On the evening of the 7th he reached Mellifont.¹⁹ From that point until late July there is no record of his activities. In some fashion he suffered a total reverse, whether through a failure in his health, a military defeat, or the cancellation of the general hosting.²⁰ It is also possible that once more events far afield impinged on events in Ireland. The English expedition to Le Havre, launched in the autumn of 1562, was in serious difficulties by the spring of 1563. Then in June the plague broke out and the garrison there surrendered on terms on 28 July 1563.²¹

The precariousness of the English position in France may have had a dampening effect on an aggressive policy in Ireland. While there is no direct evidence to support such a view certain actions point in that direction. Elizabeth informed Fitzwilliam²² that she had lent the earl of Desmond £200, with Sir Thomas Cusack and Walter Peppard as sureties, at £300, for repayment. When the Earl returned to Ireland he was to be in the charge of the government until he had paid the money. Soon Desmond was agreeing to certain articles expounded to him by Cusack, which he would help to carry out as he desired good order. He wanted Cusack to be associated with their execution, and he hinted that the terms could have been offered to him earlier.²³ The fact that the decision to send Desmond home was made in the summer of 1563 after more than a year's detention in England suggests that the crown was endeavouring to reduce the areas of possible trouble in Ireland. It seems likely that Sussex was told that any plans for expansion in the north must be shelved for the moment, and that instead of expelling Shane peace must be made with him by negotiation.

In the event that is what happened, whether it was the advice of Sussex to the crown, which seems unlikely, or the advice of the

¹⁹Sussex's journey, 1563 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 238).

²⁰Dunlop in his D.N.B. sketch of Shane O'Neill, published in 1895, states that 'the gentry of the Pale showed no willingness to respond to the call', which was probably true enough, but the authority for that statement is not cited. In his sketch of Radcliffe (Sussex) published in 1896, he does not mention the matter.

²¹J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, p. 55.

²²12 June 1563 (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 20).

²³Desmond to the privy council, 4 Aug. (P.R.O., SP. Ire., 63/8, no. 61.).

crown to Sussex, which seems more likely. The terms on which the Earls of Ormond and Kildare were to treat with Shane were agreed to in Dublin on 26 July, two days before the garrison in Le Havre surrendered. Shane was to be asked if he would help against the Scots, and to be told that he must permit the garrison in Armagh to re-supply itself. By 30 July the Irish government was able to summarize the answers they got from Shane. Concerning the Scots he countered with the question: Why abandon his friends? He was prepared to allow a two months truce on the subject of Armagh and on the pale, but as long as there was a garrison there no good could be meant to himself.²⁴

In England the last point was already being considered, for Cecil added a condition to those to be used by Sussex in treating with O'Neill. It was that if Shane wanted the garrison out of Armagh, an expense the queen did not want, he should behave himself so that it could be removed, and Armagh restored 'to the ancient godly usage of prayer and burial.'²⁵ A long step had been taken away from the idea of Armagh as the fortified town of another attempt at plantation and military security. Cusack revised these conditions so as to remove the section on Armagh completely, but the section on Shane helping to exile the Scots from Clondeboy and the Route remained.²⁶

Elizabeth expressed her misgivings to Sussex²⁷ on the sad lack of success, which would be 'a direct occasion given to the discontented people in the other parts of our realm to put the more part... out of order.' Cusack was being sent back and the negotiations with Shane were to be finished quickly 'so as ye may better attend to the stay of such new troubles as we hear are intended to our countries of Leix and Offaly by the O'Conors and O'Mores, and so consequently to be feared towards other parts.' To the Irish council

²⁴P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/8, nos. 57, 58 .

²⁵'A memorial for Sir Thomas Cusack...' 6 Aug. (ibid., no. 64).

²⁶'Orders to be taken with Shane O'Neill...' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 67).

²⁷7 Aug. (ibid., no. 65).

two days later²⁸ she gave her opinion of the parley with Shane, whose demand 'to have our garrison removed from Armagh or else he will not keep peace, we do most dislike,' though it was his attitude rather than the demand which annoyed her. If he behaved well he might gain that point and others.

Cusack returned to Ireland and together with Kildare he concluded a peace with Shane, who was to continue to be O'Neill, 'until the queen decorate him by another honourable name,' with all that being chief of his name implied. The garrison at Armagh was to be removed by 1 November 1563²⁹. Shane sent a letter in English by Cusack to Cecil full of contrition.³⁰ Cusack was also instructed by the Irish government to explain the Ulster situation to Elizabeth. Her warning about Leix and Offaly was clarified:

Cormac O'Connor is of late come out of Scotland, and hath assembled certain light persons. He offereth to submit himself to your majesty and hath hitherto attempted no hurt, and if he should now or hereafter attempt any, we think he should without your majesty's charge or much burden to the realm be easily expelled, considering that Offaly is so well inhabited and guarded at the charge of the inhabitants, and the captains of the Irishry between that and the Shannon where he might have succour, be in good order and obedience, and all the rest of the O'Connors be in your majesty's service.

Lysagh mKedagh O'More hath also a company together, but he doth no hurt and hangeth in like terms with Cormac O'Connor.³¹

It was against that background that the following month grants were made in Offaly to Lysagh mC~~More~~ O'Connor of Raheenduff and four other townlands on which he was to maintain three English horsemen, and to Charles O'Connor of Bracklin and thirteen more townlands in return for the service of five horsemen.³² Charles's grant was large and to be effective would have absorbed the grants of two or three other Offaly planters. He seems to have been the younger brother of Cormac, the one who so took Throckmorton's fancy.³³

In England Cusack was examined thoroughly by Elizabeth who dictated a letter to Sussex, using Cecil as clerk, telling him that

²⁸9 Aug. (ibid., no. 68).

²⁹11 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 9. Copy in Cal. Carey MSS, 1515-74), no. 239).

³⁰20 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 16).

³¹Sussex and Council to Elizabeth, 22 Sept. (ibid., no. 17).

³²25 Oct. 1563 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos. 572, 573.).

³³See pp.

as things had not gone as he wished she wanted him by every means to make the peace effective in the north 'as we be not occasioned to continue our larger charge there in the wars. And therein ye shall do us acceptable service.'³⁴ To the Irish government as a whole she spoke of 'our good peole and subjects impoverished, afflicted, and thoroughly discomfited' by the troubles in Ulster. With its tranquillity she expected 'the rest of our country there may recover and enjoy their former quietness and wealth.'³⁵

In the second of two 'memorials' drawn up for Cusack on the basis of one devised by him 'but not liked' Elizabeth stipulated that she regarded three matters as essential with Shane:

First, for granting unto him the governance of Tyrone with some estate of honour. Second, to agree that he shall have the leading and service of such lords and captains as his predecessors the O'Neills have had. Thirdly, that the church of Armagh should be restored and our garrison removed.

She was willing to let Armagh go 'provided that he shall not fortify there at any time, but permit it to be used as the metropolitan church.' There were also to be safeguards. Shane was to be on a year's trial. He had been got in hand on the last occasion 'without our removing of our garrison from Armagh' on the basis of pledges. Ones as good were to be secured, 'and if he will not hereunto by any good mean agree, then you shall cause our garrison to stay...'. Sussex was to see that it was not unprovided in the event of trouble, but was also to do his best in the meantime 'to have the peace kept upon that frontier.' In determining the pledges he was to use the advice of the commission if he were in doubt, and the names that Elizabeth suggested for that commission could not have been pleasing to Sussex. They were the lords of Slane, Howth, and Louth, John Parker, and James Dowdall, the soliciter-general. They had been recommended to Elizabeth as impartial, but they included some of Sussex's severest critics.³⁶ The background for that situation will appear shortly.

Elizabeth sent Cusack back to O'Neill with a letter saying that Sir Thomas had put Shane's case so well that, with the advice she

³⁴ 15 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 32).

³⁵ Elizabeth to Sussex and council, 15 Oct. (ibid., no. 33).

³⁶ Cusack's device (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 42). Memorial and second memorial for Cusack, 20 Oct. (ibid., nos. 38, 39). Earlier drafts of both (ibid., nos. 40, 41).

had from Ireland, she had decided to accept his protests that he meant to be a good subject.³⁷ Cusack signed a peace with O'Neill on 8 November which conceded to him the first two main points that Elizabeth had listed, and adjusted other matters.³⁸ Armagh had been covered by the agreement of 11 September. Shane wrote to Elizabeth of his services to the crown past and present, and that he would confer with Sussex about action against the Scots. For the loss of his mansion house and other possessions in the wars he asked for some things, 'being not much,' in fee to himself and his heirs, which were Mellifont, St. John's of Ardee, and the customs of Drogheda. Sussex was to help him settle with Brabazon's estate for the purchase of the remainder of the lease of Mellifont, possibly the largest single holding of the crown in Ireland. His offer to buy was... 'proof of his true heart...'.³⁹

Other news from the north also ended with a practical suggestion. Robert Fleming said of Shane that before 1 November 'I saw with him the Briens', the Conors', and the Mores' messengers procuring him to have them upon his peace, or otherwise to maintain their wars,' to which he had answered that it would be better if they all served the queen. They then departed, according to Fleming, who said that there was great rejoicing for the peace. 'The people here lifteth up their hands and rejoiceth in God and prayeth so inwardly for the queen's majesty and for Sir Thomas Cusack that you would marvel...'.⁴⁰ Fleming wanted the implements of the brew-house in Armagh, where he had ten hogsheads of flour and thirty-four of malt being ground. It appeared to be Fleming's intention to establish himself in Armagh, where he would find a means 'in that country towards O'Neill' of drawing subjects to their duty.

In May 1563 Sussex confided to Cecil his unrest at Arnold's

³⁷c. 20 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 43).

³⁸Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 242.

³⁹c. Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 65).

⁴⁰Robert Fleming to Cecil, 29 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 67).

visit.⁴¹ There were soldiers in Ireland who had served twelve years there and for five years before at Boulogne. There were others who had been in Ireland since he came, when 'upon a misliking conceived against Mr St Leger (as perhaps some think there is now against me) musters were strictly taken, great checks made, captains defaced, and upon full trial of the matter all unchecked and the queen (Mary) saved never a grout.' Arnold's work on the army administration had evidently been thorough, and Sussex was right in supposing that he was now in St Leger's role as the target of a body of critics.

Arnold returned to England at a date in 1563 which cannot be determined exactly,⁴² but by the end of summer he had driven his own criticisms home to the government there. He wanted Kyng to be sent for to be 'examined of his lewd dealing and untruth,' and Parke to be 'conferred with for his knowledge, by which mean I think the whole and true estate of that country shall or may lie open to your honours.'⁴³ Matthew Kyng, Clerk of the check and so responsible for musters, had been thoroughly examined. Some of his admissions had been damaging to Sussex, who had compelled Kyng to make out warrants for eight months payments to 3 January 1561 and for another thirteen months to 2 January 1562, the latter without a muster, which Arnold noted as 'a thing not heard of before in Ireland nor elsewhere I think under any prince in Europe...'. Kyng had taken a muster at a date before Sidney took one on 15 June 1559, and there had been a partial muster on 17 August 1561, which Arnold described as being a list of names supplied by the captains, not a muster. A three months pay had been made to 3 August 1559 by Sidney and for another ten months to 24 May 1560 by Fitzwilliam. Thus 1559 was a starting point for all investigations. At no time had Kyng been able to get musters of several companies, among them those of Fitzwilliam, Radcliffe, and Wingfield. No officer was prepared to supply the name of his kerne, and in many cases the ratio of Irish at five

⁴¹ 26 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/8, no. 49).

⁴² See the sketch on him by A.F. Pollard in the first supplement to the D.N.B.

⁴³ "Notes to be considered of for musters..." endorsed by Cecil as by Arnold, 1563 (S.P. Ire., 63.9, no. 2).

to a regular company had been greatly exceeded. Cecil did some additions of his own to discover that in the 1563 results there were 266 men not serving, 125 of them sick, 107 absent, and 34 dead pays. Arnold had noted that some men had not been seen for a year before the muster. Kyng was careful to make clear that he had done what he was told.⁴⁴

Arnold's solution was an enlarged commission both to take a one day muster and also investigate crown expenditure on building and fortifications, victuals from England, cesses, and fines received under martial law.⁴⁵ To these points Bermyngham, again in England, added fines levied in areas outside English law, the profits of expired leases in the hands of the crown and not relet, and the query 'who hath taken the commodities of the counties of Offaly and Leix sithence the queen's majesty came to the throne and what her highness hath been answered therefor?'⁴⁶

During the week that followed the submission of these articles Bermyngham was busy producing amplifications of his criticisms of the Irish government and the methods for investigating it. He had captured the interest of Cecil and seems to have been examined by the privy council. At any rate he submitted several papers to it, including a general and detailed reform of the whole governmental system, capped by an English deputy similar in character to St Leger, who would be 'affable to good men, severe to evil men, making no difference between the good subject of Ireland and the subject of England.' Coyne and livery, 'the very mother and common author of extortion and robberies,' was to be excluded from the pale, but if the queen would enlarge her authority by presidencies her subsidy could be increased from £600 to £2000 at the rate of 13 s. 4 d. to the fiscal ploughland. No other exactions should be placed

⁴⁴Answers of Kyng (S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 3). Reply to those answers by Arnold, delivered 8 Sept. 1563 (ibid., no. 4) 'A brief abstracted out of, the answers, replication and rejoinder...' (ibid. no. 5).

⁴⁵'Articles...for the musters,' 16 Sept. (ibid., no. 12).

⁴⁶'Articles of...Arnold's for a commission at his second going over,' 17 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 13). The first part is in Arnold's hand, the second is in Bermyngham's hand.

on Irish countries until order and obedience was achieved, for

...there is no such mean to conquer an Irishman as to bring him to riches and civility, for then the fear for the losses of his goods and the spoiling of his followers is such a terror unto him, yea his very followers will cut his throat rather than they will suffer their own destruction.⁴⁷

It is easy to dismiss Bermyngham as a common informer, with which any government in Ireland was all too plagued, and yet his views, like those stated above, and the offers which he made to the crown suggest rather a man who was willing to risk a great deal in order to reform a government whose administration was both faulty and expensive for crown and subject alike. He petitioned for his expenses during the investigation, out of which he had been granted 3 s. 4 d. of every pound that he saved the queen. If he did not save her as much as she paid him, she could 'take my lands and yearl: living and make sale thereof and pay herself.' He claimed to have spent everything he had made in the investigations, and asked that £180 sterling which he owed the Irish exchequer for rents be suspended until they were over. He wanted the wardship of a newpew's child and the constablenesship of Athlone for life, but he proposed that none of his suits take effect until the present investigation was over. Cecil made notes for implementing his requests.⁴⁸

Bermyngham made detailed proposals to the privy council on how to make the army's pay, investigate the abuses, and recover the crown's losses.⁴⁹ In essence he argued that the individual captains be made responsible for all money they had received and paid out from the crown, and for what they owed the crown in turn. He named as those who would be found the queen's greatest debtors Radcliffe, Stanley, Heron, Cowley, and Cosby, and stated that it was necessary that they be bound with bonds of at least £4000 to £6000 each. According to the estimate of Fitzwilliam the queen owed the ordinary garrison about £30,000 in wages on 31 August. Bermyngham

⁴⁷ Bermyngham's memorial. 'Advices for the government of Ireland. 24 Sept. 1563,' addressed to the privy council (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 27).

⁴⁸ 'Bermyngham's petition'...and suits, c. Sept. 1563 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, nos. 22, 23).

⁴⁹ 'Orders how to proceed...', 23 Sept., 'notes to be remembered ...', '...offer to the ...privy council (ibid., nos. 15, 19, 20).

offered to square all accounts back to the muster of 15 June 1559 if he were sent with £ 15,000 of ready money, or £ 10,000 if 500 soldiers were discharged. In each case he would be using what Fitzwilliam asserted was in the treasury. The captains were to be made to pay their debts to the crown and then pay their troops before the queen paid them, or else they would protest there was nothing to pay her with. As for Sussex it was proposed that as soon as the musters had been made he should come to England. It was explained with care that there was nothing to his dishonour or discredit but once he and his men were paid up to date the fifty dead-pays to which he was entitled could lapse. So could his allowances, which would save the queen £ 149 2s. 8d. a year. Only the dead-pays should be permanently abolished, for Sussex stood for 'the majesty that the state doth represent,' but that state would need three years' recovery to support him at his present rate. Bermyngham also had suggestions for investigating the expenditure of money sent from England, the crown's revenue in Ireland and the debts due it there, for which the facts could be got from Valentine Browne and Thomas Jenyson, both at Berwick, from their time in Ireland down to Fitzwilliam. If everything were examined by an expert auditor it would 'bring much untruth to light.' The new commission should be given more backing and authority, for if the work was done by the calibre of men that had done the last work 'it is the highway in mine opinion to disparage the whole estate.'

Arnold and Bermyngham seem to have carried the English government with them in the procedures they advocated and Cecil drew up a note incorporating their ideas for paying off the garrison.⁵⁰ Elizabeth herself was soon engaged in the business, as evidenced by two letters which she dictated while Sir Thomas Cusack was at court. She instructed Sussex⁵¹ that one John Smythe be punished if his 'horrible attempt' to poison Shane O'Neill were true, an action that must be taken in her name 'for all good and honourable respects.'

⁵⁰Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 26).

⁵¹15 Oct. (ibid., no. 52).

She then added that 'because we mean to have some better order taken with our lands there for our benefit we require you to forbear the letting, granting, or demising of any parcel there until further order be given in that behalf.' Her intentions were made more plain in a companion letter to Henry Draycott, chief remembrancer of the exchequer, who was

to make...diligent search amongst our records...for all such leases as have been granted of any our lands and made within...these twenty one years last past, and to make a special note of all the same and such leases as have been granted there within the said term that have any clause of reentry for not payment of the rent at the times limited...'.⁵²

The information was to be delivered to Sir Thomas Wroth, a lawyer, and Sir Nicholas Arnold, who were to be 'our commissioners there.'⁵²

The crown was conducting a full-scale review of all Irish problems at this time and the instructions to Wroth and Arnold were dated the same day as those of Sir Thomas Cusack for dealing with Shane O'Neill. That there was a connection is shown by the commissioners to be associated with Wroth and Arnold. Originally the barons of Dunsany and Louth as well as James Dowdall, the soliciter-general, were to be included. Their deletion was probably because Louth and Dowdall were placed on the commission to treat with O'Neill. The commissioners who were named in the public instructions of Wroth and Arnold⁵³ were largely those suggested by Sir Nicholas himself: Baltinglass; Howth, the chief justice; Robert Dillon, the chief baron of the exchequer; James Bathe; John Parker; the sergeant at law, Robert Jynglas; Patrick Barnewall of Crickstown; Christopher Barnewall of Grasedieu; Simon Barnewall of Kilbery; Christopher Cheevers; Talbot de Malahide; Gerald Sutton of Connall, and Patrick Sarsfield. Cecil had added Robert Cusack, second baron of the exchequer, and Sir Patrick Hussey, baron of Galtrim. Bermyngham was not named as a commissioner as Arnold had originally suggested, though all of these changes may have been at his own instigation. Certainly this commission was no more designed to please Sussex than that associated with Cusack.

⁵²15 Oct. 1563 (ibid., no. 34).

⁵³20 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 45). Draft copy in Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 240).

The subjects to be investigated by the commissioners were not pleasing to the lord lieutenant either. Their principal purpose was stated to be to take the musters in which the captains and soldiers were to be examined for any failures and anything they owed the crown, to determine any injuries done by the army to subjects 'and what is due to them anyways by our said garrison,' and to remedy any of these matters. There followed five main subjects for investigation. The first was the musters for which many pages of detailed instruction were given on how to identify and see the man, avoid double pays, and those living as artificers in towns or having lands of their own, reduce the number of Irish to the required five or six per company, and correct any abuses of coyne or livery. Second, the books of the cessors for every broony were to be examined for every payment by subjects in money, grain, victuals, carriages, or in any other way for any building or fortification or other service and who received the payments and how they were employed. Culprits were to be investigated and punished and better orders and officers were to be devised for the future. Elizabeth added that 'you shall let our good subjects understand that we never intended to have anything demanded or levied of them, but that which shall be seen reasonable and necessary for the surety and defence of themselves and that our realm.'

The third subject also had a popular appeal. A list was to be compiled of all those who had been arrested or executed by martial law and all property confiscated under that law. It was to be established who had received that property and how much had reached the crown. The commissioners could bring charges against offenders and try them. The fourth subject had been suggested by Bermingham:

...concerning the profits of the counties of Offaly and Leix and the members or adherents thereto: you may do well to call for the several surveys that have been made thereof, and by comparing the same with such information as shall be given you, you shall try-out how much hath been answered unto us thereof and what is concealed or hitherto not answered, and upon what causes the same hath not been answered.

And whilst ye are in consideration of these two countries, we would that ye should inform yourselves privately, by means of such as you shall both for their knowledge and fidelity trust, how those two countries might be kept in obedience with less charge unto us.- And how further profit might be reasonably made thereof for sustentation of our charges.

Under the fifth heading the commissioners were to secure the information regarding leases which Draycott and the Exchequer had already been told to collect. They were to see what increases of rent the crown had secured with new leases and who had received the fines where the common law ran, together with what cesses, spoils, or preys had been taken 'of any of our subjects being accompted Irish and being upon our peace.' It was to be determined by what warrants such leases were held.

Three more points were then added to the commissioners' instructions which again reflected the ideas of Arnold and Bermyngham. Where it was understood that many captains owed the queen or her subjects more than was owed to them they were to be placed under recognisance to make good such losses. Means were to be found to render the lord lieutenant's cess less of a burden. Where there were holdings of spiritualities or other lands yielding rent corn, though paying the crown only a small rent in money, an arrangement could be made to help. Finally means to finance presidents and councils were to be explored, including monastic lands which had not yet come into the crown's possession, and customs and subsidies due which had not been collected. The time was right for a housecleaning, intended

only to the weal of the country, and nothing privately to ourselves or any of ours: it is likely that much good might succeed, for hitherto although such devises have been of long time moved, yet the very let thereof hath been for lack of persecution of the means how to bear the charges thereof.

On the same day a set of private instructions were issued to Wroth and Arnold containing nine headings.⁵⁴ The third heading, based on the supposition that O'Neill remained at peace, was how a small number of English troops augmented by horsemen and footmen, raised under gentlemen of the pale at no cost to the crown or imposition on the country, could be used to defend the pale and Leix and Offaly from any attack by rebels or enemies.

The fourth heading was very significant. Because Sussex desired to return to England 'and so are also a great number of that

⁵⁴20 Oct. 1563 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 241).

country (as we hear) very desirous that he should, we have so determined,' though no definite date had been set. That was to enable the commissioners to deal with any business for which Sussex was answerable before he left. They were to do so quickly but, 'considering the place and authority which he held,' he was to be treated with outward respect. In any case where his answers were not sufficient to clear him they were to keep it secret and inform only Elizabeth, and on the other hand where his answers did clear him they were to appear openly, with those properly concerned being charged. The fifth heading gives some of the background for Elizabeth's attitude toward Sussex. The commissioners were to see that John Smythe was so tried that Shane O'Neill, the intended victim, 'may in reason perceive how grievously do we take such a horrible attempt.'

In the sixth heading Elizabeth reverted to her concern that all money warranted by the crown to individuals in Ireland and not accounted for, and all debts owed, be pressed and the money used to pay the army. In the seventh she made plain that the carelessness in making leases of all kinds was to be corrected by using the clauses for reentry whenever possible for non-payment of rents, which she was certain had occurred. In that business they were to deal 'warily' with Draycott and use any other means to secure a good title of seizure and reentry into leases. Then it would be possible to bring the tenants 'to some good conformity, and yet not damage them further than they shall merit.' Under the last two headings Elizabeth wished to know if the rules Knolles had laid down for the Irish Exchequer were being followed and she wanted Fitzwilliam's account examined thoroughly before it was brought to England. That included everything he had received from the Irish revenue and from England, with particular attention being paid to his petitions for discharge from sums paid out, so that those concerned could be examined in Ireland.

The last detail continued to occupy Elizabeth. Two months later she issued a third set of instructions to Wroth and Arnold which were also addressed to William Dix,⁵⁵ who was to be associated

⁵⁵ 5 Jan. 1564 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 243).

with them as an auditor, the particular object being the examination of Fitzwilliam's accounts. They were to muster and pay those soldiers who were first to be discharged, or send their captains to England to be paid. All captains who had served under Sussex could be bound by recognizance if necessary and legal action was to be taken against all debtors to the crown. As the soldiers were to be mustered individually so they were to be paid individually, the commissioners issuing all money.

In November Elizabeth had lent Bermyngham £200, half of which was to be paid to him in Ireland, and in January he received £50 more.⁵⁶ Cusack was back at court after his negotiations with Shane by December. Then the problem of Muster had presented itself again. On the same day in October that Cusack, Wroth, and Arnold had received their instructions Elizabeth had granted Desmond leave to go home,⁵⁷ in accordance with what had been decided in the summer. She then instructed Wroth and Arnold to investigate the suits which the earl had left with Leicester and Cecil.⁵⁸ He wanted Dungarvan back, which he said Sussex had deprived him of in November 1558, placing Henry Stafford there as constable. He also wanted Innishannon, a castle bordering on the Irish in the southwest, and the thirty years left in the lease of Onaght, subdued by his father, which ought also to 'be fortified against the invasion of the said Irishry...' as well as long leases of all the monastic lands his father had had.⁵⁹

In his turn Desmond, possibly at the instigation of Cusack, agreed to fourteen articles, the general tenor of which was to restore things in Munster to their condition under James, Earl of Desmond. Cos Cork, Limerick, and Kerry were to pay subsidy and bear the costs of the administration of justice as cos. Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny and Tipperary did ' or shall be appointed by

⁵⁶Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 6 Nov. 1563, privy council to Fitzwilliam, 7 Jan. 1564 (Bodl, Cart MS 58, nos. 21, 22).

⁵⁷20 Oct. 1563 (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 37).

⁵⁸9 Nov. 1563 (ibid., no. 55).

⁵⁹Desmond's suits (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 56).

order of law.' The crown's lands were to be defended so that the queen could have income from them, and they were to be exempt from all impositions for three years. In lands held in chief the queen was to have the proceeds from wards, marriages and reliefs 'as she hath within the English pale.'⁶⁰

Munster was in turmoil. Piers Butler, the lord of Cahir, complained that on 2 October 1563 Sir Edmund, John, James, and Edward Butler, Ormond's brothers, carried off £1000 of his cattle, household stuff, and apparel, coming 'in warlike array...as though they were mortal enemies, alleging that I have caused the White Knight's son to take the prey of a village called the Graigue, and given the assistance of his own son and others of his men.' Cahir had refused Sir Edmund, but was willing to appear before the sovereign of Clonmel, the mayor of Waterford, or an impartial tribunal. He wanted justice; otherwise Sir Edmund would be 'the bolder to commit the like for that no order is taken.'⁶¹

Ormond for his part deplored the idea of Desmond returning to Ireland. He had never received the 4000 or 5000 cattle awarded him at Clonmel, and in their depredations the adherents of Desmond had taken as many more, laying waste half Tipperary and Kilkenny. A week later he complained that John of Desmond, the Earl's brother, with James Fitzmaurice and others had burned his tenants and country 'bordering by the Suir.' He had asked that his first letter be forwarded to the queen and he also asked that if Desmond were sent back he be detained in Dublin until restitution was made.⁶²

Elizabeth informed Desmond that he was to wait in Dublin until Cusack could determine what was proper for good order and quietness between him and Ormond.⁶³

⁶⁰Two drafts (*ibid.*, nos. 74,75). Cecil's endorsement: '20 December 1563. To these articles the Earl of Desmond hath agreed' (*ibid.*, no. 76). See also Bagwell, *Tudors*, ii. 66-68.

⁶¹Piers Butler, lord of Cahir, to Sussex, 11 Oct. (B.M., Cott MS Titus B XIII, no. 29).

⁶²Ormond to Sussex, 10 Dec., 17 Dec. 1563 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, nos. 70, 73).

⁶³15 Jan. 1564 (*ibid.*, 63/10, no. 8).

Two days later she wrote to Sussex that the disorder between Ormond and Desmond and their areas 'we esteem to be at this day the greatest matter of importance to be looked unto in that realm' and Sussex was to bind them and see 'that the breakers of our peace may be duly punished.' She also expressed her intention to make Cusack chancellor, 'wherein heretofore he hath served, and that also well and justly, as hath been reported unto us.'⁶⁴ The appointment depended on Archbishop Curwen's retirement, which took several years to accomplish so that Cusack was not restored to the chancellorship, but it is clear that Elizabeth contemplated something like a change of ministry in Ireland. Robert Fleming had also been at court and made her his offer to set up a brewhouse. Because 'we are informed that it should amongst other things tend to induce the people there to some civility to have such manner of helps for victuals planted in Armagh,' Sussex was instructed to have the value of the vessels and implements that Fleming desired determined. He was to pay for the valuable items, but was to have the less usable items 'for his comfort to set up brewing there.'

Elizabeth also wanted Sussex's advice on the requests which Cormac O'Connor had submitted through Cusack. In Scotland he had had a pension of £400, or £200 sterling. Along with accepting his submission and granting him pardon she stated that 'half of so much pension with land must content him.'⁶⁵ To Sussex she suggested that the lands and pension amount to 'one hundred marks or thereabouts.'⁶⁶ If possible Cormac was to be purchased cheaply.

Arnold, Wroth, Cusack, and Desmond were stormbound on the English side of the Irish sea until well into February, and did not reach Dublin until the 13th. A storm of another kind had been brewing in Ireland, one which prompted the bishop of Meath to declare that 'the blustering wind and dark clouds of the lord lieutenant's accusers...will vanish away without any raining, and the

⁶⁴ Elizabeth to Sussex, 17 Jan. 1564 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 33).

⁶⁵ 'Things to be passed presently into Ireland,' 10 Jan. 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 65/10, no. 4).

⁶⁶ 17 Jan. 1564 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 133).

bright beams of his unrightness burst out to his honor and glory...'⁶⁷ The O'Mores were in revolt again. It had begun during the winter for Cusack wrote from Chester on the 'reports of the great disorders and stirs of late risen in the English pale by the bastard Geraldines, Conors, and Mores...'. He suggested that at the moment Shane kept better order than the pale.⁶⁸

Those disorders were sufficient to make the Irish government take certain steps which indicated trouble on some scale.⁶⁹ It was decided that grain for six weeks for the soldiers in Leix and Offaly must be purchased from Sarsfield, Peppard, and others and that Sussex and his council would have to arrange for the provision of beeves. Orders had already been sent out for guarding cos. Kildare, Westmeath, Carlow, and Kilkenny, and 200 kerne were to be placed on cess in Meath and Stanley with his horsemen and footmen sent to Trim. These counties were to do what they could to keep the O'Mores 'from forceable taking of meat and drink and other spoils.' Sussex and his council were to go to the borders to take pledges or parley if asked, before the next scheduled parley. When that took place the effort should be made to arrange a peace with them but forces were to be in readiness to pursue them if they would not agree to the conditions. In the meantime Sussex, Kildare, and Sir Henry Radcliffe were to do what they could to diminish the number of rebels by drawing away Garret McShane O'Connor and his brother Callough from them, and to stop the borderers from giving any assistance.

The explanation of Sussex or the Irish government does not survive giving the causes of the rebellion, but it is probable that the O'Mores and some of the O'Conors were protesting against the division of land in the plantation settlement which certainly did not provide for all the septs of either group. Hence the emphasis on parleying. A peace of fourteen days was made with the O'Mores

⁶⁷Hugh Brady to Cecil, 14 Mar. 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 30).

⁶⁸Cusack to Cecil, 2 Feb. (ibid., no. 12).

⁶⁹'Resolutions taken at Kilmainham...' 1 Feb. 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 11).

and Kildare and Radcliffe were sent the articles, now lost, with which to parley with them at its end.⁷⁰ Kildare arranged to meet Radcliffe on the day of the parley, 14 February, which was Shrove Tuesday.⁷¹ On that day Sussex thought it well to inform the two⁷² that Wroth, Arnold and Cusack had arrived the day before and that 'I and the council have this day conferred with them and opened the whole issue of the matters with the Mores and Conors and required to know their opinions in the commission sent unto you for the next parley. Whereupon they have in their opinions allowed all as decreed and think necessary the parley should proceed in soft before approved.'

Surch a parley came none too soon, for Fitzwilliam, who had got as far as Chester, relayed to Cecil⁷³ the news of the latest exploits of the O'Mores and O'Conors:

If all be true that is of them reported, I marvel how they care to lie in so great an ambush and that at Kilcullen bridge, which is in the heart of the county of Kildare wherein so many gentlemen and noblemen dwell. I know by experience for six years together, they durst not gather out of the English pale but lived scattered, and now to come so boldly into the heart of an English Shire showeth great proudness. If my sister had been taken with them there, as very near she was I hear, they had not fully had so good a prisoner as they thought for, but I am glad she rid so well. Her husband shall do well to come to her until the country be clearer, and keep his charges himself.

Fitzwilliams's sister was married to George Delves.

Wroth and Arnold had reported to the English government that Sussex had explained to them why he was parleying with the rebels,⁷⁴ but letters like Fitzwilliam's seem to have had more effect. Cecil wrote to Sussex 'I am right sorry that these incident matters of rebellion of the O'Mores are drawn for argument to prolong your coming from thence,' but that Elizabeth and her council were as one that he not return until the rebellion was over. Cecil also stressed the urgency for Sussex to suppress certain Irish privates, a matter on which his reputation depended.⁷⁵

⁷⁰Sussex and council to Kildare and Radcliffe, 4 Feb. (B.M., Cott MS Titus B. XIII, no. 36).

⁷¹Kildare to 'Mr. Lieutenant,' 11 Feb. (ibid., Vespasion F. XII, no. 80).

⁷²14 Feb. 1564 (ibid., no. 78).

⁷³21 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 17).

⁷⁴Wroth and Arnold to the privy council, 16 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 15).

⁷⁵3 Mar. 1564 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 37).

Elizabeth made plain on the same day that she was not fond of tolerating rebellion and unless the Irish government could advise her of some peril to the state or some reason for her to approve of their toleration they were to subdue the rebels by force 'lest others take courage of the like, and strangers by rebellions and remiss reforming of them think it the easier to invade.'⁷⁶ In ignorance of her views it had been decided in Dublin that Ormond, Kildare, and Radcliffe should parley with the O'Mores on 20 March, offering them five terms.⁷⁷ Each of the seven septs were to deliver pledges for fulfilling the articles. All men were to be dismissed, except those licensed and registered, who were to be mustered on the first of each month at Maryborough, and who were not to take food forcibly of any subject nor move riotously in great companies, causing fear. Any men demanded by the governor for charges made against them were to be delivered. If these conditions were refused the O'Mores were to be induced to send two chief members of each sept to discuss matters with Sussex and his council, with authority to conclude an agreement. Failing such an arrangement they were to submit their petitions, the peace being observed in each case. Both of the major forts were to be resupplied before the parley and the O'Conors were to be asked to accept the same articles.

In March Arnold and Writh complained that the O'Mores and O'Conors were neither subdued nor satisfied. Early in April they were advised by Sussex that 'the correcting and expelling of such... as refuse to submit themselves' would demand the presence of Radcliffe, Stanley, and the other captains, with even Sussex planning to go to those borders.⁷⁸ Their inquiry was therefore delayed. Whether the Irish government was using the situation or not, the rebellion had come at a most convenient time.

When the Irish government had Elizabeth's views it met at Kilmainham and determined on a course of action.⁷⁹ All the O'Mores

⁷⁶ Matters to be considered upon the queen's... letters of 3 March 1563, 9 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 47).

⁷⁷ 15 Mar. 1564 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 128-130).

⁷⁸ The commissioners to the privy council, 16 Mar., 7 Apr., (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, nos. 34, 46).

⁷⁹ 10 Apr. 1564 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 130-132).

who had not submitted by 18 April were to be proclaimed as traitors and the efforts of the army and the 'great men English and Irish' to apprehend them were to be coordinated for an attack on that day. The fort in Leix was to be victualled for the army to be used there and the other forces were to have eight days of victuals. Co. Carlow was to be cessed for 120 kerne for six weeks, Co. Kildare was to provide oats for Radcliffe's horsemen and co. Westmeath for Girton's horsemen, and the latter was to provide for 300 kerne as well. Co. Meath was to do the same for 200 kerne. Supplies were to arrive by 18 April.

Those O'Mores who had submitted by that date were to accept the same terms they had been offered on 20 March with some important additions. They were to obey the governor of Leix for the time being, and assist in the general efforts to put down the rebellion. Being conformable they would be found such land as had not already been bestowed and hold it of the crown as the other planters did.

That the question of land was important, and may have been the crux of the disturbances, appears in the plans for dealing with the O'Conors. Lest they rebel, 'whereof there is some likelihood,' Offaly was included in the provisioning, yet 'nevertheless there shall be done what may be to detain all the O'Conors in obedience, and such of them as will receive land upon the conditions before specified shall have sufficient land appointed to them as aforesaid.'

Cusack, who helped to make the plan, told Cecil⁸⁰ that it was 'as much as could be devised' and that 'the Earl of Kildare since my coming applieth himself to apprehend of the bastard Geraldines, being great occasioners of disorder here, in which service if he earnestly endeavour himself great quiet will follow.' Cusack seems not to have been aware that the Irish government had already informed Radcliffe⁸¹ that because victuals and other necessities could not be provided by 18 April he was to extend the time of parley with the O'Mores until those things could be collected. He was further authorised to grant them protection after he had prosecuted them or to use them for any special service, and 'to take meat and drink in reasonable

⁸⁰ 17 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 51).

⁸¹ 11 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 4).

sort for yourself and your companies in all places where you shall have occasion to pursue the O'Mores in her highness's service.'

It is doubtful if a new day were ever set for the general operation against the O'Mores as probably most of them made their peace with Radcliffe. But from Carlow in early June Sir Edmund Butler reported to Arnold⁸² on his own activity against the rebels:

...I met with the outlaws of Leix, Lysagh and Cahir, and the whole company of them together this morning...at Clæen in Iduff by Garrendenny, and they had burned a town in Leix the night before... and left husbandmen at point of death and spoiled the town of their goods and cattles. I have killed Turlogh mcShane and thirteen of their kerne, of which I thought good to present your honour of Turlough's head and one of the Dowling's heads called Teig O'Dowling. I would have sent all their heads, saving for troublesome of their carrying. The most part of those that scaped be sore hurt, and if we had any ground for horsemen we had made a fair hand. I have no hurt myself, thanks be to God, but there are some of my men sore hurt, and two horses killed.

Sir Edmund was commended for his actions against the O'Mores, 'when with bloody hands they came from harm doing,' and he was sent £40 for the horses killed and the men wounded, with the assurance that his reward would come when the queen was informed. Such activities were to be contined to check the O'Mores and to discourage their abettors into abandoning them.⁸³ For the moment the midlands were quiet.

Something of the same quiet prevailed in Munster. Before Desmond was allowed to leave Dublin he was made to sign an agreement of his obligations on 22 February 1564.⁸⁴ That the matters between Ormond and Desmond were regarded as concluded appears from Cusack's correspondence,⁸⁵ though in what fashion does not appear. In April Cusack was ready to leave for Munster to help Desmond make order there and to collect the £400 which the Earl owed Elizabeth.⁸⁶ Sussex and his council sent Cusack in May⁸⁷ to remind Desmond of the articles to which he had agreed on 9 August 1563 in England and in Dublin in February.

⁸²11 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 4).

⁸³Arnold and council to Butler 12 June, (ibid., no. 6).

⁸⁴Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 133.

⁸⁵Cusack to Cecil, 22 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 38).

⁸⁶Cusack to Cecil., 17 Apr., (ibid., no. 51).

⁸⁷13 May 1564 (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 133).

Dublin in February.

Cusack was in Waterford when he received letters from the privy council ordering him to the north to deal with Shane O'Neill. Cusack reminded Cecil⁸⁸ that 'I have to deal with a savage person and not with a civil subject conformable to law and reason. I must then awork as the necessity of the occasion and time doth require, and as her majesty's pleasure shall direct me.' In his savage untutored way Shane had been doing very well. In March he had promised to keep the peace which Cusack had made with him the previous November, but James MacDonnell had arrived in Ireland and killed a gentleman and his two sons outside Carrickfergus.⁸⁹ Cusack had conferred with Danyell, the dean of Armagh, on the north, and gathered information fore a map of that area.⁹⁰ Robert Fleming informed Cecil from Drogheda that 'here is no news...but that the Scots doth encroach daily in the land of the north,' having at least sixty miles of country under them. The men MacDonnell had killed were Scots who had taken O'Neill's part, 'an evil sign.'⁹¹ If Shane were backed by the crown within a year 'he will not leave one Scot in Ireland,' a theme that was to be reiterated on his behalf throughout the year.

Cusack saw peace being kept in the north, unless O'Neill followed bad counsel 'through the practice of some that had rather have war than peace.' In order to attain his own release from nearly three years captivity Callough O'Donnell ceded Lifford castle to O'Neill, which gave Shane virtual control of Tyrconnell. Cusack urged that though O'Donnell was now in Dublin O'Neill's requests should be considered first. He also suggested that both of them be made earls.⁹² The news about Lifford, in addition to the information from Carrickfergus⁹³ that Sorley Boy MacDonnell had boasted that he would have 1200 Scots by 27 April, must have prompted the English

⁸⁸ 9 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 2).

⁸⁹ Terence Danyell to Cecil, 10 Mar. (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 231).

⁹⁰ Cusack to Cecil, 22 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 38).

⁹¹ 15 Apr. (*ibid.*, no. 48).

⁹² Cusack to Cecil, 17 Apr. (*ibid.*, no. 51).

⁹³ _____ to Sussex, 22 Apr. (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 27).

government to order Cusack to the north once more.

The next news from that quarter was no more comforting. From Armagh the dean there wrote⁹⁴ glowingly of the success of Cusack's peace and said that under Shane's rule the north was quieter than he had ever known it, which had 'set forth all kind of husbandry, sowing of wheat where none was sown this hundred years, and also in buildings and all other things...'. O'Donnell was spoken of as being in his own country, but two days before O'Neill had sent letters to Sussex, who was leaving Ireland, and to Elizabeth, Cecil, and the privy council. Their contents were amiable enough, but they were all dispatched from the castle of Lifford.⁹⁵

Sussex's recall had been in progress for some time. He had been unwell all winter and Fitzwilliam reported that he was almost poisoned on 4 March which with his 'continuing fever' might finish him unless he were relieved.⁹⁶ Elizabeth had insisted that he stay in Ireland until the revolt of the O'Mores was put down but Wroth did not think he would ever recover his health in Ireland and invoked the plea made to Henry VIII in 1539 for bishop Latimer:

'Consider, sire, what a singular man he is, and cast not that away in one hour, which nature and art hath been so many years in breeding and perfecting.' Wroth found 'the whole country desirous always of change,' and 'the pride of the wild Irish' had been quickened by O'Neill's lenient treatment. The captains were discredited, the soldiers discontented, and 'the English born and the country born herein hated.' He saw peril ensuing with Sussex's recall 'if some such man of honour come not hither, who for his wisdom may be revered and for his authority feared. And such one you know I am not in any respect'.⁹⁷ Neither, by implication, was Arnold. Cusack had praised Sussex, who was 'not well used by the liberty men have to talk...his discredit...', but he was compelled to ask Cecil to

⁹⁴Danyell to Cecil, 25 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 69).

⁹⁵Cal S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 236. See also Bagwell, Tudors, 11, 74-80 for further details.

⁹⁶Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 11 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 29).

⁹⁷Wroth to Cecil, 16 Apr. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 64/10, no. 50).

tell Sussex that he had reported well of him in England for Sussex was convinced that he 'spake the worst of him.'⁹⁸ The two men had quarreled, an evidence that Sussex's nerves were bad.

In March Elizabeth had decided to conclude peace with France,⁹⁹ and the principal reasons were the lack of money, the interruption of trade, the fear of losing Jersey and Guernsey, and the danger that might arise in Ireland. Once that peace was made she was willing to grant Sussex leave to come home for his health, since there was 'no peril seen to us in that realm.'¹⁰⁰ To Sussex she intended to say that until she had conferred at length with him 'we cannot resolve for the continuance of the principal government hereafter to be established,' but she cancelled that and stressed that there was to be no unnecessary expenditure in his absence. Arnold was to be elected justice,¹⁰¹ and was told that he would have the assistance of his colleague Wroth in an office which he regarded as a great burden.¹⁰² Dudley rubbed salt in Sussex's wounds by informing him that Elizabeth 'was very loth to have had your lordship come thence before the country had been somewhat better stablished,' but his leave was allowed because of his record of sickness in the past year.¹⁰³

Arnold was elected justice on 24 May 1564 and Sussex departed for England.¹⁰⁴ His connection with Ireland was finished though the criticism of his government and his defence of it was not. Andrew Golding recorded in the Book of Howth that 'this earl was not belove with the most number in the realm,' but that he was 'a wise, a valiant, a painful servitor; no weather, cold, hunger, nor sickness could keep him from serving his prince to his uttermost.' Therein lay part of his failure for Sussex had helped draft the royal policy the enforcement of which had made him so unpopular.

⁹⁸Cusack to Cecil, 22 Mar., 17 Apr., (ibid., nos. 38, 51).

⁹⁹Memorandum, 10 Mar. 1564 (Cal., S.P. for. 1564-65, no. 234).

¹⁰⁰Elizabeth to Sussex and council, 22 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/10, no. 53).

¹⁰¹Elizabeth to Sussex, 22 Apr., draft (ibid., no. 52).

¹⁰²22 Apr. (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 152-3).

¹⁰³23 Apr. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus. B. XIII, no. 40).

¹⁰⁴Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 134-5.

¹⁰⁵Cal. Carew MSS, Miscellaneous, pp. 200, 202.

The commissioners, armed with letters of Valentine Browne and Jenyson on Irish administration and with Andrew Wyse accompanying them, had got down to work soon after their arrival in Dublin on 13 February,¹⁰⁶ and by the middle of March they were able to report on what they had found.¹⁰⁷ Their primary concern was to get a decision in England on the size of the army in Ireland. The £11,000 they had was not enough for a complete pay, and the best advice they could get suggested that the decay of the country was caused not by the numbers of soldiers but by their disorders from lack of pay, so that the poor were beggared. Those same advisors suggested that as the quiet continued, 'and the strength of the English pale born shall increase,' some 400 or 500 soldiers could be paid off and discharged. On the question of the growth 'into order and strength' of those born in the pale 'divers of the commissioners speak diversely.' One group offered the majority opinion that the queen should pay 40 s. a year to 1000 men or some fit number to be constantly ready to be led by the gentry of the country when needed. But Arnold and Wroth had also been advised that it was unwise to discharge many of the army. The rumours of a change in government always created unrest and when it came the disorder would be increased if the army were reduced in numbers. Further, some alleged that the English pale was 'not so peopled' as to be able to withstand a large attack. Presuming there was growth in its population they left it to the privy council to weigh the pros and cons of 'what it is to put the chief strength of this country in this country' when the inhabitants were aware of that situation. From their own experience they had no doubt that obedience would continue ...and probably there may be much said for the good assurance of the people of the English pale: as that they be either English or such whose ancestors came out of England; the natural hatred that is counted between them and the wild Irish; the civil life and use of their own by law, which wanteth amongst the Irish; that they fear none but the wild Irish, and hope for help nowhere but at the queen's majesty's hands.

Richard Overton who was employed as a clerk under Dix in exam-

¹⁰⁶ Arnold and Wroth to Cecil, 17 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 16).

¹⁰⁷ Arnold and Wroth to the privy council, 16 Mar. (ibid., no 34)

ining the revenue, told Cecil¹⁰⁸ that the accounts had been handled so loosely that debts to the crown had risen to £30,000 'and upwards.' He did not expect that more than £10,000 would be recovered for some debtors would show that they were released by letters patent, other debtors were long dead and worth nothing, and 'much will not be answered for that the ground lieth waste.' He thought the practice whereby officers who owed rents still received their fees ought to be remedied and that coyne and livery should be reformed because it impoverished the country and diminished the crown's revenue. The entire exchequer was in need of reform as well

Soon Wroth informed Cecil¹⁰⁹ that 'as you wrote we are entered into the maze, and for my part I am almost indeed amazed, wherefore I beseech you, tolerate as you may such rude amazed matter as cometh from me.' The commissioners¹¹⁰ had tackled the victuallers and fortifiers, from whom they had got books which were not acceptable, the cessers, from whom they could not get books, and the captains, most of whom could not produce rolls earlier than May 1560. Sir George Stanley and Sir Henry Radcliffe were insulted at the idea of being bound, though they could not produce records from June 1559. They were contrasted with Agard, who gave a very honest and complete return, and 'whom we find very wise and honest and as he is accounted here an upright dealer.' Fears had been expressed concerning the ratio of not more than five Irish per company. Some companies of 100 had at least forty or fifty 'of this country birth. On behalf of the queen the commissioners had explained that she would not under that guise 'have the wild Irish...trained either in her majesty's manner of wars or in the passages or knowledge of the country.' It was at this time that Sussex and all the captains were moving towards the rebellion in Leix, a delay to the inquiry.

Sussex's departure made his establishment the first to be mustered and on 4 May 1564 he submitted an account of his expenses from 28 July 1562 to that date.¹¹¹ He was allowed for his diet

¹⁰⁸17 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 36).

¹⁰⁹7 Apr. (ibid., no. 45).

¹¹⁰Arnold and Wroth to the privy council, 7 Apr. (ibid., no. 46)

¹¹¹P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/10, no. 59.

£ 2675 and for the pay of his men £ 3425 according to his instructions, which made a total of £ 6100. His household charges had been £ 4958 and his extraordinary charges had been £ 952. They totaled £ 5910 and the difference of £ 189 was explained as expenses incurred on campaigns. The muster of his household that day produced 155 persons, which was the number of officers and soldiers Sussex was supposed to have, allowing for dead pays, though he had submitted a book of his household on 21 March which contained 213 names.¹¹² The commissioners were sufficiently suspicious to command Bermyngham, who was not present at the muster through illness, to make a gloss on the book delivered by Sussex. Bermyngham objected to the task 'for the honour of the place that his lordship represented' and Sussex objected to the results.¹¹³ As was remarked earlier many of the names were connected with the plantation in Leix and Offaly and were double and even triple pays, absent, or dead. Thus only a fraction of the men were fit for military service and most of them were officers.¹¹⁴ Other officers of state were included as well such as Gabriel Crofts, the auditor of Ireland, and Richard Hoppewood, clerk of the ordnance. Then there were the treasurer and controller of Sussex's own household, where William Cantwell was also maintained, and mustered along with Edward Walshe, described by Bermyngham as 'a dwelling man in Waterford eighty miles off and cometh very seldom at my lord.' It was also found that Sussex had sixty-four Irish in his muster when he should not have had more than eight. In every way he was contrasted with the muster of St Leger's household in 1551, which contained, not more than six Irish and nothing but able soldiers. It was a preview of the other musters.

Dix was able to report to Cecil with increased exactness on the state of the revenue for the four years of Elizabeth's reign up to 29 September 1562 when the arrearages owed to the crown amounted to £ 36,062 most of which Dix thought was uncollectable because it

¹¹²4 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 23).

¹¹³William Bermyngham to the privy council, 10 July (ibid, no. 24).

¹¹⁴See p. supra and Bagwell, Tudors, ii. 71.

was not pressed at the time though Arnold and Wroth had sent letters to all debtors to make a settlement. Dix had also begun to work on the victuallers' accounts, where he was bemused by Irish measurements and such claims as that of the marshal of the army that the hides of all beeves slaughtered in the field were his as a perquisite of his office.¹¹⁵

As soon as Sussex had left Ireland Arnold opened a discussion with his council in which it was agreed that the army could be reduced by 200 horsemen, including ninety-one granted by patent to various officers, and by 500 footmen. They prefaced their decision with the following survey of the situation of the country.¹¹⁶

Forsomuch as generally the whole realm is in quiet, no rebellion being presently within the realm (the Mores except,...) and the next neighbours to the English pale, the Byrnes, the Toolles, and the Kavanaghs being held in obedience, Upper Ossory at commandment, O'Carrolls, the Foxe's, O'Dunnes, Mac Coghlan's, O'Melaghlin's, O'Malloy's countries being quiet and at commandment; the rebels which are the Mores of Leix so sparkled (dispersed) as although they may by suddenness do harm, yet are they not liable to keep together nor indeed of themselves to withstand any small force; and the O'Conors of Offaly have so submitted themselves as there is now no great doubt of hurt by them; so as from the Shannon south and east there is now no great peril; and that O'Reilly with that side are not like much trouble, O'Neill holding his obedience.

In the eyes of the government the plantations and the entire periphery of the pale were secure and the commission freed of Sussex's presence could continue its work of mustering companies and discharging the numbers agreed upon. Brian Fitzwilliam, with his two companies from Berwick was mustered on 31 May with only 128 men where he should have had 200. He was checked with £-2964 3 s. and like Sussex he objected to the commissioners but declined to put his objections in writing. By 16 June the companies of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Stanley, Bagenal, Agard, Girton, Delves and Fortesque had been mustered, leaving only those of Wingfield, Heron, Radcliffe, Cowley, and Portas, all presumably in garrisons distant from Dublin. The general rumour was that the queen would pardon all the captains, but the details of Fortesque's company alone belied that. His company contained so many Irish that it was recommended that it be

¹¹⁵ 10 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., Eliz., 63/10, no. 62).

¹¹⁶ 29 May (Acts Privy Council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 135-36).

wholly discharged and Bermyngham reckoned the queen was being overcharged 2000 on its pay. Fortesque had declined to account and been jailed.¹¹⁷

Wroth was busy with the work of the commission, particularly determining debts owed to the crown, and told Cecil¹¹⁷ that when he was finished 'I purpose to go to the forts and see the English pale throughout if I can, when I shall be able to say more, having heard and seen more; but he could make the point that little good could be done until the pay was made, the lack of which 'hath brought most things out of order here.' The queen, who owed nearly 30,000 by his reckoning, was losing daily by the delay, though Bermyngham said he could save 8000 of that besides any saving on the excess number of Irish in each company. Wroth wished to be recalled and remarked to Cecil a fortnight later that for his independent viewpoint 'the whole pack, I think, would willingly be rid of me.' His own summary was that 'I fear here must be a metamorphosis before things will be rightly reduced.'¹¹⁸

The captains in Ireland had managed to get their point of view represented at court, probably by Sussex,¹¹⁹ and their first protest was that all the men above five per company 'of Ireland birth' were to be 'upon the captain's head,' which they considered strange since they had never been forbidden to have such men and had taken only the queen's subjects. They refused to be bound by the commission on that point and they asked for a release from the period 15 June 1559 to 24 May 1560 when a full pay had been made and the countryside satisfied 'of all just demands.' The captains appealed to the precedent of earlier musters and asked that the slander that they had deceived the crown be tried. Then

...as all men serve for some gain: so if their gain have been but such as is in all places of service accompted but honest, they trust the same shall not be imputed to them as deceit that to others is and hath been allowed as reasonable. And therefore they say their pay

¹¹⁷William Bermyngham to the privy council, 10 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 24).

¹¹⁷18 June 1564 (ibid., no. 12).

¹¹⁸1 July, fragment of a letter (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 18)

¹¹⁹'For the captains in Ireland', 29 June (ibid., no. 16).

is smaller, and their travail and charges greater than in any other place, which they trust will be considered.

Elizabeth was sufficiently impressed by Sussex's arguments that he did not know of the ratio of Irish per company, and that a full pay had been made in 1560, to order that captains ignorant of the ratio be released, and that the inquiry consider the years after 1560. She added the qualification that 'generally we would have a difference made in usage of them that have dealt fraudulently, and of others which have behaved themselves justly and truly in our service! Sir Henry Radcliffe was to be checked first so that he could return to England for the recovery of his arm.¹²⁰

Wroth countered that it was Sidney who had been instructed by a letter from the privy council on the ratio of Irish in companies. It was Sussex who on his return in 1559 ordered that all companies be filled without regard to birth and he could argue that he had never had such an order. Wroth spoke of the troubles the commission was having with the captains and added the disquieting news that 'the wild of this country begin to stir both in Leix and Offaly...'¹²¹ Once again that area was going to slow the commission work still further, which Matthew Kyng had already urged Cecil to job.¹²²

Dix was dubious that the crown would save much money on the army's pay, though they had been at work on Fortesque's company for three weeks and had not finished with it. Progressing at that rate the commission would not be finished before Christmas in his opinion. He had finished examining the accounts of Henry Cowley and Thomas Might for the victualling, and those of Peter Ford 'for the fortifications and reparations,' and had begun Wingfield's accounts as master of the ordnance. Fitzwilliam's accounts as vice-treasurer¹²³ were not forthcoming though Wroth was at work on debts to the crown. Bermyngham had collected and examined the cessers books for the individual baronies and had come to the conclusion that they 'have

¹²⁰Elizabeth to the commissioners, 12 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11. mp// 27).

¹²¹Wroth to Cecil, 28 July (ibid., no. 39).

¹²²15 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 32).

¹²³William Dix to Cecil, 16 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 33).

charged themselves with less than they have received to her majesty's use and hath charged the victuallers to deliver more unto them than the victuallers confess to have received.' When the examinations were complete he thought it would be plain that the cessers had received money from the crown with which to pay the countryside and had not done so, and as a result the countryside was now claiming payment from the crown.¹²⁴ A few weeks later Dix concluded that the crown was still due 14,900 pecks of corn, about 30,000 English bushels, 'near a third part of the said cesses,' which the crown was supposed to receive at 4 s. a peck and which it had had to pay 10 s. to 15 s. a peck to replace. Dix also considered that if Wroth had not taken in hand the debts owed the crown they 'would have grown desperate,' meaning they would have been uncollectable.¹²⁵

Wroth's findings on debts owed to the crown are interesting.¹²⁶ Most of what was owed, £ 29,392 3 s. 7 d. in all, was the rents on leases and grants of land. The Anglo-Irish, represented by the Barrys, Roches, Eustaces, Brownes, Fynglases, Walshes, Barnewalls, Taafes, Nugents, Graces, Plunkets, and ~~Aylmers~~, on the whole owed amounts from £ 5 to under £ 100. The 'tributes of the Irish,' including £ 933 from the Kavanaghs, came to some £ 2,465, but the Earl of Ormond owed £ 2,567 from 'divers farms and religious houses' going back to the reign of Edward VI, and Cos. Kilkenny and Tipperary owed £ 1181 in back subsidy, compared with £ 1200 for Co. Waterford where the arrearages dated from 1556. The Earl of Desmond owed some £ 1666 and the Earl of Clanricarde some £ 355. Various lesser amounts were owed for other monastic holdings, including £ 142 15 s. 9 d. from Walter ApHowell and Peter Walshe for Abbey Ownly in Co. Limerick and £ 143 from Patrick Sherlock for St Kath-¹²⁷erine's in Waterford. John Parker, who had died in Cork on 26 July,

¹²⁴'Books remaining with... Bermyngham,' (enclosed in 10 July (ibid., no. 25).

¹²⁵Dix to Cecil, 17 Aug. (ibid., no. 75).

¹²⁶'A brief note of certain great sums of arrearages...' to 29 Sept. 1563. Endorsed 10 Aug. 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 71).

¹²⁷Desmond to Cecil, 27 July (ibid., no. 38).

owed £828 for Selsker, and for other parcels in cos. Dublin and Meath. In the north Sir John Travers and his assigns owed £170 for several years rent for the Bann fisheries and Andrew Brereton owed £2,429 9 s. 4 d., which was thirteen years back rent as the farmer of Lecale and other holdings in Down and Clandeboy. His debt was considered 'desperate' as was that of 'divers farmers' in Leix and Offaly who owed Elizabeth £4,675 in rents and debts since the beginning of her reign. Financially plantation was not a success for the crown.

Wroth, in addition to his activities accessing the debts owed to the crown, was also developing his own view of Shane O'Neill whose activities were a subject of concern. Cusack, writing to Dudley¹²⁸ at the same time he wrote to Cecil about his renewed efforts to keep continued peace with Shane expressed conditioned optimism that it could be done. He had hopes of Munster, and the country in general was tranquil 'otherwise than the common fashion even yet used, that amongs the wild Irish one doth quarrel with another, revenging their private injuries (which was no rare thing here) as old experience teacheth.' He argued again that there was no need for the queen to maintain so large a military establishment, for 'every man doing his duty in his calling, a small garrison will be sufficient for the government here...'. Underlying his opinion was his expectation that Shane could be used to drive the Scots out of the north.

Cusack said that Callough O'Donnell was in Tyrconnell with one son, Shane having taken another son named Con, but in fact Callough was in Dublin, complaining that his kin kept him from his castles and 'that my son was betrayed by my said kinsmen...and delivered unto O'Neill.' He wished the government to intervene to prevent Con being murdered, or to allow him to go to court to present his case.¹²⁹ With Cusack back in Dublin the government considered the matter overnight and acted on his advice,¹³⁰ which was to keep faith with O'Neill, if only for realistic reasons. Peace and quiet for the English pale 'hath ever been our most and only care,' and with peace in the north 'all Ireland is stayed save for the Mores, where-

¹²⁸9 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 3). See. p.

¹²⁹Callough O'Donnell's request to the lord justices and council, 12 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 9).

¹³⁰13 June (ibid., no. 11).

of no great accompt is to be made, if the same were well followed.' Callough was given a lecture on his iniquities against Shane.

Wroth explained the situation to Cecil,¹³¹ and suggested that though Shane's words were fair he was preparing for something, probably a move into Tyrconnell. He added "this country (the English pale, I mean) is sore unable to bear any war, and yet the gentlemen of this country richer than their ancestors, But the poor have been much pinched and shall be, I fear, though there were no soldiers here.' The problem was how to shift this burden.

The wars here require the presence of the rich and so their charge. The poor that must be ministers of all necessities have been at the prince's hands, and thereby at others, unpaid, so as every man hath been burdened, and the country as they term it tired, whereby the name of war is become odious, as everything that may tend to it is unwillingly heard here.

The matter would have to be considered by the privy council in England and 'war is not hastily to be taken in hand, for neither is this country able to bear it, nor England able suddenly to provide for it... But if I should say what I think, this country should not much feel of the war with Shane if it were fitly used.' Wroth declined for the moment to propound a solution 'for I cry with this country peace, yet such as may keep each man in his calling.'

Elizabeth had decided that there were to be no more concessions to Shane than had been made already and she instructed Cusack to tell him so plainly.¹³² If Shane were the good subject he claimed he wanted to be 'we will be a favourable and gracious soveraign towards him' but she was against 'the impairing of our honour.' When she understood the nature of Callough O'Donnell's case she decided that the commission for dealing with Shane which included Terence Danyell, the dean of Armagh, and Sir Patrick Dorelle, its chanter, had too many partisans of Shane, and she gave orders that someone was to be included with Cusack to act as a counterbalance.¹³³

Wroth was next occupied in explaining the situation to Dudley,¹³⁴

¹³¹ 18 June (ibid., no. 12).

¹³² 24 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 15).

¹³³ Elizabeth to the lord justices and council, 15 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 29).

¹³⁴ 23 July (ibid., no. 35).

whom he told that Shane would give trouble, 'and will not be reformed but by war, and that the prince's honour in part hangeth upon it...', 'though war was out of the question in the present circumstances, as well as 'some doubtful conditions...that England standeth in with other neighbours,' probably a delicate reference to the proposed marriage of Dudley to Mary queen of Scots. It was Wroth's argument that the question of the moment was 'how to get O'Donnell into his country' diplomatically. O'Neill needed to be assured of his estate and would be 'another man' with that assurance, which would be worth giving if it got him at war with the Scots.

Soon Wroth informed Dudley¹³⁵ that there were those who said that Shane was about to engage the Scots, 'but I believe it not' for on 4 August Peirs had informed both Arnold and Wroth that Shane had written to him threatening to distrain Carrickfergus and its area. In Wroth's view such an action would wreck the town, which had already suffered from the Scots and was paying bying to them. Within a fortnight Shane was requesting permission to enter Carrickfergus as he intended to make war against the Scots.¹³⁶ The government approved his war but told him that Carrickfergus was too poor to provide him with anything,¹³⁷ and Piers was instructed to encourage him in his war with the Scots without leaving the town or letting Shane in.¹³⁸ By the beginning of September Shane had converted the monastery at Colraine into a castle to use as a bridgehead against the Scots in the Route. An engagement had been fought in which Sorley Boy MacDonnell was wounded.¹³⁹ Shane had begun his war.

¹³⁵ 16 Aug. (ibid., no. 73).

¹³⁶ O'Neill to Arnold and council., 18 Aug. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 76).

¹³⁷ Arnold and council to O'Neill, 22 Aug. (ibid., no. 80).

¹³⁸ Arnold and council to Piers, 17 Sept., repeating an earlier letter (ibid., no. 89).

¹³⁹ O'Neill to Arnold and council, 5 Sept. Danyell to Arnold, 10 Sept. (ibid., nos. 83, 84).

CHAPTER XIV
REVOLT IN THE MIDLANDS
1564-1565

The Irish government were well involved in a war of their own. Wroth's warning in July of a stir in Leix and Offaly had been preceded by Arnold in a letter to Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.¹ Arnold, whose affairs in England were causing him losses, also wished to know if Elizabeth planned to keep him long in Ireland. She should make a decision on sending a principal governor, rather than retaining a lord justice, 'whom they all know to be substituted here.' He could foresee trouble with the lengthening nights of winter, and in the uncertainty of his position he was already having difficulties with the O'Tooles and O Byrnes, the O Reillys, and the O Briens. Finally

The outlaws of Leix, although they have been hard chased this summer, do daily mischief. Cormac O'Connor and his younger brother Cahir O'Connor hang upon the skirts of our borders accompanied as it is reported at the least with six score idle woodkerne, expecting the winter nights to make some uproar, and to do mischief. And a number more of idle men and kerne, now hanging upon sundry men on the borders, will slip to the outlaws and rebels when they shall fall out. And in the meantime they, and all the rest before rehearsed, will do as many murders, robberies, and spoils in the pale as they may be able, in hope of pardon when the governor shall be settled.'

Wroth, despite his reservations about Arnold, pressed the same view upon Dudley,² that if Arnold was to stay in Ireland he should be established. He based his argument upon the latest development in Offaly:

Here hath happened a great mishap. One Callough O'Connor, one of the best of that sept, being apprehended as I think upon good cause, is escaped out of prison, but by whose fault my lord justice hath not yet thoroughly examined. It is like he will trouble that country of Offaly... The rebels in Leix burn and kill all they may catch or come to. They in Offaly gather together and will do all the mischief they can, so as here is like to be stirring.

Arnold and the government gave their own version of what happened to the Earl of Ormond, while invoking his assistance to crush the revolt which followed.³ They reminded Ormond that he was present at the conferences in March and April when it was thought the O'Conors would join the O'Mores in their revolt.

¹ 3 July 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 21).

² 23 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 35).

³ 7 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 65).

Cormac O'Conor was hanging off 'and not keeping touch with Sir Thomas Cusack,' but it was decided to treat them as good subjects while they were loyal and obedient. 'Cormac O'Conor, since he went over the Shannon, hath been practicing as well to hire gunners in Connaught as also to hire and bring in Scots, and...hath indeed hired both the one and the other. In the meantime Callough [O'Conor that was so much made of and so well used, and his brother Art,' together with Lysagh *mc* Morgh O'Conor and a number of other O'Conors and their followers 'conspired also t rebel as soon as Cormac should with those soccours approach.' The government then accused Callough of attempting to gain strength among the O'Demsey's by taking Owen *mc*Hugh O'Dempsey's daughter, but her father 'by good policy' had recovered her. They claimed that Callough's conspiracy was betrayed by three brothers who had lately become his followers and that Callough had hanged two of them in retaliation. 'And for this cause by our order' he was arrested and imprisoned to await trial in Offaly, during which time and even before his arrest his brother Art, and Lysagh *mc*Morgh and the other O'Conors 'have manifested their rebellion with burning, spoiling, and killing in the cruelest wise.' Negligent keeping had enabled Callough to escape and join them and the O Mores. The report was that now the whole group were 'looking for Cormac with his company to be with them within a few days...' The letter was signed by Arnold, Archbishop Loftus, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir Henry Radcliffe, Francis Agard, Sir George Stanley, and John Challoner, secretary of the council.

Despite the signatures of Radcliffe and Fitzwilliam, in the months to come a very different version of Callough's participation emerged, presented by Sussex,⁴ whose information must have come in part from his brother and his brother-in-law. It is worth giving in full.

The Earl of Sussex (whereof the bishop of Meath [Hugh Brady] as interpreter is a witness) was required by the Callough O'Conor at his lordship's departing into England to bring him before the council and to recommend him to Sir Nicholas Arnold, and to take their promise of them that he should not be after his departing betrayed, 'For,' said he, 'while I was rebel I had friends enough, and now I

⁴Endorsed by Cecil as 'a declaration made by the Earl of Sussex lieutenant in Ireland, to the lords of the council,' with the date 29 Jan. 1565, though a more likely date would be June 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 19).

serve the queen I am daily in danger and fear of my life.' Whereupon the Earl with the bishop of Meath brought him before the council and Sir Nicholas Arnold, and there he took his oath to be a true subject to the queen and obedient to...Arnold and the council...and they assured him from all treason. At the doing whereof Sir Thomas Wroth was also present...Shortly after the earl's departing the lord justice sent for Callough O'Conor to answer to certain complaints made against him, whereupon he presently and dutifully came, and at his coming the lord justice would have apprehended him, whereunto the council would not give their consents, for that it is holden in Ireland for a kind of treason to send for an Irishman and arrest him at his coming, so as for that time Callough was licenced to return home.

And immediately after a commission was sent to Henry Cowley that had the charge of Offaly, to parley with Callough. And when he was in parley with Cowley in his own chamber in the fort Cowley by the lord justice's order arrested him and laid him in irons, contrary to the custom of Ireland, and immediately my lord justice gave order to proceed against him. In the meantime Callough broke prison and escaped. And upon his escape he did not presently rebel or commit any hurt but, as a man that (notwithstanding the injuries offered him) kept still a dutiful mind to the queen's majesty, he sent his messenger to procure licence to repair to the lord justice and council...to let them understand that he absented himself not for any ill mind he had to do hurt but only for the safeguard of his life, and therefore if they would grant him a protection, he would come to them, and if they would pardon him for the breach of prison he would abide the law for all other matters. And being refused thereof he sent eftsoons to require licence to repair to the queen's majesty, to show his cause, to whom he would simply submit himself. And being also denied thereof he desired licence to repair into England to the earl of Sussex to require him to be a mean to the queen for him, for that he knew his truth and service. And being thereof also denied (all which time he did no rebellious act), and perceiving that war was prepared against him, he then said he must defend himself and his life so long as he could, and so entered into rebellion (whereof grew the whole rebellion). And yet he sought still pardon and offered trial of any matter he would be charged with before his breaking of prison, so as it manifestly appeareth that this man was neither instrument of rebellion for any other, nor was willingly a rebel, but rather was by practice for some other purpose forced by Sir Nicholas Arnold to be a rebel for safeguard of his life, whereof hath grown so great charges and losses to the queen's majesty and the realm.

The matter of Callough's arrest and escape, and his connection with the rebellion, is of some importance. He was one of the principal planters in Offaly, placed there by Sussex as a part of the Irish contingent, and on the face of it would seem unlikely to have entered into rebellion, whatever the activity of his brothers. The year 1564 was not a propitious time for revolt. Desmond in the south and O'Neill in the north were not only behaving loyally but also involved in quarrels of their own. The midland septs could expect little help from them and to call down the whole fury of the government was an act of despair. So much Callough could see, and of the two accounts it seems more likely that Sussex was right in suggesting that he was 'for some other purpose forced by Sir Nicholas Arnold to be a rebel...' What that other purpose was is fairly clear. Arnold was no doubt sincerely persuaded that the

O'Conors were arming themselves and preparing to join the O'Mores in revolt. The question is who or what persuaded him. The three brothers, recently become followers of Callough, who betrayed him seem to have led Wroth to believe that Callough was arrested 'upon good cause,' and Wroth did not blindly approve what Arnold did. The group which stood to gain the most from an armed revolt requiring an army to put it down was the army itself, under investigation and in disrepute, its reduction in size a stated fact. A demonstration in the field of its necessity was what it needed most and whether the O'Conors provided that gift or the military officers persuaded Arnold that Callough was at the centre of an intended revolt is a moot question. There is no overt evidence that Radcliffe, Fitzwilliam or Stanley, or indeed any other officer was involved in such a procedure but the course of the revolt, Callough's fate, and subsequent events in Fitzwilliam's life when he was lord justice in 1568 suggest that had Callough got to England he might have had a disturbing tale to tell. If that were the case care was taken to insure that he did not.

The chronology of events is fairly clear. On 15 July the government had issued new commissions for the use of martial law in eleven counties inside the pale and beyond it and certain adjoining Irish counties as well.⁵ On 21 July detailed instructions for watches to be kept were sent to the sheriffs and justices of cos Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and Louth. Formal watches were to be set until the following St. Patrick's day,⁶ and both instructions were routine steps to prevent disorder 'when long nights shall come.' On 3 August⁷ Arnold and his council declared a revolt of the O'Conors and O'Mores to be a fact and that all of them who were not still in submission from the previous spring 'shall be pursued and revenged upon by sharp war with fire and sword,' with mercy being shown to none except on the queen's express commandment. Similar treatment would be given to any who went into rebellion in the future. The army was to be shifted out of the pale to positions along the

⁵Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 137-39.

⁶Arnold and council to the Sheriff of Co. Dublin, 21 July (P.R.O., SP. Ire., 63/11, no. 34, B.M., Cottonian MS Titus B. XIII, no. 242).

⁷Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 140.

border, but their cess was to be forwarded to them.

On 4 August orders, which must have been some days in preparation, were dispatched to all concerned.⁸ Sir Henry Radcliffe at the fort in Leix was to have his own forty horsemen and 150 footmen together with Captain Portas' fifty footmen for the defence of that county on which he was to cess 100 'holdings kerue' for six weeks. Cowley at the fort of Daingan was to have Girton's forty-one horsemen, his own 100 footmen and Delve's 100 footmen and the same arrangements for k'erne.⁹ Forty of the queen's kerne under Cowley's command and eighty holding kerne for six weeks, with 'the power of the country' were to hold Carbury, or Bermingham's country. The remaining 260 of the queen's kerue were to be kept together as a mobile force for the hunting and pursuit of rebels, and Francis Cosby was to cooperate with Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey in their use.¹⁰ The earl of Kildare was to assemble his own retainers for service and he was allowed to take coyne and livery for them on the basis of one meal at one place at one time. He was also to cess upon Co. Kildare 200 holding kerne for six weeks, in the use of which he was to act in concert with Cosby and O'Dempsey.¹¹ It was also expected that they would have the help of Ormond and his brother Sir Edmund Butler.

Sir William Fitzwilliam as vice-treasurer was in command of the garrison at Athlone and so was responsible for Co. Westmeath. He was to have the assistance of the inhabitants of the county, on which he was to cess 300 holding kerne in addition to the 100 footmen and twenty horsemen which were from his command, and forty horsemen under Nicholas Bagenal.¹² Sir George Stanley in a similar letter: Sir George Stanley in a similar letter was to place his 100 footmen and sixty horsemen, which included Wingfield's, at the bishop of Meath's house at Kileen, in Trim, Ticroghan, or elsewhere as

⁸Dispositions in Arnold and council to Ormond, 7 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 65).

⁹Arnold and council to Radcliffe, Cowley, 4 Aug. (ibid., nos. 47, 51).

¹⁰Arnold and council to Cosby, 4 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 52).

¹¹Arnold and council to Kildare, 4 Aug. (ibid., no. 55).

¹²Arnold and council to Fitzwilliam, 4 Aug. (B.M., Add. MS 35, 831, no. 87).

he saw fit.¹³ The county was to be cessed for 200 holding kerne for six weeks as well. Arnold was leaving nothing to chance in his dispositions and he ordered Brian Fitzwilliam to be ready with his 120 footmen and Agard with his forty horsemen to be ready to accompany himself to Offaly.¹⁶ When he reached the fort in Leix he intended himself to take pledges of O'Meagher, the two O'Kennedys, O'Mulligan, MacBrien Arra, O'Brien Ogonagh, and O'Dwyer, thus leaving Radcliffe in eclipse. Cosby was to take pledges from Upper Ossory and O'Carroll, Kildare from Mac Coghlan and Mac Geoghagan, Fitzwilliam from O'Melaughlin and Mac Cauley, and Cowley from O'Molloy.¹⁵ On the day following, letters in Latin were dispatched by the government to most of these Irish chiefs to say that there were reports that some of their followers had joined the rebels. They were to apprehend any such and send them to Arnold, who would see that they were repaid any expenses involved, as well as punishing any who were helping the rebels, of which the government had positive evidence. All the officers given orders on 4 August were authorised to act in place of the governor and no private quarrels were to be followed while the rebellion was being put down.¹⁶

The next day, 6 August, letters were sent to the viscount Montgarret for the officers and inhabitants of the liberty of Wexford and to Nicholas Heron as captain of the various branches of the Kavanaghs to cess 100 holding kerne for four weeks on Wexford and the fasagh of Bentry, and for two weeks on the Kavanaghs.¹⁷

On 7 August Ormond was given the background of the revolt, the dispositions taken to meet it, and the names of all the O'Conors known to be in rebellion, though 'their number unnamed is far greater.' Ormond was to see to the southern boundary of

¹³Arnold and council to Stanley, 4 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 48.).

¹⁴Arnold and council to Agard, Brian Fitzwilliam, 4 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, nos. 49, 50).

¹⁵Arnold and council to Cowley, 4 Aug. notes on the same (ibid., nos. 53, 54).

¹⁶5 Aug. (ibid., nos. 60, 61).

¹⁷P.R.O., SP. Ire., 63/11, nos. 62, 63.

the rebel area 'and for that it is likely the rebels, being thus on all parts set on, will draw for the time of this persecution for succour towards Piers Grace...' he was to block them if they moved in the direction of Neragh.¹⁸ Sir Piers Butler was written to on the same day to enlist his help and a curious fact emerged. Callough and his brother Art mc Brian O'Conor, with their servants, followers, 'and a number of strange kerne and rascals common unto them' awaited the return of their brother Cormac with the 'harquebusiers of Connaught and Scots.'¹⁹ In effect, despite the furious preparations of the government, the revolt had not yet really begun.

Certain incursions had. On 5 August the sheriffs, gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of cos Meath and Westmeath²⁰ had been informed of the steps taken to protect them 'from the invasions, spoilings, burnings, and other detestable cruelties of the combined rebels ... whereof they have already begun to show unwonted and execrable examples...' With the advice of the counties Stanley and Fitzwilliam were to take anyone suspected of aiding the rebels, and to place others in the suspects' houses to see that neither the rebels nor any of their agents received such aid. The inhabitants were to help in every way they could and were themselves to move to the defence of their borders until the soldiers arrived.

Cowley and Cosby as sheriffs of King's Co. and Queen's Co. received slightly different letters,²¹ because of the nature of the plantation grants there, which

required them to warn all those within the same to be ready with all such horsemen and footmen for the war as they are bound by their tenures to keep... And see you that they have them all duly furnished according to their tenures... Hereof fail you not in any wise and certify us with speed their number and furniture.

Three days later the same two officers received commissions²² to present all the O'Mores who were not under the queen's protection, and a list of the principal O'Conors beginning with Cormac, Callough, and Art mcBrian, Lysagh mcMorgh O'Conor, who had also

¹⁸Ibid., no. 65.

¹⁹Ibid., no. 67.

²⁰Ibid., nos. 56, 57.

²¹5 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, nos. 58, 59).

²²8 Aug. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/11, nos. 69, 70).

been a native planter in Offaly, and all who aided them. Aid was defined as assistance to the rebels 'with meat or drink, or with weapon or armor directly or indirectly...'

Wroth had interrogated a student from Paris. Concealed under his passport from the French king and his mother, Marie de Medici, was another from them commanding all French to aid anyone who came from Ireland from O'Neill, Desmond, and the earls of Connaught. Arnold had not had time to examine him 'being occupied in consultation for the repressing of the rebels... who have done much hurt and especially in Offaly, but if that be executed that is devised, proposed, and premised, you shall hear I trust that they shall receive as they deserve.'²³

Certainly Arnold's dispositions were thorough. He had placed 261 horsemen, who would have had extra horses and horseboys, 720 footmen, some of them archers but the majority gunners, and 300 kerne, all from the regular army. Galloglas were also mentioned a month or so later. An additional 980 kerne were to be hired and maintained for six weeks, involving another 420 boys, and a considerable number of the countryside were expected to serve. Thus the lord justice had something like 2500 fighting men at his disposal to seek out what late in November Fitzwilliam estimated as 240 swords for the O'Connors at their strongest²⁴ and Sir Edmund Butler and Barnaby Fitzpatrick estimated as 100 swords for the O'Mores.²⁵ Even supposing the numbers to have been greater it is probable that there were not more than 500 fighting men among the rebels at their greatest strength.

Arnold and the council issued a printed proclamation on 16 August in which the names of 191 O'Connors and their supporters known to the government were listed as 'open and manifest traitors and rebels.'²⁶ They were further charged with 'killing of men, women, and children, with strange and exquisite manner of torments and dismembering.' That Cormac had had some success in enlisting support

²³Wroth to Cecil, 8 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P., Ire, 63/11, no. 68).

²⁴Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov., (B.M. Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 44. 1).

²⁵Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 109).

²⁶P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 74.

in Connaught is shown by the fact that the proclamation included names from cos Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, in numbers. Wroth, writing to Dudley the same day,²⁷ said that the rebels were out, 'burning and killing after a cruel and an unwonted manner of fury,' so that the charges in the proclamation had some substance. He added that certain of the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes with some of the O'Tooles of Imaal "are gathered together, and have burned and preyed on Irish gentleman's house called Tibbet McMorrice (Walshe), a man of good service as they say, and are not unlike to do more hurt.' In Bellingham's time Walshe had been constable of Arklow and had led an expedition which preyed the Kavanaghs when they were in rebellion in 1550.²⁸ He had been involved in the killing of Peter Talbot,²⁹ who had had a grant of Imaal. Walshe was mentioned as being of Three Castles in a fiant signed by Sussex before 1564,³⁰ which may have been the location of his house.

Wroth expected to see the rebels punished, including the Kavanaghs when Heron was allowed to return to his command. Wroth continued to work on the commission's business, and was struck by the fact that the queen was owed several thousand pecks of grain for cess, though in summing up his work he praised Sussex as having done his job well, a view which could not have been pleasing to Dudley. It may have been designed to facilitate Wroth's request to him 'and now you must give me leave to repeat the foot of my song: your procured my coming hither; do somewhat to help me home.'

While the preparations for the war against the rebels is clear enough its conduct is not. As late as 29 August³¹ Arnold still seems to have been in Dublin, when arrangements were made for the council that remained to take any necessary action against the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles. The court in England was not well informed as Dudley and Cecil told Arnold.³² They were 'sorry that by common report the matters of the rebels in Offaly and Leix grow so cumbersome and chargeable as the like hath not happened of many

²⁷Ibid., no. 73.

²⁸Cal. fiants Ire., Ed. VI, nos. 323, 560, 941.

²⁹Cal. fiants Ire., Mary, no. 187.

³⁰Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 660.

³¹Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 140-41.

³²16 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 88).

years, and yet we cannot here have any frequent advertisement from you.' Letters from Wroth and Arnold had arrived in the midst of a royal progress and had caused Elizabeth to return in haste to London ' for the consideration of those and other matters of importance' with her whole council. Cecil and Dudley, noticing that Arnold and Wroth never signed anything jointly, told the two of them to be reconciled, and said they would be glad to hear of a good end to the rebellion 'that you might apply yourselves to the reforming of the faults in the garrison' and reducing the crown's heavy expenses.

In fact the original six weeks for which the extra kerne had been cessed were almost over and ^{the government} in Ireland had to renew their cessing for another six weeks.³³ In addition it was decided that the cattle and goods of all those suspected of helping the rebels were to be brought further into the English pale, 'and the owners and their tenants and followers were to come in and live therein.' Any servants or followers who had gone off and served with the Irish and returned were to be executed. It was also ruled that 'the corn of Leix ... be gathered into some one or more safe places by a common charge and rather serve for the common defence of the country than to be left to be destroyed by the enemy or for relief of the enemy.'

Stanley, at least, took such regulations seriously and submitted a report of his actions and findings for the six weeks after 7 August.³⁴ On 25 August he had executed eight 'traitors and malefactors' at Athboy, and five more at Trim on 16 September. He had seven more in ward awaiting the same fate. He next presented a list of twenty-five names, five of them O'Conors, including Cahill 'one of old O'Conor's sons', a Fleming, two Husseys, and the lord of Shane's butler, all of which 'be to be had in Meath and the borders of Meath if the gentlemen dwelling in the same do their duties, as is to be proved by my own knowledge and by the confession of those which I have in ward.' A further list of thirteen men, including 'one Caine, otherwise called a jester' could be

³³ 17 Sept., 18 Sept. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 141).

³⁴ 'A book delivered by Sir George Stanley...at the council board 10th October 1564' (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 92).

taken by similar evidence in Co. Westmeath, where he omitted another sixty men because Fitzwilliam had raised the issue and would explain it.

Stanley next listed some twenty-five other names, among them a Plunkett, a Davey, a Barnewell, a Wesley, two more Husseys, a Dalton and his tenant William Roe O'Drennan, three Flemings and three Bernynghams, including Sir Thomas Bernyngham, vicar of Clonard, two O'Conors dwelling at Longwood in his parish, two MacGeoghegans, O'Dunne, captain of his nation, and an O'Reilly. Several wives were included, as for example 'Thomas Wesley of the Digham (Dangan) and especially his wife,' perhaps an early example of the Wellington temperament. Stanley explained that this group 'being of Meath, Westmeath, the county of Kildare, and those borders, are such as have relieved and soccoured the outlaws, which I have foreborne to apprehend because they be men of substance and living and be no fugitive persons...' Some of them he could charge from his own knowledge and some by information from men he held.

Stanley had given the names of a Tyrrell, a Burnell, an O'Doran, and two other Irish dwelling in 'Farbill' to Kildare early in September because they were under his rule. The names of a Walsh, two Irishmen, and two Irish husbands and wives, and the priest of Castle Jordan he had presented at 'the council table before we entered into the wars.' Some of them had since been executed by Kildare and the rest were held. Stanley had a number of other suspects that he was still investigating.

The sixty men which Fitzwilliam was to explain seem to have been men hired by the O'Conors at the beginning of the revolt 'which my lord of Kildare upon his word took from them at one clap eight, which were the five brethern of the O'Mores's companions, and sixty other out of the Annally, whose names Is all offered to my lord justice and the earl (of Kildare) in council, but all those still lives, saving two.' Fitzwilliam went on to complain that because Stanley had killed and hanged nearly thirty of the O'Conor supporters and had twenty more in prison, 'and cannot get one of them hanged,' he had been relieved of the guard of Meath.³⁵ Stanley's activity had been during the six

³⁵Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (B.M. Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 44. 1).

weeks since 7 August. From the beginning Arnold had relied on Kildare in routing out the outlaws, and when the holding kerne were renewed in mid-September those in Meath were placed under two of 'the five brethren of the O'Mores' who had sixty men of their own when they arrived and were allowed eighty more with their forty boys at the county's expense. It was hoped, so Fitzwilliam reported³⁶ in disgust, that

...they will not suffer any of the rebels to make open spoil in their quarters, but if their dear late companions should want either weapon, armour, clothing, or feeding I hardly doubt but they should have it, and no better mean without peril to the rebels can be for their furniture and help than this.

In November he asserted that they were all in one parish in Meath,³⁷ and in January he reported their continuing presence, all of the holding kerne having been renewed until March.³⁸

It was against this background that Fitzwilliam reported a conversation that took place between Callough O'Connor and Myler Hussey on Thursday, 28 September.³⁷ Hussey had a castle in Co. Meath three miles north and east of Kilcock, served on commissions with the Earl of Kildare,³⁹ and had connections among the Irish.⁴⁰ He must therefore have had the confidence of Callough for he asked 'with subtle words' if Sussex had been responsible for his alienation from the government, to which Callough 'gave him to hell if ever he heard of such motion' of Sussex 'and afterwards in long talk with (Hussey) he said he knew who were his putters out well enough, naming merely the Marshal and myself.' It was a matter of concern, and Fitzwilliam thought that a letter sent to Callough should be forthcoming if the messenger that took it, and those that heard it read, would acknowledge its contents.

The difficulty was that Callough was dead, killed on Sunday, 15 October, with two or three kerne.⁴¹ His head was

³⁶Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 19 Octo. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 94).

³⁷Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (loc. cit.).

³⁸Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 7 Jan. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 4).

³⁹20 Mar. 1559, 7 July 1560, 3 July 1567 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos. 56, 260, 1097)

⁴⁰Pardon, 22 May, 1565 (ibid, no. 726).

⁴¹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 19 Oct. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 94).

presented to Arnold at the Daingean, from which he had escaped not many weeks before. Wroth was also there and said that Callough 'was killed by the hand of his own kinsman Callough Roe, one Teig McCahir's son, which Teig and others as they call it drew the draught by my lord of Kildare's appointment. It was a good service.'⁴² A pardon was later issued to Teig, Callough Roe, and seven other Irishmen for this killing.⁴³ As Fitzwilliam said 'of all the chief rebels is not killed or taken but Callough,' and it would be interesting to know what his head contained that made it so valuable.

Certainly rumours were quickly in circulation with regard to what Callough had had to say to Myler Hussey. When Stanley spoke of 'these hurts' to the lord justice, Arnold's reply was that 'he knew there were Englishmen which were the causers of these rebellions, and that they should hear of it ere long.' Stanley hoped they would be rapidly exposed 'for it was too beastly to have a mere Englishman to be a worker in such causes,' and to Fitzwilliam's disgust Kildare had words to say on the origins of the revolt which the vice-treasurer declined to quote, arguing that the record of conduct in quelling the revolt would 'easily show where and from whence the O'Conor rebels had the greatest strength and maintenance.'⁴⁴

According to Fitzwilliam the rebels were rampant and the settlers in Leix had had to

'bear and found their own defense all this time, except such of her majesty's soldiers as ordinarily hath been at the fort. A miserable country was made of it, the like hath not been seen of many years, for that the kerne passed, in burning of houses with corn as it grew, in murdering of the people, and slaughter of the cattle, and no small spoil of other goods.'

He thought it would be worse as winter advanced and the nights became longer.⁴⁵

Wroth, on the other hand, reported after Callough's death 'the rest of the rebels in Offaly be sparkled (dispersed) in

⁴²Wroth to Cecil, 21 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 95).

⁴³12 Apr. 1565 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 717).

⁴⁴Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 44.1).

⁴⁵Fitzwilliams to Cecil, 19 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11 no. 94).

eight or ten in a company... and so go up and down in the woods and bogs.' He hoped that when those who aided them were apprehended that they would no longer be able to stay in Offaly.

'The Mores in Leix, having a wider country and greater wastes adjoining, meet oftener together and so when they find opportunity : are somewhat stronger to do mischief, but neither have done any great hurt of late'.⁴⁶ Arnold and his council was willing to sum the matter up as finished. The O'Conors had been reduced to a small number by Kildare's diligent service, and 'the O'Mores also to a small number, and so dispersed and beaten out of courage, clothes, and victual that they live in extreme misery, and are not now together in any number to be feared.' They reckoned that at least ninety of the O'Conors had been killed or executed, and of the O'More's some thirty-five besides some in prison but not executed.

Then 'we trust in short time to repress them or so to disperse them that they shall not be able to do more hurt this winter than now and then to burn a few houses near the bogs and woods which, although they were fewer than they be, they cannot be restrained to do although your highness had in garrison four times the number ye have here.

The signatures of the letter are of interest for, aside from Arnold, Curwer, Agard, and Chaloner they were all Anglo-Irish, Kildare, Baltinglass, Trimleston, Slane, and Howth representing the peers and Plunkett, Dillon, Bathe, and Cusack the gentry. By accident or design a large English element had been omitted.⁴⁷

As the rebellion and the army were tied together so the commission's investigations into the captain's pay records went on as the war against the rebels did. Heron had been summoned to Dublin but in the case of the captains in Leix and Offaly Wroth, Bermyngham, and Dix the auditor accompanied Arnold on his campaign. A split had developed in the commission, with Wroth and Dix on the one hand and Bermyngham and the other commissioners on the other, on how to proceed with Brian Fitzwilliam but it was finally agreed that he had failed to account sufficiently for £ 3,300 of payment. In mid-October they took

⁴⁶Wroth to Cecil, 21 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 95).

⁴⁷Arnold and council to Elizabeth, 31 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11. no. 97).

musters at Daingean of Cowley's men, and at Bermyngham's request kept fifteen of them for inquest. At the muster of Radcliffe's troops in the beginning of November Bermyngham asked for an inquest of thirty-two of the soldiers. Next he did not want to allow the captains to submit proof or testimoney against the crown in their own defence. Dix went on to say⁴⁸ that

After a good time and no man answering, Sir Thomas Wroth said he would be loath to live in that commonwealth where justice should not be indifferently ministered, and (as he did take it) they were not only sent to examine and try all disorders and faults but also to do uprightly to all men, and that the lord justice and the rest of the commissioners did sit (as he thought) to that end to judge uprightly between her highness and her subjects.

Dix's comments were in response to an irate letter by the queen⁴⁹ asking why in the course of nearly a year the investigation had accomplished so little. Wroth was recalled, though Arnold was to stay as justice, and Dix was to stay only if he were needed. She finished in regal manner 'we mislike so much of your remissness to satisfy us in this commission that except you can better answer to your doings we shall think it reasonable to cause you make accoumpt thereof.' Dix responded that he had done every set of accounts except Fitzwilliam's as vice-treasurer and that he had been promised those within two months. The customs books, 'being unfit were more troublesome than the reckoning of £ 100,000,' but it was the army pay that was delaying the commission. Dix praised Wroth's collecting of debts that the Irish Exchequer had marked desperate and thought that the crown would recover 'treble the checks' on the army pay by carrying through the collection Wroth had begun. If Dix could get agreement from Bermyngham on the checks he would deliver within six hours what each captain owed the crown. He had been at discharges at Boulogne, Calais, and elsewhere 'but yet to this time I never came in so endless do (ings).'

According to Dix Arnold talked of discharging 279 horsemen and footmen, and yet the revolt had, whatever its origins, justified the army's existence. When he returned from Leix and Offaly Wroth informed Cecil⁵⁰ that

⁴⁸Dix to Cecil, 22 Nov. (P. R. O., S.P. Ire. 63/11, no. 106).

⁴⁹Elizabeth to Arnold and Wroth, 4 Oct. (ibid., no. 90).

⁵⁰21 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 95).

these countries do greatly enlarge the skirts of the English pale here and carrieth peril far from it. The keeping of them is of great importance, and with good order (when this storm is blown over, which is well calmed) it will be done without great peril or cost...with this always that her majesty do keep her own herself at her own charges, get that again as she may. But herein I had rather speak than write, and so I leave it.

He also told Cecil⁵¹ of an encounter that Sir Barnaby FitzPatrick had with the O'Mores in October which gives an idea of the endless small actions involved. Some sixty rebel O'Mores had taken a prey. In haste FitzPatrick took four or five horsemen and eight or ten kerne and overtook them in the night. He attacked, rescued the prey, and wounded seven or eight rebels, some of whom died. The night was dark and with four of his small force hurt FitzPatrick had to give up further pursuit.

The government had renewed the cess for the holding kerne, placed 120 galloglas in Westmeath and 120 more at the fort in Leix, whose monthly cess of corn and beeves was also called for, and letters were to be sent 'to the freeholders of Leix to be resident on their holds with their furniture due by their tenures.' Radcliffe asked that a deputy be elected as lieutenant for Leix and Offaly so that he could answer his summons to the Court in England.⁵² A day or so later the O'Mores, through Francis Cosby, desired peace. Wroth's opinion was that if they did it of their own volition they were at a low ebb and not likely to last long but that if anyone put them up to it the matter was not so good. He had heard both stories 'and therefore dare not yet affirm any of both, for this country will teach any man not to be hasty of belief.' He thought Arnold and his council had done well to reject their request.⁵³

Within a fortnight the rebels had revived and a hundred O'Mores poured into Leix destroying household stuffs, corn and cattle. George Delves at Shaen had 60 ploughhorses and five churles or husbandmen slain as well as losing all his cattle and goods. Fitzwilliam did not miss reporting that Delves was in Dublin answering for his army accounts before Arnold though he stated that

⁵¹21 Nov. (ibid., no. 98).

⁵²28 Oct., 29 Oct. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 142-43).

⁵³Wroth to Cecil, 2 Nov. (P.R.O. S. P. Ire., 63/11, no. 98).

elsewhere in Leix there were 'hurts done to a greater value than his.' Sixty men led by three of the O'Conors had also devastated Offaly, killing two or three inhabitants and 220 garrons as well as burning four haggards and destroying cattle and other property. Fitzwilliam asserted that Arnold was made 'very black' by the news for he had boasted three weeks before that the O'Mores and O'Conors between them could not raise forty men and that they were vanished beyond the Shannon from which they would not dare look into Leix and Offaly again. Fitzwilliam said that Kildare left Dublin in great haste, for despite the numbers of holding kerne assigned to him it was doubtful that many were in position in the country. He completed his tale with the information that 'the earl of Ormond hath taken upon him the banishment of the O'Mores, whereby I see the country must once more go to charges.'⁵⁴

Nevertheless Fitzwilliam told Cecil six weeks later⁵⁵ that Ormond had pursued the O'Mores so relentlessly that they were only able to do sporadic damage, being dispersed into small groups by his pursuit. He also reported that the weather had brought the war to a halt, for there had first been such rains that at one period almost all the passages had been blocked by great floods. This weather had been followed by freezing and snows, such as had not been seen in Ireland for twenty years, and so by means of the two phenomena 'stealths and open preys hath been well forborne...' Once more the O'Mores and O'Conors had been beaten.

Their activity had not passed unnoticed abroad. Thomas Randolph, ambassador to Scotland, informed Cecil⁵⁶ that there were great rumours at the Scottish court of much harm being done lately in Ireland. Sir Thomas Chalhoner, the ambassador to Spain, reported to Elizabeth⁵⁷ that the Spanish ambassador in England had forwarded

⁵⁴Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (B.M. Cott. MS Titus B X, no. 44.i), Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 109).

⁵⁵7 Jan. 1565 (ibid., 63/12, no. 4).

⁵⁶24 Oct. (Cal. S.P. for., 1564-65, no. 757).

⁵⁷27 Sept. (ibid., no. 697).

news of the revolt to Spain together with a copy of the proclamation printed in Dublin against the rebels in August. Knowing the eyes the Spaniards had always cast on Ireland Challoner did not like such interest though he trusted that the O'Conors without other assistance would be of no great consequence. Challoner may have thought that the other assistance would be French or Scottish. There was an attempt on the part of the Irish to enlist Spanish help through the ambassador in England. Philip II had cut that short by instructing de Silva⁵⁸ to be wary of such people and that 'the negotiations opened by the Irish Catholics' were 'not desirable' as they had 'tried the same thing before with the same result.' Who the negotiators were does not appear, though they may have been connected with the rebels or part of a larger enterprise.

Certainly things were astir in Ireland. While Arnold was in Leix O'Donnell seized the opportunity to go to England, without permission and contrary to his promises to Arnold.⁵⁹ Fitzwilliam saw O'Neill as being on good behavior and thought O'Donnell would be of more use placed in Tyrconnell than at court,⁶⁰ but Arnold and the council reviewing his whole case, pointed to his Scottish wife and his dependence on bringing in Scots to assist him and therefore advised strongly against putting him back in his own country. In England Callough had had time by the end of October to prepare and present an elaborate statement of his past difficulties and his case,⁶¹ and on Sunday the 29th he was examined by Dudley, now the earl of Leicester, the marquess of Winchester, and Cecil on all its points.⁶² He was asked particularly why he had come to England without a licence. His answer was that he could not get Arnold either to act or to allow him to go north and that he came to Elizabeth according to his bounden duty rather 'than to go to France or to Spain to seek any remedy...' He further

⁵⁸6 Aug. 1564 (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1558-67, no. 259).

⁵⁹Arnold and council to Elizabeth, 31 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 97).

⁶⁰Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 19 Oct. (ibid., no. 94).

⁶¹Callough O'Donnell to Elizabeth, 29 Oct. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 96).

⁶²O'Donnell to Elizabeth, 2 Nov. (ibid., no. 99). See Bagwells Tudors, 11 76-79 for details of his case.

assured the queen 'that Shane is so maintained by certain of the council of Ireland, against all right and reason, that it will give occasion to many Irishmen in Ireland to withdraw themselves from your majesty's service...' unless corrected.

Shane for his part was being sweetly reasonable, or so the commission for dealing with him, which included Louth and Cusack, reported.⁶³ Yet the 'unthrifty sons' of O'Reilly had been giving trouble to the pale during the revolt, which pointed to Shane, 'upon whom some of the unthriftiest of them do seem to depend,'⁶⁴ as had the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles. While there was confidence that all such could be put down, and Wroth noted that O'Reilly and his two eldest sons seemed to be ready to behave,⁶⁵ Fitzwilliam soon reported that their raids were still occurring nightly and that two of the sons had 'gone under Shane' for help.⁶⁶

Elizabeth had decided to send O'Donnell back to Ireland, his case being ordered by a commission between him and Shane, with the object being to restore O'Donnell to his country. Because 'we are not without compassion of this his calamity' she wished the Irish government to use him well, especially as his troubles began by taking part against Shane.⁶⁷ Three weeks later Randolph thought that O'Donnell had arrived at the Scottish court, where Shane solicited daily for help from Scotland, offering great service to Mary. James MacDonnell was also there and he still wished to have Elizabeth confirm his Irish lands as Sussex had agreed they would be granted to him. Randolph found that Argyll and MacDonnell were willing to help in anything that would overthrow Shane.⁶⁸

Trouble was also in the making in the south of Ireland. Fitzwilliam praised Cusack for what 'he did with the earl of Desmond

⁶³O'Neill's answer to Cusack, 14 Nov., (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/11. no. 100).

⁶⁴Wroth to Cecil, 2 Nov. (ibid., no. 98).

⁶⁵Wroth to Cecil, 14, 17 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/11, no. 101)

⁶⁶Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Nov. (ibid., no. 109), Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 44. 1).

⁶⁷Elizabeth to Arnold, 3 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11 no. 110).

⁶⁸Randolph to Cecil, 24 Dec. (Cal. S.P. for., 1564-65, no. 878).

this summer,⁶⁹ and it is true that under Cusack's influence Desmond got all the lords and captains of Co. Cork assembled before his commission in Cork, where they acknowledged the queen's sovereignty, agreed to be governed by her laws and orders, 'and also recognised to hold all their lands and hereditaments severally of her majesty by knight's service.' Desmond wrote of this accomplishment to Winchester and Cecil,⁷⁰ and he also recommended Andrew Skyddy to Cecil for the office of master of the rolls, though 'I am most sorry (the office) is become void by the death of so good a subject as Mr. Parker was.'⁷¹ He must have seemed a model pupil to all his tutors.

Such a state could not last. In the midst of the revolt Wroth informed Cecil that Ormond and Desmond were on bad terms again⁷² and he soon expressed the fear that 'it will break out in extremities between them shortly.' The fear was prompted by Heron's return to Dublin on 17 November after seeing both earls.⁷³ When the revolt had begun Ormond was instructed to watch Piers Grace. Now he was to take charge of the defence of Carlow, Kilkenny and Queen's counties as well as Upper Ossory and the countries of O'Carroll, O'Mulryan, O'Dunne and O'Meaghen. The midlands were divided between Ormond and Kildare. Ormond was to have 200 holding kerne until 1 March, half of them levied in money on Co. Waterford and half on Co. Limerick. As well he was to have the 120 galloglas levied for the defence of Leix, the hundred soldiers under John Fitzwilliam in the fort there, the forty-five soldiers under Portas, the hundred of the queen's kerne under Cosby, the forty under Barnaby Fitzpatrick and the forty under Sir Edmund Butler. Ormond could command the assistance of all the forces in his area and he was to confer and cooperate with Kildare. He was entitled to take cess for his forces at the usual prices and he was empowered in his area to take any pledges he thought necessary and to sequester the possession of any castle or house, placing wards in them.⁷⁴

⁶⁹Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (loc. cit.).

⁷⁰26 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, nos. 36, 37).

⁷¹21 July (ibid., no. 38).

⁷²Wroth to Cecil, 21 Oct. (ibid., no. 95).

⁷³Wroth to Cecil, 14, 17 Nov. (ibid., no. 101).

⁷⁴20 Nov., 21 Nov. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71), pp. 144-46.

There was a danger signal in all of this for Desmond if he could read it. Ormond had been in Thomond serving against the O'Briens and on his return homeward with 120 horsemen Desmond set an ambush to catch him along his accustomed route. Ormond had warning 'and returned a back way, unlooked for' and so avoided it.⁷⁵ In addition Desmond had raided Kilfeacle, one of the manors in dispute between them in Tipperary, and burned three houses there, and Athassel 'with three or four rich and good towns of cattle, corn and such stuff as they use, were spoiled of all kind of goods, and divers of the people slain.' Even Pottlerath, which was in Co. Kilkenny near Callan, was burnt to the walls of the castle. Piers Grace was involved as well and the damage the two had done 'by report £ 5000 cannot recompense again.'⁷⁶ Ormond had been in Dublin when most of these raids occurred and he returned there to complain. His enlarged commission for the south must have been a partial answer. Fitzwilliam said that Arnold wanted to go to Waterford to arbitrate between the two but that Kildare had dissuaded him. Ormond felt matters had reached the point where he must complain to Cecil, 'although I know you daily occupied, good Mr Secretary, in matters of great importance...' Once home Ormond sent Cecil a detailed statement of the whole situation and asked that Elizabeth order Desmond to cease and desist from all his evil doings.⁷⁷ The two earls were headed for a collision.

That event was delayed by the winter and the war. Ormond pursued the O'Mores steadily. Kildare, like Ormond, was allowed to retain 240 holding Kerne, including the eighty O'Mores placed in Co. Meath, until 1 March, and to use the queen's galloglas if necessary in pursuing the O'Conors. Winter was also an effective ally, with rain and floods followed by heavy freezing and snow.

The bad weather and the cessation of war meant that Arnold, untrammelled by Wroth who had returned to England, was able to return to the work of the commission which he did with thoroughness, and it seems clear with the object of discrediting Sussex and all

⁷⁵Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 109)

⁷⁶Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Nov. (loc. cit.).

⁷⁷22 Nov., 4 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, nos. 108, 111).

his adherents. Thus 'there passed the fourth of January from my lord justice in his own house such a dealing to Mr. Marshal (Stanley) as hath not been heard the like of...! Fitzwilliam thought that the object was to provoke Stanley to insubordination and he told Cecil that it was 'into that disgrace both councillors of England birth, captains, and soldiers are grown into with the Ireland born men of late...!'⁷⁸ To Sussex he was even more candid. The cases of Radcliffe, Stanley, and Delves were all before the commission out of 'all reason and order.' His own company was being called into question and Delves, his brother-in-law, had already been committed to Dublin castle. It is plain that Fitzwilliam was beginning to wonder if he were next and in genuine alarm he asked Sussex not to condemn them.⁷⁹ Radcliffe, Stanley, and Delves made a joint protest to Elizabeth about the proceedings of Bermyngham, Arnold, and the commissioners, restated the points at issue and their offers to settle 'for as we cannot but confess ourselves in some parts guilty through negligence...!'⁸⁰

Dix, the auditor, registered his disgust to Cecil at the way the proceedings were conducted. He asserted that if the matter had been done as he and Wroth wished they would have been finished long since and have saved the queen at least £3000,⁸¹ a figure which he soon raised to £5000. Under the present system the charges went on and the credit of the captains was taken away, creating dissension and disorder. On 25 January the commission, sitting in the Hoken in Dublin, had Radcliffe before them and Arnold, talking to Dix,⁸²

made great discourse to me of the great exactions, impositions, cesses, and cating (provisioning) of my lord of Sussex and the captains, whereby the English pale is made poor, and that he had advertised her majesty thereof. I told him if he have advertised the like of the nobility and gentlemen of this birth then he dealt indifferently. Otherwise he would be thought partial, for where there is or hath been taken by the English anyways 20s., they of this birth have and do daily take double, but nothing is or may be said therein.

⁷⁸ Jan. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 4).

⁷⁹ Jan. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 44, iii).

⁸⁰ 10 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 65/12, no. 8).

⁸¹ 17 Jan. (ibid., no. 11).

⁸² Dix to _____, 26 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 14).

Adam Loftus, archbishop of Armagh, told Sussex that Arnold was building up a case against him with witnesses to every article, and that he was going to charge Radcliffe, Fitzwilliam, and Stanley as the primary obstacles among the captains to Arnold's own government reform.⁸³ Loftus, who had been at court and returned to Dublin, told Fitzwilliam that Leicester had showed him the witnessed articles against Sussex and his associates gathered by Arnold. Loftus also asserted that it was Leicester who was behind the move to deny Radcliffe the means to pay his troops and that he had advised Arnold to ignore the queen's instructions, Leicester's object being to undo Sussex and all his supporters.⁸⁴ On 20 January Fitzwilliam had received warrants from Elizabeth, via Loftus and a servant of Radcliffe's, to pay the latter's men.⁸⁵ Radcliffe was examined on 25 January and on a day following he, Stanley, and Fitzwilliam, as well as Agard and Challoner declined to sign the instructions for Cusack and Dowdall to restore O'Neill's urraghts, a step Arnold and Cusack were agreed was authorized by the queen.⁸⁶ Radcliffe applied for Arnold's licence to go to England on 31 January. Arnold declined flatly and committed him to prison for debt the same day.⁸⁷

Radcliffe told Cecil that his authority had been gradually undermined and in England his brother Sussex spelled out the details of that process.⁸⁸ He went back to the time when Arnold addressed Delves's troops at Dundalk and Radcliffe's at the fort in Leix, finding fault with their food and

saying they were not used like soldiers, and that men must be used like men and not like slaves with such other unseemly words of encouragement to the soldiers as thereby, and his departing without trial what was due, there was like to have grown such a mutiny... as they would have refused to have gone into the field, if Sussex and the captains had not provided a month's pay on their

⁸³31 Jan. 1565 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 45).

⁸⁴Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 31 Jan. 1565 (ibid., no. 46 ii).

⁸⁵Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 28 Jan. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 18).

⁸⁶Radcliffe, Stanley, and Fitzwilliam to the privy council, 30 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 22).

⁸⁷Radcliffe to Cecil, 31 Jan. (ibid., no. 24).

⁸⁸'A declaration made by...Sussex...' 29 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 19).

own credit because the treasury was empty. Sussex reviewed Arnold's failure to renew Radcliffe's commission as lieutenant of Leix and Offaly and the surrounding Irish. The destruction the war in those parts had caused of both lives and property was such that 'in fine the whole intent of that government...is so far cracked as in long time it will not be recovered, and without speedy remedy will be utterly in short time subverted and made frustrate.'

It was Fitzwilliam's contention that Radcliffe would not be found to owe the crown £10, but the debts Arnold charged him with are interesting for what they reveal about Leix. Arnold had been examining Peppard's lease of Slievemargg and the two parishes in Leix which he had bought from St. Leger, whose values had been determined by an inquisition taken at Ballyadams on 18 October 1564. The production of grain in them had been considerable in the past year or so.⁸⁹ When Arnold charged Radcliffe with his debts he mentioned not only his army accounts but also 'the usurping of her majesty's lands in Leix and Offaly (for so he termed it) that did amount to £8000.' Sir Henry protested that his entire pay did not come to £12,000 and asked to exercise his right to lay the whole matter before the English council. He was charged with household servants entered as soldiers, with sixty-six Irish soldiers which he was not allowed and with seventy-two other men not entered in time. There was an item of £780 for unnamed kerne because they were not named. Those headings accounted for more than £5000 of his alleged debts, but as Radcliffe complained Arnold also

chargeth me with great sums of money [£2,341] for the profits of Leix and Offaly whereof there never came to my use any part - or commodity but the occupying of part of the lands laid and appointed to the forts, whereof I hope her majesty will [n] either demand of me more than hath been demanded of other lieutenants there before me, or at the most I to answer and pay no more for the same than other the gentlemen of those countries have done and shall do for such lands as they have in like case enjoyed.

Radcliffe's enumeration⁹⁰ of the alleged profits were 'for the part of two mills belonging to the forts, £188; the tithes of 167 ploughs, whereof no penny profit came to my use, £1333;

⁸⁹See p. , and Arnold to Elizabeth, 26, Jan. 1565, enclosing the inquisition (P. R. O.) S. P. Ire., 63/12, nos. 15, 15.I).

⁹⁰Radcliffe to the privy council, Feb. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63 (12, nos. 23, 23. I).

the profit of 25 ploughs employed upon the lands annexed to the fort, £600; felon's goods, £140; a fine, £80...! Whatever the substance of the charges it is clear that farming on some scale had been going on in Leix and Offaly.

Bermyngham soon sent a detailed reckoning on Radcliffe, which has not survived, though one of the things asserted was that he had sixty-four men in the fort when he should have had 100 because of dead pays, dead and discharged. George Delves, also from Leix, had not produced a reckoning despite his stay in Dublin castle, but after three weeks there John Gorton had produced a perfect book which also covered his brother William, who had died on 21 April 1563, and whose petty captain John had been until that date.⁹¹

The privy council in England considered letters from Arnold, and from Radcliffe, Stanley, and Delves and then wrote an admonition to the Irish government against their imprisonment, for Radcliffe was released on 31 March, eleven days after money had arrived for him from England. Fitzwilliam wanted him to stay longer to improve his case⁹³, and such a delay had an effect for 'my brother Delves' because he was finally allowed his checks of £900 by Elizabeth and her commissioners after he had met his accusers face to face. Their testimony cleared him. He and Radcliffe intended going to England after they had visited Leix.⁹⁴

Fitzwilliam was also concerned about the situation in the north. Arnold had given Kildare permission to prey Cahir O'Reilly, who in retaliation took 'within four days after four gentlemen of the Plunketts and within as much time more he burned and prayed Cruisestown [Co. Louth], being rich of corn and cattle, Thomas Fleming had it in farm, so as now we have open war begun with them...! Council sat on the matter for four or five days and concluded that Kildare should raid him two or three times more in retaliation. Fitzwilliam felt that the queen did not want war with her subjects and argued with Arnold that such efforts were better directed at

⁹¹Bermyngham to the privy council, 24 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/12, no. 36).

⁹²15 Feb., 25 Feb. 1565 (Acts privy Council, 1558-1570) P. 6. to Arnold 27 Feb (P.R.O. S.P. Ire, 63/12, no. 49).

⁹³Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 1 Apr. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46 iv).

⁹⁴Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 24 Apr. (ibid., no. 46 VII).

Shane and his adherents, some of whom had just made a raid on Carlingford, returning home through Cowley and Farney and camping on people as they went.⁹⁵

Fitzwilliam had observed the renewal of friendship between Shane and Sorley Boy as an ill omen,⁹⁶ though Cusack was still arguing that Shane rightly saw the Scots as being in possession of one-third of the north and was making every effort to unseat them.⁹⁷ Loftus returned to Ireland saying that Leicester wanted Arnold warned not to commend Shane any more for Randolph in Scotland had reported that he 'had offered the queen there that if she would land but with a reasonable power he would get her Ireland within few days.'⁹⁸ Arnold explained his position to Loftus

that whatever the queen meaneth to do, concerning the reformation of Ireland it were the best to tolerate with O'Neill and make him strong so that his strength be only Irishmen, and his reason in this: that if the queen should deny him any request now that he would doubt his surety and so seek friendship of foreign princes and be ready to do hurt before preparation can be made to visit him, but being tolerated and cherished he would seek no strength but his own nation, which would soon revolt from him when they saw the prince fully bent to reform him.⁹⁹

Somewhat the same argument was urged by Robert Fleming, mayor of Drogheda, to Cecil a month later.¹⁰⁰ The Flemings had a connexion with Shane and interests in Ulster. Robert reported that about the beginning of February a bark and three gales containing 300 men of James MacDonnell's household came to the village of Kilclief in Lecale, killing women and children, 'and found no cattle, for the country there is most part waste.' They then shifted to the Ards where they took some cattle, and were presently dwelling with one MacGillespie, a Scot settled in the Dufferin. Fleming said that the dinner conversation at Sorley Boy's was that it was only 120 miles from Coleraine to Dublin 'and we have seventy miles of that under our rule for the more part.' The Scots hoped to have more soon according to Fleming, who thought they were the biggest danger in Ireland and that Shane ought to be used against them.

⁹⁵Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 17 Jan. 1565 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 44. iv).

⁹⁶Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 7 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 4).

⁹⁷Cusack to Cecil, 12 Jan. (ibid., no. 10).

⁹⁸Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 31 Jan. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 46. ii).

⁹⁹Loftus to Sussex, 31 Jan. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 45).

¹⁰⁰28 Feb. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 48).

Elizabeth was at least willing that Shane be left undisturbed for the moment. She thanked Cusack for his services,¹⁰¹ and was pleased with the agreement made with O'Neill and that he was at peace. As for Shane having his title by act of parliament 'you may also assure him that as soon as ever we shall have determined and established some certain deputy for governance of that realm', she would go into his case.

Elizabeth's attitude was dictated in part by the amount of trouble that she already had on her hands in Ireland. On 2 January 1565 Joan, countess of Desmond and the mother of Ormond, had died¹⁰² and one more restraint had been removed from Desmond. He was not long in making an expedition to distraint Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of the Decies, who called upon Ormond to protect him. Desmond attacked Ormond's force at Affane in Co. Waterford on the evening of 1 February.¹⁰³ The first news to reach the court in England was Ormond's letter recounting the battle and stating that he had Desmond prisoner.¹⁰⁴ He thought that Lysagh mcMorrough O'Connor and Art O'Connor, 'two captains of the proclaimed traitors...were slain...but much is yet unknown.' Ormond did not wish to let Desmond out of his custody, alleging that he was guilty of high treason, but Fitzwilliam felt that Desmond did not lack friends, in apparent reference to Arnold and Leicester.¹⁰⁵ Shortly thereafter Ormond sent Arnold formal charges of treason against Desmond and his associates, some 1000 in all, including Lysagh mcMorrough O'Connor and his followers.¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth in high dudgeon summoned to her presence both earls, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, MacCarthy Mor, and anyone else of consequence involved in the battle and commissioned Fitzwilliam, Stanley, Cusack, and Agard to govern Munster in the absence of the two earls.¹⁰⁷ They were to keep 'our peace' by arms if necessary, and all the magnates and officers were to assist them or 'answer at their

¹⁰²Disposition of Edmund duff O'Heagan, 14 Mar. (P.R.O., S. P. Ire., 63/12, no. 55).

¹⁰³See Bagwell, *Tudors*, ii, 84-89, for an account of the battle, and Stanley to Cecil, 3 Apr. 1565 (63/12, no. 4).

¹⁰⁴Ormond to Cecil, 8 Feb (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 28).

¹⁰⁵Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 11 Feb. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 46 iii).

¹⁰⁶26 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, no. 37).

¹⁰⁷P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, nos. 38-45, all undated drafts.

uttermost peril.¹⁰⁸

The whole conflict was investigated thoroughly in Ireland. A servant of Desmond's steward testified¹⁰⁹ that on 31 December Cormac O'Connor and two men and two boys stayed in the steward's house as Desmond's guests, for which he named another witness, and that Cormac 'caused himself to be called by the name of Killyduff to the intent he should not be known.' The servant only learned the true identity when one of Cormac's men told him. On the day of the conflict he met one of the men who had been with Cormac at Lismore who said that Cormac was with Desmond, 'and that he knew not but that he was there slain with others.'

Arnold spent seven weeks in Waterford and entertained Desmond as a guest despite Ormond's charges. He also altered the commission the queen had appointed to govern Munster, according to Fitzwilliam¹¹⁰

but why so no reason could I learn other than that Mr Marshal (Stanley) was at Waterford over earnest of the earl of Ormond's side and too busy in searching to have the earl of Desmond's tale plainly known, which was not meet for every weak stomach there to bear, so as now of all men the marshal may not go thither.

Instead Fitzwilliam, Cusack, James Barnewall, the attorney-general, and the bishop of Meath were appointed to go, accompanied by fifty-five or sixty horsemen. Agard was sent with Fitzwilliam's letter to England and Sussex was told to question him and to judge for himself 'how fit instruments' the revised commission was for revealing Desmond's treasons.

Fitzwilliam was troubled about many things. O'Reilly's war had grown apace and as a result early in February 'the O'Mores did burn within the pale...and were near on 100 swords together',¹¹¹ By April he estimated that O'Reilly's sons had taken £ 5000 worth of preys besides the murders and burnings they had committed and the people killed and wounded in house and field. In Westmeath 'one Miles Dalton goeth at his will with twenty or thirty swords, fed and fostered there among his friends and kinsfolk,' and even Meath had had its share of troubles as if it were 'on any border.' It

¹⁰⁸ Commission, 28 Feb. (ibid., no. 47).

¹⁰⁹ Disposition of O'Heagan, 14 Mar. (loc. cit).

¹¹⁰ Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 1 Apr., 13 Apr. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46. iv, v). Stanley to Cecil, 3 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 53/13 no. 4).

¹¹¹ Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 11 Feb. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46 i).

particularly galled Fitzwilliam to have Shane trusted when

The county of Louth and Uriel, which lieth along upon O'Neill's country is daily...roiled and spoiled...and Shane giveth judgment to any that goeth to complain, but no one pennyworthy of goods can any man get back out of his country. His best sort of men were...with Cahir O'Reilly at the taking of the last English gentleman called Drake, being [the] only good borderer of the quarter...

In Leix he was concerned about his 'brother Delves' and he gave both Sussex¹¹² and Cecil¹¹³ a description of how the O'Mores now had a force of nearly eighty swords lying 'in the highways and heart of the country; sat meat they do in every corner...'. He gave Cecil an account of their misdeeds. Late in March

...after the sunrising they lately rased the Cullenagh hard to the ground, burning afterward the timberwork of it. Then went they and took a prey, departing therewith so quietly as I heard they were not scarce followed. Portas, now sheriff and captain of the Blackford where he hath or ought to have fifty soldiers, had the twenty-eighth of March three of his men's heads taken, which were not missed until they were found in the fields. They [the O'Mores] had provided ladders to scale Mr. Delves' tower home with, but how it fortun'd I know not but they were rain to leave their ladders behind and did not hurt them. It is strange -- considering Mr. Cosby hath under his will above 330 soldiers and kerne which be in the queen's majesty's sold, besides the ordinary force of the country which is 160 or 180, and he the whole rule of the country -- that these fellows can raze castles, burn houses, and kill men at high daylight within the best of the country. I have known it thought strange when they have been heard of but to lie for half a day very close in a great fastness without the country.

Fitzwilliam's primary object was to fulminate against Arnold and the need for a permanent governor in Ireland. He did not think that Arnold or the native-born were giving a true account of conditions, though it was not long since the latter were saying 'let us along. We are able both to defend and win, if we list, ourselves...'. Of Arnold Fitzwilliam observed that 'Ireland will not be governed with ink and paper' and he addressed his remarks to Cecil

not only because you are the chief and principal minister chosen by her highness and of God sent to serve...in that her highness's great charge of kingly government, but also such a man as feareth God and for his sake chiefliest doth care and therefore travaill yourself the more to do your part therein.

Whether Fitzwilliam would have found Cecil's views satisfactory had he seen the exchanges taking place between him and Arnold is problematical. Cecil made replies to the thirty 'notes' of which

¹¹²₁ Apr. (B.M., Cott. MS, Titus B XIII, no. 46. iv).

¹¹³₃ Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 6. Draft of letter in Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 30). Stanley to Cecil, 3 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 4) tells the same story.

Arnold had sent both he and Leicester a copy and Sussex in his turn also made answers.¹¹⁴ Arnold's views on Shane were in essence as Loftus had represented them. He believed that Shane should be used to help drive out the Scots and that the best way to increase the garrison in Ireland was to offer O'Neill terms which he would not accept, with all the expense that would involve. Shane might make a good subject and it was better to bear with him, than with the renewing of the rebellion of the O'Conors and O'Mores (now almost utterly subdued) to stir up the Brefni, which is O'Reilly country, the Toolles, the Byrnes, the Dempseys and a number of others already bent to do whatsoever mischief they may be able to do... They might put their cattle back into or towards O'Neill's country when we should go about to plague them.

Their doubts of whether O'Neill meant his obedience had held their activities down to minor mischief. As for sustaining O'Neill Cecil found 'my ignorance of that country the impediment to my judgment.' He felt he could make arguments for reducing him but gave it as his opinion "I think good to stir no sleeping dogs in Ireland, until a staff be provided to chastise them if they will bite. Many things in commonweals are suffered that are not liked.'

In his twenty-seventh point Arnold assured Cecil 'I am with all the wild Irish at the same point I am at with bears and band dogs when I see them fight; so that they fight earnestly indeed and tug each other well I care not who have the worse.' to which Cecil replied

The twenty-seventh showeth you to be of that opinion that many wise men are, from the which I do not dissent being as an Englishman, but being as a Christian man I am not without some perplexity to enjoy of such cruelties.

Arnold and his fellow commissioners were concerned to restate their case against Radcliffe, Delves, and Stanley.¹¹⁵ Though Radcliffe 'would not enter in band to answer...for the profits of Leix and Offaly' they would submit proof that he had received them and that the 'lands and commodities intruded on by him...seemed to us would amount...to... £ 4000 at the least...'. Their figure was a total of both his army accounts and all profits 'of lands, tenements, and all such rents, corn, tithes, tithings, and every other thing... had and received sithens the queen's majesty's reign in the counties

¹¹⁴Cecil's replies, 28 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/12, nos. 20, 50, 62).

¹¹⁵Arnold and commissioners to the privy council, 9 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 9).

Leix and Offaly and of the inhabitants there by any means, which by equity and reason should belong to the queen's majesty...'. They thought Radcliffe ought to have been imprisoned earlier as he 'would conform himself to no reasonable devise...' and had become a focus of resistance for the captains. They sent the recognizance they had offered him for the two headings, which seemed to be a fair attempt to make him yield a true account and be liable to pay what could not be accounted for Radcliffe's own recognizance agreed to the army wages 'sithens the last general pay' but made no mention of the second heading.¹¹⁶

Dix reported that Radcliffe had disproved one complaining soldier before the commission, but the culprit was not punished on the ground that it might discourage others, and that that the crown's expenses

in victualling the forts of Leix and Offaly are greater since our coming than other times heretofore they have been by the sum of £1000 by year, by means that her majesty hath not the yearly cess of corn and beeves for the furnishing of them, as hath been accustomed since the first building of the same forts. Which being cessed, levied, and paid for in due time will not be much chargeable to the country for that the prices in the markets doth little or nothing surmount her majesty's ordinary prices for the same.

Dix added that the merchants, country, and soldiers grumbled at the slowness of the commission. There was no money and credit had dried up.¹¹⁷ A detailed reckoning made by Jenyson for Sidney in 1566 showed that in six years the two forts had cost a clear loss of £3,410 Irish as well as £4,438 in cesses for a total of £7,848 2 s. 2d. Irish, an average of £1,347 Irish a year.¹¹⁸

The commissioners had moved to Navan to deal with Stanley's company and they still had eight more companies and some wards left to do, though Delves and Girton had produced the records demanded. Mathew Kyng's own figures¹¹⁹ were that Radcliffe was checked for £168 10 s 4 d out of a total pay of £5,916, and that Delves owed £149 9 s. and Girton £36 12 s. Fitzwilliam reported that he had paid out £33,109 by Arnold's order since his own return to

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Enclosures I and II, P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 10.

117 Dix to Cecil, 13 Apr. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 12).

118 24 June 1559 to 20 Apr. 1565 (ibid., no. 16).

119 Kyng to Cecil, 23 Apr. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 24).

Ireland on 8 March 1564.¹²⁰ He was soon complaining anew to Sussex¹²¹ about Arnold's misdoings, which Radcliffe and Delves could explain.

Arnold's own argument was that Fitzwilliam had paid out money contrary to the express intention of the queen and the commissioners, more than £5,000, which would be enough to pay the soldiers to be discharged.¹²² There was also the wrangle over the complete account which Fitzwilliam was supposed to produce. Arnold had only secured an abstract, 'which was like a ball: round, without beginning, midst or good end'.¹²³ Fitzwilliam countered that he had had £21,000 from England and could have saved the queen 20,000 marks had he been in Arnold's place.¹²⁴ He thought the queen could recover some £3,000 to £4,000 of her debts, but though many knew their duty better Ireland 'is not that country now to rule that forty or thirty years past it was...'

According to Fitzwilliam Arnold was still anxious to go to war with O'Reilly. He had persuaded Arnold to call the nobility and council to a meeting but he did not think more than 'three or four of us' would vote against it. Hugh O'Reilly had told one of the commissioners that the government's proceedings had made the family and their country 'so weak and poor' that they would have to go to O'Neill 'for succour',¹²⁵ and Fitzwilliam said that he told Arnold to his face that his conduct left the O'Reilly's no choice but to seek aid of O'Neill. Fitzwilliam thought that any more of Arnold's government would enable Shane to sweep to Munster.¹²⁶

In the event it was decided to take a hosting to a parley with O'Reilly at which the only army troops were those under Stanley, Agard, and Bagenal. An agreement was made on 30 June whereby O'Reilly would restore 300 to 400 cattle. At least 1000 cattle had

¹²⁰Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 24 Apr. (ibid., no. 25).

¹²¹16 May (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46. X).

¹²²Arnold and commissioners to the privy council, 29 Aug. (P.R. O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, no. 55).

¹²³Arnold to Cecil, 11 June (ibid., 63/13, no. 58).

¹²⁴Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 8 June (ibid., no. 57).

¹²⁵Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 30 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/13, no. 50).

¹²⁶Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 30 May (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 46. XII).

been lost and Fitzwilliam and Stanley were agreed that £6,000 to £7,000 would not repair the damages.¹²⁷ Despite the agreement Arnold turned down O'Reilly's offers, presumably because Kildare who was the original victim of the O'Reilly raids, was not sufficiently recompensed. Feelings were bitter on all sides and on 1 July there was a quarrel over a victualler in the camp in which swords were drawn and 'Cromaboo' was shouted at Stanley and his men. The incident was broken off before anything more lethal than stones were thrown, though the cry was 'down with all the English churles.' Kildare had behaved well and one of his gentlemen, George Fitzgerald, 'brought up for the most part with Englishmen,' had a great part in damping down the incident. Camp was broken the day following, though Arnold still refused to call the malefactors, which were named, to task. In any case Fitzwilliam asserted¹²⁸ that it was the 'delight' of many to flee to the woods after the incident. He thought the incident was the result of Arnold's utterly committing the government to 'the Irish sort,' with whom he linked the 'bastard Geraldines'. In his view it was with them that Arnold had almost succeeded in getting Stanley killed, 'the report of all the Englishmen that were there...'. He hoped to see Arnold rewarded as he had rewarded those lemans 'which hanged on the gallows that he provided for others.' Someone in England, by which Fitzwilliam probably meant Leicester, was feeding him with more and more information on things to investigate.

Arnold sent the privy council¹²⁹ the agreement with O'Reilly, whereby Hugh and Edmund and their sons agreed to make restitution and to pursue Cahir O'Reilly, with the comment that if the agreement were not kept he could assemble again to enforce it. Fitzwilliam thought a general hosting was likely as both Shane and Owen O'Reilly had fled to O'Neill,¹³⁰ but before long Hugh and Owen met a commission and offered pledges, and O'Neill wrote to say that Shane O'Reilly had died. Fitzwilliam gave Cecil an elaborate

¹²⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, Stanley to Cecil, 13 July (P.R.O., S. P. Ire., 63/14, nos, 14, 17).

¹²⁸Fitzwilliam to Sussex 12 July (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, No. 46. XIII), Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 13 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, no. 14).

¹²⁹16 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, no. 24).

¹³⁰Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 17 July (B.M. Cott MS, Titus B XIII, no. 46. XIV).

analysis,¹³¹ in which he approved of Hugh O'Reilly's attitude. Hugh was willing to cooperate with the government but unwilling to surplant his father, 'old O'Reilly', citing the evil examples of the O'Donnells and the O'Neills and saying that there were those in the pale who would promote the contention of a disputed succession. Fitzwilliam said that Edmund was sworn to Kildare, who was committed to making restitution for the cattle taken from him in the original raid. He concluded with a postscript that Arnold was determined to have war with O'Reilly.

Arnold's decision was prompted by the activity of Shane O'Neill, who had seized the initiative again. On 2 May he informed Arnold that he had met the Scots in battle, destroyed James MacConnell's castle and town and had James and Sorley Boy prisoner.¹³² He was soon claiming that he had killed 700 Scots, though Fitzwilliam was certain this was an exaggeration of 300 to 400 and he feared that Shane 'will so be made mad proud of these victories' that he would make trouble in Connaught and elsewhere, and that joined 'with Scotland or any other nation at his pleasure, that he will look to dwell in Dublin also...'¹³³ Shane had upset the balance of power in the north.

Fitzwilliam told Sussex 'that James MacDonnell either is dead of a wound he received or like to die',¹³⁴ and he soon added that O'Neill was

in the Glyns, the Route, and other parts of Clandeboy, settling there such inhabitants as to his good pleasure seemeth best, binding them to serve in all his wars and to follow and obey to him in all his callings and services, and that they shall so do he first sureth them and then taketh their best pledges, and thus he dealeth with them all in general terms.

Once Shane had finished in the North Fitzwilliam saw him moving into Connaught, with O'Reilly likely as his chief support.¹³⁵ Arnold advised Cecil¹³⁶ that nothing drastic should be done about O'Neill to put him in despair. He might yet be made into a good subject and useful to the commonwealth. Shane himself wrote letters to Elizabeth,

¹³¹ 23 Aug. (ibid., no. 48).

¹³² P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 34.

¹³³ Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 15 May, 18 May (ibid., nos. 38, 44).

¹³⁴ 18 May (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46. XI).

¹³⁵ 30 May (ibid., XII), and to Cecil, 30 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 50).

¹³⁶ 11 June (ibid., no. 58).

Cecil and Leicester informing them that he was so busy with the Scots that he did not have time to write.¹³⁷ Terence Danyell, the dean of Armagh, told Cecil how Shane had recovered sixty miles of territory,¹³⁸ and Cusack saw it as progress that the Scots were expunged 'and all the seacoasts void of foreign inhabitants.' Cusack was also the recipient of an account of the campaign from Shane's point of view, who said it was all done for the crown.¹³⁹

The news cannot have caused anything but dismay at Court where the matter must have been thoroughly discussed. The privy council replied to Arnold's letter by informing him¹⁴⁰ that before it arrived the queen had decided 'to appoint the government...to Sir Henry Sidney...and to revoke you to her...presence according to your own desire often times made...'. As for Shane they had written to him 'to convert his late victory... to the benefit of the queen...'. Arnold was to send a man to deal with Shane, if possible to get James and Sorley Boy MacDonnell transferred to the queen's keeping, and to persuade him 'so to behave himself after this victory that the Scots might be expelled, and the countries whereupon they have usurped to be reserved to such of the natural blood of that realm of Ireland as have right thereto.' Shane was to be assured that he had the queen's favour and any other argument was to be used to keep him in the queen's service. Arnold was to do this quickly and send his advice so that Elizabeth 'may understand whereunto to trust. Shane was also informed of Sidney's coming, asked for the particulars of his activities against the Scots, and his opinion of how that part of Ulster might be freed of them.¹⁴¹ It was making the best of a bad thing.

Fitzwilliam heard that James MacConnell was at liberty, his son being in prison, 'and that O'Neill hath sent O'Conor's old priest into Scotland to the queen...'. Treason could be the only object of such a visit in his opinion.¹⁴² Shane himself told

¹³⁷18 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, nos. 65, 66, 67).

¹³⁸24 June (ibid., no. 77).

¹³⁹Cusack to Cecil, 25 June (ibid., no 78), Gerot Fleming to Cusack, c. June 1565 (ibid., no. 85).

¹⁴⁰22 June (ibid., no. 69).

¹⁴¹Privy council to O'Neill, 22 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 71).

¹⁴²Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 13 July (ibid., 63/14, no. 14).

Elizabeth that it was the letters of Cecil and Leicester that had led him to attack the Scots on 2 May. Argyll and the queen of Scots had since requested their release.¹⁴³ Fitzwilliam said that James MacDonnell had requested such letters and thought it would have been much better if 'that subtle Scot had never fallen into O'Neill's hands.'¹⁴⁴ Shane was in the process of marrying O'Donnell's wife, and Fitzwilliam thought the wedding guests would indicate if he had formed his alliance and was ready to strike.

It was at this point that the news came that James MacDonnell was dead. Fitzwilliam told Lady Sussex, with obvious relief, 'trust me madame never was there such a peril to England as James's taking by O'Neill if France and Scotland join to renew their ancient friendship.'¹⁴⁵ Shane informed the privy council that he had cleaned out the Scots, and with his usual genius for government jargon spoke of planting and inhabiting their area.¹⁴⁶ He praised Arnold and expressed the hope that Sidney would be as good a governor. Arnold was trying to shore up O'Reilly, who though a nuisance to the pale was the only bulwark against O'Neill, when he died at the bishop of Meath's house at Ardracran on 31 August. By then Arnold knew that O'Neill had just warded Newry, 'a house of Mr. Bagenal's' and Dundrum near Lecale, which Shane said was an effort to forestall the Scots. Arnold was doing what he could to placate him as being cheaper than having war with him. If O'Neill did start a war a whole chain of troublemakers would do their worst in the hopes of being rescued by O'Neill, including receivers and maintainers and every other 'lewd or evil disposed person (of whom God knoweth there is great plenty swarming in every corner amongst the wild Irish, yea and in our own border too).' Arnold found that his lack of money and the rumour of his departure rendered him ineffective,¹⁴⁷ which must have given him a feeling of sympathy for Sussex.

The events from Ormond's capture of Desmond in February had had

¹⁴³28 July (ibid., no. 32).

¹⁴⁴Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 23 Aug. (ibid., no. 44, and B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 48).

¹⁴⁵24 Aug. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 49).

¹⁴⁶25 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, no. 50).

¹⁴⁷Arnold to the privycouncil, 31 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/14, no. 57).

a stimulating effect on the O'Mores and O'Conors. Desmond was accused of having not only maintained rebellious O'Briens but also numbers of O'Conors and O'Mores, and that these and a great many other rebels had not only sought Desmond's aid 'but many of them have travelled Spain, France, and Scotland to seek by the help of foreign princes to maintain their treasons...'.¹⁴⁸ After the O'Mores burned Cullenagh and made their attempt on Delves's castle their next raid reported by Fitzwilliam¹⁴⁹ was towards the end of May when they killed in Leix

at noonday three plows of garrons and their workmen. Kine and garrons stolen at one o'clock, the people stripped of their goods and divers other hurts wick (ed)ly done, and no following nor cry reared.

In June Ormond heard that Art mcTeig Enaa had been captured in O'Molloys country and suggested that he be brought to England and examined on where he and the other O'Conors had been kept during the last rebellion.¹⁵⁰ Desmond for his part denied harbouring or knowing of Cormac O'Conor and others. He dismissed the lesser names on the grounds that many people came to his house daily.¹⁵¹

The privy council instructed Arnold¹⁵² that while they were pleased that the rebellion of the O'Conors and O'Mores was 'so well diminished' he was to see to it that order was taken in the pale and elsewhere near the borders of Leix and Offaly so 'that the heads of that rebellion which remain and wander about be not suffered to be harboured and nourished in the summertime, whereby in the winter they may be ready...to assemble themselves to make new invasions in the aforesaid countries.' Whether the O'Mores or O'Conors would be pardoned would be left until Sidney arrived, and Arnold was to handle the matter so that Sidney could proceed 'according to his commission.'

Cecil himself added a paragraph that Arnold was to gether provisions for the two forts at once, setting half of the cess of beeves from the Irish at the moment and the other half on 1 October. The

¹⁴⁸Clanricarde and Thomond to the privy council, 13 Apr. (ibid., 63/13, no. 13)

¹⁴⁹Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 30 May (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46. xii).

¹⁵⁰Ormond to Cecil, 4 June (P.R.O. S.P., Ire., 63/13, no. 55).

¹⁵¹Desmond's answers to Ormond's 'book' (ibid., no. 59).

¹⁵²22 June (ibid., no. 69).

farmers of Monasterevin, Carlow, and Kilmainham were to 'make the hay' immediately. Fitzwilliam complained to Sussex¹⁵³ a month later that the victualling of the forts had been left later in the year than in the last three times. He also reported to Sussex and to Cecil¹⁵⁴ that the O'Mores had lately appeared with eighty swords in Leix and that Piers Grace, who 'hath lands and castles in the earl of Desmond's country,' had appeared there with sixty, having already burned property in cos Tipperary and Kilkenny. To Cecil he explained how

Art mcTeig Owney with some other of the O'Conors showed himself now lately with sixty swords about the borders of Offaly who is known to have been all this year past in the earl of Desmond's country, and came from John of Desmond out of Thomond, and as he now cometh from the southwest so did Cormac O'Connor the last year from O'Neill out of the north, which two quarters continually do nourish all such as are fit for other men's purposes to make rebellions.

Fitzwilliam also posed the question for Cecil 'why the O'Conors and O'Mores showed themselves so soon in the year or ever the harvest was near ripe, which was against themselves utterly as in giving warning to provide for them.' He supplied three answers, the first of which was that it was to further Kildare's offer to keep Leix and Offaly safe if he had seventy or eighty kerne for life. If that offer were not accepted his second answer was that it was to further Kildare's wish to have 400 or 500 kerne for another winter.

The third is if wars go forward against them then must needs the army be placed abroad upon the borders, and so it is hoped that that burden seen, the offer of the Earl's both for the kerne and the discharging of the fort in Offaly for £500 a year certain which now is also offered, will be the sooner allowed of. Which for my part as I see a great charge would be saved thereby yearly, so truly sir to you must I say with the old proverb: that it is a well spent penny that saveth the shilling. I trust and doubt not but you understand which way I mean.

As he had been in Mary's reign, Kildare was still trying to secure Offaly for himself. Fitzwilliam supposed Arnold meant well 'but Ireland in mine opinion is not, though it be brute and rude, known to everyman for a year or two's travel.'

Arnold had told Cecil¹⁵⁵ that with £24,000 to £30,000 from England he could finish his task, cashing 300 more soldiers and keeping 500, and still leave matters in better order than he found them. Even before they had this information the English government

¹⁵³ 17 July, with a postscript of 28 July (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46. XIV).

¹⁵⁴ 23 Aug. (ibid., no. 48).

¹⁵⁵ 11 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 58).

advised him¹⁵⁶ that while they would reserve judgment until he came he was to complete the checks and musters 'with all speed,' so that the matter could not be re-opened. They asked for detailed information on payments and on the revenue from the time of Edward VI. The queen had not been well served in the payment of debts owed to her and Arnold was to collect the facts on them for the last year.

These last instructions may have been connected with Fitzwilliam's report to Sussex the next month¹⁵⁷ that Robert Cusack, Sir Thomas's son,

rideth from sliue to sliue (mountain to mountain) to examine and get hands to books. He now goeth into Leix and Offaly there to inquire the matters in contention before: hurts done of the army, wastes, your lordship's haters, and such other which were done more than half a year ago. But now I see it is said, and believe it, that Mr Wroth was an hunderer of those causes and so now again they go to try.

Arnold and his associates argued that there were £6,000 to £7,000 of 'desperate' debts which could not be paid until the queen paid her debts 'such is the scarcity of money here at this present,' but Dix felt that it would be better to set one group of debts against the other and divide any payments among the captains, the merchants, and the country, which would carry things until September or October at least.¹⁵⁸ Both Dix and Arnold were united in regarding the account which Fitzwilliam submitted, dating only from December 1562, as inadequate, though Dix passed it.¹⁵⁹ According to Matthew Kyng's reckoning as clerk of the check¹⁶⁰ the whole charge of the army from 25 May 1560 to 24 May 1565 had been £109, 236 7s. 10d. which with payments and his own checks left £81,650 to pay, a figure he later reduced to £73,253. In any event it was a sum of over £50,000 sterling. Fitzwilliam himself admitted that he was in debt, but he was sure that he was not the first vice-treasurer 'that hath been in the prince's debt' and he hoped to pay.¹⁶¹

The ultimate resolution of Fitzwilliam's final account and his

¹⁵⁶22 June (ibid., no. 69).

¹⁵⁷17 July (loc. cit.).

¹⁵⁸Arnold and commissioners to the privy council, 29 Aug. (P. R.O., SP. Ire., 63/14, no. 55). Dix to Cecil, 26 Aug. (ibid, no. 52).

¹⁵⁹Dix to Cecil, 31 July (ibid., no. 33).

¹⁶⁰Kyng to Cecil, 9 Aug., 23 Aug. (ibid., nos. 43, 43I, 45).

¹⁶¹Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 24 Aug. (B.M., Cott.MS Titus B. XIII, no. 46. VIII).

debts to the queen lies beyond the scope of this work. Her immediate reaction was to take Arnold to task because she was not hearing more news from Ireland and was 'the more troubled what to think thereof.' She found fault with Fitzwilliam for making payments without warrant, and Cecil advised him¹⁶² to defend himself, as deserving more good than Cecil could show him. A fortnight later the privy council addressed a reprimand in stinging terms to Fitzwilliam asserting that as they had been trying to get an account from him since the beginning of the reign they now demanded it or good cause why he should not produce it. In October they informed him that he was not to spend any revenue until Sidney got there, when a full pay would be made of the retinue and garrisons.¹⁶³

The privy council had discussed the affair of Ormond and Desmond with Arnold¹⁶⁴ at length and instructed him to keep down the 'brethern of the earls' of whose depredations they had had reports. They had also informed him that MacCarthy Mor and O'Sullivan Bear had agreed to 'surrender and regrant,' the first being made an earl and the second a knight. Sidney would deal with the O'Brien problem. Their country was to be divided 'for this we hold for a general and good rule that it is better for these countries of the wild Irish to be distributed into competent governments of divers than to remain at the commandment of one or few.' So Fitzwilliam was reporting to Sussex¹⁶⁵ that cos Cork and Limerick were being scourged by Sir Edmund Butler, whom he called Arnold's darling.

The privy council in England had been conducting their own investigation of the conflict between the two earls and on 25 July summoned Ormond and Desmond to appear before them.¹⁶⁶ They then launched a series of questions about the two, securing answers from Sussex, Sidney, Radcliffe, and Francis Agard.¹⁶⁷ All except Sidney, who said he did not know, agreed that Desmond had harboured Piers

¹⁶² 6 Sept. (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 33).

¹⁶³ 20 Sept. 16 Oct. 1565 (Acts privy Council, 1558-70) Privy Council to Fitzwilliam, 20 Sept. (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 31).

¹⁶⁴ 22 June (loc. cit.).

¹⁶⁵ 12 July (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 46. XIII).

¹⁶⁶ 9 June, 12 June, 14 June, 16 June, 25 July, 1565 (Acts privy Council, 1558-70).

¹⁶⁷ 8 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, nos. 39, 40, 41, 42).

Grace, O'Conors, O'Mores, and other rebels. Agard added the detail that those named were also 'succoured in Ormond with some of the O'Kennedys, and in the county of Kilkenny,' both of which were under the earl of Ormond's rule, though Agard was convinced that the earl knew nothing of it.

Desmond submitted to Elizabeth on 12 September and was willing to have the charges against him tried by common law.¹⁶⁸ In Munster Cusack and his commissioners had finally arrived. They informed Arnold¹⁶⁹ that Piers Butler had made a prey on 7 September and that they had written to Sir Edmund Butler. Unless restitution were made they thought John of Desmond would seek revenge.

In fact that process had already begun. On the night of 4 September Rory oge O'More had come from John of Desmond's country and killed four men, servants of Theobald Fitzwalter, captain of Ileigh at Glenkeen, co. Tipperary, and 'the same night he killed three other men, servants of Raneth Fitzpatrick, at Ballycahill, Co. Tipperary.¹⁷⁰ A month later Fitzwilliam informed Sussex¹⁷¹ that John of Desmond was still on a rampage in Munster, where he was afraid Cusack was shoring up the earl of Desmond to new strength. On 17 October Piers Grace with many of the proclaimed traitors of Leix came to Ballysallagh, co. Kilkenny, took all the goods and cattle of it and 'burned the whole town with £200 worth of corn.'¹⁷² That was the prelude to a larger endeavour of which Fitzwilliam gave Sussex¹⁷³ virtually the same account that he did to Cecil:¹⁷⁴

This 22nd the lord justice at the council board showed a letter from (Sir Francis) Cosby of the 21th of the same October that Piers Grace with three other rebels in his company were come with 400 swords to the borders of Leix, of which company is 120 gunners, forty galloglas, and the rest kerne. They had, as he wrote, killed sixteen of Sir Edmund Butler's kerne to begin with and doubt did Cosby lest they should spoil the whole country out of hand. Whereupon he required his lordship to send with all the haste that possible might be twenty horsemen more unto him, and to send home by proclamation all such gentlemen and other freeholders of the county.

¹⁶⁸P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, no. 65.

¹⁶⁹14 Sept. (ibid., no. 68).

¹⁷⁰Certificate by John Rowe, 28 Oct. (ibid., 63/15, no. 34).

¹⁷¹10 Oct. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 52).

¹⁷²Certificate by Rowe (loc. cit.).

¹⁷³22 Oct. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 52).

¹⁷⁴22 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 15).

Sir Edmund Butler seems to have been the real target for on 26 October John of Desmond, Piers Grace, and Connell O'Brien, 'accompanieth will all the traitors of Leix and Offaly' came to 'Cloghmoylied' in Idough, and took from Morrough MacDermod, Sir Edmund's tenant, 100 cattle^{twenty-four} plough horses, and sixty hogs and conveyed them to Desmond's country.¹⁷⁵ In England on the day following the Earls of Ormond and Desmond entered into recognizances of £20,000 each for future good behavior in the presence of Norfolk, Pembroke, Leicester, Cecil, Petre, Mason, and others.¹⁷⁶ Peace was about to come to Munster.

It had not quite done so in the midlands for in November Fitzwilliam reported first to Sussex¹⁷⁷ and then to Cecil¹⁷⁸ that four of the five O'More brothers that Kildare had taken under his protection during the last winter had taken a prey of Tyrrell and his friend in Fertullagh in open daylight involving some 600 or 700 cattle. They had also captured Garret Nugent, uncle of the baron of Delvin. Though he was unarmed he was slain 'having ten or twelve wounds about the head and neck as the least might have been his end.' About 1 November they had robbed the dean of Ardagh's wife as she rode home from Torin. 'She was after the country soft, costly apparelled, and she knew them.' Though complaint had been made nothing had been done according to Fitzwilliam who was sure that this same group had committed other robberies and damages, including spoiling the bishop of Meath of lands worth £100 in rentals. Presumably Fitzwilliam thought the same group were responsible for the incident he had reported earlier in which 'Sir Francis Herbert at open day had his people slain at his gate by fifty or sixty kerne and had he not by good hap left his accusomed seat without his gate he had died for it. His preys are taken still!¹⁷⁹ To Sussex he said that 'Leix is in very

¹⁷⁵Certificate of Rowe (loc. cit.)

¹⁷⁶27 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 26).

¹⁷⁷18 Nov., (B.M., Cott. MSTitus B XII, no. 55).

¹⁷⁸28 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 52).

¹⁷⁹Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Oct. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 52).

evil case and so is the county of Kilkenny, and surely will be very evil except some short remedy; I mean the whole state of Ireland,' and to Cecil he added that Cosby had twice written 'that from the borders of Carlow county unto Limerick was not greater disorders of many years.' To Sussex he was inclined to blame everything on Kildare and Arnold, from whose counsels he was excluded, but he did admit to Cecil that Arnold had set off for Leix on 28 November and intended then to move on to Kilkenny.

Certainly Arnold had his defenders. His fellow commissioners wrote to the queen¹⁸⁰ defending him from the kind of criticism at which Fitzwilliam was so expert. To the accusation that the pale had been charged more in the past year 'with the late wars against the O'Conors and O'Mores than it was in three years against O'Neill,' they agreed that the pale had sustained some damages, 'the bogs and woods serving as they do,' but they were not 'so great nor so many as in other men's government have been committed' and it was remarkable there was not more damage considering the daily rumours of a change of government. As for charges they 'have felt no such burden this last year as have been laid on them yearly these six or seven years past'. Now they had only to bear 'certain contributions' to ease the queen and provide the upkeep of certain kerna. To the accusation that Kildare took a prey from Cahir O'Reilly by Arnold's orders, thus causing the war there, they replied that Cahir had made the first prey, killing, burning houses, and taking prisoners as well. Only then was Kildare unleashed. To the accusation that Arnold had dismissed men of service and employed rebels and traitors in their place they gave a flat denial, saying he had been a relentless foe of such 'in proof whereof our farmers and tenants hath in this one year felt such ease of their intolerable charges...we do think we should in few years more be as able to defend ourselves... as our ancestors...'. Someone, probably Elizabeth, provided the italics. Those were the words she wanted to hear.

¹⁸⁰ Baltinglas, Trimleston, Louth, Slane, Howth, Gormanston, John Plunkett, James Bathe, Robert Dillon and John Challoner to Elizabeth, 18 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/15, no. 14)

The thing had already been done in Connaught. O'Neill had justified Fitzwilliam's predictions and made a raid there, taking away 3000 to 4000 cattle. According to Clanricarde he came 'to require the tribute due in old time to them that were kings in this realm and would have had the same yearly paid to himself,' and the earl claimed that if he had had authority to raise the whole area he could have stopped Shane in his tracks. He asked to be given such authority in the future.¹⁸¹ Fitzwilliam sent a copy of the letter to Cecil¹⁸² and to Sussex, and he was soon telling that O'Neill had Dundalk blockaded on the landward side as well as continuing to be in possession of Newry and Dundrum, without any likelihood that he would be unseated for a while.¹⁸³

In December Archbishop Loftus sent Leicester¹⁸⁴ two letters from the Earl of Argyll to him, dated, 18 November. In the first Argyll offered to help against Shane if Elizabeth would help Argyll and his followers. The second indicated clearly that nothing was going to happen immediately in Ireland, for Argyll wrote:

I am requested by Cormac O'Connor, son to O'Connor of Offaly, to write to your lordship in his favours to know what good your lordship would do in his matter at the queen's majesty and at her grace's noble council. For notwithstanding of any rebellion or evil done by the said Cormac's forbears and himself and his brother he will do all good satisfaction and mendit that her majesty would require that lies in his power, and should trebly in times coming, swa (so) that he might have some part of his father's lands...

Argyll was apparently willing to back Cormac's request and at the same time the privy council sent to Sidney¹⁸⁵ a suit which had been made to them by Kedagh, son of Rory O'More. His father's lands were now vested in the crown, 'not by any offense committed either by his father or himself, who at the death of his said father was but two years old, but by the rebellion of such as traitorously put his father to death and wrongfully occupied his lands and possessions.' Kedagh either wished to be restored to those lands

¹⁸¹Clanricarde to the depty (or justice), 15 Oct. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 51).

¹⁸²22 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, nos. 15, 15I).

¹⁸³Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Oct., 18 Nov. (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, nos. 52, 55).

¹⁸⁴13 Dec. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/15, nos. 63, 63I, 63IV).

¹⁸⁵Minute to the lord deputy...touching Kedagh O'More, 29 Nov. (ibid., no. 53).

or to have a suitable holding of land in the English pale. The request seemed reasonable to the privy council and they asked Sidney to supply the particulars of Rory's death and other pertinent information.

The privy council had been disposing of other business as well. In October Sir Henry Radcliffe had been asked why he was not in Ireland at his post. His answer was that he was bound by a recognizance of £8000 to stay there until the privy council heard his case and he was granted permission to remain.¹⁸⁶ The privy council summoned Fitzwilliam to England to answer for his accounts on the grounds that he was obstructing Arnold, who with Kildare

do continually report that it was written into England that the last show of the O'Mores and O'Conors was to get the earl the keeping of the fort in Offaly and 160 kerne during life in wages, or else to get him the hire of 400 or 500 kerne this year also in wages whereby to get himself money, and that O'Reilly's wars was to wipe off all the hurts which he and his followers had done, with sundry other matters which surely I am not acquainted with...¹⁸⁷

Fitzwilliam may have been right that it was not his correspondence that had started such accusations. At some time in the autumn Oliver Sutton had come to England equipped with a petition to recover his losses sustained in the plantation of Leix and Offaly under Edward and Mary,¹⁸⁸ and with a set of 'articles against Sir Nicholas Arnold'¹⁸⁹ and another against Kildare.¹⁹⁰ He got a hearing before the privy council at Windsor, probably in early December, and Elizabeth then wrote to Sidney¹⁹¹ that as a great part of his charges 'directly touch our cousin the earl of Kildare, of whom we cannot conceive any such evil as in the same book is expressed until we shall cause the same to be duly examined and tried,' she was sending Sutton and his charges back to Ireland under her protection. Sidney was to investigate the charges

¹⁸⁶ 'The order taken for me the 18th of October 1565' (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 54).

¹⁸⁷ Fitzwilliam to Sussex, 22 Oct. (B.M., Cott M.S. Titus B XIII, no. 52).

¹⁸⁸ c. Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 58). See p. supra.

¹⁸⁹ 2 Dec. (ibid., no. 54).

¹⁹⁰ 2 Dec. (ibid., no. 57).

¹⁹¹ 11 Dec. 1565 (Sidney S.P., no. 4).

thoroughly and advise her, doing in the meantime whatever he thought necessary 'for our service and the weal of that realm.' She also wanted advice on certain leases Sutton had requested and to have Sidney take some action on his petition for damages as a planter 'as the equity of the cause shall require.'

Many of Sutton's charges against Arnold were at root charges against Kildare, and he made at least two drafts of his articles against the earl during the course of 1565.¹⁹² There was a highly personal element in them, for Sutton was a landholder in co. Kildare and on one occasion had been slapped by the earl. Conditions were such, he claimed, that he having had 'to forsake my ploughing, and leaving my dwelling,' came to Dublin and thence to England. The burden of Sutton's argument was that the earl had reerected the whole structure of coyne and livery in defiance of law or reason. He also harked back to the 1483 act by which the then Earl of Kildare had tried to disinherit the Aylmer, Sutton, and Darcy of the day, together with several others.

Sutton then got down to specifics. Co. Kildare groaned with men and boys and their exactions. The earl had 200 men for keeping horses, 'boys born in the Irish pale,' who fled to their countries after committing offenses and after a lapse of time. As examples Sutton cited 'Ulstermen,' and O'Reilly's, O'Farrells, O'Conors, O'Dunnes, O'Melaghlins, O'Dempseys, O'Mores, O'Carrolls, Kavanaghs, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, Kensallaghs, 'and such like.' The eighty keating kerne placed on co. Kildare spoiled it. When the earl had a commission to prey the Irish he pulled in 300 to 400 more strangers with names like those listed and put them on coyne and livery. As a result the county, after the earl's return in 1554, was the most burdened of any of the English shires which was a double crime, 'for that it situateth betwext the forts and the English pale' and so had the heaviest human traffic though lacking 'inns or victualling houses...'. Kildare claimed exactions for the county's defense though it was 'never so...impoverished with spoils and robberies...'. Many inhabitants were forced to leave as a result,

¹⁹² P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, nos. 55, 57. The second is dated 2 Dec. and adds 7 or 8 pages to the 13 pages of the first, making the changes more personal.

which left the county depopulated. When Kildare wanted he had a force of 2000 men, yet when the O'Conors and bastard Geraldines burned the towns of Kiltéal and Straffan, and the lordship of Oughterany, 'Ormond's ancient inheritance,' not two miles from Maynooth, as well as burning other villages and killing inhabitants, Kildare did nothing. Spoils committed in the county and in the pale were conveyed scot-free by the O'Mores, O'Conors, and bastard Geraldines 'through Athy and other the earl's lordships.' Kildare's invariable answer to requests for redress was to see the lord lieutenant, an indication that many of Sutton's charges dated from the days of Sussex.

Some were more recent. In December 1564 Kildare was in commission with Baltinglass to parley with the O'Mores. The viscount 'did challenge the sons of Kedagh O'More' on certain spoils and injuries done to his tenants, saying he wanted restitution or revenge. The O'More's replied in Kildare's presence that 'they were at defiance with the said viscount and all his helps,' and the earl did nothing to reprove them. Sutton added that he and Baltinglass had jointly had troubles with the late Gerald mcShane and the five brothers of the O'Mores. Gerald and his 200 riotous followers, O'Mores and others, had been pushed out of Westmeath by Stanley, and they had threatened and might yet burn Trim 'about Mr. Marshal's ears.' Kildare had put Christopher Fitz Oliver, a bastard kinsman and notable as 'corrupt person,' into Griffinrath which was one mile from Maynooth and a place where much booty had been found. Things were passed to him and Gerald mcShane from Co. Kildare and moved to Westmeath and to Morrourh O'Toole. It was a confederation.

Sutton asserted that sometimes as many as 100 O'Mores and O'Conors 'take meat' within co. Kildare on the gentlemen and tenants but never on the earl's tenants. There was no resistance by the earl's forces. In co. Carlow Ormond's lands had been allowed to be wasted and in co. Kildare Darcy, Aylmer, Alen, and Sutton had been troubled. In Carbury Henry Cowley's cattle were slain and the neighbouring tenants of co. Kildare were assured that they need fear nothing of the like. There were dangers in Kildare being the

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captain of the Annually, the country of the O'Farrells, for with the O'Reilly's they constituted the borders of that part of the English pale. Sutton contrasted Delvin's handling of that same area with Kildare's.

Finally in the north there was Kildare's lordship of Lescale. When the crown had it in its own hands

the same was strongly fortified by power of English captains there appointed to service, who were very scourges to Ulstermen and other the queen's enemies thereunto adjoining. Yet now, since the earl purchased a state of inheritance therein, the same is quite waste and the ancient soldiers that held of the prince banished.

If it were inhabited and Kildare personally kept his residence there and defended it so much mischief by war would not have happened, for Lecale 'is as fruitful a ground as any is in Ireland...and able to maintain a thousand fighting men, being inhabited as it was in the prince's possession, at which time it was able to receive the queen's army for the suppression of wars.' At present it was so kept as to supply Shane O'Neill and other enemies.

Elizabeth's letter concerning Sutton and his charges, though written early in December, did not overtake Sidney before he sailed for Ireland in January and only reached him in Kilkenny on 21 March 1566. By that time the deputy was engaged in a number of other things, not the least of which was a scheme designed to put the entire north to better rights than the mere personal residence of Kildare upon his own holding.

SIDNEY AND A NEW PLANTATION SCHEME

1565 - 1566

Toward the end of 1564 or the beginning of 1565 Captain William Piers, constable of Carrickfergus, was summoned to court and paid £40 for his expenses in making the journey.¹ His counsel was clearly desired. Piers had a longtime connexion with Sidney, and it seems likely that during his time at court Piers presented a radical new proposal for plantation in the north, probably with Sidney's backing, which involved for the first time the use of sea power in such an undertaking.² At the time of its writing and presentation Piers was not aware of the defeat the Scots under James MacDonnell would be given by Shane O'Neill on 2 May 1565.

Piers opened his projet with an analysis of the efforts of Mary queen of Scots to make James MacDonnell lord of the isles. The earl of Argyll blocked the scheme by marrying the daughter of MacAlan to the lord of the isles. MacAlan was an enemy of James MacDonnell and the marriage was 'the only stay that there is no further invasion into Ireland by the Scots.' James had a son of Con O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, 'which was begotten upon a near kinswoman of the said James,' who now had him in school in Scotland and who told Piers that in four years he would put a large force behind him into Tyrone to assert his claims as rightful heir. The present lord of the isles had often asked Piers if Elizabeth would not support him. Piers thought she should write to him secretly, encouraging him in his war against James, which would weaken the Scots and make it easier to clear them out of Ireland.

And thereby also if the Scots should chance hereafter to deal in war with England, we being planted in the north of Ireland, what exploits and destructions we might daily do in Scotland is easily seen, considering how the lands do lie one against another. Yea, and asmuch to annoy the French also if occasion shall serve, without any great charge to the prince. For if we plant there we mean to build shipping there to annoy them both by sea and land where heretofore the Scots were never troubled but upon the borders of England.... We shall also make the French pay well if they come through St. George's Channel: for they shall not enter into any haven in those parts of Scotland but, God willing, we will fetch them out, if we miss them coming in.

As an alternative Piers suggested that Elizabeth and her council could

¹9 Mar. 1565 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

²Project, endorsed 'William Pierce' in the same hand, c. Mar. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/9, no. 83. Placed at the end of 1563). Compare it with Piers to Elizabeth, 6 July 1571 (ibid., 63/33, no. 1), a proposal for a settlement of the Carrickfergus area in a different hand but with many similar phrases.

write to Mary queen of Scots for 'a quiet redress,' calling her attention to those subjects of hers who encroached upon Elizabeth's realm of Ireland and conveyed and maintained numerous rebels there against Elizabeth's interests. If Elizabeth proposed putting Shane O'Neill and the Scots on one side in a war in the north the military forces of the planters would be enlarged because all of the inhabitants of Clondeboy would help the planters. The Scots had once been their servants and had now become their masters, and they also were burdened with 'the tyranny of O'Neill.' Should O'Neill and the Scots be pushed together it would be necessary to put Callough O'Donnell back into his country where his brother Hugh already was. MacGuire would join with the planters and even Turlough Lineach O'Neill, who had no love for Shane. Then O'Cahan would be either forced to join or have his country destroyed.

The groups Piers represented would plant themselves in the chief place of the Scots nearest to O'Donnell to be able to join with him against O'Neill and the Scots. Then, in five years or less they would establish complete supremacy in the north, guaranteeing to Elizabeth a quiet rule of all the country from south of Strangford around to Sligo, 'and shall in time bring to her...use all such ancient rents and customs, as the Irish people have of old time paid in their countries.' They also would 'within the term of three or four years next coming plant four thousand inhabitants of her natural subjects in that north country...'. At the end of seven years they would pay her a rent of 4 d. Irish for every acre of arable land, meadow, and pasture, and 1 d. Irish for every acre of mountain, heath, and wood, as well as all customs and subsidies of merchandise paid to her in other parts of Ireland.

Piers then petitioned Elizabeth on behalf of the group for assistance under the headings of ten 'itemes'. They were as follows:

1. That she would send her commission into several shires for the levying of 1,000 horsemen and 2,000 footmen, of whom 500 horsemen and 1,000 footmen were to be produced at once. The other half were to be levied in money at £ 20 for every horseman and £ 10 for every footman, 'under which proportion those sorts of servitors cannot be furnished.' The money so raised 'may seem' to be used to furnish such

gentlemen and soldiers as volunteered to serve.

2. There should be a commission for a steady supply of more men as the first were planted so that the garrison would increase and not diminish.

3. That she would supply some ordnance, arms, munitions, and engines for fortifications together with sufficient wheat, malt, and pulse to serve as a staple for one year. She would be repaid the cost at the end of seven years. Her commission was also asked to permit the group to export grain and other victuals from England 'until we shall be able to win victual out of the ground.'

4. That she would supply them with one galley, two brigantines, and the Phoenix, 'to serve there on the seas and rivers,' which the group would 'repay from time to time, and furnish all the rest of our shipping at our own costs.'

5. Item, in respect of this adventure of service: that it may please her highness by her letters patent to incorporate certain persons of us to the number of twelve as a body politic under her majesty with such grants of liberties and freedom of traffic as in those cases are requisite: with also the gift of all the customs and liberties of the country to our own use and authority to accept into our freedom such as we shall think meet, deserving the same, or otherwise as amongst us may be determined.

6. Because of the great cost of the garrison which those twelve incorporated persons would have to bear, in order that they could make estates in fee simple, fee tail, term of life, etc., they asked Elizabeth to make a gift to them and their heirs in fee form of all lands 'they shall thus adventurously achieve,' monastic land and otherwise, within Clondeboy and from south of Strangford to the Bann, with all the commodities and new products produced from under the ground and above it, and all the fishing within and around that area. These rights would be held for seven years free of all rent, 'except some honorable service to her highness,' and then they would pay at the scale they had suggested for the land and the traditional rent for the fishing.

7. They asked to have all the customs and subsidies of merchandise free for seven years, the fishing, and the exclusive trade in all merchandise, including staples, both by land and sea from south of Strangford. After the seven years they would pay the customs and the rent of the fishing, but retain the exclusive trading rights.

8. They asked that Elizabeth provide £1200 in the next three years to wall Carrickfergus in stone and to repair and reroof the castle there.

9. They asked that the vacant see of Down be given a new bishop 'to the intent that he, being assisted by certain Irish prelates near adjoining who are very zealously affected, may with spiritual severity establish order in the church.'

10. They asked for a commission to use martial law until they were fully established to protect themselves from all sudden mutinies and rebellions, and that until they had 'stayed the country on all sides, that none of us be called from service in that place by any means.'

Piers added the final point that 'as this year is thus far come on, and that such an occasion is now offered for this attempt there as before the next year may be prevented; we think it...a thing very needful to be considered presently and put into execution forthwith,' which the group were prepared to do without wages or entertainment of the queen for her honour and God's glory.

As the first new proposal for plantation in Ireland for several years Piers's program presents a number of novel features, advances in technique and planning of such enterprises, and a radical new approach in colonizing. It shares certain affinities with the plan proposed by Sussex for colonizing in the north in 1557 and it may be that Piers was a link between the two. A plan which was not executed by Mary might be accepted by Elizabeth. The idea of utilizing the natives of the designated area to help drive out the Scots and subdue O'Neill was a more subtle approach than the attempt to dispossess completely the O'Mores and O'Conors of their lands. The number of soldiers to be raised and equipped by shires in England and placed under the private command of Piers and his associates was larger than any previous scheme, as was the promise to have 5000 of them placed as settlers in three or four years. The proposals for complete merchantile and fishing rights, the location of the colony around the seacoast, and the request for ships of the royal navy to supplement the ships provided by Piers and others was in total contrast to the landlocked inland nature of the Leix-Offaly undertaking and a bold new innovation. So was the proposal for a corporation of twelve people, carrying out their affairs as a sovereign body, empowered to make grants of land, farm the customs, and conduct military operations and keep public

order. They were asking for direct ownership of nearly two shires and some measure of control and profit-taking over virtually the whole of Ulster.

Planning of such magnitude inevitably poses the question who besides Piers was involved in the request. There is no covering letter for the projet nor does any list of those who proposed to form the corporation survive. Yet on the basis of events of the years just previous and of what transpired in Ireland in 1566 it is possible to form some estimate of who was involved. Such an effort is worthwhile for this plan or something very like it underlay Sidney's appointment as deputy for Ireland and goes far towards explaining why events took the course that they did.

One important clue in determining the background for this projet is the request in it for the use of the queen's ship, the Phoenix. The Phoenix and the Falcon had both been under the command of William Wynter when the troops were removed from Le Havre in July 1563.³ His mother was Alice, daughter and heiress of William Tirrey of Cork.⁴ The Falcon had been built in 1544, displaced eighty-three tons, and was probably a pinnace, defined as a small light vessel, generally two-masted and schooner-rigged. The Phoenix which was bought in 1546 and displaced forty tons, was probably a smaller version of the Falcon. She carried fifty men, four brass guns and twenty-two iron ones, an unusually heavy armament for a ship of that size.⁵

The LeHavre expedition of 1562-3 is a seminal event in plantation for it

brought English officers into closer association with Frenchmen than they had been for many years, and to that association we may date the genesis of constructive schemes for English colonization beyond the seas, for serving together in the camp...were Richard Eden, Thomas Stukely and Humphrey Gilbert, the first promoters of colonial ideas in England.⁶

This view has been challenged on the grounds that 'there is no definite evidence to support these assertions and they should not be made categorically,' though such an encounter was possible.⁷ The evidence

³Cal. S.P. Dom., 1547-80.

⁴D.N.B. Sketch of Wynter.

⁵W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy. 1. 420-1.

⁶Camb. Hist. B.E. i. 54.

⁷D. B. Quinn (ed.) Voyages and Enterprises of Gilbert. 1. 5.

from the Irish state papers is no more definite and yet it points to the same thesis.

In April 1562 Sir Henry Sidney was sent to Paris to assist Throckmorton in urging the French government to accept Elizabeth's mediation in the religious war there. At that time Throckmorton, first broached the idea the Huguenots might ^{give} her possession of Calais, Dieppe, or Le Havre. They were joined in September by Sir Thomas Smith, and by the terms of the secret treaty of Richmond signed that month Le Havre was to be garrisoned by 3000 English troops.⁸ On 1 October the English under Warwick sailed from Portsmouth and landed in Le Havre on Sunday, 4 October. There they stayed put, despite the pleas of Throckmorton, for their orders were not to move. By December they were under siege, and in January Warwick urged the use of sea-power to keep the port open. The English position was that they were willing to trade Le Havre for Calais. In March the French king decreed religious toleration and the siege was tightened. The French assault on Le Havre began in earnest on 22 May when the English had been on short rations for months and many of them sick. As early as December 1562 there had been plague around Paris.⁹ On 7 June 1563 it broke out among the English troops.¹⁰ The French pressed closer and on 28 July Warwick surrendered. Wynter and his ships, the Falcon and the Phoenix, arrived in time only to help evacuate the garrison.

Such is the bare record of the siege of Le Havre. Certain details are also worth examining. From July 1549 William Wynter had been surveyor of ships and from November 1557 he had been master of the ordnance of the navy as Edward Baeshe had been surveyor of victuals for the navy from June 1550.¹¹ Baeshe worked under Winchester, the treasurer,¹² and Baeshe and Wynter were both involved in the preparations and supply of the expedition to Le Havre during September and October,

⁸J. D. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth (2nd ed.), pp. 55-6.

⁹James-Westfall Thompson, The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-76, pp. 165-201.

¹⁰Black, op. cit., p. 61.

¹¹W. L. Clowes, The Royal Navy. i. pp. 437-8

¹²14 Jan. 1560 (Cal. S.P. Dorn., 1547-80), p. 148).

using Portsmouth as a base. The Phoenix returned there from Le Havre on 1 November 1562.¹³ In 1563 and as late as 1568 the ship was associated with Wynter.¹⁴ In January 1563 Geoffrey Vaughan appears in the work of supplying the expedition.¹⁵ He ^{was} associated with Baeshe in victualling the force that was intended for Lough Foyle in 1561.

On 21 May 1563 Elizabeth created Colonel Edward Randolph marshal of the garrison in Le Havre.¹⁶ Randolph had long experience of Ireland and had been one of the first planters in Leix. In Le Havre he outranked Eden, Stukely, and Humphrey Gilbert. Like St Loe he commanded the gratitude of Elizabeth on her accession, and in 1559 he was granted for life, for his service an annuity of £40.¹⁷ On 6 December 1563 after he returned from Le Havre he was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance and on 8 April 1564 he was on a commission with Winchester, Pembroke, Warwick, and Sir Walter Mildmay to take the account of William Wynter for the previous three years. For one yet under forty Randolph was moving very close to the centre of power. He was on a similar commission in July 1564 with similar company, including Cecil, and on another in August. On 8 July 1566 his 'office of Lieutenant of England' was extended to Ireland while he was there and made his for life.¹⁸ The circumstances of that occasion will appear presently.

It seems highly probable that the enforced inactivity of the siege of Le Havre prompted conversation on a more productive form of overseas expansion than an attempt to recover Calais. One direction such conversations might have taken would have been Ireland. Randolph knew it first hand and so probably did others. Sussex and Sidney had propounded a maritime colonization of Ulster in the 1550's and William Piers had conducted naval forays from Carrickfergus since that time.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 208-10.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 323.

¹⁵ Cal. S. P. Doc., 1547-80, p. 215.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁷ 4 Sept 1559 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1558-60, p. 27).

¹⁸ Cal. pat. rolls, 1563-66, nos. 490, 498, 929, 950, 2122.

Wynter, Baesche, and Vaughan knew from experience the difficulties and possibilities of supplying an expedition to the north of Ireland by sea.

The form that the undertaking proposed by Piers was to take is notable. The 1550's and 1560's were a period for the formation of companies to exploit everything from the mining of coal and the making of salt to trade with Russia, for which a company was formed in 1553, chartered in 1555, and confirmed by act of Parliament in 1566.¹⁹ Such ventures were either regulated or joint-stock companies or a mixture of both. The early attempts to trade with Guinea after Hawkins's expeditions of 1530 and 1553 'were in the nature of separate joint-stock ventures' in 1554, 1555, 1556 and 1557.²⁰ A joint-stock company has been defined as one in which 'the members traded as a corporate body, and the profits or losses were distributed among the members as shareholders.'²¹ The corporation of twelve members proposed for the company to colonize Ulster must have been designed as a joint-stock enterprise. Their request to have a fee farm grant of all land to be settled and a monopoly of all trade and fishing in the area implies a common ownership. The plans outlined in the projet made it inevitable that the largest contributor was going to be Elizabeth, whether she was counted as a member or not. For the company to discharge its undertakings would call for capital as well. Piers considered himself to be a member. Sir Henry Sidney, who had first proposed to become a planter in Leix in 1557 and in Lecale at the same time and who was involved in many of the undertakings of the 1560's, was undoubtedly a member. Cecil may have been as well. Beyond him it is even more difficult to suggest the remaining nine members, though Randolph, Wynter, Baesche, and possibly Vaughan, are all possibilities.

It is clear that by May 1565 Sidney had been approached about going to Ireland as deputy and that detailed discussions had taken place. Sidney submitted a list of private petitions should he be sent,²² without which he would rather serve anywhere else. He

¹⁹Lipson, Econ. Hist. of Eng. (6th ed.) II. p. 327.

²⁰Ibid., II, 352.

²¹Ibid., p. 195.

²²20 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 45).

wished to retain his presidency of Wales and for the payment of his debts, a chronic goad with Sidney, he wanted a licence to transport 6,000 coarse dress cloths over a period of four years, paying customs as an Englishman. He also wanted a licence to transport grain and victual for his own household in Ireland, either from his English lands or to be lawfully bought in England. Finally he wanted the right to come to the queen without licence.

Sidney then turned to 'the public affairs of Ireland.'²³ He began with the plantation of Leix and Offaly, recalling how Sussex had granted them to the planters.

Nevertheless the naturals of these two countries of late have rebelled and are in actual rebellion and daily doth hurt and outrage. Your highness hath to resolve what you will do with these: whether to quiet them by pardoning them or extirp, or at least banish them by force, both which is at your majesty's arbitrement and according the quality of each occasion feasible enough...

Sidney gave his opinion that if she pardoned them she would have quietness but that if she chastised them she would avoid future rebellion.

In Munster Sidney saw an opportunity for reform while Elizabeth had the earls in England, but she was to look for nothing there 'until you establish there a council with good councillors...served with well governed soldiers to execute.' He thought a president and three councillors with 200 footmen and 500 horsemen under them would be sufficient.

In the north Sidney saw the Scots as the most malicious and dangerous people 'that inhabit Ireland' and they had established themselves too well there. Elizabeth could admit them as subjects, expel them as enemies, or tolerate them as naturals, but Sidney did not think she should give them any grant to improve their tenure for as long as they inhabited the north her enemies would never lack a point to enter and invade. If it was not the right time to expel them she might 'wink at them for the time.' If they were not expelled there were many ways to deal with them 'but the surest and soonest is to inhabit between them and the sea, whereby with some shipping all hope of succour shall be cut from them.' That in essence was what the projet had proposed and in the margin of Sidney's opinions was written 'note Captain Piers, his opinion for this.'

²³20 May (*ibid.*, no. 46 Nos 45 and 46 are one document).

The news of O'Neill's victory over MacDonnell had clearly not reached court yet, but Sidney argued that only force would reform Shane and again the queen must decide. If she wanted to temporise with him then she should 'this year restore O'Donnell to his country,' a request which O'Donnell was at the moment making to Leicester, emphasizing his poverty in England.²⁴ Sidney thought the queen should write to Shane about O'Donnell's restoration and other things' and underhand fortify Newry, Dundalk, and Carrickfergus.'

Sidney went on to deal with the general problem of expenditure. Dublin castle, Kilmainham, Monasterevin, Leighlin Bridge, Carlow, and Athlone were all in disrepair and he wanted a commission and warrants to put them in order. He wanted all old debts paid and £ 10,000 to £ 12,000 on hand in the treasury for all events. If war was decided upon he would not serve with less than the deputy's companies and 200 horsemen and 500 footmen. He wanted to be able to distribute eight dead-pays per 100 men 'among the better sort.'

In administration he wanted Curwen translated to Oxford and a new archbishop and anew chancellor as well as an English legal advisor. Finally he wanted the queen to choose three or four of her privy councillors to whom he might address letters and receive from them 'answer and resolution.'

In a few days Sidney submitted another ten point memorandum of specific points to be settled.²⁵ It included the request that Warham St Leger, Sir Anthony's son, be knighted and made a councillor in Ireland. As surveyors he wanted the new master of the rolls when appointed, Dyx, Jenyson, Draycott, and Michael Fitzwilliam, the surveyor general, or any three of them. He wanted Elizabeth to sign the book agreed on for the numbers of the army, which called for 1262 men costing £ 1270 Irish a month or £ 16,510 a year. He wanted the principle established that an Englishman's son born in Ireland would be allowed as an English soldier, and that he would have authority to replenish the garrison to the numbers agreed upon. He wanted money to provide grain for the forts and his own household. Finally he wanted Elizabeth to decide on the president and council for Munster, which

²⁴ 21 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 47).

²⁵ 25 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 49).

would be reckoned as part of the agreed military establishment as would 'the ship.' Another memorandum defined it as a ship or a pinnace to keep off pirates 'as well as to serve in other ports when need shall require.'²⁶

Cecil must have written about Ireland to Sir Thomas Smith in France for early in June Smith wrote at some length to Cecil about Ireland,²⁷ saying that whenever he considered the subject he felt that no ruler in the last 200 years had taken the right way to either subdue it or make it profitable. The result was that Ireland was still in that barbarousness in which Richard II had left it, and so the tame part could bring no profit to the crown. In Smith's life only Bellingham had worked at the problem properly and he lacked time and backing. It is noteworthy that Bellingham's time in Ireland coincided with Smith's period as principal secretary. Smith went on to say that Bellingham meant to rule and had the honour of England, the advancement of its crown, and the profit of Ireland as his mark. In November he reiterated that what Ireland needed was a Bellingham and that in his mind it should have more colonies to augment the Irish language, laws, and religion.²⁸

The fact that he was still making his point in November indicates that Smith had entered into the debate on who should succeed Sussex which had evidently become a major issue in England by June. It seems clear that he did not regard Sidney as a man of Bellingham's calibre. Cecil himself noted that he must speak with Sussex about how long his office ought to continue, for the earl was still officially lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The other things Cecil noted in his memorandum indicated that Sidney was his ~~choice~~ and that his conditions would be fulfilled.²⁹ Cecil noted details about the council to be in Munster and under Leix and Offaly he wrote 'the offenders are not many, and if it were well known that the heads should not be pardoned, it is likely that they should be suppressed. Those who had been pardoned and

²⁶ C. May 1565 (P.R.O., S. P. Ire., 63/13, no. 51).

²⁷ 6 June (Cal. S.P. for., 1564-65, no. 1228).

²⁸ Smith to Cecil, 7 Nov. (Cal. S.P. for., 1564-65, no. 1654).

²⁹ 'June 1565' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 75).

rebelled anew he thought ought to be put down with force at the discretion of the deputy. O'Carroll, O'Molloy, and Mac Geoghegan were 'to be practiced withal to submit themselves and to take their lands of the queen, and to reduce their countries to be shire-grounds or to annex the same to some other shires, as to Meath or Offaly and Leix.' Cecil made many notes about ways to check the drainage in the revenue and he also noted: '...a ship or a pinnace to be lent to the governor.' Shane O'Neill was to be temporised with, letting him know that Sidney, his 'gossipred,' was coming.

May and June were the months in which Sussex was defending his government of Ireland³⁰ and in which Ormond and Desmond were being examined about the misdemeanors leading up to the battle of Affane. Two factions had aligned themselves and though Sidney and Leicester were brothers-in-law there was a split between them. Arnold was informed on 22 June that Sidney was being sent as deputy³¹ and yet on the back of a letter which Arnold wrote to the privy council on 23 June³² someone noted twice "sir Nicholas Arnold, Deputy of Ireland' and under one 'R. Dudley' and under the other 'Robert Leicester'. The disagreement went on and was probably part of an effort by Leicester to unseat Cecil as chief advisor to Elizabeth, discrediting Sussex being a means to an end. Leicester and Arnold had encouraged Shane to do some service and his defeat of the Scots could be made to seem a service to Elizabeth. The affair had other consequences as well. Fitzwilliam replied³³ to a letter addressed to him on 8 August by Sussex with the comment that from it 'I understood of Sir Henry Sidney's dealing, for the which I am sorry.' Perhaps it was untrue. Arnold had asked Fitzwilliam if he had 'heard of a falling out between your lordship and the lord president' and Fitzwilliam had answered that he had not. Soon Cecil wrote to Fitzwilliam³⁴ that Elizabeth had not yet 'fully discharged' Sussex, who would either be rewarded

³⁰ 'Memorial...mense Maii 1565' (B.M. Add. MS 4767).

³¹ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, no. 69.

³² Ibid., no. 72.

³³ 24 Aug (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 46 VIII).

³⁴ 6 Sept. (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 33).

as one that 'hath well served' or with nothing. Cecil saw in Sussex 'honour, truth, and valiantness.'

By 4 July a first draft of Sidney's instructions was complete and he gave his opinions on them. A second draft of them was completed by 9 July but they were not made final until 5 October.³⁵ His private instructions which he was empowered to show to such of his council as he thought fitting were completed by 9 July and the draft by Cecil remained substantially the same, with additions on 5 October.³⁶ Elizabeth stated in those that she had ordered O'Donnell to return to Ireland but that his restoration would depend upon Shane. Sidney was to keep him well enough that he did not seek aid from the Scots. It was stressed that if he could be restored without war Sidney was to do so. She next posed the question how O'Neill would behave in Clandeboy. His protests of loyalty were to be utilized and 'no good means be neglected to procure both the Scots to be expelled and the ancient owners, the Irish, to be restored to their several countries'.

As for the Glynnns and the island of Raghlin the Scots had obviously forfeited them by their behavior as well as by expulsion and they 'might be brought to the possession and rule of some English subject or some trusty person of the birth of Ireland...'. Piers was to be given more scope to his rule in the Glynnns and Sidney was to remember his own advice:

that for the reducing of Ulster into obedience nothing is more necessary than that the castles upon the havens and seaside were all at her majesty's commandment. Whereby possessing the seacoast no foreign power should aid the disordered subjects within the land.

On the other hand where she understood that recently 'great portions of land hath been recovered from her without just title... by (Sir Edmund) Butler, brother to... Ormond, near Leighlin Bridge,' she wanted her title established and then considering his right to give hope of her favour. Sidney wanted Bagenal as marshal since he doubted getting Stanley's cooperation. Elizabeth was willing to let Sidney decide, since she knew no reason why Bagenal was displaced, and because of 'his lands upon the frontier of our English pale, towards Shane

³⁵P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, nos. 2, 3, 7, 63/15, no. 4.

³⁶Ibid., no. 8, 63/15, no. 6.

O'Neill, meetest to serve upon that frontier.' It is plain that while Elizabeth had neither approved of nor committed herself to Piers's projet that her thinking and that of Cecil was moving in that direction and in a way kept carefully secret.

Sidney's public instructions as they were finally drafted were divided into four main sections.³⁷ The first concerned religion and the second dealt with law and justice. Elizabeth had lost her own lands and possessions to 'no small value' through partial proceedings which must be stopped. It was also thought...requisite that the order which was begun to appoint sheriffs in the counties of Leix and Offaly, and of the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes were renewed and continued if they...be neglected...'. Due process of law was to be observed without the people being unduly vexed by the law. The object was peace and quiet. The counties of Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry ought to be under the common law as well, with sheriffs and the machinery of shire government.

Sidney's own comments on this section are interesting.³⁸ It was his opinion that winning the queen 'land by force...will be very chargeable as by example of Leix and Offaly it is found out...', where everything she received in rent was spent there in wages. Rather she should 'give the people justice and minister law amongs them,' with the sovereign's sword being used to eliminate private war. Then the money consumed by war could be used for the 'building of houses and towns and setting up of husbandry.' Sidney's program for the Irish was to 'make them weak and wealthy, which once felt of them it is not like that ever they will rebel, for the sweet taste of wealth and property in goods shall make them unwilling to adventure the loss of the same.' Bonnaught for galloglas could be converted into a money payment and 'the abbey land not lying in Irish countries...answer the queen the rent which they are let for...'. Sidney then became expansive. The fishing could be got from French and Spanish hands into native ones, and rich mines now hidden and lost could be exploited, and there would be lands escheating to the crown for offenses. All

³⁷ 5 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 4).

³⁸ Between 4 and 9 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/14, no. 3).

of these things meant revenue for Elizabeth. Fishings and mining were, incidentally, the sort of ventures in which Sidney was willing to participate as an investor, as well as exploiting holdings of land. He next suggested to Elizabeth the recovery of concealed lands, an early use of the term, and recovery of decayed rents. She should give commissions for men to search them out, using due process and backed by the deputy. It was the beginning of what was to become another pernicious institution. Sidney argued that to carry out such a program he would need several councils, like the one proposed for Munster, though he was confident he could carry out as well as ever the shiring of the countries of the Kavanaghs, the O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles, and Leix and Offaly. He approved the uniting of Irish countries to English shires and the fact that he wanted to utilize Warham St. Leger in Munster was an indication that he was seeing Ireland as Sir Anthony had seen it.

The third section of Sidney's instructions dealt with the garrison, its size and disposition. He was to have a total of 1273 men, of which some 260 were to be horsemen, 632 were to be footmen, and 300 kerne. The annual cost was hammered down to £ 16,142 Irish or

£ 12, 106 sterling a year.³⁹ That there were only to be 'six Irish in the hundred' was made explicit. In his comments on the first draft Sidney had said that ready money to purchase grain at the harvest was a sure cure for the problem of cesses as well as a licence to import 1000 quarters of grain from England and butter, cheese, and bacon. In the final draft of his instructions these things were allowed. Of the garrison 100 were to be placed in the two forts of Leix and Offaly, which should

be kept with convenient number of the soldiers and the people encouraged to inhabit and till the ground without opposition or burden of men of war upon them. And that the heads of the last rebellion shall after be subdued and not permitted to enjoy any part of the said two countries...

O'Carroll, O'Molloy, and the other Irish between the two countries and the Shannon were to accept 'surrender and regrant,' taking no more exactions, and paying the usual bounaght. It was suggested that their countries might become parts of the shires of Offaly, Leix, or Meath.

³⁹15 July, 5 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/14, nos 19, 20, 63/15, no. 5).

There was to be a president and council in Munster for the shires of Kerry, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford as per 'the marches of Wales.' If it were successful a similar council would be established in Connaught. The final item of the section was that Sidney was to have a ship and a pinnace to deal with pirates, at no charge to Elizabeth.

The fourth and final section of the instructions dealt with the revenue, the preservation of what was being paid and the 'recovery of such as is withdrawn.' Elizabeth expressed herself at length on why the charges were so great and her income in Ireland so small.⁴⁰ A dozen main points, some with several subdivisions were laid down in effort to return matters to the year of the best revenue under Edward VI, and the year of the least charges under him. The ninth point dealt with repairs to royal castles. Sidney had insisted that he must be given discretion to make repairs. Monasterevin was in bad repair and Piers had pointed out repeatedly that there was constant danger that the main wall of Carrickfergus castle would collapse. If it did the queen would have nothing defensible beyond Dundalk. Sidney was allowed to decide what should be done about Carrickfergus, the town of which was to have a new charter along with Carlingford. The tenth point dealt with Leix and Offaly,

where it is thought that divers tenants...by these late wars are departed and their tenancies and estates determined, her majesty is pleased that upon some survey thereof the (deputy) shall certify the certain causes of the avoidances with other particularities thereof and shall command such persons for the same estates as he shall think meet for the service of her majesty. And thereupon he shall receive answer to the same with expedition.

Elizabeth's final command was that she be given quarterly reports on the fulfilling of her instructions. She reiterated that she wished to be kept regularly informed on events in Ireland, a chronic complaint with her.

Once his instructions had been given a final draft Sidney's next move was to have a conference with Elizabeth concerning a number of private suits such as those of Francis Agard, Thomas Fitzwilliam, John Wakely, Edward Moore, and Sir Thomas Cusack. He was representing these

⁴⁰Quoted in Bagwell, Tudors.ii.

men as being in crucial positions upon the borders of the Irish.⁴¹ Elizabeth gave her decisions on these suits on 24 October.⁴² One private suit was not dealt with immediately. In July Piers had asked to be made constable of Carrickfergus for life, and to have the customs of the town which did not exceed £ 9 Irish a year. He also wanted 100 more men in the garrison, which he would augment with forty more men at his own charges, for at the moment there was 'so small a number as an exploit cannot be (if need should happen) accomplished.' If O'Neill behaved the larger garrison would be a check on him; if not, they were a means of service. A copy was referred to Sidney to 'prove what service he can do.'

In August the privy council noted that about four years before Piers was on the seas in the queen's service and rescued a ship from pirates which he took to Carrickfergus.⁴³ After Sidney left court he began a letter to Cecil⁴⁴ from Chester by saying that while Francis Agard had brought several warrants from court the one for Captain Piers was imprecise, not specifying the number of men he was to have or his entertainment. A month later Cecil wrote to Sidney,⁴⁵ still stormbound on the Welsh coast,

I cannot procure as you desire a further warrant as yet for Piers' estate of Knockfergus for that of late the French ambassador hath both to her majesty and to the council incensed matter of offence against him for the misusage of the Frenchman whom he took at the Isle of Wight, and promising him for a small number of (French crowns) to send him with his ship away at Portland yet put him into irons and carried him...to Liverpool. Surely, considerint it is alleged that Piers was to land once or twice, he might have left the ship and prisoners in some other near port. There hath been also some vent made of part of the goods, but notwithstanding all this I think it not good to condemn Piers except he were heard, and therewith further unable to answer. And as I may by my next to your lordship I will send your lordship further warrant.

Cecil went on to give Sidney the news, including the reconciliation of Sussex, Leicester, and Norfolk, who had found that their differences were largely based on gossip. Cecil hoped that the amity would last and that there would be no fresh gossip for it was from that situation

⁴¹Sidney to Cecil, 9 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 9).

⁴²Instructions on suits, 24 Oct. (ibid., no. 18).

⁴³19 Aug. 1565 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

⁴⁴Sidney to Cecil, 24 Nov. (op. cit., no. 51).

⁴⁵23 Dec. (ibid., no. 69).

that 'groweth all the restless troubles of this court.'

Cecil went on to assure Sidney that as long as he was in any position to give council he would not advocate anything of any importance without first having the advice of Sidney. Where Sidney wanted to know whether he should write directly to Elizabeth or to the privy council Cecil left it for him to decide for 'sometime more expedition is by one way than the other and sometime contrarily.' Letters which were sent to Elizabeth 'I do forbear without her presence and assent to open them.' Cecil promised to do everything he could for Sidney and he did open letters addressed to the privy council to assemble them 'the sooner as the causes require.'

Cecil was as good as his word, though he may not have been able to move Elizabeth as far as Sidney wished. At the end of a letter of 8 January 1566 to Sidney from Elizabeth Cecil added in the draft⁴⁶ that where the number of soldiers and the entertainment of Piers was omitted in his letters patent 'we are contented that he shall have his ordinary fee which we suppose to be three shillings four pence by the day' as well as twenty soldiers at 8 d. Irish a day during the time they served or for as long as she thought wise to have them there. Such a force was certainly less than Piers wanted and was probably less than Sidney had requested. There were other evidences that Piers was going to play a role of some importance under Sidney. In September or October he was employed to carry letters to Ireland.⁴⁷ In late October Edward Baeshe allowed a claim for the charges for two fiscal months of a sakre 'from out of Illingham water towards Ireland,' and a warrant was made to Sidney to pay £107 12s. 4 d. 'to William Piers, captain thereof.'⁴⁸

At the same time a consignment of munition to Cork was made, for the garrison which would serve in Muster. It included four dozen spades and shovels, two dozen felling axes, and two dozen hedging bills.⁴⁹ Earlier a very large supply of military goods for Ireland, including 2000 shovels and spades, 50 sythes, and 6 long saws, had

⁴⁶P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 8. Printed in full in Sidney S.P., no. 9.

⁴⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Oct., Fitzwilliam to privy council, 23 Oct. (Ibid., 63/15, nos 15,16).

⁴⁸21 Aug. to 15 Oct. (ibid., no. 22).

⁴⁹24 Oct. (ibid., no. 21).

been made, which with provisions for transport came to £233 5 s. 8 d. Cecil had checked the lists and they were signed by Edward Randolph, who made his first appearance in this Irish business.

To Elizabeth the most important Irish business was what to do about Shane O'Neill. Early in November Cecil wrote to Sidney that he would hear shortly 'more certainly how ye shall deal with Shane O'Neill,' and a week later Elizabeth sent Sidney her instructions.⁵⁰ O'Neill had sent the dean of Armagh to her with messages and instructions. If all she had to go on was the case and requests they made 'we could willingly assent to the more part of these' if they did not touch her honour.

But when we consider how far different his deeds (as they are reported) be from that which either he ought to be, or by his letters, writings, and messages he would seem to be, we cannot make any perfect or certain resolution how to proceed with him.

Yet in order to give Sidney some direction and 'that there may grow some end in one manner or other' she instructed the deputy that as Shane had always trusted him the most and had never refused his orders he was to attempt to meet with Shane, assuring him that the agreement of 18 November 1563 made with Cusack would be kept, 'and for the settling of some good government of the north part of that our land to be replenished with good subjects and kept free from evil.' If he meant what he said about helping to rid the country of Scots he was to be assured that all controversies with him could be settled and 'that he may live there in that realm in like surety, honour, and wealth, as any of our nobility doth.' Diplomacy was to be tried once again.

Sidney was storm-bound on the Welsh coast for weeks and did not reach Ireland until 10 January. He took the oath as deputy on the 20th⁵¹ and the following day a letter was dispatched to O'Neill, offering peace and asking for a parley.⁵² Shane suggested that they meet in Dundalk on 5 February and that Cusack should be brought with Sidney.

⁵⁰12 Nov. (Sidney S.P., no. 3. Draft in P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 42).

⁵¹Bagwell, Tudors, ii. 101-2.

⁵²Sidney and council to O'Neill, 21 Jan. 1566. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 16).

He praised Arnold's government.⁵³ Cusack was ill in Munster but Sidney promptly sent off an answer to Shane, saying that he had instructions for all of Shane's suits, and that the bearers of the letter also had instructions to treat with Shane, particularly with regard to pinning down the date of the meeting at Dundalk.⁵⁴

One of the bearers of the letter at O'Neill's request, was Thomas Stukely who had formed a friendship with Shane when he was at court in 1561 and 1562.⁵⁵ After his return from Le Havre Stukely made contact with the Spanish ambassador to England. His purpose was to inform the ambassador in part of an expedition which he was to make with Jean Ribault, the French explorer, to colonize Florida. He told the ambassador that he would show him 'a trick that would make a noise in the world,' instead.⁵⁶ Stukely and his fleet sailed on 25 June 1563 and Elizabeth wrote to Sussex⁵⁷ that he was making a voyage to discover certain lands in the west towards Terra Florida. If he were driven onto the Irish coast or captured French vessels he was to be helped. Whether he got to Florida or not,⁵⁸ he was soon capturing vessels with a will and earning a European wide reputation as a pirate, thus fulfilling his promise of a 'trick.' Within a year the English government were making efforts to retrieve him and Wroth wrote to Cecil⁵⁹ that he was on the west coast of Ireland with a large well-manned ship. 'He was at Kinsale and keepeth thereabout. I am afraid he will make the sea his Florida.' Efforts had been made to catch him, without success. Between November 1564 and May 1565 he was caught, for the privy council

⁵³O'Neill to Sidney, 26 Jan. (ibid., no. 19)

⁵⁴Sidney to O'Neill, and instructions to the bearers, 30 Jan. (ibid., nos. 20, 21).

⁵⁵For details of Stukely's career see D.N.B. sketch by A. F. Pollard, and Bagwell, Tudors. ii. 196-206.

⁵⁶Quadra to Philip II, 1 May 1563 (Cal. S.P., Spain, 1558-67), no. 222).

⁵⁷30 June 1563 (Cal. Salisbury MSS, Vol. I, no. 891).

⁵⁸de Mendoza to Philip II, 26 Apr. 1582 (op. cit. 1580-86, no. 254) mentions an intended landing in Florida at the place Stukely went to. Cited by A. F. Pollard in his D.N.B. sketch.

⁵⁹17 Nov. 1564 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/11, no. 101). Postscript of a letter of 14 Nov.

ordered Arnold⁶⁰ 'to send hither forthwith under safe custody Thomas Stukely, marvelling not a little that he had not been sent up long heretofore.' Soon O'Neill wrote in Stukely's favour to Elizabeth, Cecil, and Leicester, asking that he be pardoned,⁶¹ and a few days later Arnold wrote to both the privy council and to Cecil⁶² for the same purpose, saying Stukely had done no harm, and even the bishop of Meath commended him to Cecil.⁶³ Before they had received these testimonials the privy council had informed Arnold⁶⁴ that there were serious charges against Stukely by no less a person than Philip II and in July they noted with satisfaction the news that Stukely had been brought to England.⁶⁵

Once in England Stukely seems to have succeeded with the same plausible ease and by 27 September was released on recognizances. He promptly paid a visit to the new Spanish ambassador and professed an ardent desire to serve Philip II. He also said that Sidney was very anxious to take him to Ireland because of his great friendship with Shane, and Stukely suggested that something to Philip's advantage could be done with that connexion.⁶⁶ Soon Stukely returned to press the point again. The ambassador only thanked him for his good will and closed the conversation, but Stukely suggested 'that even though at present I might not consider it a matter to be discussed, in a year's time or a little longer I should be glad to consider it. I made no reply, as your majesty has ordered me not to enter into this question.'⁶⁷

In certain particulars Stukely was lying to the ambassador about the Florida expedition but it seems clear that his intentions regarding

⁶⁰19 May (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

⁶¹18 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/13, nos. 65, 66, 67).

⁶²23 June (*ibid.*, nos. 72, 73).

⁶³Hugh Bardy to Cecil, 23 June (*ibid.*, no. 74).

⁶⁴22 June (*ibid.*, no. 69).

⁶⁵20 July (Acts privy council., 1558-70).

⁶⁶de Silva to Philip II, 8 Oct. (Cal. S.P., Spain, 1558-67, no. 324).

⁶⁷de Silva to Philip II, 22 Oct. (*ibid.*, no. 328).

Ireland were treasonable. Sidney was too straight forward and honourable to see through Stukely and Cecil seems to have been no more astute in his judgment of him. In November he commended Stukely to Sidney, as had Pembroke and Leicester, saying he was 'sorry to see his fortune not answerable to his good courage and ability to serve.'⁶⁸ Such was the man sent to negotiate with Shane and it is not surprising that it did not go well. Among other things Shane asserted that he intended to keep O'Donnell out of his country, Kildare out of Lecale, and Bagenal out of Newry,⁶⁹ for they were now his. 'With this sword I won them, with this sword I will keep them...' was the signed answer he sent back to Sidney.⁷⁰

Bagenal, the new marshal, sent Leicester⁷¹ an account of the negotiations and of the country as Sidney found it on his arrival. In the twenty years Bagenal had known Ireland he thought it had never been so far out of frame. The Walshes, the O'Byrnes, and the O'Tooles robbed each other within five miles of Dublin. 'As for the country of Leix it is almost in as evil case as it was at the beginning,' and the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Kerry were 'almost utterly waste.' In the north O'Neill, with 'a sure bond with Scotland' now had all the countries from Sligo to Carrickfergus and from there to Carlingford. Southward to Drogheda the country was disturbed. Sidney was popular and Bagenal expected great things of him, but

he hath so much to do here with factions that he knoweth not whom he may trust. One faction is afraid lest he should do better service than my lord of Sussex did. Another faction is towards Kildare and Desmond. And some were good will to my lord of Ormond. And amongst these factions Shane O'Neill is not void of all friendship.

Bagenal had an object in giving as dark a picture as possible of the situation Sidney found for he and Stukely had got the deputy's 'consent...to a bargain concluded between them' in which Bagenal had

⁶⁸4 Nov. 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/15, no. 36).

⁶⁹For details see Bagwell, *Tudors*. ii. 102-4.

⁷⁰Sidney to Leicester, 1 Mar. 1566 (op. cit. 63/16, no. 35).

⁷¹c. Feb. (ibid., no. 33).

sold his office as marshal 'and his whole inheritance in Ireland' to Stukely for £ 3,000 Irish. It was what Bagenal had been seeking since the reign of Edward VI. Sidney thought Stukely would be suitable in Newry, for in peace he could 'continue it' and in war he would be 'a lusty soldier to defend his own and his neighbours.'⁷²

By the time the news of the bargain reached court Shane's behavior was known and the idea of Stukely in Bagenal's place was generally disliked. Cecil informed Sidney⁷³ that Elizabeth 'began one day with me therein some strange speeches' though Cecil said that Sidney must have had reasons to consent for her service 'more than did plainly appear.' Elizabeth was astute enough to have her doubts about Stukely and she would not sanction the sale.⁷⁴ The Spanish ambassador reported⁷⁵ that Stukely, now back in England, was 'very discontented thereat' and though he had been offered another office the ambassador did not think he would be allowed to hold it because it was believed at court that he was a catholic and a friend of O'Neill. Stukely told him of the good catholics in Ireland, including Kildare. At court they were content to tell the ambassador that the refusal was because Stukely could not be trusted as a friend of O'Neill for he might make common cause with him.⁷⁶

O'Neill was real enough as a danger. On 1 March Sidney poured out his disquiet in a letter to Leicester⁷⁷ of seventeen pages in his own hand which began 'my dearest lord and brother.' He asked that a copy of the letter be made, as he did not trust anyone in Ireland to do it yet, and circulated to Elizabeth, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Winchester, Northampton, Pembroke and Cecil. He did not like the state of Ulster. 'I believe Lucifer was never puffed up with more pride and ambition than that O'Neill is.' Shane was the only strong and rich man in Ireland

⁷² Sidney to Cecil, 7 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 52).

⁷³ 27 Mar. (ibid., no. 67).

⁷⁴ Elizabeth to Sidney, 31 Mar. (Sidney S.P.), Sidney to Cecil, 17 Apr. (op. cit. no. 85).

⁷⁵ de Silva to Philip II, 18 May 1566 (Cal. S.P., Spain, 1558-67, no. 357).

⁷⁶ de Silva to Philip II, 1 June (ibid., no. 359).

⁷⁷ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 35.

and the most dangerous, the most likely to bring the island under 'either of himself or of some foreign prince that ever was in Ireland since the first conquest of it...'. Sidney could not by any means get him in and if he could not no one else could. His argument went on for pages.

Sidney estimated that O'Neill had 1000 horsemen and 4000 footmen, and his intelligence said that he had 200 tuns of wine in Dundrum and expected more. Shane's country was rich and ready and 'he armeth and weaponeth all the peasants of his country, the first that ever so did of an Irishman.' He had continual agents at the Scottish court and with the Irish Scots. He could burn and spoil to the gates of Dublin and 'he hath already almost undone Dundalk by denying them commerce with the people of his country...'. It was the only base against O'Neill in the event of war for he had burnt most of Carrickfergus already and threatened the rest. After more eloquence on the danger of Shane Sidney asserted that 'if the queen do not chastise him in Ulster he will chase all hers out of Ireland.' He later reverted to the domination of Ulster by Shane, urging the queen that

If her majesty feel herself touched in honour that so much goodly land...should thus be extorted from her as now it is, or have compassion of so many wretched thralls that should be her... free subjects and now held as his bond slaves, her majesty must put on a determination to chasten that cannibal...

Until a decision was made in England Sidney wished his fear of a war to be kept most secret for 'masters be so factious and servants so corruptable in this country as I assure your lordship I hardly dare confer with any one councillor in this matter till I know what the queen will do nor trust my secretary to write it.' If Elizabeth decided on war Sidney indicated his needs. He wanted the president and council of Muster established and above all he needed 'money in plenty.' In the first place

I must have money beforehand to provide victuals for the soldiers residing in the forts which shall cost her majesty nothing, for it shall be defalked of their wates and now the victualling of those forts stand her highness in almost £2000 yearly for want of money to make provision in time.

In the second place he must have money to pay the soldiers who were so corrupted by lack of pay as to be untrustworthy. The pale was in great poverty and the soldiers were beggarly, 'yet many of them so insolent as

they be intolerable to the people... I dare not trust them in any fort or place of dangerous service...' for few of them were without 'an Irish whore or tog and never a married wife...'. The last factor made security impossible.

If Elizabeth temporized with Shane for 1566 then Carrickfergus must be fortified. Sidney thought £4000 'little enough to be bestowed in fortification' for the year. Captain Piers, who brought the letter, would inform Leicester 'of my meaning and his knowledge' and he was to be trusted 'both for his truth and credit.' If the queen would give him the 100 men he had requested instead of the 20 he had 'he will make choice of such as shall serve both for soldiers, artificers, and labourers. Dundalk must also be fortified and some other place upon that border.'

Sidney had great confidence that Stukely would do great service as well as Kildare and he wanted Leicester to write to the earl and his wife, 'your near kin swoman.' At Sidney's request Kildare had taken the notable rebel and outlaw who had murdered Delvin's brother. Sidney wanted Elizabeth to make the earl a Knight of the Garter in 1566 for it would be worth £5000 saving in a year. Henry VII had made his grandfather, Garrett Mor, a member of the order 'and wist full well what he did when he did so. He enlarged the pale and enriched the same more than £10,000 worth.'

Sidney warmly recommended Piers to the privy council and to Cecil.⁷⁸ He also told Cecil to see his letter to Leicester for its news and he pursued an argument with Cecil which they must have discussed before Sidney contrasted the smallness of Calais and the disadvantages of it in the face of French nationalism, with 'what advantage the possessor of the large province of Ulster hath to patronise himself...'. It was a large part of 'this little island of Ireland' and its proximity to Scotland made it of strategic importance.

Something of the practical side of what could be done in Ulster was shown in a letter of which Thomas Lancaster, soon to be archbishop of Armagh, sent identical copies to Cecil and Leicester.⁷⁹ Lancaster

⁷⁸ 1 Mar., 3 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, nos. 36, 41).

⁷⁹ 5 Mar. (ibid., nos. 45, 46).

had talked to Rowland White, the owner of the Dufferin, and others for timber for their mine of Skiddaw in Cumberland. It could be produced at the waterside at 5 s. for 1000 feet, London billet. They and their company were to remember the promise they made to Sidney for a twenty-fourth part of a part so 'that he should be one of your company' and 'able to do your corporation great pleasure in this realm of Ireland, and specially in the north parts if Shane O'Neill may be brought to any conformity...'. Lancaster had also sent them some specimens of ore from the mine on Lambay island. These commercial ventures are among the first mentions of such undertakings and are of interest for involving Sidney, Cecil, and Leicester. Rowland White was to have more to do with such developments later.

Lancaster praised Sidney for working from dawn until dark. He had placed Agard and Heron among the Kavanaghs, O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles as a means of covering his rear before facing Shane. To make him a subject there was only one way in Lancaster's opinion. Bagenal should be given a force and placed in Newry, 'and there is but twelve miles to be kept betweixt the head of Lough Neagh and the Newry.' The process should be carried on by stages to the Route, 'so that my lord plant a president in the Duffer(in), that must remain among them, for all these are cut from him ΔO'NeillΔ by keeping the twelve miles, the lough, and the sea.' Then O'Donnell should be put in his country and Shane's wings would be clipped. It would cost the queen a great deal but it could be done by successive hostings.

Sidney himself said he thought Leicester⁸⁰ expected him to write 'somewhat of the government of the two my late predecessors. In truth my lord, for the country if my lord of Sussex left it evil I found it nothing better.' It was a subtle shaft at Arnold for Sidney went on that in the last twelve months the killings, thefts, and contemptuous disobedience were as great as in memory, 'and all in shire-ground and among civil people.' He blamed no one but rather the times and the important figures in Ireland had confessed to him that Sussex was 'so mortally hated among them that they cared not what the

⁸⁰
1 Mar. (loc. cit.).

detriment the country had taken so he might have had dishonour...', though Sidney could not find 'sufficient cause why.' Neither could he find sufficient cause why Arnold was held in such veneration unless it was because he daily expected to be called home or because of his care for the queen's business. Sidney asked and then cancelled the request that Arnold's commission be carried out as he himself had neither commission nor time to do so.

What Sidney did have authority to do was to see that the garrison was so composed and ordered in the future that another such inquiry would not be necessary. He had examined carefully a list of the garrison and had decided that either Matthew Kyng or the captains were negligent. The list Sidney saw does not survive but some of the information does.⁸¹ Five captains, Fitzquilliam, Portas, Stanley, Radcliffe, and Cowley, were shown to have excessive numbers of Irish as well as other irregularities. Fitzwilliam's company had sixteen Irish in it as well as a bowyer and a shoemaker from Dublin, and 'Christopher Nicholson, the miller of Mr Wakely's mills at Navan.' Portas had fourteen Irish, half his remaining men, including 'Patrick Tuit, sergeant of the town of Blackford.' Stanley's men included 'William a Lee, a dweller in Offaly' and 'Henry Talland, a dweller in the Navan.' Radcliffe had thirty Irishmen among his footmen including two kerne from Wexford named Fitzhenry, the guide Molrony McDermod, the surgeon Mclaghlin MacDonnel, 'Thomas St Leger, a dwelling-man at Carlow,' and 'Thomas Person, a husbandman dwelling in Maryborough.' Cowley had only nineteen Irish but they included Redmund Bermingham, Humphrey Reynard, Thomas a Morris, George Lynch, Robert Cowley's man, and John Cobyne, Geoffrey Phillips's man. These were followed by twenty-nine men who could be discharged, who included Davy Lloyd, the ensign, and his man Griffith Evans, Thomas Axning, the sergeant, and his man Anthony Nyobson, Thomas Morris's man Reynold

⁸¹The Irish in...Fitzwilliam's band of footmen in anno 1565' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 61). Four pages of notes corrected by Kyng, clerk of the check. A passport granted 15 Mar. 1566 is mentioned. The notes seem to have been copied from Sidney's master list.

Goddard, and Geoffrey Phillips's man Ralph Kendall. Thus a large element of the settlers in Offaly were represented and in addition to ten of Henry Cowley's household men there was the following column of 'farmers in the country':

John King
 Thomas Morris
 Davy Griffith
 John Till
 Geoffrey Phillips
 John Davys
 John Bayneham
 Richard Peppard
 Peter Laster (Leicester)
 William Freers (? Fures)
 Sylvester Cowley
 Foulke Sannford

Sidney had a complete list of all the captains and came to two general conclusions. The first was that there were too many men 'of this country birth.'

The other (conclusion) that divers freeholders and inhabitants within this realm, having livings of her highness at mean and reasonable rates and prices, granted chiefly in respect that by such her majesty's benefits they might be enabled to defend their own and assist their neighbours against the invasion of the ill-disposed, strength to the garrison, are nevertheless crept into the same garrison, to her majesty's unnecessary charges and weakening of her pale.

To these two groups Sidney had added a third, consisting of 'a few other evil-chosen persons who disability or negligent attendance, being dwellers far from their charge, hath made their service unmeet to be continued.' He sent Kyng a list of them and detailed instructions on how he was to proceed.⁸² First there was a lecture to be relayed to the list of 'men of this country birth' for their arrogance and presumption in securing their admission to the army since it was plain that the queen 'is abused, and the defence of her good subjects weakened, for whose safeguard and surety her highness hath, planted a garrison here of Englishmen to her great and extreme charges.' She could decline to pay them but Sidney had asked her to do so, and the English soldiers, 'as well freeholders, farmers, and others' were also to reassured that they would be paid 'upon the arrival of the next treasure.' Sidney indicated 'that those good and honest soldiers of this country birth' were to be retained and in further instructions the next day⁸³ he made the clarification

⁸²7 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 49).

⁸³Sidney to Kyng, 8 Mar. (ibid., no. 54).

that any named as Irish that could 'be duly proved to be Englishmen born in England, or Englishmen's sons born in Ireland' could be continued.

At a slightly later time Sidney was given⁸⁴ the results of the investigation of the army for the period from 24 May 1560 to 15 March 1566 in which it was shown that the total cost had been £86,837 Irish, that £9,996 was owed the queen but that she still owed £15,277. Certain interesting details emerged. Sir Henry Radcliffe was charged for having paid Andrew Brereton £8, 16 s. as a harquebusier from 25 November 1560 to 17 August 1561. Captain Portas had also paid him £8 16 s. as a harquebusier, though Radcliffe's indignant protest was that he had only allowed Brereton the pay of an archer.⁸⁵ Elizabeth declined to provide for a full pay until she had the complete report of Arnold's commission but she did agree with Sidney on another point.⁸⁶ He had asked 'to have money always in readiness to make monthly pays to our army, wherein...we think indeed our service should the better prosper.' Instead of sending him the £3,000 he had asked for she was sending him £6,000 sterling 'without any particular direction' except that it was to be 'for that service which may most make for the surety of our realm against O'Neill...'. A month later the deputy was still involved in details of the army's pay, complaining that he was more taken up with things past -- the reckonings-- than with present business.⁸⁷

Arnold and his commission had been occupied in trying to wrest Fitzwilliam's account from him. Bermingham still thought he could prove that Fitzwilliam ought to have £8000 to £10,000 undisbursed and that he could back up his charges of the losses the crown had sustained. Arnold saw⁸⁸ £5000 to £6000 as evident in 'the checks

⁸⁴'A book delivered by...Arnold and...the commissioners' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 57).

⁸⁵Radcliffe's answers (ibid., no. 59).

⁸⁶Elizabeth to Sidney, 28 Mar. 1566 (Sidney S.P., no. 12).

⁸⁷Sidney to Cecil, 28 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire 63/17, no. 38).

⁸⁸Arnold to Cecil, 7 Mar. (ibid., 63/16, no. 50).

of plain falsehood and untrue dealing,' even without the vice-treasurer's accounts. He had promised his accounts by 12 March and on 16 March he delivered the commission a list of the payments he had made in 1564 and 1565.⁸⁹ These were by no means the whole accounts the commission sought and an English reckoning for the period from 15 June 1559 to 25 March 1566 showed that he had received a total of £116,358 3 s. 1d. sterling from England during that period.⁹⁰

The primary object was to discover how this money had been handled and that subject had attracted the attention of the lord treasurer, the marquess of Winchester, who gave his opinions to Cecil.⁹¹ He thought that all matters concerning what the crown owed or was owed should be referred to Dyx, who 'knoweth best' and settled in his presence. Regular expenditure should be held below £14,000 (sterling from England), 'for so hath it been continued,' a figure which could be upset only by the deputy's actions 'for suppression of error,' an evident reference to the impending war against Shane. Winchester's opinion of Arnold's commission and its effect on the government in Ireland was plainly not high. Having made the general point that the spending of money for no profit was unwise he laid down the dictum that

Spending of money to great profit bringeth obedience and wealth. And then the queen's trust must rest in the lord lieutenant and the governors for that realm, which hath been a point always considered (looked at closely) and thereby the realm stayed from overmuch wealth, till now the same is brought, as I suppose, to much poverty, thinking good for mine own opinion in that point to have obedience with wealth and put trust in the lord lieutenant and council as other princes do.

Elizabeth herself had plainly come to the same conclusion for in her next letter to Sidney⁹² she expressed her astonishment that the commissioners had not finished their business. She did understand that Fitzwilliam's failure to produce his accounts as she had commanded him was the principal obstacle and she directed Sidney to investigate

⁸⁹The second book of payments, 16 Mar. (ibid., no. 60).

⁹⁰Declaration of all payments to Fitzwilliam, signed by Humphrey Skelton (ibid., no. 66).

⁹¹20 Mar. (ibid., no. 62).

⁹²28 Mar. (Sidney S.P., no. 12, sec. 16).

and report to her. She did expect the commission to bring its investigation to an end 'and not in this sort to hold us in expectation by words and promises of great things, without more likelihood than hitherto we find.' She also wanted Arnold to return to England at once as she had repeatedly asked. When she sent Knolles to Ireland three weeks later she instructed Sidney⁹³ that the two should determine if Arnold had any valid reason to continue to disobey her orders.

One valid reason which Arnold had was that the commission's work was not finished. Sidney found that he could not pay and discharge the troops of Radcliffe and Wingfield because no certain reckoning had been made between the queen and them or between them and their men. He could not understand why the two did not return to Ireland or send instructed agents. Sidney asserted that he would rather pay the men on their oaths, the commission's procedure, than have the crown charged because of the 'negligence and absence' of the two.⁹⁴ Radcliffe especially had become a part of the continuing struggle between Sussex, seeking to vindicate his government of Ireland, and his detractors, seeking to show that it was inefficient and expensive. Sidney had dismantled Radcliffe's office as lieutenant of Leix and Offaly with its allowance of 6 s. 8d. a day and its 50 horsemen and 200 footmen in attendance. In Leix Cosby was made seneshal of the county and constable of the fort at 2 s. a day with 60 footmen, 20 of them from Radcliffe's men, and in Offaly Cowley was similarly placed and paid with 40 footmen under him. It was Sidney's intention that Radcliffe's office be moved to Munster.⁹⁵ As to the merits of the argument between Arnold and Radcliffe Sidney professed ignorance but he told the privy council⁹⁶

I know the chief mark that the queen's majesty wisheth that I by my service should hit in this country is to minish her charges and as near as I could to bring that country to bear his own charge, which is to be done only by two ways. One is the sugmenting the revenue, the other is the diminishing of the garrison.

In England Sussex saw rather the continued defamation of himself through his brother and kept a careful record of the changes. He

⁹³ 18 Apr. (Sidney S.P., no. 14).

⁹⁴ Sidney to Cecil, 28 Apr. (loc. cit.).

⁹⁵ Sidney to Cecil, 20 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 26).

⁹⁶ 15 Apr. (ibid., no. 13).

noted how Arnold had placed Stanley under house arrest after his discharge as marshal on 8 February for Brady, the bishop of Meath, had informed the earl how the commission was seeking all the information it could to discredit Sussex and his government.⁹⁷ He also noted Cosby's appointment as seneshal and constable of Leix and how he 'hath all the lands and customs thereunto belonging, paying nothing for the same.' Further, Radcliffe was 'dispossessed of the birch of the lands which he broke up and Cosby must enter presently therein, which is contrary to the custom and usage of that realm to any person.' Finally, though Radcliffe was detained, in England his company was to be discharged and scattered, being paid by their own testimony, and he had lost his place on the council. Sussex also noted that Henry Stafford, his own man, was discharged as constable of Dungarvan 'for receipt of piracies' and though cleared by the commission his office had been given to Ralph Morton. These and other charges Sussex brought to the attention of Elizabeth,⁹⁸ and they must have had an influence on her renewed demands for Arnold's return. According to a declaration by Bermingham Radcliffe was still being charged the £ 2,344 of rents in Leix and Offaly. Radcliffe's answer to the first item, the rent of the mills of the two forts, was that he was not a tenant for either of them but had had them as his predecessors had 'and am contented to answer for them as they did, and those mills stand upon the lands appointed to the forts.' His answer to the second item, the tithes of the two counties, was similar. He was not a tenant for the tithes nor did he use them himself 'but whatsoever was gathered by the sergeant of the country was delivered to the victuallers to the queen's use.' To the third item, the rent of certain lands in the two counties 'that came to...Sir Henry's use,' he replied⁹⁹

⁹⁷23 Jan. 1566 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 56).

⁹⁸'Advertisements out of Ireland 17 February and 3 March 1565, 'Memorial for the queen 23 March 1565 of advertisements out of Ireland.' latter endorsed by signature of Sussex (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 43, 65).

⁹⁹Bermingham's declaration and Radcliffe's answers, c. Mar. 1566 (ibid., nos. 58, 59).

Those lands lay long waste and after they were inhabited the soldiers had the use of the most part thereof. And if I be charged with any rent for that (which) was in my occupation it is reason I should answer, but after the rate appointed by the queen's majesty's instructions for the ordering of that country, and after the same was inhabited.

There was another source of contention between Sussex and Radcliffe on the one hand and Sidney on the other. Since the end of February the deputy had been trying to bring order in the south, particularly the region of Leix and Offaly. On 20 February Hugh mcShane O'Byrne, chief of his name, was charged by Nicholas Herbert as having made the raid against his father Sir Francis who was now deceased. The Irish council put the matter to arbitration, Nicholas choosing Henry Cowley and Meyler Hussey and Hugh choosing Francis Cosby and Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey. Hugh did not appear with his pledges on the stated day and was ordered to do so by Low Sunday.¹⁰⁰ Art O'Molloy, chief of his name, brought a complaint at the same time against Callough mcTirrelagh MacDonnell, who as captain of the queen's galloglas admitted taking a distress for bonnaght in O'Molloy's country. Both agreed to Cosby, Cowley, and Herbert as arbitrators, who were to meet at Castle Gaeshill and settle the matter, notifying Sidney before Easter. If damages were awarded to O'Molloy he would get them back on the next bonnaght. O'Carroll's bonnaght was also analysed. He was ordered to pay 700 marks in cattle to the captains of the galloglas in Leix by Whitsunday. The decision was recorded as a concession, not a precedent, due to the decay of his country.¹⁰¹

Elizabeth herself was thinking in terms of securing the same area. At the end of March she instructed Sidney¹⁰² to get in all the notable rebels, such as Piers Grace who had ravaged the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny, though she said she would not bore him with details, knowing that he had entered a realm 'as a large field or world overrun with brambles and replenished with ravening beasts' which he was doing all he could to reform. In their

¹⁰⁰ 20 Feb., 12 Mar. 1566 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 150-1, 153).

¹⁰¹ 20 Feb., 21 Feb. (*ibid.*, pp. 151-2).

¹⁰² 28 Mar. (*loc. cit.*)

first quarterly report¹⁰³ the Irish government stated that both Leix and Offaly had sheriffs and that the common law was being followed as it was in Co. Kilkenny and the 'civilier parts' of cos. Carlow and Wexford. Sidney himself had seen these things carried out when he was on circuit with the judges 'in Lent.' He thought that the garrison in Leix and Offaly which he had left would be sufficient 'if it were certain O'Neill would be quiet.' Otherwise its size and cost would have to be increased to deal with 'such of the O'Conors, O'Mores, or other borderers as by his soliciting and practice may be stirred to rebel.' To prevent this Sidney had taken into the queen's peace and protection those unpardoned rebels who had submitted and from 'the best of them' had taken pledges for the good behavior of the rest, 'which being so hard for them that have nothing of their own to live without offending, hath brought some of them to be already executed.' The only vacated estate that they had been able to discover in Leix or Offaly was that of Hugh Lyppiat, vacated by his death without male heirs but they did discover that 'the bonnaghts and like Irish tributes for Leix and Offaly are extengushed by uniting into the queen's majesty's possession and her...new grants thereof made with reservation of other rents and services, and made shire-ground.' The neighbouring Irish on the East side of the Shannon complained that they were bearing far more than their own share of galloglas and were being impoverished. Most of them were ready to compound for other services and 'yeild great rents,' which would pay a large number of soldiers, to be rid of the bonnaght, but Sidney would not discharge the queen's galloglas until others had discharged theirs.

It was at this point that Sidney reduced the garrison in Leix and Offaly and told Elizabeth that the victualling alone of the two forts there was costing her £ 500 sterling a year, with the surrounding country being charged an estimated three times as much.¹⁰⁴ Sidney assured Cecil that the figures were more under-

¹⁰³ Sidney and council to the privy council, 13 Apr. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 8).

¹⁰⁴ 'Lord deputy's remembrances by Challoner,' 20 Apr. 1566 (ibid., no. 10).

stated than exaggerated.¹⁰⁵ Sussex and Radcliffe seized on another action of Sidney's which prompted him to respond that his 'indictments and arraignments' of their men in Leix and Offaly was not done from malice.¹⁰⁶ The actions taken in Leix against Radcliffe's men, some of whom were accused of treason and all of them of felonies was not done by Sidney 'but by the conscience of twenty-four freeholders, whereof seventeen were mere Englishmen.' There were confessions from most of the culprits, they were tried by a jury, and Sidney was not on the bench. Neither was the deputy present when Sussex's man Robert Adams was indicted in Offaly but he had no doubt that Adams could have a jury of Englishmen of conscience. Sidney wanted to settle with the twenty-five men of Radcliffe who remained unpaid 'because being many of this country birth they might by liberty perhaps resort to O'Neill, who in his fight against the Scots had his chief advantage by the service of such discharged soldiers.'

On the native side four branches of the O'Mores had all come into Sidney. Three branches had several brothers and the deputy had kept one brother of each as pledges, who were so well behaved that when two or three followers were hanged they took it 'in very gentle part for they say they had justice.' Of the head of the fourth branch, 'being eldest brother to those in England,' Sidney had taken his best pledges for he had no brothers in Ireland. In Offaly Sidney reported that 'of the most suspected lineages of the O'Conors that I can come by I have good pledges, but the most of that surname are disposed through the whole realm, attending opportunity to do mischief....,' though he hoped to stop them.¹⁰⁷

Sidney also stated at the time that he intended to discuss further with the privy council 'the suit of two young gentlemen of the Mores,' which he must have done. Early in April the Earl of Kildare sent Lysagh McKedagh and Cahir McKedagh O'More to Sidney for safekeeping.¹⁰⁸ Both of them submitted and Lysagh, the elder,

¹⁰⁵ 20 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 26).

¹⁰⁶ Sidney to the privy council, 30 May (ibid., no. 68).

¹⁰⁷ Sidney to privy council, 15 Apr. (ibid., no. 13).

¹⁰⁸ Kildare to Sidney, 10 Apr. (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 156).

entered into promises of their good behavior and for such servants and followers 'as he shall allure both to dwell with him or to manure and bring goods and chattels to such portion of land...' as Sidney on advice assigned to them. Cahir was left behind as a pledge being kept by Kildare's steward Meyler Hussey.¹⁰⁹ Sidney must have secured the crown's permission for in July a concordatum was made with the two brothers which put them in possession of ten townlands in Leix which was described as largely waste and uninhabited.¹¹⁰

In April the Irish government reported in their quarterly report¹¹¹ that they knew of only three instances of judicial partiality, all either at the command of Elizabeth or Mary. In the case of the recovery of 'the castle and lordship of Talbotstown in Imaal' by Talbot of Belgard the justices acted under the queen's command and it 'appearing to them he had the same by ancient grant and had continued the payment of the rent thereby' they had restored him. They had done the same for Sir Edmund Butler and his holdings around Leighlin on the basis of the same reasoning. Now in this last Sidney may have been moved by feelings of circumspection, for Elizabeth had written him privately before he left for Ireland making it plain that she put more trust in the loyalty and service of Ormond, whose agent Sir Edmund was, than she did in Desmond.¹¹² It was a hint which Sidney could scarcely fail to understand. By January she had completed her investigations of the causes of the clash at Affane and put the two earls under recognizances to abide by her orders until October 1567. Their agreements and their licenses to return to Ireland were sent to Sidney with the stipulation that Desmond was to remain in Dublin until he had raised the money to pay what he owed her and any of her subjects. Desmond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of the Decies were also bound to keep the peace until the controversies between them, which had begun the whole incident, were settled.¹¹³ In February she repeated

¹⁰⁹ 11 Apr. (Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, pp. 156-7).

¹¹⁰ Apparently 17 July 1566 (*ibid.*, pp. 171-2).

¹¹¹ 13 Apr. (*loc. cit.*)

¹¹² Bagwell, Tudors. ii. 98. Quoted in full in Collins, Sidney letters i. pt. 2, p. 7. Elizabeth to 'Harry,' 6 Jan. 1566.

¹¹³ Elizabeth to Sidney, 7 Jan., 8 Jan. 1566 (Sidney S.P., nos. 8. a)

her instructions to Sidney that Fitzgerald was to have his protection from the raiding of Desmond and his followers and as Fitzgerald seemed very desirous to live under and continue her English laws he was to be shown as much favour as the law would allow.¹¹⁴ Cecil also was impressed by Sir Maurice and commended him to Sidney's favour without prejudicing the case between Ormond and Desmond, but 'wishing that all his neighbours westward were as civil as he seemith to me.'¹¹⁵

Ormond did not leave England until 1569 but Desmond seems to have used his licence to return to Ireland with some promptness. Elizabeth wrote to Sidney again in April to assist Ormond in whom she had noted often that he bore 'a faithful mind and affection towards us,' as Sidney himself had admitted, in contrast to Desmond.¹¹⁶ Soon afterwards she informed Sidney¹¹⁷ that Ormond was confident he would recover his losses and restore his country to peace for, as he put it to Elizabeth, 'your knowledge and experience is such as even for the weal of that country he knoweth ye will further his reasonable causes.' First among those causes was the removal of the baron of Dunboyne from a captainship in Tipperary which Arnold had allowed him, in contrast to Sussex's arrangements. The second cause was the recovery of certain prisoners taken with Desmond at Affane, who were 'condemned by law to die at the sessions holden in Clonmel before Nicholas White, being seneschal of the liberty of Tipperary and now one of the justices appointed by you to join with Sir Warham St Leger.' They had since been released, Arnold having declined to examine them. Under the fourth cause 'we think it were good that you warned Sir Warham St Leger to suspend his proceeding in those causes of lands and titles as are betwext the said two earls...and do much muse who

¹¹⁴ 21 Feb. (ibid., no. 11).

¹¹⁵ 24 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 31).

¹¹⁶ Two drafts, ___ Apr. (ibid., 63/17, nos. 42, 43).

¹¹⁷ 14 May (Sidney S.P., no. 15).

hath thus blinded you in appointing him to such office.' Ormond also wanted munitions 'for the taking of certain castles in Tipperary holden by the Burkes and other rebels which he knoweth you will think so necessary as he saith ye will of yourself think the same meet.'

Ormond had obviously told Elizabeth many things but it is doubtful that he told her that Nicholas White had an interest in the lands of Kilsheelin, Kilfeacle, and Clonmel, the lordships in dispute between the two earls, which Joan, Ormond's mother, had granted him¹¹⁸ and which James Fitzgerald, Desmond's father, had confirmed to him.¹¹⁹ On the same day that the queen wrote, Cecil told Sidney¹²⁰ that she

hath commanded me to write a few words to you in this sort that you should well remember a certain small writing sent to you by Piers, whereof she requireth no answering but in deeds there. And if you will make answer in writing, her majesty would have you send it so as no creature may see it but herself. And so to send it to be delivered with that caution either by me or by Henry Sackford. What the matter is I know.

Four days later he write to Sidney again¹²¹ saying that the deputy should favour Ormond, otherwise he would have trouble with the queen. Thus it is possible that 'the matter' referred to the secret letter Elizabeth had sent to Sidney in January to favour Ormond (see p. 198), and it is certain that a letter drafted in January was revised in May for Ormond to be paid as Kildare had already been for his services in the rebellion of the O'Mores and O'Conors, or else to have what was due him to be applied to his debts to the crown. Elizabeth signed the letter and another to Sidney to allow Ormond licence to come to England whenever he wished, though neither letter seems to have been sent.¹²² On the other hand in his letter of 18 May Cecil said that Sidney would get the money that he required for the services he proposed, and in Cecil's opinion 'nothing that we have now to do requireth more care.' The reference is somewhat

¹¹⁸ 20 Jan. 1547 (Ormond deeds, 1509-47, no. 360).

¹¹⁹ 26 Apr. 1547 (*ibid.*, 1549-84, no. 8).

¹²⁰ 14 May 1566 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 52).

¹²¹ 18 May (*ibid.*, no. 54).

¹²² 20 May, 26 May (*ibid.*, nos. 62, 66).

ambiguous but it seems likely that Cecil was referring to the secret aspects of the actions planned against Shane, a matter in which Piers was the logical intermediary. Thus the queen's 'small writing' may have had to do with the projected Lough Foyle expedition.

A subject which Ormond did press his views on Elizabeth was the projected council and presidency for Munster. Sidney had been authorized to erect a government there and in January he had drafted a set of instructions for Sir Warham St Leger as president, patterned on his own instructions as deputy, which he seems to have sent to the privy council for their approval by Piers in early March.¹²³ Cecil made notes and corrections on the draft and the estimates of costs, and Winchester gave the secretary his opinions on the council's composition.¹²⁴ He thought the reform of Munster ought to come first, one object being to keep the English pale 'from spoil and unquietness, and the countries of Leix and Offaly... Then another council should be established 'towards John O'Neill's country,' and with its success a third, presumably in Connaught.

Cecil's notes,¹²⁵ made the same day, indicate that the council for Munster was to be established and indeed the privy council in England had agreed that it ought to be. But Cecil had to report to Sidney¹²⁶ that Elizabeth was troubled by the cost and did not think Sir Warham St Leger was suitable as president 'because of some report that she hath heard of his father's contention, etc., with the earl of Ormond's father.' Such a version of the clash between Sir Anthony St Leger and Ormond in 1546 must have come from the latter's son though in the draft of Elizabeth's letter to Sidney she had Cecil insert a denial that her sentiments were moved by Ormond. In that draft¹²⁷ she agreed to the council of Munster and its composition and instructions. The letter which was sent to Sidney confined itself to those statements¹²⁸ but the

¹²³ 'Draft of instructions for the government of Munster, sent from the lord deputy,' 1 Feb. 1566 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/16, no. 22).

¹²⁴ 20 Mar. (ibid., no. 62).

¹²⁵ 'A memorial for Ireland,' 20 Mar. (ibid., no. 63).

¹²⁶ 27 Mar. (ibid., no. 67).

¹²⁷ Ibid., no. 69.

¹²⁸ Elizabeth to Sidney, 28 Mar. (S.S.P., no. 12).

draft contained her further remarks to Sidney. She thought the council would be costly but she did think it could be made to pay. Sidney alone was to understand that she had made the appointment of Sir Warham only to maintain the deputy's credit for though St Leger came highly recommended, 'yet considering the reports of the disposition of his father in affection when he was deputy there and also of this gentleman's own affection grown by his former education there...' she felt he would be partial to Desmond. As Sidney himself had reported he knew -- here Cecil inserted 'at this time' -- which of these two earls 'are of most wisdom, best order, and service' and if St Leger favoured 'the worse side' it would be better not to have a president at all. If Sidney still wanted him he was to instruct him.

Sidney and his government for their part indicated in their first quarterly report that they hoped to see Munster provided with shire governments, but that the liberties of Tipperary and Kerry must be resumed because they would 'be alway the receptacles and sanctuaries of the evil doers and evermore the continuance and spreading of the former lewdness.' They also hoped to see a council established in Connaught as in Munster which would give the crown £ 2,000 more revenue from land now waste. In addition as each ploughland in the pale paid 13 s. 4 d. in subsidy so in Munster and Connaught, where there were 'at the least ten thousand ploughland which rated at the same or a smaller figure together with other legal fines would 'yield a fair revenue.'¹²⁹ Sidney himself asserted that the only way to settle the two provinces was with councils and that their establishment was necessary to everything else.¹³⁰ When he received Elizabeth's letters he told Cecil that he was prepared to stand behind Sir Warham.¹³¹

¹²⁹Sidney and council to the privy council, 13 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 8, sec. 2 and 3 of pt. ii, sec. 11 of pt. III).

¹³⁰Sidney to the privy council, 15 Apr., (ibid., no. 13).

¹³¹Sidney to Cecil, 17 Apr. (ibid., no. 14. Printed in Collins, i. pt. II, 9-11).

Shane O'Neill was the factor that led Sidney to argue that the two councils were so necessary. Cecil informed him that the privy council were all agreed that Shane must go, but the question was how. Sidney's 'experience of negotiations here in such affairs with her majesty' would enable him to bear waiting patiently, though she was 'very greatly heated and provoked to the extirpation of this monster' and Cecil was confident she could be carried to whatever was necessary to be done.¹³² Not however without some resistance on her part. Where the victualling of the forts in Leix and Offaly was now costing her £ 2,000 a year, 'a matter as we think very newly happened by reason of the forbearing of the accustomed cesses....,' she wanted a definite statement from Sidney of how much money he would need beforehand for such provisions.¹³³ Where Sidney asked for money for 'fortifying of certain places in or towards Ulster, and expressly Knockfergus and Dundalk...if there be not in the writing some mistaking as it may be' he had asked for £ 4,000, a sum which she thought very large for the type of fortification in those areas, especially as she thought that in her realm there the law or custom was 'that our subjects should of their own charges fortify the towns upon the frontiers, for so have they used to do hitherto.' She did however send Sidney £ 6,000 sterling towards paying the army and to be used at his discretion.

Concerning the paramount question of Shane Elizabeth informed Sidney 'we let you plainly to understand that we have of long time been fully minded to have held the same O'Neill as a pernicious rebel, either rooted out or chastised'. She had been kept from such a course by the advice that the best way to reform him was to yield to him in his causes and requests. 'But now it manifestly appeareth how they all have been deceived in this advice though they meant never so well as we do not condemn any person of any sinister meaning in dealing that way.' No time was to be lost in planning what was to be done. She was therefore sending her vice

¹³² 27 Mar. (P.R.O., S. P. Ire., 63/16, no. 67).

¹³³ 28 Mar. (Sidney S.P., no. 12).

chamberlain, Sir Francis Knolles, who was a member of the privy council 'to open unto you our disposition and conjectures' and to determine with Sidney the timing of the expedition against Shane, the number of men he would need, their provisions and munitions, and how much of these things could be secured in Ireland. The two were also to decide when and how to restore O'Donnell to Tirconnell. She left it to Sidney to decide about the fortification of Dundalk and Carrickfergus and whether Piers should have a garrison of 100 soldiers 'whereof the greater number may be workmen...'

A few days later Elizabeth informed Sidney that she had remembered something else since writing to him:¹³⁴

We think it not for our honour but rather to the increase of the obstinate audacity of Shane O'Neill to have you renew any treaty with him. And therefore we wish rather all good means were thought upon to stay him or rather diminish his wicked rebellious attempts.

In effect the peace made with Shane was not to be renewed. Shane himself was indicating that he was prepared for war and one of the signs that Sidney and the Irish government noted, was 'that such husbandmen as for need of land to occupy went out of the English pale to dwell and manure in his country are all come away.' They had gone in 1561 when Sussex was lord lieutenant as O'Neill had not failed to report at the time. Terence Danyell, the dean of Armagh, had done the same.¹³⁵

To Cecil Sidney was more explicit.¹³⁶ He would have to be in the borders of O'Neill's country before the end of April or Shane would do damage before Sidney could stop him. If the war began in mid-September 1566 and was continued until the summer of 1567, when Shane would 'be subdued to order, killed, or another established in his place,' then the crown could be restored to its rights in any area where its lands were usurped

but if her highness mean such a total extirpation of him and his so as there shall never be O'Neill more, and either to bring the people to the just rule of English law or to banish them quite and

¹³⁴ 31 Mar. (Sidney S.P., no. 13).

¹³⁵ Sidney and council to the privy council, 13 Apr., Sidney to the privy council, 15 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 8, 13).

¹³⁶ 17 Apr. (*ibid.*, no. 14. Printed in Collins, vol. 1, pt. II, 9-11).

unpeople the soil by inducement of colonies, hoc aliud est, but yet aptable and feasible, but with much more charge and time. For then look for no sound friendship at any original Irish hand, for each will think that his staff standeth next to that door. And withal the conquest of Leix and Offaly is to be remembered which I am assured hath cost the queen and this country more than will purchase so much rent ten times told in England.

Taken literally Sidney meant that the colonies of Leix and Offaly had cost the crown more than £60,000. They had probably cost ten times that.

Elizabeth sent Knolles to Sidney to be allowed to know everything necessary in Ireland,¹³⁷ and with signed instructions of her own views.¹³⁸ She ranged over all the points of her last letters to Sidney including the need to put the south of the country in order before 31 July. Then O'Neill was to be dealt with, though the costs still bothered her. Sidney was to remember her expenses for 'the fortifying of Berwick and such like beside the payment of our foreign debts...'. Also, soldiers cost, in all, four times as much as they once did. Soldiers would be sent from England as well as additional forces raised in Ireland. Places such as Carrickfergus and Belfast were to be fortified and 'other straights and passages' and Lifford was to be recovered in connexion with putting O'Connell in his country. She was prepared to provide anything that was really necessary.

Elizabeth wanted reports on a number of things and places in the south 'and specially those parts which were in the custody of Heron and Jaques Wingfield.' In the north there were Shane's incursions and how he 'took the houses of the Newry and Dundrum and of what strength the same was at the time of the taking thereof. The problem of O'Neill and the war was to be dealt with first and if Knolles did not have to return immediately to report on that he was to 'spend some reasonable time for the visiting of the frontiers of our English pale, and also of our countries of Leix and Offaly, or any other places requisite' so that he could report the better when he returned.

¹³⁷ 18 Apr. (Sidney S.P., no. 14).

¹³⁸ 18 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, nos. 19, 20. Two copies).

Knolles came with another task about which Elizabeth wrote Sidney a somewhat apologetic letter.¹³⁹ Because Sussex had many times asked to be tried for any misconduct in his government a large number of queries were being sent which she had only accepted because Sussex had produced them.¹⁴⁰ Sidney was to deal with them as he thought wise but, as Sussex wanted him to answer them for the period when Sidney served under him, would he do so 'according to his earnest request.' She wanted answers from all Knolles required and the 'articles' included a list of thirty-six people to be examined, including peers, law lords, commissioners, officers, and planters. Some of the questions hinged around the good order of the country in the last war against Shane.

Shane was busy preparing for war himself. He wrote to Charles IX of France and to the cardinal of Lorraine¹⁴¹ in letters which eventually reached the English government asking for 5,000 to 6,000 men to assist in expelling the English and he and his successors would in their turn be subjects of the French crown. He pressed on the cardinal in particular that he was the defender of the catholic faith and asked the king to write to the queen of Scots in his behalf. Four days later Sidney and his council set off to Dundalk with 1000 horsemen to meet O'Neill.

¹³⁹ 20 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 24).

¹⁴⁰ 'Articles of interrogatories to be ministered by...Knolles ..., ' 19 Apr. (ibid., no. 23). Six pages by the clerk Sussex used. Subsequent lack of evidence makes it debatable that they were sent.

¹⁴¹ 25 Apr. (ibid., nos. 34, 35).

¹⁴² Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, to Cecil, 29 Apr. (ibid., no. 40).

CHAPTER XVI
A TROJAN HORSE

1566 -

Knolles arrived in Ireland about 1 May for on the next day Sidney received word of his arrival at Lismullen in Co. Meath.¹ Knolles remained in Dublin because he did not want to upset the balance in the deputy's negotiations with Shane.² Within another ten days Sidney had returned to Dublin and discussed the necessity of war with Knolles,³ who was converted to his point of view after a private conference with him and Fitzwilliam and Agard.⁴ Knolles advised that August was the best time to take the field when supplies were plentiful. O'Donnell would first be put in his country and after Shane and his followers were dispersed there would occur the 'sitting down of soldiers and planting of themselves towards the winter in the north of Ireland about the Bann and in the Route and Clondeboy, etc.' From what he had seen Knolles was convinced that it would be better for the crown to lose £20 in every £100 in paying the soldiers than to let their dues accumulate so. The greatest danger was that they would become disaffected. He was also convinced that the crown lost £50 in every £100 in buying supplies on credit rather than paying cash. He did not think Arnold would ever get home unless ordered absolutely. Sidney had 'gotten great love and admiration since his coming hither' and Knolles thought that the earl of Kildare and all the pale would serve better under him than they had served under anyone else.

Ten more days in Ireland merely hardened Knolles's views. He sent a schedule for the necessities of war to Elizabeth and then told Cecil⁵ that he had forgotten to include the need for 'a brigandine or two.' or one with the help of a sakre. They would save the queen £2,000 to £3,000 above their costs if they were

¹Endorsement, Elizabeth to Sidney, 18 Apr. (Sidney S.P., no. 14).

²Knolles to Cecil, 7 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 48).

³Sidney to the privy council, 18 May (*ibid.*, no. 55).

⁴Knolles to Cecil, 19 May 1566 (*ibid.*, no. 56).

⁵29 May (*ibid.*, no. 67).

carefully employed 'three weeks before the coming of the army to Lough Foyle,' searching the coast from there around to Carrickfergus in a thorough blockade against the Scots. Informed opinion in Ireland argued that 300 Scots were harder to beat than 600 Irish and Knolles thought that the earl of Argyll ought to be treated with, for any Scots kept from O'Neill would shorten the war. He also urged Cecil that now was the time when Elizabeth should 'not only in name but also in very deed be queen of Ireland to her great increase of honour, and to her singular profit and to the general benefit of this whole realm, although indeed few of them I fear, do like of English government at this present.'

Knolles also stressed another matter to Cecil:

... if her highness and others having to do herein shall keep secret (even from some of yourselves)⁶ the intention of habitation of Englishmen in the north of Ireland until such time as Shane O'Neill shall be subdued, then will the English pale here as well as the Irish borderers upon Shane serve more willingly and more effectually to the subduing of him...

It would also help if O'Donnell were created earl of Tyrconnell to ease 'and content the minds of suspicious Irishmen that cannot well away with the voice of conquest or habitation of Englishmen among them.' If Elizabeth meant 'to go through with this matter effectually money and victuals must be provided with speed' as well as the brigandines, carrying 'new boats,' and munition, armour, and weapons 'that comes from London store.'

In fact Cecil was making notes⁷ on the needs and costs of an expedition extending from 1 August 1566 to 1 February 1567. The army from England must be in Ireland by 15 August and there would have to be £20,000 to make a full pay of all the forces and pay the new ones 'and £2,000 to be sent with the colonel.' A detailed breakdown of the munitions and supplies brought Cecil to a total figure of £35,000. Involved would be

Wynter for the ships at Bristol
Baeshe or some for the victualling
Mr. Randolph for the munition
Mr. Wynter for the making of two boats

⁶Insertion by Knolles.

⁷'A memorial for Ireland. 30 May 1566' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 71).

| | | |
|------------|---------|------------|
| Devonshire | 200 men | Mr Gilbert |
| Somerset | 300 | |
| Gloucester | 200 | |
| Berwick | 300 | |

Bristol was to be the port of embarkation, Randolph was to command the expedition, and Humphrey Gilbert was to be involved.

The matter was then discussed with the privy council which decreed that there would be a war.⁸ The 300 harquebusiers would be brought down from Berwick and 700 more footmen raised 'westward' in Monmouthshire as well as Somerset and Gloucester. Devon was to be the responsibility of Sir John Chicester, rather than Gilbert apparently. The supplies needed would involve 1200 quarters of wheat and the same amount of malt as well as bacon, cheeses and butter. A pinnace or barque was to be armed. It was reckoned that £34,000 would be needed and the advice and help of Winchester the treasurer was to be secured. Money was a crucial factor for it was determined that if so much could not be secured in time there were to be two alternate actions. The first was to send some 300 or 400 men to Ireland within a month and then determine ...Whether some gentlemen of service will adventure to take 300 or 400 or more meet men, having thereof some artificers, some husbandmen. And having victuals of the queen's majesty for six months to go into Ulster and to get some portion of land there and to have it to themselves by state of inheritance.

To procure that the earl of Kildare will of his own charge enter, possess, and hold Lecale, having assurance not to be molested with the arrears of rent due to the queen's majesty.

Argyll was to be written to and a pinnace was to be sent 'to join with the barque in Ireland.' Such a scheme would call for only £8,000 immediately. The second alternative was to send 300 to 400 men for the garrison around Carrickfergus and Dundalk or wherever Sidney wanted to place them, press Kildare on Lecale as before, and send the ship and other provisions. The cost would then be only £5,400. Sidney was to be advised on the two alternatives quickly.

In Ireland Sidney had information that Argyll might side with O'Neill and was convinced that there was 'some great confederacy and combination of the Scots and Shane.' Cecil was to inform Elizabeth, 'who if she provide not for this mischief in time,

⁸Memorandum by Cecil on the decrees of the privy council for Ireland, post 30 May (ibid., no. 70).

must look for none other issue here than happened to Calais in the reign of her...sister Queen Mary.'⁹ An English agent in Scotland saw an even more expansive design, with Mary queen of Scots stirring up the war in Ireland to keep the English occupied and then marching her army into England and proclaiming herself queen.¹⁰

Elizabeth first informed Sidney that that 300 troops would be sent from Berwick 'to the place and at the time named' and only another 300 from England for the year. The remaining 400 men were to be raised in Ireland. Supplies would be sent as requested. She could find no one who knew Ireland who approved of a winter war there but if Sidney were determined she would back him. He was to have care 'for the safeguard of our people...from the danger of the sickness that properly cometh of extremity of cold.' She left the details of the war to Sidney but laid down the three objectives that O'Donnell was to be placed securely in his country, Kildare to recover Lecale from O'Neill, and 'to have the seacoasts towards Scotland so possessed as the Scots may be impeached from coming to succour the rebel.'

Piers, who had brought Sidney's letters, was held until Knolles returned on 22 June. A conference followed and on the basis of his arguments, which must have been decisive, Sidney was informed¹¹ that he would get the 1,000 men he wanted from England and Cecil was 'commanded to use all the diligence that I can to expedite the whole exploit of this intended enterprise...'. Everything was under way and 'we have fully discovered Shane's practices with Scotland...' which they hoped to check. The queen of Scots had been delivered of a child on 19 June 'but whether it be a knave child or lass we know not...'. It was the future James VI and I but Cecil was more concerned that a new amity had been arranged between Sussex and Leicester whose most recent quarrel had been over what Sussex had said about Sidney's dealings with Shane

⁹Sidney to Cecil, 9 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 9. Printed in Collins, Vol. 1, pt. II, pp. 11-12).

¹⁰Christopher Rooksby to Cecil, June (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 15__ -1571, no. 1116).

¹¹Cecil to Sidney, 24 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 27).

in November 1559.¹² Cecil was also concerned about the French who had prepared a large fleet in Normandy 'which at the first made us afraid of our Isles,' but they had since learned that the fleet was intended to recover French possession of Florida.

Cecil was correct about the preparations for the expedition. Wynter and Baeshe had prevailed upon him¹³ that the cheapest, most effective, and secret way to send the provisions was not to Bristol, where nothing could be brought or ships be had, but to buy them in London and ship them to Portsmouth where the shipping for the expedition could be assembled. Then the same wind that carried the soldiers from Bristol would bring the provisions around Land's End. The two fleets could meet at Milford Haven and move together to Carrickfergus. Cecil was sufficiently convinced to note 'to pass by sea' on a three page list of munitions that had been intended to go to Bristol by land.¹⁴ In Berwick Sir William Drury promised Cecil¹⁵ that he would keep secret the information that 300 harquebusiers from there were to be sent to Ireland. By the time Cecil wrote to Sidney about the preparations Wynter and Baeshe were in the London market buying £1,520 worth of wheat, some of it in biscuit, peas, beans and other food.¹⁶ There was also provision for bags and casks with materials for making more. Horse mills for grinding were to be provided and there were to be two millers, four cowpers, four brewers, and four bakers. A complete brewing house with equipment to be erected there was to be provided for £50, with temporary supplies until it operated by a ship being laid on to carry the 60 tuns of beer. One hoy with an eight man crew was to be bought for £200 to remain in Ireland and four small boats were 'to be newly made and sent.' Nine other hoys of seventy tons each were to be hired for transport and Geoffrey

¹²Cecil to Sidney, 16 June (ibid., no. 19).

¹³12 June (ibid., no. 16).

¹⁴11 June (ibid., no. 15).

¹⁵17 June (Cal. S.P. for., 1566-68, no. 498).

¹⁶24 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 26).

Vaughan was chosen 'to take the charge of all these and to make delivery and to remain there...'. The Hare with fifty men was also included in the fleet and two brigandines.

Six ships were also hired for transporting the troops from Bristol, where Wynter and Baeshe were to keep in touch by messenger with Vaughan at Portsmouth to time their departures so that they would meet at Milford Haven. Vaughan had under him a clerk and fourteen under-officers as well as twenty-six mariners and gunners and twenty-five soliders, the last a quarter of the company 'that are to be levied in London.' Every 100 soldiers were to include 'eleven artificers, that is to say two carpenters, one sawyer, two smyths, a wheelwright, a ploughwright, two miners, and two masons.'¹⁷ Elizabeth herself noted that letters, 'ours or our councils,' should be sent to the justices in Gloucester for 300 men, in Somerset for 200, in Devon for 200, and in London for 100. She also decided that the 300 men from Berwick under captains Cornwall, Gourley, and Browne were to be sent to the Isle of Man in time to join the main fleet on 4 August. She wrote accordingly to the earl of Bedford at Berwick and to other officers along the route.¹⁸

Elizabeth then informed Sidney of the expected movements.¹⁹ Vaughan's fleet of supplies and Randolph's fleet of troops were supposed to be at Milford Haven by 6 August and as far as the Isle of Man by 10 August 'if winds may serve.' Sidney could arrange his hosting accordingly and she hoped that the force from England would be in Ireland by the last of August. As Sidney had requested, food for 200 horsemen and 200 footmen to be raised in Ireland would be diverted to Carlingford. Randolph was expecting to have the 200 horsemen for his support without which it would be hard for him to move.

Vaughan's instructions were issued the next day.²⁰ Once he had arrived at Carrickfergus he was to erect the brewhouse at once

¹⁷Memorandum, partly by Cecil, 3 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 39).

¹⁸4 July 1566 (Cal S.P., for. 1566-68, no. 544).

¹⁹5 July (Sidney S.P., no. 21).

²⁰7 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 44).

and he was generally to do as Randolph instructed. He was to be in charge of feeding the army and was to keep in touch with Sidney, and Wynter and Baeshe, who were to keep the privy council in England informed. If any provisions of food 'shall be divided for Lough Foyle or other places' he was to put 'an honest and skillful man' in charge, agreeable to Sidney. He was provided with a schedule of rates of payment for supplies and Cecil added the suggestion that if he could buy 'out of Scotland or any other place' cheaper than in England he was to do so.

Randolph's commission as 'the chief captain or colonel of all the said numbers,' under Sidney's command, was issued on the following day.²¹ He was allowed to take any ships or craftsmen necessary. He also received his instructions.²² He was to land first at Carrickfergus and then move on to Lough Foyle. Once the regiment was landed there he was to take the castle of Lifford, then 'sit down and possess that river and land thereto adjacent...'. Sidney with his forces would advance through Tyrone. He was 'by land and sea' to do anything necessary against Shane and his adherents Irish, Scottish, English, or any other nationality. '...the final end...is the recovery and restitution of that our country of Ulster to our quiet possession...'. Randolph was to consult with Wynter and Baeshe before leaving and keep in touch with them or the privy council throughout the expedition. Though economy was urged on him on every page he was provided with funds 'considering in what manner of place you shall reside, far distant from our English pale.'

As lieutenant of the ordnance Randolph had charge of the weapons for the 700 men at Bristol, for they were to be sent from the Tower rather than have the shires arm them, an insurance that they would be well armed. In the final arrangements Lord Chandos and William Wynter were to raise 150 men in Gloucestershire, another 150 were to come from Somerset, and a large commission in Devon,

²¹8 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 48).

²²8 July (ibid., no. 49).

which included Sir Peter Carew, Sir Thomas St Leger, and Sir John Chicester were to produce 200 men. In Herefordshire Sir James Croft and Sir Robert Whitney were to raise 50 men and Sir Thomas Morgan in Monmouth another 50. The 100 men from London made up the total.²³

Elizabeth wrote again to Sidney to explain the exact authority she had given Randolph as colonel.²⁴ On the voyage he was to have the authority belonging to a general which was to cease as soon as he landed for it was her intention that in Ireland all authority should proceed from Sidney. She did stress that because of Randolph's military experience and his 'other gifts of gravity, virtue, and manhood' she had commissioned him to be the colonel not only of the men who came with him but of all the footmen which should serve in Ulster because 'we thought it a meet title for so worthy a captain.' Knowing Sidney's private good opinion of him she expected the deputy to re-commission Randolph in a similar rank. Sidney received both letters concerning Randolph and his expedition on 24 August.

Elizabeth had complained²⁵ that the expedition 'doth daily appear of greater charge than in the beginning could be esteemed' and she did not send as much money with Randolph as Sidney and Knolles had asked 'by reason of certain necessary impediments.' Money was the impediment. Sir Thomas Gresham had borrowed £ 6,000 in Antwerp and delivered it to Winchester and from that £ 3,000 had been paid to Wynter and Baeshe to purchase supplies.²⁶ Sidney sent to Cecil²⁷ a Dublin merchant, Patrick Gough, who traded in Flanders with the suggestion that it was a good place to buy weapons and armour for the inhabitants of the pale who needed them and would accept them as payment for the queen's debts. At the same time Cecil was informing Sidney that it was not possible to

²³Cecil's memoranda, July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, nos. 50, 51).

²⁴8 July (Sidney S.P., no. 22).

²⁵5 July (loc. cit.).

²⁶Cecil's memoranda, July (op. cit., nos. 50, 51).

²⁷16 July (ibid., no. 56).

borrow more money in Antwerp, where religious dissention was rife.²⁸ By 24 July 1566 the money paid out for Ireland from 13 July 1565 totaled £ 35,839 13 s. 4 d., including £ 3,000 for Randolph and £ 6,000 for Baeshe and Wynter, a total of £ 9,000 for an expedition which had not yet embarked.²⁸

This situation caused Cecil to write to Winchester²⁹ that 'as for the provision of more money for Ireland it can be no less than £ 14,000 or £ 15,000 wherein I think Mr Gresham must prove his credit in going over to Flanders.' He agreed with the marquess that 'if the time of service be now lost in Ireland it will advance the enemy and therefore I wish that Mr. Randolph were at Bristol and his people embarked.' Four days before, on 25 July, Randolph had paid a farewell call on the Spanish ambassador, saying that he was embarking at the end of the month in four ships and three pinnaces and that he went very discontently and against his will.³⁰ Winchester agreed with Cecil³¹ about the money though he disapproved of Sidney's attempts to obtain money without warrant. He had conferred with Randolph and given him his advice.

Cecil himself was keeping a careful record of the payments of the £ 6,000 including £ 200 to Humphrey Gilbert for the 200 troops from Devon. He had also decided that Gresham would have to find another £ 4,000, bringing the total amount he was supposed to secure to £ 18,000.³² Elizabeth authorised Gresham³³ to borrow another £ 6,000 for Irish affairs and to arrange a six months extension for the £ 32,000 she already owed in Antwerp, but during the course of the month the amount Gresham was to secure rose to £ 21,000.³⁴ Cecil informed Sidney that 'Sir Thomas Gresham is going to Antwerp to get us more money for you,' and that the deputy

²⁸19 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 62).

²⁹29 July (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XIII, no. 57).

³⁰DeSilva to Philip II, 27 July (Cal S.P., Spain, 1558-67, no. 370).

³¹31 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 65).

³²Memoranda by Cecil, c. July (*ibid.*, nos. 70. 71).

³³6 Aug. (Cal. S.P. for., 1566-68, no. 622).

³⁴Gresham to Cecil, 18 Aug., 1 Sept. (*ibid.*, nos. 660, 694).

had put Cecil to 'great shift' to get the £-1,100 for the Irish merchants. He had had to do it on his own credit.³⁵ Elizabeth authorised Gresham³⁶ to repay £ 498 15 s. to certain merchants borrowed for her service in Ireland and the mayor of Westchester was authorized to pay £-1,200 of the treasure for Ireland to certain merchants of Dublin who had lent the money to Sidney, thus covering Cecil.³⁷ Gresham, having secured the money in Antwerp, reminded Elizabeth that she had not rewarded him for his services as her brother Edward and sister Mary had done. With admirable restraint she confined herself to instructing him to pay certain sums to Winchester for debts incurred in the Irish service.³⁸

Sidney was probably not concerned with how pressed Elizabeth was to finance the expedition for he had a number of problems of his own. In April Knolles had been sent with instructions to have Arnold's commission finish its work immediately and he also had a letter from Elizabeth who expressed great interest in Bermingham's findings on Fitzwilliam's account submitted on 16 March 1566.³⁹ Bermingham had compared Fitzwilliam's receipts of treasure sent from England with the certificates that Wrothe had sent from the exchequer and the court of wards in England and had come to the conclusion that Fitzwilliam had not accounted at all for £ 4,000 of the value of money current in England in 1561 and that poor handling of the exchange of that period had lost between £ 50,000 and £ 65,000 sterling, depending on which rate of exchange was followed.⁴⁰ Elizabeth was sufficiently impressed to instruct Knolles to confer secretly with Arnold and to ask if Knolles thought it was necessary to have Arnold remain. Jenyson had left Cecil⁴¹

³⁵Cecil to Sidney, 13 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 81).

³⁶30 Aug. (Cal. S.P. for., 1566-68, no. 680).

³⁷Elizabeth to Edward Horsey, 17 Aug., (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 312).

³⁸3 Sept., 13 Sept. (Cal. S.P. for., 1566-68, nos. 703, 711).

³⁹April (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/17, no. 45).

⁴⁰These are Bermingham's revised figures of 3 August 1566 (ibid., no. 44, where they are misplaced to accompany Elizabeth's letter to Knolles).

⁴¹1 May (ibid., no. 47).

in no doubt that English exchequer procedure was not being followed in Ireland and while in Ireland Knolles heard the views of both Arnold and the commissioners as to the difficulties of securing Fitzwilliam's account and the latter's defence, who said that Arnold had charged him with being £17,000 in debt.⁴² Bermingham next wrote to Leicester and Cecil that 'if I have misconceived anything therein to suspend your...opinions..' until he arrived in England with Arnold.⁴³

Sidney and Knolles seem to have decided that it would be best if the whole inquiry were sent back to England. The Anglo Irish commissioners wrote an account of their proceedings and reiterated their difficulties in getting captains to produce the records demanded of them,⁴⁴ citing in particular Radcliffe for Leix, Captain Heron for the seignory of Leinster and the profits of Idough, and Henry Cowley for the victualling of the army.⁴⁵ Making their charges only on the basis of 'manifest untruth' they found £13,420 18 s. 8 d. owing, and expected that to rise another £10,000 when they had the figures for Radcliffe, Heron, and Cowley for the matters above. Their figure was purely for the military bands and most of it was accounted for by four people, Fitzwilliam with £4,721, Radcliffe with £3,700, Stanley with £2,811, and Cowley with £1,133. Radcliffe was already in England, and Sidney commended Stanley, saying he thought his patent as marshal would unburden him of a great portion of his charges.⁴⁶ In sending Fitzwilliam he defended his innocence and asked that he be returned to Ireland as soon as possible. The commissioners had threatened to summon Cowley before the privy council but Sidney countered that 'it is not meet he be absent in this perilous time from his charge...'. He repeated his frequent request that Radcliffe settle his solders' pay.⁴⁷

⁴²Arnold and commissioners to Knolles, Fitzwilliam's answer, ? 19 May (P.R.O. S.P.Ire., 63/17, nos. 57, 58).

⁴³9 June (ibid., nos. 10, 11).

⁴⁴Commissioners to the privy council, 28 June (ibid., 63/18, nos. 35, 35 I).

⁴⁵'Copy of a book of cheques...' (ibid., no. 34).

⁴⁶Sidney to the privy council, 27 June (ibid., no. 31).

⁴⁷Sidney to the privy council, 27 June (ibid., no. 32).

The commissioners explained to Elizabeth⁴⁸ that Arnold would answer for them in detail but they knew there would be an uproar when their findings were released. Some of them had served on the Irish council 'twenty-six years at least' and they found Arnold a tower of integrity and hence hated. He had relieved the situation he found at Sussex's departure when the pale was very poor, caused by cess 'and not a little by reason of the said earl's accating excessively for his house at prices so far under the value whereby his lordship acquired unto him an universal hate of the common people.'

Sidney also wrote privately to his brother-in-law Leicester⁴⁹ commending Arnold's zeal but suggesting it had outrun his discretion. He was afraid Arnold had relied too much on Bermingham's suggestions. Arnold's enemies said he had been encouraged by Leicester to attack Sussex and to prolong the process but Sidney said he thought this was untrue. He made an eloquent plea for Leicester to help secure his recall for he felt he had lost the support of Elizabeth. She was anxious to allay such ideas and to 'reduce all crooked matters' between Sussex and Sidney,⁵⁰ as they had been between Leicester and Sussex. Sidney complained that his innocence was his only protection with Sussex 'against his womanish weapon of words and detraction.'⁵¹ Sussex's object was to defend himself and his government in Ireland and to do so he launched counter-attacks against several people as well as accepting whatever help he could get. Ormond, who was high in Elizabeth's favour in 1566, undoubtedly gave him help at court and assistance in preparing his briefs.⁵² Leicester was their common target but since their subject was Ireland Sidney was bound to be involved, and at a time of crisis a strain was placed on his relationship with the crown in England. Arnold had arrived at court by the beginning of August, appearing before

⁴⁸ (28) June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 35).

⁴⁹ 28 June, printed in Collins, Sidney Letters, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁰ Cecil to Sidney, 8 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 47).

⁵¹ Sidney to the privy council, 11 July (*ibid.*, no. 54).

⁵² See 'Articles...' against Arnold, 15 Aug., and an annotated copy of 'The answer...' of Arnold, both prepared for Sussex (*ibid.*, nos. 82, 83).

Elizabeth with forty men armed with swords and bucklers. The object was probably display but Sussex suggested there was something sinister in it and he cast doubts on the veracity of Arnold and his associates as well as on their birth. Sussex had always declined to talk with Bermingham, who was 'but an informer and no commissioner and it was not for a (lord) lieutenant to deal with him in that sort...'.⁵³ Of Arnold's answers to Sussex's charges the earl noted that they would have to be proved 'by men better born of better credit...' than Arnold, and Sussex put it to the queen 'that when Fitzwilliam and Browne were commissioners in Ireland in the time of Sir Anthony St Leger's displeasure and discharge they never dealt with his musters...'. Fitzwilliam unfortunately was in a very vulnerable position and it would perhaps have been as well to provide no reminders of how his career had begun as an Irish reformer. During the first half of August Cecil was accumulating voluminous notes on the charges and countercharges of Arnold and Sussex⁵⁴ at a time when his hands were full of other business. In October when he took the matter up again he examined Fitzwilliam's accounts carefully, noting that the vice-treasurer was trying to account for the total of £165,000 in receipts from 4 July 1559 to 16 March 1566 and concluded that Fitzwilliam should still have £2,000 in hand.⁵⁵ Bermingham was still at work on the same accounts, making his case that Fitzwilliam had overpaid in many particulars and that he and Sussex had failed to utilize the fall in money to the crown's advantage, and that Fitzwilliam ought to be charged with some £16,000.⁵⁶ It is clear from the marginal notes made on Bermingham's work that he was making a case and Fitzwilliam was many years clearing up the confusion of his accounts. By November Elizabeth had an answer for Sussex, which was to ready himself for an embassy to Austria.⁵⁷ Her

⁵³ 'Memorial for the Earl of Sussex touching Arnold's causes,' 4 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 65/18, no. 73).

⁵⁴ Ibid., nos. 79, 84-86.

⁵⁵ 8 Oct. (ibid., 63/19, no. 20).

⁵⁶ 26 Octo. (ibid., no. 28).

⁵⁷ D.N.B. sketch of Thomas Radcliffe, third earl of Sussex.

opinion, apparently, was that his government of Ireland ought to become past history.

Sidney for his part was still smarting from some of its consequences in Ireland. He contended that Elizabeth's letters on behalf of Ormond had encouraged 'that reviving Hydra, coyne and livery' in Kilkenny and Munster where in its spression 'they who never heard of other prince than Ormond and Desmond felt the virtue of our sovereign over them both...'. Sir Warham St Leger had been conferring with Desmond in Limerick and pressed Sidney on the unwisdom of siding with Ormond in all his claims which would make Desmond desperate, a mistake with O'Neill in his present mood. Desmond himself had written to Sidney in the same vein and the deputy carefully forwarded both letters to England.⁵⁸

At court Ormond supplied a list of queries to be put to Arnold and Cecil noted the latter's answers to them. They were concerned mostly with the aftermath to the battle of Affane. Ormond wanted to know why Arnold had not ordered Desmond to produce the O'Mores and O'Conors which had served under him and why he had not availed himself of Ormond's offer to provide a man who would show where Cormac O'Connor was in Desmond's country. To the last Arnold said flatly 'it was not offered.' Ormond wanted to know why Oliver Fitzgerald, a tenant of Kildare's in Leix, was not charged with matters of treason 'confessed by one of the traitors of Leix before Captain Delves, Francis Cosby, and me in Cosby's house in Leix' and why he was pardoned when Arnold knew that he had maintained the men that hurt Edmund Butler 'almost to death with a harquebust, and my brother then slew some of those traitors in his company.' Arnold answered that he was pardoned by the advice of the council and that he had not been imprisoned because he was thought useful to serve with Kildare 'against the rebels.'

⁵⁸ Sidney to the privy council, 11 July, enclosing St Leger to Sidney, 3 July, and Desmond to Sidney, 6 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 54, 54 I, II).

⁵⁹ c. Aug. (ibid., no. 72).

Thomas Masterson in Kelkenny reported⁶⁰ that the south-west of Ireland was quiet and would remain so were it not for Shane, who must be rooted out 'which will not be but by planting in his country.' There had been great joy at coyne and livery being suppressed and he hoped Ormond was not petitioning to upset that. Much of his lands, now waste, were beginning 'to be inhabited and yeild him rents' and Masterson hoped it would continue. What Ormond was pressing Elizabeth for was compensation for what he lost with the abolition of coyne and livery, arguing that some means was needed to provide armed men for her service and that the tenants were 'very willing to offer great aids to their lords to be delivered of that exaction.' Such was the clarification of her instructions of 14 May that Elizabeth sent to Sidney which he received on 30 August.⁶¹ Those who defended themselves and served her were to be handled with a 'regard both of the time of the execution thereof and of the manner how to recompense such' while he was 'to abolish it from them that have most abused it against our service.' Her views were set forth in detail as was her concern at the treatment of Ormond's brothers and friends in contrast to 'the exalting of the one that ought not to be,' Desmond, an impartial choice Sidney ought to be able to make.

And if yourself be not now clear in that matter we think surely since your going from hence you are entered into some great mist of darkness in judgment, which if you be we must needs think to our great grief that you are like to enter into so great errors for government of that realm as are not to be suffered in one that is appointed to govern as you are.

She explained that her attitude was not the result of Ormond's 'private dealings for himself in his causes here' but was formed 'partly by your own answer, partly by report of our vice-chamberlain and now at last by private reports...'. Cecil informed Sidney⁶² that he had had a hand in writing the letter, presumably toning it down, and that Sidney was not to be dismayed. Cecil had talked as plainly as he could to Ormond in whose favour the queen was 'incensed.'

⁶⁰To Knolles, 10 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 78).

⁶¹13 Aug. (Sidney S.P., no. 23).

⁶²13 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 81).

Elizabeth disclaimed 'any partial intention towards any one more than another' and it may be that her 'private reports' were better than Cecil credited them. Ormond asserted that Desmond and his brother were consorting with traitors again, including Piers Grace, and said that Sir Warham St Leger saw that contact himself at Curraghmore on 6 September.⁶³ Sidney also acquired a letter in Irish from O'Neill to John of Desmond⁶⁴ saying 'that Englishmen hath no other eye but only to subdue both the English and Irish pale of Ireland and I and you in especial,' and that 'now is the time...to set against them as well as you can.'

O'Neill was not having much success in his efforts to secure help, French, Scottish, or Irish, as one case illustrated. Cormac O'Connor wrote a letter, couched in most respectful language, to Elizabeth from Edinburgh, where he had gone in order to write to her.⁶⁵ He had gone to Ireland with her pardon and her command that he be restored to some of his lands and presented them to Henry Cowley and his assistants who declined to 'do the same.' He asked that she renew the pardon and give him some 'portion of living...in Ireland or otherwise.' On the heels of that request Sidney wrote to Cecil⁶⁶ on behalf of 'this poor old gentleman,' George Parys, who was still trying to recover his estate from the Gernons. Parys reminded Cecil⁶⁷ how he had come to him out of Scotland, bringing £1,000 and horses and furniture, and that Cecil had promised to look after him. He had spent twice as much in his suit and had lost £200, 'being robbed on the sea by Frenchmen' while he was going to Ireland. Archbishop Curwen also wrote on his behalf to the privy council,⁶⁸ which ordered George Gernon to appear before it to answer Parys's charges.⁶⁹

⁶³Ormond to (Sidney), Sept. (P.R.O., S.,P. Ire., 63/19, no. 17).

⁶⁴9 Sept. (ibid., nos. 7, 8. Translation by Sidney's servant, John Plunket).

⁶⁵9 July (ibid., 63/18, no. 53).

⁶⁶18 July (ibid., 63/18, no. 60).

⁶⁷Petition, c. July (ibid., no. 61).

⁶⁸7 Aug. (ibid., no. 75).

⁶⁹27 Oct. 1566 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

With Cormac and Parys in such contrite humour the possibility of foreign aid for Shane was not great.

O'Neill was not deterred by such a lack and towards the end of July began to move to the borders of the English pale with his whole force, thereby confirming Sidney's opinion expressed earlier to Elizabeth that he would commence the war after the beginning of August.⁷⁰ Within two days Sidney had raised a force of some 1,500 footmen and 600 horsemen, 'through the willingness of the people,' and the garrison with which he moved north. On 24 July, after several letters from O'Neill some of which Sidney termed 'full of insolency,' the deputy moved out of Dundalk to the area of Shane's camp. Nothing happened then or the next day when the performance was repeated except that on the second day one of Kildare's men was wounded and the earl's trousers were shot through in some minor skirmishing. Sidney had not achieved his object of forcing a battle but the shooting had begun. On 26 July Sidney left Dundalk with most of his forces, which were short of victuals, though he garrisoned the town. On the 28th O'Neill raided the pale, burning several villages of which the most important was Haggard, and on the 29th he besieged Dundalk.⁷¹

The town was in ruinous condition and the walls of such great circuit that John and Brian Fitzwilliam, who commanded the garrison, allowed the Irish to enter and ambushed them in the streets. The losses of O'Neill's force were so great that having made a feint toward Carlingford Shane retreated to the north of Ulster to seek help from the Scots, but Sidney had forestalled him in dealing with them and they rejected Shane's offers.⁷² He was proclaimed traitor on 3 August and on his retreat north he broke down the cathedral of Armagh and razed 'divers castles, holds, forts, and houses in the same country, and in Lecale the castle of

⁷⁰ Sidney to Leicester, 19 Aug. (Collins, Sidney Letters, Vol. I, pt. II, 15-17).

⁷¹ Thomas Lancaster to Cecil, 16 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 89). His chronology is followed.

⁷² Sidney to Leicester, 19 Aug. (op. cit.).

Ardglas with the new work, the castle of Down, the castle of Saul, the castle of Ballintogher, and some say the castle of Dundrum.⁷³ He had also moved into Fermanagh and expelled MacGuire, whom he described to Sidney as his 'servant,' and who was regarded by the government as 'a faithful subject.' It was one of the causes of the conflict.

Sidney told Leicester that he felt that he had the provinces of Connaught and Munster in hand and in Leinster he was only concerned about 'the ingratitude of him whom your lordship so much commended, I mean Sir Edmund Butler.'⁷⁴ In June Sir Edmund had been given licence to come to England and Sidney was instructed to pay him what was due for his entertainment.⁷⁵ Sidney had done him the favour of staying a legal case and secured him a pardon,⁷⁶ which extended also to 'a hundred rascals of his servants and followers.' He continued to show him 'both countenance and credit' partly because of 'our old acquaintance, education, and service of the most virtuous prince,' Edward VI, and partly because of the letters Leicester had written asking Sidney to tell Sir Edmund of his favour and devotion. On 23 July he discovered that Sir Edmund had 'unnaturally and dishonourably' secured letters from Elizabeth to Sidney,⁷⁵ who was commanded 'not to suffer his life or liberty to be touched' over a matter which involved 16 d. Sidney was outraged, pointing out what he had done for Butler and that he had paid him in full for his army expenses 'which no one of this garrison can say in effect.' There was more to come. Sir Edmund seems to have gone to England where he secured a grant of monastic property on the grounds of what Elizabeth owed him for his services against 'the traitors and rebels of Leix and Offaly' and in her wars.⁷⁷ In accordance with his commission of 7 August 1564

⁷³Lancaster to Cecil, 16 Aug. (loc. cit.).

⁷⁴Sidney to Leicester, 19 Aug. (op. cit.).

⁷⁵16 June, 26 June (Sidney S.P., nos. 18, 19).

⁷⁶10 July 1566 (Cal Fiants Ire., Eliz. no. 911).

⁷⁷Petition of Sir Edmund Butler, 6 Nov., Elizabeth to Sidney and Curwen, 12 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, nos. 34, 42).

Butler had attacked mcMorrrough Moyle whereupon 'the Earl of Kildare in revenge thereof took from the said Sir Edmund and his tenants certain cattle and other goods to a great value.' In answer to Sir Edmund's complaint Arnold was examined by the privy council and could recall having authorized Kildare to do what he did, though 'not having now in his remembrances the special causes to maintain such a resolution.' Elizabeth wanted Sidney to investigate the complaint and if it were true Sir Edmund and his tenants were to have restitution 'forthwith', she being advised of the results.⁷⁸ At the same time Sidney was informed by Elizabeth⁷⁹ that Ormond had shown her by 'sundry probable arguments' that his possessions were so wasted, especially in the time of Arnold's government, that until the deputy reformed the area as he had been instructed Ormond could not 'with surety as were fit for him repair thither in person.' He had therefore given his authority to Sir Edmund, Patrick Sherlock, and others to conduct his affairs for him as if he were there in person. Sidney was to deal with them as Ormond's attorneys. The seeds of future trouble had been sown.

The fleet which was supposed to have sailed from Milford Haven by 6 August and be at the Isle of Man by 10 August was a month delayed in sailing. On 2 August Vaughan sailed from Gravesend with every ship of provisions except one, which was to leave at the next tide. On 6 August Baeshe wrote to Cecil from the Tower saying that he expected to hear that Vaughan had arrived in Portsmouth, and that Wynter was ready in Bristol.⁸⁰ Ten days later Baeshe had to report to Cecil, on a progress with the queen, that Vaughan and his fleet were at Rye waiting for a wind and would soon be at Portsmouth, 'which being obtained the voyage is half won.'⁸¹ Wynter had informed him that there was no wind in Bristol either. Sidney

⁷⁸ 3 November (Sidney S.P., no. 29).

⁷⁹ Ibid., no. 28.

⁸⁰ Baeshe to Cecil, 6 Aug., enclosing Vaughan to Baeshe, 2 Aug. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 74, 74 I).

⁸¹ 16 Aug (ibid., no. 88).

seems to have anticipated the delay for the postponed the general hosting in Ireland to 26 August.⁸² It was as well, for Vaughan did not arrive in Portsmouth until 24 August. The problem now was whether the provisions in his ships would remain eatable though Baeshe thought they would and helped Vaughan to lay on extra provisions. The rendezvous of the two fleets was changed from Milford to the Scilly Isles off Land's End.⁸³

From Bristol Randolph told Cecil how 'our enemies the winds' had prevented their departure in time to forestall O'Neill from gathering his harvest. In consequence Randolph was concerned how his own expedition would fare in the winter but he did not doubt 'to deceive the opinion of a great many that account us as lost children.' He begged that Cecil continue to back him at court for 'some that would be accepted my best friends are my very enemies.'⁸⁴ At six that morning, 3 September, Vaughan had set sail from Portsmouth and by the 6th Randolph and his fleet had left Bristol having consumed four out of the six weeks supply they had. Wynter⁸⁵ expressed satisfaction at the quality of the men embarked at Bristol, saying they were well equipped and trained in so short a time. He had been so busy that he had not seen his own house, only fourteen miles distant from Bristol, though having got the expedition off he expected to retire there for a fortnight. In all Wynter had spent some £1,155 on the five ships of the expedition from there, the feeding of the soldiers, and harbour charges. Four new boats, with two couples of carriages fitted to them, to be taken to Ireland had cost £25.

Winchester and Baeshe explained⁸⁶ that the costs at Bristol had been caused partly by the size of the vessels and the extra

⁸² Thomas Lancaster to Cecil, 16 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 89).

⁸³ Winchester and Baeshe to the privy council, 4 Sept. (ibid., 63/19, no. 3).

⁸⁴ 3 Sept. (ibid., no. 2).

⁸⁵ Wynter to Cecil, 5 Sept., to the privy council, 6 Sept., to Winchester, 8 Sept. (ibid., nos. 4-6).

⁸⁶ Winchester to Cecil, 11 Sept., Baeshe to Cecil, 12 Sept. (ibid., nos. 9, 10).

ships need to carry in addition to the 700 soldiers of '150 artificers, launders (linen washers), and such other meet servitors.' The ships under Vaughan had also created expenses in Portsmouth.

Sidney thanked Cecil 'for the supply of my credit to the merchants of Dublin which may be a mean that my wants hereafter may be better furnished,' but he stressed that he needed money.⁸⁷ He referred the privy council⁸⁸ to Edward Horsey who 'hath seen the pitiful complaints of the poor inhabitants of the English countries for want of money' and the near mutiny of the soldiers, who in effect refused to move without pay. He wanted to weed the garrison and asked for 100 northern horsemen as replacements. He had drawn the 300 soldiers on the Isle of Man on 31 August both because of O'Neill's strength and 'the danger of the passages' to Derry, where Randolph 'is not to do any exploit before my meeting, but only to remain about Lough Foyle which he may easily do with a less company without danger.' Sidney added the postscript that on 14 September as he was ready to march he had letters from 'the colonel that he was at seaboard and the wind serveth so well as I hope he is landed at Lough Foyle.' He had also been informed that the victuals had landed at Carlingford. Both Sidney and Brady, the bishop of Meath, complained that O'Neill had had time to get in his harvest. Brady said that it had been 'hid in woods and caves,' that Shane could move his cattle more easily, and that the nights were getting long 'and the brooks and rivers begin to swell.' He saw trouble on the long border with the O'Reillys. He asserted that he had always been against O'Neill and those who 'by their smooth letters and patching up of matters' had endeavoured to 'make him an honest man.'⁸⁹

⁸⁷10 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 12).

⁸⁸9 Sept. (ibid., no. 11).

⁸⁹Brady to Cecil, 14 Sept. (ibid., no. 13).

Before Randolph reached Lough Foyle 'he was forced to come to an anchor' at Carrickfergus where he took his men ashore for fresh food and water after their sea voyage. O'Neill and his forces made a raid on the cattle outside the town and Randolph and his men went out after him. According to Sidney the colonel 'shewed himself very worthy the trust and charge committed unto him' though he left the details of the action to be reported by Humphrey Gilbert who was present.⁹⁰ Randolph could not have reached Lough Foyle much before 20 September.

Sidney and his forces, which included Desmond and Kildare and their men, had moved up to Drogheda which they left on 17 September, camping on the border between the pale and O'Hanlon's country at a place called Roskeaghe. From there Sidney informed Cecil that the grain which had been landed at Carlingford was 'utterly lost' and that the malt was hardly useable. Replacements would have to be provided.⁹¹ On 21 September Sidney moved his forces to Armagh where he found that Shane had burned its houses completely 'and the great and ancient church of the same...and thrown down a great part of the stonework.' O'Neill had anticipated any use of the town as a base of operations, going back to the days of 1561-62. Sidney next camped five miles beyond the town and on 24 September crossed the Black water. Benburb was also found 'utterly burned and razed'. From there Sidney moved slowly west camping probably near Ballygawley, co. Tyrone, on 27 September. They found the area 'so well inhabited as we think no Irish country in this realm like it,' and they burned the abundant corn for an area twenty-four miles in compass. On 29 September Sidney marched his forces to 'the castle and monastery of O'Magh.' There were heavy rains that day and the next which made the river Omy there impossible to cross until 2 October. The army then camped near a broken castle of Turlogh Lenagh's called Salmon castle. Throughout his narrative Sidney was careful to relate the terrain to a map which Elizabeth possessed.⁹²

⁹⁰Sidney to the privy council, 12 Nov., referring them to Sidney, Kildare, Bagenal, and Agard to Elizabeth, 12 Nov. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire, 63/19, nos. 43, 44).

⁹¹21 Sept. (ibid., no. 14).

⁹²Sidney, etc. to Elizabeth, 12 Nov. (loc. cit.)

On 3 October Sidney and his army crossed the river Derg and marched to Lifford castle with Castlefinn five miles distant. They were there three days during which time Randolph and Gilbert arrived Sidney wanted to know why Lifford had not been fortified to which the colonel 'affirmed (as truth it is) that it was razed before his coming into the water of Lough Foyle.' The castle was also insufficient for the men and supplies Randolph had, being only thirty feet square.

Whereupon he resolved to fortify at the Derry and had entrenched himself there before our coming...albeit it wanteth the commodity of a ford which the Lifford hath...and the distance being...but ten miles, the country fair and open, between them, yet the commodity which is found at the Derry by the church and other great houses of stone joining to the same moved him rather to fortify there than at the other, which upon view of the place we very well allowed of.

On 6 October Sidney shifted to the east bank of the river Foyle and moved northward through O'Cahan's country, camping opposite Derry. There he revictualled his forces from supplies brought by sea from Dublin. No one from Tirconnell had appeared in Derry except O'Dogherty from the Irishowen peninsula north of 'the new castle.' Sidney had intended to turn eastward and return to the pale by way of Carrickfergus but O'Donnell, O'Dogherty, and the bishop of Derry pressed him to bring the army across the river to Derry for without it, O'Donnell argued, he could neither assist Randolph nor reestablish himself in Tirconnell. Sidney, remembering Elizabeth's 'straight charge...for the sure placing of O'Donnell in his country and the great consequence that might follow of the same,' decided to cross though the river was 'as broad' at a low water as the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth.' In addition to his men Sidney had 2,000 pack horses with him and it took two days to make the crossing. He noted with pride that he lost no men or equipment and only six or seven horses, but he made a mental note which was to be productive later.

So Sidney camped in Derry on 12 October and admired the thoroughness with which Randolph had utilized the site of Derry and that 'he had the whole regiment of his soldiers in so good order as the people found themselves very well satisfied with them and conceived no small hope and confidence to be defended by him

and them.' O'Dogherty professed to be so impressed by the colonel's 'just dealing and courtesy' that he offered to supply 500 cattle at once if he could be freed of supplying any more. Sidney did not think that was in the crown's best interest but he took 280 paying 6 s. 8 d. for each cow.

He also offered...freely and willingly to give unto your highness all that plat of ground wherein in old time the ancient city of Derry stood...being in circuit at the least two English miles of very good ground environed with a portable stream four parts of five, the rest with a fresh brook running through a bog, very easy to be cut. Which if it were the place were very strong for the land lieth very high from the water every way and hath plenty of fresh water within it, stone and wood in great plenty lying near unto it. Only timber there wanteth which yet by means is to be brought thither by water. This he offered in hope that your majesty would build or cause to be builded a city there, which in ancient time had been. And this was O'Donnell's humble suit also. And albeit this their offer was of a thing within law is your highness's already, the most of it being lands appertaining to that monastery, yet considering how in use and possession it had been ever in their hands, I...in your highness behalf accepted the same in very thankful part.

Sidney and Randolph discussed many things, notably the size of the garrison to be left for the winter in Derry and its supply. Sidney's estimate was that O'Neill had 4,000 footmen and 700 horsemen. They agreed that Derry should have 600 footmen and 50 horsemen under George Harvey. Sidney said he would have left more horses if there were the means of feeding them and he left the choice of companies to Randolph, Gilbert 'only excepted by my special election' to accompany him on the return journey. Randolph selected the companies of captains Cornwall, Wylford, Borroughs, Ward, Scriven, and Gurley. Brown and his company were sent to Carrickfergus to be lodged in the monastery on its outskirts for the defence of the town during the winter. Randolph was to keep one of the pinnacles which required a complement of fifty men. These with his household servants and 'the artificers, victuallers, horseboys, and the daily resort of the country coming unto him' made 1,000 persons in all to be fed at Derry. Sidney stressed to the privy council that the colonel was short of supplies and that those he had were of bad quality. He told the queen that he had left Randolph with enough beef to last him to 1 December and with 4,000 weight of biscuit sent up from Dublin for Sidney's own provision. The deputy pressed his own needs on her, both to have money to pay his men and to have remounts for 100 horsemen. A good

horse cost £ 20 sterling in Ireland. He wanted Randolph sent biscuit, meal, and drink 'for six months for 1,000 persons' and to send that proportion full and not diminished like as the last was, which by the colonel's report was not in many things the one half of that which Mr. Vicechamberlain (Knolles) and I your deputy agreed upon to be sent with him. Which, if it had not been circum- spectly thought upon here, had turned to the great disadvantage of your service and the perils of those your majesty's servants and soldiers. Also that your highness will send for those 1,000 a proportion for bacon, butter, cheese, or fish for six months, after three days in a week, for by the indentures concluded with O'Don- nell may appear that the contribution for beef is but after the rate of four days in each week. That hops and salt in good quan- tities be likewise sent. Most humbly beseeching your majesty to commit the doings of these things to some careful man, assuring your majesty if it be not forseen in time they shall be constrained to withdraw themselves with no small dishonour and utter loss of all that hath been spent in this enterprise hitherto.

On 8 October the privy council had written to the wardens of the Scottish marches⁹³ to secure 100 light horsemen as volun- teers for service in Ireland from 'such persons as be honest, trusty and dutiful subjects.' This action was in response to Sidney's letters in September which Edward Horsey, captain of the isle of Wight, had brought to court from Ireland, the first news that had come from either Sidney or Randolph. Horsey was lavish in his praise of the deputy and of his incessant difficulties and Cecil assured Sidney⁹⁴ that he was in the same difficult position at court, but that Sidney was to continue to pursue an even and circumspect course. Ormond was taking advantage of being at court and in the queen's favour to put his grievances forward. Cecil's only criticism was to press Sidney to write more often.

Elizabeth, having heard Horsey's report, instructed him anew and sent him back to Sidney with the suggestion that he be used by Sidney as an assistant.⁹⁵ His written instructions⁹⁶ were that he was to find Sidney in the north and make a series of points. She was observing O'Neill's doings in Scotland and had written to Mary to know what Argyll was about. She would replace the grain at Carlingford. Most of the points, however, were taken up with

⁹³Acts privy council, 1558-70, p. 313.

⁹⁴20 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 27).

⁹⁵20 Oct. (Sidney S.P., no. 27).

⁹⁶'A memorial for Edward Horsey,' (op. cit., no. 25).

details of Ormond's and Desmond's controversy, and her opening one was that though not as obviously as Arnold yet Sidney was allowing the government 'to be guided by the councillors rather of the birth of Ireland than of England, which we neither can allow nor ever could have good reason to allow.' She could also find no reason why Stanley was removed as marshal and thought he should be restored as he was a better candidate than Bagenal, but she assured Sidney that because she was dubious of Sir Warham St Leger it did not mean that she was not in favour of a president and council in Munster or elsewhere.

Sidney in the meantime, accompanied by Gilbert and O'Donnell, had left Derry on 14 October and moved his army first to Raphoe and then over the mountains and bogs of Tirconnell to Donegal 'the manner whereof we leave to be described by...Mr Gilbert.' Sidney himself described the town and its buildings, saying that its castle was 'one of the greatest that ever I saw in Ireland in any Irishman's hands' and that the harbour was good and worth keeping. The town had 'hitherto been great and inhabited with men of traffic, specially with Englishmen, and so the name signifieth for Donagall is to say the English town.' He arrived in the town on 17 October and left it on the following day, proceeding southward to the river Erne where he camped between Ballyshannon and Beleek. The former was delivered to him on 19 October and warded. Next to Donegal its castle was 'the principal piece of all Tirconnell.' The next day Beleek, a strong place with 'a defensible barbican' was given to Sidney and he moved his army to Eundoran where he crossed the river that divided Ulster from Connaught. On 22 October he came to the town of Sligo where the castle impressed him as much as Donegal castle had. Again he described the town's buildings and commercial possibilities, as he was careful to describe the whole north-west for Elizabeth, in an apparent attempt to interest her in the future development of the area.

After three days in Sligo Sidney and his army moved southward to cross the Curlew mountains 'the hardest mountain and the foulest

pass that ever we passed in Ireland...'. They were now in MacDermott's country and stopped at the abbey of Boyle. Sidney observed that the land was fine there but that it paid no rent. The next day, 25 October, his army passed through the countries of the O'Connor Don and Roe and reached the castle of Sligo. They had covered over fifty miles in two days. The next day brought them to Athlone, where they were 'enforced to swim over for lack of a bridge.' Sidney noted with satisfaction that O'Donnell was put in his country and that the army had lost only three men to sickness in the whole long journey.

His response to the Shannon at Athlone was to have a bridge built, which was finished in 1567. His response to the problem of the Foyle at Derry is of even greater interest. In July 1551 Croft had placed Maurice Launder, a carpenter, in Waterford at crown wages of 8 d. a day to supply 'the want of a good shipwright... and in regard that he would plant himself in that city to the end that by his cunning in that science he might the rather instruct others with the skill thereof.' His wages had long been unpaid but Sidney arranged⁹⁷ that he was to be paid £20 Irish to cancel that grant and to receive 8 d. Irish a day from 1 November 1566 until a permanent position fell vacant,

being moved with the consideration of the rareness of the same Maurice's skill and with the respect of his good and acceptable service done of late to her majesty in devising and making of new invented boats to serve at the Derry and other places in the north of this realm for the better conveying over the waters and loughs there both horse and other carriages in time of service to be had in any of those parts.

Randolph himself did not see the boats, though he would have appreciated them. Since Sidney left Derry 'our neighbour O'Cahan to despite us withal fields his kine in our sight on the other (side) of the river.' The colonel had no means to pass horsemen across 'but if God be my good lord (I) will go a point beyond him.' He was in great need of more cattle for of the 280 O'Donnell had promised only 100 had been delivered and when they were consumed 'I fear hardly we shall get any more either for money or love.' He

⁹⁷ 16 Jan. 1567, Memoranda rolls, 9^o Elizabeth (P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. VI, ff. 100-2).

explained to Cecil⁹⁸ that no victuals had been offered to be sold, though he had tried to bargain with the natives.

I find the people evil to please and seek to get what is to be gotten and not willing to depart with anything upon reasonable prices, although they have our money and wares by good reputation. I have hitherto sought to win them by all possible means and mind so to continue towards all such as pretend to be good subjects to her majesty.

If he had to take cattle to provision the garrison he would pay 6 s. 8 d. for them.

Randolph said that Vaughan had reported to Wynter and Baeshe on what remained of the provisions that had been brought and what would need to be supplied. He hoped that Cecil would put pressure on the matter for the existing mills of the garrison would not grind enough grain in three months to sustain it for one month. If they had not had a supply of buscuit they would have been in want of bread already. The supply of butter, cheese, and bacon was so small that they were driven to peas, bread, and drink before Sidney's arrival. He asked that all the grain for bread be sent 'in mean.' The soldiers were also almost without garments or shoes and he had sent a man into the pale to buy friezes 'to cloth them this winter' and another man to Randolph's wife in England to have her send shirts, kersies, shoes, canvas, and other necessities to Derry which would cost at least £500. He asked Cecil to advise her whether she should pay for them with Randolph's own bonds, a hint that the crown ought to pay.

Of the 40 dozen shovels and spades he brought he did not have more than 10 dozen. He had left 10 dozen for intrenching the friary at Carrickfergus and had spoiled 20 dozen 'with the great entrenching that we have had here.' If O'Donnell fortified Lifford and Castlefinn 'as I suppose of necessity he must' he would have to have the help of the garrison at Derry and Randolph asked for 40 dozen more shovels. He also had only one last of powder left. Some had been spoiled and some given to Sidney and he asked to be resupplied in powder and other necessities.

Vaughan and Cecil seem to have pressed the matter for the

⁹⁸27 Oct. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 29).

first items listed to be sent to Randolph were the powder and the shovels. Also included were

- 100 calivers with their furniture of flasks and touchboxes
- 200 pickaxes
- 40 dozen handbaskets
- 100 felling axes
- 12 scoops
- 10 handsaws
- 10 chalders of sea coals (320 to 400 bushels)
- 1 ton of iron, Spanish and English

All of these items were to be taken by cart to Bristol and shipped by sea to Derry.⁹⁹ Randolph plainly had ideas of establishing himself thoroughly at Derry.

The first major disaster now occurred there. On 12 November Randolph took his men out to stop a raid by Shane into O'Dougherty's country of Inisowen, probably hoping to cut the raiders off. In the encounter which followed Randolph received seven mortal wounds, the only Englishman killed, as against 300 of O'Neill's men killed. Ralph Morton, constable of Dungarvan and Symon Wheeler, the sergeant-major at Derry, were sent off to inform Sidney. He decided as a replacement to send Edward St Loe, 'a gentleman of great courage and experience of this country service generally...', and asked Elizabeth 'to assent to his continuance unless it please her highness to send hither Sir James Croft,' an indication of how important Sidney thought the post was.¹⁰⁰

In Derry the captains exercised a joint command and took a despairing view of their situation. Their men needed food and clothing and there were 'great numbers sick, the flux reigning amongst us wonderfully.' O'Donnell and his associates were not performing their promises and as allies were behaving as badly as Shane or worse 'for that the one is a friendly enemy, the other an open foe.' Sidney planned to send 500 quarters of oats to Derry and asked the privy council in England for apparel for the army, 4,000 pairs of shoes, 4,000 ells (5,000 yards) of canvas for shirts, and enough frieze or coarse broadcloth to make them jerkins. He sent Morton and Wheeler to England with the letter to drive home

⁹⁹Memoranda and warrant, 10 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, nos. 30, 40, 41).

¹⁰⁰Captain Thomas Wilsford to Cecil, 15 Nov. (ibid., no. 47), Sidney to the privy council, 12 Nov., postscript (ibid., no. 44).

his points, recommending them for their conduct in the battle.¹⁰¹

Edward Horsey arrived in Ireland on 17 November and the instructions he brought from the queen prompted an outpouring of ten pages by Sidney to Cecil.¹⁰² He reverted to the beans that had been sent to Derry, which were uneatable 'as Mr. Randolph affirmed to me. And the victuallier said it was no marvel for they had been already in terra florida where I wish they had been sowed together with the ...wheat...and I doubt whether dogs would eat it. It is, saving your honour, so stark rotten so as the queen must lose that wholly.' Sidney also pressed plantation projects. 'What I think of the commodities like to ensue by the planting of men in Ulster I have at large written in my long letters to her highness and to the lords. Among the rest the least is not the fishing of the Bann and other waters.' Both Valentine Browne and the Chestrys, merchants of Bristol, had sued for that but Sidney was inclined to favour Browne as he had 'been a servant and by resort higher able to do good...', though he did not care who had the glory or the doing so long as the country was benefited and the queen profited. Sidney put another request to Cecil:

I pray you that I may have warrant to make the two towns in Leix and Offaly, called Maryborough and Philipstown, market towns. I have made them both this last summer the strongest towns in the English pale unwall'd with stone, and already guardable against any Irish rebel. They will be rich and well peopled towns and I trust within another year able to keep themselves without any charge to the queen.

Two days later Sidney gave Cecil his views on Ormond and Desmond and explained that he had held Gilbert in order to answer the letters brought by Horsey.¹⁰³ The latter thought 'my cousin Gilbert' would give Cecil all the details but added that Randolph's death meant the loss of 'one of the most experimented soldiers that in this our time we had.'¹⁰⁴

Before she knew of Randolph's death Elizabeth was making fresh moves to see that he was kept supplied. Baeshe and Wynter were

¹⁰¹ Sidney to Cecil, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 54).

¹⁰² 18 Nov. (ibid., no. 51).

¹⁰³ 20 Nov. (ibid., no. 52).

¹⁰⁴ 21 Nov. (ibid., no. 53).

paid a further £ 2,896 5 s. for supplies 'to be shipped and sent over at our adventure,' clearing customs without charge.¹⁰⁵ Included were 1,000 pounds of rice, water buckets of leather, net to take salmon, and planks, quarters, ropes, and ironwork to make 'rafters.' She decided to discharge the Hare at Bristol, but there were other ships accumulating expense, including ships and hoys that had gone from London to Derry where they remained 'with their lading for lack of stowage.' She had also begun to estimate the costs of wages and food for Randolph's 1,000 men, which would amount to £ 9,530 for six months. The calculation for a full year was not made but it would have exceeded £ 20,000.¹⁰⁶

Sidney had sent his servant Richard Paul to England to secure provisions and asked anew that a commission be granted to him to get 420 quarters each of wheat, malt, beans and peas, and oats from Worcestershire and Gloucestershire with the right of transport to the seaside and to Ireland.¹⁰⁷ The matter had already been arranged and the privy council had written to the Earl of Derby to assist Paul, who was at Westchester making provision for the forces serving under Edward St Loe 'in the remote north parts of Ireland.' The queen wanted 'such easy prices as may be' but a warrant was soon issued to Wynter and Baeshe to pay £ 400 for them.¹⁰⁸ Soon Paul's bill had risen to £ 1,000 to which Ralph Knight added £ 400 'for sundry kinds of broadcloths,' £ 200 for coarse linen cloths, and £ 110 for a hoy of 50 tons.¹⁰⁹ An estimate which Jenyson produced of what was still owed to the army in Ireland indicated nearly £ 16,000 and nearly £ 33,000 had been sent by Elizabeth to Ireland,¹¹⁰ as well as the expenditure in England. Sidney's first year had been expensive.

His energy equalled his expense. On 8 December he left Dublin and moved as secretly as possible into Brefni, 'where after above

¹⁰⁵Elizabeth to Winchester, 23 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 59).

¹⁰⁶Memorandum, c Nov. 1566 (ibid., no. 65).

¹⁰⁷Sidney to Cecil, 8 Dec. (ibid., no. 69), 'A remembrance for a commission' (ibid., no. 70).

¹⁰⁸6 Dec., 1566, 15 Jan. 1567 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

¹⁰⁹17 Feb. (ibid.), 6 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, nos., 24, 29).

¹¹⁰19 Dec. 1566 (ibid., 63/19, no. 74).

thirty hours continual sitting on horseback' he spent three nights there.¹¹¹ O'Reilly submitted, Hugh MacNeill Mor: lord of the Fews was separated from O'Neill, and other O'Reillys and MacMahon were placed on their own. With buffers from Dundalk to Kells Sidney thought it would be difficult for Shane to invade the pale, though he planned another and longer trip north when the next moon appeared. About the beginning of February he planned to be in Munster for two months and then he expected to move to the north again. He had revoked St Leger from Munster but he continued to proclaim the necessity for a council there.

Sidney also asked again for instructions on what to do about the Scots, for they were again pouring into Ireland and their loyalty was uncertain. They would side with Shane if he were winning, and if they were subdued

yet will they be as they have been, intolerable inhabitants of the north parts of this realm. My opinion, as always it hath been, (is) that there is no way of keeping them out but by planting of Englishmen upon the seacoasts of the province of Ulster. Which device, if it be liked of her majesty, then must the men that so shall plant be in readiness to inhabit upon some convenient places, furnished with six months victuals at the least and some large portion of oats and barley to serve for that season, by the beginning of March next.

Finally Sidney asked the privy council to 'have some tender compassion of the poor people of this miserable country and of the needy and bare soldiers of this garrison...' and send a 'thorough pay.' The cries of both appalled him and the husbandmen were able to prove that the delay in reckoning for those who had been quartered on them had been so ruinous that many that Sidney could remember at his departure in 1559 as 'wealthy husbandmen...are now become beggars from door to door.' On the other hand the soldiers were so desparate that many --and there would have been more if Sidney had not intervened -- had sold their captains's promises to pay twenty marks for two pounds.

The day after Christmas Sidney set off for Iveagh, the country of MacGuinness, and remained on the northern borders until 6 January because of the full moon. He had left the entire army except his own company of horse in 'the border towns of Carlingford,

¹¹¹Sidney to the privy council, 12 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 71).

Dundalk, Ardee, and Kells,' under Kildare's command. MacGuire, the new captain of Fermanagh, had expressed a desire to be under Sidney's command as his brother before him had been. Sidney felt that the north was secure enough to allow him to go to Munster and return at the beginning of April to face O'Neill, who was sufficiently daunted by the winter war to make overtures of peace. Further north Alexander MacDonnell was making raids on Shane in the vicinity of Carrickfergus, the Glynnns, the Route, and O'Cahan's country.¹¹²

Across the river in Derry things were not going well. On 26 November Callough O'Donnell had died while on his way to Derry.¹¹³ He had been succeeded by his brother Huch mcManus, a choice which satisfied Sidney, and the new O'Donnell had a conference with the captains in Derry. Food was short and sickness had killed many soldiers, including Captain Schripen, and Wilford was 'sore sick, more like to die than to live.' Together they made an expedition into O'Cahan's country which did little damage. A force was sent upriver to Lifford 'and there fortified it a little,' leaving Captain Cornwall to keep it. Vaughan¹¹⁴ was afraid that if Elizabeth did not send 'a colonel or a general that shall rule and govern these men that be here, and such a man that they shall stand in awe of and that shortly, I do fear me that all things shall not fall out well,' contrary to her expectations and those of the privy council. He hoped that the supplies he had requested had left Bristol for they had little meat except what O'Donnell provided, 'and fish we have none nor nothing to take them withal.' He had sent the hoy Elizabeth to Scotland for fish but he had^{heard} nothing from it nor the letters he had written to Sidney.

I never served in such a place that no man travels to by the which men might have some understanding afore now, and in such a country and among such people, so rude and so bestial and wild as I think

¹¹² Sidney to the privy council, 18 Jan. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire. 63/20, no. 13).

¹¹³ Sidney to Cecil, 19 Dec., enclosing Alexander MacDonnell to Piers, 10 Dec. (ibid., 63/19, nos. 73, 73 II).

¹¹⁴ Vaughan to Baeshe and Wynter, 13 Jan. 1567. The first part was written on 18 Dec. but not sent. (ibid., 63/20, no. 5).

is not in the world the like again. I pray God send me, if it be his will, once into England and there to beg my bread if I be not able to labour rather than here to be a lord.

The approach of Christmas probably affected Vaughan as well for he asked that his wife and children be looked after in the tone of a man who did not expect to see them again.

He felt 'weary of my life' among the soldiers who were out of order and discontented with the beer and bread at Derry. He had considered sending a hoy back to England but held it 'because here would agone away a great sort of our best men, and here was nobody that could stay them but every captain would ahad his friend to pass.' Numbers must have left Derry by this way for a few months later the sheriff of Devon reported¹¹⁵ on his progress in apprehending a list of Humphrey Gilbert's men. One man was to appear before the privy council on 19 April. On their instructions five others were sent to Sidney. Ten men were disabled and so accounted for as were two others who had returned with passports. The sheriff added that many had returned with passports from Sidney, Randolph, Gilbert, or Anthony Alcock, though he expected to apprehend the rest.

St Loe arrived about 10 January and brought with him some supplies which Vaughan had not had time to inspect because Derry was 'an ill oase' and landing goods was difficult, especially the butts and hogsheads. Most of the meal, packed into great casks, had been in salt water which made it doubly heavy. It had been immersed because

one of the ships struck upon a rock at the entering of the haven— and there was sunken three or four days together. And there discharged their goods in salt water whither I sent the hoy of Rochester for that which was saved, the which is come up in an ill pickle, but yet are we glad of it for our meal was almost done and our mills were not able to grind so fast as we did eat.

He reiterated to Baeshe and Wynter that the meal did not compare with that from London. It was coarse 'and was never bolted,' arriving as it came out of the mills. He had so little space for stowage that he had to keep provisions 'in tents at the waterside part,'

¹¹⁵Sum of the certificate to the lords...touching soldiers of Mr Gilbert's band that fled out of Ireland, c Mar. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 56).

unloading the ships gradually as he had space. He hoped to hear from them soon by the Hare or some other ship with food, for what he had

will not endure but for a little time and less time would a continued if our men had not died so many of them and daily do die. I pray God send health among us for at this present there is many of our men sick and weak... John Bayers the brewer is dead and Ironshed an brewer, and one of our millers is dead and three lieth sick at this present, God comfort us.

Although he was supposed to have regular money to make further provision and to pay the labourers he was having to pay them on a daily basis and had 'much ado' to get that.

One reason for his shortage of money was that William Sparrow, a servant of Randolph's, had delivered £ 500 left in his hands to Sidney, which decreased the amount of money available at Derry. In December the privy council requested that Randolph's account be taken, primarily to relieve his wife, and Sidney sent Sparrow back to Derry to collect all of the colonel's papers.¹¹⁶ Sidney himself had had to resort to cess again to secure supplies. In the previous May he had taken a cess in money of £ 220 16 s. 8 d. and in August he had cessed 154 beeves on the counties of the pale. In November the mobile army was cessed on the pale and Thomas Might, the victualler, was put in charge of a full scale cess on cos Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, King's co., Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary for the garrisons. A total of 532 beeves, 532 pigs, 3,000 pecks of wheat, 1,500 pecks of beermalt, 7,500 pecks of oats, and 3,000 pecks of oatmalt were to be purchased at cess prices.¹¹⁷ It was to be delivered at Leighlin, Naas, Trim, Athboy, Navan, and Dublin, and those who could not provide in kind were to pay money.¹¹⁸

The meal that Vaughan complained of may have been a part of the cess that Sidney had ordered to be gathered. Certainly the deputy was using Dublin merchants to secure supplies. He sent warrants to England for Christopher Sedgraves to be paid £ 1,191 16 s. 4 d.

¹¹⁶ Privy council to Sidney, 22 Dec. 1566, Sidney to the privy council, 28 Feb. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 75, 63/20, no. 40).

¹¹⁷ 22 May, 2 Aug., 4 Nov. 1566 (P.R.O.I., MS 2532, ff. 219, 229, 338).

¹¹⁸ 4 Nov. (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 168-9).

sterling for supplies for the garrison in the pale and £ 1,000 sterling to Nicholas Fitzsymon.¹¹⁹ He had begun to provide supplies for Derry before Christmas, and accounted in all¹²⁰ for £ 500 for Spanish and Gascoigne wine and bay sake, £ 72 for herring in 80 barrells, items delivered to Night, and £ 428 for broadclothe, kerse coarse linen for shirting, hats, shoes, and other necessities delivered to Night's deputy in Derry. In England Fitzwilliam noted these charges and £ 181 6 s. 8 d. owed to James Tyrrell, another Dublin merchant, for wine. Under pressure from Cecil the privy council provided for payments to Sedgrave, Fitzsymon, Paul, and Knight which came to £ 2,891 16 s. 4 d. in all.¹²¹

St Loe had not brought all of these supplies with him for as soon as he arrived in Derry he informed Sidney of his needs.¹²² Because of the sickness at Derry he asked for 250 more footmen, ten more horsemen, and thirty men for the brigandine. The poverty of the men there also struck him. A soldier had 14 s. a month of which his food cost 10 s. 2d., leaving 3 s. 10 d. for apparel, wood turf, bedding, straw, and other necessities, none of which could be had without money. The soldier also had to pay for shot, powder, and match. With beer at 40 s. a barrell and bread a penny a pound St Loe asked Sidney to consider a larger pay for 'it is needful against our next fortification to provide for the soldier's better relief.'

In England Symon Wheeler, the sergeant major at Derry, was given a commission¹²³ on the same day that St Loe wrote to Sidney to raise 100 soldiers who 'of their own good wills without compulsion shall be contented to go with him to serve in Ireland' and every local officer was ordered to assist him. Sidney was to decide whether the men so raised were to be paid as in Irish service from the time of leaving home or to be paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every mile they travelled to the seaside. In any case they were to be

¹¹⁹Sidney to Cecil, 26 Jan. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 18).

¹²⁰Petition to privy council, and particulars of Fitzsymon's supplies to Derry, c. Feb. 1567 (ibid., nos. 20, 34).

¹²¹17 Feb. 1567 (Acts privy council, 1558-70), notes of sums paid...to 17 Feb., Cecil to Sidney, 25 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, n's 33, 36)

¹²²13 Jan. (ibid., no. 6).

¹²³13 Jan. 1567 (Sidney S.P., no. 30).

paid in Ireland and used as replacements rather than with the 'further charges' of a new band. Wheeler was given 80 sterling for expenses and was to have 13 6 s. 8 d. as a reward, presumably if he raised the men.¹²⁴ He seems to have done so for eventually he surrendered his commission to Sidney. At the same time Sidney's own sergeant major, Nicholas Malby, was petitioning Cecil to secure him a life interest in that office.¹²⁵ There were possibilities for profit.

For the crown there were costs. Cecil told Sidney¹²⁶ that 'we find the people of the realm much repining to send soldiers as nowadays captains require them. No hundred are sent with less than 300 charges to the country.' He added that 'lack of money is the principal sickness in this court' and that it undid the best of councils. Elizabeth had countered Sidney's requests 'always...to have more money sent to you' with a demand for the exact figures necessary to make a full pay and sent Jenyson with £6,000 sterling 'which is all that conveniently might be now sent for that service.' On the other hand Baeshe and Wynter were to have funds to supply Derry for six more months beginning in January. Some of the supplies were 'already sent out of Lancashire and Cheshire as we be informed' and the rest would follow at weekly or monthly intervals.¹²⁷

She thanked Sidney for the restoration of O'Donnell and his other services. She confessed that she found it difficult to give a clear answer regarding the Scots. Alexander MacDonnell had served well against O'Neill and yet she agreed with Sidney that it would be best if no Scot were allowed to inhabit in Ireland. However, she was committed to dealing with O'Neill and she could not deal with them both without an enlarged army 'and to have also in readiness

¹²⁴Instructions for Symon Wheeler to be given to Sidney, 14 Jan.-(P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 7), 15 Jan. (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

¹²⁵Malby to Cecil, 22 Nov. 1566, 16 Jan. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P.Ire. 63/20, no. 10).

¹²⁶16 Jan. (ibid., no. 9).

¹²⁷Elizabeth to Sidney, 16 Jan. (Sidney S.P., no. 32).

some number of well ordered people to plant in those parts of the north, for the doing whereof a longer time ought to be taken both for provision of victuals and money.' For the present as few Scots as possible were to be allowed to come in and those that were there were to be kept from joining Shane. Alexander MacDonnell and whichever of his captains Sidney thought necessary were to be taken into wages. His request for a grant in the north was to be delayed by Sidney for as long as possible and she also suggested that some means might be used to make him quarrel with the Scots who were coming in after him 'which hath been likewise a common practice to stir up disobedient Irishmen, the one against the other, that the obedient countries might live more in quietness.' She wanted more detailed advice from Sidney than his general suggestion that they should be utterly expelled, which they well knew could not be done quickly. She did not know who possessed what areas,

For we would gladly understand who possesseth the Route, the Glynns, and Clondeboy, with the rest in those parts, and specially who possesseth the landing places betwixt Lough Foyle and Knockfergus, for we think those be the principal places by which the Scots make their entry into Ireland...We pray you presently to advertise us particularly of the state and strength of those countries and landing places, and what number of people might serve for the taking and keeping of the same, and with what mean charges the same might be.

She also intended to write to the queen of the Scots to prohibit her subjects going into Ireland as soon as she heard with answer Bedford had had on the same point when he was at court in Scotland.

Elizabeth pressed Sidney to send 'the best ancient rent' for the fishery of the Bann as she thought that those who wanted it would like a prompt answer in order to 'make provision against this next year's fishing,' and she gave him permission to make an interim grant of one year to cover that situation. Regarding the 100 light horsemen from the northern marches there were difficulties. Sidney wanted them as replacements and they would only go as groups under one 'of their own countrymen.' She also reminded him 'of a clause in William Pier's letter to yourself, now sent over hither, that he maketh a great accompt in reducing of the country about him if he had fifty horsemen in wages there besides the number that he hath.' If Sidney were agreeable those men could be sent directly from the west marches to Piers rather than to Dublin.

The matter had already been decided in part, for Lord Scroop was written to hold his fifty horsemen until spring, and not until the beginning of April were he and Forster empowered to settle what they should be paid and how they should be transported to Ireland.¹²⁸ Something of the same delay was used with Thomas Eliot, master gunner in Ireland since 1535, who was sent by Sidney in January with requests for equipment which had been first drafted in November.¹²⁹ Sidney wanted him to secure a hoy of forty tons for carrying victuals from Dublin to the garrisons in Ulster. 'I have willed Eliot to inform your lords of the burden of that vessal and what water she must draw to enter the barred havens upon this coast.'¹³⁰ In the Tower a memorandum was made of what had been sent to Ireland from Christmas 1564 to Christmas 1566, exclusive of the equipment Randolph had carried. In that period 2,000 shovels and spades had been sent. Against Sidney's requests were matched the supplies of the royal armory.

| Item | Request | In Tower |
|--------------------|---------|----------|
| Shovels and Spades | 500 | 560 |
| Sickles and hooks | 300 | 68 |
| Sythes | 50 | 132 |
| Felling axes | 100 | 3 |
| Hedging bills | 100 | 0 |
| Tenant saws | 10 | 4 |

For these and other items Sidney requested the cupboard was virtually bare and the point was made that such material would have to be purchased.¹³¹ Even that was not easy for it was discovered that felling axes were not to be had. Eliot was still gathering supplies in England in March.¹³²

From Derry St Loe reported that 'we have received some victuals out of England,' though he could not buy herring, which he would need for Lent. He had made a raid into O'Cahan's country, spoiling it and capturing 10,000 cattle and 700 garrons. With his needs in

¹²⁸ 15 Jan., 7 Apr. 1567 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

¹²⁹ 'Munitions for the lord deputy of Ireland,' 24 Nov. 1566 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/19, no. 61).

¹³⁰ Sidney to the privy council, 18 Jan. 1567, enclosing Eliot's needs, 24 Nov. 1566 (*ibid.*, 63/20, nos. 13, 13 III).

¹³¹ 'The proportion for Ireland...,' 15 Feb. 1567 (*ibid.*, 63/20, no. 31).

¹³² 5 Mar. (*op. cit.*)

food somewhat relieved he asked for supplies for the next fortification and carpenters and shipwrights for repairing boats. He raised his previous request for soldiers to 300 footmen and twenty horsemen.¹³³ To Cecil¹³⁴ Wilford expressed his concern for the long-expected kersies, hose, shirts, etc. that Randolph had requested 'for the relief of our poor soldiers in this miserable place. I think I may so justly term it for that the great weakness and extreme sickness our men are in doth make good proof thereof.' Yet his arguments buttressed Sidney's own faith in Derry and a winter war. The deputy was getting in the Irish lords and the O'Cahan's were in Derry. O'Neill's followers were falling away and 'our news and talk is here how Shane would gladly come in...'. If the queen followed 'her former enterprises here things will shortly take good success' but if she did not O'Neill would spring up again 'for they are in these parts so given to the spoil and so far from civility that longer than the sword is on their necks they will not be true subjects.'

Cecil was able to assure Sidney¹³⁵ that the supplies and men he had asked for were being arranged for. Baeshe and Wynter had £2,000 of the £2,800 for six month's supplies for Derry 'and they are charged and recharged to send good and better than was the last year, the evilness whereof grew by reason of long lying on the seas.' The Hare was equipped and in wages again for three months¹³⁶ and there were to be 250 soldiers at Chester by 22 March. 'All is done that can be that they shall be tall and proviseable (equipped) men.' Cecil noted that the 200 soldiers detained there were to be shipped straight to Derry.

The soldiers, gathered from several counties, were still at Chester in mid-April because of countrary winds. A few days later the privy council wrote to say that if they were not gone 'before the coming of Mr Gilbert' fifty of them were to go with him 'with

¹³³ Edward St Loe to Sidney, 8 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 28).

¹³⁴ 16 Feb. (ibid., no. 32).

¹³⁵ 25 Feb. (9b9d., no. 36).

¹³⁶ 'A charge for the Derry,' 14 Feb. (ibid., no. 30).

the next wind' he being commissioned 'to imprest and take up a number of able men in that county of Chester or other where that will willingly go with him.' At the same time they wrote to Sidney, explaining that Baeshe and Wynter understood by letters from Derry 'that there is no sufficient storage' for supplies and they had been ordered to send what could be stored and divert the rest to the deputy to be used as he thought best.¹³⁷ In February arrangements had been made¹³⁸ to send Vaughan some forty-eight small tents and their equipment as well as 20,000 brick and five tons of lime in an effort to solve his storage problems. He was also to have four dozen halters for horses to draw water and 5,000 pipe hoops and hogshead hoops as well as fish and meal in large amounts. The problem of supplying Derry had been alleviated.

Sidney left Kilmainham with 200 men on 27 January and began his trip to the south.¹³⁹ He went first

into Leix (now called the Queen's county) where I caused...a session to be held where there was such obedience showed and used as well of the soldiers and English there lately planted as of the Irishry there inhabiting as, considering the infancy of any good order in that country, was marvelled at by as many as saw it, and so was also the great increase of tillage that through quiet was there seen. There were executed sundry malefactors, and so quieting particular contentions between party and party I left that country in good and better order than I found it and departed to Kilkenny.

That passage must have given Elizabeth satisfaction for she had granted Sidney permission to charter 'the two principal market towns in Leix and Offaly' as he had requested in November.¹⁴⁰

Sidney also held sessions in Kilkenny at which Piers, the youngest brother of Ormond, was committed for a felony and then discharged on the grounds of his youth. Sidney next restored order in Upper Ossory, seizing two of the baron's younger sons who had been raiding Ormond's possessions, 'but surely it will never be

¹³⁷ 17 Apr., 26 Apr. 1567 (Acts privy council, 1558-70).

¹³⁸ Supplies 'wanting for the service at Derry,' c. Feb. (P.R. O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 21, where it is dated c. Jan.)

¹³⁹ Sidney to Elizabeth 20 Apr. (Collins, Sidney Letters, vol. 1, pt. ii, pp. 18-31).

¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth to Sidney, 16 Jan. (Sidney S.P., no. 32).

thoroughly well till the same be made shire ground...'. Sidney was pleased with the condition of Ely O'Carroll, where he recommended that the chief's request for surrender and regrant be allowed, but he found O'Meagher's country all waste and uninhabited, which was partly the work of the baron's sons and partly that of Ormond's younger brothers.

Sidney found further evidence of damage by Ormond's brothers in co. Tipperary where he spent two weeks. The principal contention there was between Ormond and Dunboyne 'for a captaincy of a third part of the same county' which had caused much injury. Piers Butler and his brothers kept 'excessive trains of horsemen and footmen...who rather consumed than defended the goods of the poor country.' MacBrien of Ogonagh and Fitzgibbon, the White Knight, had also made trouble as well as Desmond who had raided the territory of Ormond.

Sidney insisted that Elizabeth 'must plant (as I have often written and said) justice to be resident in those quarters,' where every honest man lamented St Leger's dismissal. She would also have to 'resume those liberties which the queen your sister granted to the Earl of Ormond' in Tipperary where he had 'a royal seignory as any subject that I know in Christendom hath but so misgoverned as it is too great a pity to behold.' He cited the plight of the three 'properly and well walled' towns of Clonmel, Cashel, and Fe thard, which were in the midst of an 'unmeasurable tract of land now waste and uninhabited which of late years was well tilled and pastured.' It was a grief to him to behold 'the depopulation of so many of your highness's subjects partly by slaughter, partly by banishment, and a great number through famine...with the subversion of so many villages, ruin of churches, and vacancy of any kind of ministry in the same...'. The three towns were under conditions of siege, without proper connexion with the countryside for trade which led Sidney to assert:

Madame, this is a matter of no small moment and consequence, for these towns..., wheresoever they be in this realm, are your highness's forts and garrisons and yet they cost you nothing the keeping of them but rather render unto you service and rent. They are in effect the only monuments of obedience and nurseries of civility in this country, to the overthrow of which all the tyrannous potentates and licencious subjects of this your realm apply their uttermost endeavour as the only obstacles against their outrageous devises.

Sidney had made a number of arrests in the south and said he would have done the same with Sir Edmund Butler and Patrick Sherlock if he could have found anyone else to take the government of Tipperary in hand, where he thought Ormond's officers were unfit to rule. Instead he had had to use them.

The deputy's next move was into co. Waterford where he also arrested Lord Power, partly for taking coyne and livery. He reiterated that justice must be continued if the county was to improve and when he reached Waterford at the end of February he gave authority to the sheriff, 'being an Englishman born and a right honest and wealthy citizen of that city,' to prosecute outlaws and felons. He informed Elizabeth that he intended to move westward 'to hear such proofs and witnesses as the Earl of Desmond could bring in for the defence of himself' which prompted her to reply¹⁴¹ that he should 'not need to be long about the trial thereof.'

While Sidney was at Waterford he also unburdened himself to Cecil while thanking the secretary for his much needed support.¹⁴² Sidney thought that O'Neill had never had a better friend than the one who advised the queen to send the deputy to the south but that the garrison established at Derry was helping to reduce the rebel, as Sidney always called Shane. The deputy was insistent that he must have the money and the men he had asked for by 1 June or he could not take the field and he was not satisfied with the queen's views on the Scots. If she would not send 'Englishmen by planting to keep out the Scots she shall have as much to do the next year with them as this year she hath and the last she had with the rebel.' Finally Sidney plumbed the depths of his discontent at the unspoken denial of a suit which he must have made to Elizabeth the previous November. His comments to Cecil are the only record which we have of an offer that must have coloured his outlook throughout the winter. He had requested the fee farm of all the abbey land in Connaught at a rent of £200, land from which she had never had any rent. He also wanted the castle of Athlone which

¹⁴¹ 3 Apr. (Sidney S.P. no. 37). Sidney's letter of 28 February to her does not survive.

¹⁴² 4 Mar. (P.R. O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 41).

cost her some £267 a year and which he would keep for nothing, walling the town as well and building a bridge at his own expense. 'In scorn of my fortune I smile at the denial to see that rather than my devise should take place the queen will willfully lose 700 marks a year, and worth more than 1,000 mark to her.' He assured Cecil that he had been determined to spend £3,000 of his own on the project 'and never to have won gain but fame. But...let this my suit die, yea, die may it eternally which is the judgment of this whole country in my opinion.' The rumour in Waterford was that Sidney was to be recalled which caused George Wyse to comment to Cecil that the proverb of the poor, who doted on Sidney, was being fulfilled that no man could continue long in Ireland if he meant to do the realm any good.¹⁴³

As he moved westward from Waterford Sidney's spirits recovered enough to consider Dungarvan worth repairing and to see Youghal as 'a very proper town and an indifferent good haven,' though much decayed lately. It was there that Sidney had a long debate with Desmond which seems to have completed the process of his disillusionment about the earl. He next moved into co. Cork which thoroughly impressed him and which he thought 'greater than all Yorkshire.' It's three walled towns, Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, were on the way to total ruin because the Spanish removed fish, flesh, hides, tallow, fell wool, yarn, and flax from other places. The inhabitants in return paid cash for what they bought, a drain in currency which would consume 'as much as England breedeth.' Justice was the only remedy 'and planting some civil people upon those barbarous places.' Sidney urged Elizabeth to consider and act for if he were advising Philip II he would argue that it was possible with 3,000 men and £20,000 either to take all Munster and Connaught from her by force or force her to use 20,000 men and £200,000 recovering and defending it.

In Sidney's journey through cos. Cork and Limerick he was impressed by the country, whose devastation he laid to Desmond and whose rule he now considered to be a blight. The crisis came at

¹⁴³8 Mar. (Cal. Salis. MSS, 13 - 1571, no. 1163).

Kilmallock, 'a good town and indifferently well walled,' after Desmond had bragged to Sidney that he would have 5,000 men by mid-summer and had tried to overawe Sidney's small force with a larger force of his own. There on 25 March he placed Desmond under arrest. Two days before Elizabeth had informed Sidney¹⁴⁴ in no uncertain terms that she considered Desmond's raids on Ormond a forfeiture of his bond of £20,000 to keep the peace, and that matters should be put to rights. On 3 April she informed Sidney that in addition to the more recent offences of Desmond there were

...the manifest proofs which have been produced against him...for the keeping and maintaining of the proclaimed rebels of the O'Concra and O'Mores and also the O'Byrnes and sundry others... immediately before the conflict betwixt him and the Earl of Ormond. We have heard Cahir O'Conor's confession freely made to our council here of his own being maintained by the said earl and of a great number of his brethern and friends...

She considered the evidence incontrovertable and wanted the matter dealt with quickly. As soon as possible Sidney was to arrest Desmond. The deputy did not receive the letter until 6 May and he carefully noted on it that the arrest preceded the writing of the letter by ten days and his receiving it by forty-six days.¹⁴⁵

The arrangements Sidney made for governing the shires of Cork, and Limerick, and the liberty of Kerry, were more open to criticism by Elizabeth. He commissioned John of Desmond, Andrew Skyddy, and the Leix planter Henry Davells, 'an old soldier in this land and an honest discreet gentleman,' and a month later considered that they were carrying out their duties well.¹⁴⁶ He wanted Desmond summoned to England and charged by Luke Dillon, Nicholas White, Sir Thomas Cusack, and Edward Fitzsymons, all lawyers and without partiality to Desmond. At the very least the liberty of Kerry should be taken from him as it was the root of the trouble in Munster.

Sidney then moved through the town of Limerick, much struck by how much it had decayed since he saw it in Mary's reign, and then through Thomond to Galway. He thought it 'rather to resemble a town of war fronttering upon an enemy than a civil town in a country under one sovereign.' Elizabeth must have found his letter trying

¹⁴⁴ 23 Mar. (Sidney S.P., no. 34). He received the letter on

30 May ¹⁴⁵ Ibid., no. 37.

¹⁴⁶ Sidney to Elizabeth, 20 Apr. (op. cit.)

reading for it was throughout an eloquent but bold lecture to her.

He spoke next of

a great and an ancient town in Connaught called Athenry where I was offered a pitiful and lamentable present, namely the keys of the town, not as to receive them of me again as all other accustomedly do, but for me still to keep or otherwise dispose at my pleasure, inasmuch as they were so impoverished by the extortion of the lords about them as they were no longer able to keep that town. The town is large and well walled and it appeareth by matter of record there hath been in it three hundred good householders. And since I knew this land there was twenty and now I find but four, and they poor, and as I write ready to leave their place. The cry and lamentation of the poor people was great and pitiful, and nothing but thus: succour, succour, succour.

He warned Elizabeth that other towns would go the same way. In his conclusions he stressed that he had found no one in either of the two provinces 'sufficiently qualified for the reformation thereof...'. Ormond was an absentee, Desmond 'a man both void of judgment to govern and will to be ruled.' He had even less esteem for the Earl of Thomond and though he acknowledged that Clanricarde's country was 'in good quiet, universally well tilled and manured' he thought the earl did not command sufficient respect and was ruled by his wife. The only remedy for the two provinces was justice administered by presidents and councils.

But if that cowardly policy be still allowed of to keep them in continual dissention for fear lest through their quiet might follow I wot not what, then mine advice to your majesty both is and shall be to withdraw me and all charge here. In mine opinion as little dishonourable were it totally to abandon it as without obedience to seem to govern it. And so far hath that policy (or rather lack of policy) in keeping dissention amongst them far prevailed as now, albeit all that are alive would become honest and live in quiet, yet are there not left alive in those two provinces, the twentieth person necessary to inhabit the same.

Sidney returned by way of Athlone, reaching Dublin on 16 April. In Leinster and Meath not a cow had been stolen, thanks to the keeping of Kildare. In the north the net was being closed on O'Neill whose only footing now was in Tyrone. 'All Clandeboy is wholly at your majesty's devotion. The Glynnns, the Ard, the Dufferin, and Lecale are now possessed by the right and ancient owners and ready at your majesty's commandment.' So were Tyrconnell, Fermanagh, and O'Cahan's country.¹⁴⁷

Derry had given the English government many anxious moments. On 11 March¹⁴⁸ Cecil suggested that Sidney should check the

¹⁴⁷Sidney to Elizabeth, 20 Apr. (op. cit.).

¹⁴⁸P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 44.

efficiency of its victualling where he heard that they had had nothing but what Sidney had sent them since the end of January. He was also told that the soldiers there were wasteful of their food and that Vaughan had no knowledge how many victuallers there were. Cecil expressed the hope that the queen of Scots and Argyll would fulfill their promise to keep the Scots out of the north. He saw them as more dangerous than O'Neill 'both because they are people of more valiantness and are to be increased by a foreign prince, and lastly because they possess the seacoast whereby they hold as it were the keys of her majesty's realm...'. Until her own servants or subjects possessed the coastline he would not be easy about that part of the realm. He stressed, however, to Sidney that at court 'our great want is money for necessary causes' and he saw no improvement. The expenses were too much for the queen.

Three days later Winchester, and Baeshe and Wynter had word from Derry that they now had enough food but not enough storage for it. Winchester put it to Sidney that with St Loe's consent a good many of them should be moved to the Bann where they 'shall have stowage and harbourage and a near passage of their victuals unto them.'¹⁴⁹ Winchester had had experience in victualling a military force overseas in the war in France from 1544 to 1546,¹⁵⁰ and thus his views expressed to Sidney are of some interest. Three days later he urged Sidney again to put some of the Derry garrison at the Bann and if he would 'send certain men with two barques and two sharp pieces of ordnance of brass to Strangford Haven you shall soon take the same; and disappoint Shane O'Neill from that strength and from his passage...and therefore I pray you forget it not.' It would be an easier place to reach with victuals.¹⁵¹

Backed up by Baeshe Winchester returned to his argument again a few days later.¹⁵² Forty more men had been sent to Derry from

¹⁴⁹15 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 46).

¹⁵⁰'Winchester' entry, Complete Peerage.

¹⁵¹17 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 48).

¹⁵²26 Mar. (ibid., no. 54).

Liverpool and the news that came back was bad. Death there was such 'by reason of the cold weather and of the infection of the place, being a churchyard where all their burial is', that the garrison was 'not able to make 300 men of service' and there was still no place to store victuals. 'And we be informed the men do lie in caves ready to die everyday. The wood and water is so tedious to carry that men be loath to go for it...'. They suggeste that it would be better to kill the band waiting to go to Derry at Liverpool, thus sparing the costs.

O'Neill was getting in large numbers of Scots, placing them at the Bann and Strangford Haven, and holding Piers down at Carrickfergus as well as the garrison at Derry where they would soon not be able 'to help themselves, neither with wood, water, nor victual, nor yet the one repair to the other without force'. They urged again the move to the Bann and especially to Strangford, of whose strategic importance they were so convinced that they argued that Sidney could not win without it in the summer of 1567. Their information was that O'Neill was expecting 5,000 more Scots though they distrusted that enough not to report it to the council or the queen until they had heard from Sidney.

Winchester next informed Sidney¹⁵³ that a new rumour was that O'Neill was expecting men and ships from the French king. He promised that with victory in the north he would support Sidney in every way that he needed to put the country to rights.

And forasmuch as the prosperous end of this journey will bring the country bare of people, spare the slaughter of the poor as much as you may and take to your tuition so many as seeketh to you for submission, for so shall you preserve their lives and their service and have the less cause of a large provision for the increase of habitation.

Winchester was no advocate of wholesale colonization.

The privy council had been alarmed at the discovery of O'Neill's contact with Argyll and with 'young O'Donnell', who was reported to be ready 'to betray the English force'. They wanted Sidney

¹⁵³4 April (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 61).

to notify St Loe and the draft of the letter was endorsed as 'written upon the news of the fray happened at the Derry,' an event about which nothing else is recorded.¹⁵⁴ The draft also noted other points made to Sidney about the north:

The Scots not thought meet to inhabit there nor yet presently to be expelled till the rebel be first extirped. And then afterward Englishmen to be planted there.

To consider what Englishmen serving in that land were meet to be planted there and for alluring them thereunto to give them entertainment for certain soldiers to remain for defending them for a year or more or less, and thereafter to yeild a rent of a fifth or sixth part.

In case there be not sufficient number of English to inhabit there then the lord deputy's discretion is to allure others out of England...

Such of the Scots as now serve the queen to be licenced hereafter to inhabit in the inner parts of the land.

They also told Sidney that the way to get a president for Munster was to select one 'according to the queen's mind' and several names had been submitted to her for that purpose.

While the privy council was considering plantation in the north Elizabeth had been considering costs,

...the sundry payments made out of our treasure within the space of less than these twelve months...amounting to a good deal above £ 40,000 sterling, whereof we find a good portion to grow...by certain merchants who come hither at times unlooked for with your letters requiring very speedy payment.

She admonished Sidney¹⁵⁵ to inform her how the money was spent, what she owed in Ireland, and what results could be expected from large expenditure.

One result became evident at court on Friday, 9 May, when John Bland, an assistant of Vaughan's, arrived from Derry. Cecil had complained to Sidney¹⁵⁶ that 'it were good that we might hear' from there two days after the disaster which Bland had to report. At Derry on 21 April 'a fire happened in a smith's forge within the fort which by the great wind so increased, as it burned all the buildings of the forts and forced the colonel with all the people to flee to the ships and boats.' Efforts to stop the fire were in vain, all the buildings and the supplies on land being

¹⁵⁴ Extract from privy council to Sidney, 3 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 60).

¹⁵⁵ 23 Mar. (Sidney S.P., no. 34).

¹⁵⁶ 23 Apr. (ibid., no. 67).

destroyed, and 'thirty soldiers were slain with the fire lighting into the powderhouse.' Captain Gurley was so injured by a stone from the explosion that his leg had to be amputated.¹⁵⁷ The horsemen were sent overland to Sidney and those in ships made for Carrickfergus. Of them forty-five were driven ashore near Port Skerries where Turlogh Lenagh O'Neill had a castle. In March St Loe had lent him thirty English soldiers so that he now had seventy-five and had shown great kindness to the shipwrecked.¹⁵⁸

According to Cecil Elizabeth 'perceiving it not to come of treason but by God's ordinance, beareth it well and is willing to accord to supply of that which may hereby be wanting.' Her response was no doubt that fortitude in adversity which she displayed but she probably also viewed the event as a providential delivery from what had become a boundless expense. At least half of the expenditure of which she had complained to Sidney had gone to establish Derry and it was only a beginning of what would have been necessary to sustain it as a centre of plantation.

¹⁵⁷Cecil to Leicester, 9 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 77)

¹⁵⁸Privy council to Sidney, 12 May (*ibid.*, no. 83).

CHAPTER XVII

PROPOSALS FOR THE NORTH
1567

Sidney had asked repeatedly that Fitzwilliam be returned to Ireland and on 25 April Cecil informed him that with Knolles, Sadler, and Mildmay he had finished the work of the commission on Fitzwilliam's 'matters of check'. The vice-treasurer was commanded to go but Cecil found 'he is loath to depart.'¹ The commission had advised Elizabeth, 'who hath also made resolution of the same checks...'. They considered that John Bryan, the sub-constable of Athlone, 'whom he did put his whole trust in,' had caused most of Fitzwilliam's liabilities, though he had been put under a heavy recognizance which they hoped Sidney would relieve.²

The queen was more specific. Fitzwilliam had been charged by Arnold and his commission with checks of £927 3 s. 10 d. of that total and the difficulties involved in re-examining the remaining £393 4 s. 10 d. made Fitzwilliam submit the judgment to her. She ruled that he was to be liable for half of it and so owed her £730 11 s. 8 d. for the ward of Athlone. She allowed him the wages of the twenty horsemen and twenty footmen to which his patent as vice-treasurer entitled him, 'without any diminution or check...'.³ By the end of April Fitzwilliam was on his way back to Ireland⁴ where Jenyson, the auditor, was estimating that by 24 June the queen's 'just debt' would amount to £30,000 sterling. Such money as Sidney possessed had been spent for supplies and until a full pay could be made he could not make any important moves.

In addition to dispatching Fitzwilliam the English government from Elizabeth downwards had been examining the affairs of

¹Cecil to Sidney, 11 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 44)

²Knolles, Cecil, and Mildmay to Sidney, 8 Apr. (ibid., no. 62).

³Elizabeth to Sidney, 25 Mar. (Sidney S.P., no. 35).

⁴Cecil to Sidney, 23 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 67)..

the O'Conor family. The thing that had brought Cahir O'Conor before the privy council on 28 March had been the sending of a pardon to Cormac O'Conor in Scotland as he had asked the summer before. Cormac announced that he was on his way to court and that he was ready 'to obey and serve your majesty all the days of my life...!'.⁵ As an earnest of his intention he also sent a letter which he had received from O'Neill. Though in Irish the letter was accompanied by a translation made in Scotland and then another was made at court. Elizabeth, the linguist, took possession of the Irish original, of which the English translation omitted the final sentence.⁶ O'Neill assured Cormac that he was safe and well 'and what harm the Englishmen have done unto me I have done them thrice so much for it.' He had heard that O'Conor had been pardoned by Elizabeth and suggested that he should remember how it had fared with his ancestors. Shane wanted Cormac to come to him for 'I will well assist you to get back your patrimoney and I promise you I will never make peace nor truce with any son of an Englishman living till you shall possess your own lands with all you ought of right to have.' Further, any of the Irish who had harmed him before would now repay him with twice as much good 'for hatred of Englishmen.' John of Desmond, O'Carroll, the sons of Murrough O'Brien, Hugh mcShane O'Toole and many others besides neighbours to Cormac's own country were 'with myself...for this war.' He then added that 'no earl or any other lord that is loyal to the English wishes to do me any evil in the world because they believe that if Englishmen overcome me that they should do suchlike to them again and put Englishmen in their stead.'

Despite his claims the war was not going well for O'Neill.

⁵Cormac O'Conor to Elizabeth, 12 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 45).

⁶O'Neill to O'Conor, brought from Scotland 20 Mar. (ibid., no. 49), English translation (ibid., no. 50), Scottish translation, ibid., no. 51).

Not even the destruction of Derry loosened the net that was being drawn around him. O'Donnell expressed his grief to Sidney at that event⁷ and it was the deputy's own intention to rebuild there if O'Donnell was 'able to make head against Shane' and Elizabeth would 'build upon Lough Foyle.' Early in May O'Donnell gave O'Neill a crushing defeat near Letterkenny when Shane was on a raid in Tyrone. At the same time that Sidney asked for clarification on Derry he also asked 'what shall be done for the planting of men in the province of Ulster, for... if it shall so stand with the queen's...pleasure he desireth authority from hence.' A little later he asked for an adequate person to take charge of the government during his absence in the field, either Knolles or Sir James Croft.⁸

Humphrey Gilbert had sent the 200 men to Derry from Chester on 2 May⁹ and the following day the privy council was arranging that a complete brewhouse and other equipment and supplies as well as fifty craftsmen be sent to Derry and that Vaughan be replaced by John Bland.¹⁰ It was Bland who brought the news of Derry's destruction and the place the supplies were to go to was changed to Carrickfergus two days after his arrival, when new and tightened regulations for the new surveyor of the victuals were made final.¹¹ The new supply of six month's food was dated from 22 April 'at which time the army at the Derry came to Knockfergus...' and in addition to the usual items included were 500 pounds of rice, 4 barrells of honey, 500 pounds of prunes and 500 pounds of rasins. Provision was to be made at Liverpool, which had become the supply port, for brick and hard stone for a new oven at Carrickfergus 'to bake six quarters at a time.' Six ships and hoys of seventy tons

⁷28 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/20, no. 69).

⁸Two letters by Sidney, not now extant, of 6 May, 12 May (ibid., no. 87).

⁹Gilbert to Cecil, 2 May (ibid., no. 72).

¹⁰Order of privy council, 3 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 73), covering 'provisions to be sent to Knockfergus in Ireland' (ibid., no. 70).

¹¹11 May (ibid., no. 80, 81).

each were hired for three months for transport.¹² The fifty craftsmen sent included 25 mariners, 3 shipwrights, 3 carpenters, 3 cooperers, 3 brewers, 2 millers, 2 bakers, 1 mason, 1 tiler, and 7 labourers. Among the new regulations for Bland was one 'that the labourers going into the woods to make provision may be defended and guarded,' which must have been one of the hazards at Derry. Flesh was to be secured in Ireland and Cecil¹³ was beginning to calculate that even grain was cheaper there.

The nextday the privy council sent two copies of a letter to Sidney,¹⁴ one by Chester and the other by Bristol, in an effort to get their views to him before they had his. Sidney would have to decide how to overcome the accident as all they know was his general plan to expulse O'Neill that spring, but he was still the enemy and there should be no delay. Derry should either be recovered as an important base or a second and better site should be used. The queen's native allies, Irish and Scots, were to be 'animated and encouraged' that the mishap had not altered her intentions for 'the reformation of the rebel for she 'is nothing dismayed therewith but well minded to continue her former purpose...'. The phrase was partly Cecil's and the whole letter was heavily corrected by him as the italicised portions below indicate. Until Elizabeth heard from Sidney supplies were to be built up quickly at Carrickfergus and every effort was being made to make the loss good.

The privy council understood that it was so important that a place be taken on the Bann that even if Derry had been kept they had expected Sidney to take some place on the river 'in the beginning of this summer.' They had so decided

rather by consideration of the plot of Ireland than by any certainty of knowledge we have of the aptness of the places. For as we see Knockfergus well situate for transportation of men and victual thither out of England, though some of us think it not a place meet to rest upon with a garrison to offend Shane, and imagine the country betwixt it and Lough Neagh, by means of Belfast and other castles being recovered, to be in surety for the queen. There might be, by reason of that lough

¹²'A bill of provisions...', 11 May (ibid., no. 79).

¹³Estimate of prices (ibid., no. 82).

¹⁴12 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 83).

and the river of the Bann, great commodity to cause a garrison lying at Knockfergus and another upon some other place of the month of the Bann in short time to recover obedience to her majesty of most part of that country upon the seaside, and also, by means and length of that lough extending as it should seem many miles westward, there might be great commodity also for such garrison as you should place betwixt the Newry and the Lough to do great service, and specially to cut off the rebel from any aid of such as inhabit the countries to the seaside as Clandeboy, the Dufferin, Killultach, and such others.

They also thought that O'Donnell could be maintained in the war against O'Neill, and gave as one reason that at the overthrow of Shane's galloglas in the battle in which Randolph had been killed many of his followers had left him, principally Turlough Luineach. That information, they asserted, had not come from either Sidney or St Loe, implying that the government had other sources for happenings in the north.

St Loe was to have Piers and Browne spare all the room they could in Carrickfergus castle and abbey for storing provisions, and timber was being sent for that purpose.¹⁵ Vaughan was ordered home and told to bring a complete record of what the queen owed at the time of the fire, though he, true to his misgivings of the winter before, was a dying man.¹⁶ Winchester sympathised with Sidney about the loss of Derry but referred him to his own earlier letters and backed the collective opinion of the privy council.¹⁷ The next day Cecil's expression was that Sidney must make the best of the loss.¹⁸ Throughout there is an air that Elizabeth was glad to be relieved of Derry and that her council supported her. Whatever plans Sidney had had for it would have to be realized elsewhere.

Sidney himself had advanced to the north and entered Tyrone on 20 May.¹⁹ Two days before Alexander oge MacDonnell and his forces had landed in the Glynnns and he informed Sidney that he

¹⁵Privy council to St Loe, (12 May), (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 84).

¹⁶Privy Council to Vaughan, c. 12 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, no. 85). Vaughan was dead before 17 June.

¹⁷12 May (ibid., no. 86).

¹⁸13 May (ibid., no. 88).

¹⁹Thomas Lancaster to Cecil, 31 May (ibid., no. 97).

too was ready to enter Tyrone.²⁰ O'Donnell was doing the same from the west and Shane, in desperation since his defeat, set Con O'Donnell and his brother free in an effort to relieve the pressure from that quarter. Surrounded as he was O'Neill made one last attempt to recover his position. He considered that the Scots had come to Ireland at his invitation and he now went to them in an effort to enlist their aid. Alexander was the brother of James and Sorley boy and after three days of parley the Scots explained all the causes of their enmity to Shane.²¹ They then 'cut and hewed him' to pieces. It was 'towards night' of Monday, 2 June. The war with Shane was over. Fitzwilliam had been in Ireland since 17 May and it fell to him to send Cecil the news.²² With Desmond in prison and Turlough Lineach 'looked unto in time Ireland standeth so quiet as I believe no time for one hundred years past was more, for at this day generally there is no stir nor likelihood of stir...' Once Fitzwilliam had passed his account he thought that 'either very little or nothing will be for me to serve about in Ireland.

It was a while before Shane's death was known at court where Cecil had not had any news from Sidney since he left Waterford at the end of February.²³ It was anticipated that he would be some time in Ulster, moving to Derry and further west. Winchester urged Cecil²⁴ that Sidney should have the thousand men he asked for from 1 July to 1 November and that he should well receive all those who submitted.

And that in all this time I would have no leases granted nor no man's suit determined till it might have consideration by a full council and the queen's...assent, and so will it appear what shall be best for justice, for commonwealth, for obedience, and for taking away of all exactions, and for increasing of people for the queen's most strength, as thereby no one man shall be seen to have too much whereof many times disorder groweth.... Thinking surely for the best to attain

²⁰20 May (ibid., no. 93).

²¹A.F.M. Entry for 1567.

²²10 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 8).

²³Cecil to Sidney, 22 May (ibid., 63/20, no. 94).

²⁴29 May (ibid., no. 96).

the end of this matter with quietness is to use no vigor, as near as may be, but only to those that showeth themselves ill against the queen. For this way the people will take comfort and fall in no dispair.

Elizabeth was soon discussing the same points with Cecil for Sidney had written to her asking if she would press the extirpation of Shane and 'plant dutiful subjects in Ulster,' and giving his own advice on 'what is to be done presently this year from time to time...! On 2 June she received word from Sidney of O'Donnell's defeat of O'Neill on 12 May.²⁵ It prompted her to answer Sidney that 'we covet nothing more in that behalf than to hear certainly of the extirpation of Shane O'Neill.'²⁶ That would raise other problems, including Turlough Luineach, the O'Donnell's, and the Scots. She needed specific information on the problems of plantation in Ulster and while she intended to have Sidney in charge of such an undertaking she thought he should confer with Humphrey Gilbert, then in Ireland, and who, she heard

knowing the meaning of sundry gentlemen of good accompt in his country (the west of England) that presently are given to be at charges (with our assent) to levy good numbers of men to repair to those north parts of Ireland, there to serve us, and to take the possession of some parts of lands there, to hold them in some estate of inheritance, and thereby to plant themselves and their company being of English birth, to continue in habitation there, yielding to us both due obedience and reasonable yearly revenue. After which conference had with him in secret manner with regard had therein to our least charge and most surety we would have you to give us advertisement of your opinion.

Cecil had added the phrase about secrecy and the passages below marked in italics. Elizabeth suggested that there were to ways to lease the fisheries of the Bann, both involving fortification there, and she asked Sidney's advice. He had proposed paying off several companies of soldiers 'if we should not mean a present planting of any greater number in that part of Ulster, which we do purposely mean to have executed,' as soon as she had his detailed advice. She wanted to know 'in what sort we shall send any thither, what countries there are to be taken and kept by English people, and what be the names of the countries, the ports, the castles, and suchlike,' and what the

²⁵'Memorial for the affairs of Ireland,' notes for a letter by Elizabeth to Sidney, early June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 12).

²⁶Elizabeth to Sidney, 11 June, draft (ibid., no. 10), original (Sidney S.P., no. 44).

most reduced costs would be. She assured Sidney that she would act when she had such information, 'for in planting and stablishing of our people in countries to have perpetuity we cannot suddenly nor without good information resolve, and yet knowing that the execution hereof requireth also expedition we shall omit no opportunity to yield to all reasonable devices.'

The last idea led her to suggest that if 'some skillful person' could make a better map of Ulster than she had it would help her in following Sidney's report. After more reflection on plantation in Ulster she was prompted to ask what parts of it belonged to her as part of the earldom of Ulster or as part of any other title, 'and what be the other parcels that have been the possessions of others, Irish or English, and yet holden by them of us by any kind of service and rent, for we think in conscience distinction may be made thereof though the whole may come to us now by conquest.'

A great deal of what was a very long letter was taken up with problems raised by Sidney's trip through the south and west, surrender and regrant, the Spaniards, and above all the earls of Ormond and Desmond. Elizabeth lectured Sidney for having lectured her and proceeded to point out some of his own failings. She reiterated her dislike of St Leger for the presidency of Munster and ended by suggesting Sir George Stanley instead. She also noted the anomaly of arresting Desmond and then making his brother John 'a principal commissioner' for the government of the province. The tone was such that Cecil stressed to Sidney²⁷ that 'contrary to all our opinions and requests that be your friends' she had written 'more roundly' than he deserved or than she really meant. The next day Leicester gave her the good news of Shane's death which changed her mind about Sidney and produced 'so many good words passed towards him this day as for recompense of all the sorrowful storms he hath suffered...'.²⁸ Cecil expressed the same views though

²⁷11 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 13).

²⁸Leicester to Cecil, 12 June (ibid., no. 14).

he was sorry to see Turlogh Luineach in Shane's place. 'For my part I had rather he had a barony in England than two knight fees in Ireland,' a viewpoint he supposed Sidney shared. He added that the news that the queen owed £41,000 in Ireland had stunned them. A preliminary £10,000 was being sent to be followed by more.²⁹

Winchester assured Sidney that the sum 'was hard to be gotten,' though he wanted him to occupy all the ports in the north around to Sligo and to erect councils in three provinces. The marquess, who was the old, old man of Elizabeth's government and could remember the days of Henry VII, was warm in his praises of Sidney and hoped that he would live as long also 'for then shall you see more than any man could see these 500 years.'³⁰

With his letters of 2 June Sidney had sent Ralph Knight to explain certain details which he had not written.³¹ Before lands were granted in Ulster they ought to be surveyed and he wanted Valentine Browne sent to Ireland for that work. Certain places there ought to be fortified -- Newry, Strangford, Carrickfergus, Coleraine, and the Bann -- and 'where the Newry being newly fortified is the most apt place for service to be a defence to the border.' Sidney thought it ought to be purchased from Bagenal or an exchange of lands made for it. Bagenal 'demandeth for it £3,000,' which was fifteen year's purchase. Two weeks later he sent Sir Francis Agard to court with his expanded ideas of what to do.³² He thought that there ought to be forts in O'Donnell's country if the queen was going to have obedience but since the year was well along he gave Derry, Armagh, and Carrickfergus as the places to be fortified and said he would defend his choices when he came to England. He also asked for bedding and cloths for the garrison that was to remain in Ulster.

²⁹15 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 19).

³⁰20 June, 24 June (Ibid., nos. 24, 28).

³¹Ibid., no. 20.

³²'A note of the chiefest matters contained in the lord deputy's letters,' probably of 17 June (Ibid., no. 48).

Sidney defended his handling of the Irish: 'To keep the O'Neill's from combination nothing can work a better effect than to give Turlough Luineach a dignity and superiority above the rest.' He proposed three ways to keep the Scots out: to make a proclamation that 'no Scot remain in Ireland nor come in hereafter without safe conduct,' to gather in all the cattle in the north, and 'to keep shipping upon the coast all this winter.' the implication was that if the three things were enforced Scottish colonization would be blocked. As one alternative he proposed 'some of the protestants that are come out of Flanders to be planted in Ireland.'

The rest of the government in Ireland wrote to Elizabeth³³ to congratulate her on what Sidney had accomplished in a year and a half and to press her on the need to establish her courts of justice in Ireland

for otherwise as experience teacheth the offenders will turn to their old vomit and so new trouble and charges will begin which we beseech your majesty for Christ's sake to prevent.... For it is not your...laws exercised within your English pale that ever did or can rule this your whole realm, for if the council in Wales or in the north of England be necessary one thousand times more needful and expedient (are) sundry councils and regiments by your highness' appointment within this realm.

In England Winchester was pursuing exactly the same argument with Cecil.³⁴ He further proposed that Agard should be used to 'sort Munster into the quarters the same is now divided in' and Connaught and Ulster as well with a listing of all the lords and gentlemen in them. Waste ground should be reserved to the crown 'and to all the commoners in every quarter a rate to be set in form of a fifteenth' to be cast upon 'every acre or every yardland' in such fashion that it was no oppression to the people 'for otherwise they will ever break loose for fear of a conquest, for thereof they love not to hear.' Properly handled he thought it would bring the queen a yearly rent of £ 30,000. The leases which had been made under value by the commissioners of 1540 should be restored to full value, a source of loss to the crown ever since they had been made.

³³28 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/21, no. 34).

³⁴28 June (ibid., no. 33).

He thought Sidney was right to discharge 1,000 soldiers and he reminded Cecil³⁵ that the deputy should be given a fresh supply of money in August or September. Cecil informed him of the 'good inclination' of Elizabeth and others of her council for Ireland. Winchester replied that he would be glad when it was in order 'for I have looked with you long for order there' and thought it was never more likely 'if temporal proceedings and secret council be well followed.'³⁶

In her next letter to Sidney³⁷ Elizabeth gave him warm thanks for his services at its beginning and ended it by saying that a second £10,000 was being sent to him to be used in paying off and discharging soldiers. She and Cecil had both conferred with Agard and were somewhat more clear about Sidney's plans though she indicated that an answer to her letter of 11 June would clarify matters further. Cecil had noted that someone was to be sent to make a map of Ireland and the letter which he helped to draft was a renewed request for specific information.

Elizabeth had become quite clear about the Scots. Sidney was to reward Alexander oge Mac Donnell and his men as he had promised to do and even more handsomely, but he was to use force if necessary to return them to Scotland, where internal troubles made it likely that they would have support. Scots who were the descendants of several generations of settlers in Ireland, whose service she appreciated, she left to Sidney's discretion, 'wishing...that the havens and strengths of those countries, with some territories thereto adjacent, were in the hands and power of Englishmen and some reasonable rents or tributes were accessed upon the same Scots toward the maintenance of such as should be planted upon the said havens and strenghts...'. She allowed Sidney the shipping he had asked for to patrol the coasts.

Elizabeth felt that as the 'new come Scots' could not be kept out of the Glynnns, the Route, or other places except

³⁵30 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 36).

³⁶1 July (ibid., no. 40).

³⁷6 July (Sidney S.P., no. 42).

by keeping of garrisons there to our continual charge or else by planting the seacoast of the same with English subjects, we do very well allow of your opinion declared to us by Agard that some gentleman of good houses within our realm here may be induced to come over with their own tenants and friends and to have assigned unto them such portions of territories there as, yielding for the same some small rent at the beginning with an increase reasonable after some years passed, they may be encouraged to plant themselves with their friends there and so by continuance of time to stablish those countries with English birth and government.

These things could not be done until the areas in question had been surveyed and described, which Sidney had promised to do in a journey he would make before the end of July. After it he was to advise her 'what number of families and habitations will be requisite' and any other details that would help her to understand the problem. He was also to arrange with any of the English in Ireland or that he knew of in England for the settlement of the north. "And where divers seem desirous here of the like we will address them either by themselves or by their sufficient messengers to confer with you...". She cited Gilbert and the group he spoke for as an example of such people.

Sidney wanted to disperse some of the garrison to forts in the north which would ultimately be delivered 'to such English gentlemen as shall be placed there to inhabit.' Elizabeth wanted specific details about the costs of both the garrisons and the construction involved. Sidney's suggestions had included Newry and Strangford, and Coleraine and Toome at either end of the Bann from Lough Neagh with a fort between at Masseryn (an abbey near Lough Neagh). There he would allot the fishery of the Bann and the loughs to those who held the forts, the siting of which Elizabeth insisted should be by 'good deliberation used aforehand... to all respects hereafter requisite.' She could see her expenses mounting in such an arrangement.

Having disposed of the seacoast the queen plunged inland to give her opinion of what should be done with the territory of Tyrone, which she 'would be glad to have had...made free from any captaincy of Irish and specially from the committing thereof to any of the family of the O'Neills.' Since the deputy felt that

accepting Turlogh Luineach's submission was a necessity of the moment she thought he should be made a baron of Ireland 'or some like estate' and tied down by definite limitations of holding, tenure, and dues. Since his holding was all north or Armagh she thought that Hugh O'Neill, now baron of Dungannon, should be placed 'in the south part of Tyrone on this side Armagh' under the same conditions. The land immediately around Armagh was to be reserved for a president and council which with a garrison was to be resident there. Sidney was to supply the details of its costs and establishment.

In general Elizabeth approved the practice of surrender and regrant in the north and had written letters of thanks to those Irish captains who had assisted in Shane's defeat but Sidney was to expell those he thought deserved it 'and th bestow their lands upon better subjects, either English or Irish. And that generally it be observed that where you shall place any Englishmen to inhabit that they be, either by strength of the place or by number, enabled to withstand the practice of the Irish.'

Cecil assured Sidney³⁸ on the same day that he was 'earnestly disposed to assist your lordship in any service that I can...' not only in England but

so I am well disposed, with the queen's...favour, to come and attend upon you in that land, which though it may seem strange yet both do I mean it earnestly and think surely her majesty's service might take good thereof for your comfort and satisfaction, whom I see daily traversed with uncertainty of resolutions upon conjectures, whereof her majesty might be dissundered by sending some of trust with full resolution.

The queen had not forbidden the journey but Cecil thought it doubtful enough to suggest instead that Sidney sould come to England at the end of the summer. Sidney was of the same mind³⁹ for he had things to say which he could not write. He also felt that there was something mysterious about Sussex's never being absent from court. In fact Sussex had left England on an embassy to Vienna on 29 June.

³⁸6 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 50).

³⁹Sidney to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 7 July (ibid., no.51).

Irish business was under discussion at court during July. Knolles thought⁴⁰ Gilbert should be made president of the council of Ulster 'if he joining with his friends of the west will plant habitation there of Englishmen...'. Such of the 1,000 men being discharged as were 'good husbandmen, ploughwrights, carwrights, and smiths' should be persuaded 'either to take habitation if they be able or else to stay and serve there under such gentlemen as shall inhabit there.' As soon as possible it should be arranged for 'artizans and sea fishers to plant upon the Bann, at Strangford, and at Lough Foyle, entrenching themselves there, that after they may grow to be haven towns.'

Elizabeth had informed Sidney⁴¹ that a complaint had been made from the Low Countries that Stukely had bought stolen goods from a pirate. The matter was to be dealt with 'and surely we marvel that Stukely would have such boldness...'. Sidney had evidently proposed that Stukely replace Heron at Ferns and Leighlin Bridge for Cecil warned him⁴² that she did not like the idea of Stukely holding any office in Ireland, especially Captain Heron's. Her attention was being given again to the report of Arnold's commission and she wanted information on the costs of Heron's posts and of Carlow and 'how meet the same were to be in possession of Englishmen, wherein I was able of my knowledge gathered many years past to say more' than he thought she knew before.⁴³ Ferns and Leighlin Bridge had cost some £6,292 and Carlow £720 since the beginning of her reign.⁴⁴ Elizabeth wanted the costs of Heron's office diminished and did not want it bestowed on anyone without her knowledge. Cecil thought Sidney should write to her and he would back what the deputy said.

Cecil had also backed Sidney in another matter, for of the money being sent to Sidney Cecil had had Gresham borrow £7,000 of it on his own credit. The queen had reluctantly supported

⁴⁰Notes, 7 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 56).

⁴¹6 July (Sidney S.P., no. 42).

⁴²10 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 58).

⁴³Cecil to Sidney, 13 July (*ibid.*, no. 59).

⁴⁴'Heron's wages for Leighlin', c. July (*ibid.*, no. 60).

Cecil. He was soon recommending Sir Arthur Champernoun to Sidney as one of Gilbert's intended associates, a task he depreciated as Sidney knew him already.⁴⁵ He warned Sidney that the queen intended to appoint Stanley as president in Munster and gave as his own opinion that Agard would be 'very meet for the north.'⁴⁶ Elizabeth wanted Piers and the captains associated with him thanked for 'the politic expulsiⁿg of Alexander oge and the Scots...'.⁴⁷ How Piers managed it is not clear but the wording suggests it was diplomacy backed by force.

Knolles and Mildmay continued to examine the work of Arnold's commission, dealing with William Bermingham. When the latter's deductions were subtracted from what the crown owned Stanley, some £2,219 Irish, he would only receive about £244 sterling.⁴⁸ On the eve of his departure from England for Vienna Sussex asked Cecil⁴⁹ to press the cases of Sir Henry Radcliffe, bound in England by a recognisance for £8,000, and Stanley bound for £4,000. The two cases should be decided in England or returned to Ireland but they should not be bound in both places. On the whole the decision seems to have been made to resolve these cases in England. As an example there was George Delves, who had sold his holding in Leix and returned to England. Knolles and Mildmay got Bermingham to concede that the £120 he was charging Delves with would probably be a liability of Fitzwilliam as vice-treasurer. Delves was therefore to be paid the £150 still owed him by the crown with sureties that he would repay the £120 if it could be proved that he owed it.⁵⁰

A concerted attempt was made to clear up the other army officers. Cecil sent his cousin Brian Fitzwilliam back to Ireland

⁴⁵20 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 64).

⁴⁶22 July (ibid., no. 70).

⁴⁷22 July (Sidney S.P., no. 44).

⁴⁸'Sums of money charged by Bermingham upon Sir George Stanley...', 20 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 25).

⁴⁹29 June (ibid., no. 35).

⁵⁰Note by Knolles for Cecil, 2 July, Recognisance of Delves, 7 July (ibid., nos. 42, 52).

to receive his pay, commending him to Sidney⁵¹ on the basis of Cecil's 'old acquaintance with himself and the love I bear towards his house.' In Wexford certain gentlemen and other inhabitants, hearing that Brian Fitzwilliam was to return to Ireland, had petitioned for the repayment of a year and a half's cess for his 100 soldiers, and cess for the same period for 100 footmen and 500 horsemen under George Harvey, lieutenant to Wingfield, as well as repayment for 140 beeves and two barques laden with corn, levied by Henry Cowley.⁵²

It was at this point that Cecil informed Sidney that Elizabeth intended to put Stanley in Munster as president, he having signed a recognizance on the same day agreeing to accept the £ 245 sterling and repay anything it could be proved that he owed.⁵³ Sir Henry Radcliffe signed a similar agreement on the same day after being paid £600.⁵⁴ Elizabeth first informed Sidney that Brian Fitzwilliam was being sent back to Ireland where his account was to be dealt with quickly 'that he may be satisfied and the country paid as is meet.'⁵⁵ A few weeks later she wrote similar letters for Stanley and for Radcliffe. These cases were to be dealt with quickly as the delay at court like that in Ireland had been long. Once the cases of these officers were settled their services were to be used again. Cecil represented Stanley as being devoted to Sidney and hoped that his case would be expedited.⁵⁶

William Bermingham was also being returned to Ireland and wanted certain records from the committee of the privy council which had been reviewing all the findings of Arnold's commission.⁵⁷

⁵¹ 22 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 69).

⁵² Petition of Anthony Power to Winchester, c. July (ibid, no. 7).

⁵³ 22 July (ibid., no. 68).

⁵⁴ Ibid., no. 67

⁵⁵ 21 July (Sidney S.P., no. 43).

⁵⁶ 12 Aug., 17 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, nos 77-79, 83). See Collins, Vo. I, pt. ii, pp. 31-2.

⁵⁷ Two requests by Bermingham, 12 Aug. (ibid., no. 75).

Even without the claims that they had 'disallowed' he asserted that the queen had been saved £24,000 sterling. According to the agreement made with him he was to receive one-sixth of all that had been saved of which he had already received £300 sterling in expenses. The queen already had the results of £11,000 of the saving besides the understanding she had, in Bermingham's view, how she 'hath been dealt withal by muster masters, captains, pay masters, auditors, and victuallers, whose cases indifferently heard and well understood is better for her majesty and for your honours to be known than ten times the value of that which shall be gotten thereby.'⁵⁸ Elizabeth seems to have been in agreement but Cecil, who re-drafted the letter⁵⁹ directing that Bermingham be paid the fraction of what it could be proved that he had saved, was more cautious. The cess books were being sent over with Bermingham, who said that the queen would sustain great losses without them, but said Cecil 'how true that is I know not.'⁶⁰

Cecil was making memoranda tracing the rise of the garrison in Ireland from 1,492 men in 1559 to 3,031 men in June of 1567 of which 284 were in forts. By August he noted that that figure had been reduced to 169 of a total of 1,692 men. He also reckoned that £87,000 sterling had been sent to Ireland from March 1566 to July 1567.⁶¹ In Ireland Sidney was pressing Jenyson to account for how that had been spent and what the crown still owed. By his reckoning the debt on 31 August was £31,606 Irish of which the revenues due on 29 September together with arrearages would cover about £8,000.⁶² Sidney left Dublin for the north taking Jenyson with him on 16 August.⁶³ It was Jenyson's job to see to paying off the soldiers at Carrickfergus which he did during

⁵⁸'A note of William Bermingham, 12 Aug. 1567.' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 76).

⁵⁹Elizabeth to Sidney, 12 Aug. (ibid., no. 80).

⁶⁰Cecil to Sidney, 16 Sept. (ibid., no. 95).

⁶¹c. Sept. (ibid., nos. 92, 93).

⁶²Brief of reckonings by Jenyson from 24 May 1560 - 1 Sept. 1567, (ibid., no. 91).

⁶³Robert Weston to Cecil, 22 Aug. (ibid., no. 89).

September.⁶⁴ He was then able to calculate with exactness that he would need £22,925 Irish or £17,194 sterling to make a full pay on 29 September.⁶⁵ He was also able to make a balanced audit of all the money that had been received and spent from 15 March 1566 to 31 August 1567, a total of £108,976 Irish⁶⁶ Jenyson provides some interesting details. A large list of pensioners was being carried which included many of the planters of Leix and Offaly, for example, Henry Cavells, Richard Mainwaring, Geoffrey Phillips, John Piggott, John Sankey, Nicholas Malby, and Robert Hartpoole. Money paid out for 'buildings and reparations' included £685 11 s. 5 d. to 'Sir Peter Lewes for the bridge at Athlone,' £352 for 'fortifying upon the Bann,' £312 to Piers for work at Carrickfergus, £250 to Henry Cowley for work at Daingean, £100 to Francis Cosby for work at the fort in Leix, £71 11 s. 2 d. to Henry Bagenal 'for building at the Newry' and £40 for Carlingford, and £17 to Walter Hoope for Mullingar, as well as £102 13 s. 7 d. for the making of boats. Jenyson also informed Cecil that the mapmaker he had sent, Robert Lythe, had arrived at Carrickfergus on 19 September where Sidney had put him to work drawing 'two plats of this town, being the only key of these parts.'⁶⁷ The deputy wished to have his works of Tudor expansion recorded.

While he was on his expedition to the north Sidney's supply of cattle was the responsibility of Sir Nicholas Bagenal who accounted for some 750 cattle, mostly from the queen's butcher at Dundalk, but there were 185 for which Sidney 'paid to Andrew Brereton of Lecale ready money...'. The beeves were the ultimate property of Sir Brian McPhelyn and Bagenal noted that he must be

⁶⁴Jenyson to Cecil, 25 Sept. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 96).

⁶⁵'An estimate of the debt to the garrison...at Micheelmas 1567' (ibid., no. 97).

⁶⁶Ibid., (no. 98).

⁶⁷Jenyson to Cecil, 25 Sept. (ibid., no. 96).

paid.⁶⁸ That Brereton was astir again in Lecale was a concrete indication that expansion was taking place.

Sidney's activity was in anticipation of his leave to return to England which he wanted for the end of September. To his request Elizabeth agreed, though she wanted it kept as secret as possible and said that she could think of no Englishman other than Weston, the new chancellor, and Fitzwilliam who were suitable to be lord justice in his absence.⁶⁹ Sidney did not receive her letter until 7 September but the news had already preceded it. Fitzwilliam had been on a commission in Kilkenny and Tipperary for thirty days and had been very impressed with the beneficial results of the abolition of coyne and livery. There was 'now building and tilling of ground in such places as hath not been the like in many years past...', all in an atmosphere of complete peace. As for the pale there was 'not an idle man scarce to be found within the five shires...'.⁷⁰ Earlier George Wyse in Waterford had been even more lavish in his praise of Sidney, 'who hath extirped the mother of all disorder called coyne and livery,' and of the results. The poor had begun 'to savour what it is to live' under a ruler under which 'they are of slaves become subjects.' They hoped with three more years of Sidney's rule 'to live as merrily in Ireland as they do in the very heart of England. Lands that lay of long time waste... are now inhabited. And that which before was let for a groat now yields twelve pence.'⁷¹ Between drafting his letter and sending it to Cecil Fitzwilliam discovered that there were two rumours in Dublin, one that Sidney would get his account passed for which he was thankful, and the other that he was to be lord justice in Sidney's absence.⁷² The times he had held that office in 1560,

⁶⁸ 'Beeves received for the hosting northward beginning the 13th of August 1567 and ending the 22nd September following,' (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 48).

⁶⁹ 22 July (Sidney S.P., no. 44).

⁷⁰ Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 20 Aug., draft (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 38).

⁷¹ Wyse to Cecil, 20 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 26).

⁷² 22 Aug. (*ibid.*, no. 87).

1561, and 1562 had cost him £ 2,000 more than his allowance and he wanted no part of it.

A day's thought only made Fitzwilliam more convinced and he asked Cecil to prevent his being made lord justice, reminding him of the dreadful practices against himself in Arnold's time of which he had spoken to no one else 'but yourself.' Then he sent substantially the same plaint to Leicester.⁷³ In September he expressed his grief to Cecil at being made lord justice and wished he were rid of his account which 'is not small nor of little burden to me at this day, if you knew as much as I do. The sum is as I wrote above £300,000...'. He wanted to be allowed to come to England to pass the account, leaving Weston as sole justice.⁷⁴ Robert Weston had arrived in Ireland during the summer in answer to Sidney's request for a new chancellor. Cecil, who had had difficulty finding anyone who would come, described him as 'a jewel.'⁷⁵ Curwen had finally been persuaded to relinquish the office and the archbishopric of Dublin in exchange for the bishopric of Oxford, and he left Ireland on 11 August.⁷⁶ Weston thought that he had insufficient knowledge of the country and the people 'other than that universally they be naughty, faithless, and rebellious...', to be lord justice. His opinion expressed to Elizabeth,⁷⁷ however, indicated that he had a grasp of Irish realities:

The sword hath brought them in and the sword...must keep them in...until they have felt the fruits and sweetness of your majesty's merciful justice: which once tasted, will then through love (as I think) work in them more true and faithful obedience than the fear of the battle sword hath or can do.

While he was in the north Sidney had made a progress through the north to Coleraine, where Turlough Luineach submitted, accompanied by Terence Danyel, dean of Armagh. Danyel saw the whole realm as quiet with the new bridge at Athlone taming Connaught,

⁷³Both 23 Aug. (Bodi, Carte MS 58, nos. 40, 41).

⁷⁴14 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, no. 94).

⁷⁵Cecil to Sidney, 13 May (ibid., 63/20, no. 88).

⁷⁶Weston to Cecil, 22 Aug (ibid., 63/21, no. 89).

⁷⁷8 Oct. (ibid., 63/22, no. 5).

and his work in the north, including his repairs of Carrickfergus castle and his orders for 'trencher and other defence about the said town', was a 'stay to all that country...'.⁷⁸ Well satisfied, Sidney left for England the evening of 9 October.⁷⁹

Initially the country was quiet. Quarter sessions had been held in Leix and Offaly and other outlying shires and their results with the abolition of coyne and livery had so encouraged the 'husbandmen and true labourers' to increase tillage that there was 'plenty and cheap of corn and other victual to be sold by those which afore for the more part were fain to buy.' In Co. Westmeath the baron of Delvin had been given a commission for pursuing 'a sept of the Mores, sons to Ferragh McRoss, a few in company (who) have been and are outlaws and proclaimed rebels,' and of the three septs in Leix the government had pledges for two, though none for the Clankedowes. They went on to assure Elizabeth⁸⁰ that Leix under its sheriff and its seneshal, Francis Cosby, and Offaly under its sheriff and its seneshal, Henry Cowley, and the Irish countries between them and the Shannon were all obedient and quiet. So were the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles under their seneshal, Francis Agard. Also mentioned as an evidence of order were Wexford and Carlow who had 'besides their sheriffs Thomas Stukely, senesal of the liberties of the county of Wexford, and captain at Leighlin Bridge and also of the country of the Kavanagh;s being within these two countries.'

Elizabeth was probably alarmed at the implications of Stukely in such an office but Fitzwilliam and Weston were more concerned that the protection under which Piers Grace had been quiet, hoping for pardon, was about to run out and he had been gathering men. Fitzwilliam thought his protection should be extended for the winter,⁸¹ and he and Weston soon forwarded to Cecil⁸² a petition of the gentlemen of Kilkenny and Tipperary that it be extended.

⁷⁸Danyel to Cecil, 5 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 1).

⁷⁹Clanricarde to

⁸⁰30 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 16).

⁸¹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 7 Nov. (ibid., no. 21).

⁸²23 Nov. (ibid., no. 24).

to October 1568. They knew the queen would dislike the idea but if Piers joined with 'other woodkernes late gone out in those parts' trouble would result. Weston told Cecil⁸³ that failure to return Sidney promptly 'would bring the disorders lately amended into their old ruins' and the government as a whole asked the queen 'of your motherly care unto the reforming of this your realm...to vouchsafe the sooner to send him hither again.'

Fitzwilliam had already begun to worry that Sidney was not urging the passing of his account at court,⁸⁴ and he reminded him to do so in a letter written in mid-November.⁸⁵ He added that 'the O'Mores be in hunting by the baron of Delvin but I doubt they be so well finded as little hurt shall come unto them. It is said they look for pardon out of England, whereby some judge they find not the less friendship.'

The north had been left with 600 men in the queen's pay, including 100 seamen, and 100 horsemen under Nicholas Malby. Fifty men were in garrisons such as Dunluce, Castle Toome, and Island Sidney in Lough Neagh, and fifty were 'victuallers, carpenters, masons, bakers, brewers, and other such artificers.' The remaining 300 footmen were at Carrickfergus under the command of Piers and Malby, victualled for six months, and expected to be 'the rule and stay of the Route, Clandeboy, Killultagh, the Dufferin, the Glynnns, and the Arde...'⁸⁶ The first sign that there would be trouble there was the news that Piers and Malby sent to Fitzwilliam that there were 1,200 Scots in Cantyre ready to come to the north. If the ships and men did their duty the Scots would not, though there was a rumour of 'two or three French barques to land them.' They next had to report that 600 or 700 Scots under Sorley boy MacDonnell had landed in the Glynnns 'and more ready to follow.'⁸⁷ Initially Piers and Malby intended to move

⁸³ 30 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, nos. 16,17).

⁸⁴ Fitzwilliam to Stanley, 13 Nov. (Bodl, Cart MS 58, no. 57).

⁸⁵ 15 or 20 Nov. (ibid., no. 56).

⁸⁶ Weston, Fitzwilliam and council to Elizabeth, 30 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 16).

⁸⁷ Weston and Fitzwilliam to Elizabeth, 27 Nov., enclosing Piers and Malby to them, 18 Nov. (ibid., nos. 28, 28 I).

by 1 December against the Scots, but first sickness in the garrison⁸⁸ and then fear of treachery kept them immobile.⁸⁹ By that time Elizabeth had sent orders that they were to be quickly expelled.⁹⁰

At that point Fitzwilliam accomplished something which was to involve him further in the north. In the summer Desmond had written to Winchester asking to be allowed to come to England and the marquess had first indicated to Sidney that he would be allowed to do so, and had then suggested that he bring the earl with him on his return.⁹¹ Elizabeth instructed Sidney to bring him but wanted him to be arraigned and indicted before he was brought.⁹² The two things had conflicted for Desmond had been left behind in Dublin despite his protests.⁹³ In a letter in which Cecil did much redrafting the lord justices were instructed by Elizabeth to send Desmond over and have his brother John come with him. If John objected to the danger in Munster they were to agree to take it over. She doubted that he would answer but every means should be used to make him come.⁹⁴ Fitzwilliam doubted that he could get John of Desmond but Cusack and a commission had been sent to Munster.⁹⁵ From Cork John Challoner advised Fitzwilliam⁹⁶ that Henry Davells and Andrew Skyddy were agreed that such bodies should not be sent unless they had adequate military force to back up their findings. He thought Fitzwilliam should talk to the two and added that Davells 'is now returned hence to his dwelling besides Leighlin.' Davells may have brought John of

⁸⁸Piers and Malby to Weston, Fitzwilliam, and council, 21 Nov. (Cal S. P., Ire., 1509-73), p. 352).

⁸⁹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 12 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 38).

⁹⁰Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 10 Dec. (*ibid.*, p. 353).

⁹¹17 July, 10 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/21, nos. 63, 73).

⁹²20 Aug. (Sidney S.P., no. 48). See Bagwell, Tudors, 11, 124-5.

⁹³Desmond to Elizabeth, 6 Oct. (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, p. 346).

⁹⁴3 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 20).

⁹⁵Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 23).

⁹⁶2 Dec. (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 66).

Desmond with him and Fitzwilliam may have conferred with Davells, for on 12 December he had to report failure and on the 13th he added that he had bagged John and would send him over with his brother.⁹⁷ Fitzwilliam lost no time, and even the wind was in his favour, for on the next day Thomas Scott was able to inform Cecil⁹⁸ that he had landed in England with John and the earl, though Desmond was so sick from the voyage that he was not yet able to travel.

The result for Fitzwilliam did nothing to further his desire to return to England. Elizabeth told Fitzwilliam that she did not see why the Scots were permitted to land and she wanted action against them by everyone, giving a lengthy argument, drafted entirely by Cecil, why Agard or Fitzwilliam was to take the field including her opinion that lack of authority among the captains in the north 'is the cause of their slowness.'⁹⁹

In a private letter to Fitzwilliam Cecil explained¹⁰⁰ that Elizabeth rather expected him 'to go yourself into Ulster than send Mr. Agard.' She had acquired a sure good opinion of him as the only person in Ireland she meant to be served by. Fitzwilliam underlined what he must have regarded as his sentence.

Cecil's interest in the north had been growing steadily, not only as a principal secretary but as a private investor. At some time in 1564 or 1565 - the exact date is not clear - Cecil had become interested in mining ventures in England. Their development is clear and should be examined as background to Cecil's approach to the north of Ireland. The first of two mining ventures in England was begun by Thomas Thurland, a chaplain of the queen and master of the hospital of the Savoy,

⁹⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 12 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 38).

⁹⁸14 Dec. (ibid., no. 45).

⁹⁹24 Dec. (ibid., no. 58, Bodl, Carte No. 58, no. 36).

¹⁰⁰24 Dec. (ibid., no. 37).

and a German mining expert named Daniel Hoehstetter. In October 1564 they obtained a royal licence to discover and work mines or ores of gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire, and Wales. All previous royal licences were revoked at the same time on the ground that the crown never made any money on them.¹⁰¹ The next summer¹⁰² they were licenced to secure timber for their work, having been exempted in the spring from all taxes provided they certified the names of the members of their company into chancery within six months. The number of members was not to exceed twenty-four, of which sixteen were to be English born. Hoehstetter and Thurland could not agree at the time who their partners and assistants were to be,¹⁰³ and indeed they did not finally submit a list until December 1566. Bacon and Sidney were included though they do not appear later.¹⁰⁴ Cecil was included from the very beginning as well as a London merchant named Lionel Duckett. Duckett was a mercer or silk merchant who had been wealthy enough to join with a haberdasher in lending Edward VI some £ 700 in 1553¹⁰⁵ and to be a partner in a voyage of the Merchants Adventurers in 1555.¹⁰⁶ When that body was chartered in 1564 he was one of the forty-nine members, though not one of the officers.¹⁰⁷ The same year he became an alderman of London. With twenty-seven other merchants, including four merchant taylors, he had been licenced to trade with house ports for timber and timber by-products at the end of 1560. That same year he and Sir William Garrard and eleven other merchant adventurers had combined to lend £ 30,000 to Elizabeth.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ 10 Oct. 1564 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1563-66, no. 168).

¹⁰² 10 Aug. 1565 (ibid., no. 1071A).

¹⁰³ 14 Apr. 1565 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1563-66, no. 1815).

¹⁰⁴ 12 Apr. 1567 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1566-69, no. 877).

¹⁰⁵ Cal Pat. rolls, 1553, p. 233.

¹⁰⁶ 26 Feb. 1555 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1554-55, p. 56).

¹⁰⁷ 18 July 1564 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1563-66, no. 922).

¹⁰⁸ 2 Aug. 1560 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1558-60, pp. 353-431-7), 20 Dec. 1560, 30 Oct. 1561 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1560-63, pp. 8-9, 112, 330).

Duckett was clearly a man of substance.

A year after Thurland and Hoechstetter received their licence two others were granted to William Humphrey, assay master of the Mint, and a second German mining expert, Christopher Shütz. One was to allow them to search for and mine calamine stone, a zinc ore used in making brass, in England and the English pale in Ireland. The second¹⁰⁹ licence was to allow them to mine the same precious metals as Thurland and Hoechstetter in the areas not covered by their licence in England, in the English pale, and 'whenever the crown shall think fit to have any other part of Ireland searched and mined for the said minerals they will have the same rights there.' Ireland had been included in the patent by Cecil at Humphrey's request in May 1565, but by July Humphrey was beginning to be uneasy at Leicester's enthusiasm for Ireland as a source for mineral wealth. Timber was what the company needed from Ireland.¹¹⁰

In 1565 Thurland and Hoechstetter had set to work in Cumberland as soon as they had their licence. They had the right to erect buildings for housing and their works and to secure fuel for both. Authority was also given to their surveyor of works, who must be chosen by the majority (at least 13) of their partners, to punish persons disturbing the workmen.¹¹¹ In May 1568 the shires of Westmoreland and Lancashire were specially told to assist in the latter function and in every other way.¹¹²

In that same month the two groups were given formal charters of incorporation under the names of the Mineral and Battery Works and of the Mines Royal.¹¹³ The two first governors of the

¹⁰⁹Both 17 Sept. 1565 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1563-66, nos. 1693, 1858).

¹¹⁰See M. B. Donald, Elizabethan Copper, the history of the company of the Mines Royal, 1568-1605 (London, 1958), and Elizabethan Monopolies, the history of the Company of Mineral and Battery Works from 1565 to 1604 (Edinburgh and London, 1961).

¹¹¹25 Jan., 25 Aug, 1566 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1563-66, no. 2440).

¹¹²10 May 1568 (Cal. pat. rolls, 1566-69), no. 1375).

¹¹³28 May 1568 (*ibid.*, nos. 1195, 1589).

latter were Hoechstetter and Lionel Duckett. Anthony Duckett of Co. Westmorland was a deputy governor and Geoffrey Duckett was a member. Included in the twenty-four members were two other Germans, and Thomas and Edmund Thurland, William Wynter, and at the head of the list Pembroke, Leicester, Mountjoy, and Sir William Cecil. Provisions were made that members could be admitted to hold a quarter of a twenty-fourth part, and a half of a quarter. Eight of the twenty-four members were also members of the Mineral and Battery Works, conspicuously Pembroke, Leicester and Sir William Cecil. Sir William Garrard and Rowland Hayward, both aldermen of London, were the two first governors and its membership of thirty-nine included Sir Nicholas Bacon, Norfolk, Cobham, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Francis Jobson and Sir Francis Agard, as well as the originators Humphrey and Shütz. Both of these companies which between them covered the entire kingdoms of England and Ireland, were not only going concerns before their incorporation but probably included a number of the members before. The presence of Cecil in both companies is of interest as is the Irish tincture of the Mineral and Battery Works.

In March 1566 Thomas Lancaster had written to both Leicester and Cecil that Rowland White, lord of the Dufferin, could supply timber for the mining works in Cumberland (See page). In January 1567 Cecil received a report from John Denton, merchant taylor, telling how he had spent his time in Ireland providing for wood as he had been instructed by Lionel Duckett.¹¹⁴ One of his objects was to secure the best and cheapest supply for 'the company of the minerals in the north forever,' the body that was to be incorporated as the Mines Royal. Denton had been in Ireland at some time after 1557, carrying letters by Cecil, and was now in Cecil's service 'for the honourable and worshipful (company) of the minerals.' He considered that he had not neglected his work

¹¹⁴ 16 Jan. 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/20, nos. 11, 11 I).

at any time 'though the traitor O'Neill hath prevented the whole expectation' that his work might have obtained. As proof he referred Cecil to his correspondence with Duckett throughout 1566 when his 'travails have been both long and dangerous...'

Cecil had instructed him to go to Ireland in January. He had arrived in April. Sidney sent him to the south-west to look for suitable timber and he explored the waterways which converged on Waterford and New Ross. Denton made out a report for Cecil, which does not appear, showing 'both what woods there be as also mineral and metal ores as the countries there doth yield, with the great plenty of fish and the great commodity the Spaniards there have,' on which the crown lost the annual customs. When Denton returned to the city of Waterford he was held by St Leger until 7 Oct. on what he said were unproved charges. Perhaps he stimulated St Leger's economic interests.

When Sidney returned from his expedition through the north and west Denton made a report to Sidney who gave him a letter to 'Mr Duckett and the company promising all furtherance for the said provision...'. Denton had remained in Ireland on the grounds that he could not return to Cecil 'and the rest of the company' without 'good proof and experience of the river of Strangford whereon Rowland White hath great store of wood.' That river lay due west of the Isle of Man and Denton was informed that White's country, the Dufferin, was notably furnished with timber 'for the space of nine miles by the river.' That meant the timber could be shipped by the shortest route direct to Workington and conveyed up the valley of the Derwent to the mining works near Skiddaw, or landed ten miles further south at St Bees, and the company would be guaranteed a perpetual supply. After a visit to the Duffern Denton expected to produce a 'book' and a 'plat' to satisfy the company of its worth.

Denton must have met White in Dublin and described him as the son of Baron White and matched in marriage with the daughter of Sir John Rawson, lord of St. John's of Kilmainham, whereby as there came great substance by this means into his hands... he became of great credit both in Spain, France, and Flanders. So came there also innumerable books of monuments into his hands,

whereby came the knowledge of the state of this country the more readily to his mind with the reformation of the same.

White had suffered losses at sea and in other ways until he was forced to spend three years imprisonment for debt. During that period and after it he had 'gathered and compiled three sundry books unto the late John, duke of Northumberland,' and another for Cecil during the same period which he did not deliver, presumably because of the death of Edward VI. He recast his efforts to present them to Mary, though being 'possessed of the gospel' he was more afraid he would 'be forced to deny his conscience than obtain any benefit unto his country,' He had also declined to show them to Sussex unless the earl would give his word to put their proposals into effect. Denton assured Cecil that White's projets were 'void of Berminghams devices, explanations, and vain promises' and that 'there is neither envy or malice mingled with his doings but the reformation desired of his country only.' Denton suggested that once his own reports were submitted Cecil should send for White and his 'books.'

Denton probably reached the Dufferin shortly for by March he was in Cumberland and Cecil seems to have sent for Rowland White and conferred with him for among Cecil's manuscripts at Hatfield House are four 'books' by White, one with private notes by him in 1569, and all of such an occasional nature as to suggest that they were designed as notes for discussion.¹¹⁵ More finished versions of White's projets which he submitted in 1571 and 1572 are preserved in the Public Record Office.¹¹⁶ Cecil evidently thought enough of White's arguments to ask for his notes and to encourage him to write more finished copies to be circulated among the government.

White dealt at length on the military system and its blanching effect on the countryside. Since the Geraldine revolt the

¹¹⁵Cecil MSS, Vol. 207, nos. 16-19 (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 1306-1571, no. 1158). Nos. 16 and 18 both have 1567 noted on their outer parchment jackets which may be the date that Cecil received them or the date that he first met Rowland White. His arguments are taken from all his papers.

¹¹⁶S. P. Ire., Eliz., 63/1, nos. 72, 73. Roland White to Lord Burghley, 23 Mar. 1571 (ibid., 63/31, no. 31).

garrison had cost 'above £ 500,000, yea £ 1,000,000, and hath not won one foot of ground to the crown...than Leix and Offaly, which hath cost the country besides charge more than forty years' purchase nor yet till this hour so profitable to the crown as is decayed of the revenue of the same in the English pale.'¹¹⁷

Cesses and other expenses were costing the crown £ 40,000 a year without a corresponding revenue. They had recently become intolerable and were especially hard on the husbandmen who wanted to 'enjoy his own quietly without disturbance of the soldier or danger of the enemy.' If conditions were otherwise the crown lost money and yet the soldiers could not live on the fare they got in Irish countries. Consequently they were dispersed over the country side, a scourge and not available at the right place when the enemy invaded. As a result the countryside had offered to keep the troops 'in inns or in garrison upon the borders.' The Irish beyond looked in and saw how burdened the English pale was, which resulted in men who were not able to live 'but are fain for very poverty to leave their farms waste and go beg or serve others... as they say they would rather live in the woods and to flee from bush to bush and to strait to strait with their cattle..., ' thus keeping part of their own, than be consumed as they were. On the other hand White asserted that the only reason the Irish withstood being governed was that they were as loaded with men of war as their tenants could bear. These forces waited to take spoil from the English pale.

In such a contest White maintained that the stakes were unequal, a penny to a pound, 'for the English pale is planted with towns and villages inhabited with people resident having goods, cattles, corn, and household stuff, good booty for the Irish enemies to take from us, and their countries being kept of purpose waste, uninhabited, as where nothing is nothing can be had.' In that 'Irish pale...destitute for an inhabitation of people either in villages or cities...' the queen was 'driven to follow and seek

¹¹⁷ By 1571-72 White has raised his figure of the cost of the garrison to £1,300,000 or £1,400,000.

them' and to provide fortifications at her own charge for the garrison 'if in any one place in the Irish pale she will have them to tarry...'. White thought that such garrisons and the system of captains, constables, and seneschals growing out of them produced neither order nor economy.

When the queen's majesty plant any garrison in the Irish countries ...they keep but a hold in a waste country where there is no corn nor cattle, manureance, nor habitation to yeild them obedience near them, nay yet suffice anything to increase or prosper that might in anywise relieve them but the queen's majesty driven always to victual them of her own charges out of the English pale, to the great charges and hindrance of the pale...if we say we have won a castle of the Irish and we keep the same in despite of their hearts I say it is no winning, being gotten with losses and kept with sore charges as the same is not worth the keeping...'. .

White also thought that such garrisons depopulated the country side and decreased tillage, a result of the evils of cess to supply the garrison and the raids of the Irish to prevent the same thing. In 1571 he cited the example of Carrickfergus where in a ten mile radius of it there were five or six ploughlands under grain 'where was five or six hundred ploughs before the garrison were planted there.' His detailed views on Leix and Offaly have already been examined (see p.), and in general White thought planting was an expensive business and when done it left 'but a handful in...whole countries, and great territories about them which will continue their enemies...'. Stealths by night and robberies and preys by day would leave the settlers unable to enjoy either their corn or their cattle.

White had thus disposed of the government's policy of the previous decade. The alternatives he urged on Cecil were many and various. At the centre of his reform was an improved administration and execution of justice. Under 'all governments of the Romans, and German emperors, the governors and officers...were always sent with instructions and prescribed orders and laws for the direction of their proceedings...' to execute justice and not make enemies of their vassals or friends but to use them as subjects. 'The Roman state,' he went on, was always bountiful in mercy to the poor and weak and 'stout and manly...to the hard and stiffnecked.' In 1571 he summed up the native viewpoint in a rethorical speech:

The Irishry saith; we hear of a law that maintain(eth) and upholdeth every man's right and to possess quietly his own without disturbance but we can feel no part of the indifference of that law in fact. But...in effect all that part of the law you do participate with us is to take that we have from us and to give us nothing. We pray that we may have that law that promisheth us felicity and commodity in keeping thereof and punish us when we shall break or transgress the same...

For the Irish White argued that the captains of countries who offended should answer the law in their own person, 'and not the poor peasants,...poor labourers, and owners that live by their cattle and manurance so far as they offend not in contempt of the laws and duties to their prince.' White wanted 'no authority of martial law' to be executed except by the discreet and learned. In general law and justice both for the English and Irish should be in the hands of judges and the English captains of countries, constables, and seneschals should be replaced by justices of the peace.

Cess he thought ought to be drastically reduced and he laid down the general rule that the sum of the charges and impositions levied should not exceed or surmount the profit and yearly increase of the leige subject's living, otherwise everyone lost from too many chasing not enough. The army, 'an unnecessary number of idle men,' should be reduced and their places taken by Irish kerne, horsemen, and galloglas who could be quartered on the Irish countries. For those areas he proposed as an alternative to plantation that the natives themselves plant, fortify, and inhabit their countries. Tillage should be encouraged for by it the crown would gain subsidy, the lord the rent, and 'the former riches and plenty, which maketh cheap of all things to the furtherance of the common people generally.' It meant their goods could be seized if they transgressed and that if necessary an army could be supplied with 'meat, bread, and drying corn, and habitations placed ready to dwell in...to our sustentation and defence without charge or cost to the queen or yet her English and civil subjects...'. He dwelt repeatedly on the advantages of a stable prosperous population. One object was to turn the Irish 'from pasturing so many cattle to maintain their idle men of war,' for tillage would not only mean plenty but also 'the kerne

shall be for necessity driven to take the spade and dig for his living, the galloglas to hold the plough and his fellow man in service to drive the same.' It was these groups that ordinary ploughmen 'wisheth were subdued and would themselves give their help thereto, if they might (as they say) be sure that we would plant and sit down and tarry with them to help them to defend them(selves).' With wealth in grain and cattle and settled 'in villages, walled towns, corporations, and cities' the Irish would have their incentives removed 'to steal and prey' and would be loathe to forgo what they had.

As a specific example White said 'take for a precedent the recovery of the Dufferin' in which he had agreed with the clergy - a religious approach being a strong element in all his projets - 'for inhabiting the country with people and manuring the same with tillage' out of which 'grew both rent to the lord and the tithe...to the parson, as caused the parson to preach and husband for his commodity and mine as we brought the whole Dufferin under tillage...'. Soldiers being cessed on the area undid much of that prosperity but this for White was a support for his argument.

Of the discharged garrison 'such as will sit down and plant and inhabit' practicing husbandry, should be encouraged to do so and thus the crown's expenses could be gradually transferred to others while the same number of men would be available for service. White had a scheme which included the building up of Armagh, Downpatrick, Colexaine, Derry, and Dromore in Iveagh. If the queen would keep 1,000 men in garrison for five years the eventual profits in trade would repay the £ 50,000 it would cost her. In return White and others would find 500 men to settle in the north, to wall Carrickfergus, and to fortify the coast. The settlers must be born in England and if the soldiers 'that now have horses and fire arms will settle themselves' care would be taken 'to obtain peace and quietness as for themselves, wives, families, and their things...'. Individually White observed of such a soldier that 'if he be not willing nor will take pains...

and live of himself here with us as neighbour we maybe are content to spare him to tarry and live upon the spoil of his own country ...in England where he may have his reward.'

A few paragraphs later he enlarged the last point by saying that if the English pale had an Irish bias it was the fault of the crown's government in Ireland

for those mere English of England bred that of late came into Ireland...are more conversant with Irish manners and follow their ways more than the birth of the pale, whose ancient and continual enmity with the Irishry cannot be so soon forgotten as those that of late came over, who have no such cause of enmity but rather for their benefits received (have) rather cause of favour....

The newly arrived found Irish practices so convenient that English usage was almost forgotten in the pale. Part of White's argument was that the queen should spend some of the money she spent for cess on churches, free schools, and a university. Then the Irish could be separated from Brehon law and would pay rent and lawful impositions. The law administered by the Brehons was 'repugnant' to the queen's laws and she should either banish them or use them to rule the Irishry so that she could have the fines, the essence of the laws, herself.

White's notes for Cecil are filled with acts of parliament which he proposed should be enacted, primarily acts designed to promote and regulate trade, the keystone of the arch he wanted erected. He proposed acts that resumed all leases that let crown lands for less than 8 d. an acre and all tithes in which the grain was leased for less than 12 d.a peck. It was also his argument that the queen's outlay for a garrison in Ulster would be repaid 'by the hides, yarn, skins, frieze, and poundage.' The order in which he listed the items was not wholly accidental and he was concerned that the crown get a good price for hides, which were clearly an important staple. Yarn was another and one act White proposed was that every ploughland should have one acre of flax sown which was to be worked into yarn. The crown was to have 5 s. for every such acre as a license which meant that 20,000 acres would produce a revenue of £ 5,000. The penalty for failing to plant that acre was to be 13 s. 4 d. which on 20,000

acres would amount to nearly £13,500. Manchester was the centre of the trade with Ireland for linen yarn. White proposed that for their benefit, as well as to populate the Irish cities and towns with English, they should send 'their servants and men of occupations to work the same here in Ireland for better cheap than they can safely buy and bring the same into England, as much as is betwixt twenty marks and £20 a pack, which is the third penny as it hath commonly cost them since yarn was restrained and so being wrought here.'

Thus White was principally in favour of a colonization which provided craftsmen in the places of settlement rather than new proprietors for the rural countryside. The existing copies of his projets which he presented to Cecil are disorganized and contain a variety of proposals, in many cases for acts of parliament, which are not presented here, nor in his argument to be found wholly in any one paper. Yet it seems likely that he did see Cecil in 1567¹¹⁸ and made an impact upon him for he continued to submit proposals for reform until his death sometime in 1572, and the arguments which he presented follow a consistent pattern.

White's conduct was also of a piece. In December 1566 he was commissioned to execute martial law in the country or county of Down, and his authority was renewed on 20 October 1567.¹¹⁹ He seems to have taken his duties seriously as the chief local instrument of the crown for on 18 November Piers and Malby complained to the lord justices that following their orders to be lenient they had not got their cess in. The rumour among their neighbours was that the two were 'in your honors' displeasure' and they boasted that if Piers and Malby took cess they would protest to the lord justices, 'which sedition cannot grow among them but by Rowland White's doings. But as now things be fallen out we would we had done as we first pretended, notwithstanding White's complaint, and then had we been full furnished with flesh which now

¹¹⁸C. to S., 16 Sept. (63/21, no. 95) Sends letter by Mr. White ? Rowland.

¹¹⁹Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., nos. 979, 1196.

we want.' Weston and Fitzwilliam replied that White 'at his complaint making' got no encouragement from them to weave such rumours nor had anyone else. Then they sent the whole correspondence to Elizabeth,¹²⁰ which suggests they thought White may have had encouragement in England. A month later they informed her¹²¹ that they had forbidden Piers to leave Carrickfergus in such a troubled time. The context suggests rather that Piers wanted to go to England to press his views at court than that he was being forbidden to attack the Scots, which he and Malby had declined to do on the grounds that they were overwhelmingly superior.

At court Pier's views would have been represented by Sidney, but other influences had also been at work on Cecil before the deputy arrived, some of which we have examined. Denton mentioned business with a Patrick Goghe, a merchant of Dublin,¹²² in his report of January 1567 and there is in existence a map of the whole of Ireland by John Goghe bearing the date 1567 with additional notes on it by Cecil.¹²³ While there is nothing to connect the two Goghes the similarity of names is suggestive and Cecil was certainly interested in the progress of Robert Lythe, who had been sent to map the north. Piers and Malby sent him south with some returning soldiers as 'they could not well attend to go with him through the country this winter as were fit to do if he should do his work perfectly...'. He arrived with his belongings on his back and an empty purse which distressed Fitzwilliam, who thought he should have had the loan of a horse.¹²⁴ Because of the time of year with its short days and bad weather he was returned to England. Later he was to come to Ireland again to make the finest map of the island yet done, but he never accomplished the mapping of the north.¹²⁵

¹²⁰27 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, nos. 28, 28I, 28 IV).

¹²¹24 Dec. (ibid., no. 57).

¹²³Reproduced as a frontispiece of S.P. Hen. VIII, vol. ii.

¹²⁴Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 7 Nov. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 21).

¹²⁵Lythe's map of Munster is also reproduced as a frontispiece of S.P. Hen. VIII, vol. ii.

In July Cecil had indicated that he would like to 'attend upon' Sidney in Ireland but by October Sidney, after his visit to Piers in the north, was on his way to court. Soon Cecil was producing a memorandum of 'Ulster rented and divided into acres' which Sidney hoped to levy on the Irish captains.¹²⁶ Thus Fermanagh was figured as 96,000 English acres and the part of Tyrone which Turlough Luineach held as 192,000. Ulster as a whole was figured as some 670,000 English acres which would realize a crown rental of a little more than \pounds 5,000. That modest return was the result of some calculations that Cecil had made at Hampton Court in November 1567¹²⁷ which are worth quoting in full as they seem to represent settled conclusions, probably by Elizabeth as well as Cecil, on the rate at which land should be rented by the crown in a frontier area.

That choice be made of certain persons that have been captains or lieutenants or that are able to take charge of soldiers.

That such may be appointed places of habitation. And to have land allotted to them not under 1000 acres, nor above 4000.

That for every acre that shall be kept arable and shall bear corn the tenant shall pay no rent the first year, and for the second, third, fourth, and fifth year but $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and from thenceforth to pay but 1 d. And for every other acre to pay always double.

That for every plough to be kept and maintained the owner be allowed in wages eight men in sold, whereof the soldiers that shall serve the plough to have 6 d. a day, and the others 4 d.

The half penny an acre rent was originally intended for only the second year and Cecil inserted the additional years, probably at the suggestion of Sidney. From those conclusions came the \pounds 5,000 rent for Ulster. It is clear that while wholesale confiscation was not intended at any time, initially there was a large measure of plantation contemplated.

The importance of plantation shrank as the discussion proceeded. To Cecil a central question in dealing with Ulster was 'how both the foreign enemy of Scotland and the inward rebel shall hereafter be avoided.'¹²⁸ The committee of which he was a member with Bacon, Knolles, and Mildmay posed the question 'whether the freeholders in Tyrone shall be received as tenants and homagers

¹²⁶ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 66.

¹²⁷ Ibid., no. 34.

¹²⁸ Memorial by Cecil, '1567', (ibid., no. 65).

to the queen with reparation or rents, or shall be dispossessed and others have their places, or part of them!¹²⁹ Their answer seems to have been to retain the freeholders for they ruled that 'any reparation to be by the number of acres,' payment being made in cows, and that Tyrone was to be divided into shires and the number of its ploughlands determined. The council for Ulster was to treat with the freeholders for surrender and regrant with some rent being reserved to the crown. Within Tyrone only the abbey lands were 'to be inhabited by English.' Outside it the committee was only specific that the earl of Kildare was to inhabit Lecale, a point that had often been made before.

The area under consideration had been narrowed down to the counties of Antrim and Down and part of Armagh. Sidney seems to have submitted a list of ten places in those counties in which he wanted garrisons¹³⁰ and Cecil added four more to the list in a long memorandum on Ulster, summarizing the discussion that had taken place.¹³¹ One of Cecil's additions was Armagh, where the committee had specified there was to be 'some building' to house the president and council for Ulster and the deputy when he came north. The second was 'Fedan', the entry from the English pale to Ulster, 'already builded.' The third was Carrickfergus, whose constable, Piers, was to be made seneshal of the Route, the Glynn's Clandeboy, the Ards, Killultagh, and the Dufferin. Their constables and wards were to be under him and he was to be responsible to the council in Armagh. Thus Piers occupied a central position in the scheme. The fourth place was Bangor, 'where it is not meant that any ward shall continue but for a small time...!' as the government of the Ards would then be shifted to Strangford, one of the ten places proposed by Sidney where it would be necessary to build a blockhouse to control the haven.

¹²⁹'Order agreed upon at the Star Chamber for Ulster' (P.R. O., S.P. Ire., 63/22, no. 52).

¹³⁰'Ulster. The Wards' (Ibid., no. 51).

¹³¹'A memorial for Ireland,' 22 Dec. 1567 (ibid., nos. 48, 49).

The other nine places Sidney put forward were 'the lough in the midway betwixt Dundalk and Armagh,' a halfway point for convoys, where there would also have to be building, followed by Corkery 'betwixt Armagh and Lough Neagh' on the river Blackwater, where the buildings were requisite for a garrison. There was also a sufficient building at Island Sidney which was intended to rule the lough and control convoys in all directions. Toome at the other end of the lough had its castle and at Masserine there were the abbey buildings. The latter was to govern Killultagh and be a control point on the route from Armagh to Carrickfergus. Coleraine was to have a bridge over the Bann and control the traffic to and from O'Cahan's country. There would have to be building for the garrison at Skerries and Port Rush, the place 'meetest for him that shall farm the fishing of the Bann' and the place to control the Route and prevent the landing of the Scots. To do the same in the Glynn's it would be necessary to build 'upon some haven or creek there.' At Belfast there were 'only walls standing' and it was to govern the Dufferin (? South Clondeboy) and be a place where ships could 'lie in safety from tempest.'

The council in Ulster was to

cause inquisition to be made of the state of these places above mentioned...and to assign certainly a convenient quantity of ground about the same places to the maintenance of the household of the constable and company appointed to the ward. Which land shall always remain to the house...without rent paying.

An act of parliament recognizing the crown's possession of Ulster would be necessary so that it could be divided into shires and justice provided for.

And...special inquiry and survey to be made of all abbey lands, and all demesne lands belonging in any of the said countries to the earldom of Ulster, so as the queen's majesty may be counselled how to dispose them to English people to occupy the same and by increase of time to increase rent to the crown.

Inquiry was to be made of all the taxes and levies which the O'Neills had collected and arrangements made that the crown should receive them to help defray its expenses. As for settlers if anyone born in Ireland in areas now subject to the royal writ 'will inhabit in any place of Ulster meet for them' it was to be allowed on the supposition 'that they may better maintain their

habitation with less charge than such Englishmen as are mere strangers to the land.'

Cecil felt that unless the procedure he outlined was followed the results would be:

1. Without a council there would be no peace in Ulster and the old order of things would continue.
2. Without garrisons the Scots would seek conquest of Ulster and the Scottish crown 'may make great profit in time to come to offend England.'
3. Without a survey of the lands neither the subject taking them nor the crown would have any certainty and one or the other would be at a disadvantage. 'And sure it is that the subject will not receive a grant with charge to dwell thereon or to give rent but upon a certain knowledge of gain, which may be so great as afterward shall be much disliked.'
4. 'No man will offer so much rent now for lands there, being in the hands of the Irish, as when by authority it shall be assigned to him and maintained in his possession.'

To provide for such settlers Cecil had a list:

It is meant that where there remaineth a number that served in Ulster, whereof some were captains of bands already cashed, some lieutenants to captains, some sergeants of bands and other principal soldiers in wages as pensioners, only until the queen's ...pleasure should be known..., all such as will be desirous to dwell in Ulster and have no other place of entertainment or dwelling in other parts of Ireland shall be placed by one means or other in Ulster, that is to say, some in the wards aforementioned as constables or soldiers, and the rest shall be bound to dwell in Knockfergus town for a time. And they to have the preferment of habitation and land before any others and in the meantime to continue in some reasonable pensions.

It was on the heels of this memorandum that Cecil urged Fitzwilliam towards the north. Early in January after another session with the privy council Cecil summarised the arguments for presentation to the queen.¹³² The lord justices had already been asked how many of the military pensioners intended to settle, particularly at Carrickfergus 'and other necessary places in Ulster.' Then they could decide on the next step 'as it shall please her majesty to resolve upon.' She was only prepared to continue the

¹³² 'Memorial for the council,' 2 Jan. 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. 110, Ire., 63/23, no. 1).

pensions of those who would settle for she 'hath a determination to plant divers of them in Ireland to their own commodity and benefit of the country...'.¹³³ Fitzwilliam and Weston received the letter on 18 January and on 8 February informed the privy council¹³⁴ that while they assumed the pensioners at Carrickfergus 'will be glad to be there continued', and those in England would have to be examined there, a group of nineteen pensioners had indicated that they were willing to settle in the north. One of the number, William Jenkins, Gourley's lieutenant, though not a pensioner had volunteered as well. Also included were Davy Floddy, Robert Cowley, and Captain William Portas for the Leix-Offaly area, Arthur Brereton, Bagenal's lieutenant, and Andrew Brereton of Lecale, and Thomas LeStrange of Westmeath.

Cecil had anticipated a favourable answer from the pensioners before he talked to Elizabeth. She seems not only to have backed the idea but to have been willing to consider ways to provide English tenants for the pensioners, who would hold from the crown. In a remarkable paper, which was certainly the product of Cecil and may have been the work of Elizabeth as well, the problem of finding colonists for Ireland was discussed in detail.¹³⁵ To solve the problem and to see that none of the cost was assumed by the crown some of the oldest ideas as well as the most recent experiences were combined into a well organised argument, divided into four parts.

The first section was devoted to finding the colonists in England. In certain selected shires every two parishes were to supply one man. In the shire as a whole the total was to be proportioned so that one half of the men would be between twenty-five

¹³³Privy council to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 26 Dec. 1567 (Bodl., Carte MS 58, no. 76).

¹³⁴P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, nos 33, 331.

¹³⁵'Motions for sending of men into Ireland out of certain parishes,' Jan. 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 26). The paper was drafted by a clerk who referred to Cecil as 'my master' in March 1568 (ibid., no. 77, endorsement) and who later drafted papers for Elizabeth. See the text of a speech corrected by her illustrated opposite p. 130 of J.E. Neale Elizabeth and her parliaments, 1584-1601.

and thirty-five years of age and brought up 'as servants in husbandry.' The next quarter of the total were also to have had a farming background, being between thirty and fifty years of age and married though with as few children as possible and without freeholds in England. They were to be able to hold three ploughlands. The final quarter were to be artizans such as ploughwrights, smyths, carpenters, and in coastal shires fishermen and mariners. Each parish was to make a collection to provide each man with a daily wage of six pence, which would be 13 s. a month or £9 2 s. a year. Parishes were to be rated according to their size. Each shire group was to travel together under a guide to the coast and when they reached Ireland they were to be settled together in villages of at least one hundred households, constituting a parish which was also not to be any smaller so that the tithes would support the curate. Ploughs and plough horses were to be collected in Ireland to be disposed among the settlers, and Lancashire and Cheshire were also to supply the same instead of sending men and money to support them.

The second part was concerned with arguments to induce the nobility and 'gentlemen of knowledge' to have the parishes contribute, and was worthy of Elizabeth and Cecil at their best. For centuries Ireland had not only been a drain to crown revenues but also the cause of subsidies and fifteenths and the deaths of many English serving in the wars there. The queen had recently spent great sums 'to reduce it to such ease as it may be now replenished with English people', and without 'a new aid' the crown would not be able to secure the lands which belonged to it or which had been forfeited and wasted by the Irish rebels. If the settlers proposed were sent to Ireland it was very probable that with proper management the crown would soon be burdened no longer but would in a few years 'by God's grace have a profit thereof, which it hath not had these two hundred years,' a change which would bring glory and profit to both the crown and realm of England. On the other hand if such a settlement did not take place the queen would have to have soldiers 'out of the same

shires' to garrison Ireland and in order to pay them 'of force must require aid of the realm, wherein a greater burden shall insure, and yet without profit...' than would be the case with the scheme for settlers.

The third part dealt with ways to 'induce the people to go thither.' Those who went as householders would have assigned to them and their male heirs three or four ploughlands for which they would pay nothing in rent for the first year, only $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an acre the second year, only 1 d. the third year, and 2 d. in succeeding years. When the rents reached that final level the queen would pay half the returns to the parishes from which the settlers had come until the parisoners 'shall be repaid double' the outlay which they had made, so that they were only lending a sum of money for a time. Those who went as servants and who served the householders 'well and truly', the first year should have wages of £4 and the second year £5 2s. Then 'if his master cannot justly charge him with any notable offence (whereof the queen's officers shall be judges),' he was to be assigned half a ploughland of the householder's lands who should hold it for two more years, paying the servant the rent assessed by the queen's officers. Then the servant could decide if he wished to occupy the land himself and if he did he was to have it from the householder in copyhold tenure 'according to some one custom to be certainly expressed,' and paying a rent of 3 d. an acre. Thus a householder with four ploughlands and two servants would end with one ploughland held in copyhold and three ploughlands which he held as an inheritance from the crown.

The fourth part dealt with the advantages to the artizans,^s such as ploughwrights, who would settle. The first year they were to have wages of 2 d. a day in addition to what they earned from their individual work. Each one was to have an entailed estate in lands sufficient to keep four cows and two horses or garrans, paying the same scale of rent as the householders. Fishermen were to have the same holding to enable them to continue to fish. In every case the holders were to pay a double

rent for heriot on the death of the previous holder. If anyone died before an estate was granted to him those whom he had named were to receive the grant, provided they were from the same area in England, or were related to him by blood. The crown would provide food such as wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, malt, cheese, and butter at staple places as near to the settlers as possible which could be bought 'at as reasonable prices as may be.'

The place of the pensioners and others like them was only made clear in the fourth part when it was stated that

if any gentlemen of the shire will be disposed to go and inhabit in Ireland of his own charges he shall have assigned to him the value of so many ploughlands, being not above forty ploughlands, as he will carry with him persons brought up in husbandry, to make for every two persons one ploughland. And of the same he shall have like estate in tail as before is mentioned, and shall have power to make grants of copyholds or leases at his pleasure.

A complete scheme for a diverse settlement on crown lands in the north had been worked out. It included elements from every proposal made to the crown since the time of Archbishop Rokeby in 1515. The large and small holder and the craftsman were to be bound together in a village and parish structure that was not only to be transplanted from England but financed from there. The crown was to exercise a control while steering clear of some of the shoals which Leix and Offaly in particular had demonstrated where crown expenditure could far exceed any profit to be expected in rents and other dues. It represented what Cecil and Elizabeth had learned from the time of Edward VI and was to colour their views of future plans for colonization.

CHAPTER XVIII

PROPOSALS FOR THE SOUTH
1568

Fitzwilliam made no immediate move to go to the north. Early in January 1568 he complained that Turlough Luineach had failed to meet the commissioners in Dundalk on 30 December¹ but soon after he had the good news that Sorley Boy MacDonnell and a large body of Scots had departed from Ireland. In negotiations with Piers and Malby in December they had offered peace until May Day if their petitions were presented to the queen.² Danyell soon reported that Sorley Boy had gone to Raglin Island where 'he left as much people as he could gather manuring the land, and knits as much as he can in friendship to him.'³

Fitzwilliam was stung by the queen's letter of 24 December and by one of the 29th from Cecil which he returned to him. He wished Sidney or Knolles would come and take charge⁴ He told Elizabeth⁵ that he was not guilty of the Scots coming or of failing to put them out. Piers and Malby were placed in the north to do that. He was unfit as vice-treasurer, never having been trained as an auditor or an accountant, and 'much more unfit to have charge in martial affairs,' having not been 'bred up in the wars' and least

¹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 6 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 2).

²Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 12 Jan. (ibid., no. 10).

³Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 26 Jan., enclosing Danyell to them, 22 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P., Ire., 63/23, nos. 20, 20II).

⁴22 Jan. (ibid., no. 15).

⁵22 Jan. (ibid., no. 13).

fit of all to succeed those who had preceded him. The next day he promised to go to Carrickfergus, having proclaimed that he would rather be a doorkeeper at court than serve in Ireland.

Fitzwilliam and Weston next reported that affairs in Ulster 'grow great and very doubtful'⁶ Turlough Luineach was recruiting Scots in numbers and Fitzwilliam could see him in rebellion. The need for Sidney to return was reiterated.⁷ They asked the queen to thank Bagenal for his exertions and sent her a report from Piers and Malby,⁸ who had placed a garrison of English and Scots in Glenarm, and 'have fortified Belfast and have placed there fifteen horsemen, so that in this town (Carrickfergus) we live as quietly as in Dublin'. Malby asked Sidney⁹ how to proceed further with Glenarm, the taking of which he wanted upheld, and Belfast, 'which also cost me dear the building.' Carrickfergus with its 'compass of ground is become English pale' to the discontent of some. To make the country understand that the queen intended to order Ulster 'I have set up two ploughs at Belfast and one in this town of my own charges...'. He hoped to reap what he had sown but he looked to Sidney 'for I have no other refuge.' He also reminded him that 'the time draweth on, which is precious.'

To Cecil Malby was more explicit:¹⁰ The combination

⁶Fitzwilliam and Weston to the privy council, 8 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 33).

⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 8 Feb. (ibid., no. 36).

⁸8 Feb., enclosing Piers and Malby to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 30 Jan. (ibid., nos. 32, 32I).

⁹13 Feb. (ibid., no. 39).

¹⁰12 Feb. (ibid., no. 37).

between Turlough Luineach and Sorley Boy must be broken up 'and if our devices for inhabiting the seacoast may take place there is no doubt of keeping out the Scots...'. Since the beginning of January Piers had been trying to answer Sidney's summons to come to England, presumably to discuss the same point.¹¹ Neither Malby nor Piers were aware that Sidney was severely ill, though Fitzwilliam and Weston knew it.¹² While he was in Ireland he had developed kidney stones and had begun to pass them in the summer of 1567. He had a recurrence in England. The doctors who examined him in February 1568 recommended a regimen which included warmth and dryness.¹³ For the moment he was not able to press any Irish business.

Fitzwilliam and Weston felt that the activities of the Scots meant that they had broken the peace and authorized Piers and Malby 'to plant and settle your soldiers' at any point they considered necessary 'as well at Glenarm as the Market Town (Ballycastle) and any other place upon the coasts...'.¹⁴ From Glenarm Captain Cheston sent Piers and Malby the information that Alexander oge and Randall oge MacDonnell had promised 500 Scots 'that they shall inhabit in these quarters' and advised that a company of men be sent to Red Bay, which was strategically important 'for 40 men may keep it from 500.'¹⁵

¹¹Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, pp. 358, 362.

¹²Fitzwilliam and Weston to Cecil, 26 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23/no.22).

¹³'The state of Sir H. Sidney's body,' printed in full in Collins, Sidney Letters, i, pt1, pp. 93-5.

¹⁴13 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 74. XI).

¹⁵5 Mar. (ibid., no. 74. IV).

Further north Turlough Luineach was losing no time in fortifying Dunalong 'on this side of the lough towards Derry.' It was a castle he had broken in the war against Shane and he was now hastily making 'a great fortification about the same castle' while residing in it and using the seaways to send messages to Scotland and import Scots.¹⁶ Its location was also useful for negotiations with O'Donnell.

The general union of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the Scots alarmed everyone. Malby advised Cecil that unless the queen pleased 'to have great force here and to make a thorough conquest of this wicked nation (which is but a summer's work), it is neither giving them honour nor rewards will bring them to obedience. It must be the sword, by which they be easy to be brought to subjection.' Fitzwilliam wished that Sidney were back. He had been forced to revictual Carrickfergus a month ahead of time though the two hoys and three barques could not sail from Dublin until 17 March. He was anxious to get the four vessals at Larne and Carrickfergus to sea. He was also arranging the force to accompany him to the north which included 'Gilbert's band of one hundred harquebusiers on horseback,' an innovation in the Irish establishment.¹⁸ He left for Carrickfergus on 27 March, described by Weston as 'a wise, diligent, and painful gentleman in her highness's service.'¹⁹

¹⁶Danyell to Weston 11 Mar., Bagenal to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 20 Mar. (ibid., nos. 74. VIII, 74. IX), Danyell to Weston, 29 Mar. (ibid., 63/24, no. 9VII).

¹⁷19 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 73), Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 23 Mar. (ibid., no. 75).

¹⁸Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 23 Mar. (ibid., no. 74).

¹⁹Weston to Cecil, 2 Apr. (ibid., 63/24, no. 2).

At Glenarm Cheston had had a skirmish with Randall oge MacDonnell and sustained some casualties. He wanted more men, though the ones he had were 'so weak for want of victuals that it is a pity to see them.' He had only a few tuns of beer, 120 fish and 94 loaves of bread. Piers and Malby had sent some malt and wheat but Cheston told them²⁰ they should have sent a clerk to distribute it as he did not know how. He had only four pairs of querns in the church 'and women I have none to grind it withal, and my soldiers have answered me that they have no skill in grinding of corn. Therefore I pray you when my three months be out let another company be here as long...'. Fitzwilliam, who had arrived with Bagenal at Carrickfergus on 4 April, explained to Elizabeth and Cecil²¹ that a shortage of horses prevented Glenarm being victualled by land but that they 'may by sea commodiously be brought unto them, and (Glenarm) is also a place fit for service and reasonably near to the annoyance of the enemy.' He and Bagenal meant to go there from Carrickfergus for 'it is all open plain between...'.
 Cheston's plight was no worse than that of John Cadogan, constable of Dunluce. He wrote to Fitzwilliam²² three letters on 11 April saying how he looked daily for English aid and expected daily to see his herds of cattle driven off. His opinion of MacQuillan was poor as he had spoiled half of the last lot of victuals from Carrickfergus and no more were due until May. 'We are like to be famished; we have had no

²⁰3 Apr., enclosed in Fitzwilliam and Bagenal to Elizabeth, 14 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, nos. 4 4II).

²¹14 Apr. (ibid., no. 5).

²²Bodl., Carte MS58, nos. 42-4.

kind of bread this three weeks but sea weeds, nor no kind of victuals but salt beef.' He was having to buy supplies from a Scottish barque in Portrush and each day he watched other Scottish barques passing to Lough Foyle and he marvelled that the queen's ships did not intercept them. Turlough Luineach was encamped on the Bann one mile from Mount Sandell where the queen's fort had been spoiled and burned. He had done everything 'to betray our fort,' having 300 men about Dunluce for a fortnight.

Fitzwilliam reiterated to Cecil his desire that Sidney were back and that he could come to England to render his account, two things which were constantly on his mind. He had no good opinion of the calibre of his own forces and their employment.

I earnestly wish the English pale and those there into joining were rather presently guarded than the remote waste parts of Clondeboy where no subjects goods be when the army is away. No, nor any corn but oats and those this year sown by the Scots followers since Sorley (Boy) departed...

Any Scots cleared from the eastern side of the Bann would simply work southward towards the pale through Tyrone where they were sure Fitzwilliam would not go over to them. He had sent instructions south that Agard was to move forces to Dundalk, composed impartially 'out of the English shires,' to meet the Scots should they invade the pale.

Fitzwilliam was also concerned that Sir Brian mcPhelym O'Neill was 'knit up' with Turlough Luineach and the Scots. Sir Brian had withdrawn 300 to 400 cattle and all his other goods into the fastnesses south of Belfast and held the captain of Kilultagh prisoner in Castle Reagh. Though Sir Brian had said that these things were 'done by others under him and he unwitting thereof,' and had promised to return both the

cattle and the captain, he had not done so.²³

Fitzwilliam was continually worried about his unpassed accounts and he sent off clouds of letters to England expressing his concern. On 21 April intelligence arrived at Carrickfergus that Sorley Boy MacDonnell planned to land in Markenton bay with 1200 Scots or more on 27 April where he would be joined by Turlough Luineach. An expedition there by Fitzwilliam's forces was planned.²⁴ On 23 April he informed Weston²⁵ that he was on his way but before he left he took down the views of **Rory oge** MacQuillan, who had come to complain of raids on his country by Sir Brian mcPhelym O'Neill and Brian Carragh MacDonnell. **Rory oge** had a complete plan for securing the north.²⁶ He argued that if the queen had spent half of her total charges for the north in building 'certain forts or towns upon the Bannside next to Knockfergus and some one between Belfast and the lough end...no O'Neill durst have stirred or would have put up any head.' His reasoning was that with the forts there could be no mutual aid between Clondeboy, the Route, and the Glynnns on the one side and Tyrone on the other, 'the only succour which either of those two sorts of people and countries have by flying over the Bann...'. Then the Scots would be completely driven out of the north and O'Neill would 'lie between two forces,' the English pale and the line on the Bann. Then all the

²³Fitzwilliam to Weston, 15 Apr. (Bodl., Carte MS58, nos. 215-6).

²⁴Fitzwilliam, Bagenal, Piers, and Malby to Elizabeth, 21 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 13).

²⁵Bodl, Carte MS58, nos. 226, 231.

²⁶'The note of MacQuillan for the winning of whole Ulster to obedience, written the 23 of April at Knockfergus.' In Fitzwilliam's hand (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 224).

countries from Belfast to Newry could be 'put into obedience' and if it pleased the queen any who were already in Clандebo, the Route, and the Glynnns or who would inhabit them could take over the defences which would reduce her charges and shortly bring her 'a yearly good rent' to add to that of the countries to the south of them. In essence it was what the government had been considering for three years.

Fitzwilliam did not set out for Glenarm until 25 April. The next day Piers sent him word there of the Scots and their movements.²⁷ Fitzwilliam accompanied by Bagenal,²⁸ moved three miles beyond Red Bay and encamped for the night at Markenton Bay. On the 27th Bagenal and Malby went to investigate Dunsark and Ballinbeg, two MacQuillan castles, both of which were deserted as was the surrounding country. That night they camped at Dunluce. Once they were settled Fitzwilliam called in Bagenal and Malby and said in essence that he was afraid that Malby would kill him. Malby's astonished response was that 'he refused his salvation and to become a damned creature if ever he thought or meant any such practice against him...'. What Malby did not assert was that he may have said something. On the following day the return to Carrickfergus was begun and before eight miles had been marched Fitzwilliam pulled away with not more than twenty horsemen, refusing most of Bagenal's when offered them, and moved off to Glenarm. There he left orders that Bagenal was to follow him and Piers and Malby with the rest of the forces

²⁷ 26 Apr. (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 232).

²⁸ Bagenal to Sidney, 3 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 31) supplies the narrative following.

were to remain in Glenarm. That was done and when Bagenal arrived at Carrickfergus Fitzwilliam said they could not stay for lack of victuals and that 'he was evil at ease and sick.' The two did make a report to Elizabeth of what had been done to counter the Scots but the only thing of note was their request to her to hasten the return of Sidney.²⁹ For Fitzwilliam the letter was brief.

Bagenal had been assured that night by John Fitzwilliam that they would not move the next day. The following morning Bagenal was aroused with the news that they were going, and being sent for by Sir William, Bagenal wrapped his nightgown about him and went 'at which time I found him booted and spurred and calling for his horse ready to depart the town.' Bagenal was ordered to follow 'at my discretion.' Before leaving on the next day, 3 May, Sir Nicholas sent Sidney an account of the whole puzzling experience. Fitzwilliam 'is very suspicious, as your lordship shall understand, by the usage of Mr Malby' though Bagenal swore that Malby never 'thought any evil against him' especially as Fitzwilliam was governor, 'unto whom all we ought of duty to obey as I trust he shall have no cause to say the contrary.'

Fitzwilliam lost no time in getting to his residence at Lissenhall, co. Dublin, where he took his bed, ill with 'the disease of the country.' He was there for most of May but in a shaking hand he drafted a letter to Cecil³⁰ protesting anew his unfitness for his office as he had not the intelligence, learning, language, or 'experience in martial affairs to

²⁹ 1 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 28.).

³⁰ 8 May (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 238; P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/

govern soldiers with or to devise things meet to advance such service...'. He had been only nine years in Ireland, 'a time small enough in my opinion for anyone whatsoever he were that should come to serve in the chief place here,' even if he had all the qualities Fitzwilliam felt he lacked.

And when I further behold the state of this country notwithstanding the great sums of money spent and those issued by so wise men of whose large and sundry great gifts of God both in wit, learning, experience, travel abroad, and great continuance of friendship, some by birth and some otherways was not wanting, how then, right honourable, may I presume to the use of such a charge or you...being so grave and great a councillor to suffer me or advise that I should be put therein.

He explained that he left the north because of the chronic shortage of supplies but that his fear for his life was the principal reason 'of which I was warned in such sort as truly I may not otherways open than I was sworn unto upon the Bible, wherefore I humbly beseech you sir to obtain me leave but to come over and declare unto you that which I may...'.³¹

Those last words may provide some clue of what put Fitzwilliam in his fright. In 1567 he had reminded Cecil of the dreadful practices against him Arnold's time of which he had spoken to no one 'but yourself.'³¹ It seems likely that Malby said, or was represented as having said, something about the fate of Callough O'Connor and that similar treatment could be given to Fitzwilliam if the need arose.

Malby made haste to Dublin to protest his innocence to Weston, leaving Carrickfergus on 3 May.³² Fitzwilliam and Weston corresponded on the matter and on steps to make the

³¹23 Aug. (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 74).

³²Piers to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 3 May, with endorsement by Fitzwilliam, 18 May (ibid., no. 236).

north secure.³³ Fitzwilliam also had some discussion with Bagenal about seizing Malby when he came to Dublin but he was concerned that 'though there be some matter between Malby and me yet would I not all men might know the same.' If Malby sought justice in Dublin the matter was to be passed over and Malby was 'to be content...that it was but the heat of my brain and (I) in rage spake it.'³⁴ Fitzwilliam's concern for the north may have prompted his attitude. He had been informed that Turlough Tuineach and Sorley Boy had met on the Bann. There had been some disagreement between them but they were to meet again on 14 June. To Cecil Fitzwilliam's plea was 'Almighty God I pray, and you sir I humbly beseech, to rid me from Ireland...'³⁵ He was soon to derive comfort from a letter by Sidney saying that supplies were on the way and that Mary's flight from Scotland to England might keep the Scots at home. He expected to be in Ireland soon.³⁶

Fitzwilliam was also concerned about the south and he had reason to be. Almost the only thing which was going well was the pursuit of the O'More rebels. In January a cess of £ 237 10s. Irish was levied to pay for the 150 kerne, 10 horsemen, and 50 boys used by the baron of Delvin to hunt the sons of Ferras mcRoss O'More, a hunt which was to end on 1 March.³⁷ By the end of the month Fitzwilliam was able to

³³Fitzwilliam to Weston, 12 May, 13 May, Weston to Fitzwilliam, 12 May (ibid., nos. 243-4, 245, 247).

³⁴Fitzwilliam to Bagenal, 13 May (ibid., no. 246).

³⁵26 May, enclosing commissioners in the north to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 24 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, nos. 38 38 III).

³⁶May. From Greenwich (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 227).

³⁷9 Jan. 1568 (Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, p. 223-4; P.R.O.I, MS2532, f. 307).

report that 'Neill mcLice (O'More) is again into Cosby of himself and submitted him to the queen's majesty.'³⁸ At the end of March he was able to tell Cecil³⁹ of Delvin's hunt.

Of the O'Mores of Westmeath I trust ere long you shall hear of some service to be done upon them. My lord justice was promised not long sithens that ere one month ended to have two or three of their heads. Which done I trust you shall also hear of Hugh mcShane (O'Byrne) one that might be joiner with O'Carroll in some points, Hugh his son, and divers other in the English pale to be executed for keeping of those O'Mores this winter.

Fitzwilliam had in his possession a confession of Arthur O'Dempsey made in the presence of John Lee, the interpreter, and others in which he told of various hiding places of the O'Mores.⁴⁰ He named six men who were in O'Farrell's country and suggested Delvin and his men could track them down. He had also suggested at Christmas 1567 that Thomas Masterson should seize Kedagh, Rory, and other O'Mores who had gone from Leix to the vicinity of Holy Cross abbey in Tipperary and been entertained in the castle of Ferdorogh mcRedmond Roe. Kedagh had since taken shelter in the castle of Hugh mcShane O'Byrne in Ranelagh where he was kept secretly in a small chamber at the end of the hall. The family were his constant companions, including Feach mcHugh, but Hugh himself would not see Kedagh in case he had to swear an oath on the point. O'Dempsey thought Francis Agard could persuade Hugh to surrender Kedagh.

Whether Kedagh was captured does not appear but in July the queen was informed by the lord justices⁴¹ that

³⁸Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 22 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 15).

³⁹23 Mar. (ibid., no. 75).

⁴⁰7 Feb. 1568 (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 127).

⁴¹16 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 45).

Francis Cosby did send in unto us of late the head of Piers O'More, one of the rebels the Mores, and the rest of those rebels are not now to be heard of, as we take it either fled away from these parts into some other country, or do hold themselves so secret as indeed we hear not a whit of them.

In England the government had been examining the origins of the battle of Affanne anew with Cecil himself taking Cormac O'Connor's account of the aid Desmond had sought and got from the O'Conors and others.⁴² The following day a clerk took down Cahir O'Connor's version, which confirmed his brother's.⁴³ Notes were made to examine John of Desmond in the aid that had been sought from the Irish.⁴⁴ Both he and the earl were examined in February by Gilbert Gerrard, the attorney-general, and Knolles and Mildmay. From Ireland Sir Edmund Butler and Patrick Sherlock provided information to show that the earl had forfeited his recognisance of £20,000.⁴⁵ By March the earl and his brother were making submissions of all that they had to the queen.⁴⁶ In Ireland the countess of Desmond was having difficulty retaining what they had. Two rival claimants to the rule of the lordships in the absence of the earl and his brother had arisen, each with forces to back him. There was Thomas Roe Fitzgerald, the elder half-brother of the earl, who claimed the rule as his hereditary right, and there was James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, who asserted that he had been appointed by the earl. James was cousin german of the earl, being the son of Maurice Fitzjohn a totane

⁴² 7 Jan. 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 4).

⁴³ Ibid., no. 5. Quoted in full, Bagwell, Tudors. ii. 135-7.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 7.

⁴⁵ Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73, pp. 365-7.

⁴⁶ 16 Mar., 17 Mar. 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, nos. 71-2).

Maurice of the burnings, who had slain James Fitzmaurice, the twelfth earl on 19 March 1540 and been given the barony of Kerrykurryhy just south of the city of Cork by his brother James Fitzjohn, the thirteenth earl.⁴⁷ At one point the countess had apprehended them both but the news from England seems to have decided her to release them. She petitioned the lord justices that James Fitzmaurice have the rule of the country. They reported to Elizabeth⁴⁸ that he had been released before they could get him, 'and by the liking of the countrymen there and those of his faction made ruler of the earl's territories,' with 400 to 500 men under him. He did no immediate harm but Weston thought there was too much secrecy involved in James Fitzmaurice's accession and deferred confirming his rule until the queen expressed her pleasure.⁴⁹ The commissioners in Munster returned to Dublin on 5 May saying that no one came to them for justice except the freeholders and soon Thomas, Lord Fitzmaurice of Kerry asked for English protection as James Fitzmaurice was levying coyne and livery.⁵⁰ According to report he had also taken three or four of the earl's best castles and was collecting men and parleying with his neighbours, Irish and otherwise.⁵¹

James next informed the lord justices that he understood that Thomas had complained of him 'but I am so ignorant and so

⁴⁷The Desmond entry in The Complete Peerage and Robert Dunlop's articles in the D.N.B. clarify the relationships and the numbering of the earls.

⁴⁸23 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 74).

⁴⁹Weston to Elizabeth, 18 Apr. (ibid., 63/24, no. 9).

⁵⁰Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 16 July, enclosing Fitzmaurice of Kerry to them, 6 July (ibid., 63/25, nos. 45, 45 IX).

⁵¹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 18 July (ibid., no. 47).

unhappy that my complaints cannot come to your hands as I would wish...'. His neighbours knew the truth he said, and at least one of them backed up his story that he had taken 200 beeves 'in pledge for my lord's rents...'. Then at the end of April Thomas had taken 1100 cattle, household stuff and prisoners, broken two churches, and killed 300 of James's men and tenants.⁵² The lord justices had given James instructions that he was to make restitution to Thomas and not encamp in his country, whereupon James returned, according to Thomas, and then burnt as much houses as he left unburned before, and set all his host in camp the space of a whole week in my fields and burned my corn as much as was dry and ripe and plucked out of the ground the green corn, besides the burning of all the turves that I and my poor country had to fire against this winter.

Then James camped around Lixnaw for two weeks, intending to take the castle, but Thomas made a sally and killed O'Conor Kerry and others. Thomas concluded by providing the lord justices with the names of witnesses to his misery.⁵³

James Fitzmaurice may have been motivated in part by what was happening to the earl and John of Desmond in London. Andrew Skyddy's efforts to have them released had only got him into trouble and he sought Cecil's protection.⁵⁴ Gilbert Gerrard had drawn up submissions for the earl and his brother which they signed on 14 July with several of the privy council as witnesses, including Norfolk, Leicester, and Cecil.⁵⁵ The

⁵²James Fitzmaurice to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 27 July, Morris Fitzgerald to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 5 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 70. III, VI).

⁵³Fitzmaurice of Kerry to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 1 Aug. (ibid., no. 70. IV).

⁵⁴Skyddy to Cecil, 12 July (ibid., no. 28).

⁵⁵P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, nos. 30, 34, 35. Copy of the earl's submission in E.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 59.

earl was made to say that he had put himself in peril of forfeiting all his lands and goods besides his £ 20,000 recognisance. He threw himself on the queen's mercy and offered to her

all my castles, lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, franchises, tithes, claims, and hereditaments which I have or pretend to have by any means whatsoever within the realm of Ireland. Thereof to take into her highness's hand so much as to her majesty shall be thought meet and convenient, and the same to dispose for the benefit and commodity of the said realm of Ireland at her highness's will and pleasure.

He promised to take whatever legal steps were necessary to fulfil his submission. He and John were kept in the Tower until means could be worked out to recover what he owed the crown from his lands in Munster. An expense account was also worked out for his stay there and the costs of bringing him to England.⁵⁶

That there was a clear intention to utilize Desmond's surrender is shown by an undated 'note of those things which are to be taken from Desmond,' drawn up sometime afterward.⁵⁷ The liberty of Kerry was to be resumed and the earl was to renounce the rule of the Fitzgeralds in Co. Cork and his 'usurped sovereignty' over Sir Maurice Fitzgerald in Co. Waterford, the White Knight, and others. His tribute of 3,000 men of war from MacCarthy Reagh was to be converted into a crown rent and his right to impose galloglas was to be transferred to the crown. To satisfy his debt to the queen she was to have the chief rent of Youghal and his house there, the lordships of Imokilly and Coshbride, 'the manor of Kilmainhyne frontiering upon the earl of Ormond's country,' the town of

⁵⁶ Elizabeth to Sidney, 24 Oct. 1568 (Sidney S.P., no. 58).

⁵⁷ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 57.

Dingle in Kerry, and 'the lordship of Kerricurrihy, where Sir Warham St Leger now dwelleth, whereof the principal house is named Carrigaline.' The last item is of particular interest. The arrangement was one between the earl and Sir Warham, with whom he was on good terms, but Kerricurrihy was regarded by James Fitzmaurice as his own. Sir Warham may have entered into possession in October 1567 at the same time that he acquired some monastic property in Adare.⁵⁸ In September 1568 another settler, Piers Walshe at O'wney, warned that the area was disorderly and that James Fitzmaurice grew worse daily. In his view the ultimate culprit was John of Desmond.⁵⁹

The Butlers had become a source of trouble in Munster as well. In March Elizabeth had instructed Sidney⁶⁰ that to replace an earlier grant Sir Edmund Butler was to have as much of her lands as amounted to some £670 Irish a year, including a sixty year lease of the lands of the abbey of Connell, formerly held by Sir Edward Randolph, which encompassed Timahoe and its lands in Leix, and also lands of the abbies of Inistiogue and Baltinglass. Sir Edmund himself was utilized to take an extent of the lord of Dunboyne's lands in co. Kilkenny and Munster.⁶¹ Yet in May the wife of McBrien Arra complained to the lord justices⁶² that Sir Edmund and his brother Edward were undoing her and her poor country contrary to Ormond's 'will and pleasure.' A force of 1,000 horsemen,

⁵⁸ Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 143.

⁵⁹ Walshe to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 11 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 86 III).

⁶⁰ 12 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/23, no. 69).

⁶¹ Fitzwilliam and Weston to Cecil, 25 Mar. (ibid., no. 77).

⁶² 7 May (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 237).

footmen, and galloglas had spoiled her people of the meat and drink they had and their household goods 'with their clothes off their backs, under colour of coyne and livery.' Neither she nor her ancesters owed the Butlers anything and the only bond was the friendship she had with Ormond and her duty to the government. Since 1 November 1566 she had lost 300 cattle and caples to them and while she had tried to be forbearing they were using her 'worse and worse.' She wanted Fitzwilliam and Weston to give her redress and command the brothers to do no more.

Whether they wrote to Edward Butler or not it did no good and Lady O'Carroll was soon complaining of similar treatment, for on 17 July Edward was summoned to answer for damages to her tenants. He was given a second lecture on 10 August after another complaint by Lady O'Carroll on the theme that the queen's justice must be obeyed. To the latter his answer was that 'it is not unknown in what state the house whereof I am come is and ever hath been toward the crown' and that he would never harm an obedient subject. What was at issue was 'but a private quarrel stirred up by the said O'Carroll's sons,' whom he would produce shortly.

Sir William O'Carroll arrived in Dublin from England early in September and complained bitterly of Edward Butler, estimating that he had 800 men under arms. To aid him Fitzwilliam and Weston wrote to Cosby, Captain Henry Cowley, and Barnaby Fitzpatrick, sending them a copy of the letter they had written to Edward. It was a lecture in which he was told not to take coyne and livery or the law into his own hands and to disperse the force which he had in co. Kilkenny and on the

borders of cos. Wexford and Waterford.⁶³ That they were not alarmed is indicated by Fitzwilliam's suggestion to Cecil⁶⁴ that Butler could be preparing against James Fitzmaurice. Henry Davels, the sheriff of Carlow, had told Weston that Edward did not have more than 400 men and the two reported that reduced figure to Elizabeth saying that so far he was doing nothing more than taking coyne and livery and that his purpose was not yet clear.⁶⁵ Their minds were on the more obvious problem of the north.

At the end of March Elizabeth had informed the lord justices⁶⁶ that Thomas Lancaster, once bishop of Kildare, and 'very well acquainted' with Ulster was to be the new archbishop of Armagh. Since she understood that the cathedral and the archbishop's house were ruinous she gave orders that the dean and chapter and the principal lords and gentlemen of the diocese were to be consulted and make contributions towards the repair of both. Commissions were to be issued to take up timber, stone, carriages, and workmen at cess prices. A second letter explained that 'our secret intention' was also to avoid great charges and that the archbishop's house could serve as well for a residence for the deputy in the north and for the council which would be established there. People would contribute to the avowed purpose but not to the secret one and without their help the work could not go forward. The first letter could be published and she had given £200 to Lancaster for the purpose which he could repay after so

⁶³Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 8 Oct., enclosing correspondence cited (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, nos. 4, 4I, 4II, 4III, 4XII).

⁶⁴5 Sept. (ibid., no. 78).

⁶⁵4 Sept. (ibid., no. 77).

⁶⁶Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 28 Mar., two letters (ibid., nos. 86-7).

many years. Cecil added that the lord justices could also loan him more secretly.

Lancaster arrived in Dublin and was consecrated there on 13 June. It was his intention to set out for Armagh on the 17th and go as far as Newry, the 'broil' in the north preventing his going further, where he would make arrangements with the dean and chapter, 'the master of your works, certain masons and carpenters, for the cutting of timber and burning of lime...'. Despite Turlough Tuineach he was optimistic about the north.⁶⁷ He had not heard that O'Donnell had raided all the way to Armagh on 12 June when his forces came to within two bowshots of the town. Danyell, the dean, and Thomas Fleming escaped on horseback, leaving 'our gear behind' and being chased into the woods. All of the town was spoiled and some of the clergy and many of the inhabitants wounded. The raiders then turned to Turlough Tuineach's house of Benborb and burned it.⁶⁸

Even before this raid something was amiss with Turlough Tuineach's connexion with the Scots, for before 2 June, two weeks before the planned meeting with Sorley boy MacDonnell, the latter landed in the Glynnys with a few Scots 'and continuing there not past a two days returned back to the Raghlinns and carried away with him certain wattle which he had cut in the Glynnys to fortify upon certain creeks and other landing places in the Raghlinns.'⁶⁹ Fitzwilliam and Weston felt that

⁶⁷Lancaster to Elizabeth 15 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 5. He sent an identical letter to Cecil the same day (ibid., no. 6).

⁶⁸Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 16 July, enclosing Danyell and Fleming to them, 12 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, nos. 45, 45VI).

⁶⁹Ibid.

the Scottish danger was receding though Piers and Malby protested to the queen⁷⁰ that the two had informed her that the area under their charge was 'altogether out of...obedience,' which was not so. Everyone had submitted and brought their 'creaghts' so that there were 'at this instant 40,000 kine at your highness's devotion within the compass of our rule and not one man of name disobedient, but only Alexander oge mcAlaister Charry⁷ and Rory oge MacQuillan, which two we have driven clean out of their countries beyond the Bann, by which means all these parts...are in very good quiet the like whereof hath not been seen here this hundred years.' They intended to do their best to see that it would last and thought that internal dissensions would keep the Scots at home.

It was against that background that Captain George Thornton renewed his suit to Cecil,⁷¹ pursued unsuccessfully at his last visit to court, for Island Magee for himself and his lieutenant, John Potter. 'I trust in short space (as we have already builded a fort for the safeguard of the harbour) to have a fisher town inhabited with Englishmen always ready to serve the queen's majesty at sea...', a development contingent on the Scots staying out of the north. In a matter of weeks it was clear that the Scots thought differently. Sidney's secretary, Edward Waterhouse, who was in Chester, informed the lord justices⁷² that he had reliable information from Scotland that Sorley boy MacDonnell and a large number

⁷⁰7 July (:P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 23).

⁷¹2 July (ibid., no. 19).

⁷²4 Aug. Enclosed in Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 28 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, nos. 70, 70I).

of Scots were about to invade Ireland and that Argyll was getting timber for making galleys from Carrickfergus and Scotland. Fitzwilliam and Weston promptly ordered Piers and Malby⁷³ to take 'present and precise order for the stay henceforth of any great wood or boards to be passing from out that haven...'. They had also arranged for troops and supplies to be sent and the Mary Ragged Staff and the Hare, victualled in Dublin for six weeks except for beef which was to be got in Carrickfergus. The ships were to be kept at sea, patrolling the coasts.

At the end of August the lord justices informed Elizabeth that they had stopped timber being exported to Scotland 'either from Carrickfergus or Wexford' and at the 'special request' of Piers they had sent him Gilbert's own hundred men, better armed than the usual horsemen, thus largely denuding the pale. Sorley boy's men were already in the Glynnns and Fitzwilliam and Weston expressed a general expectation of trouble. Elizabeth had already been warned by Sidney 'in his journey thither.' In June Cecil had told Fitzwilliam⁷⁴ that Sidney had been appointed again as lord deputy and asked for advice as to directions for him. With Sidney's news of the Scots Cecil carefully redrafted a letter for Elizabeth to the lord justices⁷⁵ to make its proposal seem a new idea. Because the Scots were making great preparation to invade 'our country of Ulster and other the north parts of our said realm'

⁷³11 Aug., enclosed in Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 4 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, nos. 77, 77I).

⁷⁴25 June (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 207).

⁷⁵11 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 65).

Sidney was therefore to hasten his journey and land in Ulster. Fitzwilliam and Weston were to do everything possible to assist him, defend the English pale, and do the best they could with the south and west.

Fitzwilliam was almost as anxious to see Jenyson as he was to see Sidney for his accounts were still not passed. He wanted to return to England to do so as soon as Sidney arrived and he besought Cecil 'for God's sake, sir, help me to an end and rid me of Ireland...', where he was 'continually sick both in mind and with other diseases in the body.'⁷⁶ The same day he also wrote letters, probably with the same request, to Lady Cecil, Mildmay, Ormond, Sussex, and Leicester.⁷⁷ The news that Sidney was to land at Carrickfergus arrived on 3 September and Fitzwilliam and Weston explained to Elizabeth⁷⁸ some of the difficulties that would arise. The winter before there had been enough forces in the pale and 100 footmen were placed at the fort in Newry by Fitzwilliam to ensure 'good and quiet government thenceforth.' Now with the reduction in forces and those detailed to the north they could not guarantee the situation there if the Scots landed with the numbers predicted and the Irish joined them. The lord justices expected trouble in the west and thought they would have their hands full keeping order. Then when your deputy shall in his journey once pass over the Bann, and there whilst the foul weather to grow and the waters to arise (which those of the Irishry do alway well mark), he shall not be able to return back but with the loss of three or four days journey or more as it may so happen,

⁷⁶29 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 71).

⁷⁷Eodl., Carte MS58, no. 319.

⁷⁸4 Sept. to 9 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 77).

and the pretended mischief on their parts may happen to be done in the meanwhile. And all the said forces little enough therefore to intend to those accidents.

They had summoned a hosting for 11 September to furnish Sidney with carriage by means of cess. The garrisons in the north were victualled until the last of the month but after that the task would become difficult 'for lack of further credit' unless she ordered 'the speedy sending hither of treasure to supply those wants.'

In a postscript they pressed the last point with renewed vigour after they had received the latest news from the north. From Tallanstown Thomas, baron of Louth, informed them⁷⁹ that Turlough Tuineach had made peace with O'Donnell, MacGuire, and MacMahon, and having burned his own country he moved into Farney on 4 September and burned it as well as the neighbouring townlands of Stonetown and Killanny in co. Louth. Its sheriff, Edward Moore, soon added twelve to sixteen more townlands to the list of those burned.⁸⁰ The baron and the gentlemen of Louth pursued O'Neill's forces four or five miles into Farney but could not overtake them, which the baron thought was just as well as his forces were not large enough for an engagement. Sidney's arrival had been anticipated and Fitzwilliam had the double joy of Jenyson's arriving in Dublin on 6 September and a letter from Sidney that he had landed at Carrickfergus on the same day.

The decision to send Sidney back to Ireland had been

⁷⁹5 Sept., enclosure (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no.77 III).

⁸⁰Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 5 Sept. to 9 Sept. (ibid., no.78)

made by the end of February 1568 in despite of the doctor's report of that month.⁸¹ However, his patent and the instructions concerning private suits were not drawn up until April, though the latter were made final at that time.⁸² The final paragraph of those instructions was the most important, in which it was urged that in all rents 'good regard be had rather to the increase than the diminution of our revenue.' Failure to pay rents on time would have the penalty of 'doubling the same rent or forfeiture of the leases.' Within the counties of the English pale a fine of one year's rent was to be paid before the lease was delivered. Cecil got 'an opinion of the suits for suit of lands in Ireland' from an unidentified writer who knew parts of Ireland well, possibly Jenyson.⁸³ The result was a series of comments on the differences in rent on the basis of 'old' and 'new' surveys. The suits were granted on the basis of the 'old' survey and the following examples show what the writer thought a new survey would produce:

| Person | Place | Old Rent | New Rent |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------|
| Langan | Carlow | £ 23 16s. 7d. | £ 40 |
| Dublin Corporation | St. Mary's Abbey | 365:18:8 | 498 |
| Sarsfield | Tully | (22:13:4) | 39:12:4 |
| Netterville | a priory | 110:0:0 | 152:11:1 |
| Emery Lee | Ballina | 15:4:8 | 26:7:6 |
| Nicholas Pett | Ballybeg, co. Cork | 54:10:10 | 82:10:0 |

Such an improvement was what both Elizabeth and Cecil

⁸¹See the dates of the letters in Sidney S.P., no. 49 et seq.

⁸²'The contents of Sir Henry Sidney's patent,' 17 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 7). Instructions concerning suits, 20 Apr. (ibid., no. 11; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII - Eliz. pp. 513-9).

⁸³P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 12.

wanted. By July a formal letter from her to Sidney⁸⁴ laid down regulations for surveys to be delivered to the Irish auditor, who was to have the final approval of all leases and grants, even over her own letters. The declared object was to protect values and increase rents. Sidney's 'general instructions'⁸⁵ to be exhibited to the government in Dublin, also dwelt on her understanding 'that our revenue is not increased,' and insisted that a fine of one or even two years rent be paid within the area of the pale 'and where the goodness of the land shall so much exceed the value of the rent...'. In other areas he was to do the best he could.

A commission for debts was also to see that arrearages of payment by both officers and landholders were not allowed to increase in the future. The (vice-) treasurer was to stop all payments by the crown to those who were indebted to it until the two accounts were equal. The numbers of the army was fixed at about 1,550 men and Sidney was to cash certain bands that he had so recommended. Further, those officers which he had pensioned were only to be continued in pay who 'would abide and continue in such places within the province of Ulster as you shall think meet...'. The practice in general was to be discontinued for no new officers were to be made until all those who were on pensions were used to serve

⁸⁴ 11 July (ibid., 63/25, nos. 26-7). Final version dated 16 July.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, nos. 50, 51. Despite a clerk's endorsement of 'July 1568' no. 50 is an earlier draft of 'Instructions given to...Sidney...at Greenwich the first of May 1568' (ibid., 63/24, no. 29), and should be associated with a draft corrected by Cecil, (ibid., no. 30).

in any new posts. Only those placed in the north were to be retained except that Elizabeth wanted 'the like...to be done with certain pensioners which having served at Berwick are directed by us to resort unto Ireland to abide in Ulster,' where Sidney placed them.

In going to Ireland Sidney was allowed to go directly to Carrickfergus or elsewhere in the north to correct or suppress Turlough Luineach and his accomplices as well as ridding the area of the Scots, as had been arranged in conference. What took place there does not appear but it is plain from the drafts that the specifics of how to handle the north had to be altered as fresh news came from Ireland. Cecil struck out a long paragraph on Turlough Luineach in one version. Only the general objectives seem to have survived.

Sidney was given authority to summon a parliament. It was to be made plain to the Irish council and to that parliament that the councils intended for Munster and Ulster would require financial support. The act for subsidy in Ireland needed to be renewed. The great expenses of the queen in the remote parts of Ireland had been 'only for the preservation of that realm from foreign invasion, and maintenance of good and obedient subjects against the mutinous and rebellious.' In the past her English subjects had granted her large subsidies which with 'other our proper treasure' had been largely spent in Ireland but such a state could not continue. Her subjects in Ireland must contribute 'and this may be well assured to them that whatsoever can be devised to be yielded unto us in that realm, our meaning is to apply it to the benefit of themselves...'. The argument about her great expenses may not have been included in the final version of

the 'general instructions,' which do not seem to have survived in their finished form, but it does reflect Elizabeth's thought on the subject.

Sidney's private instructions, Cecil assisting in the drafting, were finished by 20 May.⁸⁶ As he knew that the queen intended to establish a council at Armagh where the deputy was to reside part-time he was to press the building and repair work there. He also knew that

certain crews and bands of soldiers should be disposed in sundry parts of the province of Ulster--towards Scotland--as more particularly hath been limited by writing made by our privy council upon conference with you.

He was to cause those 'places upon the seacoast and within the land to be viewed,' and while he was in the north they were either to be seized or so be preserved for the time when it would be

more commodious to put any wards in the same, causing in the meantime such things to be provided for the inhabiting of the said places to serve hereafterward for the said wards, according to the determination by us agreed upon. And to the end we may...the better understand the situation of the same places...and for our further information upon any treaty or consultation to be had upon those parts: we have thought it necessary to send our (servant Robert Lythe) at this present with you, being skillful in the description of countries by measure according to the rules of cosmography, whom we wish you should employ for the same purpose as you shall think most necessary, and from time to time to send us such descriptions as he shall make...

...as soon as you have understood upon your being in those parts any other new matter than heretofore you have signified unto us for the placing of any crews or wards, or how otherwise the same countries might be put in strength to keep out the Scots or might be peopled and inhabited with subjects to be trusted, we would have you verify us with speed of all such particularities, for we think now upon your second being there you shall perceive find cause of a further understanding than heretofore you had and thereby may better inform us.

⁸⁶There seem to have been two versions, the earlier one being dated 1 May. A comparison of the draft in P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 29 with the ones in 63/25, nos. 50 and 51 indicates the part that was to be private.

Despite these cautionary notes Elizabeth had entered into the idea of colonizing in the north as her next three points showed. Sidney was to consider how Carrickfergus might 'be entrenched in, to the end comfort may be given to draw our people thither to inhabit there. And so afterward more commodiously derive some families from thence into other remoter places.' He was asked if Olderfleet, represented as the best harbour on that coast, should be granted a charter and to give his advice on other inducements by which 'people might be enticed to come thither and inhabit there.' He was also instructed to go to Armagh on his way to Dublin and decide how it should 'be likewise entrenched to the like end for inducing of habitation of people as we have before mentioned in Knockfergus.' He was to get the inhabitants to cooperate and bear the burden of the expenses involved.

One source for Elizabeth's interest was probably a list of 'the names of such persons as serve under Thomas Might, surveyor of the victuals in Ireland.' Might had built up a sizeable staff of three surveyors and six clerks with a work force of thirty-eight men, costing £ 3 12s. 4d. a day or better than £ 700 a year. Some of his bakers, brewers, cooks, cutters of furze, butchers, millers, and porters and turners of grain were employed at Dublin and Carlingford but twenty-four of them were at Carrickfergus. While there were a good many Irish names among them there were also names such as Wynter, Clapton, Morgan, Fox, Wolff, Marley, Beakon, Turkes, Bennett, Stone, Ironside, Fullam, Byrd, and Brittain. It was by such a process that a great many English found their way to Ireland and Sidney's instructions were to encourage the process.

The cost of victualling the army was also a problem to be solved and it is evident that during the spring the crown decided that the only way to tell whether an establishment like Might's was really necessary was to farm the whole victualling business. Sidney asked for £5,620 16s. for specific debts already incurred at the end of April.⁸⁷ Of the total £2000 was owed in England, mostly for supplies, to such people as Might, and Richard Paule of London who was owed 'for versies, bedding, and other necessities...to the soldiers at Knockfergus.' The 'poor artificers' and labourers who had served uner Vaughan at Derry, some thirty English names, were still owed £174.⁸⁸ The remaining £3,620 16s. was to be spent in Ireland, including £1,000 for buildings and fortifications in Ulster which were to have 'provision of victuals for six months beforehand, as it is in Leix and Offaly, for 400 men after 4d. sterling per diem for every man, with consideration for the officers,' at a cost of £1,220 16s.

Two days later Might made a petition for 'the victualling in Ireland' to the privy council, which represented the terms on which he said he would take the farm. The government made annotations on his twenty points.⁸⁹ After a month there emerged an 'agreement between her majesty and Thomas Might touching the victualling of all her soldiers in Ireland as well by sea there as by land, and as well horsemen as footmen...',⁹⁰ concluded, it was said in an additional set of

⁸⁷ 26 April (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 18).

⁸⁸ Ibid., no. 22.

⁸⁹ 28 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 20).

⁹⁰ 24 May (ibid., no. 36). Copy, with marginal notes by Cecil (ibid., no. 37) Another copy, giving contents, 24 May 1568 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, no. 256).

general instructions to Sidney,⁹¹ 'by your good means and with the advice of you and others of our council...', with the express purpose of getting rid of surplus officers 'and divers excessive charges.' The arrangement was to be under Sidney's supervision and the agreement, complex in its details, was to be carried out by the assistance and surveillance of the deputy in several details. It is clear from a comparison of Might's requests with the notes made on them by the privy council and the agreement with Cecil's notes that Elizabeth drove a hard bargain with him. He was to be paid £3,000 sterling in three installments over the year from the Irish revenues, against his bond of £4,000 for the year. From 1 September 1568 he was to victual the garrison in the north, the numbers being limited to 800 footmen on land for nine months, 100 horsemen and their 200 horses for six months, and 100 seamen at sea for three months. Might wanted 'houses of office' for his use to be built at Carlingford and Carrickfergus with all brewing vessels and other implements as well as the mills building at Carrickfergus. The agreement added Newry and Armagh and his transport was to be the use of two of the queen's hoys. With these he was allowed to take 25,000 lbs. of butter and 50,000 lbs. of cheese in England and Wales at his own price, as well as wheat and malt in times of dearth. He was to give six months notice to Sidney and return the £3,000 if he withdrew, and the queen could also withdraw after the same period of notice. Detailed specifications were made for

⁹¹20 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 8).

⁹²Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, 1 June, 10 June (ibid., nos. 1, 3).

carriage and cess prices, and what the soldiers would pay for their rations. Only half their pay was to be so spent.

Along with the statement on Might the additional general instructions gave Sidney permission to use his discretion for invading Scotland to stop the Scots coming to Ireland, as he had requested.⁹³ He was also to displace Thomas Stukely and restore Nicholas Heron, who would be more widely used when the council in Munster was established.

The last point prompted Sidney, signing himself 'your siok friend,' to ask Cecil to get the queen's resolution on that council and he suggested as possible presidents Sir John Pollard, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir Peter Carew, Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Hugh Cholmeley, Sir Andrew Corbett and Nicolas Beamont.⁹⁴ Four days later he raised further points to be determined,⁹⁵ including a request

that the instruction for Leix and Offaly may be re-erected because divers estates granted by the late lord lieutenant are escheated to her majesty and divers insufficient persons would resign to men of more ability, being natural Englishmen, their lands in those countries.

He wanted similar authority to grant the queen's lands in Connaught 'to natural Englishmen and to none other...'

A final set of instructions on private suits was drawn up immediately to answer these and other points raised by Sidney.⁹⁶ He did not get the authority for Connaught but he was given the same rights as Sussex in Leix and Offaly because Elizabeth understood 'that there doth yet remain some

⁹³ 24 April. A memorial for Ireland, Cecil's endorsement. The date is more likely 24 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 16).

⁹⁴ 27 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 11).

⁹⁵ 1 July (ibid., nos. 13-15).

⁹⁶ 2 July (Sidney S.P., no. 53).

parcels...whereof no grant is yet made and as meet to be so granted for our service...to such persons as shall be thought meetest with such estates and covenants as were before thought most profitable for us and our country...'. Sidney also got authority to treat with Bagenal for the exchange of Newry and Carlingford with the crown, having determined their value under Edward VI, and considering 'in what sort the same exchange might be made beneficial for us...'. He was then to give his opinion to Elizabeth for her decision.

At Ormond's suit, apparently, Teig MacCarthy was to have a 31 year lease of Mourneabbey, co. Cork, formerly leased to James, earl of Desmond. Then at Sidney's suit Jacques Wingfield was to have a 60 year lease of lands worth £100 Irish a year in cos. Limerick, Cork, or Kerry, selected by Sidney as suitable 'for him and for our service.' The lease was to cease if the rent were not paid and further Wingfield was to continue 'master of our ordnance to provide that we may by way of retainer be paid as far forth as his fee shall amount unto.'

Sidney had asked for permission to cash the ward at Leighlin Bridge and in the draft of her reply⁹⁷ Elizabeth agreed saying that originally it had been placed there 'only for defence of the frontier, before the O'Mores and the Kavanaghs were reduced to obedience as now they be.' The matter was omitted entirely from the completed letter, but it was to appear again later.

There was one other major item of business, Fitzwilliam's accounts. In April a letter had been drafted authorizing

⁹⁷ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 16.

Jenyson and a commission to proceed,⁹⁸ and in July the matter was made final.⁹⁹ To do their work properly they were told to first take the accounts of the general receiver of revenue, the master of the ordnance, the victuallers, the ministers of works, and then to take the vice-treasurer's accounts. Cecil himself added that nothing was to be allowed by without reason.

At this point William Bermingham presented a request for a final end to the checks on which he had worked for six years. He enclosed his version of what had been established by all the examinations as £18,726 18s., of which his one sixth was £3,121 3s. He had received £360 sterling and so he claimed £1,980 17s. 3d.¹⁰⁰ Cecil sent another version to Coddendam, an auditor of the prests, with the comment that 'this book containeth more in it than the other book did.'¹⁰¹ Coddendam, equally without records, was prepared to agree.¹⁰² They preferred, apparently, to see what results Jenyson would produce. He and Sidney were now both thoroughly briefed for their return.

Once landed at Carrickfergus on 6 September, Sidney disappeared from view. For a time Fitzwilliam had no news of him¹⁰³ though he knew that the companies of Gilbert and Basnet

⁹⁸P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/24, no. 24.

⁹⁹Elizabeth to Sidney, Weston, James Bathe, Draycott, and Jenyson, 16 July (ibid., 63/25, no. 43), 'concerning Jenyson's dispatch', c. July (ibid., no. 58).

¹⁰⁰Bermingham to Cecil and Mildmay, July 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 54).

¹⁰¹8 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, no. 60).

¹⁰²9 Aug., 10 Aug. (ibid., nos. 60, 61).

¹⁰³Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 18 Sept. (ibid., no. 86).

were with him. Then Fitzwilliam was busy locating certain artizans Sidney wanted, 10,000 long lathes or single boards to make them with, and 5,000 bricks. He had to tell Sidney that the bricks were not immediately available.¹⁰⁴ Sidney had spent his first three weeks in Carrickfergus, paving the town, repairing the church, and seeing to the ditches of the town. Work also went on in the repair of the cathedral at Armagh where a roof and shingles had been cut for the chancel. Lancaster, the archbishop, had not gone there yet for fear of 'this wicked man Turlough.'¹⁰⁵

As part of his program for the north Sidney placed the castle and manor of Belfast in the hands of Sir Brian mcPhelym O'Neill and Brian Caragh. By the terms of the agreement made with them they were to do seven things.¹⁰⁶ A bridge was to be built so 'that man, horse, drag, cart and wain with all manner of carriage, may safely pass and repass over and through the same in some convenient place over the ford at Belfast...'. Passes a hundred feet in width were to be cut through the woods as far as Kilwarken and they were to give protection to 'any messenger, carriage, and soldier from Belfast to Dromore and from Belfast to Knockfergus.' Dromore was the almost exact halfway point between Newry and Belfast. They were to 'defend all artificers working or framing of timber in any of the woods there and any other that shall be appointed to furnish the town of Knockfergus; and they were

¹⁰⁴Fitzwilliam and Weston to Sidney, 18 Sept. (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 341).

¹⁰⁵Thomas Lancaster to Cecil, 12 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 21).

¹⁰⁶8 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 5).

to have cut and brought to the waterside 'so much wood for the burning of the brick at Knockfergus' as was required. All shipping for that or any other purpose was to be protected. Finally they were to settle with Malby 'for all such sums as he hath disbursed there, and for such hay and other provisions as he hath there...'. Sidney was wasting no time in preparing the north for colonization.

Cecil maintained a steady flow of news to Sidney but by the end of October he was troubled by the lack of any word from Sidney, even to his wife. Cecil sent two letters by Humphrey Gilbert, knowing how much Sidney valued him, 'and I take him to be a gentleman well molded and minded to take any such charge in Ireland...', a reference to an appointment in the south which Gilbert had been considered for but did not get.¹⁰⁷ Throughout November Cecil continued to go without news.¹⁰⁸

When Sidney did write to Cecil early in November he gave a voluminous report on what he had done and would like to do, 'fearing lest it should not be so brief as it might seem easy to be read by her highness I have addressed it unto you, beseeching you to impart the same unto her majesty at such times as shall seem best unto you, and to solicit her highness's resolution and expedite means for execution thereof.'¹⁰⁹ He had informed Elizabeth that all the seacoast from the Bann

¹⁰⁷ 24 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 8), 5 Nov. (ibid., no. 14).

¹⁰⁸ Cecil to Sidney, 19 Nov., 29 Nov. (ibid., nos. 46, 48).

¹⁰⁹ 8 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 18). The calendar suggests 12 Nov., but see next note.

to Carlingford was in her hands.¹¹⁰ To Cecil he gave his opinion that Scotland was 'the origin of the mischief of this country...I neither think any of that race or nation meet to be admitted as tenants or inhabitants of any part of this realm nor yet do judge that they will abstain from infesting the same as much as they may.' Sidney suggested that MacDonnell could be set against Argyll to stop his 'or any other Irish Scots' from invading Ireland if Elizabeth would renew his pension 'of ancient time.' That £200 would save five times as much in Ireland. Raglin Island would have to be taken and fortified 'for it is the very staple and baiting place of the Scots.' A sufficient fortification could be made for £300 sterling and there would be corn and cattle to support the garrison which should have at least twenty horsemen and twenty footmen.

Sidney took up the problem of Ulster:

To true it is that the charges will be intolerable for her majesty as I fear either to defend that province by soldiers, or to plant it with people at her own charges. And yet one of these two ways must needs be taken before reformation or revenue can be looked for. And therefore in my opinion persuasion would be used amongst the nobility and principal gentlemen of England that there might at sundry men's charges, without exhausting of the prince's particular purse, be induced here some colony, if it were to the number of 2,000 men or more. Here were room enough for them, but they then must be so furnished with money, apparel, victuals, and means to till the ground, and seed for the same, as if they should imagine to find nothing here but earth. And indeed little else shall they find, saving only flesh and some beasts for areing (ploughing) of the ground. And all these might well be planted in that tract of ground which I left under the government of Piers and Malby, which is no part of Tyrone. In which I am well assured there lieth not the 200th nation which there might well be nourished.

Sidney argued that such a program would have to be put into effect in the summer of 1569 and he proposed a list of things

¹¹⁰ 'A memorial of things for Ireland, sent 8 Nov.' (ibid., no. 19). Letters from Sidney to Elizabeth and Cecil.

to be done in the spring. The fortifying of Carrickfergus should be finished, which would cost £600, and the pier of the haven there would cost another £800. He also wanted a bridge over the Bann with a castle on it, and strongpoints at Portrush, Skerries, Markenton Bay, Red Bay, Glenarm, and Larne, for which the total cost would not be less than

£2,000. Within their circuit the 2,000 men could be settled and they would yield the crown £600 sterling a year. Tyrone was to be left in the hands of its natives but Sidney wanted a fortified town at Armagh which would cost at least £1,000 and a bridge over the Blackwater with a castle.

Sidney had been instructed to confer with Sir Nicholas Bagenal about exchanging his lands and he pressed in detail that the exchange be made before the following spring, both because Bagenal was in debt and because Sidney wanted the buildings which Bagenal had begun at Carlingford, Newry, and Greencastle. With repairing the bridge at Dundalk he did not think the construction would be finished for less than £2,000. Sidney wanted MacGuinness evicted from the lordship of the Narrow Water and O'Hanlon from the manor of Fedan. He proposed to join these to Bagenal's holdings and use them as a base for the deputy, and he would pay Elizabeth £200 a year sterling for them where before they yielded her nothing. Altogether he wanted Elizabeth to spend £6,000 and promised her that Ulster would pay her £5,000 a year clear 'and save as much which now she payeth to soldiers.'

This I trust shall seem no hard bargain to her majesty if she of her princely persuasion can bring of her people to such a number as is aforesaid to inhabit here, nor yet hard to these who for one year's charge, and that no greater than they should be put by living in England, may purchase to them and to their heirs forever a competent and sufficient living.

If the scheme were carried through Sidney wanted fishermen in

particular to be sent. He would then send Cecil a detailed rental and a man to explain the kind of men he wanted and 'the quantity of the lands to be assured to them...'. If the scheme was not accepted, then Sidney wished 'money to be sent, soldiers to be cashed, and let the Scottish enemy or Irish rebel occupy the country. For the keeping of it by men in sold will be more charges than it will be worth.'

At the end of October Sidney returned to the south where a variety of problems awaited him. Fitzwilliam had not been successful in coping with Edward Butler, who was reported too have joined 'in company and friendship with Piers Grace and others no less evil than he, as the O'Mores and O'Conors.' Edward had refused to answer the letter of Fitzwilliam and Weston to him and said that he would only appear before Sidney unless his brother, Ormond, came to Ireland.¹¹¹ His activities since the beginning of September had made clear that they were not directed against James Fitzmaurice. McBrien Arra complained¹¹² that on 3 and 4 September Edward brought a force of sixty horsemen, 100 galloglas, 600 gunners and kerne, and 300 'slaves, knaves, and boys', camping for two days and nights around two churches of McBrien, in which there were 300 coffers and chests of his worth ~~is~~ 500. These the raiders spoiled, and ravished the women who had taken refuge in the churches. They had also 'taken and wasted such sum of corn as my poor followers are like to be famished by the same in time.' McBrien did not want to make private war

¹¹¹Fitzwilliam to Sidney, sent 2 Oct. (Bodl., Carte MS58, no. 352).

¹¹²9 Sept., enclosed in Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 18 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/25, nos. 86, 86II).

but he asked if loyal subjects should be treated in such fashion. He thought Edward was the best supporter of rebels since Shane O'Neill, and that while Sir Edmund claimed he could not rule Edward there was no truth in it. Sir William O'Carroll raised the same point,¹¹³ saying that his son Thady, on his way to Clauricarde with a force of ninety men, encountered Edward's entire force at night, coming to raid Ely O'Carroll. They killed twenty-one of Thady's men and took eight of his horses. From Shillelagh Oliver Fitzgerald complained that the forces of Sir Edmund Butler on 5, 6 and 11 September came 'to spoil in their terrible array,' and from twenty townlands took seven horses, sixty ploughgarrons, and £2,000 worth of such household stuff as brass, silver, money, pewter, iron woollen, linen, and butters. They killed 'two women and a young suckling child' and carried off as prisoners four of Fitzgerald's servants. The lord justices bound Sir Edmund to keep the peace and sent Thomas Stukely, seneschal of Wexford, to collect his prisoners and bring them to Dublin.¹¹⁴

Despite such reports Fitzwilliam was still hoping that Edward would bring in the head of Piers Grace. Then he and his men could have a pardon and Edward could 'be considered besides with some portion of land by Leix to make him better able to live with.'¹¹⁵ Edward was still camping on the borders of Ely O'Carroll with a thousand men, according to

¹¹³ 14 Sept. (enclosed, *ibid.*, no. 86 IV).

¹¹⁴ Oliver Fitzgerald's complaint, Fitzwilliam and Weston to Sir Edmund Butler, 23 Sept. (Bodl., Carte MS58, nos. 346-7).

¹¹⁵ Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 7 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 2).

Sir William O'Carroll, 'and hath no mind to appear before your honours till such time all his malefactors be pardoned (as I am informed).' Edward maintained that he was protecting the territory of Ormond from the depredations of the O'Carroll's.¹¹⁶

Sir Peter Carew, fresh on the Irish scene, informed Cecil that Edward Butler 'hath (as they term it here) been out these two months...' and that on 1 November with a force of 180 horsemen and 400 galloglas, part of his whole force of 1,500 men, he entered co. Wexford for the purpose of acquiring victuals. Sir Edmund was also supposed to have 1,000 men and the brothers were camped within two miles of each other. Carew thought it 'the most perilous matter in in this land at this present.'¹¹⁷ Sidney himself was quite succinct regarding the Butler area for which he saw only two solutions. Either the earl must return 'or else I must go thither myself.' He knew he would inevitably be accused of being partial if he went. He had tried to get Edward to come in by persuasion as he had kept and educated Edward when he was young. Edward declined to do so without a pardon or protection.¹¹⁸ Lady Dunboyne, in a private letter¹¹⁹ complaining of the depredations of the two Butlers in which 'Edward is but a patch to Sir Edmund in extortion and spoil,' gave it

¹¹⁶ Edward Butler to Fitzwilliam and Weston, 24 Sept., O'Carroll to same, 30 Sept., enclosed in Fitzwilliam and Weston to Elizabeth, 8 Oct. (ibid, nos. 4, 4XI, 4XIII).

¹¹⁷ 2 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 12).

¹¹⁸ Sidney to Cecil, 8 Nov. (Collins, Sidney Letters, pt. ii, pp. 37-8).

¹¹⁹ Lady Dunboyne to Lucas Dillon, 22 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 47).

as her view that their raids on her and the White Knight 'be in displeasure of my said lord deputy's good government.'

The wife of McBrien Arra, informing her husband of Edward's latest raid, thought 'you were better (to) hold some farm in the English pale, whereby you may lead a quieter life...'.¹²⁰

Edward forstalled government action by coming in¹²¹ but Sidney had decided to go south himself and by 30 November he was in Maryborough.¹²² He found Leix and Offaly in good order and moved on to Kilkenny where several of Edward Butler's followers were executed as were many more at Waterford, 'not by martial law, but by verdict of twelve men orderly.'¹²³

Sidney had tamed the Butlers but he had other problems in the south. Sir Nicholas Heron had died in England on 1 September, 'whereof I think Mr. Stukely will take no thought,' Cecil commented to Sidney.¹²⁴ Stukely was Sidney's candidate to become seneschal of Wexford and constable of Ferns and Leighlin Bridge but he was not Elizabeth's. Cecil, finding her 'bent to have Mr. Stukely removed from his office,' suggested Nicholas White instead which she 'readily assented unto, wherein I persuaded myself that you would be well content.'¹²⁵ Elizabeth informed Sidney that she wanted Stukely

¹²⁰ 12 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 23).

¹²¹ Sir Peter Carew to Cecil, 16 Nov. (ibid., no. 24).

¹²² Sidney to Cecil, 30 Nov. (Collins, Sidney Letters, pt ii, pp. 40-1).

¹²³ Sir Peter Carew to Cecil, 26 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 59).

¹²⁴ 3 Sept. (ibid., 63/25, no. 75).

¹²⁵ Cecil to Sidney, 24 Oct. (ibid., 63/26, no. 8).

removed and the garrison at Leighlin Bridge abolished as he had recommended.¹²⁶ Sidney agreed to White as seneschal, a post for which he was fitted but not as a commander of troops for which he was not fitted. He told Cecil¹²⁷ that his other letters 'declared my devotion to Thomas Stukely...'. Cecil argued that while White might not have experience in military affairs 'he is much superior in civil,' and that the queen had decided the change.¹²⁸

Another change was taking place in Leinster. Sir Peter Carew had landed in Waterford and spent some time among the Kavanaghs of Idrone in Co. Carlow. He then moved on to Dublin and informed Cecil on 2 November¹²⁹ that 'as for my own affairs I trust to finish some part of them within these fourteen days. I find ancient records here serving well for my purposes, and nothing hitherto hurtful to the same.' Carew had come to claim the barony of Idrone and lands in Co. Meath as his by inheritance from the Carews who had held them in medieval times. This celebrated case has been treated many times, but what concerns us here is not the validity of his descent but the fact that he was able to secure a judgment in his favour in December.¹³⁰ That case deserves to be examined with care for it had an influence on subsequent events and some implications that have not been noticed.

¹²⁶ 4 Nov. (*ibid.*, no. 13).

¹²⁷ 14 Nov. (Collins, *Sidney Letters*, pt. ii, pp. 38-9).

¹²⁸ Cecil to Sidney, 15 Dec. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 57).

¹²⁹ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 12.

¹³⁰ Carew to Cecil, 26 Dec., covering 'Copy of the order taken...for the land in question between...Carew...and others. 24 Dec'r 1568' (*ibid.*, nos. 58-9).

Carew informed Cecil that

The matter between the Kavanaghs and me touching the barony of Idrone, being sundry times debated at the council board before the council and learned judges of this realm by their learned council and mine, at length upon good deliberation and just ground was adjudged by them under their decree and hands to be my rightful inheritance.

Sidney had confirmed this in the part of the case he had heard before he went south. Three Kavanaghs had appeared 'an made answer in substance...that their ancestors and all those whose estate they had before the conquest and sithens have been successively seized of the premises as of their lawful inheritance...'. After Sidney left the case was heard again with counsel for both sides. The Irish could only make a title with words from Dermot ni Gall MacMorrough, 'being before the conquest King of Leinster, from whom they supposed themselves to be descended.' On Carew's behalf it was argued that the conquest had voided that title, that Dermot only had a daughter, and that the defendents were descended 'but of a wild Irish race and kindred sprung up sithens...'. Carew on the other hand was the 'lineal and immediate descent' of the barons of Idrone, who were seized of the barony and answered for it in the exchequer until in time of rebellion the MacMorroughs dispossessed them, of which the present defendents were descended and not 'by the laws of the holy church.' When charged they could not prove the contrary. The council found for Carew on 17 December and an order was promulgated on the 22nd.

Altogether the Kavanaghs made a very lame case and it seems likely that the decision was what they wanted. Indeed they may have emulated their ancestor Dermot ni Gall and have invited Carew to Ireland. In Idrone they were near neighbours of Sir Edmund Butler at Clogrenan and they

probably preferred to have Carew as a landlord. The events of the following year point strongly in that direction.

Carew's position was sufficiently strong that Sir Christopher Cheevers was willing to pay eighteen year's purchase for any of the seven Carew townlands that he held in Co. Meath for which he could make a good title. Carew offered him fifteen year's purchase instead according to an impartial rating. The repercussions came in 1569.

Sidney's final problem in the south was Munster. By October detailed instructions had been drawn for the council in Munster and Sir John Pollard, its proposed president, had made notes on them.¹³¹ There the matter stalled, for Elizabeth was in 'no way disposed to be at so great charge' as the rates proposed for the council. Cecil, who advised Sidney¹³² of the necessity for a reduction in the cost, suggested a way out. A year before he and Sidney, Winchester, Bacon, and Mildmay had worked out much cheaper rates for the councils in Ulster, Connaught, and Munster. They must revert to these. Sidney worked out new rates for the councils of both Connaught and Munster to which the queen would have to contribute about £1,250 sterling a year.¹³³

Sidney was convinced that only force would deal with James Fitzmaurice and MacCarthy Mor, the new earl of Clancar. Either John of Desmond must be sent back or a president and

¹³¹ Copy of the instructions for the president and council in Munster, Oct. 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, nos. 9, 10).

¹³² 5 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 14). Cecil's calculations, c Nov. (ibid., nos. 14I, II, 15, 67).

¹³³ 'Rates for the presidents'..., 30 Nov. Signed by Sidney (ibid., no. 49).

council established. If St Leger or another Englishman had been in charge there the disorder would not exist. Sidney stressed to Cecil¹³⁴ that he must persuade the president and his captains 'to bring as few of their own men as they can for they shall find better service of the soldiers trained in this land.' The president would have to bring money, wheat, and oats. Lancaster told Elizabeth and Cecil¹³⁵ that Munster would be in even worse order 'were it not for Sir Warham St Leger and Mr Greenville, who keeps their abode at Cork,' holding the local nobility in check. Sidney made exactly the same point about both Richard Grenville and St Leger when the latter came to Dublin to confer with Sidney in mid-November.¹³⁶ He reported that Spanish ships were landing arms in Clancare in thousands and that there was a line of communications with forces in Tipperary and Kilkenny. Sidney asked that

if the bruit be true that William Wynter is by her majesty already sent unto the seas, that he be directed to ply some time to the south of this realm about Baltimore to visit these Spanish practicers, because I cannot well spare the shippings here already from attending the Scots upon the coasts of Ulster.

Sidney had expansive ideas for Munster as well as Ulster for he sent Jacques Wingfield into Munster to make a report and to determine what part of the crown's revenues in cos Cork and Limerick 'I would take to farm.'¹³⁷ Wingfield found the area completely wasted because 'it was well known

¹³⁴ 8 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 18).

¹³⁵ 12 Nov. (ibid., nos. 20, 21).

¹³⁶ Sidney to Cecil, 18 Nov. (Collins, Sidney Letters, ptii, p. 39).

¹³⁷ Wingfield to Cecil, 12 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 22).

that I and others of English birth should thereof become tenants. But that worst is no people is left to inhabit the same.' In co. Limerick there was 'no land tilled saving what is guarded by the walled towns or from the castles in cover of barquebusiers,' and co. Cork was possibly worse. It was a quarter of the realm in which it was hard to find 'either quiet Geraldine or contented Butler.'

At least a part of what was intended to be done to colonize Munster is indicated by a scheme put forward by Heirom or Jerome Brett in November 1568 on behalf of seven undertakers.¹³⁸ As noted by Brett they were Sir Warham St Leger, Edward St Loe, Richard Grenville, Humphrey Gilbert, Jacques Wingfield, Thomas Leighton, and Gilbert Talbot.¹³⁹ Leighton occurs variously as a servant of Leicester's and a 'bearer' of Sidney,¹⁴⁰ and Talbot was a son of Bess of Hardwicke. Basicly they wanted 'the fishing of the south and southwest seas of Ireland' and petitioned the crown to grant to them and their heirs the countries, havens, and islands between Ross Carbery and the Blaskets with their fishing rights and regalities. How much of the inland was involved was left vague but they wanted a commission which would enable them to prove intrusion without title by the natives and their grants were to include all escheats and forfeitures

¹³⁸ 'Offers for the lands in Munster,' addressed to Cecil, 'Mr Brett's offers to the queen's majesty...', Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26 nos. 52-3). See also a copy endorsed by Sidney '12 Feb. 1568. A discouse for Munster' (ibid., 63/27, no. 22).

¹³⁹ 'Sir Warham St Leger and others for Baltimore' with names noted by Brett, c. Dec. 1568 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/26, no. 81).

¹⁴⁰ 25 Dec. 1565 (ibid., 63/15, no. 69), 22 July 1567 (ibid., 63/21, no. 65), 12 Sept. 1568 (ibid., 63/25, no. 85).

within their area. The copy addressed to Elizabeth also mentioned concealed lands several times, a device that was to become much used later. For what they held they would pay the ancient rent and within three years after 'eviction and recovery' of these lands they would pay the crown 4d. an acre for meadow, 2d. an acre for arable and pasture, and 1d. an acre for wood and bog as well as £200 sterling annual rent for the customs, islands and fishings. Wardships and marriages would be paid to the crown and if any heir refused to 'come dwell and inhabit there' the land would escheat to the crown, 'saving and excepting' the seven named who were to be a corporation.

The details were worked out between November 1568 and early 1569. The corporation undertook to fortify the area and to build a town which they would fortify at Baltimore, Bearhaven, or a site selected by them as convenient 'upon their arrival there.' They wanted a charter for that town as large and ample in scope as any other incorporated town in Ireland. For such work they wanted a commission to secure 400 skilled workmen, presumably in England, and 200 'condemned men of the realm of Ireland' as well as the loan of a galley and a brigantine. They would pay any expenses arising, and in return they wanted licenses for the traffic and trade in that area to all parts and freedom from paying any customs.

The advantages that the crown would reap were urged in detail. A rebellious area would be inhabited by natural Englishmen' and the traffic in arms to those havens enjoyed by the Spanish, French, 'and other strangers' would be stopped, the Irish would be subdued, and the profits due the crown would be increased. These were estimated for Elizabeth

as being between £ 8,000 and £10,000. The abundant fishing would be in the hands of Englishmen, and other nations which now took the fish and sold them would be forced to buy. That activity would greatly increase the number of skilled mariners. Further English merchants would handle the trade in 'our best wares,' hides, tallow, and other forbidden commodities. The settlement would reduce piracy in Europe for they could no longer use those ports, which instead could be used as bases to control the traffic to and from France, Flanders, Scotland, and Denmark into any parties of Spain, Portugal, and all lands by south, either in peace or war. The profits of the mines of gold and silver in the area would come into the crown's hands. The Irish, who were to be organized for days of service to the deputy in Ireland according to the rate of their holdings, would by example be brought to civility and obedience and soon no one would be seen 'that shall wear any habit or garment of Irishry.' By the undertaking the queen would increase her dominion and revenue, diminish her charges, 'and obtain the increase of a number of good subjects.' That Elizabeth was interested in the scheme is indicated by the repeated versions of it and the events of the following year.

By the end of 1568 Sidney had activity in colonization going in Ulster and Munster and decisive changes in ownership in Leinster. A collision was likely and the elements leading to that became apparent in the following year.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REVOLT OF 1569

At the end of 1569 Sidney asserted¹ that the losses of Fulk Comerford of the baronry of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, which totaled £2,000, occurred

through (Comerford's) constant standing in matters of parliament, ...as in taking away of captaincies, coyne and livery, the grant of impost, etc. Unto which the heads of this conspiracy did then manifestly stand against...and, following in their proceedings the same affection, have made special choice in all their spoils upon such most extremely as did afore most firmly take her majesty's part.

The best account of the Irish parliament of 1569 is by John Hooker alias Vowell, who had come to Ireland as Sir Peter Carew's secretary and general adviser.² He kept a day to day diary of the proceedings and later wrote about it as a prelude to the Butler revolt in his continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle.³ While Hooker's information is definitely partisan, for he was a member of that parliament, he does supply evidence that there was a distinct split in that parliament, whether his or Sidney's interpretation of that split is correct or not.

Parliament began sitting on Monday, 17 January. In the house of commons the first clash occurred on Friday, the 21st, when 'Sir Christopher Barnewall and others of Meath' raised questions about seating the 'English' members. That debate went on until the following Tuesday, the 25th. Though it was ruled on Wednesday that the 'English' members had a right to sit 'certain lawyers' continued to object and despite a scolding by Sidney 'Mr. Barnewall and others would scorn to humble themselves.' On Thursday, 27 January, Sir Edmund Butler, 'demanding' Sidney's resolution was told of it and 'said he would yield unto it but nevertheless his conscience did

¹Sidney to the privy council, 27 Dec. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 86).

²Carew to Cecil, 28 Mar. 1569 (ibid., 63/27, no. 62). The calendar identifies the hand of this letter as Hooker's, the same hand as all of his correspondence from Ireland since his first letter in November 1568.

³Hooker's diary is printed in Falkner, Essays. The citations from Hooker's continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle are from the 1806 ed.

know the law to be to the contrary.⁴ Hooker later summed up the proceedings⁵ as being dominated by the 'Irish' party

where every bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them, and especially Sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the queen's...profit or commonwealth, he was a principal against it: fearing that their captaincies should be taken away, and coyne and livery be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed...

Barnewall and Butler were able to carry about half of the house with them on votes. After several days of debate and voting on the repeal of Poyning's law the house began debate on Wednesday, 9 February, on an act for imposts on wines. Hooker, as the member for Athenry, gave an oration on the duties of subjects to princes, lushly illustrated from history, and with some pointed allusions to some of his audience. Their response was 'that the queen did take beside the law.' On Friday Butler, John Bathe, and Barnewall 'claimed the liberty' to speak against Hooker. 'At the same time also Butler, being in a cholera, said if these words had been spoken in any other place than in this house there be a great many here that they would rather have died than to have suffered it.'⁶

On Thursday some members had conducted Hooker for his safety 'to the house of Sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then lay and resided.' By the following Monday, 14 February, Barnewall 'and his complices had reconsidered' and the rest of parliament was quieter.⁷ It would be interesting to know how the debate went on an act⁸ which established higher customs rates after 31 September 1569 on the export of wool, flax, linen yarn, woollen yarn, sheep, calf, goat, and deer feels, beef, tallow, wax, butter, and beef in casks. The act was designed to stop the hurt and damage to the crown's revenue by their illegal export, and that the items 'might be more abundantly wrought within this realm' to give employment, 'and also to the end that English artificers...may be, by the abundance of the said commodities..., allowed to come...to work

⁴Hooker's diary.

⁵Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 343.

⁶Hooker's diary.

⁷Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 362.

⁸Chapter 20, 12 Eliz. (B.M., Add. MS 4,801).

them within this realm and thereby to give example to others to use that trade,' to the advantage of Ireland. Whether the 'Irish' party would have considered the advantages to Ireland or the prospect of more colonization the more important is a debatable point. At any rate on Friday, 11 March, parliament was prorogued until 12 October. Hooker carefull recorded 'and on Saturday following ...Sir Peter (Carew) was sworn one of the privy council.'⁹

It was an appointment which Sidney had been considering for some time because in February Elizabeth had approved his recommendation.¹⁰ The timing is therefore interesting. Sidney had asked Carew at the time of the decision in his favour for Idrone to take over Leighlin Bridge and its holdings to save the queen the cost of the garrison there. Carew assumed that Sidney had the authority to make the change and the deputy cashed the garrison and discharged Stukely.¹¹

It was Leighlin Bridge and its holdings which Sir Edmund Butler had tried to secure in 1566, but Carew was concerned that it not be turned over to Nicholas White. He had already occupied it 'and the whole country round about being mine own inheritance now in my possession and in good and quiet estate.' If he were removed he would lose face, Sidney would be discredited, and there was 'some danger and hazard which may ensue if the feeble people now quieted and in stay should upon change seek to be at liberty.'

Though 'the house of Leighlin being but bare walls,' and no one else but Carew could live as he did without support from the crown, he intended to accomplish changes:

The order devised and purposed for the planting of Englishmen in this country, for the making and building of towns which shall be replenished with all sorts of English artificers, and many other things purposed and appointed for the good government, quietness, and stay of this country shall be sequel of my doings and in time

⁹Hooker's diary.

¹⁰10 Feb. (Sidney S.P., no. 60).

¹¹Carew to Cecil, 23 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 33).
Nicholas White to Cecil, 26 Feb. (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 1306-1571, no. 1280).

appear to the acquital of my faith and truth in her highness's service and to the benefit of this commonwealth.

He assured Cecil that he would rather have £100 doing that than to receive £500 'in danger and hazard.' He was soon resident at Leighlin Bridge,¹² all around him was quiet, 'and they who sometimes were accompted lords are contented now to live under me and become my tenants.' He repeated his intention to 'build a town there and replenish the same with all sorts of artificers,' and as he did not plan to leave until all was in order 'I have sent for my wife hither.'

When Nicholas White arrived in early March he too came with instructions to be placed on the council.¹³ Also 'because he is in doubt of his continuance and dwelling where he now hath his dwelling place within the county of Kilkenny,' he was to have the abbey of Dunbrody in Co. Wexford, the manor of Leixlip and other parcels in Co. Dublin, and £20 or more of monastic lands elsewhere. In part, White seems to have been cutting his Butler connexions.¹⁴ Sidney explained the situation at Leighlin Bridge to him and also that Heron had sold his interest as constable of Ferns to Thomas Masterson for several years to come. Stukely, who was loud in condemning White, saying he was purely Ormond's man, had disappeared into Co. Wexford and not been seen. White wondered 'if it fall out so that I shall find the English (to whom I am wholly addict) to envy me, and these my countrymen not to trust me, and both to practice my danger...'

By April White had moved south and professed to be glad to be saving the queen nearly £800 a year on the ward of Leighlin.¹⁵ Stukely was saying that it would not have been done except to make way for White

¹²Carew to Cecil, 28 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 62).

¹³Elizabeth to Sidney, 18 Jan. (Sidney S.P., no. 59).

¹⁴White to Cecil, 10 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 44).

¹⁵White to Cecil, 18 Apr. (ibid., 63/28, no. 6).

and my determination of reducing martial government to civil administration of justice. But if he were held in by justice he would be made to live as I do, without stirring of stuff or oppressing of others, with whom I intend to be no partner of rule within the county of Wexford, where now some rebels be newly raised to bid me welcome, whose necks with their supporters I dare crack, the queen being my good and gracious lady.

White was in Waterford for safety at the time he was writing. The territories under Ormond and Desmond 'are in great misery and their people like to perish of famine this summer, whereof I see already some lamentable spectacles lie dead at these gates.' There were 300 fugitives in Ormond's country and Edward Butler 'now again' had a train of 200 men with which he had spoiled the White Knight's country, killing thirty people. White criticized those deputies who had forborn 'to touch the great ones with justice' and he could not see Ireland as prosperous until it was governed by law.

Cecil was at work on the problem. He continued to figure the costs of councils for Munster and Connaught¹⁶ and in February he was able to inform Sidney¹⁷ that he was ready to send Pollard, with Peryam, for Munster, and Fitton, with Rokeby, for Connaught, presidents and justices respectively. By 20 March Ralph Rokeby was in Dublin.¹⁸

Ulster was another matter. Cecil informed Sidney that

Your opinion...to people it with colonies is here better liked than thought likely to be obtained of the realm. But it is desired, according to your own offer, that you should (send) one sufficiently informed how your plot of a making of a revenue there may be warranted, and how the people that shall come thither may be assured to have possessions,...and with some larger and more particular description topographically of Ulster than is in the usual charts.

In February Elizabeth gave Sidney¹⁹ a free hand to deal with the rebels in the north, acting on the advice of the Irish council. To Sidney that was not explicit enough and he sent Edward Waterhouse to court with a series of petitions²⁰ of which the first was

¹⁶'The three rates for the councils in the remote parts in Ireland,' 31 Jan. 1569 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 10).

¹⁷28 Feb. (ibid., no. 35).

¹⁸Elizabeth to Sidney, 7 Mar (Sidney S.P., no. 63).

¹⁹10 Feb. (ibid., no. 60).

²⁰C. Mar. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 64).

that it may please the queen's majesty to resolve for the planting of the wastelands in Ireland and especially in Ulster. And therein that the offer of Sir Thomas Gerrard and other gentlemen of Lancashire may be considered, and the said Sir Thomas be sent for in such time as if the devise be liked he may be ready to depart thither before the beginning of May next.

Gerrard's original offer does not appear but a subsequent one will be considered later. Sidney's second petition was to know if the fortifications in Ulster were to proceed as had been agreed before. Plans of Carrickfergus, Skerries, Portrush, and other sites were available to be inspected. Sidney had had Lythe map Bagenal's holdings earlier and even make plans of his new house in Newry and he urged the exchange again 'wherein is to be noted the great quality of the soil appearing by the platt, the commodity of the haven, the aptness of the place for the dwelling of the governor...'. Sidney would favor the holding for the crown at a proper rent. If the exchange were made Sidney wanted 'a more active and lusty body' in Bagenal's office as marshal but Bagenal had an active encounter at the same time. He went to Roche castle which stood 'near to the great pass mouth entering out of the English pale towards Armagh,' and summoned Neill oge MacNeill out to parley. In the course of the talk Neill 'suddenly struck at him with his skean' but Bagenal was armed and so not hurt. Neill was killed on the spot.²¹

By May Sidney was complaining to Cecil²² that 'I lament the lack of resolution in the causes I have written for...'. Waterhouse was still in London and making some progress, for Cecil had informed him that £2,000 would be spent on the fortifications in Ulster that summer. Waterhouse suggested to him²³ that

If that resolution hold it were not amiss...that some artificers were taken up here by commission...(and) some necessary emptions that are wanting in Ireland and cannot be provided about Chester or Liverpool. And because it will be chargeable to carry from hence many artificers...there shall be discretion used in taking up as few here as we can, and the rest to be supplied in the country near the place of our embarking.

Waterhouse also had a list of tools needed in Ireland: 100 felling

²¹Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 11 Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 1).

²²30 June. Letter was begun 6 May (ibid., no. 58).

²³9 May (ibid., no. 13).

axes, 100 pick axes, 100 hedging bills, 100 mattocks, 4 whipsaws, 6 handsaws, and 6 tenant saws. Aside from 30 felling axes and 20 hedging bills Sidney had none of these in Ireland.²⁴

In June Waterhouse was sent back to Ireland with Elizabeth's instructions.²⁵ Her first point was that

touching the proceeding to the recovery of Ulster by deducing some colonials of people out of this realm to inhabit the same and to fortify sundry places...upon debating thereof finding the difficulties so great both for charge and otherwise to carry over and maintain there such a number of people at this time and for other considerations whereof your servant was made privy, being present with our council at the debating thereof,

she had decided to send the £2,000 'to be only employed' in building fortifications where Sidney thought would best check the influx of Scots into Ireland. It was thought that Raghlin Island, Skerries and Portrush were good choices. As for the offer to colonize by Gerrard and others from Lancashire, 'Waterhouse can inform you what inconvenient and unreasonable articles thei did exhibit to our council...'. It had been decided that as they wished it Sir Thomas Gerrard and his associates should come to Ireland to confer with Sidney on 'some more reasonable points meeter for us to grant...'.¹

Despite the postponement of any colonizing in Ulster Waterhouse assumed that it was still to be the theatre of activity. In Chester he heard²⁶ that Sidney was in Connaught placing Fitton as president and that he intended to go on to Munster and place Pollard. Sidney had a general hosting which was to assemble on 12 July when he would shift to Ulster 'to bestow the most of this summer.' Events in Ireland made it necessary that Sidney spend the summer elsewhere.

Trouble had been threatening in Munster since 1568. Fitzwilliam²⁷ and Sidney had both predicted that James Fitzmaurice would

²⁴'A note of wants...', c. May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 15).

²⁵6 June (Sidney, S.P., no. 65).

²⁶Waterhouse to Cecil, 16 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 30).

²⁷Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 14 Jan. (ibid., 63/27, no. 4).

give trouble and in February Elizabeth agreed with Sidney²⁸ on the troubles in the south which 'though they be last stirred are more dangerous than the others in the respect of the foreign aid which they may have and by likelihood of practices by you discovered...'. As in the north she left it to Sidney's discretion how to proceed. From Munster Sir Warham St Leger informed Sidney that the Irish were parleying against the deputy and had sent a messenger to Philip II for his help.²⁹ James Fitzmaurice had conveyed 'two popish prelates' into Kerry. He also wanted Sidney to urge Elizabeth to send quickly

those well minded gentlemen that intend to adventure their lives and livings in these parts, which done her majesty shall not only be assured to have these traitorous devices prevented, but withal enjoy to herself good revenue, and have this country thoroughly reformed.... And if her majesty towards this good attempt bare these gentlemen's charges the first year towards their better encouragement it were....a sum of money as well bestowed as was any money in Ireland this forty year.

If there were war with Spain it was dangerous to leave southwest Ireland unguarded 'chiefly considering what liking the people of these parts of the country have to the Spanish nation by their daily trafficking together.' The new plantation would prevent all these things.

Sidney had seen a copy of the petitions of St Leger and his associates on 12 February and in the Tower in London the Earl of Desmond informed the privy council on the same day³⁰ that where they had sent Brett to confer with him and his brother John he was willing to cooperate. The plantation scheme was moving forward and in March Sidney asked that the queen resolve what to do about the offer of Brett and his associates.³¹ He also asked that she 'vouchsafe to take knowledge of the good services of Sir Warham St Leger and Mr Grenville and by some letter to encourage

²⁸10 Feb. (Sidney S.P., no. 60).

²⁹14 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 23).

³⁰P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 21.

³¹Petitions, c. Mar. (ibid., no. 64).

them in those western doings.' The news from Munster³² was that MacCarthy Mor and James Fitzmaurice were dealing with the Spaniards, two of whose ships were off the coast, and they planned to bring more in. The Spaniards were seen as seizing Bsarhaven, Ballinskelligs, Valencia, Crookhaven, and Baltimore. 'These places be already fruitful to the Spaniards for every year 200 sail fisheth there and carrieth away 2,000 beeves and hides and tallow, no due to the queen's majesty known...'. The places could be in her hands at the moment with no charge.

Whether for that reason or because St Leger was in England to press the matter Cecil was working on the proposal of St Leger and his associates by April, and it seems clear that it was better liked than that of Gerrard and his associates for Ulster. It progressed through several stages of discussion and agreement and seems to have been ready to put into practice by June 1569. By April Cecil had taken a corrected version of the petitions and made notes on them.³³ He made further notes himself and he conducted a series of exchanges with the 'company' as it had come to be known.³⁴ By this time their petition was headed as an offer to

³²John Corbine to Cecil, 21 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 57).

³³P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 2.

³⁴'A memorial of diverse things to be considered upon the articles...' (ibid., no. 9). This clerk's endorsement also appears on the exchanges with the company, here identified as A (ibid., no. 3), B (ibid., no. 4), C (ibid., no. 5), and D (ibid., no. 61). A is 31 articles, 'A brief of things allowable in the petitions of the gentlemen offering service in Ireland.' B is 31 answers from the privy council corrected by Cecil, 'April 1569. A brief of the grant to be made to the gentlemen that offer to serve in Munster.' C is 33 responses and two paragraphs by Cecil, '12 April 1569. The answer by the gentlemen offering to serve in Ireland to the articles laid to them.' D is 33 further answers by the company, 'The answer and petition to the book delivered by...(the) privy council.' The order seems to be A, then B, then C, then B corrected by Cecil, then D.

suppress the rebels in Munster and to inhabit the area they wanted 'with natural Englishmen or at the least with such of Ireland birth as are descended of English nation.' They had become more specific about the countries they wanted a grant of, which included the lands of the earl of Clancarty, MacDonough, the O'Sullivans, and O'Driscoll. That would have included much of west Cork and south Kerry and Cecil noted that there could be no grant without attainder, some order of law or an office to be found, and that for the specific countries Sidney must publish their owners as rebels. Opposite the company's offer to pay rent for anything they held as the crown received it or had for the past twenty years Cecil noted sixty years. Their offer to pay rent on 'evicted and recovered' land by the acre prompted Cecil to note that the acres should be known either by certainty of measure or by the usage of the county where the land was. Cecil conceded that where the queen held lands during a minority she should provide the required number of fighting men. He was prepared to allow them a commission to take up a 'reasonable' number of soldiers, labourers, and artificers from English counties. Where they wanted to take up provisions for sustenance and tillage in the same way, 10,000 quarters of wheat, barley, and oats each, and butter and cheese proportionately, Cecil noted that it should be at a rate 'according to the numbers of English people for their full sustentation for three years,' a half for the next three years, and a quarter for another three years if they needed it. They were allowed to export the grain that they grew and 'their own households' could be free of customs for necessary provisions. Cecil marked the request for the authority to use martial law as 'altered' and wanted more rapid repayment for the arms that they purchased from the crown. He also wanted to be clear whether the two ships and two barques they were offering to maintain 'shall be other than the queen's.'

In their revised petition the original group, represented by Brett, St Leger, Grenville, and Gilbert, seem plainly to have enlarged, speaking of themselves as a company and asking to be

chartered, probably as a joint stock enterprise. In June the Spanish ambassador in England described them as 'a company of thirty of the richest London merchants' who were 'already preparing an expedition.' In the same letter he spoke of 'the twenty-nine merchants and Warham St Leger,³⁵ who seems to have been 'the chiefton of this company' in the petition. A list of the members of the company is not forthcoming but the number of merchants must have been less than de Spes's estimate though they were probably present in numbers.

In the negotiations with the company the crown allowed them the lands in Co. Cork, provided they had been proclaimed. In that point and the one covering crown lands the company wanted Kerry and Limerick included as well, though seemingly without success. They also did not wish to pay both the rent as it had been in the past sixty years and at a rate per acre. They asked that the acre be as per Co. Cork, an enormous unit. While they were to dwell on their holdings within two years they received the right to come and go to England, by licence of the deputy for the first three years, and after that at will. They did not wish to become 'banished' men. Fit persons were to be left in charge and the members could alienate or dispose up to one-third of their holdings to those born in England, who would keep the same conditions, and provided no castle or port town was involved. The company wanted that amended to read 'to such as be descended of Englishmen.'

The crown reserved church lands, lands for the president of Munster, the customs of havens, incorporated towns, and on any licenses for 'strangers' to fish half of the proceeds would go to the company and half to the crown. The company hoped the queen would forbear the last provision for seven years. The commission for English counties was to include Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucester, and the counties of South Wales. The company wanted Worcestershire and Herefordshire include as well and to have both the soldiers and their 'train' figured in the reckoning as well

³⁵Gueven de Spes to Philip II, 14 June (Cal. S.P., Spain, 1568-79, no. 106).

as those who 'shall be allured by them to be followers of this enterprise.' The crown allowed them to export grain for ten years, paying 'due customs to the crown,' and freedom from customs on household provisions for the same period. The company was anxious not to pay customs both in England and Ireland. They wished to have 'some one noble personage' of the grantees to be chiefton to hear all controversies in the first seven years between themselves 'or any of their companies,' which the crown allowed. A longer period was then asked for and that no chiefton was to hold office longer than a year without the assent of a majority of the company. They wished to retain a company structure indefinitely, though the crown offered only seven years. They wished to purchase military equipment for 3,000 men if they took so many, including callivers for 2,000 of them. They would serve in time of war on the south coast of Ireland and after seven years they would send 400 men to general hostings. The company was pressed on this for 500 men and service in Munster or Connaught, but the company asked not to serve outside Munster. A similar contention occurred over great timber. The crown wished to retain it, except to allow the building of houses, ships, or vessals, and the company wished the timber to pass with the land except for timber to build ships of the royal navy. The crown allowed the company the preferment of any lands recovered for it in Cos. Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, paying rents at the rates per acre agreed on but the company wished the whole of Munster to be included. Unless the holder could prove that he had been in possession for fifty to sixty years, 'reserving the title of Sir Peter Carew....,' the crown would support the company and the claimant would have to recompence the members of the company.

Sidney was to have the power to enlarge or restrict the articles. The company was also to be bound to the crown in reasonable sums of money to build within a time limit the towns and forts that Sidney and his council 'think reasonable for defence' and 'to set up houses of husbandry and exercise and maintain tillage in the said country...' as Sidney directed. The grantees

were willing to undertake this as Sidney and 'the more part of the company agree.' While the company waited for the queen, her council, and Sidney to make their final decision on their petitions the expenses involved were 'at the only costs and charges of the demandants' and they asked that when the decision was made any members could 'take or leave this enterprise' in the first three months 'whithout offence' to the queen or her council.

In Ireland Sidney was convinced that 'there should great good come of the offer made by the gentlemen to inhabit Munster...'³⁶ but in England there were protests. Patrick Sherlock, who had submitted proposals of reform to the crown before,³⁷ gave Cecil another with fifteen well defined articles for keeping revolt down in Ireland, with particular reference to Munster.³⁸ His first point was that the rumour that Desmond was held unjustly in England could be stopped by having him tried in Ireland and if he were condemned the queen could possess his lands. The other Fitzgeralds in Munster should be offered security of tenure for their lands which the earl 'keepeth from them without any right or law but by strong hand tyrannizing over them.' That would either prevent them from rebelling or if they did they could be proclaimed traitors. Eventually he dealt with the petition of those seeking lands in Munster and their offer to pay so much an acre for the lands which they acquired:

This offer is uncertain and will be an occasion to move the Irish nation to rebellion, although the said offer be large. It were good therefore for avoiding jealousy to grant them the lands of all them that shall be proclaimed traitors, reserving unto your majesty all the geraldine's lands, the in-customs and out-customs of all the havens that are now in the rebels hands.

The promoters of the company had been having such difficulties. Brett complained to Cecil³⁹ that he had been toiling with St Leger

³⁶Sidney to Cecil, 30 June. Letter was begun 6 May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 58).

³⁷'A note set forth by...Patrick Sherlock for the reformation of Ireland...', c. 1567 (B.M., Add. MS 48, 015, f. 279).

³⁸Cecil's endorsement '2 May 1569. Patrick Sherlock's book for matters of Ireland' (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 12).

³⁹5 June (ibid., no. 21).

as they dealt with many 'unexpert persons' who objected to the scheme. He hoped that neither Cecil nor the council would listen to such people and that the queen would soon send 3,000 men. Brett would 'be one of the eight or ten gentlemen' who would serve with them at far less cost than such forces usually cost. They would pay the queen within a year 12 d. Irish for every acre of meadow, 6 d. Irish for arable and pasture, and 3 d. for wood and bog, 'which surmounteth the first offer three times.' He saw her revenue being increased by £40,000 to £50,000 a year. Brett was still hopeful that his first offer would be accepted. Then he 'and such numbers as may agree with my ability, which shall be half a hundreth men,' would have land on such terms 'as may encourage other her good subjects to dispend their time accordingly...'

St. Leger, who was ill, sent Cecil a series of requests by Waterhouse.⁴⁰ He asked that the queen lend him £10,000 and that she bear the charges of getting 1,500 men to Cork and pay. Cecil noted that the victuals and wages for one month would be £2,560. St Leger also wanted equipment for taking castles for the queen at her costs and he wanted Sir Nicholas Malby and his 100 horsemen to serve in Munster which would not be any additional expense for her. Finally he wanted the queen to give him 1,500 shovels, 500 mattocks and pickaxes, and 500 spades. In return he would pledge his lands in England for the repayment of the £10,000 in three years and he would pledge £5,000 more in lands that he would recover £1,000 in lands from the rebels and another £1,000 from the land 'he shall manure and inhabit upon.' He would further serve with 1,500 men and his own expenses for three years and he would do everything in his power to see that the queen got all of the profits from the presidency of Munster which would be five times her costs.

Elizabeth cannot have regarded St Leger's offer as a tempting one and it is not surprising that in June she informed Sidney⁴¹

⁴⁰ St Leger to Cecil, 3 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, nos. 18, 19).

⁴¹ 6 June (Sidney S.P., no. 65).

that in the matter 'so many difficulties did arise as there was much time spent before any good resolution could be taken.' The enterprise had advanced enough and was sufficiently public that the Spanish ambassador could report it as a fact and say that their expedition was in preparation.⁴² He added that 'the whole island is therefore in a turmoil and the greater part of it in rebellion...'. De Spes was anticipating events and in doing so he thought that the Spanish could seize Waterford and fortify it, drawing in 10,000 disaffected Irish. He was convinced the plantation scheme would cause a rising of the Irish and he concluded a description of its terms by saying that 'in the west 500 of the queen's men, and another force beyond the mountains, will also molest them and this will greatly enrage the Irish.'

Trouble had been stirring in Ireland since April. A commission was sent to deal with the Butlers which arrived at Clogrenan, Sir Edmund's castle, on 13 April.⁴³ They delivered letters from Sidney to Sir Edmund, including their safe conduct to hear complaints against the Butlers. They first held sessions at Fethard where Lady Dunboyne proved her case against Sir Edmund and Edward Butler, and the latter compounded with her. The common people complained of the behavior of the two, and there were also well-placed charges against Piers Butler. The commission next moved to Templemore on 28 April but McBrien Arra was not present nor were his witnesses 'for fear (as he termed it) of the Butlers.' The next day they heard O'Carroll's witnesses at Roscrea and were then to move on to Nenagh, where McBrien Arra said he would produce his witnesses on the following day. O'Carroll proved all of his complaints against Edward and his men, but while they were hearing the case, the Butlers, who had ridden off with forty or fifty horsemen and 200 kerne to Nenagh to prepare witnesses, had a brush

⁴²De Spes to Philip II, 14 June (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1568-79, no. 106).

⁴³The depositions of Luke Dillon..., John Thomas..., and Edward Fitzsymons. Commissioners for the Butler's matters relating their doings, etc.' April and May (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63).

with O'Carroll's escort just outside of Roscrea. Two of O'Carroll's best tenants were slain by Edward and his men which the commission told Edward were inexcusable murders. They had had to go some distance to confer with the Butlers who had refused to return to Roscrea. Edward agreed to put himself into the commission's hands if O'Carroll would do the same with his son Teig. That was agreed to and the commission sat in Nenagh on 30 April. Mc Brien Arra proved most of his charges against Edward and his men but the three brothers were in Arra with sixty horsemen and 300 galloglas and kerne cutting passes and burning the woods. McBrien Arra's people fled to the woods and mountains. Edward was supposed to accompany the commissioners to Dublin but they had no forces with them and Piers Butler stayed 'sore sick in his bed.' Edward left them on the journey. The commissioners returned to Dublin and went on to Newry to report to Sidney. They summed up that 'the common voice of the people was that unless their outrages and willful attempts might be withstood they would overthrow all the good subjects in those parts and leave the countries to waste...'

The commissioners urged Sidney to write to them again which he and his council did and sent John Crehall to bring Sir Edmund and Edward back.⁴⁴ A letter was also sent to Francis Cosby as seneschal of Queen's Co. to arrest Piers if it were correct that he was at Abbeyleix. Crehall found Piers gone but gave the letter for Sir Edmund to a man of his in Cosby's presence and 'took with him one Jenkin Hetherington,...who being known and esteemed to be a very honest man might, if need should so require, be a witness of the delivery of such letters as he had in charge to deliver', and the answers Crehall got. He found Edward and Sir Edmund camped near Roscrea. Edward received his letter becomingly and said that he would fulfill it and Sir Edmund agreed that his man had delivered Sidney's letter to him. At Templemore Crehall found Piers 'very sick in his bed.' Edmund and Edward

⁴⁴John Crehall's deposition, 16 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/28, no. 33).

gradually melted away though promising to follow Crehall, who returned and reported to Sidney. He was 'incensed and much offended with me, using both rough and bitter speech and heavy frowning looks towards me.' On his own Crehall went south again and tried to find Edward, without success. He was overtaken by John Devawe, who had also sought Edward with the same result. The two were joined at Miles Cantwell's house, not far from Templemore, by Sir Edmund. Devawe gave him the letters of Sidney and the council. Sir Edmund informed them that he would come to Dublin 'upon his return from James Fitzmaurice whom he had to parley withal the Friday following,' which was 10 June.

Crehall left but Devawe stayed with Edmund.⁴⁵ On the day of the parley neither Fitzmaurice nor Sir Edmund 'would either suffer him or any other that wore English apparel to come near them, but made both him and the rest stand aloof off as in disdain and spite of the English fashion.' On Saturday they moved on to Cashel, Sir Edmund making many promises to come to Dublin. By Sunday they were at Piers Butler's house at Grallagh. There Sir Edmund told Devawe 'I know not what my lord deputy hath to charge me withal except it be for parliament matters,' which he would rather be torn by wild horses than agree to. He had decided he would not see Sidney without a pardon and despite Devawe protests about his promises of the day before Butler would not even give a reply in writing '"for" saith he, "there is such a sort of flattering knaves about my lord which doth inform him of as many lies and tales as they can hear of me, that I dare not come in his sight..."' He would further want personal combat with Carew, 'for that Sir Peter said he was a traitor,' and with Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, who had told Butler that 'he cared not a straw for him in the presence chamber in the castle of Dublin...'. Butler also told Devawe that 'as for religion he said he was neither papist nor protestant but as the queen was...,' in effect, without any. Devawe said that he saw four of James Fitzmaurice's

⁴⁵John Devawe's deposition.

men at Grallagh, including one Browne, 'a notorious and known malefactor.'

The joining together of Sir Edmund Butler and James Fitzmaurice had fused the two main sources of discontent in Ireland: religious conflict, and the alarm felt alike by the Irish and Anglo-Irish at the crown's procedure in land grants and plantation. The course of the revolt provides concrete examples of both as do the events that led up to it. Differences in religion had been an ingredient in the Irish situation for thirty years but it remained for James Fitzmaurice to make those differences a matter of primary importance. The land question had been there as long but it was not until the Butlers were prepared to join with their traditional enemies, the Munster Fitzgeralds, that such concerted opposition could be made. Sir Edmund later called on James Fitzmaurice 'to deny that I did not except my duty to the queen in all my dealings with him and refused to consent to the bringing in of Spaniards and the putting up of the mass, which things James was earnest with me for...'. It was Fitzmaurice who had sought Sir Edmund, who needed him to be 'abler to revenge my cause upon Carew.'⁴⁶ Even taking Butler's statement at its face value it is equally true that Fitzmaurice needed him and that their meeting on Friday, 10 June, led to concerted action.

It is possible that the revolt was precipitated by a combination of Elizabeth's and Sidney's actions and that had the leaders been able to choose they would have preferred autumn and a closer connexion with the revolt in the north of England which occurred then. Elizabeth's rooted distrust of Stukely had deprived him of his position in Wexford and at Leighlin Bridge. In March he had made 'a deed of gift of all his farms and goods to Mr Agard and John Thomas,' and by June he had clashed with Thomas Masterson, the constable of Ferns. The two were summoned before the council in Dublin and there on 7 June Masterson 'in open and vehement manner' charged Stukely with something of which the record is now

⁴⁶Sir Edmund Butler to Ormond, 24 Aug. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 47 I).

lost, and with conspiring with rebels in Co. Wexford 'to levy war against the queen's majesty and her subjects.' The evidence was sufficient that the council imprisoned Stukely and thereby probably secured one of the litchpins of the rebellion. Sidney's determination to get the Butlers in put further pressure on those intending to revolt.

Richard Grenville sailed from Cork on 15 June to join St Leger in London to urge their business on there. His wife and children and St Leger's wife and children were left in the city.⁴⁷ On the following day James Fitzmaurice and MacCarthy Mor 'with no small number of horsemen and footmen' descended on the barony of Kerrycurrihy, spoiled the inhabitants and laid siege to Tracton and Carrigaline, the area and places held by Grenville and St Leger.⁴⁸ In Cork it was estimated that the rebels were some 2,000 in number and that none of the local magnates had raised a hand to stop them or given any warning.⁴⁹ Tracton was taken on the 18th and the six English harquebusiers and sixteen kerne inside were slain. The rebels 'took all such furniture and horses as Sir Warham St Leger and Mr Grenville had. The same day they appeared outside the walls of Cork, their numbers now being estimated as between 3,000 and 4,000 men. They swore they would never leave until they had the town unless the mayor and corporation would deliver 'my lady St Leger and Mrs Grenville with the rest of the Englishmen that be within the town,' and all the prisoners. Fitzmaurice and MacCarthy Mor swore on oath that not only were all the Butlers joined with them but that Sir Edmund had burned all of Offaly, Leix, and the Kavanagh's country. Fitzmaurice had put the area in despair and it was felt that unless help came soon he would gain local support. 'Also he maketh them believe that aid will come presently

⁴⁷A. L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville, London (1937), p. 67.

⁴⁸ Andrew Skyddye to Sidney, 17 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire, 63/28, no. 35).

⁴⁹ Corporation of Cork to Sidney, 17 June (ibid., no. 36).

out of Spain.⁵⁰

By 20 June Carrigaline had fallen, the rebels having laid waste the entire area between Cork and Kinsale, 'and they have hurt all those under Sir Warham St Leger certain and few or none else...'.⁵¹

In Dublin Sidney had made another attempt to get the Butlers in, sending Sir Edmund's father-in-law, Viscount Baltinglas, to him, and saying that if he did not come in Sidney meant to proclaim him a notorious rebel after which it would be 'all to late to hope or crave favour.'⁵² By 19 June Sidney had his answer.⁵³ Sir Edmund had already preyed Talbotstown in Imail and he said that he had good information that the deputy's 'only seeking was to chop off his head and his brethern's, of which purpose he would miss if he could,' notwithstanding the efforts of Carew and Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, 'the procurers' of Sidney's anger with him. If he were proclaimed a rebel he would 'make their heads fly from their bodies that were causers thereof.' In his rage Sir Edmund had a great deal more to say along the same lines.

From Carlow Edward Langham informed Sidney three days later⁵⁴ that there was a rumour there, which he thought Sir Edmund had spread, that the queen and Ormond 'should be by treason put to death.' Sir Edmund was in the borders of that area and had 2,000 men in Leix. Piers Butler was at Tullow with eighty horsemen and 200 kerne. They planned to spoil the whole country in the next two days, according to rumour. In fact the next evidence⁵⁵ of the Butlers is that on the evening of 30 June the three brothers 'about the going down of the moon burnt these towns within Leix as followeth: Stradbally, Ballyknockan, Farran e Priory, and

⁵⁰Jasper Horsey to Sidney, 18 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 38). The most graphic account is by Ursula St Leger to Sidney, 18 June (ibid., no. 37), quoted in full in Rowse, Grenville, p. 68.

⁵¹Corporation of Cork to Sidney, 20 June (ibid., no. 43).

⁵²17 June (ibid., no. 34).

⁵³Ibid., no. 42.

⁵⁴22 June (ibid., no. 46).

⁵⁵Cosby to Sidney, 1 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 1).

Loughteogue. Some prey they had but not greatly to be accounted of and they lost of their men.' The Butlers then moved into Idough. Before their raid in Leix MacCarthy Mor and James Fitzmaurice had been with them with large forces but had departed.

The news of the revolt in Munster had reached England with great rapidity. A man of St Leger's had left Cork on 23 June and delivered letters to him from his wife 'and sundry of my friends there' on the afternoon of the 27th. He also had a letter from the mayor and citizens of Cork to Elizabeth. St Leger argued⁵⁶ that she should spend £40,000 rather than lose Cork, 'the chief key for hier highness's service in that country...the only piece that the rebels seek to destroy.' The siege of that city went on with the rebels feeding the green corn around it to their horses. The city's recorder⁵⁷ was confident that Lady St Leger did not need to be afraid, that the rebellion grew in Munster because 'there is no head nor man of credit here amongst them to gather the good together.' St Leger with 200 men and his true friends in Munster, including many Geraldines, could put the rebels to flight. If the rebellion were allowed to take root it would cost the queen thousands of pounds with the possible loss of the realm, 'and Englishmen shall not many days recover their credit in this land.'

Elizabeth was thoroughly alive to the danger to Cork and promised the city that she would 'send thither with speed certain numbers of soldiers by sea out of the west parts of this our realm for their succour and defence.'⁵⁸ She was still not aware of the Butlers' part in the revolt and devoted an entire letter to Sidney⁵⁹ instructing that when Ormond came over he was to have the prize wines of Youghal and Kinsale again and that he was to be indemnified from the earl of Desmond's lands to the extent that the latter and his followers had damaged Ormond. Because he had lifted coyne

⁵⁶ St Leger to Cecil, 30 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 58).

⁵⁷ John Myaghe to St Leger, 28 June (ibid., 63/29, no. 14 I).

⁵⁸ Elizabeth to Sidney, 2 July (Sidney S.P., no. 68).

⁵⁹ 30 June (ibid., no. 67).

and livery from his lands he was to be exempt from all cesses and impositions except subsidy. Finally, where he argued that the castle of Leighlin had been built on his lands during his minority and its lands were his lands for which he had never been compensated, Sidney was to examine the matter and if Ormond were right he was to have comparable lands from Peppard's lease of St. Mary's Abbey in Dublin. She understood that a decree of the Irish council had ordered that Carew was to have the possession of certain castles and lands which Sir Edmund 'hath of long time quietly possessed' and that the title and right to them was 'not heard and determined by the course of our laws.' If that were true Sir Edmund 'may colourably allege some lack of indifferency towards him', and she did not wish him to be removed until the case had been determined 'in some of our courts of record...'.⁶⁰

Elizabeth had touched one of the causes of the rebellion, but events had gone far beyond a court of law. On the day that she wrote the Butlers moved south from Idough towards Kilkenny.⁶¹ Carew, with Humphrey Gilbert, sallied out of Kilkenny with 200 horsemen and attacked 400 footmen, slaying eighty of them, including two of Ormond's best captains of galloglas.⁶² Carew felt that he had 'met with Sir Edmund's whole power and gave him such an overthrow as he hopeth within short time to be in quietness.'⁶³ The next day, however, Sir Edmund's whole forces were in the field again and when Carew sent some horsemen to take hay from a field of Sir Edmund's, the latter charged with twenty horsemen and killed fourteen of Carew's men.⁶⁴ Sidney sent his commendations to Carew's forces who thought themselves 'happy to serve under so noble a governor that doth so well consider of their good doings.'⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Sidney S.P., no. 68.

⁶¹ P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, nos. 25-6.

⁶² Ormond to Cecil, 24 July (ibid., no. 23).

⁶³ Edmund Tremain to Pollard, 7 July (ibid., no. 12 II).

⁶⁴ Carew to Sidney, 12 July (ibid., no. 10).

Sidney saw rebellion everywhere 'in action or in intendment,' except in the English pale. The Scots were coming into the north of Ireland and 'there is none here free from the poison of papistry.' He asserted, incorrectly, that 'the Spanish king hath promised great succours and that is daily looked for...'. He was confident that all this activity could be turned to the queen's advantage.⁶⁵

The news from the south was not reassuring. The town of Kilmallock begged Sidney⁶⁶ to deliver them from an agreement they had been forced to make with James Fitzmaurice. Because many of the citizens had fled and the walls could not be defended, as well as having no supplies and not being on the sea, 'but only living by cattle and husbandry within the body of the said captain's country', the town parleyed. They paid him £160 Irish and a bond of £1,000 to perform the following conditions:

1. 'To use none other divine service but the old divine service used by the Church of Rome.'
2. To provide James Fitzmaurice's forces with victuals as often as they demanded and paid.
3. To allow those forces to pass through freely.
4. To pay Fitzmaurice all the rents and duties they owed Desmond, accepting Fitzmaurice as lord.

Kinsale had also been forced to compound and in Co. Limerick Piers Walsh was made 'to yield to their hands the abbey of Owney whereof he was farmer to her majesty.' Edward Butler had destroyed Nicholas White's house at Knocktopher and Piers Butler had overrun Callan. The city of Waterford had sent munitions to Cork and Youghal and while they heard that the rebels expected Spanish help 'we know that the prince of Spain is not of so great might to win a hold in Ireland as our own liege sovereign of ability to defend the same'.⁶⁷

On 8 July Fitzmaurice had crossed the Shannon and conferred with the earl of Thomond and Clanricarde's son. The city of Limerick was convinced he was due to meet the Butlers on 13 July to destroy the city's harvest and take their cattle.⁶⁸ In Carlow

⁶⁵Sidney to Cecil, 30 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, no. 58).

⁶⁶3 July (ibid., 63/29, no. 2).

⁶⁷Corporation of Waterford to Cecil, 8 July (ibid., no. 5).

⁶⁸Corporation of Limerick to Sidney, 10 July (ibid., no. 6).

Nicholas Malby had information of the meeting on the same day but that it would be in his area. His source 'also told me that without doubt all the Mores of Leix be confederate with Sir Edmund.' The O'Byrnes also said they had been approached and Malby was convinced that all the freeholders of Co. Kilkenny were with Edmund. He also had what he regarded as good information that the Butlers had licensed Fitzmaurice to spoil every town in the area except Kilkenny.⁶⁹

Fitzmaurice was in Castlemartyr, Co. Cork, on 16 July for it was from there that he addressed a most extraordinary letter to the mayor and council of Cork, its clergy, 'and others that profess the catholic faith.'⁷⁰

Mr. Mayor, I commend me unto you. And whereas the queen's majesty is not contented to dispose all our worldly goods, our bodies, and our lives as she list, but must also compel us to forgo the catholic faith by God unto his church given and by the see of Rome hitherto prescribed to all Christian men, to be observed and used another newly invented kind of religion which for my part, rather than I would obey to my everlasting damnation, I had liefer forsake all this world if it were mine (as I wish all others to profess Christ and his true faith to do). Therefore this shall be to require you in the way of charity, that (you) ought to have towards all them that profess to be Christian men, to abolish out of that city that old heresy newly raised and invented. And namely Barnaby Daaly and all them that be Huguenots, both men and women, and Grenville's wife and children, and to set up the service after the due form and manner which is used in Rome and throughout all Christendom, and as our forefathers have ever used to fore. Assuring you that if you follow not this our catholic and wholesome exhortation I will not nor may not be your friend. And in like manner I wish and require the chapter and all the clergy of Cork and of the bishopric thereof to frame themselves to honor God as your ancestors have done; otherwise the clergy of the said bishopric shall be sure to enjoy none of their benefices. And destroy out of the town all the Hugenots with the first wind.

The two main causes of the rebellion were in Fitzmaurice's letter, the settlers and religion, but is clear that religion was uppermost in his mind. Fitzmaurice went on to his parley with the Butlers on 13 July and on the days following Co. Kilkenny was swarming with rebels.⁷¹ Carew had wisely left Captain Collier and his men in the town of Kilkenny for its morale, for by 16 July the town

⁶⁹Malby to Sidney, 11 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 7).

⁷⁰Ibid., no. 8.

⁷¹Carew to Sidney, dated 12 July but with subsequent additions (ibid., no. 10).

was under siege by forces estimated as 1,400 galloglas, 400 armed pikemen 'with shirts of mail,' 400 gunners, and 1,500 kerne and horsemen, who had totally spoiled the surrounding countryside.⁷²

Carew considered that the castles of Tullow and Clogrenan should be taken, which he would have done if he had footmen. By mid-July he was able to take Clogrenan, by a trick according to the Butlers, who said he killed the men, women and children in it. Sir Edmund asserted that he had instructed the commander to surrender if Sidney demanded the castle. A large force appeared and the commander went out under a safe-conduct, thinking Sidney was present. He asked to return when he saw that the deputy was not present. Despite his safe-conduct Carew 'did murder him in the door with a dagger (which was thrust into his back).' Everything in the castle was treated as spoil, including Sir Edmund's 'evidence', his title-deeds. 'But Sir Peter needed not mine evidence, seeing he doth win land by the sword. My lord (if the queen allow of this) who can keep his living?'⁷³ Ormond had already given his opinion⁷⁴ that the seizure was designed by Carew 'to come by the possession of my brother's lands and to make the better quarrel to his living' and that Carew's 'dealing for his land hath made all the lords and men of living dwelling out of the English pale think there is a conquest meant to be made of all their countries.' Others had been inflamed by 'certain foolish letters' written by St Leger or someone else, and Sir Edmund was convinced that the queen was poisoned and Ormond put to death in the Tower. Ormond argued that 'surely these rash dealings in matters of land and these ill bruits of the queen's...death have done more harm than many think of.' Elizabeth had already written to Sidney at length⁷⁵ of Ormond's efforts to have Sir Edmund submit and her decision to allow him to come to Ireland to help suppress the

⁷²Corporation of Kilkenny to Sidney, 21 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 22).

⁷³Edmund Butler to Ormond, 24 Aug. (ibid., no. 47 I).

⁷⁴Ormond to Cecil, 24 July (ibid., no. 23).

⁷⁵9 July (Sidney S.P., no. 69).

rebellion. She could see 'no spark of grace' in Fitzmaurice and his accomplices but that Sir Edmund 'hath in a certain manner lamented his case that you should be incensed against him by some that he thinketh his adversaries for title of land and government.' She was still only partially informed of events.

Late in July William Sweetman had an interview with Sir Edmund,⁷⁶ having got him apart from Edward, whom he described as 'beyond reason, incensed with overweening, and...thinketh to have all Ireland under himself.' Sweetman took Sir Edmund sharply to task for his part in the revolt. He replied 'I do it not to make war against the queen but against those that banish Ireland and mean a conquest.' When Sweetman had demolished that argument and said that Ormond was shocked and coming over, Sir Edmund replied that he would not be ruled by Ormond in the matter nor would Fitzmaurice by Desmond. He showed Sweetman treaties with Fitzmaurice and Turlogh Luineach O'Neill in which mutual help was pledged to each other. Shortly thereafter Edward Moore at Mellifont reported that messengers of Fitzmaurice and Sir Edmund had passed on their way north to O'Neill on 2 August and had not yet returned.⁷⁷ Some thirty-two galleys were seen on the Scottish coast on 4 August, and they were purported to be under Sorley boy MacDonnell with 4,000 men and headed toward Lough Foyle.⁷⁸

It was partly concern for the north which had kept Sidney from moving south, despite the numerous appeals for his aid. There were 400 troops to be sent by sea from the south of England to Munster and 200 at Chester to be sent to Sidney but they were slow in coming.⁷⁹ Having left the pale in charge of the earl of Kildare Sidney moved south late in July, taking and warding the castle of Tullow on the way.⁸⁰ Sidney was at Kilkenny on 29 July⁸¹ and had reached Cork by the middle of August.⁸²

⁷⁶ 'Information of William Sweetman...'. 27 July (P.R.O., S. P. Ire., 63/29, no. 24).

⁷⁷ Moore to Weston, 9 Aug. (ibid., no. 34).

⁷⁸ Leonard Sumpter, Bristol merchant, to the Irish government, 13 Aug. (ibid., no. 38).

⁷⁹ Elizabeth to Sidney, 27 July, 7 Aug. (Sidney S.P. nos. 70, 71)

⁸⁰ Baltinglass and others to Weston and council, 18 Aug. (P. R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 41).

⁸¹ Ibid., no. 25.

⁸² Ormond to Cecil, 28 Aug. (ibid., no. 47).

Troubled followed in his wake. On 5 August Sir Edmund Butler with 500 horsemen entered Ossory and took a large prey. Cosby said that he could not stand up to such numbers and asked the earl of Kildare⁸³ for the loan of forty to sixty horsemen and 100 kerne because he expected Sir Edmund to return on 8 August. An hour before daybreak on 9 August Piers Butler attacked Leighlin Bridge, spoiling the town of its goods and cattle, burning seventy houses, and killing nine men and four children. He was also threatening to besiege the castle which was garrisoned by twelve of Carew's household servants. A message was sent to Dublin for help because 'the straights are kept' in the direction of Sidney and no one could get through.⁸⁴ Piers next took a prey from the town of Carlow and 'remains in the woods of the Dullagh and Shieve-margy, hard adjoining to the pale.' The forces there also asked help as their numbers did not begin to equal Piers's. On 17 August Sir Edmund retook Tullow, preyed in Co. Kildare, and came to within three miles of Carlow, causing the small number of defenders to draw closer to it as their Kavanagh kerne had deserted them.⁸⁵

Ormond landed in Rosslare on the evening of 13 August and spent the night in Wexford. He then rode on to Waterford, reaching there on the 15th.⁸⁶ On that same day his brothers Sir Edmund and Piers entered Co. Wexford and took the castle of Enniscorthy, killing, drowning, and raping many of the inhabitants, and taking other prisoners for ransom.⁸⁷ Sir Edmund later denied that he was present or knew of what happened at Enniscorthy,⁸⁸ but on the following day the Butler forces were around Ferns and Francis Agard at Newcastle Mackynnegan was convinced that they were moving toward

⁸³7 Aug. (P.R.O. S.P., Ire., 63/29, no. 31).

⁸⁴Richard Hooker to Weston, 10 Aug. (ibid., no. 35).

⁸⁵Baltinglass, John Eustace, and Robert Hartpole to Weston and council, 12 Aug., 18 Aug. (ibid., nos. 37, 41).

⁸⁶Ormond to Cecil, 28 Aug. (ibid., no. 47).

⁸⁷Sidney and council to privy council, 26 Oct. (ibid., no. 70)

⁸⁸Sir Edmund Butler to Ormond, 24 Aug. (ibid., no. 47 I).

it. When that happened communications with Dublin along the coast would be cut.⁸⁹ A day or two later the opinion was general that the news of Ormond's arrival had stopped them in the nick of time, that they had been heading for Arklow and union with the O'Byrnes.⁹⁰

Ormond had refused to see his brothers or treat with their representatives. Edward and Sir Edmund both wrote to the earl, stating their cases and protesting their loyalty to the queen. Sir Edmund's letter was six pages of eloquent anger against his enemies which showed that he would have been a natural leader of a parliamentary opposition. In his dealings with Fitzmaurice Sir Edmund had declined to move westward to Cork or elsewhere for concerted action against Sidney and he had Fitzmaurice sworn not to bring in Spaniards. He would like to have his case heard before Elizabeth and he wanted her better informed on how wars in Ireland enriched her servants. 'Alas that the queen knew how she is dealt withal and how her treasure is consumed among such cormorants as serve more to enrichen themselves by her than for any quiet or good order they devise for the state of the land.' Sir Edmund had sent a challenge of combat for himself, his two brothers, and two kinsmen 'to fight with Sir Peter Carew, Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, O'Carroll, Francis Cosby, and Gilbert, who persuaded my lord deputy thus to deal with me and upon their ale benches traitor me at their pleasure, or else I offered myself to combat with them all one after another,' Sidney to insure fair play and the camp to act as spectators. Elizabeth had already instructed Sidney⁹¹ that 'when the earl of Ormond shall arrive there, that if his brother Sir Edmund Butler shall indeed be unfeinedly distract of his wits as is reported, he the said earl may have the charge and custody of his said brother..., ' produc-

⁸⁹Agard to Weston, 6 p.m., 16 Aug. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 40).

⁹⁰Richard Walshe to Weston, 17 Aug., Robert Mainwaring to Agard, 18 Aug. (H.M.C., Salisbury MSS, vol. 1, nos. 1320-21).

⁹¹7 Aug. (Sidney S.P., No. 71). Received 18 Sept.

ing him for justice as she directed. The letter reached Sidney after the event but as an analysis it was sound.

The web that had been woven by Fitzmaurice, the Butlers, and Turlough Luineach was nearing completion. The Scots had landed at Lough Foyle by 24 August and taken their ships up to Lifford. There were some 3,000 of them, which added to those Turlough Luineach had, including some from his Campbell wife, gave him some 4,200 in all. He hoped to be joined by O'Donnell and others and then to move on the English pale.⁹² Danyell asked that Newry have powder and reenforcements⁹³ and the garrison there was advised⁹⁴

as long as you have leisure be doing about the castle because peradventure he may come upon the sudden. Turlough Brasselagh (O'Neill) desireth you to put away all the thatch of the houses from Tuesday (30 August) forth, if you had not aid in the meantime for fear of the smoke to hinder your sight at the castle

In fact Turlough Luineach arrived on the 29th and invested the town, having taken 3,000 cattle that belonged to Danyell and Bagenal. The defenders heard that he would burn the town on the night of the 30th. They prepared 'and stopped all the great window of our castle,' but he did not come. They understood that he would move into Clanbrassel, MacGuinness's country, Lecale, and Mourne, and return to besiege Newry again. They stressed their need for powder.⁹⁵

Thomas Fleming had sent a letter of Sidney's to Turlough Luineach, and his messenger had seen messengers of Sir Edmund Butler, Lysagh McKedagh O'More, O'Connor Don, James Fitzmaurice, O'Rourke, and others out of Munster and Connaught.⁹⁶ Fleming united with Edward Moore and Louth in urging Weston⁹⁷ in Dublin

⁹²Patrick Cullen to Terence Danyell, 24 Aug. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 43).

⁹³Danyell to Weston and council, 26 Aug. (ibid., no. 44).

⁹⁴Patrick Cullen to Randall Brereton and Hugh Lewes, 28 Aug., (ibid., no. 49).

⁹⁵Terence Danyell and John Sankey to Weston and council, 29 Aug., 30 Aug. (ibid., nos. 50, 53).

⁹⁶Fleming to Weston, 29 Aug. (ibid., no. 52).

⁹⁷31 Aug. (ibid., no. 54).

to send Kildare and his men north 'and that with speed, otherwise it will be a day after the fair.'

On 24 August Kildare had been at Tullow to block Sir Edmund, who was to come over the Barrow.⁹⁸ After his forces had eaten their five days of victuals he dispersed them and within two days Sir Edmund and his forces had moved into Co. Wexford again and spoiled everything 'betwixt the great water of Arklow and the civil parts of the county of Wexford...the castles and lordship of Arklow and the castle of Ferns only except.' Agard was expecting him at Newcastle Mackynnegan again.⁹⁹ Kildare was in Dublin gathering a new force to move south when the news of Turlough Luineach arrived and he moved his forces to the north instead. By 12 September he had the whole forces of the pale, 1,300 footmen and 240 horsemen, ready to withstand O'Neill. Fitzwilliam, who was with him, did not think that the footmen were of a calibre to stand up to Turlough Luineach's forces.¹⁰⁰

One danger had been removed. On 1 September Sir Edmund, Edward, and Piers had met Ormond outside of Kilkenny and submitted under his protection.¹⁰¹ After a week with them he was still arguing that Carew was at the bottom of his brother's revolt and that there was a general fear that Sidney was bent on a conquest of everyone's lands. He told Cecil¹⁰² that if he knew 'what challenges and claims' Carew 'doth make to the lands of many noblemen and others you would not marvel that it should breed great mischief as it would if he tarry in this land.' Ormond was confident that James Fitzmaurice could be overcome and the earl soon set out to join Sidney with 100 horsemen, 500 footmen and Sir Edmund and Piers. Edward, who was very sick, was left behind in Kilkenny.¹⁰³

⁹⁸Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 2 Sept. (P.R.O. S. P. Ire., 63/29, no. 56).

⁹⁹Agard to Weston, 28 Aug. (ibid., no. 46).

¹⁰⁰Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 12 Sept. (ibid., no. 61).

¹⁰¹Nicholas White to Cecil, 3 Sept. (ibid., no. 57).

¹⁰²Ormond to Cecil, 7 Sept. (ibid., no. 60).

¹⁰³Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 12 Sept. (ibid., no. 61).

Sidney left Cork and took Castlemartyr on 22 August and then returned to Cork where the 400 soldiers from the west of England had arrived. He then headed north to Buttevant and Kilmallock, where he placed Humphrey Gilbert 'to be colonel in those parts' with his own 100 horsemen, the 400 footmen from the west of England, and some kerne.¹⁰⁴ On 25 September Fitzmaurice and MacCarthy Mor with 1,500 footmen and eighty horsemen appeared within half a mile of the town. Gilbert set an ambush in the town, intending to sally and then retire. Instead he ended by charging the enemy, killing two of the leaders and wounding twenty men. Gilbert went south to get Captain John Shute and his company, confident that with 200 more men he could make an end of Fitzmaurice.¹⁰⁵

Sidney had moved on to Limerick, through Thomond and northward to Roscommon Castle, which O'Conor Don surrendered and which Sidney warded with Thomas Le Strange as constable. He rested his army at Athlone where he had the news that Turlough Luineach O'Neill had been shot by a jester with a caliver while Turlough was 'sitting at supper with his new spouse...'. The event had put Ulster in turmoil and Sidney moved to Dundalk ready to shift to the north. He sent a force in the direction of Tyrone which cleared the area around Armagh. Sidney returned to Dublin on 8 October. He was able to report that the pale had been well defended by Kildare, ably assisted by Agard and Fitzwilliam. At the end of October the rebels still haunted the Butler country, giving trouble in Queen's Co., Carlow, Wexford, and the adjoining areas, but Sidney was content to let Ormond clear up the area.¹⁰⁶

Sir Edmund and Piers Butler were brought before the Irish council towards the end of October and Sidney outlined the whole

¹⁰⁴Sidney to Cecil, 26 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 70).

¹⁰⁵Captain John Ward to Cecil, 26 Sept. (ibid., no. 64).

¹⁰⁶Sidney to Cecil, 26 Oct. (ibid., no. 70).

course of events that had led to the revolt and made the Butlers' case 'a very slender ground' in the opinion of George Wyse, who was present.¹⁰⁷ He added

These Irish rebels as is supposed have taken their occasion by certain seditious reports spread amongst them that her majesty intended to overrun them with a new conquest, a thing verily to be wished of all good subjects if it might be with safety of the state.

The establishment of presidencies had 'greatly confirmed' the rebels in their fear so Wyse thought. Sir Edmund had submitted a supplication to Elizabeth in September¹⁰⁸ in which he denied any intentions of treason to her. He asked that he and his brothers and their men be given a general pardon, 'with restitution of your suppliant's said house, lands, and goods taken by force from him.' He also asked that Sidney, Carew, and all others be instructed not to deal so with him again, except by course of law. Under the stress of the moment he neglected to ask that his heirs be protected from any disability that might arise from proceedings against him. When Elizabeth came to make her final decision she gave him, ironically, exactly what he had asked for and his heirs were not restored in blood.

Carew assured Cecil¹⁰⁹ that he had not 'by any means disquieted or made disturbance to any possession of Sir Edmund Butler's, before he was put in command to repress Butler's disorderly proceedings. Sir Edmund saw him as a special enemy 'because he judgeth my settling here as a line of some strength and continuance to serve in the upholding of the English government, which he and his accomplices with apparent acts hath sought to overthrow.' Carew was anxious to retain Elizabeth's support and despite the extravagance of his claims, not only in Idrone and Meath but in Munster as well, Sidney was prepared to recommend him. Carew had had to provide for forty horsemen and 100 kerne as well as the garrison at Leighlin Bridge and he always paid for what he took from the country, 'which in this land is very rare.' Sidney said

¹⁰⁷Wyse to Cecil, 29 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 77).

¹⁰⁸Enclosed with Ormond to Cecil, 7 Sept. (ibid., nos. 60, 60 III).

¹⁰⁹Carew to Cecil, 27 Oct. (ibid., no. 73).

others agreed with him and considering 'his old years' he would never recover half his charges.¹¹⁰

Sidney was also prepared to assist Thomas Stukely. In his report on the depredations of the Butlers in Co. Wexford Sidney did not miss pointing out that Stukely's house had been spoiled by them.¹¹¹ In October Sidney and his council ruled that as he had been a prisoner for sixteen weeks without any proper charge being brought against him he was to be released on sureties of £ 500 that he would answer any charges by the following spring. After that his liberty was to be absolute.¹¹² Stukely was soon to appear in Spain, where the revolt in Ireland had been followed with interest. De Spes had sent Philip II a detailed and largely accurate report of the beginnings of the revolt in Munster and had continued to keep him informed.¹¹²

The news had reached Rome by August and in September the Venetian ambassador in France reported to his government that at its outbreak the revolt gave indications of being the 'most formidable' ever to occur in Ireland both because of the numbers involved and because of the joining of the Butler and Fitzgerald factions. That danger had passed and Elizabeth was pleased with the attitude of the French but 'she suspects that other princes are kindling a blaze about her....',¹¹³

Indeed the English had suspected the Spanish were involved long before Philip II made any decision to intervene. Thus James Fitzmaurice could swear to Sir Edmund Butler not to bring in Spaniards because initially he had little hope of obtaining any. In Madrid Robert Huggins reported in July¹¹⁴ that the Catholic archbishop of Cashel was soliciting the cause of ten Irish lords, principally James Fitzmaurice and Turlough Luineach O'Neill, in an

¹¹⁰Sidney to the privy council, 27 Dec. (P.R.O. S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 86).

¹¹¹Sidney to the privy council, 26 Oct. (ibid., no. 70).

¹¹²1 July (Cal. S.P., Spain, 1568-1579, no. 112 et seq.).

¹¹³24 Aug. (Cal. S.P., Rome, 1558-71, no. 605). Alvise Contarini to the signory, 15 Sept. (Cal. S.P., Venice, 1558-80, no. 461).

¹¹⁴Robert Huggins to Sir Henry Norris, 22 July (Cal. S.P., for., 1569-71, no. 341).

effort to get Philip II to send an army to Ireland. He was convinced that the French had had similar offers as was Norris in France, who continued to believe Philip would intervene.¹¹⁵ In fact Philip II expressed the first interest that he ever had on the subject in a letter to his ambassador in England in November,¹¹⁶ when he asked

I also desire to have full information with regard to the state of things in Ireland, and what forces the catholics of the country have against the heretic English. I also wish to know if they would be parties to expelling them, and what leaders the catholics have who could be made much of. Make every effort to investigate this thoroughly, and report to me by first opportunity. Philip had taken the bait that had been offered to him for a decade and two factors were now to become dominant in Ireland, religion and Spanish intervention.

In Ireland Sidney was concerned about the north and on the same day had taken a cess of 2,400 Irish pecks, some 5,000 bushels, of oats on eight counties for the 'garrisons residing in the north parts.'¹¹⁷ There were only a few Scots in the north Sidney told Cecil¹¹⁸ 'but mean to make gain there is none but by planting of a new people, for all these are stark nought.' In December he had moved northward to defend the frontiers from a possible incursion of Turlough Luineach¹¹⁹ and both in November and December he stated his intention to send Captain William Piers to inform Elizabeth of the north. Sidney still thought of the north as an area for plantation.

Munster struck him the same way. Fitzmaurice was still active and indeed the revolt was to stretch on there for several years. From the point of view of the countess of Desmond Fitzmaurice's primary object was to bring the earl into further displeasure and to 'usurp all your inheritance to himself...'.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵Norris to Cecil, 11 Aug., 22 Sept. (Cal. S.P., for., 1569-71, nos. 376, 443).

¹¹⁶18 Nov. (Cal. S.P., Spain, 1568-79, no. 157).

¹¹⁷18 Nov. (P.R.O. I., Ms. 2,532, f. 324).

¹¹⁸25 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 81).

¹¹⁹Sidney to the privy council, 27 Dec. (*ibid.*, no. 86).

¹²⁰Countess of Desmond to Desmond, 23 Nov. (*ibid.*, no. 79).

Sidney had other ideas about the ultimate ownership:

For Munster I can do no more than I have done. I have by the sword won her majesty castles and countries, and by act of parliament I doubt not to assure them to her crown. If she will be best answered for them her majesty must send people to occupy them. If she will not so, let me and others have commission to dispose them for the best to her majesty's profit that we can...

Keeping the area with soldiers meant that not one half of the cost was recovered. Sidney added to Cecil¹²¹ that if she meant to proceed 'with due severity you must send hither for the time some good sour lawyer, and then may she have through this rebellion land enough.'

In December¹²² he praised Gilbert's activities in Munster, saying that his hundred horsemen and the 400 footmen from England were holding the area down and if they were withdrawn control would melt. Pollard had never arrived as president and Sidney urged that one be placed there whose qualities should include no 'inclination to factions or parties,' because 'as this nation is very apt to know a man so is it all their study to take advantage of any man's imperfections...'. The system was working well in Connaught where proper subjects had been made sheriffs, and there had been placed 'English subjects of some government both in castles and abbeys that are at her majesty's disposition' with wards of ten to twenty men depending on the place.

Elizabeth had urged Sidney to use Ormond in any way that he could but she made it clear that the earl's authority proceeded from the deputy and she was equally emphatic that 'the pretences and allegations' of his brothers for their rebellion found no place with her.¹²³ Sidney responded that her support 'singularly revived me' and he was still content to let the earl recapture his brothers though he was convinced that it was dangerous to have them abroad. He was even dubious of Sir Edmund's religious leanings and was prepared to believe the report 'that he hath made an offering to the Holy Cross since his escape,'¹²⁴ the relic at the

¹²¹25 Nov. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 81).

¹²²Sidney to the privy council, 27 Dec. (ibid., no. 86).

¹²³Elizabeth to Sidney, 15 Oct., received 19 Dec. (Sidney S.P., no. 72. Also in Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 233-4).

¹²⁴Sidney to the privy council, 27 Dec. (loc. cit.).

abbey in Tipperary where rebels had been meeting for years. The brothers had escaped in November and Sidney informed Cecil¹²⁵ that Sir Edmund was breathing threats again, all against 'mere Englishmen,' and that Sidney was able to prove that 'more mischief hath he done and procured to be done than ever rebel in memory of man did in Ireland, and had he not been the south and west had been in quiet obedience and the north for a great part newly planted.' For Sidney it was unpardonable that the plans for colonization and expansion that he had had for 1569 should have been prevented and far from seeing them as a cause for the revolt he saw them as a cure. In December, summing up the experience, he stressed¹²⁶ that Elizabeth 'hath here the rebels subdued, but it lieth not in my power to make them good subjects. Her highness hath land here good store but there want good people to inhabit it.' She alone had the power to remedy the situation. It seemed to him that in the rebellion were 'the stirs so universal as far surmounted any conspiracy in this land ever practiced against the English government, the doors thereof boasting their friendships, their combinations, their promises of aid abroad with such ostentation of their certain security at home...'

In England Elizabeth was faced with a religious revolt in the north. In Ireland not only religion but the disaffected sense of being dispossessed by a new wave of settlement had driven together Butlers and Fitzgeralds, Anglo-Irish and Irish. The remedy proposed was more of the same.

The bill had finally come in as well. Jenyson had gone to work on Fitzwilliam's accounts as soon as he arrived in 1568.¹²⁷ By November he was reporting that they were nine years in arrears and well towards £400,000 Irish.¹²⁸ He was still at work in June 1569 when he finished putting Fitzwilliam's books in order.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ 26 Oct. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 70).

¹²⁶ Sidney to the privy council, 27 Dec. (ibid., no. 86).

¹²⁷ Jenyson to Cecil, 9 Sept. 1568 (ibid., 63/25, no. 81).

¹²⁸ Jenyson to Cecil, 6 Nov. 1568 (ibid., 63/26, no. 17).

¹²⁹ Draycott to Cecil, 5 June, Jenyson to Cecil, 27 June (ibid. 63/28, nos. 22, 57).

When Fitzwilliam went to England with the brief summary Elizabeth found 'the extraordinary charge to have been far greater in every degree than by any wise we looked for.' She therefore sent him back to Ireland to return to England in the autumn.¹³⁰ For the ten years ending 24 June 1569, the eve of the revolt, the total charges had been £347,762 Irish. The Irish revenues had contributed £38,605 and £281,085 had been sent from England. The crown still owed £21,841.¹³¹ Fitzwilliam was returned to England in October for final passage of his account¹³² but Elizabeth had already indicated that she found the cost too high.

¹³⁰Elizabeth to Sidney, 27 July (Sidney S.P., no. 70).

¹³¹Briefs of Fitzwilliam's accounts. 27 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/28, nos. 53-5).

¹³²Sidney and council to the privy council, 26 Oct. (*ibid.*, 63/29, no. 70).

CHAPTER XX

Aftermath of the Revolt

1570-1571

Sidney finished his first term as deputy largely in dealing with the results of the revolt of 1569. One of the problems he faced was the Butlers. Early in January 1570 he advised the crown¹ that Ormond's claim of £50,000 damages from the lands of Desmond and his tenants could not be answered from the earl's lands in Munster in forty years, and in any case the crown had a prior claim of £20,000. He thought it was dangerous to commit Desmond's possessions to Ormond. The latter's request for exemption from cess was all right in cos Kilkenny and Tipperary but it was a dangerous precedent on the earl's lands in the English pale.

Sidney did promise to examine the earl's claim to Leighlin and on 29 January met the earl there, the two emerging as fast friends according to Nicholas White, who was sent for by Sidney, to conclude 'a reconciliation between the earl and me'. To Cecil White asserted² that 'it is reported here that your honour hath procured this friendship between the deputy and the earl'. As seneschal of co. Wexford White reported³ that the Kavanaghs of Idrone had come in under protection and that he had routed the rest in the field. He undertook 'that in the length of the whole shire, which is thirty-five miles, if any of her majesty's subjects travelling the highway be harmed I will answer the hurt...'. He accompanied Ormond through his country in February and claimed to 'have put some spirit of justice in him that he hath executed a number of rascal'.

Ormond had promised to bring in his brothers, with force if

¹17 Jan. 1570. A letter not now extant but summarized in '11 April 1570. A memorial for all the Ireland causes', begun by Cecil (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 38).

²9 Feb. (ibid., no. 12).

³24 Jan. (ibid., no. 8).

necessary and by the end of the month he had Sir Edmund and Piers before Sidney 'and this honourable table', acknowledging their crimes and asking mercy.⁴ George Wyse witnessed their submission and said that the council was allowed to discuss the matter at length.⁵ The council concluded that the two should be recommended to the queen for pardon though Sidney was the last to agree. He made the point that Sir Edmund 'or some of his complices...had slandered my masters of her majesty's privy council, saying they were fitter to be artificers than councillors', which Wyse thought 'were heinous words and such as became no man to have spoken', though he could recall Sir Anthony St Leger writing to England in similar vein.

Ormond put in a plea for his brothers to Cecil,⁶ who if he knew how Sir Edmund first became disordered would pity him, for 'surely he was bewitched and so in a kind of frenzy...'. The earl and Sidney had buried the past and Ormond was being sent as 'general into Munster', though without expenses for his men so that he complained that while others were recompensed for their services 'my hap is not to have a groat, but sell and mortgage all I have'.

In January 1570 Sidney had thought the rebels were finished in Munster,⁷ 'the archrebel James Fitzmaurice only except, who is become a bush beggar not having twenty knaves of all sorts to follow him'. He praised Colonel Gilbert, whom he could only honour by knighting, and of his deeds

the estimation that he hath won to the name of Englishmen there (before almost not known) exceedeth all the rest, for he in battle with so few brake so many of them, wherein he showed how far our soldiers in valour passed those rebels, and he in his own person any man he had, as I assure you I think the name of an Englishman is more terrible now to them than the sight of an hundreth was before.

Sidney urged Cecil to press Elizabeth for a president and council

⁴28 Feb. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 19).

⁵Wyse to Cecil, 4 Mar. (ibid., no. 25).

⁶5 Mar. (ibid., no. 27).

⁷Sidney to Cecil, 4 Jan. (ibid., no. 2).

in Munster:

The iron is now hot, apt to receive what print shall be stricken in it, but if it be suffered to grow cold I fear where before it was iron it will be then found steel. These people are headstrong and if they feel the curb loosed but one link they will with bit in the teeth in one month run further out of the course of good order than they will be brought back in three. Well I know you be wise and therefore this may suffice.

When Sidney sent Sir Humphrey Gilbert back to England he urged the same point to Cecil again,⁸ for otherwise 'the queen's treasure there spent is lost, my labour and his work in vain'.

By March Ormond was pressing the same advice on Cecil.⁹ He wished Gilbert 'had made a more perfect end of his work so that I had not been now burdened withal...', and that Sir John Perrott be made to come as president of Munster even 'against his will'. In England Cecil was considering Sidney's advice that the rebellion should be punished,¹⁰ and that since virtually everyone in co. Tipperary was involved, that there and elsewhere in Munster and Leinster leases should be re-negotiated to the crown's advantage as part of the holders' submission for mercy. By June Sidney was able to inform Ormond that this would be crown policy in cos Kilkenny, Carlow, and the liberty of Tipperary.¹¹

Ormond himself was supposed to be getting in his brother Edward. In April Ormond's forces around Nenagh pursued Edward into Owey and killed and took many of his men prisoner but Edward escaped,¹² going to Thomond. Sidney, in a letter advising Carew¹³ that although in England he should not yield his right to serve in Ireland for he would 'do your cause no good, but

⁸24 Jan. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 7).

⁹5 Mar. (ibid., no. 27).

¹⁰1570. Memorial of Mr Dillon', Cecil's endorsement.

¹¹11 Apr. (ibid., no. 40).

¹²Sidney to the privy council, 24 June (ibid., no. 56).

¹³Ormond to Sidney, 27 Apr. (ibid., no. 56 II).

¹⁴Sidney to Sir Peter Carew, 28 May (ibid., no. 52).

rather lose that you have won², ended by saying that Ormond was serving well in Thomond but had still not caught Edward.

What honour were it to that house if the earl would bring in that brother's head with his own hands. That were indeed a purging sacrifice, and such an end of the troubles of this land as I would think it should remain quiet in our days. For James Fitzmaurice without that faction is nobody.

Sidney also got Cecil to urge the necessity to keep Ballymartyr, which was in decay and could not be kept with its present small ward 'if her majesty plant no more force in the country...'.¹⁴

Ormond in his campaign through Munster and Thomond in pursuit of Edward had other views on James Fitzmaurice who was 'grown to a greater strength than before he was'. It was the earl's view that his support came from defectors, some of whom had melted away from Ormond's force as their protections expired. His explanation was that the act of attainder, which Sidney had secured in the Irish parliament against those involved in the revolt and post dated to 30 April 1571, had driven many of them away. Ormond pressed Cecil¹⁵ to have Elizabeth reconsider in view of present disorder. For his part the earl wished that there were mercy used to most men, and but some of the worst members cut off, for this last commotion. For surely if my lord deputy drive those that have served truly to extremity I fear that will come of it...perhaps much to the queen's majesty's charges. Trust me, Mr Secretary, she hath very good subjects here, if they were cherished and not overpressed they yield much and bear great impositions. I mean not to excuse their error but wish for the good service they have done, and will do, that in respect thereof favour might be showed to them.

Ormond was representing his own interests and the Anglo-Irish point of view and at the same time he took Gilbert to task again, upon hearing how well received his service was by the privy council in England.¹⁶ Ormond did so, he said, because he had found the west where Gilbert served is such disorder. 'Although Mr Gilbert did use some travail and care in casting water on the fire, whereby the flame ceased for a time, yet

¹⁴'Ireland. Remembrances'. c. June 1570. Notes by Cecil on information from Sidney (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 103).

¹⁵3 July (ibid., no. 67).

¹⁶Ormond to Heneage, 4 July (ibid., no. 68).

quenched he not the coals...', and as a result James Fitzmaurice had wrought more death and destruction in Munster. While in Thomond Ormond had carefully garrisoned the castles of value with his own men, thus keeping his own interests in view.

The crown gave heed to the requests for Perrott as president in Munster. By autumn he was drawing up a list of 'requests'¹⁷ in connexion with that office. Perrott wanted 200 English horsemen and 200 footmen, all the authority that St Leger or Gilbert had had, and monastic lands in Limerick city, Adare, a portion of the White Knight's lands near Killmallock, Ballymartyr, Dungarvan, and other lands for the president and his retinue.

By December Ormond was wishing that he would arrive.¹⁸ The earl continued to be the crown's authority in Munster, and had had to shift westward with the news that two French ships had landed at the haven of Dingle. There were also rumours, later proved false, of the landing of 300 Spaniards. Ormond was plainly anxious to devote his energies to protecting his holdings from the offers of O'Carroll and MacBryan Arra for surrender and regrant.¹⁹

Perrott landed in Waterford on 27 February.²⁰ The news set off a reaction in the south, which Ormond was not slow to remind Sidney that he had predicted. He argued that the rebels were all agreed: 'They give forth that Sir John Perrott is come to make conquest over them all. Of all sorts James hath increased his number within this seven days treble, and yet of all his footmen hath not one armed'.²¹ Fitzmaurice had managed to sieze Killmallock on 2 March and burned most of it with the exception of a few castles. He drove away the cattle, of which

¹⁷c. Nov. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 95).

¹⁸Ormond to Cecil, 7 Dec. (ibid., no. 96).

¹⁹Ormond to Cecil, 4 Feb. (ibid., no. 4).

²⁰Fitzwilliam to Cecil, 15 Mar. 1571 (ibid., 63/31, no.21).

²¹Ormond to Sidney, 3 Mar., enclosed in Weston and council to Elizabeth, 23 Mar. 1571 (ibid., 63/31, no. 33).

some 500 were recaptured by Edward Butler, who was now in the hands of his brother and being used by Ormond in a renewed campaign against Fitzmaurice. Perrott met with Sidney on 10 March and the two conferred for several days. MacCarthy Mor, the earl of Clancare, had already submitted, but much of Munster was wasted by the rebellion and in practice Perrott was going to be two years in stamping it out.

Presidential government in Connaught faced an equally difficult future. Sir Edward Fitton, the new president, and his justice Ralph Rokeby had begun their government in the province at Michaelmas 1569. They held sessions in co. Galway and at first all had gone well.²² Rokeby reported²³ that attendance had been good and 'that the common sort and poorest people dare complain and desire justice against the greatest...'. In the town of Galway they found 'the best and most loyal subjects that the queen's majesty hath in Connaught'. Then towards the end of January 1570 Fitton and Rokeby had gone to Thomond for sessions there. O'Brien, the earl of Thomond, and his followers in a night raid on Fitton's retinue had 'houghed many of his horses and hurt some of his horseboys'.²⁴ Fitton took shelter within the friendly walls of Galway and informed Sidney²⁵ that he had rebellion in his province. A witness had heard Thomond 'say openly at his table that he would do nothing with the lord deputy nor lord president but as the duke of Norfolk would say'. The whole of O'Madden's country was completely spoiled 'saving Meelick, and there the ploughs go in quiet'. Fitton was prepared to take the reverse in his stride and told Cecil,²⁶ as he had Sidney, that only the sword and justice coupled together

²²Fitton to Cecil, 15 April, 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30. no. 43).

²³To Cecil, 4 Jan. 1570 (ibid., no. 4).

²⁴Nicholas White to Cecil, 9 Feb. (ibid., no. 12).

²⁵22 Feb. (ibid., no. 15).

²⁶15 April (ibid., no. 43).

would work in Connaught: '...power is the thing must bridle them and justice must comfort them, for by the one alone they will grow desperate and notwithstanding the other they will continue insolent'.

Rokeby, who was a friend of Carew and Gilbert, and who wanted to return to England to be married,²⁷ was more eloquent and unyielding²⁸ toward the Irish of Connaught:

It is not lenity and gentleness that will win them. It is not clemency and mercy that will win them. It is not the name nor the name of a lord president and council that will frame them to obedience. It must be fire and sword, the rod of God's vengeance, that must make these cankered hearts and stubborn minds to yield for fear, that will obey neither for love nor duty. It must be valiant...captains and hearty soldiers that must make a way for law and justice in these remote parts or else farewell Ireland. The ungodly and unnatural stirs at home in England by our domestical earls and their confederates, the conjured enemies of Christ and Christianity, have greatly encouraged this country people to revolt this generally.

By June Rokeby was in Dublin in expectation of being called home but Fitton stayed on in Connaught. He spent most of 1570 bringing the earl of Thomond to terms,²⁹ and by March 1571 had the satisfaction to receive the earl's public submission to him in Thomond itself.³⁰ By then Fitton had made Athlone his headquarters and from there he wrote Cecil a thoughtful analysis of his problems.³¹ He began with the point that

we are settled here to live, and pretend to do all men good, and hurt none, yet we are forced to be very chargeable to as many as be good subjects, or pretend any obedience (which are but few). And therefore the burthen [is] the heavier, for having not to furnish our household by any provision, nor yet money to buy it, we have no other way but to take it up of the country by commission and give bills for it, whereof they make no accompt.

The censing of soldiers on the countryside caused equal distress,

Yea, and I am credibly informed that the archrebel presently of this province, which is Shane Bourke mcOliverus who now standeth to be MacWilliam Eighter, being explained upon to his face by a poor widow of his country being undone by his rebellious practices

²⁷Rokeby to Cecil, 5 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no.54).

²⁸Rokeby to Cecil, 15 Apr. (ibid., no. 44).

²⁹See Acts privy council Ire., 1556-71, pp. 201-217.

³⁰Weston and council to Elizabeth, 23 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 33).

³¹8 Feb. 1571 (ibid., no. 8).

in maintaining the Scots, he fell into a study, and after some pause, said openly, 'I am in a miserable case. If we stand out altogether and maintain Scots for our defence, I see the destruction of the country. Again, if I shall take upon me the name of MacWilliam I shall be driven for maintenance thereof to spoil it myself, and if we shall submit ourselves to the English nation, they will be as burthenous as either MacWilliam or Scots. God give me grace to do the likest.' Surely, sir, when I heard this tale it grieved me at the heart that they had any such quarrel to us...

Fitton left the problem to Cecil and Sidney, for expensive and impoverishing as the soldiers were 'yet they breed reformation and common quiet where they be, for by their lying abroad kernes, thieves, and all idle vagabonds for the most part are banished, as for example presently Westmeath, which by the soldiers lying there chiefly is as safe to travail as the old English pale'. he concluded with what he considered his chief point:

I beseech you consider touching the great men of these countries, who according to the common nature of man are loath to be restrained of their lust. And as a bishop of their own said unto me, 'Possunt suo modo perbene preese, sed nullo modo possunt subesse'. /They are able in their own way to rule very well, but in no way are able to endure being ruled.⁷

Fitton was also a man of action, for when O'Conor Don escaped a few days later Fitton responded by taking his castle of Ballintubber the next day.³² It was ten miles or so beyond Roscommon castle and commanded the plain of Connaught. By Fitton's reckoning Ballintubber was twenty-four miles north of Athlone, Shrewghter was forty miles west and a Longford was twenty-four miles south. The three places did 'circuit a large English pale of Connaught'. Properly warded they would not cost the queen much and could be used so that 'every one of them enlarge their borders'.

English government had arrived in Connaught. The parliament of 1569 had made the Annally into a shire to be called co. Longford, and in February 1571 Sidney had made indentures with O'Farrell Bane, O'Farrell Boy, and forty-four other O'Farrells for the surrender of the whole county to the crown.³³ It was to

³²Fitton to Cecil, 19 Feb. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no.13).

³³11 Feb. 1571 (ibid., nos 9, 10. Cal.Carew MSS, 1515-71, nos 275, 276). The two indentures in the state papers are later copies, with extensive notes on no. 9.

be regranted by knight's services, pay a rent of some £133 and subsidy, and be discharged of bonnaught and cess. Subsidy would begin when the county was divided into ploughlands and for three years after that wastes were 'to be allowed as in other places of shireground'. The rating was to include all monastic land, and the lands of the Fitzgeralds, Nugents, 'and other of the English pale within the said county'. O'Farrell Bane was to renounce his name and become seneschal of the county. It was a subtle attempt to meld the Irish and English systems into one, and it was sufficiently attractive that the holders in O'Madden's country all opted for the same arrangement. East of Athlone the countries of MacCoghlan and O'Molloy had both been shired into King's co., and the countries of the Fox, MacAwley, MacGeoghan, and O'Melaughlin had been shired into co. Westmeath. Despite these signs Fitton felt that government troops would be necessary in Connaught for his rule to be effective. As a concrete example of their problems he and his council cited the country of Thomond where they wanted Arthur Brereton, not only as constable of Bunratty or Clare with a garrison, but as 'a chief and general officer in the shire to temper them all where they be out of frame, or at least to report truly who is in fault, for never one of them saith well of another'.³⁴

In Ulster Sidney pursued the same policy he had been urging for years. In January 1570 he urged that Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, be made earl of Tyrone.³⁵ Sidney had a long interest in young Hugh. When he and his older brother Barnaby were wards of the queen in 1559 Sidney had fostered them with Giles Hovenden, the Leix planter. Hovenden died and his widow married John Pygott, also a Leix planter, who kept the two boys. Barnaby died on 12 April 1562, and Hugh became baron. Pygott

³⁴ Weston and council to Elizabeth, 23 Mar., enclosing Fitton and council to Sidney, 9 Mar., Fitton and others to Sidney, 11 Mar. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, nos 33, 33II and III).

³⁵ 26 Jan. 1570, in a 'memorial' for Ireland begun by Cecil 11 Apr. (ibid., 63/30, no. 38).

and his wife were compensated for keeping the two boys,³⁶ and Hugh was sent to England where he was for a time raised in Sidney's house. In 1570 he was twenty and Sidney evidently thought he was preferable to Turlough Luineach as head of the O'Neills.

At the same time Sidney urged that Carrickfergus and Clondeboy had begun to be inhabited and Turlough Luineach and the Scots could be easily suppressed but that it would 'be in vain except better people should be gotten to inhabit'. He had certainly made Carrickfergus into a base of operations. Some 380 men in garrison, 50 mariners at sea, and 100 labourers and artificers gave Piers an empire of more than 500 men.³⁷ Thomas Sackford had taken over the victualling and was soon pressing that money be provided to keep the undertaking going.³⁸

In March Sidney sent Lucas Dillon to court to press a variety of business, including the north.³⁹ The deputy thought that private instructions were all that he needed to distribute 'the lands in Ulster now united to the crown' without an act of parliament, for they were part of the queen's private inheritance. The seacoast needed to be kept and inland it was best 'to fortify, inhabit, and to maintain tillage that within time may bear the charges. The inhabitants presently thereof, the Irishry, will never be good subjects'. The north was a good place to put the pensioners, giving them some initial help. Dillon was specifically to ask that John Sankey, the Offaly planter, 'have the fee farm of the manor of the Narrow Water in Ulster, with the parcels thereto adjoining, now in his possession and fortified to his great charge'.⁴⁰

³⁶ 4 Dec. 1563 (Transcript in Fergusson - Kelly MSS, order box papers, R.I.A. MS 13.F.3).

³⁷ 'The garrisons at Carrickfergus', by Jenyson to 28 Feb. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 20).

³⁸ Sackford to privy council, c. 28 Feb. (ibid., no. 21).

³⁹ Cecil's 'memorial'. 11 April (ibid., no. 38).

⁴⁰ '1570. Memorial of Mr. Dillon', by Cecil, 11 Apr., and 'April 1570. A brief of...matters...of Ireland to be answered' (ibid., nos 40, 48).

Sir Thomas Gerrard and 'the companions of his attempt' had just made their 'second book of demands'⁴¹ to Elizabeth to colonize in the north, 'planting and inhabiting' the Glynnns and part of Clandeboy. Judging by the provisions of the offer it can be understood why Elizabeth objected so much to their proposals of 1569. They still planned to make her liable for most of the expense.

Gerrard and his company wanted a grant of the lands between Larne and the Route and all of the lands of Clandeboy from Castletown by Lough Neagh to Belfast in fee simple. The area was to be made a shire, the officers being chosen annually by the company, and with the power to make ordinances not conflicting with the laws of the realm. They wished authority to use martial law within the area without any reprisals for doing so. The company wanted Sidney to remain in the north for the summer for various reasons. They wanted 100 horsemen and 400 footmen, until three crops were gathered, with a year's wages in advance and then advances every six months. The company would be bound, promising to see that the soldiers would be maintained. In addition Elizabeth was to provide a commission for the company to levy these soldiers, with proper equipment including horses, and 'convenient numbers of labourers and artificers' in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire.

The company also wished to retain the queen's ships in the area for defence against the Scots and to have two of her hoys, properly furnished, for transportation of victuals. She was asked to provide munition for defence of the places to be fortified, which would be selected by Sidney. The garrison at Carrickfergus was to be moved northward as Sidney would direct and Elizabeth was asked to fortify Red Bay, Markenton Bay, Raghlin, Skerries, and Portrush.

The company wished to import 6,000 quarters of grain of all

⁴¹So endorsed by Cecil, 15 Mar. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 32).

sorts from England, custom free, as well as grain they had grown there, or tithes, or rents from their tenants. They also wanted the right to export anything they produced to any place, with the exception only of the queen's enemies. Finally they wanted the fishing along the coasts that they settled and all of the fishing in Lough Neagh.

In return Gerrard and his companions were prepared to serve the queen with their lives and substance and compel those who rebelled against her 'to live obediently and in good order'. They would build, inhabit, and fortify, 'within convenient time' two towns, one at Larne and the other where Sidney directed. They were prepared to pay all customs, except on what they received for their own provisions. After three years they would pay the queen an annual rent per acre, according to half of the rate for Leix and Offaly as originally surveyed, as long as they enjoyed the lands. Finally they were prepared to put 100 or more men in her service immediately and at the end of three years to provide 500 men, half of which would serve the queen in any emergency that was within three days march of their lands.

Elizabeth was still not receptive to such an offer, apparently, for when Dillon was sent back to Ireland with her letters the matter was not mentioned directly.⁴² Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, was to be made earl of Tyrone and Sidney was given authority to grant the lands of her own inheritance in Ulster. Kildare was to be urged to put inhabitants in Lecale, and where Carew had explained anew the reasons for fortifying Raghlin Island, a matter on which she and Sidney had agreed before, she was prepared to hear 'how small charges there might be' for that work. A general feeling of the expenses she had had influenced her view on a colony in Ulster:

...we cannot, according to such opinion as always you have had and we have found very meet, be at the charges of fortifying and peopling of the north. We would have you use all the best means you can to reduce such captains as serve there, or...continue in

⁴²Elizabeth to Sidney, 17 May. Received by him from Dillon, 2 June 1570. (Sidney S.P., no. 75, sect. 4-8).

pension..., to settle themselves upon some parts of the frontiers, specially upon the seacoast towards Scotland, assigning unto them some portion and tract of ground, wherein consideration would be had that for covetousness they embrace not at the first more than they shall be able well to hold.

She reiterated that she could not undertake any more expense on that account. She was prepared to admit that Piers deserved praise for the increased population of Carrickfergus, and she was willing to grant half of the customs of the town for seven years to strengthen its defences, a concession that she would revoke if the funds were not so used.

Sidney lost no time in countering her attitude.⁴³ He expressed satisfaction in the permission she had granted for distributing lands in Ulster and her general agreement on the necessity for settlement in the north. However, it was a matter of great difficulty and altogether impossible to be done without some help of the prince at the first to bear some part of the charges. For as for the peoples of this country birth, they be not in any case to be brought to remove from their native habitation. Our own soldiers be for the most part so poor, as they be utterly unfit to plant themselves in any place, either to fortify themselves in strength or to get out the fruits of the earth. And none will come from home but upon some certain gain and assurance to them and their succession..., unless they be allured with some entertainment to begin withal. So as if her majesty (through other affairs of great charges) do mislike of the cost I see not how to inhabit or to people that part. And yet (saving at the first beginning) I am of opinion it will grow profitable, and be a good purchase to the crown, and that is spent there may easily then be defalked upon the rest of the garrison.

To back up his arguments and to explain the need to fortify Raghlin Sidney was sending Piers to court. He felt he could manage Turlough Luineach, 'for without Scots he is nobody'. At about the same time he asked Cecil to have Elizabeth encourage Bagenal 'to continue his buildings at the Newry'.⁴⁴

Thomas Sackford seemingly accompanied Piers to England for he was soon writing to Cecil from Ludlow,⁴⁵ defending his victualling of Carrickfergus from Might's complaints. In the fourteen months before June in which he had held Might's office

⁴³Sidney to the privy council, 24 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 56).

⁴⁴'Ireland. Remembrances', by Cecil, c. June, 1570 (ibid., no. 103).

⁴⁵15 July (ibid., no. 70).

he had saved Might £1,000 and increased the empty granary at Carrickfergus to a supply that would last until July. Sidney had asked him to help 'thinking my credit in England to be somewhat better than Mr Might's...'. Might had connexions in England as well, for among those who entered into bonds with Might to repay the queen £2,000 were Thomas Winchecombe of Carleton, Oxford, Tristram Saxey of Swanscombe, Kent, and Oliver Dawbeny and William Blount, both London merchants, as well as Francis Laney, Thomas Smythe, and Gabriel Crofts of Dublin.⁴⁶ By autumn Sidney had been advised to pay Might off.⁴⁷

Piers was in England at least from July to September 1570 and on the surface his business was no more significant than Sackford's and Might's. The two items which survive⁴⁸ are in regard to his position at Carrickfergus, the pay of his men, his own reward, and his four years as seneschal 'of the county of Knockfergus' or of Clandeboy. The latter post had necessitated his building a house of considerable size in Carrickfergus to provide for 'comers and goers'. It was on the queen's land and he wanted a grant in fee simple. He also wanted a grant in fee farm 'or otherwise' of the abbey of Tristernagh, co. Westmeath. The true nature of his visit does not appear until the following spring.

In the autumn John Sankey received a lease of the new castle and settlement of Aghahork, co. Down, near Dromore, with nine cottages within the precinct of the castle.⁴⁹ Its other conditions were similar to Sankey's plantation lease in Offaly.

The purpose of all these scattered moves began to be more

⁴⁶5 Aug. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 77).

⁴⁷28 Oct. 1570 (Acts privy council, 1570-75, pp. 395-6).

⁴⁸Petitions of Piers, July, 1 Sept. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, nos 75, 83).

⁴⁹Original indenture of John Sankey, 7 Nov. 1570 (ibid., no. 90).

obvious in the spring of 1571. Sidney had to settle for a treaty made with Turlough Luineach on 20 January which the deputy signed on 3 March. He had by no means abandoned his ideas on the north, however. Piers next wrote to Cecil, in a letter designed to go to court with Sidney,⁵⁰ that the north was 'in danger to be utterly lost, for the Scots be already in such numbers and fortifying upon her majesty's land, and manuring the same, that if they be suffered they will shortly look into the English pale'. More Scots were expected and they were not going to miss the opportunity to sow the ground and gather their cattle to feed on the increase. Their boldness sprang from the smallness of the queen's forces, a fact which caused the Irish to join them for fear of being spoiled. Piers stated baldly that '...I am of the mind that until the north of Ireland be reformed, which is the only original of all rebellion, all the rest of the land will never be good'. It was through this settlement in Ulster that Connaught and Munster drew their Scots.

Piers felt that Malby, who was the letter's bearer, was second only to Sidney as the best man to expound all points about the north. Piers hoped that Malby would be allowed to have his company reside in garrison 'for that he hath taken the country of Lecale to dwell in (a place very fit and apt for the northern services)' and Piers admitted

the rather for that he and I be knit in such a league of friendship and especially for the advancement of her majesty's service. ...if I may have his company such fruit shall be reaped out of the north by our careful services as this hundred years hath not seen the like.

Presumably Sidney and Malby made a renewed case at court for colonization in Ulster and from Carrickfergus Piers wrote anew to Elizabeth by the summer.⁵¹ The way was being paved for Sir Thomas Smith's attempt to plant a colony there, the next major

⁵⁰ 25 Mar. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 41).

⁵¹ 6 July 1571 (ibid., 63/33, no. 1).

move in plantation in Ireland.

Leix and Offaly provided Sidney with some solid evidence of achievement in plantation. They were rapidly entering the ranks of the older shires, and the newly created ones, as part of what Fitton called 'the old English pale'. In so doing they were acquiring some of the marks of the older shires, including land holders increasing their holdings, notably the earl of Kildare. As early as August 1566 it had been remarked that the manor of Geashill in Offaly had been intruded by him, at 100 marks per annum.⁵² By 1567 he was petitioning for it as part of his inheritance. The matter caught Elizabeth's vigilant eye and she had Cecil write to Sidney for more information,⁵³ particular regard being paid to her title,

as she saith she is informed that she hath title to Geashill by O'Conor's attainder. And though therein I thought myself able to satisfy as I did my best, yet her majesty will have your lordship cause further trial of the truth hereof to be made, what can be by any of her council said for her majesty, and so having answer she saith she will proceed to satisfy my lord of Kildare.

Either Kildare's case or his services seem to have satisfied her demands for she consented to most of his claims in Ireland in August 1568 and in December he was granted virtually the whole barony in Offaly,⁵⁴ more than 4000 acres of land.

His neighbour to the south, Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey, was doing the same in Clanmalier. When Dillon went to England in the spring of 1570 Sidney asked him to press hard

for Henry Cowley and Owny mcHugh to have the fee simple of their lands, whereas now they have it but in tail. This Owny have no heirs male and Mr Cowley have but one son. My lord deputy did agree that Owny mcHugh's horsemen should be altered to footmen, viz, for two horsemen three footmen.

⁵²P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/18, no. 86.

⁵³10 July 1567 (ibid., 63/21, no. 58).

⁵⁴Elizabeth to Sidney and Weston, 30 Aug. 1568 (Sidney S.P., no. 55), and appendix III, no. 31.

Indeed Cecil noted after conversing with Dillon that the 'inhabitants of Leix and Offaly desire an enlargement of their tailed estates',⁵⁵ as well as the fact that Ormond should be written to for inhabiting Abbeyleix's lands 'with some good people'. By the end of 1570 Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey had the enlarged grant that he sought and the alterations in the military service owed.⁵⁶

This problem had been re-opened by George Delves, Fitzwilliam's brother-in-law. He had returned to England and taken up his office as a gentleman pensioner and by the spring of 1569 he had secured Elizabeth's permission⁵⁷ to alienate his large estate in Leix to any Englishman that Sidney approved. Fitzwilliam managed the surrender of his patent in Dublin⁵⁸ and by the end of April 1569 John Whitney was the holder of Shaen and its more than 1,500 acres. In Leix Kildare had got the grant to Timogue and some other parcels and Francis Cosby and his son Alexander, who married Dorcas Sidney, a relative of the deputy also greatly increased their holdings,⁵⁹ partly through acquiring Sir Edmund Butler's holdings in Leix.

In June 1569 Sidney had been given permission to grant any escheated lands in Leix and Offaly,⁶⁰ but in fact there were few such lands to grant. What the existing planters wanted was 'to have their estates entailed enlarged, because they cannot make any leases above twenty-one years', and Sidney had advised 'that they might have states in fee-simple with some exceptions', which included forbidding leases to the Irish. Cecil noted on

⁵⁵1570. Memorial of Mr Dillon', c. Apr. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 40).

⁵⁶See Appendix III, Offaly, no. 33.

⁵⁷Elizabeth to Sidney, 5 Mar. 1569 (Sidney S.P., no. 62).

⁵⁸Apr. 1569 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., p. 523).

⁵⁹See Appendix II, nos 5, 6, 31, and 34.

⁶⁰Sidney S.P., no. 65, sect. 8.

the point 'that the two attornies be spoken withal'.⁶¹ In answering the point in May 1570 Elizabeth spoke of the planters as having offered to 'render us presently a sum of money' for the right.⁶² She declined to grant the request but allowed the government in Dublin to permit leases by those whose entails would be broken by lack of issue. She also cautioned Sidney to 'have good regard had that the inhabitants there do not engross many farms unto few hands, whereby hospitality must decay'. This was precisely what was tending to happen, even by 1571. Some of the smaller holders were becoming tenants of the larger ones and thus in 1579 Malby could speak⁶³ of Francis Cosby 'with a number of English gentlemen freeholders, whom he hath devoured'. The same might have been said of Robert Hartpole and others.

At the same time Elizabeth declined to make the constables of the two forts in Leix and Offaly life holders of their offices unless she could be shown good reason why they should not be removed at will.⁶⁴ Sidney responded⁶⁵ that he could offer no reason but 'their offer of saving her majesty's cost of 500 marks a year...and the forts by all conjecture in sure hands, when all the livings of the constables (being men of great and substantial revenues) dependeth upon the safekeeping of them to her majesty's use...'. The two men in question were Francis Cosby and Henry Cowley, and Robert Hartpole was constable of Carlow.

In another direction Sidney had already secured another request. In August 1569 Elizabeth had granted him⁶⁶ permission to incorporate Maryborough and Philipstown, 'following therein the example of some ether town corporate in that realm that is best and most orderly governed'. In the spring of 1570 Sidney

⁶¹'11 Apr. 1570. A memorial for all the Ireland causes'. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 38).

⁶²Sidney S.P., no. 75, sect. 9.

⁶³Malby's opinion touching the government of Ireland, 26 Sept. 1579 (Harris, Collectanea, vol. 15, no. 39, N.L.I. MS).

⁶⁴Sidney S.P., no. 75, sect. 12.

⁶⁵24 June 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 56).

⁶⁶Sidney S.P., no. 71.

conferred charters on Philipstown,⁶⁷ Maryborough,⁶⁸ and Carrickfergus,⁶⁹ the last receiving a much broader charter than the other two. The charters for Philipstown and Maryborough were identical and were modeled on that of Naas, co. Kildare. They were designed to establish two market towns with a burgermaster each and bailiffs, burgesses, and commonality, whose franchises were to extend 8,000 feet on every side of the original fort, but not including it. The corporations were to fortify their towns with fosses and stone walls. Sidney had begun the process with earthen walls and it is evident that he had pressed the development of these two towns.

Little is known of the early growth of Philipstown but in March 1571 the corporation there was granted twelve messuages with all of their lands and tenements within the walls and fosse of the town, and common of pasture in the great moor beside the town. Its development had begun.

Something more can be seen of Maryborough of which an early map survives.⁷⁰ On it are shown the fort, the town walls, the storehouse, the mill and fifteen dwellings, held by Nicholas White, John Rathe, Robert George, Francis Cosby, Thomas Lambden, William Fon [Fynne?], Thomas Parson, William Vicars, Grant ap Richard, Anthony Rogers, William Beard, Robert Ayere [Eier?], Griffith Ap Roberts, Thomas Morgan, John Denenett, Richard Chapman, Richard Fox, John Paynter, and Thomas Harding. Many of these men received their grants of leases through Sidney from March 1569 to March 1571, though they may have been in occupation earlier. It is clear from the surviving evidence of leases and grants that Sidney pressed this aspect of the development of

⁶⁷14 Mar. (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1500).

⁶⁸4 Apr. (ibid., no. 1510; Cal. pat. rolls, Ire., Eliz., pp. 219-223).

⁶⁹20 Mar. 1570 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1503).

⁷⁰A plat of Maryborough', not earlier than March 1571. Misplaced as c. 1560 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/2. no. 66).

Leix. While the evidence for Offaly is more scanty the cluster of small grants around Philipstown, particularly to its north, points strongly to the same development there.⁷¹ Despite the encouragement given to these two market towns the evidence for a similar development of the large villages proposed in the early 1550s is not forthcoming. There may have been some progress along these lines but the distribution of towerhouses in the two counties suggests a more diffused settlement of small hamlets. It is difficult to date towerhouses with absolute precision but it seems likely that most of those mapped were in existence by 1571, some with enlargements later. They fit the grants and show a settlement set in open fields, bogs, woods, and some mountain.⁷²

If Sidney had a definite statement of the condition of Leix and Offaly drawn up to present on his return to court in 1571 it would have read something like the following.⁷³ There were eighty-seven planters in the two counties and they owed the services of 174 horsemen, 46 footmen, and 35 galloglass, a total of 255 men. Altogether there was a settlement of perhaps 500 English by birth or blood in the two counties, though it is difficult to say with any exactitude.

The rent which Elizabeth could expect to receive from the two counties, a subject on which she would want to be informed, was considerably less than had been originally promised in the 1550s and somewhat less than Sussex's arrangements of 1564:

For the first seven years

| | | | |
|--------|-------|-----|-----|
| Offaly | £ 77 | 4s. | 5d. |
| Leix | 118 | 4s. | 2d. |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £ 195 | 8s. | 7d. |

For the years thereafter

| | | | |
|--------|-------|------|-----|
| Offaly | £ 170 | 0s. | 1d. |
| Leix | 293 | 19s. | 8d. |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £ 463 | 19s. | 9d. |

⁷¹See appendices II and III. And see 'Certain covenants in John Raffe's grant for lands in Maryborough', 20 Mar. 1569 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/27, no. 55).

⁷²See Appendix V.

⁷³See the tables for appendices II and III. The results can be compared with those in Chapter XII, particularly pp. 51, 74.

Thus she was enjoying a rent of some £200 in 1571 and could look forward in the 1570s to a rent approaching some £500.

The planters in 1571 differed only in a few cases from those of 1564, and a few of them dated back to 1549. They, or their descendants, would be in possession at the turn of the century and when the plantation commissioners of 1622 made their survey. Some disappeared; some 'daughtered out', and were absorbed by larger planters either directly or through marriage; some new planters appeared; and some planters, as already observed, increased their holdings at the expense of others until they became great holders. Finally, some planter families survived until 1641, only to go under in the confusions of the civil war in Ireland. Yet the Down survey records a great deal of unforfeited protestant land in the two counties, an unhelpful factor in trying to reconstruct the original plantation. Thus, from the planter viewpoint the period of flux in the granting of the two counties was largely over by 1571 and they had become parts of the English area in Ireland. What continued to make the frontier a fact in the history of the two counties was the native element, where opposition got a new lease on life in the 1570s.

In Leix the O'Mores figured as a problem. At some time in the 1560s Callough O'More, the son of Rory O'More, chief of his name, who was murdered in the 1540s, petitioned that he might enjoy the entire £40 per annum that was granted to maintain him and his brother Kedagh 'to study at Gray's Inn'. Kedagh had been dead for some time before the matter became an issue. Callough had also asked that Elizabeth restore him to the lands 'which his good father lost in the service of your grace's late father of famous memory', and for which a proper office had never been taken. To Cecil Callough stressed the equity of the suit and Cecil's continual interest in Callough's welfare and Kedagh's before he died. The privy council had sent a letter to Sidney at Kedagh's request in regard to the suit and the information had been returned and was ready to be

exhibited to the privy council. Here Callough must have had reference to an inquisition that was taken in Leix in 1566-67 on the lands Rory O'More had held in Leix. Matters had progressed far enough in 1569 for Ormond to appeal to Cecil⁷⁴ on behalf of his 'cousin Callough O'More' to obtain licence to go to Ireland for six months. He wanted to get Sidney's letters for his suit, money, and other necessities. In the event Callough did not obtain lands in Leix but his branch of the family was granted land in cos Kildare and Meath.

In Leix itself on 2 February 1570 Lysagh mKedagh O'More, Rory oge O'More, and Neil mLyce O'More, 'being brought before the lord deputy and council at Stradbally', agreed to put in pledges to Cosby, the seneschal of the county, on recognizances of £300 each.⁷⁵ They do not seem to have fulfilled their conditions for Sidney informed Carew in May⁷⁶ that he meant

to sweep the house after this general rebellion, having begun with some of the Byrnes and do follow with the O'Mores, Lysagh mKedagh being already executed, and having Cahir mKedagh in hand I do purpose ere many days to send him the same way with the old fosteress, the wife of Oliver Fitzgarret [Giles O'More]⁷⁷. And to bare such a hand upon the whole name of the O'Mores as I trust the Queen's county shall be a quiet country.

At the same time the privy council informed Sidney⁷⁷ that Cormac O'Connor had sued for letters of recommendation to him and that since much of his goods remained in the hands of people in Ireland he be allowed to return. He had sold the pension that he had from Elizabeth and so had nothing to live on. They had decided to send him back to Ireland where the government could take such action as 'in equity' was convenient. Cormac duly returned and in time was to be the focus of more trouble in Offaly.

⁷⁴19 July (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/29, no. 16). A 'Petition of Callough O'More' follows, and the second one to Elizabeth and Cecil, though they are of earlier dates (ibid., nos. 17-19).

⁷⁵Acts privy council, Ire., 1556-71, p. 241.

⁷⁶28 May 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 52).

⁷⁷22 June 1570 (Acts privy council, 1570-75).

Sidney's treatment of the O'Mores did not have the desired effect for when Fitzwilliam returned to Ireland in January 1571 he reported almost immediately to Cecil⁷⁸ that Rory oge O'More now had 120 or 140 swords and 10 or 12 horsemen. 'It is he who all this time until of late was so serviceable under Mr Cosby there, but now will not come to any parliament but upon his guard and is feared lest he will ere long go out'. He sent the same tidings to Sussex and the privy council the next day,⁷⁹ but reduced Rory oge's force to '60 or 70 swords and certain horsemen'. The government in Ireland raised the number of his forces to 160 men in March⁸⁰ and suggested he feared 'his own guiltiness' and might meet the same fate as Lysagh and Cahir mcKelagh O'More. They said that he remained 'in the Queen's county and the borders thereunto adjoining...and is not a little to be suspected lest he attempt some mischief when he can find any opportunity to annoy the pale. Howbeit, he hath as yet done no harm'. Eventually Rory oge O'More was to be the most effective source of trouble that the area had experienced, but his colourful career lay in the future.

The longtime danger of foreign intervention in Ireland became much more a reality in 1570 and 1571. De Spes, Philip II's ambassador in England, received the king's instructions to investigate the possibilities of supporting revolt in Ireland on 4 January 1570. De Spes was convinced that Elizabeth had had a bad summer in Ireland in 1569, where 'the pretended cause of the rising was the bad government of the country, in which they include the question of religion'.

⁷⁸ 5 Feb., postscript of 11 Feb. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 8).

⁷⁹ 12 Feb. 1571 (B.M., Cott. MS Titus B. XIII, no. 60).

⁸⁰ Weston and council to Elizabeth, 23 Mar. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 33).

He also gave Phillip a detailed account of Thomas Stukely.⁸¹

In April Cecil noted that Sidney had pressed him 'to consider what is to be done against foreign practices, wherein it must be thought the small trust to the inhabitants here, when they be towards, discontented, and popish, without forts or munition fit for that purpose'.⁸² On the heels of this Sidney sent a letter to both Cecil and Leicester.⁸³ He had examined an Italian, who was a double agent moving between Mendoza in Ireland and Alva in the Netherlands, and who had been sent by Cecil to Sidney. Don Johan de Mendoza was a Spaniard who had arrived in the west of Ireland in a ship of John Hawkins, at the time trade between England and Spain was suspended, the spring of 1569. Sidney found Mendoza pleasant and well behaved, but the double agent had now informed him that Mendoza's purpose was 'to provoke the Spaniards to attempt the invasion of this realm, alledging the ready way to it by our weakness, our dissention, our religion, etc.'. As Cecil knew the agent was inclined to Mary queen of Scots, was stateless, and living from hand to mouth. Sidney put it to Cecil to decide whether there was any hope of his religion or consequently his honesty. Sidney did not think Alva would be able to put troops into Ireland. As for the agent he doubted 'whether any of his two faces will be faithful to us', but he would continue to let the matter develope. Though the subject of the letter was clearly Ireland, its endorsement, possibly on the basis of an examination of the Italian, was 'concerning practices by a Spaniard in Ireland for invading England'.

The Italian may have been the bearer of a letter which Mendoza soon wrote to Alva.⁸⁴ He spoke of his attempts to

⁸¹9 Jan. 1570 (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1568-79, no. 172).

⁸²April 1570. A brief of such matters as written for out of Ireland to be answered' (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 48). The words must be Sidney's own phrasing.

⁸³18 Apr. (*ibid.*, no. 45).

⁸⁴30 Apr. 1570 (Cal. S.P. for., 1569-71, no. 862).

obtain redress from Sidney for his goods stolen by French pirates. He then gave a long account of Ireland, the condition of the political parties there, and their fondness for the Spaniards.

On 24 June Sidney finished a long report to the privy council with the first overt statement of the whole problem.⁸⁵ Having said that there were many who were busy with foreign practices, he then stated:

Our chief strength against such attempts consisteth in our cities and yet God knoweth their weakness against a prince's force besides their malicious hearts against our nation. The quarrel augmented by religion and stay of intercourse, and all other things that discontent them, they impute to the government and think that a change would amend it.

Sir Henry Norris had already reported that two Irishmen had arrived in France seeking French aid in Ireland.⁸⁶ Soon he had a much larger catch. In July the earl of Thomond arrived, presented himself to Norris and asked his aid against Sir Edward Fitton in Connaught. He wanted a pardon from Elizabeth, but a servant of his confessed to Norris that if Thomond were denied that he would ask the French king for harquebusiers to be sent to Ireland. Thomond himself wanted a safe conduct before going to England.⁸⁷ In February Thomond had attacked Fitton's camp and had boasted he would do nothing without the duke of Norfolk's orders (see p. 392).

By this time Elizabeth had taken Irish business in her own hands and she instructed Norris⁸⁸ at length on assuring Thomond that he would have a safe conduct and good treatment in England. Norris did so, and promised to have the earl on his way. Norris found him both vain glorious and deceitful, 'and yet in his talk is very simple'.⁸⁹ Elizabeth and Norris corresponded further

⁸⁵P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 56.

⁸⁶Norris to Elizabeth, 15 June 1570 (Cal. S.P. for., 1569-71, no. 1,005).

⁸⁷Norris to Cecil, 22 July (*ibid.*, no. 1,007).

⁸⁸30 July 1570 (*ibid.*, no. 1,125).

⁸⁹Norris to Elizabeth, 9 Aug. 1570 (*ibid.*, no. 1,155).

on Thomond, particularly his talk of making offers to both the French and Spanish kings, if Elizabeth failed him, before he was got to England.

It was at this point in early September that Elizabeth granted Piers a personal audience and heard him 'in all such things as he had or would impart to us of the state of those parts where he hath charge in the north...', and she conceded to Sidney⁹⁰ that it would be hard to find a more able man for the north. Certainly one of the things Piers discussed with her was the necessity to placate the Scots of the outer isles and so keep them out of Ireland.

At the same time that Piers was having his audience, De Spes reported to Philip II⁹¹ that eversince Stukely left Ireland the queen had taken 'a very unfavourable view of Irish affairs ...'. He mentioned Mendoza, and the general alarm about Ireland

because the queen's shortness of money causes preparations to be tardily carried out, and I am told... that there are not 1,200 Englishmen in all Ireland and those that are there are badly paid. All the people wish to be subject to your majesty, and it is believed that Stukely went to beg you to accept the island.

De Spes's letter marked the dawning realization of just how precarious was the English position in Ireland. Soon de Spes had information from France that the pope had granted the kingdom of Ireland to Philip II, and that as a consequence Philip would send Stukely and fourteen or fifteen companies of Spaniards to Ireland. De Spes reported to Philip⁹² that the English were already beginning to discuss measures to counteract this.

The English had taken at least one measure. Mendoza asked Cecil⁹³ for a hearing on the accusations brought against him.

⁹⁰4 Sept. 1570 (R.I.A. MS 13 F. 3, pp. 212-15).

⁹¹3 Sept. (Cal. S.P. Spain, 1568-79, no. 214).

⁹²Ibid., no. 236.

⁹³9 Nov. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 92).

He knew that it was believed in England that he persuaded Thomas Stukely to go to Spain and aided him to do it. Mendoza protested that he knew no more than Cecil and that had he intended such a thing 'I would have dealt therein with some wiser and better stayed man than I think Stukely to be'. In the year and a half that Elizabeth had detained him he appreciated the courtesy of Sidney and Gilbert and he proclaimed his respect for her. As 'a Christian man' he believed that those 'that shall work or desire to have that ancient amity between the house of Spain and the crown of England broken, shall highly offend the majesty of Almighty God'.

That process had already begun, and in June 1570 Stukely in a great ship and with a large company of gentlemen arrived in Spain to exploit it. He made an offer to Philip II for the conquest of Ireland. An Italian brought letters from certain Irish noblemen to the same effect and was well received. Norris's agent in Madrid, Robert Hogan or Huggins, argued that if Stukely came there he could stir up a quarrel between him and the archbishop of Cashel. He also reported that in Philip's council both the duke of Feria and Don Diego de Gusman had argued against intervention in Ireland on the grounds that the Irish were a beggarly, proud, and traitorous people, without military power. De Gusman included the Scots in the description as well. There was similar interest in France for intervention in Ireland and Norris forwarded the information to Elizabeth⁹⁴ with the comment that though he thought Philip II had the inclination to intervene in Ireland he was not in a position to do so.

Norris was more concerned to lodge protests at the French court against De la Roche's preparation of men for Ireland, which the French king told him were for Elizabeth's aid.⁹⁵ The

⁹⁴27 Sept. 1570 (Cal. S.P. for., no. 1,290), enclosing Hogan to Norris, 12 Aug. (ibid., no. 1,173. No. 1,291 is a rough copy of 27 Sept., which includes Hogan's information).

⁹⁵Norris to Elizabeth, 19 Oct. 1570 (ibid., no. 1,345).

idea of Spanish intervention was general, however. The cardinal of Lorraine noted in a memorandum⁹⁶ that 'the duke of Medina Celi is going to Ireland with 6,000 Spaniards', and soon Norris was reporting the same thing to Elizabeth in a more expanded and coherent form.⁹⁷ He had to report as well⁹⁸ that by the end of the year the captain of Brest, presumably De la Roche, had taken Dingle in the liberty of Kerry and a small island not far distant from it. The object of the French seems to have been to serve notice to the Spanish that they would assist the English in resisting a Spanish invasion of Ireland. In Spain Hogan had been arrested in November⁹⁹ and in January he was given orders to leave within twenty days. According to him Stukely was to lead the expedition to Ireland and rumour had it that he would have a force of 10,000 men. Hogan thought the force would not exceed 5,000 or 6,000 men, with artificers. He traced Stukely's rise in Spain in detail. Walsingham, in France with Norris, was the recipient of this information¹⁰⁰ and in the course of informing Cecil of the return of the De la Roche expedition from Ireland he urged that both the French and Spanish threat be taken seriously.¹⁰¹ The cardinal of Chatillon had already informed Cecil that he had information that the Irish in Spain were soliciting Philip's help and that the king intended sending Julian Romero there with 3,000 Spaniards.¹⁰²

In fact things were not moving nearly so rapidly in Spain. Throughout the 1560s the papacy had been keeping informed of Ireland through the reports of David Wolf and others.¹⁰³ The situation there came into

⁹⁶Cal. S.P. for., 1569-71, no. 1,484.

⁹⁷Norris to Elizabeth, 3 Jan. (*ibid.*, no. 1,495).

⁹⁸Norris to Cecil, 8 Jan. (*ibid.*, no. 1,498).

⁹⁹Huggins to Leicester and Cecil, 10 Jan. 1571 (*ibid.*, no. 1,502).

¹⁰⁰25 Jan. (*ibid.*, no. 1,515).

¹⁰¹8 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 1,545).

¹⁰²2 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 1, 539).

¹⁰³Cal. S.P. Rome, 1558-71.

focus in Rome¹⁰⁴ with the news of the revolt of 1569, and as a consequence the nuncio in Spain kept a sceptical watch of Stukely and made a detailed report to the papacy on his activities.¹⁰⁵ The answer that Stukely finally got from Philip was duly forwarded to Rome.¹⁰⁶ On 8 February 1571 Philip informed Stukely that while he respected his zeal he intended to do nothing in the way of hostilities until he learned the results of the negotiations for peace and that Stukely was free to move on to Rome and Venice as he was determined, with Philip providing money.

From Ireland Fitzwilliam told Cecil¹⁰⁷ that when he returned to Ireland certain French merchants had brought the rumour of an invasion force being got together in Spain. The same rumour was current in Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Galway, and everywhere else, with the landing date being fixed uniformly before 20 March. He thought a show of naval strength should be made on the west coast of Ireland to overawe

the light disposed...and disappoint those few Frenchmen which were left behind in a castle at the departing of those strangers from the Dingle this last winter, who, as I hear, report that they daily now look for the return of their company.

Walsingham in France was convinced that every foreign element was involved, including Guise, the papal nuncio in France, and the Spanish and Scottish ambassadors there. He asserted that most of the forces landed in Ireland were levied by the earl of Argyll in his own area, in the name of Philip II, and paid by the Spanish minister. He intended to watch the matter closely 'lest Ireland through much security be neglected as Calais was'.¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth, who had her own sources of

¹⁰⁴Newsletter, 24 Aug. 1569 (Cal. S.P.Rome, 1558-71, no. 605).

¹⁰⁵5 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 849-50).

¹⁰⁶Secretary Cayas to Stukely, 8 Feb. (*ibid.*, no. 751).

¹⁰⁷5 Feb. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 8).

¹⁰⁸Walsingham to Cecil, 8 Feb., to Mildmay, 8 Feb. (B.M., Harl. MS 260, nos. 7, 10).

information in Ireland, sent Walsingham¹⁰⁹ a detailed analysis of the whole problem, which she wanted him to take up with the Spanish ambassador, going all the way back to those 'savage rebels' who had left Ireland for Spain, pretending their departure 'for matter of religion, where indeed they be neither of one nor other religion...'. She went into detail on Stukely, who 'hath not the value of a marmaduke in land or livelihood', and her disbelief that Philip II and his council could put credence in such a man of whom 'we are not disposed to say much, because we cannot say any good of him'. However, she managed two more pages on the subject. Leicester also pressed Walsingham to follow the Irish problem,¹¹⁰ but the latter had to confess in February and in March that he could not get much from the Spanish ambassador about either Stukely or Ireland.¹¹¹ In the meantime Elizabeth informed him that¹¹² she intended to send a plain speaking man to Philip, and to be prepared for any eventuality 'as well by sending of our ships to the seacoasts of Ireland as by other forces to be sent into Ireland'. Cecil, now Lord Burghley and lord treasurer, and due to be replaced by Sir Thomas Smythe as principal secretary, had been drawing up the specifics¹¹³ of what the plain speaking man would say to Philip, and what would be said to his ambassador and to Alva. He intended to consult with Sidney to see if he should remain and to send Lord Grey to Ireland to become acquainted with it, and 'to take the charges hereafter'. He also made notes for the transport and raising of 1,000 men, distributed as

¹⁰⁹Cecil to Walsingham and Norris, 29 Jan., Elizabeth to Walsingham (B.M., Harl. MS 260, nos 3, 13).

¹¹⁰14 Feb. (ibid., no. 19).

¹¹¹Walsingham to Burghley, 25 Feb., 19 Mar. (ibid., nos 18, 28).

¹¹²10 Mar. 1571 (ibid., no. 29).

¹¹³19 March 1571. A memorial for Ireland'. (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 19).

follows:

| | |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| 200 | Devon |
| 100 | Cornwall |
| 200 | Somerset |
| 100 | Gloucester |
| 50 | 'Dorc' / Dorset ? ⁷ |
| 350 | South Wales |

A Spanish invasion of Ireland was not imminent, but it is interesting to note that at the time Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, was writing to Robert Ridolpi¹¹⁴ an outline of his whole plans to be expounded to Pius V and Philip II. In addition to the 6,000 men he wanted landed in England, he thought it would be well to land 2,000 men in Ireland and the same number in Scotland, because the forces of Elizabeth would thus be greatly reduced and her fears correspondingly excited and the rest of the projected enterprise could be carried out more safely.

Stukely, who soon arrived in Rome, pursued the same line with Pius V, submitting two plans during 1571 for a force to invade Ireland.¹¹⁵ Stukely's principal assistant, who may have been the Italian double agent, pressed a similar course¹¹⁶ during the late summer or early autumn of 1571. If Don Juan invaded Ireland

he will have but to publish your holiness's excommunication and without bloodshed all the island will go over to your devotion, and the few English soldiers that are there will go over, if not all at any rate the more part, to your service, for their chief captain is a catholic, and the rest will deem themselves lucky to escape to England.

He dwelt on the cities and the fortifications begun under Henry VIII which would make Ireland a secure base from which to attack England, using some 25,000 to 30,000 Irishmen to help

¹¹⁴Mar. 1571 (Cal. S.P. Rome, 1558-71, no. 762, pp. 393-400. See particularly pp. 397, 399).

¹¹⁵Ibid., mos 744-45.

¹¹⁶Alessandro Fidel (pseud.) to Pius V, 1571 (ibid., no. 754).

in the process. The danger of foreign intervention in Ireland, so long feared by the English, was moving much closer to reality.

Sidney had pressed for his return to England for some time. In June of 1570 Lucas Dillon conceded that he deserved leave, but that the idea should be spread that he was in Ireland for a long time as the rumour of his recall reduced the effectiveness of the government.¹¹⁷ This factor was more important in 1570 than its usual presence at a potential change of deputy. As Weston, who was no alarmist, observed¹¹⁸ 'the liking and loving of the harlot of Rome hath possessed and infected almost all their hearts here, the ground of all trouble commotions, and rebellion'.

Archbishop Loftus also urged¹¹⁹ that Sidney's leave not constitute final recall as he admitted

the minds of the Irishry be so estranged from us... partly by reason of our religion, which those savage and wicked people do so deadly hate that they daily gape for some foreign regiment and are willing to submit their necks to any government so they were delivered from us.

Sidney soon had the news that he was being recalled and set about planning for his successor.¹²⁰ Malby saw rebellion poised everywhere, 'except only the English pale, which also is grown in such hatred and disdain of all our nation as, I doubt, will cause great misliking between us'.¹²¹ Fitzwilliam,

¹¹⁷Dillon to Cecil, 26 June (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 59).

¹¹⁸Weston to Cecil, 7 Aug. 1570 (ibid., no. 78).

¹¹⁹Loftus to Cecil, 26 Oct. (ibid., no. 88).

¹²⁰Sidney to Cecil, 8 Nov. (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 1306-1571, no. 1,531).

¹²¹Malby to Cecil, 8 Dec. 1570 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/30, no. 97).

predictably, pointed out to Cecil¹²² the evils of having a lord justice.

Elizabeth, faced with such advice and the foreign threat, actually had a letter drafted to Sidney in March 1571 that he was to remain as deputy for the time being.¹²³ The letter was either not sent or did not reach Sidney before he left Ireland, an event for which all preparations had been geared. A large body of correspondence from many sources went with him, including a long report from Weston and the Irish council,¹²⁴ highly praising Sidney and urging his reappointment for 'we find no man so fit to end and finish so good a work...as he..., being the only author and first deviser of this politic, godly, and easy reformation of this barbarous country'. They surveyed the country, as Sidney must have done, with satisfaction. Leinster under Francis Agard, co. Waterford under Richard Lucar, Munster and Connaught under their presidencies, the north under Piers and Malby, and the new shires of Longford, and the enlarged King's and Queen's county, all reflected his handiwork. A large map of Ireland, some five by eight feet, was nearing completion by Robert Lythe and showed some of the changes that Sidney had wrought in Ireland.¹²⁵ Soon Edward Tremayne was urging Sidney¹²⁶ to argue from the map on all points, including ...how scant you found the English pale, and how it is now enlarged. The places that be fortified already will appear. And so may you with good commodity thereupon express what your opinion is for fortification in any other place that your lordship shall think good. And so of the bridge that your lordship hath builded, and any other that you think meet to be builded or repaired. And finally by these means you shall describe what commodity hath grown of such things as are done, and what her highness shall embrace by proceeding onward, ever abating cost behind as she shall bestow it forward.

¹²²5 Feb. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 8).

¹²³17 Mar. (Cal. Salisbury MSS, 1306-1571, no. 1,544).

¹²⁴23 Mar. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 33).

¹²⁵Lythe to Cecil, 24 Mar. 1571 (ibid., no. 36). See J.H. Andrews, 'The Irish surveys of Robert Lythe', Imago Mundi, XIX (1965), pp. 22-31.

¹²⁶June 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/32, no. 65).

Thus Sidney in England was prepared to press for the further expansion of English interests in Ireland, particularly by fresh plantations, but Elizabeth had her eye firmly on the cost that she was being urged to put behind her. There was a permanent establishment of more than 2,000 men in Ireland, whose government had averaged and was posited to continue to cost some £40,000 a year,¹²⁷ most of which had to come from England, even though Sidney could claim to have increased Irish revenues by some £4,000 a year.¹²⁸ When Sidney left on 31 March 1571 she owed £73,155 Irish in Ireland and had expended £201,891 sterling in Ireland under Sidney since 1566.¹²⁹ She endorsed one document as 'Mony payd in Irlande for one yere and a half', ending 25 March 1571, and noted of some pensions and officers fees that 'moch of this money was paid in wards to the greate loss of the parties that receyved the same as it is said'.¹³⁰ It was the history of her reign in Ireland to that date.

¹²⁷Burghley, 'The estate of the garrisons', 31 Mar. 1571 (P.R.O., S.P. Ire., 63/31, no. 46).

¹²⁸The book of the augmentation of the queen's revenue... delivered the 23 of April 1571 (ibid., 63/32, no. 14).

¹²⁹'The charges of Ireland', due 31 Mar. 1571 (ibid., 63/31, no. 47, 63/34, no. 48).

¹³⁰Ibid., 63/31, no. 39.

CONCLUSIONS

Of the general influences surrounding plantation in Ireland before 1571 it is clear that one determining influence was the possibility of foreign intervention in Ireland. In 1534 and 1535 Charles V was willing to consider the idea if only to reject it, and from the 1530s onwards the French kept a continuous check on the opportunities to make trouble for the English there. The French connexion with Scotland in this period made the English very sensitive to any activity in that direction. From the 1530s until his return to England in 1549 Gerald Fitzgerald was a focus for Irish disaffection in France, and there was genuine fear that he would be the symbol for revolt in Ireland in 1539 and 1540. His relationship to Brian O'Connor and his presence in France had the effect of halting the crown's proceedings in Leix and Offaly in 1549, and delayed plantation there on a full scale until 1551. It was to France that Cormac O'Connor went when he sought foreign aid to stop that plantation, and for years George Parys, furthering revolt and the interests of himself and the O'Conors, followed a circuit of Ireland, France, and Scotland.

Increasingly attention in Ireland turned toward Philip II and Spain as a source for outside intervention, perhaps because Philip had been Mary's husband and certainly because he was a catholic monarch. Not until November of 1569 did he express any real interest, but after Elizabeth's excommunication by Pius V in February 1570 there was the additional element in his calculations that the church desired such activity in Ireland.

Nothing came from these two countries which was of any great consequence to England in Ireland before 1571 but it was a contingency which every chief minister of the crown had to take into account from 1534 onwards. To ignore it could be fatal, for Ireland was almost as great a danger to England geographically as was Scotland, the 'postern gate', unseparated from England by the Irish sea. Though by 1571 Walsingham was urging from Paris that foreign interest in Ireland must be taken seriously, it is

curious that while several European nations kept themselves informed of Ireland none seemed to have realized how precarious was the English position there until after the revolt of 1569.

Of the three nations who fished in the troubled affairs of Ireland Scotland did so most continuously and provided a staple argument for better English control of the north of Ireland, not only by garrisons and sea patrols but by solid settlements of English there. It is an ironic fact that if success in plantation from 1500 to 1571 be measured in numbers the Scots had far more effectually planted in Ireland than the English. They had been coming in all during that time and in ever increasing numbers since the 1540s. They settled and spread in the north and gave the English and Irish one common bond in the desire to get them out, though both nations also utilized the Scots as allies and settlers when it suited them.

Thus the possibility of foreign intervention in Ireland acted as a goad whenever other factors argued against a policy of English expansion and colonization there. As Sidney put it the best advice he could give Philip II was to land and maintain a small army in the south of Ireland for at least he could tie down large numbers of English and cause the crown bottomless expense. The crown was pressed on when other factors cried halt.

One such factor was finance. Henry VII had seen that expanded royal authority was going to cost more than it increased crown income and so had Henry VIII. The government which ruled in Edward's name was bemused by the promises of profit held out to the crown and committed that same crown to an expensive and unending policy which Mary and Elizabeth felt bound in honour as sovereigns and as Tudors to continue. It was plain even before Cecil began to assemble systematic figures that maintaining a large standing army in Ireland made the difference between deficit spending in Ireland and an Ireland where government could be discharged within the revenues which it provided. The period from 1534 to 1540 had shown that and the period from 1547 onwards. Cecil and Elizabeth were concerned to get back

to the period from 1540 to 1547 when crown expenditure was roughly equal to crown income. Relative peace, a policy recognizing at least the rights of the principal Irish, and an even handed administrator in St Leger had demonstrated that it could be done. In fact Elizabeth was never able to obtain such a goal, though there are indications that in the 1570s the gap began to close. By the time Elizabeth died it was a yawning gulf once more and the Tudors lost heavily in an Ireland that to them was an endless source of expense.

These two factors, military security and an adequate revenue, were the two staple ingredients in every remedy proposed to the crown from the accession of Henry VIII until Sidney's departure from Ireland in 1571. Why then did the crown possess neither despite the numbers of Anglo-Irish, English, and Irish who were sure that they could show the way to achieve both? A brief resume of what happened between 1520 and 1571 supplies a part of the answer.

It was in 1520 that Surrey was sent to Ireland, and it should not only be remembered that he himself did not die until 1554 but that William Paulet, marquess of Winchester, was a middle aged man when Surrey left and lived to discuss the whole Irish problem with Sidney. The entire events described in this work occurred within the span of Winchester's life and thus at least one individual saw the problem complete. In writing to Sidney the marquess expressed the hope that he would have as long a life for then he would see more things happen in the next fifty years than had taken place in the previous five hundred. Winchester's sense that the tempo of things was quickening can be illustrated by Ireland alone but it is well to be reminded that the always disintegrating situation chronicled and analysed in this work took place within the reigns of a grandfather and a granddaughter. In a sense it also stood still, for both Surrey in 1521 and Sidney in 1571 were returned to England with the fervent plea that they were the only men who knew Ireland and could expound and execute its reform. Even the program of the two men was similar, as Walsingham must have

observed when he addressed himself to Ireland in the 1570s.

Up until 1520 the crown had endeavoured to recover Ireland through the indirect means of a fused Fitzgerald-Butler effort. Surrey marked the fact that that combination had been broken, and he advocated a military conquest and a large program of colonization. The crown sought to remake the combination in some fashion until the Geraldine revolt in 1534 forced a drastic change in policy and a direct assertion of increased crown authority in Ireland. Such a change was exactly what such individuals as John Alen, Thomas Cusack, Walter Cowley, Thomas Bathe, and Thomas Fynglas wanted, and some of them may even have had a hand in bringing it to pass. They were all young men in 1534, and in some cases their fathers had been urging the same course since they were young men. The next thirty-five years were to show what tangled and unforeseen results could spring from what was thought to be such an unmitigated good in 1535. || Even the group named were to divide into two opposing factions as to the course that crown policy was to take, though all were sure the crown would enjoy enough revenue from confiscated lands, the wider administration of justice, and the increased customs from an enlarged trade to not only pay for the military forces demanded but to enjoy a profit as well.

It is too early in Irish history to speak of parties but that there were two recognizable factions from the 1530s to the 1570s is a demonstrable fact. The leader of a tough, expansionist policy was found in William Brabazon, dispatched by Thomas Cromwell as vice-treasurer and treasurer at wars, posts he was to hold until his death in 1552. He had no single successor but his views found able expression down to 1571. In his offices Brabazon was responsible for overseeing Cromwell's agents in Ireland, leasing the Fitzgerald lands at profitable rents to the crown, carrying out the monastic suppression for the same ends, helping to enlarge the area of effective crown control, and generally advising and supporting first Skeffington and then Grey. He urged that leases and freeholds be used to secure military tenants able to defend themselves and support

the government, that a large measure of plantation be carried forward, especially in Leinster, by settlers of every strata sent from England. He was responsible for the capture of Athlone castle and its subsequent garrisoning and repair, and in that same summer of 1537 he advanced the first argument for expropriating O'Connor and settling Offaly with English. In all of this he was not alone, and if his background and approach had a decidedly protestant tincture, there was no such religious uniformity in those who supported his ideas and were willing to share in the benefits of his program.

Henry VIII had a settled reluctance to accept such an approach to Ireland, particularly the idea of large scale colonization from England. His response was to send a commission in 1537, headed by St Leger, to investigate all phases of this new activity in Ireland. It gradually became clear that the moderate Anglo-Irish and the Irish had found a leader and by 1540, when St Leger became deputy, one of his ablest supporters was Thomas Cusack.

The more immediate effect of the commission was that it was clear that once more the crown intended to place more reliance on the Butlers and Fitzgeralds. Grey as deputy continued to put pressure on the frontiers of English influence, notably Offaly and Farney, but the striking feature of the remainder of his tenure is the activity of those Anglo-Irish who favoured the government and the newly arrived English in civil and military offices. There was a sustained drive for the twin goals of land and office and the significance of the constablerships of royal castles becomes clear for they were to be of great importance in the execution of royal policy on the local level. It was by means of these and by extensive leases and grants of crown land that a crucial number of English were settled throughout several counties. Monastic land in particular had the advantage that rival secular claimants were few in number and thus an English element could be introduced peacefully.

With Cromwell's fall Grey was recalled and St Leger, backed by a second commission, could implement the policy of

surrender and regrant, which had a twenty year background before O'Toole requested such an arrangement in 1541. It was St Leger who first made the overt point that Leinster, as the term was then used, was unsatisfactory for large scale colonization because it consisted largely of highland. The new royal policy after 1541 had the effect of drastically reducing possible areas of plantation activity.

It was not until 1545 and 1546 that the faction led by Brabazon had an opportunity to re-open the whole issue. They then used the twin prongs of military security and crown revenue to attack St Leger and his policies. Ormond died in England and the deputy's other critics found themselves in the Tower, the Marshalsea, and the Fleet. St Leger had shown that a sufficient English element had been placed about the country to carry out the change in language, law, and custom which a conciliatory policy demanded.

If the interpretation given in this work is correct, Brabazon and his associates in Ireland seized the initiative and attacked Offaly and then Leix in the summer of 1546 while St Leger was absent in England. In any event Bellingham was sent in the summer of 1547 to assist in stamping out the revolt there and by the spring of 1548 had replaced St Leger as deputy. It is clear enough that Bellingham was the choice of Brabazon and his supporters and Somerset and the council under Edward VI, but two other points are worth considering as well. There is some evidence that Edward Walshe, who was so prolific of ideas in the 1550s and 1560s, was a student under Sir Thomas Smyth when he was at Cambridge. Smyth was one of the principal secretaries under Edward VI from 1547 to 1549 and his subsequent faith in Bellingham makes it highly likely that Smyth was instrumental in placing him in Ireland. There does not seem to be any documentary evidence for this, but their periods in office coincide remarkably well. The common factor among the three men was a uniform belief in the efficacy of plantation as an answer to the crown's two chief problems in Ireland.

Bellingham was placing settlers in Leix and Offaly, in

Leinster, and in co. Down by the spring of 1549. Matters were halted for a time and then resumed with St Leger in 1551 and continued under Croft. After St Leger returned in 1553 his meagre resources permitted very little activity, though it seems likely that he did the planning for the resettlement of Leix and Offaly. His views on plantation were for a restricted settlement, with an even distribution of native and English holders, the latter being in part small yeoman. It is also clear that St Leger favoured English artizans and craftsmen settling in towns and villages, where they could train the native Irish rather than antagonize them by expropriating their lands. It was St Leger who pointed out that there was no need of English masons as the craft had never died out in Ireland. To most of those who addressed themselves to plantation the term meant a change in the landed proprietors. The distinction is a subtle but an important one, for at every stage in the sixteenth century plantation or the threat of it had the effect of driving the Irish and finally the Anglo-Irish into collusion and armed revolt.

With the arrival of Sussex, still Lord Fitzwalter in 1556, there was renewed activity in plantation and new fields found for it. It was Sussex who proposed the whole of the north, particularly its coastline, as an area to be colonized. After the arrival of Sidney as vice-treasurer it is worth speculating that he was the driving force in urging plantation as a policy. Certainly he was willing to be an active participant in every venture from Sussex's plans for Leix and Offaly onwards. It is highly likely, as has been suggested, that the two men were spurred on in their efforts by the example of the Spanish empire in the new world, but there is little documentary evidence forthcoming on the point. Affairs in Ireland prompted few external comparisons by participants beyond the bounds of the British Isles.

In Leix and Offaly the settlement that Sussex brought into being between 1556 and 1564 had certain distinguishing marks. Much was retained from the beginnings of plantation there, some

things were attempted on the basis of Alen's and others advice, and two things bear on the central problem of the crown. The rents were lowered substantially, a practice Sidney followed to a small degree, and so the revenue the crown could expect to derive was a fraction of the £1,200 once promised. The number of armed horsemen and footmen was fixed, however, and by the time of Sidney's departure the crown was entitled to the services of 255 men. There were also at least thirty-three armed men due on the leases Sussex had begun to make in January 1561. Thus Sussex could reasonably claim in 1564 and afterwards that he had found nearly 300 soldiers for annual hostings in Ireland. This fact was in accord with most of the hopes that had been held out to the crown in innumerable projets, and every proposal for a plantation in the 1560s included the numbers of armed men the crown would have at its disposal after the plantation took root. Like crown revenue a complete survey of the Tudor period in Ireland on this point will be of interest.

Indeed, it is clear that before 1571 the planters and their subtenants were in large measure officers in the army and men drawn from the ranks. They in turn may have drawn their wives from Britain, if they were from there, and other settlers as well, but there is no evidence of a systematic program of recruitment for settlers. There were instructions on the raising of soldiers for Ireland and they were probably not always ignored or evaded. Considerable numbers of permanent settlers in Ireland must have passed through the organization of the army in Ireland.

That same army and its connexion with plantation, its impositions on the whole countryside, and its use of martial law, made it the focus of an increasing body of critics which developed under Sussex. Many of those critics were Anglo-Irish but some of them were the newly settled English. By 1562 they had convinced Elizabeth and Cecil of the necessity to investigate the army's pay, the effects of cess, coyne and livery, quartering, and other abuses arising from the army's presence. By 1563 Arnold had secured an enlarged commission

to investigate every aspect of crown finance in Ireland, a commission composed in large measure of those same critics. Many individuals were shifting from the tough policy faction once led by Brabazon to the more limited and conciliatory policy faction that had found a leader in St Leger. By March 1564 the new commission began its work, which it did not finish until the summer of 1566. Some of the details were still being dealt with in England two years after that. If the results did not recover for the crown as much as had been expected they did show that at the heart of nearly every problem and crown expense was the army and the plantation of Leix and Offaly, " those first attempts at royally sponsored settlements.

One result of the increasing criticism from 1557 was the secrecy with which plantation activity was conducted. Sussex's plans for landing supplies at Derry in 1561 and using it as a base of operations was kept well concealed from eyes in Ireland. The same attitude was displayed toward the same plan in 1563, and in 1566 and 1567 the entire plans and most of the purpose of the base at Derry were made and kept secret in England. Increasingly the impetus and direction of commercial and colonizing ventures in Ireland was coming from England. In the process the Dublin government and the Anglo-Irish were being by-passed.

One area where this secrecy obscures much that would be of interest in plantation is in the proposed use of companies or corporations in adventuring to plant. First requested in 1550 the idea recurs at regular intervals in most proposals thereafter. Yet Piers's associates cannot be named in 1565, nor is there at present a list of those merchants who may well have been incorporated with St Leger and his associates in 1569 in the first company venture in plantation attempted in Ireland.

The Irish and Anglo-Irish took increasing alarm at such proceedings, magnified them, and drew the conclusion that soon it would be their turn. In July 1565 the cry had been 'down with all the English churles' at a moment of strain, and by the beginning of 1569 the two general factions had changed

enough that a Butler could lead parliamentary opposition to measures related to plantation, fall on the nearest examples of them in the summer, and unite in alliance with a Fitzgerald and an O'Neill to prevent further attempts in the same direction.

Sidney's response was to press anew that the answer to such resistance, and to the problems of military security and crown revenue, was to execute the plans for new plantations and presidencies which the revolt of 1569 had interrupted. He could see the part that religion had come to play in the hatred of the English that was commonly acknowledged by 1571, but he was less prepared to accept its linkage with the feeling of Irish and Anglo-Irish alike about their lands.

Smyth, the new principal secretary, had never been in Ireland and was even less sensitive to such considerations. It may well be that to the subtle mind of Elizabeth it was only fitting that the next major attempt in plantation in Ireland should be the responsibility of the man who had been at the centre of the first implementing of that policy in the 1540s, from which could be traced the continued crown expense that so concerned her.

It is clear that by 1571 the crown, in the persons of Elizabeth and Cecil, had done much pondering of the problems of plantation and that certain settled views had begun to emerge. Elizabeth was willing to make grants of land for plantation at very low rents, based on a large acre, in which all of the tenants, great and small, would be able to defend themselves and render military service to her. The bulk of the expense was to fall on others than herself. The natives were to be retained as undertenants and allowed to keep some measure of their own laws and customs. These were the conditions that were necessary to make plantation sufficiently attractive to all parties concerned. She and her subjects had been launched on a course of which the full significance was as yet not seen.

APPENDIX I

'Gentilmens names in certeyne counties...'

c. 1564

The following list of the principal figures in each county appears in B.M., Add. MS 4767, a collection of Cecil's notes. The lists of the planters in Leix and Offaly, and the leases for years, appear in B.M., Cott. MS Titus B XII, no. 51. The clerical hand in both sets of these papers is the same and they seem to be parts of a whole survey of the most important subjects in Ireland. Cecil's additions to the first part are indicated by brackets. It begins with a blank leaf headed '1563'. On the reverse is noted 'Gentilmens names in certeyne counties within the realms of Irelande.' The date could, therefore, be early 1564 and the internal evidence for Leix and Offaly indicates a date in the spring of 1564.

Irelande

A note of the Gentilmens names within
the severall counties in the said
realme as followithe/ viz

The countie
of Dublin

The lorde of hethel/ Christopher Saint Lawrens [at hoth]
The Justice John Plonket. [at Dunsalklyng nere Dublyn]
The Barron Jamys Bathe [at Duodrock nere Dublyn]
Richard Talbot seconde Justice of the comen place [nere
Dublyn]
William Talbot of malahide.
Edwarde Barnewall of Drumlagh. [of the Ancient house]
Robarde Talbot of belegarde.
Christofer barnewall of gracedieu.
Robert preston of balmadyn [of the house of Gormanston]
Bartilmewe dyllon of Keppocke.
Symonde luttrel of luttrelstowne.
Richard fynglas the Quenes sergeant
Thomas fitz williams of merion. [at holmpatryck.]
Patricke Russell of fetone
Emerie hoth of Killester. [of the baron hoth]
Marcus barnwall of dunbro.
Robert Tayllor of Swordes.
Water golding of the grange
Thomas Wy of Drenam.
William Welshe of carrickemayn.
Richard Welshe of Kylgobban.
Jamys Barnewall of brymore. [attornaye Generall.]
Walter foster of Killigh
patrike caddell of Caddelstowne.
Christofer cruse of the nall.
nycholas holywod of Rathayne
Thomas fitzsymonds of Kilduffe

P.1

Countie of
Dublin

John Jorden of hyltowne
William blakeney of swordes
Mathew beg of borrenstowne
Geralde ashpole of braye
Thomas beling of Kilcoskan
Jamys goodman of balylaghnan
patrike ashpole of balykynley
[Richard.] bassenet of Kylternan.

vertie

Dyvers of the byrnes countrie
and two septes of the towles/ viz
fercolan/ the ferter/ and emayll

P.2

The countie
of meth

Jenyoo preston vicounte of gormanstone.
 Jamys flemyng lorde of slane. /at slane/
 /James/ plonket Lorde of Killyne.
 /patryck/ plonket Lorde of Dunsanye.
 Robert barnewall Lorde of trymlestowne
 Sir Olyver plonket of Rathmore knyght
 Sir Thomas Cusacke of lesmolyn knyght
 Sir Patrike hussy barronet of Galtrym.
 Patrike /de angulo/ nangel of the novan barronet
 Sir Thomas barnwall of Robertstowne knyght
 Sir Christofer chevers of maystowne knyght
 Patrike Barnewall of crekistowne
 Mr robert dillon cheiffe Justice of the comen place /by trym/
 Thomas Flemyng of stephynstowne. /heyre apparent to the
 nycholas Kent of downestowne L. of Slane./
 Symonde barnewall of Kilbrewe
 Patrick bathe of Rathsighe
 Mathew Talbot of dardistowne
 mychell cusacke of Rathalron
 Patrike warren of the novan.
 mayler hussye of meylussie
 Jamys byrforde of Kilrowe.
 Thomas dillon of Ryverstowne
 William brennyham sergeant by office.
 /Christofer/ darsy of plattyn
 P.3 Henry draycot of marnantowne /the remembrancer of the chek
 vertie

methe

John caddell of the nall
 Christofer yvers of Rathtayne
 Robert Richeforde of Kilbride
 Geralde Weseley of the dynggan
 Barnaby Skurlocke of the frayne
 William Byrke of Tullocke
 John Talbot of Robynstowne
 Richard sedgrave of Killegglan
 Walter Golding of pierstowne
 Christofer barnwall of Roestowne
 Olyver darsy of acarne
 Richard fitz john of fyanstowne
 beltogh of mynaltie
 Richard Tyling of mullogha
 Jamys Arvarde of Randalstowne
 Christofer drake of drakerath
 Patrike plonket of gylestone
 hyll of Allenstowne
 John Plonket of loghcrewe
 Larens Delahide of moyclare
 Peirs boys of the celagh
 bawsse of gandolstowne
 Jamys barnewall of
 John netterfilde of Dowthe.
 P.4 Thomas leynam of Adamstowne

Peter weseley of the blackhall
 Jamys Aylmer of dullardstowne
 fylde of paynstowne

The countie
of westmeth

The barron of delvyn. nugent /at Delvyn/
 Sir Thomas Tyrryll of Fertullogh knyght
 Sir Ricarde Tute of mullyn ley knyght
 Sir Geralde pettite of knyght
 Sir Thomas Nugent of gartlanstowne knyght /uncle to the barr
 /Gerald./ Dyllon of magherkurke
 Walter Nugent of moyrath
 Delamare of
 nugent of drumkre

Geralde Faye of Dornegarragh
 James moyle nugent of
 Tute of sonnagh
 nugent Sir Garet netegenttes sonne and heire/
 nugent of braghlan
 P.5 Michell more of aboye

The countie of Lowthe
 Thomas Plonket lorde of lowthe
 Sir John bedlowe of the casteltowne knyght
 Christofer dowdall of the newtowne
 George plonket of bewliewe
 Robert Tath of balybraggan
 Babe of Darver
 White of Richardstowne
 Dowdall of glapistell
 Robert tathe of cokestowne
 /Edward/ Garlande of the water
 Richard sedgrave of the newgrange
 Richard White of cowley
 /Alexander/ Clynton of the water
 Hedsor of Keppocke
 Richard plonket of shepestowne
 More of bermethe
 Nycholas drumgole of
 patrike garland of
 P.6

The countie of Kildare
 Therle of Kyldare/ Geralde fitzgeralde
 Rowlande eustas vicounte of baltinglas
 Sir morishe fitzgeralde of the Lackagh
 John eustas of castellmarten
 John Allen of Allenscourt
 /Thomas/ Aymer of the Lyons. /obit a^o 1567/
 eustas of confie
 John eustas of the newlande
 James fitzgeralde of balysonnon
 Geralde sutton of Tully
 John sutton of Typper
 eustas of cradockestowne
 Redmonde oge fitzgerald of Areste
 William eustas of clongoeswude
 Nycholas ugan of Rathcoffie
 Flatsberye of Johnston
 moris fitzgeralde of osbourstowne
 Geralde fitzgeralde of allen
 eustas of malacashe
 walter bremygham of Dunfirt
 walter bremygham of carrikorys
 olyver sutton of Richardstowne
 Pynkston of balykeppocke
 P.7

The countie of Kilkenny
 Thomas butler allias becket
 Therle of ormonde
 Thomas buttler barron of ekayhir
 buttler barron of dunboyne
 grace of fulkerath
 barron of burnechursche
 peirs sheratall of
 Jamys comerforde of
 John Gall of
 Jamys sweteman of
 Jamys Tobyn of the coumyshenagh
 peir welshe and other welches
 dyvers of the purselles
 and of the archedecons
 P.8

/In his feof 1565_7

The countie of waterforde The Lorde Power
 Sir Moris fitzgeralde knyght
 power of Kilmedam
 Henry Wyse of waterforde
 newgent of
 and the rest of the inheritors of that sheir
 (for the moste parte) are of the merchanttes of water
 Forde.

The countie of waxforde Sir Richard buttler viconte of montgarret
 Sir Nycholas deverous
 browne of balraucan

Dyvers of the rothes
 of the synottes
 of the nevelles
 and of the Ketyns.

P.9

Endorsed 'Lordes & gentlemen of Ireland'.

LEIX

A note of Reseruacons made for
 the service of the queenes majesti-
 strength of the Realme upon the
 graunts of leix.

[Each name doubled, once in margin, once in text, in original].

George delves for a castell
 in the towne of Sian alias
 Sean & outhelandes } x hable horsemen of
 } thenglishe name & bloude.
 } with sufficient horsse & armour

Molmory m^oedmond for a castell
 in the towne of Rahin & der &
 outhelandes } ix hable galloglass
 } sufficiently armed

Thomas Keting for the
 townes of woghtirntege
 Ferraghbane etc } one hable horsseman
 } of englishe name &
 } bloude with sufficient
 } horrse & Armour

Arthure Tomen for the
 towne of Strate drisshoke
 etc }

Moriertaghe m^olieshaughe
 m^oConnell for the towne
 of ballyfyname etc }

Richard Keting for the
 towne of Belykemoyler
 etc } 111 hable horssemen
 } ut supra

Mathewe Skelton alias
 alias lynte for the towne of
 Sletey etc } one hable horsseman
 } ut supra

P.1

| | |
|---|--|
| Tirlaughe M ^c donnell galloglasse for the towne of castellnowe etc | } x hable galloglasses ut supra |
| Thomas St Leger for the towne of laaghe etc | } one hable horrse <u>man</u> ut supra |
| Robert harpoll for the towne of colbaneaker <u>alias</u> colbanahore etc | } ii hable horsem <u>en</u> ut supra |
| Sir Barnabe Fitz- patricke knight for the town of Killene <u>alias</u> Killey <u>n</u> etc | } one hable horsse <u>man</u> ut supra |
| Christofor owingden for the lands of Killyny and garrn ^c lane etc | } one hable horsse <u>man</u> ut supra |
| Richard owingden for the town of Skehagh etc | } one hable horsse <u>man</u> ut supra |
| Walter owingden for the towne of cullynaghe etc | } one hable horsse <u>man</u> ut supra |
| Robert newton for the towne of palleis etc | } iiii hable horsse <u>men</u> ut supra |

P.2

| | |
|--|---|
| donell m ^c Gillpatrick davy for the towne of Arleyne <u>alias</u> Arlasse etc |) iii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra) |
| Nicholas white for the towne of raleigh etc |) i hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra) |
| Kedagh M ^c Piers for the towne of dowary etc |) i hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra) |
| Hughe lyppiate for the town of ballyknockan etc |) iiii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra) |
| Leisaughe m ^c Connell O more for the towne of ballyrone etc |) iii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra) |
| Hughe M ^c dermote O dempsey for the towne of Loghall etc |) i hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra) |
| Leisaughe M ^c Connell for the towne of Killehide etc |) i hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra) |
| Teig m ^c donoghe Surgion for the towne of Straha nalaghe etc |))) |
| Frynne O Kelley for the towne of Rahaspniske etc |) i hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra) |

P.3

| | |
|---|---|
| Teige o dowlan for the town of cloneken etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| John O More for the towne of ballynore etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| Charles M ^c Tirrelaghe for the towne of Tynekille |) xii hable) galloglasses ut supra |
| Edmond Keting for the towne of collnyrnen etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| Thomas Erle of Ormond & Ossory for the late Abbay of leix etc |) vi hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra) |
| Tade duff m ^c Murghe for the towne of Tirry etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| John Pigott for the towne of diserte etc |) iiii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra |
| Patrick hitherington for the towne of Cowlagh etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra |
| Frauncis Cosby for the late Friery of Stradbally etc |) ix hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra |
| Walter Keting for the towne of coltyhenry etc |)) |

P.4

| | |
|--|---|
| John Keting for the town of ballymoyleran etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| Robert harpoll for the towne of ballyrahin etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| David M ^c Murghe for the towne of Trommorogh etc |) ii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra |
| Morghe M ^c Caroll for the towne of ballyfyn etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| John O Barre for the towne of Srowley etc |) iiii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra |
| Fergenane O Kelley for the towne corbally etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| William Portas for the towne of monyferrycke etc |) iii hable horsse <u>men</u>) ut supra |
| Hughe M ^c Callowe M ^c Tirrlaghe galloglass for the town of Akee geare etc |) iiii hable galloglass) ut supra)) |
| Morice oge for the towne of Rahinduff etc |) 1 hable horsse <u>man</u>) ut supra |
| henry davells for the towne of Knockcanros |) |

P.5

| | |
|---|--|
| John Owingden for the towne of Killebane etc |) 1 hable) horsseman ut supra |
| henry owingden for the towne of ballynegirre etc |) 1 hable horsseman) ut supra |
| Edwarde Brereton for the towne of loghtroge etc |) 111 hable horssemen) ut supra |
| Giles Owingden for the towne of ballentege etc |) 1 hable horsseman) ut supra |
| Peter Owingden for the towne of balletancker alias Tanckerdston etc |) 1 hable horsseman) ut supra) |
| John Thomas for the towne of balleadam etc |) vi hable) horssemen ut supra |
| John dunkerley for the towne of cloghrerhir etc |) 111 hable) horsemen ut supra |
| Summa the horssemen of leix |) xx) 1111 XVI |
| Summa the galloglasses of leix |) XXXV |

P.6

OPHALY

A note of Reservacons made
for the service of the queenes
majestie & strength of the Realme
upon the graunts of Ophaly

| | |
|---|---|
| Christofor Nugent baron of delven for the towne of ballicorbett etc |) 11 hable horssemen) ut supra) |
| Richard crofte & henry duke for the towne of clonemore alias crofteston |) 11 hable horssemen) ut supra) |
| Sir Mōrice Fitzgerald knight for the towne of Calliaghton etc |))) |
| Peter leiceter for the towne of claniriell etc |) one hable horsseman) ut supra |
| Leisaughe m ^c Moroghe for the towne of Rahinduffe etc |) 111 hable horssemen) ut supra |
| Charles O connor for the towne of brackland etc |) v hable horssemen) ut supra |
| Teige M ^c Cahire /O'Conor/ & Calloughe M ^c teige o connor for the towne of derrymolyn, etc |) 111 hable horssemen) ut supra)) |

P.7

Jeffrey phillipps for the) one hable
 towne of clanmarraghe) horsseman ut supra
 alias clanoraghe etc)

 Redmond oge Fitzgerald) fyve hable
 for the towne of clonebolge) horsseman ut supra
 etc)

 Redmond bermingham for) one hable
 the towne of ballycomen) horsseman ut supra
 etc)

 Walter bermingham for) one hable horsseman
 the towne of Rathronnen etc) ut supra

 Robert Cowley for the town) v hable horssemen
 of Castellton alias yonge colleyston) ut supra
 etc)

 John bayname for halfe
 the towne of Carnabry etc

 John Tile for halfe the)
 towne of cruyte alias)
 croyte)

 Nicholas harbert for the late) iii hable
 Freery of manister oryshe) horssemen ut supra
 etc)

 William Furrer for the town) one hable
 of Killissell alias Killisheld) horsseman ut supra

P.8

 Henry Cowley for the) ~~iiii~~ hable horssemen
 towne of Edendirry alias) ut supra
 Cowleyston etc)

 Thomas marriers for the) ii hable horssemen
 towne of latredronckey) ut supra
 alias marreriston etc)

 David Flody for the towne)
 of Kiloloneferte etc)

 Sir Thomas Tirrell knight) ii hable horssemen
 for the towne of brecklane) ut supra
 alias Tirrelleston etc)

 David Sumpter for the)
 towne of Kilduffe etc)

 John Sankey for the) ii hable horssemen
 towne of Sankeiston) ut supra
 alias ballylakyn etc)

 Humfrey Raynold for half)
 the towne of barneboy etc)

 John ap Rice for the towne) i hable horsseman
 of ballenkyllen alias) ut supra
 apriceston etc)

 Henry warren alias warn) ~~iiii~~ hable horssemen
 for the towne of ballibritten) ut supra
 alias warrenston etc)

P.9

Richard Pepperd for the town) one hable
of lyemnemaren etc) horsseman ut supra

Owen M^cHughe /O'Dempsey/ for the) xix hable
towne of clonegawnaghe) horssemen ut supra
etc)

Teige M^cCalle /O'Conor/ for the town) 11 hable horssemen
of ballereyn etc) ut supra

John Davies for half the)
towne of Croyte alias)
cruyte)

Fraunces Appleyarde for) 1 hable horsseman
the towne of balleowen) ut supra
etc)

John wackley for the) 1111 hable horssemen ut
towne of ballybirley) supra
alias wackleyeston etc)

George leonarde &) one hable
Charles O connor son) horsseman ut
to breene M^cCahire for) supra
the towne of Killantike)
etc)

Anthony marche for the towne) one hable horsseman ut
of Clonefad etc) supra

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Thomas Axeming for the) 1 hable horsseman
towne of bernan etc) ut supra

Summa the horssemen) LXXVIII
of Ophaly)

Note that all thiese horssemen & galloglasses resarved
upon thiese graunts of Leix & Ophaly must be contynnally
kepte the lands graunted or some parte of theym

/something omitted/

Note also that in everye of the said grannts the grauntee is
chardged to be all tymes upon warning in readines with
the more parte of his howshold servaunts & tenaunts defensibly
arrayed for the warre to attend upon the governor or souch as
his honor shall appoynte withe victuells for three dayes.

P.11

A note of Reseruacons for service
& strengthe of the Realme made
upon leases for yeeres

| | |
|---|---|
| John Parker esquiere <u>master</u> of the Rolles for the late priorie of duelek & outhr <u>parcells</u> in <u>reuercon</u> |) one hable horsseman) of englishe nacon) sufficiently furnished) |
| William hutchenson & Edward Walshe for the late Abbay of the Cahir etc in possession |) one hable Archer) of Englishe nacon) sufficiently furnished |
| Eugeny Utaghe for certain landes in Killnurry <u>alias</u> Killmurry in the county of meth <u>etc</u> in possession |) one hable Archer) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| William piers for the late Religouse huwse of Tristernagh <u>etc</u> in <u>reuercon</u> |) ii hable horssemen) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| George Wise for the commaundry of Killure & outhr possessions in <u>reuercon</u> |) one hable Archer) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| Nicholas herbert for the late Abbay of doromoy <u>alias</u> dorowee in the county of westmethe in possession |) one hable horsseman) <u>ut supra</u>) |

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| | |
|---|--|
| William Vickers & William Shirwyne for landes in the towne of ballesaxe in the county of Kildare in possession |) one hable horsseman) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| William Vernon for the Manor of leixlipp in the county of Kildare <u>etc</u> in <u>reuercon</u> |) one hable horsseman) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| Richard Pepper for certain lande in ballreynet in the county of Kildare in possession |) one hable horsseman) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| henry Cowley for castell Carbry <u>etc</u> in <u>reuercon</u> |) ii hable horssemen) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| Richard nettervile for the late hospitall of St Johns by Dublin <u>etc</u> in possession |) iii hable archers) <u>ut supra</u>) |
| Michell Fitzwilliams for the manor of donamore by gremoke in the county of methe in <u>reuercon</u> |) one hable horsseman) <u>ut supra</u>) two hable Archers) <u>ut supra</u> |
| Sir George Stanley Knighte for certain landes in the Lurgan in O Moloyes countrey in possession |) one hable horsseman) <u>ut supra</u>) |

P.13

| | |
|--|---|
| Roger Grene for the late hospitall of St Johns of the naase in possession |) 11 hable horssemen) ut supra) |
| Sir Henry Radcliffe Knighte for the townes of Simonston & Corbettiston in the county of methe in possession |) one horsseman) ut supra) |
| Richard Finglasse & patrick Finglasse for certain landes palmerston in the county of Dublin & outhur possessions in possession - |) 11 hable Archers) ut supra) |
| James Stanihurst for the temporalities of the late Religious howse of Odler in revercon |) 1 hable horsseman) ut supra) 11 hable Archers) ut supra |
| John margetts for landes in west kernes & east kernes in the county of meth in possession - |) one hable Archer) ut supra) |
| James butler esquiere son to the late Erle of Ormond for the late Abbay of duske in the county of Kilkenny in possession |) 11 hable horssemen) ut supra))) |

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| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| Nicholas herne /heron/ for the Abbay of Fert megerath in the county of Kilkenny in possession |) /1 footman/))) |
| Nicholas herne for the late Abbay of Fernes in the county of weixforde in possession |) 1 /horseman/))) |
| Summa the horssemen researved upon the leases in possession |)) X) |
| Summa the horssemen researved upon the leases in revercon |)) viii) |
| Summa the archers researved upon the leases in possession |)) ix & one foote) manne |
| Summa the Archers researved upon the leases in reversion |)) V) |

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Endorsed 'Reservacons upon /leases/ mayde in Leix etc'.

APPENDIX II

LEIX

As held circa 1571

The townland names as given in the fiants appear first, followed by earlier or later versions in brackets, with the present day names in capitals. The number of each holder corresponds to that on the map of the holdings in 1571. At the end of the appendix is a table of the rents, acreage, and services for the county worked out from the fiants and other sources.

- (1) Grant to Fergonany O'Kelly, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 490).

| | |
|-----------|-------------|
| Corbally | CORBALLY |
| Kylkesild | |
| Tecalme | in CORBALLY |

- (2) Grant to Thady M'Donnaghe, surgeon, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 491)

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Stranelaugh | Strahanalaghe, 1563 | In COOPERHILL DEMESNE |
| | | Down Survey |
| Quidneaghe | Quillinagh, 1632 | COOPERHILL DEMESNE |

- (3) Grant to Hugh M'Callowe, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 492).

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| Hugh m'Callowe m'Tirrelagh MacDonnell | | |
| Aregar | | ACRAGAR |
| Derykill | Dirregill alias Derrykill | DERRYGILLE |
| Kilmolgan | the 'Ivy Chapel' | |
| Ballecowlen | | BALLYCULLENBEG |
| Clanecosney | | CLONCOSNEY |
| Shanebally | Mortaghe | |

- (4) Grant to Nicholas White, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 494).

| | |
|--------|------------|
| Ralege | RATHLEAGUE |
|--------|------------|

Grant to Nicholas White, 20 April 1569 (fiant no. 1351).

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Message in Maryborough | | |
| Ballequillaghe | Ballegoille, 1618 | |
| Cowlkeprouth | | KYLE KIPROE |

- (5) Grant to Francis Cosby, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 493).

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Stradbally | STRADBALLY |
| Ballenowlan | BALLYNOLAN |
| Kylrowry | KILRORY |
| Balleredder | BALLYRIDER |
| Loughill parke | Loughill, 1608, 1638 |
| Ballecolman | Park ballycohnan, 1556; PARK, UPPER and LOWER Parkeballecolman, 1608 |
| Ballemadocke | BALLYMADDOCK |
| Kylmerten | Kylmartyre, 1556 |
| the Grange | GRANGE, UPPER and LOWER |
| Garrymadocke | GARRYMADDOCK |
| Clonerecoke | Clonebeocke or Glannevennocke, 1608 |
| Ballenevicar | in KILRORY ? VICARSTOWN |

| | |
|---|--|
| Kilmocho | Kylemahoe in VICARS-TOWN (DODD), 6 ⁿ O.S. |
| Moyanaghe | MOYANNA |
| Coryell | CORRELL |
| Racrehym (Rakree, 1551) | RATHCREA |
| Cloduf (Cloduff, 1596, 1631; Clonduff, 1608; Cleduff, 1646) | |
| Croghemall (Noughwall, 1607) | OUGHAVALL |
| Ballaghmore | BALLAGHMORE |
| Shanemollan | OLD MILL |
| Ballem ^o Manes | BALLYMANUS |
| Derybroke | DERRYBROCK |

Grant to Francis Cosby and Elizabeth Palmes, his wife,
9 June 1569 (fiant no. 1375).

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Moyenrath | MOUNTRATH |
| Clonneynaghe | CLONENAGH |
| Roskelton alias Rosquillan | ROSKELTON |
| Tromro | TRUMRA |

Grant to Francis Cosby, 9 June 1569 (fiant no. 1376).

| | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------|
| Cloghpowke and (Cloghpooke & Ballecullane Ballequillen, 1624) | CLOPOOK | See Kildare |
| Balleknockan | GUILEEN | |
| Kilcolmanbane | BALLYKNOCKAN | |
| Kepole alias Kapowley | KILCOLMANBANE | |
| Clonebricke and | CAPPOLEY | |
| Cowlkhre (Coulacreda, 1556) | bottom of DERRY | |

For the original group of townlands which began this grant,
see the next holder.

(6) Grant to Alexander Cosby and Dorcas Sydney, his wife,
22 Nov. 1570 (fiant no. 1622).

| | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Timohoe | TIMAHOE |
| Ballenecloghe | BALLINACLOGH, UPPER and LOWER |
| Rahenebaron (Rathnebaron, 1608) | motte in BALLINACLOUGH LOWER |
| Garriglasse | GARRYGLASS |
| Fosse | FOSSY, UPPER and LOWER |
| Ballentle | BALLINTLEA, UPPER and LOWER |
| Balleseare and Owillarte | ORCHARD, UPPER and LOWER |
| Ballykerote alias (Ballykeroke, 1593; Ballerone Ballykernane alias Ballekerone, 1623) | BALLYCARNAN |
| Ballyclare alias Ballefarra (same 1640) | |
| Esker (Esker - Clonkyny, 1608) | ESKER |
| Clonkyny | in ESKER ? |
| Eskerbeg | with GARRYGLASS ? |

Grant to Alexander, and Dorcas, his wife, 23 Nov. 1570
(fiant no. 1623).

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Lisbigne | LISBIGNEY |
| Moneclare | MONEYCLEARE |
| Doghell (Doghill, 1551; Moneclare and Doghell, 1607, 1611) | in MONEYCLEARE ? |
| Kilnesean | KILNASHANE |
| Ballenekyll | BALLINAKILL |
| Kycronane | KILCRONAN |
| Kilruyshe alias Kiruyske | KILRUSH |
| Ballenebane (same 1607; Bolynebane, 1633) | BOLEYBAWN |

Dysert gallyne (Disert galline other- KEELAGH see Mainwaring
wise Aghnecross, 1611) lease 1551-52
Roskeshell (Roskishell, 1607, 1611;
Rossacashell, 1633)

Aghelubber AUGHATUBBRID, co. Kilkenny
Cloghoge CLOGHOGE To Ormond?
Moyadde MOYADD

Knocard Khorro (Knockardkhorro
otherwise Knockdardegur, 1611) KNOCKARDAGUR
Graigue Howen GRAIGUENAHOWN
Bolebeg BOLEYBEG
Lysecoman LISNAGOMAN
Graiguesmotane GRAIGUENASMUTTAN
Graige GRAIGUE
Ballevicas BALLYPICKAS, UPPER and
LOWER
CLONTYCOE

Tulmore alias Clontykho
/probably included TULLORE, see Masterson, 15517.
Ballykeshelane (Ballekeshellan, 1607;
Castlemoat, 1607;
le Moate, 1633) MOAT

In addition Francis Cosby and his wife, Elizabeth Palmes,
received grants of : 24 May 1570 (fiant no. 1544).

Three messuages in Maryborough in the tenure of:

John Tomkyns,
land in Clonmyne CLONMINAN
William Good,
land in Clonrusk CLONROOSK
John Paynter,
land in Clonrusk CLONROOSK

23 Nov. 1570 (fiant no. 1624).

Messuage and garden in Maryborough occupied by Edward
Fitzhenry.

Caysshel CASHEL
Capycloghe CAPPANACLOGHY
Kilhelan alias Ballehelan Kilwhelan in CASHEL

(7) Grant to John Pygott, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 496).

Dyssert alias Diserte DYSART
Derry alias Ramaspok DERRY
Ballecloyder BALLYCLIDER
Colkey alias (Coolkey otherwise
Colenechre Coolecreighie, 1608) bottom part of Derry
Molleneknawor (with Kilcromen
in 1608) LAMBERTON DEMESNE
RAHEENANISKY
RAHEENANISKY
PARK or DUNAMASE
RAHEENANISKY
KILTEALE
KILTEALE
RAHEENAHORAN
RAHEENAHORAN

Grant to John Pigott, 15 June 1569 (fiant no. 1386).

Parcel of land called Agholallor
/Bounds given. Not the whole
territory of that name/. in or near HOPHALL.

- (8) Grant to Thomas, Earl of Ormond, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 497).

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Site of the abbey of Leix | |
| Leix, lands of, probably included 'Old Town' was. | TULLYROE, where the |
| Clonkeyn | ABBEYLEIX DEMESNE |
| Ralyse | CLONKEEN |
| Ramoyle | RALISH |
| Cloghoge | RATHMOYLE |
| | CLOGHOGE |

- (9) Grant to Charles (Callagh) M'Tirlaghe, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 498).
 /Calvagh mCTurlough MacDonnell7.

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Tenekyle | TINNAKILL |
| Carryn | CARN or CURRAGHANE |
| Portnynche | PORTNAHINCH |
| Ballycalle (Ballecale, 1571) | |
| Colbane | |
| Ballecullan (...collane, 1571) | BALLYKILLANE |
| Farraye (Farrendonoughe Ferne, 1571) | |
| Donoghfin | |
| Gonterrey (Clonterry alias Gonterrey) | CLONTERRY |
| Larraughe (Larygke, 1571) | LAURAGH |
| Dinghainmore (Dyngain O More, 1571) | DANGANS |
| Correngarrett (Carrowegarrett) | |
| Kilnykessaghe (Kylnecayshill) | KILNACASH |
| Dinghainbegge | DANGANS |
| Ballarodery (Balleruddery, 1571) | BALLINRIDDERY |
| Kylnyfernoke (Clonevernoke, 1571) | COOLNAVARNOGE |
| Ballebogan (Coolaghes alias Ballebogan, 1571) | COOLAGH |
| Ballnyboddaghe (Cooloches alias Ballibogan and Ballinebodegh, 1621) | |

Livery to Hugh m'Callowaghe /MacDonnell7, 26 Feb. 1571
 (fiant no. 1715).

- (10) Grant to John Dunkerley, Last Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 499).

| | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Cloughreher | CLONREHER |
| two Rosselekyns | ROSSLEAGAN |
| Conteren alias | COOLTORAN |
| Knockinnorgrow | KNOCKNAGROAGH |
| Rainenemarok | RATHNAMANAGH |

- (11) Grant to Patrick Hethermerton, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 500).
 /Hetherinton, elsewhere7.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------|
| Towloughe (Tolloughe, 1558) | TULLOMOY |
|-----------------------------|----------|

- (12) Grant to Edward Brereton, 28 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 501).

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| Loghtyoge | LOUGHTEEOG |
| Loghtrodden (Loughdruddle, 1607; Loghadoe, Sloane map 18th century; Loghahoe, 1805 map) | LOUGHEKEO |
| (Monine) | MONEY, UPPER and LOWER |
| Ballenegarbanaghe (Balligervanagh or Ballenegarvanagh, 1610) | |
| Shanemollen, land in, on the west of Raynduf | in OLDMILL See Cosby. |
| Raynduf (Rahynduffe, 1610) | RAHEENDUFF |

- (13) Grant to Thomas Ketynge, 8 March 1563 (fiant no. 505).

Croughtentegle (Krotentegle, 1615;
Cortingtegle, 1621;
Crottintegall, Down Survey) now ASHFIELD
Farraghbane

- (14) Grant to Molmoricus M^rEdmonde [Maelmurry mcEdmund MacDonnell] 7,
8 March 1563 (fiant no. 507).

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Rahyne | RAHIN |
| Dere | MILLTOWN |
| Shanganaghbege | SHANGANAGH BEG |
| Kylmarone | KILMORONY |
| Ballelynan | BALLYLYNAN |
| Agharrowe (Aghanor, 1551) | AGHANURE |
| Ballycormayne | BALLYCORMAN |
| Balleghan | BALLYLEHANE, UPPER |

- (15) Grant to Arthur Tomen, 8 March 1563 (fiant no. 508).

Stratedrusshoke (Stradnefushoke, 1603;
Stradnefushoge, 1621) in CLOGRENAN

- (16) Grant to Donald McGylpatricke [Donald McShane...] 7
8 March 1563 (fiant no. 510).

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Arleyne alias Arlas | ARDLEA |
| Clondoagehese (clonaddeo Kais, 1551; Cloanadogasse, 1655, D.S.; | CLONADACASEY |
| Clonadacasey and Fathowgh, 1875-85) | FATHARNAGH |
| Ballemodaghe (Coolnacartan and Ballnamuddagh, 1875-85) | BALLYNAMUDDAGH |
| Capalaghynyn (Cappaghlohinny, c. 1660) | COOLNACARTAN |
| Roscoltayne alias Roscoulayne | CAPPALOUGHLIN |
| Tenekyll | ROSKELTON to Cosby |
| | TINNAKILL |

- (17) Lease to Rowland Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, 26 January
1561 (fiant no. 509).

The Grange of Kilmagobboke GRANGE

- (18) Grant to Henry Davells, 8 March 1563 (fiant no. 511).

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Knockancoo (Cnockanroo, 1549; knockanroe, 1623) | CURRAGH |
| Curraghmore | CLONMORE |
| Curraghbeg (part of Clonmore, 1875-85) | KILLESBIN |
| Garriduffe | |
| Ballyshen (Killyshen, 1549) | |
| Camoy (Cannoy, 1623) | |

- (19) Grant to Kedoughe M^rPeres [Kedagh mcPiers O'More] 7
16 March 1563 (fiant no. 514).

| | |
|--|------------|
| Dowarry | DOOARY |
| Moneduf (Mounteagle, Lower half, Down Survey) | MOUNTEAGLE |

(20) Grant to Edmund Ketyng, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 515).

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Colneryen | COOLRAIN |
| Tomocloge alias (Tymoclod, 1620; Tilmockled otherwise Tomocloge or Timocled, 1619) | CAPPALUG |
| Leagh | OLD LEAGH |
| Ballyvallaghe (Ballivallagh, 1619) | |

(21) Grant to Maurice oge /Morretogh oge O'More⁷, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 518).

| | |
|----------|-------------------|
| Rahynduf | RAHEENDUFF LITTLE |
|----------|-------------------|

Grant to Mortogh oge O'Moore, 6 June 1570 (fiant no. 1553).

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Crymurgan alias Clamorgan | CREMORGAN |
|---------------------------|-----------|

Livery to Lisagh McMortogh oge O'More, son of the above, late of Raynduffe, 20 Feb 1589 (fiant no. 5395). The two possessions of Patrick McLysagh MacMortagh oge O'More, 26 Sept. 1601 (fiant no. 6578).

(22) Grant to John Ketyng, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 519).

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Ballymoyleran (Ballyveleran, 1574; Ballymulrane, 1615, 1618) | BALLYHIDE |
| Straughneugh (Straughreagh, 1618; Straughneagh, 1619) | |
| Towlought (Towlagh, 1618; Towloghty, 1624) | TOWLERTON ? |

(23) Grant to Walter Ketinge, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 521).

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| Coltehenry (Coutiehenry, 1547; Coolhenry and Shanvally, 1875-85) | COOLHENRY SHANVALLY |
| Kylveick (Kilvick, 1618; Kilveicke, 1619) | |

(24) Grant to Matthew Skelton alias Lynt, 30 March, 1563 (fiant no. 529).

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Sleytye | SLEATTY |
| Kylknocke alias (... alias Kylcomyn Kilamyne, 1623) | |
| Conyne (Clomyne, 1623) | |
| Balletibred alias Olderge | OLDDERRIG |

Grant to Matthew Lynte alias Skelton, 10 Dec. 1570 (fiant no. 1649).

Messuage in, Maryborough
land in Siffinton, by Maryborough, east of church of
Siffinton
lands of Tyre alias (Iry and Spring-
Eyre field, 1875-85) IRY
Tanclone alias Taghclone
or Cloncoghe CLONCOUGH

(25) Grant to Morghe M'Carroll /MacEvoy⁷, 30 March, 1563 (fiant no. 530).

| | |
|--|---|
| Ballyfine (Ballyfin Upper, part of Rossmore, Deerpark, 1875-85) | BALLYFIN, BALLYFIN UPPER BALLYFIN DEMESNE, ROSSMORE, DEERPARK |
|--|---|

(26) Grant to Robert Harpoullé, 30 March 1563 (fiant no. 533).

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Ballyrahene (Ballyrahin, 1632) | BALLINRAHIN |
| Rossenalgan | ROSSTILLEGAN |
| Garroughe (Garroballekill, 1619) | GARROUGH |
| Dormoyle | DERRYMOYLE |
| Cappole (Cappescreebedore, 1632) | |

Grant to Robert Harpoullé, 6 May 1564 (fiant no. 612).

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Colvanacre alias (Coolebannagher, Cobanahore 1632) | COOLBANNAGHER |
| Ballarighan (Ballerighan, 1632) | |
| Kilgemne (Killgenne, 1632) | KILLIMY |
| Ballenbeg (Ballynabegge, 1632) | |
| Sheanbege (Shanbegge alias Syanbegge, 1632) | |
| Ballemolrone (Ballymullrony, 1632) | |
| Ballenestraghe (Ballynasraghe, 1632) | |

(27) Grant to Richard Ketinge, 30 March 1563 (fiant no. 534).

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Ballykmoyler (Ballickmoyler, Ballickmoyler Upper, Cooper's Hill, 1875-85) | BALLICKMOYLER UPPER |
| Atheduf (Ateteeduffe otherwise Athyduff, 1619) | COOPERHILL DEMESNE |
| Grangeneccrossan (Graignecrossan, 1618) | |
| Kylmoghocmook (Kilmacomoke, 1619) | |
| Ballyno (Ballino, 1619) | |
| Capponargan (Cappanegran, 1619) | |
| Rahentescanlan (Rahentescanlan, 1619) | |
| Garroballynekill | GARRAGH or WOODLAND |
| Falloglasse (Faleglash, 1619) | |
| Darroluskan (Derrelaskin, 1618) | |
| Corroghvodoghe (Corroghvodocke, 1618; Curraghvodogh, 1619) | Curraghbug wood in COOLANAGH ? |
| Gurtynegrene (Gurtinnegeny, 1618) | GURTEEN |
| Ballynecarge (Ballincard, 1632) | |
| Clonaghe | CLONAGH |
| Colenaghbrik | COOLENAGH |
| Skanaghe | |
| Rossenaghe | ROSSENA |
| Terenan | TIRERNAN |

(28) Grant to Frynne O'Kelly, 30 March 1563 (fiant no. 536).

| | |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Rahaspick alias Rahaspock | RATHASPICK |
| Kyllecle | KILFEACLE |

(29) Grant to Terence M'Donnell, galloglas, 30 March 1563
(fiant no. 538).

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Castlenoe (Newcastle alias Castlenoe, 1632) | in FARNANS BALLYNAGALL |
| Ballenegall | |
| Kylleclogh (Killcloghe, 1632) | |
| Cossan (alias Cowsans, 1632) | |
| Garrynedeny | GARRENDENNY |
| Kilgore (Killgorye, 1632) | KILGORY |
| Clonybroke (Clonebrocke, 1632) | CLONBROCK |
| Killnemore (Kilnemore, 1620) | |
| Rossememont (Rosse, 1620; Rossenemount, 1632) | RUSHES |
| Rosshchouse (Rosscouse, 1632) | |
| Emelaghe (Bareneslatty or Barneslatt, 1632) | SLATT, UPPER and LOWER |

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Ballinekill (Ballynekille, 1632) | BALLYNAKILL |
| Narles (Ardliss alias Narlisse, 1632) | Arless in BALLYNAGALL |
| Tenestrach (Tenesraghe, 1632) | TINNASRAGH |
| Aghnecrosse | AGHCROSS |
| Cargyne (Cargin, Corgin, 1632) | Corgee in FARNANS |
| Rathelege (Rathtillge, 1632) | RATHTILLIG |
| Farrynmabin (Farriminabee, Farrenmakin, 1632) | |
| Kilcolotyn (Killcollykin, 1632) | |
| Killoge (Killaggin, Killoge, 1632) | KEELOGE |
| Garrimore (Garrymore, 1620) | |
| Farname (Farnans, 1632) | FARNANS |
| Cowlenowle (Cowlenowle, 1632) | COOLANOWLE |
| Clainvekan negarren (Clonebekan, 1620; Clonevacken, 1632) | CLONYBECAN |
| (Garrans alias Negarran alias Clonecangarran, 1632) | MAIDENHEAD |
| (Garrowghe, 1632) | |

(30) Grant to Thomas Seyntleger, 8 April 1563 (fiant no. 540).

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Laawghe (Lawghe, 1631) | LEAGH |
| Coldeawse (Couldense, 1631) | part of LEAGH |
| Tesshanfeckan in Kylleshen (Tesshanefeekin in Killeshin, 1619) | KILLESBIN |
| Monefadd (Monefadd, 1631) | part of LEAGH |

(31) Grant to John Whitney, 26 April 1569 (fiant no. 1353).
Surrendered. Regranted 1 March 1571 (fiant no. 1720).

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Eyan alias Sean | SHAEN |
| Eyen | EYNE |
| Strobo | STRABOE |
| Kyllon (Killone) | KILLONE |
| Kylbane | KILLENNY ? |
| Kyllenvary (?Kiltenally, 1614; Killenavarrie, 1660) | |
| Balledavie | BALLYDAVIS |
| Kyllenoghe | KILLEENLYNAGH |
| Kylmore alias Kylmorre | KILMURRY |
| Rawelenneshean alias Rathmeshian (R aghlyn Eshyan, 1558; Raghlynneshian alias Rathneshean, 1614) | RAHEENAHORAN ? |
| Ballythomas | BALLYTHOMAS |
| Dirrenegarran | DERRYGARRAN |
| Kylbege (Kylbegg, 1614) | |
| Kylmaynan | KILMAINHAM |
| Kyllene | KILLEEN |

(32) Grant to John Baringeton, 12 May 1564 (fiant no. 647).

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Cullynaghe | CULLENAGH |
| Kylvayne | KILVAHAN |
| Ballehellen | BALLYHEYLAND |
| Corcappe | Coal Cappagh a field in BAUNREE |
| (Ballyheyland, Cullenagh, Baunree, Kilvahan, Pass, 1875-85) | PASS |
| Raynduff | RAHENDUFF, BIG |

- (33) Grant to Jenkin Etherington /Hetherington in Patent Book 7
19 March 1569 (fiant no. 1326). Earlier lease, 7 Oct. 1567
(fiant no. 1173).

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Ballyrone | BALLYROAN |
| Ballygegill | part of MOUNTEAGLE |
| Ballyrowen (Ballervine) | BALLYRUIN |
| Clanquillan | CLONCULLAN |
| Kylcrubin | CRUBEEN |

- (34) Grant to Gerald, earl of Kildare, 9 Dec 1568 (fiant no. 1240).
Repeated, with minor corrections, 23 Feb. 1569 (fiant no. 1275).

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| The manor of Timogue, its lands, (Ballintiskin, parcel of the manor of Tymock, 1612) | TIMOGUE BALLINTESKIN |
| Balliprior | BALLYPRIOR |
| Ballicolin | BALLYCOOLAN |
| Newenagh (Nenaghe alias Gowlyn, 1612) | GUILEEN |
| Ballehew (alias Ayllybegg, Foillibeg, 1612) | FALLOWBEG UPPER, MIDDLE, and LOWER |
| Curragh (alias Luggechurry, 1612) | LUGGACURREN |
| Clelelanagh (Inshelelannaghe in fiant no. 1275) | INCH |

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Graggodden, and the (White Castle or White Castle there. Castle of Graigue, 1603) | GRAIGUE (on the Barrow) |
|---|-------------------------|

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Grahrowahan (Whitecastle in Graag- wooden otherwise Graggoden, 1608) | GRAIGUE |
| Balleclo (Balleclowe) | |
| Saneganagh (Shanganaghe in fiant no. 1275) | SHANGANAGH MORE |

✓Last three placed in the 'lordship of Sewmairge'; from
Peppard's leases?

- Grant to Gerald, earl of Kildare, 30 Nov. 1570 (fiant no. 1633)

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Kilmakyllock (same, 1603) | |
| Ballekenles (Ballykenles, 1603) | CAPPAKEEL |
| Capekule | |

- (35) Grant to William Fynne, 19 March 1569 (fiant no. 1325).

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Message in his tenure in Maryborough. Rahynkullenane (Rahinecullenagh, 1621, the mears and bounds being given in the inquisition). | RAHEEN, MARYBOROUGH WEST BR. |
|--|---------------------------------|

- (36) Grant to Robert Eier, 23 March 1569 (fiant no. 1334).

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Message in Maryborough. | |
| Rathebreanan | RATHBRENNAN |
| Kylvynsyn | KILMINCHY |
| (and in Beladd and Clonkeen. see no. 45). | |

- (37) Grant to William Bearde or Berde, 4 April 1569 (fiant no. 1348).

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| Message in Maryborough. | |
| Colte | COLT |
| Ballincorbille alias Ballicorbett | CORBALLY ? |

(38) Grant to Thomas Lamben, 1 July 1569 (fiant no. 1406).

Messuage in Maryborough. Another in the occupation of William Vicars. A third, unnamed.

Clonadadoran CLONADDADORAN

Kilbride (same, 1619)

the wood of Clonbarn (Clonebarne, 1597, Clon Bar in Clonaddoran) CLONBOYNE ?

Kildonan (Killednan, 1619)

Grant to Thomas Lambyn, undated but prior to 25 March 1571 (fiant no. 1802).

Messuage and garden in Maryborough, lands of, Ratyvyne RATHEVEN
(and Beladd and Clonkeen) See no. 45

(39) Lease to John Harres, 25 Nov. 1570 (fiant no. 1629).

Imo EMO PARK

Tologhan

Irlyne (Irlin, 1578)

Kylleneyre (Killenire, 1578) KILLINURE, PORTNAHINCH BR.

(40) Grant to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Knt., 8 Dec 1570 (fiant no. 1642).

Messuage in his occupation in Maryborough.

Dysertbeh DYSARTBEAGH

Ballendane (Ballenedane, 1577)

Kylytbrownynne Kyletabreehan, in the upper part of DERRYKEARN

Cromok (Cromoge, Bawnaree, Derryroe, Clonbane, Parkavilla, 1875-85) CROMOGE

Cloncarrie (Clonecurry, 1577)

Clonevehan (Clonenolane, 1621)

Kylmagouder alias Kylmagoude

Derrekeryne (Derrykearn and Clondouglas 1875-85) DERRYKEARN
CLONDOUGLAS
Ballinree in DERRYKEARN

Ballenrye

Ballehobege

And KILLEANY. Its surrender by him, 16 June 1578

(fiant no. 3327). Its regrant, 18 Aug. 1578 (fiant no. 3415)

(41) Grant to Robert George, 10 Feb. 1571 (fiant no. 1689).

Messuage and garden in Maryborough.

Tewer alias Togher TOGHER

(42) Grant to John Barnyse, 15 Feb. 1571 (fiant no. 1697).

Ballycaslan Omoy

CASTLETOWN (OBOY)

Kylcruse

KILCRUISE

Cownebegge

COONBEG

Ballyfynan alias Clonefynan

BALLYFINNAN

(43) Grant to John Hovynden, 15 Feb. 1571 (fiant no. 1698).

Kylleban alias (...alias Ballyfoyle, 1637) KILLABBAN
Ballewhylle BALLYFOYLE

Ballentegarte (Ballinteggard, 1646)

Brackanaghe (Bracknagh, 1646)

KILLEEN

Kyllene

Garrymurlan (Garrymirlon, 1646)

Quyllenaghe (Cowlenagh, 1549) CULLENAGH

(44) Grant to Peter or Pierce Hovyndene, 15 Feb. 1571 (fiant no.1699).

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Curgaraghe | COOLGARRAGH |
| Bealanegare | BALLYNAGARR |
| Clonpyers | CLONPIERCE |
| Tankardyston alias Ballentankarde | TANKARDSTOWN |
| Skeanaghe | SKEHANAGH |
| Ballelean | BALLYLEHANE |

(45) Land held in parcels by the following inhabitants of Maryborough.

Grant to John Rafe, 20 March 1569 (fiant no. 1327).

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Messuage and garden in Maryborough | |
| Land of, Rathvyne | RATHEVEN |
| and in, Bealadde | BELADD |
| Clonkene (Clonkeen, Oldtown, | CLONKEEN or CLONDOUGLAS |
| Clondouglas 1875-85) | OLDTOWN |

Grant to Thomas Hardinge, 21 June 1569 (fiant no. 1396).

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| Messuage in Maryborough and land in | CLONROOSK |
| Clonruske (Clonroosk, Clonroosk | CLONROOSK LITTLE |
| Little, part of Knockmay, 1875-85) | KNOCKMAY |

Lease to Anthony Rogers, 10 Dec. 1570 (fiant no. 1645).

| | |
|--|----------|
| Messuage and garden in Maryborough and land in | |
| Bayladde | BELADD |
| Clankene | CLONKEEN |

Grant to Evan ap Richarde, 15 Mar. 1571 (fiant no. 1774).

| | |
|--|----------|
| Messuage and garden in Maryborough and land in | |
| Bealadde | BELADD |
| Clonkyne | CLONKEEN |

See also Francis Cosby's grants for lands in Clonminan, and Clonroosk.

And grants of Robert Eier (36) and Thomas Lambyn (38).

In addition to the fiants there is evidence for the following holders:

(46) Livery to Robert Bowen alias Robert Thomas, son and heir of John Ap Thomas Bowen, 27 Feb. 1570 (fiant no. 1490). Surrender by him of the following townlands, 8 July 1578 (fiant no. 3359). Regranted to him, 31 Aug. 1578 (Queen's co. Inquisitions. James I, no. 21. 14 Jan. 1622).

| | |
|--|---|
| Ballyadame (and Cappanafeacle, 1875-85) | BALLYADAMS CAPPANAFEACLE |
| Ragilbert (and Loughlass and Parkahoughill, 1875-85) | RATHFILBERT, LOUGHLASS, PARKAHOUGHILL |
| Aghetobrede | in BALLINTUBBERT ? |
| Ballentabride | BALLINTUBBERT |
| Monescerbane (and Southfield, 1875-85) | MONASCREEBAN SOUTHFIELD |
| Dyrrearowe (Dyriemowe, Farraghmore, 1607) | FALLAGHMORE, Down Survey. CRANNAGH |
| Creneaghe | |
| Balletarsne (alias Cronaghe, 1551) | |
| Kylleganer | KILLYGANARD |
| Donbrene (and Whitebog, 1875-85) | DUNBRIN, UPPER, LOWER WHITEBOG |
| Ballyentle | BALLYINTLEA |
| Kylmohide | Kilmaleed, in the west of MONASCREEBAN |
| Farraghmore | FALLAGHMORE |

(47) Oliver Fitzgerald.

Morett

MORETT

Pardon to Oliver ... of Morett, 12 Feb. 1557 (Cal. fiants Ire.,
Philip and Mary, no. 127).

Pardon to Richard Fitzgerald of Morett, 21 Sept. 1575
(Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 2722).

(48) John Barre.

Shrule

SHRULE

Pardon to him, and Richard Barre of Shrule, 16 June 1570
(Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1563).

Surrenders, including his of Shrule, 24 May 1576 (Cal.
fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 2811).

(49) Lease by the earl of Kildare, to Sir Maurice Fitzthomas
Fitzgerald of Lackagh, Co. Kildare, of the Manor of Lea,
by mortgage in 1556. See Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Lea
Castle', (Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn., vol. iv, pp. 325-351).
He cites an inquisition of 1575 of some 33 townlands under
it, of which several are in conflict with O'Dempsey's
grant, and have been noted. Later he gives an extent of
the manor of Lea in 1540, pp. 441-2, as follows:

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Kylmalaghyn | KILMULLEN ? | to O'Dempsey |
| Caragh (Curra alias Loghclonybrocke) | LOUGH | |
| Ramorgh (Rathmorcho) | | |
| Kylbride | KILBRIDE | |
| Gaydonstown (alias Balliadine) | BALLYADDING | to O'Dempsey |
| la Pollagh (de la Newton alias | DOOLOUGH and | |
| Pollaghballinowe) | LOUGH | |
| Ballyheyduff | BALLYTEIGUEDUFF | to O'Dempsey |
| Gragoforan | GRAIGAVERAN | to O'Dempsey |
| Trasgan | TRASCAN |) |
| and Tinecranagh | TINNACRANNAGH | in Offaly |
| Kylmoragh (Kilmorishill or | | |
| Kilmorchill or Kylmoragh) | | |
| Kyllamolen | KILLMULLEN | |
| Garowakyns | GARRYVACUM | |
| Ballynolert (Orchardstown alias...) | ULLARD | to O'Dempsey |

In addition the 1575 inquisition gives the following:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| Lea | LEA | |
| Inchecowill | INCHACOOLY | |
| Drehidnetune | | |
| Ballentagirte alias Graiguetane | | |
| Rathleash | | to O'Dempsey |
| Le Woode de Clanarke | BISHOPS WOOD ? | in Offaly |
| Tune | | |
| Phillipston | | |
| Ballycarroll | | to O'Dempsey |
| Ballintogher | BALLINTOGER. | In the |
| | Down Survey map BOLNAGREE | |
| | and KILLAGLISH are included. | |
| | DERRYNAFUNSHION | |
| Derrynafunshion | | |
| Shraleaghe | | |
| Rathmiles | | to O'Dempsey |
| Carricklea (Carrick Hill 27 | | |
| Clonanny | CLONANNY | |
| Ballinurcher | | |

Several of these townlands are confirmed by a deed of
feoffment, 8 Nov. 1570 (Lodge, Records of the Rolls, V,
pp. 359-60).

(50) Lease to William Portas, captain. Surrenders, including Portas of Blackford, 24 May 1576 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 2811).

Grant to Robert Harpoole, 5 June 1576 (*ibid.*, no. 2838). Gives the manor of Blackford, which included:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| Rathmadocke alias the Blackeforde | BLACKFORD |
| Monifericke | MONAFERRICK |
| Kilteighan (Ballynakiltigan, 1632) | |
| Garrans | GARRANS |
| Kilgessin (Kilgeshin, 1632) | |
| Ballekilkavan | BALLYKILCAVAN |
| Dromlin alias Killiclery (Dromneene | DRUMNEEN |
| alias Kilclery, 1632; Drumneen | KELLYVILLE |
| and Kellyville, 1875-85) | |
| Inche alias Ballicowley | INCH |
| Bavon | BAWN |

(51) Lease to Robert Newton.

Grant to Anthony Hungerford, 3 May 1576 (Cal. fiant Ire., Eliz., no. 2778).

Lease to Lodowick Briskett, 31 Jan. 1594 (*ibid.*, no. 5845).

Grant to William Browne 'as fully as John (sic) Newton, Anthony Hungerford, or Lodovicus Brisket held them', 3 June 1595 (*ibid.*, no. 5931).

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Palleyes (Pallas, Big, Little; | PALLAS, BIG, LITTLE |
| Ballina, part of Boghlone, 1875-85) | BALLINA, BOGHLONE |
| Clandergermoyle | |
| Clonigawnaghe | CLONYGOWAN |
| Garrymore | |
| Cappoughe (Cappagh, North, and | CAPPAGH, NORTH |
| Rossnagad, 1875-85) | ROSSNAGAD |
| Coulenemore (Clonmore) | |
| Cloncarraghe | CLONDARRIG |

(52) Leisaugh McDonnell /or McConnell

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| Ballahide (Killehide, 1563; both | BALLYHIDE |
| 1576, in 'Slemarge') | |
| /and part of Rossmore, 1875-85) | ROSSMORE |

Held in 1563. Surrender of above. 24 May 1576 (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 2811)

Grant to Robert Harpoole, 5 June 1576 (*ibid.*, no. 2838).

LEIX

Rents, Acreage, and Services, c. 1571

In the following table the rents for the holdings, some of which are in two parts, are taken from the fiants. The services in men are taken from the 1564 list of holders in Appendix I, with additions from Lodge's Records of the Rolls and Harris's Collectanea. The acreage for rental purposes, sometimes broken down into arable, meadow, pasture, wood, and bog, is taken almost entirely from Lodge.

| NAME | RENT | | ACREAGE | SERVICE IN MEN |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| | 1st 7yrs. | After | | |
| (1) F. O'Kelly | £ 1 0s. 0d. | £ 1 10s. 0d. | 120 ar., pa. | 1 horse. |
| (2) McDonnaghe | 0 7 0 | 0 10 6 | 42 | No horse. |
| (3) H. MacDonnell | 2 12 0 | 3 18 0 | 312 in 1619, 1621 | 4 gallo. |
| (4) White | 0 15 4 | 1 3 0 | 92 ar., pa. | 1 horse. |
| | | 0 10 9 | 23 ar., 16 pa. | 1 foot. |
| (5) F. Cosby | 11 10 10 | £ 17 6 37 | 217 ar., 142 pa. | 13 horse. |
| | | 39 11 11 | 120 w. | 3 foot. |
| (6) A. Cosby | | 28 12 6 | 1993 ar., 434 pa., 6 w. | 8 horse. |
| (7) Pygott | 6 7 8 | 9 11 6 | 778 ar., pa. | 4 horse. |
| | | 0 3 0 | | 1 foot. |
| (8) Earl of Ormond | 6 16 8 | 10 5 0 | 820 | 6 horse. |
| (9) C. MacDonnell | 8 6 4 | 12 9 6 | 998 | 12 Eng. gallo. |
| (10) Dunkerley | 3 15 8 | 5 13 6 | 454 | 3 horse. |
| (11) P. Hetherington | 1 0 8 | 1 11 0 | 124 | 1 horse. |
| (12) Brereton | 3 8 6 | 5 2 9 | 426 ar., pa. | 3 horse. |
| (13) T. Keating | 0 11 2 | 0 16 9 | 67 ar., pa. | 1 horse. |
| (14) M. MacDonnell | 5 19 6 | 8 19 3 | 717 | 9 gallo. |
| (15) Tomen | 0 4 2 | 0 6 3 | 25 | No horse. |
| (16) MacGilpatrick | 3 11 10 | 5 7 9 | 431 | 3 horse. |
| (17) Vis. Baltinglass | | | | |
| (18) Davells | 1 5 2 | 1 17 9 | 151 | 1 horse, 7 |
| (19) K. O'More | 1 10 8 | 2 6 0 | 184 | 1 horse. |
| (20) E. Keating | 0 16 0 | 1 4 0 | 96 | 1 horse. |
| (21) M. O'More | 0 11 10 | 0 17 9 | 71 ar., pa. | 1 horse. |
| | | 1 12 6 | 80 ar., pa., 10 w. | 1 horse. |
| (22) J. Keating | 0 16 4 | 1 4 6 | 98 | 1 horse. |
| (23) W. Keating | 0 8 0 | 0 12 0 | 48 | No horse. |
| (24) Skelton alias Lynt | 1 16 47 | 2 14 67 | 218 117 ar., 66 pa., w. | 1 horse. 1 foot. |
| (25) MacEvoy | 0 13 10 | 1 0 9 | 837 | 1 horse. |
| (26) Hartpole | 0 10 10 | 0 16 3 | 65 | 1 horse. |
| | 4 1 4 | 6 2 0 | 488 | 2 horse. |
| (27) R. Keating | 3 12 6 | 5 8 9 | 435 | 3 horse. |
| (28) F. O'Kelly | 0 16 8 | 1 5 0 | 100 | 1 horse. |

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>RENT</u> | | | <u>ACREAGE</u> | <u>SERVICE</u> <u>IN MEN</u> |
|--|-------------------|--------------|---------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | <u>1st 7 yrs.</u> | <u>After</u> | | | |
| (29) T. MacDonnell | £ 6 19s. 0d. | £ 10 | 8s. 6d. | 834 | 10 gallo. |
| (30) St Leger | 0 14 8 | 1 | 2 0 | 88 | 1 horse. |
| (31) Whitney | 12 13 4 | 19 | 0 0 | 1520 | 5 horse. 7 foot. |
| (32) Barrington | 3 11 2 | 5 | 6 9 | 427 | 3 horse. |
| (33) J. Hetherington | 7 11 6 | 11 | 7 2 | 374 ar., 108 pa., w., bog. | 3 horse. |
| (34) Earl of Kildare | | | | 732 | |
| | | 1 | 7 6 | 92 ar., 18 pa., 60 w. | 2 horse. |
| (35) Fynne | | 0 | 12 9 | 40 ar., 4 pa., bog, 3 w. | 1 foot. |
| (36) Eier | | 1 | 6 6 | 80 ar., 22 pa. | 1 horse. 7 |
| (37) Bearde | | 1 | 10 0 | 72 ar., 44 pa., w. | 1 horse. 7 |
| (38) Lamben | | 2 | 6 6 | 178 ar., pa., 40 w. | 1 horse. |
| | | 1 | 7 9 | 95 ar., 12 pa. | 1 horse. |
| (39) Harres | | 2 | 2 4 | 98 in 1578 | 1 horse. |
| (40) Fitzpatrick | | 5 | 4 0 | 282 ar., 130 w. | 2 horse. |
| | | 2 | 0 0 | 80 ar., pa. | 1 horse. |
| (41) George | | 1 | 1 0 | 72 ar., 8 pa., 17 w., bog. | 1 horse. |
| (42) Barnyse | | 2 | 9 0 | 120 ar., 66 pa., w. | 1 horse. |
| (43) J. Hovendon | | 6 | 13 6 | 376 ar., 2 m., 156 pa., w. | 2 horse. |
| (44) P. Hovendon | | 5 | 11 0 | 338 ar., 106 pa., w. | 2 horse. |
| (45) Harding | | 0 | 5 3 | 15 ar., 2 pa., w. | 1 foot. |
| Rogers | | 1 | 3 6 | | 1 horse. |
| Ap Richarde | | 1 | 3 6 | 90 ar., pa. | 1 foot. |
| (46) R. Bowen | | 11 | 5 67 | 902 | 1 horse. 7 |
| (47) O. Fitzgerald | | | | 300 | |
| (48) Barre | 14 7 27 | 16 | 10 27 | 523 | 1 horse. 7 |
| (49) M. Fitzgerald | | | | 410 ar. | |
| (50) Portas | 14 3 07 | 16 | 4 67 | 498 | 3 horse. 7 |
| (51) Newton | 14 0 107 | 7 | 2 6 | 485 ar., pa. | 4 horse. |
| (52) L. McConnell | 18 16 87 | 11 | 5 07 | 100 | 1 horse. |
| O'Dempsey | | | | | 6 foot. |
| TOTALS £ 118 4s. 2d. £ 293 19s. 8d. 22,262 ar., pa. | | | | | 104 horse. 22 foot. 35 gallo. |

APPENDIX III

OFFALY

As held circa 1571

The townland names as given in the fiants appear first, followed by earlier or later versions in brackets, with the present day names in capitals. The number of each holder corresponds to that on the maps of the holdings in 1571. At the end of the appendix is a table of the rents, acreage, and services for the county worked out from the fiants and other sources.

(1) Lease to Nicholas Harbarte, 17 Oct. 1562 (fiant no. 448).

Site of the priory of Doromoye alias Dowro, co. Westmeath, and lands of:

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Durru | DURROW DEMESNE |
| Baleno (Newtowne, 1630) | BALLANAGH |
| Taghtully (Tyhilly, 1630) | in LOUGHAUN |
| Kyllencruttre (Clare al' Killinrutty, 1630) | KILCRUTTIN |
| Rectory of Durru, extending to it, and Taghtully, Baleno, Kyllencruttre. | |
| Balleogan (Ballechallaghan, 1630) | BALLYCALLAGHAN |
| Gormagh | GORMAGH |

Converted to a grant, 26 Nov. 1574 (fiant no. 2522).
Also granted, 22 Nov. 1574 (fiant no. 2519), which he
had by lease:

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Monasteroris, site of friars, two old castles, 20 cottages. | |
| Monasteroris, lands of | MONASTERORIS |
| Ballymacquillyn, half | BALLYMACWILLIAM |
| Ballinrichard (Balleristard, 1618) | ROGERSTOWN (D.S. Parish map) |
| Ballillae (Ballinlea, 1618) | BALLINLA |
| Leytrym | LEITRIM |
| Ballicolgan | BALLYCOLGAN |

(2) Grant to Henry Cowley, of Castlecowley, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 474).

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Edenderry alias | |
| Cowleyston | EDENDERRY |
| Dromcowley | DRUMCOOLY |
| Bally-m'quillin, half | BALLYMACWILLIAM |
| Ballyntogher | |
| Aghergarowe (Taghegarowe, 1550) | |
| Ardevasse, all (Ardbais, 1550) | ARDBASH |
| Ballekyllyn | BALLYKILLEN |
| Balleanam | BALLYNAMUN |
| Codd | CODD |
| Clonmollen | CLONMULLAN in Edenderry |
| Clonmyne | CLONMEEN |
| Shanbally | Shane Valley in |
| | SHEAN |
| Shean | SHEAN |

Fiant no. 1347 confirms this grant, and that of Castle Carbury and its lands; the latter being leased before. 4 April 1569.

Lease to Henry Cowley, 30 June 1567 (fiant no. 1090), of the site of the priory of the White Friars of Kilharmike alias Kilcormok in O'Molloy's country, of land near it,

| | |
|---|---|
| and Kilbore in it (Killharmick and Ballycollan in Down Aurvey) | FRANKFORD, PARK, BALLYCOLLIN, UPPER, LOWER |
| Ballenrahin | |
| Ballentulghan | BALLINCLOGHAN, BALLINCLOGHAN LITTLE ? |
| Aghenlegan | |
| the Hakeres near Kylharmik and its rectory. | |

(3) Grant to Thomas Morris, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 475).

| | |
|--|---|
| Latte dronkey alias (Lyatt and Morrystown Killen, 1550) | KILLEEN |
| Druncau | DRUMCAW |
| Newtone (Ballynnowe, 1550; Balleiwe, 1609) | NEWTOWN, BALLYHUGH, and BALLYHUGH or SPRINGFIELD |

(4) Grant to Richard Croft and Henry Duke of Castle Jordan co. Meath, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 476).

| | |
|---------------------------|----------|
| Clonmore alias Crofteston | CLONMORE |
| Kiltown alias Killowen | KILLOWEN |

(5) Grant to Henry Warren, for him and the heirs male of his father Humphrey, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 477).

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Ballybritten alias Warrenston | BALLYBRITTAN |
| Ballym'william (Ballymacwilliam, included part of Ballybritten and Ballybryan, 1875-85) | BALLYMACWILLIAM |
| Rathcolbykyn | RATHCOBICAN |
| Tubberdaulaghe | TOBERDALY |
| Ballyesshell | BALLYHEASHILL |

(6) Grant to John Apprice, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 478).

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Ballynakillin alias Ballynakill alias Apricestowne | BALLYNAKILL |
| Ballynraie | BALLINRATH |
| Cloncrenan | CLONCREEN |

(7) Grant to Robert Cowley, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 479)

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Castletown alias | OLD CROGHAN ? and |
| Yonge Collestowne | DEMESNE |
| Kilcorboighe | KILCORBRY |
| Coolnaknapery | COOLE |
| Ballysower (Ballyfower, 1618) | BALLYFORE |
| Balliege alias Ballybegge | BALLYBEG |
| Kylinakillee alias Ballynnakilly | CANNAKILL |
| Firemore (Aghmore in Survey and Distribution) | AGHAMORE ? |
| Ballynlaghan (Ballylagh, 1633; Ballinloghan, 1639) | |
| Boilaghessalloughe (Bansolough, 1786) | BUNSALLAGH |
| Tolloughe Coole,) | BARRYSBROOK 6" O.S. |
| and the castle of Tougher) | TOGHER |

(8) Grant to Redmund Bermingham, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 480).

| | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Ballycomen | BALLYCOMMON |
| half Ballytege | BALLYTEIGUE, BIG |

- (9) Grant to Geoffrey Phillips, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 481).

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Clanmarroughe alias Clanarough | CLONARROW |
| Loughe alias (The Island was Welsh Phillipestown Island in 1786) | |

- (10) Grant to Thomas Tyrell, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 482).

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Brakland alias Tyrelston | BRACKLIN, LITTLE, BIG |
| Kilmorre | KILMURRY |
| Rathcollomkill alias | partly in |
| Rathcollomkilley | KILMURRY |
| (Derrygrogan alias | DERRYGROGAN BIG, |
| Rathcollomkill, 1639) | DERRYGROGAN LITTLE |

- (11) Grant to John Sankey, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 483).

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Ballylakin | BALLYLEAKIN |
| Ballemoran | BALLYMORAN |
| Raconbraccan | RATHCLONBRACKAN |
| Ballyford | BALLYFORE, BIG, LITTLE |

- (12) Grant to Walter Bermingham, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 484).

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| Ratrumon | RATHDRUM |
| a moiety of Ballyteige | BALLYTEIGUE, LITTLE |

- (13) Grant to Richard Pepper, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 485).

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Lynnemarren | LENAMARRAN |
| Ballymacwilliam, land this side the ford of (6 acres) | BALLYMACWILLIAM |
| Clonelaughan, land in north of the water of Monasteroris (Cloghellan alias Clonellaghan, part of Lyennemarren, 1636) | |

- (14) Grant to Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin, 3 Feb. 1563 (fiant no. 486).

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Ballycorbet | CORBETTSTOWN |
| Drynin (Drine, 1623) | KNOCKDRIN |
| Ballythomas | THOMASTOWN |
| Clunarry (Clonevony, 1627; Clon- vanny, 1637, parcel of Corbettstown) | |
| Ballycoghe (Ballyclogher, 1627; 1637) | STONEHOUSE ? |

- (15) Grant to David Sumpter, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 516).

| | |
|---------|---------|
| Kylduff | KILDUFF |
|---------|---------|

- (16) Grant to John Davy, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 517).

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Crutt alias Crott, moiety of Mollaghrosse, (moiety of ?) | CRUIT MULLAGHARUSH |
|---|-----------------------|

- (17) Grant to John Till, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 520).

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Crutt alias Crott, moiety of Mollaghrosse, (moiety of ?) | CRUIT MULLAGHARUSH |
| Knockenquin (Knockendquyn alias Clonyne alias Clotmacquin, 1639) | CLONEEN |

- (18) Grant to David Flody, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 522).
 Kilclonfert
 Puntaghan, land in
 KILCLONFERT
 PUTTAGHAN
- (19) Grant to Humfrey Reynolde, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 523).
 Barneboy, a moiety of
 Pouttingham, lands of
 and land called Feryn (Bernane,
 with hamlet of Fyeryn, 1551)
 BARNABOY
 PUTTAGHAN
 in BARNAN
- (20) Grant to John Baynam, 16 March 1563 (fiant no. 513).
 Barneboy, moiety of
 Cullogh
 BARNABOY
- (21) Grant to Thady M'Call /O'Conor7, 30 March 1563 (fiant no. 532).
 Ballerayne (Balleraine, 1603)
 Clonbroke
 Balloughomoyne
 Annaughermoye
 BALLINRAHIN
 CLONBROCK, UPPER, LOWER,
 including PARKMEEN
 BALLYMOONEY
 ANAGHARVEY
 Last two in tenure of Tirlagh mcTeig mcCahill in 1611.
Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., James I, p.210.
- (22) Grant to Maurice Fitzgerald, 18 June 1563 (fiant no. 549).
 Callaghton (in O'Dempsey's country), Co. Kildare.
 Held Trascaun and Tinnacrannagh in Offaly. Part of Lea.
- (23) Grant to Peter Leyceter, 6 Oct. 1563 (fiant no. 566).
 Claneryell (Clonisrrell)
 CLONEARL,
 CLONEARL DEMESNE
- (24) Grant to Thady M'Cahir /O'Conor7 and Callough m'Tege O'Connor,
 9 Feb. 1564 (fiant no. 589).
 Derrymollen
 the two Breckans (same, 1620)
 Clonshast
 Kepoughe
 Ballinnollard
 Clyncancorke alias Clyncancord
 Capekillmore alias Capekillmoney
 Kylkelley (Killelly alias
 Killeller, 1624)
 Raghenan (Rathanan, 1626)
 MILL GROVE
 BRACKNAGH
 CLONSAST, UPPER, LOWER
 CAPPAGH
 BALLINOWLART SOUTH
 KILCLONCORKRY
- (25) Grant to George Leonard and Charles O'Connor, son of Brian
 McCahire, 5 May 1564 (fiant no. 610).
 Kyllantocke (alias Killnantocke)
 Portnygamnocke
 KILNANTOGHE, UPPER and
 LOWER
- (26) Grant to William Furrer, 6 May 1564 (fiant no. 611).
 Kyllsshell alias Kylllysheld
 Downe
 KILLESHEL
 DOWN

(27) Grant to Anthony March, 9 May 1564 (fiant no. 627).

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Clonefad (Clonad alias Clonefad, 1612) | CLONAD, LOWER PHILLIPSTOWN BR. |
|---|-----------------------------------|

(28) Grant to Francis Apleyard or Applyard, 9 May 1564 (fiant no. 628).

| | |
|-----------|-----------|
| Ballyowen | BALLYOWEN |
|-----------|-----------|

(29) Lease to John Darcey, chaplain, 18 Dec. 1566 (fiant no. 970).

| | |
|--|----------|
| Site and appurtenances of friary and nunnery of Killeighe | KILLEIGH |
|--|----------|

Grant to Edmund Darcey, 10 June 1569 (fiant no. 1377).

| | |
|--|----------|
| Thatched house and land in Killeigh | KILLEIGH |
| Possessions of the nuns there. | |
| Site of the house of friars there, with appurtenances. | |

(30) Grant to John Alee (the younger), 17 March 1569 (fiant no. 1324).

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Site and appurtenances of the priory of Killeigh | KILLEIGH |
| the Canon's lands (Abbey lands - Millbrook, 1875-85) | MILLBROOK |
| Fintire | FINTER |

(31) Grant to Gerald, earl of Kildare, 9 Dec. 1568 (fiant no. 1240).
Repeated with minor corrections, 23 Feb. 1569 (fiant no. 1275).
with phrase added below.

The Manor of Geshell, and the whole barony [except sites
and possessions of religious houses].

(32) Grant to Thomas Wakely. See Inquisition (15) James I,
30 Sept. 1623.

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| Ballyburley | BALLYBURLEY |
| Rahenduff | RAHENDUFF |
| Coolcor | COOLCOR |

Wardship of George, son and heir of John, 20 Mar. 1571
(fiant no. 1764).

Livery to Thomas, son and heir of John, 24 Nov. 1571,
(fiant no. 1851).

(33) Grant to Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey, 18 Mar. 1564 (fiant no. 596).
Surrendered and regranted, 18 Dec. 1570 (fiants nos 1631, 1654).

In Offaly:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Clonegawnaghe | CLONEYGOWAN |
| Rahinagherrin | RAHEENAKEERAN |
| Kylclonbrenem | in BALLAGHASSAAN |
| Ballyentample | BALLINTEMPLE |
| Ballynakille | BALLYNAKILL |
| Ballynechille (Ballintheill, 1617) | GORTEEN KEEL ? |
| Rathfianstone (Rathferristowne, 1617) | RATHFESTON |
| Ballyegowe (alias Ballyduff, 1617) | BALLYDUFF |
| Gurtyneinan (and next, 1617) | |
| Ballyentogher | BALLINTOGHER |
| Gurtinegapple (and next, 1617) | |
| Ballycrystal | BALLYCHRISTAL |

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| Ballyighen (Ballieghan, 1617) | BALLYKEAN |
| Eneghan | ENAGHAN |
| Kylchowne | KILCOONEY |
| Kyllockrobert (Kyllokebrobart, 1570) | |
| Corbally | in KILCOONEY, Down Survey |
| Nownry (Urney, 1550) | URNEY |
| Tyrechowghlin (and Killoghean, 1617; Tircullen alias Tire coghlin, 1666; and Droughill, 1875-85) | DROUGHILL |
| Farrendawkbane (...daybane, Down Survey) | in AGHANVILLA ? |
| Rahyne (Rany Tirrelaghwalle, 1552) | RAHEEN |
| Tyrrellevalle (Tirelavally, 1666) | |
| Rathfa (Rathfatt, 1570; Rathfate, 1617) | |
| Cowillnecleraghe (Coulenecleragh, 1617) | COOLAGARY |
| Ballynebore (Ballinevore, 1617) | BALLINVOHER |
| Kylmalenoke (Kilmalenack, 1617) | Kilmanoge in AGHANVILLA |
| Downenehenyne (Downeheryn, 1617) | DOWN |
| Entaghameanaghe (Etagnamunnagh or Glaghnemannagh, 1666) | |
| Kyllokene (Killockeene alias Ballykean, 1666) | BALLYKEAN |
| Entardierin (Ardiernier, 1617; alias Arde, 1666) | ARD |
| Ballywyrin (part of Ballykean, D.S.) | |
| Ballym'ecrossan | BALLYMACROSSAN |
| Gurtinenace (...enasse, 1617) | GORTEENARD |
| Sraenewre (Shraghmore, 1617) | SHANURE |
| Derquillan (Dergwilliam, 1617) | Derrykillane in SHANURE ? |
| Tyryne (Tyreene, 1617) | TOREEN |
| Bayckeeghecrowe (Backegaw, 1666) | BACKWOOD |
| Tampleshenet | Templeshenane, in BOGTOWN |
| Kelloke (alias Ballaghkellin, 1617) | |
| Kylkepaghe | KILCAPPAGH |
| Leskayelaghe (alias Deirynaghboylagh, 1617; Derryneboly alias Boggestowne, 1666) | DERREEN, BOGTOWN |
| Ballyneclonagh (Kilkappagh ... alias Ballyne Clownagh, 1666) | |
| Cloneighoighue (Clonehoigin, 1617) | CLONQUIN |
| Clonehurke | CLONYHURKE |
| Coyltiranagh (Coiltecanan, 1617) | COOLTYCANON |
| Enshanlangort (Shanlowhert, 1617) | SHANDERRY |
| Kylkeran | KILKEERAN |
| Enrathmore (Raghmore, 1617) | RATHMORE |
| Graighnefynmey (Gaignesfuun, 1617) | |
| Ballycodylle (Ballycoddle, 1617) | |
| Kylmalagaghe (Kilmalack, 1617) | KILMALOGUE |
| Enorghoore (Enoghcore, 1570; Enaghecure, 1617) | |
| In Leix: | |
| Cowleowdry (Cowletowdry, 1570; Cooletodderie, 1617) | COOLTEDERY |
| In Kildare ?: | |
| Elerdeny (Elerdenne, 1617) | |
| Gallaneoghry (Gallaghnoghare, 1617) | |
| Shyanmocke (...moick, 1570; Shainemoock, 1617) | |
| Pollaghmenan | PULLAGH ?, OFFALY WEST BARONY |

In Leix:

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Ennoracklowne (Ennracklowne, 1570; Bracklone, 1617) | BRACKLONE |
| Ballymoryshe | BALLYMORRIS |
| Tyreogher (Teirecoger, 1617) | TIRHOGAR |
| Rathmoyles (Rathmolis, 1617) | RATHMILES |
| Kelloke (Kelloge, 1617) | |
| Ratheleyce (Rathlish, 1617) | RATHLEASH |
| Ballykerowill (Ballecharrelle, 1617) | BALLYCARROLL |
| Kylmorghe (Kilemoragh, 1617) | Killenard in BALLYCARROLL ? |
| Colbride m'Adawra (Coolbride, 1617) | in BALLINTOGER ? |
| Ballybrittace | BALLYBRITTAS |
| Kyllagarrye (Killagarry, 1617) | |
| Garrycaddell (Garrycaddle, 1617) | |
| Ballyshanduffe | BALLYSHANEDUFF |
| Ballypoble (now Bellegrove alias Rathdaire, and Tullaghan, 1875-85) | BELLEGROVE and TULLAGHAN |
| Bortobane (Boretoban, 1570; Bohertobbane, 1617) | |
| Kinestone, great, little (Kinester, great, little, 1570; Kineskeragh magna, alias Kineskeraghmore, Kineskeraghbeg, 1617) | FISHERSTOWN |
| Kylnecorte (Killnecourt, 1637) | COURTWOOD |
| Rathronchie (and Coolroe, 1875-85) | COOLROE and RATHRONSHIN |
| Kyllyskeraghmore) Irish: Coill an iascaire | |
| Kyllyskeraghbeg) Fisherman's wood. See above. | |
| Kylbreckan (Kilbracken, 1617) | KILBRACKAN |

In Kildare:

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Cloneighter (Cloneghter, 1617)) (Cilne-Courts alias Clonewughter (Cloneoghter, 1617)) Clonewghter, 1666) | DERRYOUGHTER, EAST and WEST |
| Dereoghtagh | |
| Gurtyнешenlan (Gortincowllan, 1617) | GORTEEN |
| Leoghill (Leighill, 1617) | LUGHILL |
| Megoge (Megog, 1617) | |
| Endacloghanolle (Doughecloghomills, 1617; alias Cloghtonell) | RATHCONNELL WOOD RATHCONNELL |
| Aghentrenche (alias Ardelly, 1617) | ARDELLIS, UPPER, LOWER |
| Clonaghmore | CLONEY |
| Clonaghbege | CLONEYBEG |
| Kelloke (Killock, 1617) | COOLAGH |
| Ballynecaylaghe (Ballynegallagh, 1617) | |

Grant to Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey, 15 March 1569 (fiant no.1322).

In Offaly:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Dyrryville | DERRYVILLA |
| Taghinure (Teighnure, 1617) | |

In Leix:

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Kilmalaghin (Kilmalaghine, 1617; Killmallagh alias Killmullin) | KILMULLEN |
| Balleteigedough | JAMESTOWN or BALLYTEIGEDUFF |
| Graiggehowrane (Gragevorane, 1617) | GRAIGAVERN |
| Ballynowlert (Ballyolarde alias Orchardstown, 1617) | ULLARD |

In Kildare:

Garryrider alias Kilpatrick, on the east side of the
Barrow KILPATRICK
Killyne, this side of the Barrow KILLEEN, EAST, WEST
Kilbegge, this side of the Barrow KILBEG

Grant to Owen mcHugh O'Dempsey, 3 April 1570 (fiant no.1509).
Surrendered, 28 Nov. 1570 (fiant no. 1631).
Regranted, 18 Dec. 1570 (fiant no. 1655).

In Kildare:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sraghmullaghroo | MULLAGHROE, UPPER, LOWER |
| Kyllumulte | |
| Kyllyntruyme (Killentryne, 1617) | |
| Ballenecloughe (Ballyneclough, 1638) | |
| Kylmurre (Killmurry, 1638) | |
| Crancore (Cancere, 1617) | |
| Kylcorkre | |
| Ramylole (Ramelett, 1617) | |
| Ballekelly | BALLYKELLY |
| Clondorre (Clondo, 1617) | CLONDOWN |
| Gortynfyne (Gortenfin, 1617) | GORTEEN |
| Sraghmahon | STRAMILLIAN ? |
| Culsuckyne | COOLSICKIN |
| Cloughyne | CLOGHEEN |
| Keppagh Krevyn | |
| Knockan bregagh | |

- (34) Redmund oge Fitzgerald of Rathangan.
Died 16 Dec. 1581. Exchequer inquisition, Queen's county.
Elizabeth (19) at Philipstown, 20 Feb. 1583.

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Clonbolge | CLONBULLOGE |
| Keyshinaere (Cassenderry, 1666) | DERRYMORE ? |
| Kilconnore | KILCUMBER |
| Ballenollarde | BALLINOWLART NORTH |
| Ballekermonthe | BALLYDERMOT |
| Ballefollowe | |
| Clonkentoghe | CLONCANT |
| Clonmeale | CLONMEL |
| Clonbronne | CLONBROWN |
| Clonraske | CLONROOSK, BIG, LITTLE |
| Clonarde | CLONAD |
| Clondeboy | CLONAVOE |
| Clonmore | CLONMORE |
| Dirreboy | COOLYGAGAN |
| Donan | |
| Clonlorke | |
| Clonkishen | CLONCASSAN |

- (35) Thomas Axeming. 1563.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Barnone | BARNAN |
| Parts of Pottoghane Clonacullen (Clonnakullin, 1576) | PUTTAGHAN |

Grant to Henry Cowley of above, 'late in the tenure of
John Axenyng', 22 Mar. 1576 (fiant no. 3001).

Lodge has, in two places, 'late in the tenure of Thomas
Axeninge, deceased'.

OFFALY

Rents, Acreage, and Services, c. 1571

In the following table the rents for the holdings, some of which are in two parts, are taken from the flants. The services in men are taken from the 1564 list of holders in Appendix I, with additions from Lodge's Records of the Rolls and Harris's Collectanea. The acreage for rental purposes, sometimes broken down into arable, meadow, pasture, wood, and bog, is taken almost entirely from Lodge.

| | <u>NAME</u> | <u>RENT</u> | | | | | | <u>ACREAGE</u> | <u>SERVICE</u> <u>IN MEN</u> | |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| | | <u>1st 7 yrs.</u> | | | <u>After</u> | | | | | |
| (1) | Harbert | £ | <u>s</u> | <u>d.</u> | £10 | <u>0s</u> | <u>0d.</u> | 200 ar., 40 pa. 200 w., 200 bog | 1 horse, 2 foot | |
| | | | | | | 5 | 12 | 3 | 449 ar., m., pa. | 3 horse. |
| (2) | H. Cowley | 4 | 17 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 587 ar., pa. | 4 horse. | |
| | | | | | 5 | 7 | 8 | | | |
| (3) | Morris | 2 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 255 | 2 horse | |
| (4) | Croft and Duke | 1 | 12 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 192 | 2 horse. | |
| (5) | Warren | 5 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 15 | 0 | 620 | 4 horse. | |
| (6) | Apprice | 1 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 6 | 150 | 1 horse. | |
| (7) | R. Cowley | 6 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 758 | 5 horse. | |
| (8) | R. Bermingham | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 3 | 145 | 1 horse. | |
| (9) | Phillips | 1 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 6 | 150 ar., pa. | 1 horse. | |
| (10) | Tyrrell | 2 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 270 | 2 horse. | |
| (11) | Sankey | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 260 | 2 horse. | |
| (12) | W. Bermingham | 1 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 13 | 9 | 135 | 1 horse. | |
| (13) | Pepper | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 4 | 145 ar., pa. | 1 horse. | |
| (14) | Nugent | 1 | 13 | 4 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 200 | 2 horse. | |
| (15) | Sumpter | 0 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 90 | 1 horse. | |
| (16) | Davy | 0 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 93 | 2 horse. | |
| (17) | Till | 0 | 15 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 93 | 2 horse. | |
| (18) | Flody | 1 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 164 | 2 horse. | |
| (19) | Reynold | 0 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 90 | 1 horse. | |
| (20) | Baynam | 0 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 85 | 1 horse. | |
| (21) | McCall O'Conor | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 265 | 2 horse. | |
| (22) | M. Fitzgerald | 0 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 56 ar., pa. | No horse. | |
| (23) | Leycester | 1 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 180 | 1 horse. | |
| (24) | T. McC. O'Conor & C. McT. O'Conor | 3 | 16 | 4 | 5 | 14 | 6 | 458 fl., pa. | 3 horse. | |
| (25) | G. Leonard & C. O'Conor | 0 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 92 | 1 horse. | |
| (26) | Furres | 0 | 16 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 100 | 1 horse. | |
| (27) | March | 0 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 90 ar., pa. | 1 horse. | |

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>RENT</u> | | <u>ACREAGE</u> | <u>SERVICE</u> <u>IN MEN</u> |
|----------------------|-------------------|---|--|---|
| | <u>1st 7 yrs.</u> | <u>After</u> | | |
| (28) Appleyard | £ 1 10s. 0d. | £ 2 5s. 0s. | 180 | 1 horse. |
| (29) Darcy | | 1 3 4 | 80 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 68 \text{ ar.} \\ 12 \text{ pa.} \end{array} \right.$ | 1 horse. |
| (30) Alee | | 4 19 6 | 190 | 1 horse. |
| (31) Earl of Kildare | | | 39 plds. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4680 \text{ acres} \end{array} \right.$ | |
| (32) Wakely | | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 7 \\ 14 \end{array} \right.$ 07 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 616 \text{ acres} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4 \\ \text{horse.} \end{array} \right.$ |
| (33) O'Dempsey | 27 10 4 | 50 9 0 | 3302 | 7 horse. 22 foot. |
| (34) R. Fitzgerald | | 9 1 9 | 727 in 1583 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ \text{horse.} \end{array} \right.$ |
| (35) Axeming | | 1 16 3 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1457 \end{array} \right.$ | 1 horse. |
| TOTALS | £ 77 4s. 5d. | £ 170 0s. 1d. | 16,332 ar., pa. | 70 horse. 24 foot. |

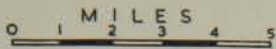
LEIX AND OFFALY
C. 1571



LARAGH SYONAN BRACCAS CORREAGH CASTLE CUMMINGSTOWN LOWS C. TYRRELLSPASS NEWCASTLE CORBETSTOWN CASTLE JORDAN CASTLELOST
KILCOURSEY CLARA CASTLE DUNROW BRACKLIN MOUNTTRATH C. CROGHAN CASTLE TOBERDALY TOBERDALY
B. KILMURRY CASTLE RATHDRUM CASTLE PHILIPSTOWN DRUMCAW CLONARROW CLONBULLOGH
PALLAS KILLURIN KILLEIGH RAHEEN C. O'DEMPSE'S C. DERRYMULLEN BRACKNAGH OFFALY CASTLE
RATHROBIN C. C-BRACK CLONGOWAN CLONYHURK CASTLE LEA C. MONASTEREVIN
TINNANHINCH ROSEVALLIS TINNANILL EMO B. BRITTAS BELAN C. BARROW KILDARE
SKIEVE BLOOM MTS. BALLYFIN CLONREHER KILMINCHY DUNAMASE B. MADDOCK DERRYBROCK C. RADY KILBERRY
MARYBOROUGH PIGGOTT'S STRADBALLY B. KILCAVAN CASTLEMITCHELL WOODSTOCK ATHY
ROSSKELTON B. KNOCKAN LOUGHTTEOG TIMOGUE TULLOMOY B. ADAMS RAHIN GRANGMELLON
RUSH HALL C. TOWN B. GEGILL B. ROAN ACILLENAGH TIMAHOE CLOPOOK B. ADAMS RAHIN ST. LEGER'S C.
DERRIN GORTNACLEA KILLEANY B. GEEHN ABBEYLEIX MOAT CASTLE NEW CASTLE B. NAGALL ASHFIELD TANKARDSTOWN
KILBREEDY C. GRANTSTOWN KILLERMUGH WATERCASTLE FERMYLE B. NAKILL SHRILE LEVITSTOWN
DURROW C. MARKET GARRENDENY KILLESKIN C. ROE
AGHMACART CULLAHILL B. KEALY MOUNTGARRET B. RAGGET C. SOMER QUAN CARLOW
CODY'S C. CLOGRENAN

PLANTATION OF LEIX AND OFFALY

c. 1571



■ TYRELLSPASS

CO. MEATH

CO. WESTMEATH

O'DUNNE'S COUNTRY

● ROSENALLIS

MARY BOROUGH

ABBEYLEIX

DURROW

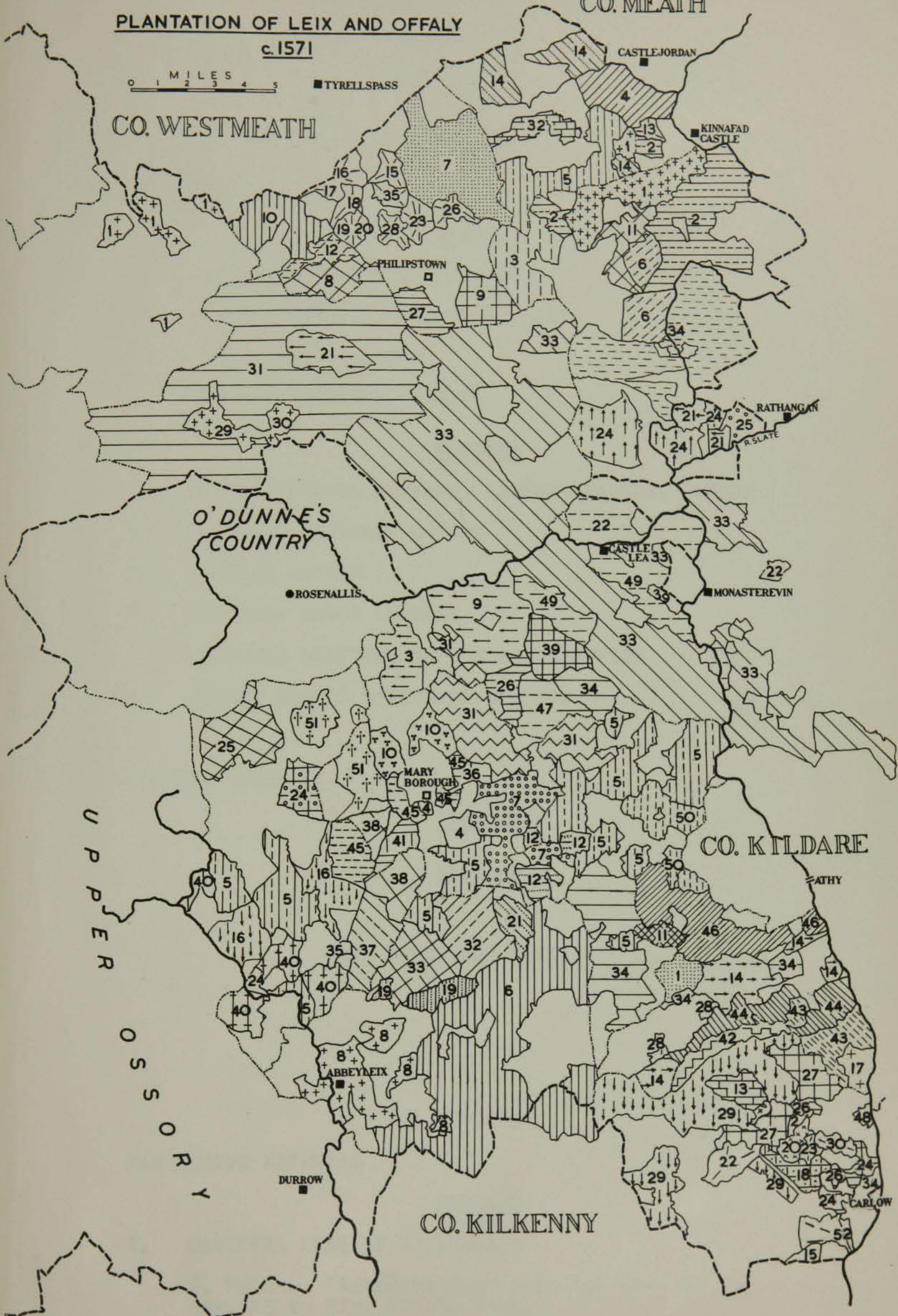
CO. KILKENNY

CO. KILDARE

ATHY

CARLOW

UPPER
OSSORRY



APPENDIX VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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