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Tudor ‘Reform’ Treatises and Government Policy in Sixteenth Century Ireland

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
National University of Ireland, Cork
School of History

Vol. 2 of 2

Appendix of ‘Reform’ Treatises Transcribed from Original Manuscripts and Lists of ‘Reform’ Treatises

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August, 2012

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3. Anonymous, ‘Devices for the ordering of the Cavenaghes, the Byrnes, Tooles and OMayles for such lands as they shall have within the county of Carlow, and the marches of the same county, and also of the marches of the county of Dublin’, 1537, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 113 (LPL, MS. 602, ff. 162-163).

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1. Anonymous
'Proposals submitted to Secretary Crumwell, for the pacification of Ireland and suppression of rebellion.' (1536)
TNA: PRO, SP 60/3/3

[f. 4r] Maye hit please your good maistership to accept this my good will, which I haue here compiled as suer as my capacitie will extende vnto, although hit be veray slender to declare and expresse so moche as your maistership can for the oppressing and subdewyng of the cruel traytours, and rebells, in the parties of Irelande. And also to thentente that the kyngs money which hath bene there spente, and to be spente, shulde be the more better employed in those parts than now is, for the which purpose I haue envolued and conceyued this in mynde for redresse and reformacion to be had within that the said londe of Irelande.

Ffurst, yf hit wolde please the kyngs most roiall maiestie to send his gracious lres vnto euery hed townes, portis and havens within his said domynion, directed to the chief gouernours of suche townes, ports and havens, or to any other whome hit shall please his grace to appoynt vnto, with also his gracious comission to cause all suche to be sworne to his said highnes and to his succession. Not only that, but also to kepe contynually hereafter watche and warde within the said townes, ports and havens, and to withstonde the kyng's enemyse to there power yf that any will envade or attempte to do any displeasure or anoyannce in those parties eyther by see or by londe.

Secondarely, yf the kyngs grace wolde at the fronte or begynyng of this yere to sende thether fyve hundreth norden men mo, to be elect and chosen by a wise and approued captayne who shall do the kyngs grace right good serues in those parties, better than any other as I do coiecture (yf that hit might stonde with his gracious pleasure and with his most honorable consailles) I presuppose not to the contrare but that his grace shall neuer be at more coste hereafter for the subdewing and expulsing of the cruel traytours and rebells there. Not only that but shulde haue the said domyneon in as good quietnes, peax and reste, and as moche proffite as euer his noble predecessours had heretofore.

Then the kyngs highnes maye of his benigne goodnes show mercy and grace to dyuers, and putte execucion suche as haue offended heynously, and in especially all, or the most parte, of the blude and sauke of the Geraldines, asmeny as be taken or shalbe, saving James FfitzGeralde, and Richarde, his brother, notwithstonding to abiecte and amove them from thence foreuer, and to haue an abitacion with a compitent lyving here in Englande, where hit shall please the kyng and his counsel to appoynt theme vnto. And further to sease into his gracious hands all therldome of Kildare which wilbe grett vtilitie, proffit and fortificacion vnto his highnes when tyme shall ned or requyer.

[f. 4v] Yf this did come to passe, as I truste hit shalbe in brief tyme, then hit might stonde with his gracious pleasure to permitte and suffer three hundreth of the said norden men now their beyng to dennic, and abide, at a certayne place within the said countye of Kildare, with a wise and approued captayne, which shalbe in a redines yf hereafter any shulde attempte or move any thing to the contrarie, which nomber or mo shulde not put the kyngs grace to one peny coste in charge, for that the said countie of Kildare is bounde to fynde so many an mo at there costes and chargs, besides there fee farmes, seruics and rents, wherefor, althings considered, this were not the worste yf any shulde circulate in flokes and busshements like swarmes of bees, as hath bene lately perceyued and knowne.

And also yf hit wolde please the kyng to sende and admytte a discrete persone, his goodnes tryed and approued, with the kyngs said auctoritie to be a marshall for the Ynglishe armye, and a nother semblably for the Yrishery to se good order, and quietnes to be kept thorough all the warres. Not only that but to haue a hed clerke comptroller, or suche like, for that yt he shall dymnisshe and aduychylate the wages of such persons as hath the kyngs stipend, and doth abide and tary behinde, and will not go with his captayne when he pretendeth to make a iorney or viage to the anoyannce of the kyngs enemes, there by that meanes the kyngs grace shulde be serued better in his warres then he now is, and besides that shulde be grete proffit vnto his highnes.

Ffurther, yf there were an acte or a speciall comanndement youen that no person, ne persons, within the kyng's said domynion, the citizens of Dublin and Waterforde set aparte, hereafter shall not vse, ne exercise, no hande gonne, ne handegonnes, vppon payne of imprisonemente there bodies and goodds at the kyngs pleasure. Not only that, to vse, ne exercise, the same, excepte he, or they, can fynde sufficient suerties to be bounde by reconusannce for there good behauiour, for now there delyte is more in handgonnes, and doth dailly exercise theme so moche that in perces of tyme they will leve there darts and haue the same in exercise, and vse so that a boye of 14 or 16 yeres old shall put a hardy man in ieoperdy and dannger of lyfe.

[f. 5r] Likewise yf there were an acte made that euery parson and parsons, what degre so euer, be within the Ynglishe pale there cotes of armour and habergens to be only excepted hereafter shall vse and exercise Ynglishe facion and apparel, and no more of the Yrishery vpon payne euery daye wering to the contrarie shall lose, xc..

Also, yf there were called a parliament and a speciall inquisicion to enquyer of all suche parsons which hath abetted, ayded, supported and comforted the said Thomas Ffitzgeralde, and other his complices, in the tyme of his vngracious doyng and proceding agenst the kyngs maiestie, suche or the most parte of theme shulde lose there landes and goodds, and also suffer deth according to there desartis, that then I do knowe right well agrete many of the spiritualty and temporalty there haue gretely offended in doyng thereof, whereby the kyngs grace, by that meanes, may recouer twenty tymes treball the expencs now of his warres there, wherefor hit were a meritorious deade to do the same, for yt they euer hereafter shalbe in feare of there supreme hed and legelord the kyngs highnes and of his succession.

Also, yf there were a nother inquisicion to enquier of all the kyngs castells, maners and honours, and of religious houses there, which his gracious progenitours were founders thereof, that then his highnes shulde knowe more now then hath bene knowne this 40 yeres afore, for now hit is said yf hit be demannded there whose castel or castells be these, eyther my lorde of Kildares, or ells my lorde of Osseres, so by that meanes the kyng is accompted to haue veray few litle or none.

Ffurthermore, yf there were sente thether a well larned and a discrete iudge here of Englonde, that wolde bare no parsualitie, but indifferently bitwixt the party and the kyng when agrete meny shall come vnto there triall of lif and dethe, which iudge to be vnited and ioyned with the kyngs said counsel there for feare of forbering and sparing of my frende and thy frende, wherefore your maistership can perceive asmoche or more as I can declare or expresse. Therefore I do referre this and all other to your honourable wisdome.

2. Anonymous
'Remembrance for Mr. Secretary [Crumwell] for settling the Earl of Desmond's lands.' (1536)
TNA: PRO, SP 60/3/49

A flylead reads, 'Yrishe. For the gouernment of Desmond's country'.

[f. 103r] A remembrannce for Desmonnte to maister secretary.

Itm that my lorde of Desmonnte do pay yerely his homage vnto the kings eschequyer of Irelonde lyke as other of his anncestours haue paide in tymes past, the which hath not been paide this grete while, wherby the king hath lost a greate aduantage.

Itm that there be made in euery shire of my lorde of a Desmonnt's cuntrye shryves to execute the kings lawes lyke as their hath been in tymes past by other of his anncestours and that there be made in lykewise eschetors in the foresaide shires to take inquisicions for the kings advanntage.

Itm that the said erle ayde the kings officers in executing the kings lawes in that cuntrye.

Itm that all the kings tenants of that cuntrye be written for vnto the kings eschequyour of Ireland to annswer the king for their intrusions on the kings possessions there, the whiche thing well loked on wolbe a good aduantage vnto the king and now is the tyme of hit.

Itm that the kings records be loked vp for to knowe the kings tenants in that cuntrye and that they yerely pay vnto the king their homage, lyke as other the kings tenants do in the lande of Ireland, for the king hath lost moche of his right in that cuntrye a greate while, and now is the tyme to helpe to reforme hit.

3. Anonymous
'Devices for the ordering of the Cavenaghes, the Byrnes, Tooles and OMayles for such lands as they shall have within the county of Carlow, and the marches of the same county, and also of the marches of the county of Dublin.' (1537)
Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 113 (LPL, MS. 602, ff. 162-163)

[f. 162r] Devises for thorderyng of the Cavenaghes, the Byrnes, Toles and O'Mayles for such lands as they shall haue within the cowntie of Carlagh and the marches of the same cowntie, and also of the marches of the cowntie of Dublyn.

Ffirst, that he that is nowe called McMorughe, and euery one of the gentlemen of the Cavenaghes, haue a certain londs appointed to them, and to the heyres of ther bodies laufully begoten and euery of them to holde the said londs of the kings highnes by knights service, some by one hole knights ffee, some by half a knights fee, some by the 4th parte and some by the 6th parte, after the rate of the londs that euery of them shall haue appointed to hym.

Item that it shalbe lefull to euery of the said gentlemen to make freholders vnder hym at his or their pleasures, yeving to the saide freholders suche portion of londs of that that shalbe appointed to them as they shall list to do.

Item that none of the saide gentlemen shalbe obeisannt to any other of them, but euery one to be obedient to the kings matie only or to suche as shall haue the rule there vnder his highnes.

Item euery gentlemans freholder to be serviant and obedient to his landelorde so that he kepe his dewtie of aligeannce to the kings maiestie, or els not, and in that cace to the kings highnes and his deputie only.

Item euery of the said gentlemen to pay some certayne small rent for a knowleage to his maiestie yerely at the feast of all saincts.

[f. 162v] Item forasmoche as the kings highnes like a most gratiouse and vertuouse prince dothe considre howe miserable the gentlemen and men of warr do handle the powre housebande men with coyne and lyuerye in those parties, and also forasmoche as the said gentlemens cuntreyes ar not marching vppon any Irissheman, but that the counties of Dublyn, Kildare and Kylkeny do lie betwene them and the said Irisshemen, it is thought they sholde nomore nede to charge the powre tenannts with coyne and lyuerye than the countie of Dublyn, wherfore his highnes woll in no wise that any of the saide gentlemen shall take coyne or liverye of any of his tenannts, nor kepe or wage any galoghglas or kerne, and that the cuntries be charged with no suche impositions by the comandement of any man salue only by the kings maiesties deputie, and he not to put any vppon them vnles it be in tyme of great ned and when he shall put the like vppon the countie of Dublyn and none otherwise.

Item that all the said gentlemen be bownde tanswere the kings maiesties lieutenannt or deputie in all tymes of warr as the gentlemen of the cowntie of Dublyn do.

Item that forasmoche as ther is no parte of the said cowntie of Carlagh above 45 or 46 myles distant from the citie of Dublyn wher his maiesties courts be kept it is thought convenient that his highnes writts do ron theire in like maner as they do in the cownties of Dublyn, Myth, Vryell and Kyldare, and in likewise to be obeyed.

Item that all the kings holdes and fortresses within the saide cuntreyes, that is to saye the castelles of [f. 163r] Carlagh, Leyghelyn, Duske Abbaye, Balkynglas, Ffernes, Tynterne, Arclowe and Wyclowe, be occupied and kepte by suche as his highnes or his lieutenannt or deputie and cownsaill shall appointe and that noman of inheritannce dwelling beyownd the water of Barowe do kepe nor medle withe any of them.

Item that all the gentlemen and inhabitannts of those cuntreyes do clerely relinquisshe and leave all their Irisshe apparell, salve only ther harnes and abylements of warr in tyme of nede and go arrayde of suche sorte as those of the countie of Dublyn do.

Item that all the Byrnes be ordered of like sorte as the Cavenaghes and that the Toles and O'Mayles be in like maner ordered.

Item that forasmoche as the countie of Waterforde hath no Irisshe man dwelling within the same and is environed of all sydes either with the mayne see, or els on thother sid withe the ryver that comethe to the citie of Rosse, wiche is not passable but only by bote, or on an other parte with the countie of Kylkeny wiche is holy vnder therle of Ormond, and on thother end closed with the kings lordshippe of Dongarvan wiche the said erle nowe hathe of his highnes gift xc.. It is thought that all the gentlemen and inhabitannts of the said countie sholde not only answere the kings writts as other obeisannt sheres do, but also weyre Inglisshe apparell and neither take coyne ne lyverye vppon the kings powre subiects vnles the kings lieutenannt or deputie and cownsaill shall give them licenc so to do.

Item it is thought that the premisses being well handled and finally brought to perfection, wiche never was so lik [f. 163v] to be don as nowe, aswell for the good inclination it dothe appeire by the cownsailles letters the gentlemen of the Cavenaghes, Byrnes and Toles be of, as also for the good strengh the kings highnes hath nowe of mere Inglisshe men in those parties moche to his maiesties costs and chargs redy to chastise offendors that the rest of Inglisshe men of Mownster, as therle of Desmond and his kynsmen, the Whight Knight, the lord Barry, the lord Roche and such others as reken themselffs for Inglisshe men, wolde for ther owne comoditie, and for ther heyres after them, with good will followe the same being assured that the kings maiesties deputie woll at all tymes helpe with his highnes powre in that lond to defend them for ther dewties to be done to his maiestie.

Ffinally, it is thought that thiese parties beyng reduced to this good order the rest of the Burks wiche call them selffs Inglisshe men and the kings kynsmen woll insewe the said order and consequently the rest of all Irisshemen of that lond woll followe the same for ther owne commoditie and nothing shall soner bring them thervnto than the good handeling of the said Cavenaghes, Byrnes, Toles and O'Mayles.

4. John Alen
'Lord Chancellor Alen to Mr. Comptroller Sir William Paget.' (1548)
TNA: PRO, SP 61/1/129

A flylead reads, 'To the right honorable and my singuler good master, Sir Willm Paget, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and comptroller of the kings maties housholde, xc.', and in a different hand to Alen's, '21 Nouember. Mr Alen to Mr comptroller. Ireland'.

[f. 230r] After due and most hartie comendations to your honor, with humble thanks for your goodnes shewid vnto me. It may like your honor to vnderstande that Mr Brereton's pretended lesse, comeng in question before the counsel, was demed to be no lesse in law, wherupon Mr Isam, the berer, he been fallen to a frendly aggrment so as Isam for an [closte] hath his interest both in that and the office of senescalship. Beseching your honor to be a good master to the said Isam, ffor I affirme you, without disparage of any other, he is as proper a man as any is in this reallme. The newis out of Bretten be that the Frenche kinge wol aduance yong Gerald hither with an army, with theis additions; that they cannot kepe Scotland but they must first haue Irland and that the Frenche king shalbe king of Irland or Mihilmas day.
I am of full opinion that they wol not land ne fortifie in the sowthe of this realm for any purpoos of Scotland, but I haue gret feare les they shuld fortifie ouer against Lambay in our mayin land at Skereys, the place wher your honor landed, which is in effecte the oonly socor they haue betwixt Bretten and Scotland. Loke vpon my laste and note wol the place, ffor if they fortifie ther they ar within our bowels, and wol put you in hasarde of Dublin and Drogheda and desolation of your pale. Way the things wel and provide for it, ffor I tak it to be of gret moment.
The archetraitor O'Chonor is dryven to that extremytie as he hath simply submitted him silf. His lif is promised him to giue O'More and the rest of the traitors hoop to submyt them selfs likewise. I wold wish, if it may be, that non of them shuld be placed wher they wer before but haue honest interteynements at Bulley or Calic, and if they wer killid the king had lost neuer a true man, and long from hens (besids the comoditie the king shall haue by ther cuntreis with thexample of ther exile to other) wes we wel rid from the dannger of soch conspirators, which euer when they may spye any tyme stirre rebellion. Ther is but O'Chonor, his broder Callogh and O'Chonor's sones thar, and his 2 sones ,and O'More. I wolde theis, which passe not 12 persons, wer with your honors to make a [manndie], ffor when Chrest minstred at his Last Supper ther wer 12, of whom ther was but oon traitor, and of theis ye may haue 12 togither at oon table, as knowth god, whom I most hartely beseche to grannt you long and prosperus lif. Ffrom Dublyn the 21 of Nouember, 1548.

Your honors hartie poor
frende. Iohn Alen.

5. Anthony St Leger
'Remembrances for Yrelande.' (1550)
TNA: PRO, SP 61/2/55

A flyleaf reads, 'Mr St Leger's remembranncs'. The document has been heavily annotated in the left margins, with what are presumably the privy council's resolutions on each of St Leger's points.

[f. 131r] Remembranncs for Yreland.

Ffyrst, to haue some proporcion of powder, bowes, arrowes, stryngs and speares.

Itm whether O'Chonnor shall remeyne here or retorne home and if he remayne, and his sonnes and nephewes go home, whether they shall haue anny parte of the lande ther father had, xc..

Itm for suche kern as shall retorn, what waigs ther capteins shall haue and the kern, considering the grete derthe, can haue no lesse then 4*d* by the daye.

Itm that over suche money as is due to the soldiers in Yrland ther must be paied at Chester certen money borowed there for the ordenance transported by Mr Travers at his late being there which must now be paied there, besides other seruitors for the kern at Chester and here.

Itm that the mynes may be wroght and the mynt contynued, which wilbe a grete relief for preservacion of the realme.

It is necessarie that lres be sent to therle of Desmond, therle of Thomond, therle of Clanricard, to McWilliam, to O'Donell, or his sonne, or to bothe, to O'Raylie, to O'Cahane and MacEvelyne, and some remembrannce, eyther of scarlet clothe, or some piece of plate, wherby they shall the more diligentlie be inclyned to sarve the king, and not to embrace forren acquentanncs.

[f. 131v] Itm to determyne who shalbe chancelor there and who shalbe of the pryvy counsell.

Itm if the havons shalbe made defencible then to haue bothe men allowed to kepe the same fotificacions, and all munycion mete for the same, with sufficient money to make the fortificacions, and also 2 or 3 vessels to scoure the seas to see and view who frequentith those havons, and to stay the recourse of Scotts yerelie resorting into the northe parties of that land.

Itm that authoritie may be had to grant landes to men and ther hayres in Offallie and Lex resarving as shall pleas youe to the kings matie.

Itm what order ye will take for those fortes, castells and howsses begon to be edyfied and not yet fynished.

Itm a comission must be had for leasing of fermes, an other to the deputie and marshall for ponishment of soldiers.

Itm an other comission for the faculties.

Itm a comission aswell for taking vp of horsses and carriadgs, by the way as also to take vp shippes for transporting into Yrland.

[f. 132r] Itm the printer for printing to be there. Your pleisur what he shall haue for his helpe.

Itm to ad to the instruccions that accompte be taken of Henry Coley, William Duke and other purveyors for the fortes, wherby it may be knowen how they haue vsid the kings treashure of longe tyme, remeyning in ther hands, and what is now resarvid of the same.

Itm whether the doble payes allowed by Mr Bellingham to certen soldiers there and augmentacion of diuers capteins wadgs more then the owld rate, whether the same shall still remayne.

Itm to se the pore mens suts dispatched.

Itm I thinke that in this dangerous tyme yt were mete to handell Yrishmen with the more humanite, lest they by extremytie shuld adhere to other fforen powers.

And where the kings matie king Henry theight did erecte a certen yerelie lyving for 12 pore men being lamed or ympotent in his sheruice and the same not profightid it may pleas his matie to profight the same.

6. Gerald Aylmer, Thomas Luttrell, John Travers, et. al.
'Offers of Gerald Aylmer, Sir John Travers, and others, for the inhabiting and cultivating of Leix, Irry, Slewmarge, and other possessions of the O'Mores.' (1550)
TNA: PRO, SP 61/2/69

A flyleaf reads, 'The name and offer of those that wold haue Lexe and Offeylly to them and ther heyres. For Lexe. Gerald Aylmer. Iustic. Thomas Luttrell. Iustyce. Iohn Travers. Patrick Barnewelle. Mr. Rollos. Richard Aylmer of the Lyons. Walter Pepard of Kylcay. John Sutton of Typper. Phillip FitzMorice of Athlone. Gerald Sutton of Connall. Olyver Sutton of Rychardstowne. Patrick Sarswell. Henry Wyse. Giles Hovinden. Anthony Colclought. Willm Iarbard. Thomas Jacob. Ffrannces Cosby. Nicholas Ewstac of Caadokestown. Mathew King. Andrew Brereton. Andrew Brereton[1]*. Roger Broke. Thomas Smythe. Wyllam Hydney. The names of them that woyld haue Leax and Offaly to them and their heyres'.*

[f. 198r] The petycion of theas parsonnes whose names hereafter ensue to the kings deputie and counsaill.

Ffurste, that they may haue vnto them and ther heires all the possessyons, both spirituall and temporall, of Lexe, Irrye, Sleghemarge, and all other parcelles whiche wer vnder the O'Mores and their followers at the tyme of ther rebellyon with in Lexe, with all the Dempsies countrey, and thinhabitantes not to be removid, for that they servyd the kings matie. Suche portion and parte of Sleghemarge as your honors shall think mete to be reserved to the castell of Caterlagh, togither with the manor and castell of the Lee, with all the membres and appurtenancs to the same appertaynyng exceptid, and suche portion and parte also of the Dempsies countrey as your honors shall think mete to be reserved for the kyng to his maties manor of Even. And considering that the same nowe in effecte ys wholly waste they shall yelde yearely to the kings matie after Mychelmas come twelve monneths six hundreth pounds Yrishe, and shall from Michelmas nexte kepe the fforte ther vpon ther owne proper costes and chardgs and from Ester nexte forwarde no more to be ther at his highnes chargs to fyftie men.

Gerald Aylmer. Iustice.
John Travers
P. Barnuell. Mr Rollis
Richard Aylmer of the Lyons
Walter Peppard of Kylkeny
John Sutton of Lyffer
Phyllip FitzMorryshe of Allon
Gerald Sutton of Connall
Oliuer Sutton of Rytcherstovn
Patryck Sarswell

Thomas Lutterell. Iustice.

Thomas Smythe
Harry Vyes
Gyles Hovynden
Wyllim Hydney
Anthony Colclought
Willym Jazarzd
Thomas Jacob
Ffranncs Cosbie
Nicholas Eustace of Cradokeston

Reseruyng for the kyngs maiestie the 20th parts, and first fruts of all benefics ther, and one nest of gashawks and thenheritance to Sir Anthony Sentleger, lord depute, his inhertance of the benefics ther.

[1] Brereton's name has been entered twice with something written after it which is now obscured owing to damage to the folio.

7. James Croft
'Sir J. Croft to J. Duddeley, Earl of Warwick, Lord Great Master of the Household.' (1551)
TNA: PRO, SP 61/3/27

A flyleaf reads, 'To my verry good lorde, therle of Warwick, lorde greate Mr of the kings maiesties most honorable houshould'.

[f. 63r] It may please your honorable lordship to be advertised that we haue receaved letters from the lordes of the councell by Mr Crofton of their determynacions for the havens of Corck, Kynsale and Baltymore, wherin they comannded vs to followe the plattes alreadie drawen for Corck and Kynsale with a thirde place to be fortified within thaven of Corck, according to the credict gyven to the said Croften and Thomas Geeves, and that we should, as it were, commence the said woorkes bycause the same requireth not somuche hast, and for that the Spanyardes do mysvse the kinges subiectes within Baltymore, the said lordes do require vs imedyatly to send the kinges shippes thether and so to fortyfie, and that leste in som fowar dues to haue a care for the north parte of Ireland according to theire determynacions, and fynally to vse som polycie for thapprehencion of MacCartymore and Parric.
It may please your honor first to consyder that we haue remayned here syns Ester withoute any masse of monney to maynteyne tharmie here, but as we haue borowed and taken victualles of credict, by meanes wherof we be not only almost growen oute of credict, but also haue spent a greate parte of the victualles of this bare and wast contrey, and nowe lately tis arryved one thousand souldiors and 140tie laborers withoute any mony to find theim, which weare fayne to disparse abrode in the countrey only vppon lyke credict so as our necessitie is encreased. Howbeit, hering that som bullyon is comen to Dublyn, if wee may be auctorised to receave of that monney we trust to paye our debtes and so to be hable to comence the woorkes as is aforesaide.
[f. 63v] And as tyme will serue, for the thinges be greate and farr distant, so will they aske leysure, what dylygence soever we vse, and where their pleasure is that a thirde parte should be fortyfied within the haven of Corcke vppon viewe of the ground, we fynde that it will serve to small purpose, partly for the bredth of the haven at that place, which after it draweth neare full see it hath water inough for a good shippe to sayle bysyde the channel, and chieflie for that the grounde is not comodiouse for fortyficacion, nevertheles haueing tyme to pawse vppon this till other thinges of more importance be set forward we maye vppon their lordshippe's resolucion proceade accordingly. And for the workes most necessarie as their honnors haue appoincted at Baltymore we must for a tyme forbeare to enterprice the iorney till we maye be furnished of monney and so be every let the tyme spendyth the chardges groweth and of many thynges comytted to our chardge fewe can be performed for it is a greate matter to make thre fortes in Corke, one in Kinsale, one in Baltymore and another in the north of Ireland, being so far distant such want, such travaile for men and so vncerteyne sayling alongest the cost wherunto we must be all together subiect, besydes the brute of people who iudge theffect withoute serching the cause wherunto as it should seme thiese contrey men are inclyned to thoverthrowe of the mynisters, hynderance of the king's service and mayntenance of their owne myserable state [f. 64r] which is to be lamented of so meyny as seeth it saye of those that see it for that the eye seeth the harte reweth, according to the proverbe, yet is there one generall sight that all wise and reasonable men haue which men haue which also well pondered the herte ought to rewe. The people of this land are they never so savage be the creatures of god, as we are, and ought of charytie to be cared for as our brethern and therto the kinges matie is their souerayne lord appoincted to governe them in all

godly and cyvill ordre, through whose gouernment, if the people perish, howe greate is the bourden. I haue knowledge by the dyrreccion of this last letter and others from my lordes of the councell that I am appoincted to be deputie of this land which makes me write thus muche. I do therfore humblie besech you that thadmynistracion of iustyce maye be had through this lande, or at the least in more places then one, wherby the people maye be reduced to som confirmitie, for the which they do daylie exclayme and withoute the which it is not possible to do any good here. As for example: yf within the realme of Inglond the place of iustice were appoincted only at Dover I thinck no man doughteth but the people wold sone growe oute of ordre. Therfore I suppose that iustice must be chief meane to reduce this land into an order, which may be doon with the chardges that the king is at presently and from tyme to tyme shall growe lesse and contynewing in thold state it shalbe an vnyversall regement and a contyneweall bourden. Yf god will that the kinges matie do lade me with this heavie chardge I must then most [f. 64v] humblie desire that I may first be hable to rule and governe the people appoincted vnder my chardges, for the government of the rest, I meane both men of warr and others, having stypend of the king, whome I wold first and chiefly put in such ordre as they should knowe their deutie, and neglecting the same to reduce them vnto it by ponishment and so to bring them to obedience which alway ensueth of good governance, that is to saye do them right as gyve them such wages and pay them in such dew tyme as they be not forced to steale nor spoyle the countrey for necessitie so followeth the rest in such order as no man shalbe hable to saye or thincke "you governors whie do you seeke my blood and were the first causers of myne offence". For my parte my conscience will so accuse me as I will rather tollerate their fawtes then be gyltie of their blood. I haue before this tyme seene it in experience. One thing cometh in my remembrannce of a late proclaracion set forth in Inglond that from August forth the grote shalbe vallewed at 3*d* in Inglond and here at thold rate. It is not vnknowen the greate derth which the basenes of monney hath principally accasioned, wherin if dyversitie be made betwene Inglond and Irelond the harme wilbe too greate. And amongest other thinges thordynance arryved here withoute any man [f. 65r] to take chardge therof but only a clerck who shewed me that maister [Ferris] endented for the same at the tower, therfore it were well that he were sent hether to his chardge therof and other to contynewe or delyver the same by ordre to suche as shalbe appoincted therto. And also that it will please you to knowe the councell's pleasure for maister Rogers abode here and his certeyntye of interteynment, for that he maye send for his wief and provision bycause he is often syck. Nevertheles, his travaile being reasonablye considered I dought not but he will remayne here gladly, and for my parte I do greatly desire to haue him for fortherance of the kinges fortificacions here, and also fynding him so reasonable and confirmable as I dought not but in other thinges he shall do the king good service in thies parties. Here is also Sir Rauf Bagnoll, hauing a place of chardge and bordoned with greate expences, and hath so small interteynment as he is lyk to be farr in dett except by your lordshippes good meanes his diet maye be augmentyd. Thus omytting any furder to troble you till I shall haue recevid your patent and instruccions, not doughting but you do alreadie knowe my nedie state and sodeyne warning, I humblie take my leave at your honnor. Ffrom Corck, this […][2] of Maye 1551.

Your honorable lord shippes
most bounden.

James Croft

[2] There is a gap here in the manuscript.

[f. 65v] Post Script: I wolde gladlie haue written this to lordes of the councell were it not that they may thinck me too bold so rudly to set forth my foolish opynion, therfor I comytt the whole to you to open somuch therof as shall seme mete.

8. Thomas Walsh
'Report by Thomas Walshe on the state of Ireland.' (1552)
BL, Add. MS. 48,015, ff. 259-265r

[f. 259r] Of the causes of the losse of the king's reuenues in Ireland and howe to recover the same.

Imezuailed of the state of the realme of Irelande, how the kings matie possesseth the same, a fertile and riche lande of comodities, yet the possession therof beinge to his highnes greate charges and discomoditie, which made me much to studye. Therfor, first, I sought out what be the dueties that pertaine to kings matie of Irelande, and them rehersed, I sought out how they were imploied, what be the causes wherby the kings matie loseth them and what things chieflie maintaine the causes, which also I rehersed. Then I called to remembrannce by what wayes the said dueties were sought to be recouered heretofore and by what order or rather disorder the kings maties treasures were bestowed, forgettinge of them, which by me done I ceased to maruaile of the state of Irelande. But then take I iust cause both to lamenth the wretched state of that realme, and after to remember my bounden duetie to my liege and soueraigne lorde, whose treasures I sawe consumed in vaine and whose conscience I sawe touched. Wherefore euen like as I particularly considered the said causes, and the things that onlye maintaine them so did I by all the wages that for me was serche by what order the said dueties might be recouered best, the kings charges abated, and his highnes honorable conscience conserued, which after my rude opinion I haue here set forthe, and presuminge to direct your honor to a thinge to yow vnknowen, but that herof you maye take occacion to knowe the mindes of men of experience touching the said order, which without doubt is onlye profitable and godlye to be attempted.

If a president and a counsell were in due order appointed within the 5 counties of the canthred of Irelande called Mounster, namelye the countie of Waterforde, Kilkennye, Corke, Limerick and Tiperarie, the same president and counsell havinge certaine speciall comissions as hereafter they are named, it should be [f. 259v] a certaine way of seruice and reformacion, but also thaugmentacion of greate and huge somes of moneye to the kinges mats revenus.

Ffirst, that they have comission to inquire by what tenure eche freeholder and gentleman holdeth his landes, and for that they shall fynde that fewe or none of them knoweth howe they holde, though in dede some holde of the kinge, by which ignorannce cometh muche disquietnes and therof manie heinous murthres, the said lands descending by allotment or otherwise to the stronger, the kinges matie of his liberalite frelie to geue them their landes againe, for the which, without doubt, they wilbe humble peticioners, and they to holde of his highnes by knights sheruice, or otherwise, as shalbe thought good. By this meane shall many beastlie troubles be ceased in the comon wele, and the kings highnes shall recouer the wardshippe of their children, and great paiments of moneye yerelie for the tenure of their lands accordinge the lawe.

Second, that they have a comission to pervse the kings mats leases, and to surueye his highnes landes in their circuits, wherby they shall not onlie finde a great deale of lande surveyed at […][3] because of the saide troubles, and lacke of iustice, but also the whole rest surueyed of the 4th parte beneth the valure, that hereafter they shall holde yf the said president and connsell shalbe in due order established.

[3] There is a blank here in the manuscript indicating a copy.

3de, that they have comission to rate and value all benefices and spiruall promotioner in Mounster, for lacke wherof the kings matie loseth the 20th parte, and first fruits of all the spiritualtie by west Tiperarie, which maie amounte to greate sumes of moneye.

4th, that they shall have comission to sett order in the whole church of Mounster, which containeth 11 bishoppes. The lacke of this comission is verie greate. By this the kinges matie shall enioye the countrie's colledgs.

[f. 260r] 5th, that they have comission to collecte, and take vpp, all of the eschetes, customes, fines, and all casualties, emoluments, and profits, that shall fall hereafter, or that haue fallen in certaine yeres heretofor, to the kings matie, whiche being greate, and huge, riches are quite lost and conuerted to canes, and other vile, and detestable, paiments to the lordes, and other gentlemen, greatlie against all order.

6th, that they haue admirall authoritie on the sea coast, and in all hauens of Mounster, and power to set order for the customes and fishinge of Baltimor, and other west hauens, with comission for the mines of alame iron, and other mettall, in all parts of Mounster.

7th, that they haue comission to sett order vniuersallie touchinge the kings mats woodes, and speciallie wher the ffermors of the kinges landes are knowen to make hauocke and distruccion of the kinges woodes. Officers to be by them appointed beside the ffermors to ouersee the woodes aswell within the hauen of Waterford, as in other proper placs. So shall they be kept and conserued for the kings mats affaires and behoofe. Otherwise they shalbe within 3 or 4 yeres quite destroyed.

Itm these thinges, that is to saie in his rents, customes, eschets, and the kings highnes, hath lost his revenue and aduanntages in Irelande, and in them his matie maie finde them againe. Neyther is there anie other waye wherin his highnes maie better recouer or attaine to aduantage then wheras the same maie be founde of righte and duetie, with the onelie settinge forthe of iustice, and thexecuting of his kinglye office, wherof, beside greate masses of riches, his highnes shall recouer a riche comons knowing their obedience and hable to serue, wheras now they are nothing so.

[f. 260v] The circuite that the lorde president shall kepe.

Ffrom Waterforde to Dongaruan 20 miles, from Dongaruan to Yoghell 10 miles, from Yoghell to Corke 20tie miles, from Corke to Kilmalok about 24 miles, from Kilmalok to Limerick about 12 miles, from Limerick to Cashell 20 miles, from Cashell to Clonmell 10 miles, from Clonmell to Kilkenny about 20 miles, from Kilkenny to Waterforde 20 miles, in euerye of which townes a courte place, after the forme here described, to be made at the proper charges of the self townes and the clothe to be prouided at the kings mats charges.

This is followed by a sketch of a model for a court to be established. At the top of this are three arches with 'Court for a iustyce' written next to these. On the left hand side is written, 'a bench on this side', while on the right, 'a bench' is written, along with a diagram of a bench. At the foreground it is noted that there will be a 'patio' with provision also for a 'table with [perink] and paper'. Above the diagram are three insignia, one (left) of a harp, another (centre) of a coat of arms of sorts, and a third (right) of a portcullis headed by a cross.

[f. 261r] The counsellors 7 in nomber.

Wherof the president and two men learned in the lawes, to be of the birthe of Englande, which thre shalbe named iudges of the courte, and shall haue their places on the high middle seate, the president to be archbishoppe of Cashell, and bishoppe of Ossorie, and the other two one to haue the charges of the wardes, I meane the kepinge of the bookes touchinge the same, and the other of the fines, forfeitts and eschets, and the president to haue especiall charge ouer his 11 bishoppes and clergie of Monaster.

The 4th counsellor to be capen of one 100 men borne in Englande, which shall attende continuallie vppon the said president and counsell, whose charge shalbe onlie to see to prisoners, and to be readie with his men at the counsel's appointment, which 100 men shalbe 40 speares, 20 bowes, 20 harquebuts and 20 partisants, all horsemen, the 20 partisants to attende in townes, and at sessions, on the lorde president, and counsell, as shalbe thought good.

The 5th counsellor to be surueior of Monaster, of Irelande birthe if one meete maie be founde, which shalbe a charge sufficient for anye one man to haue if he shall doe his duetie as appertaineth. And I haue no litle maruaile that your honor can thincke that one surueior is sufficient for the whole realme of Irelande, beinge so large a realme, and the office of surueyinge beinge in that realme of so greate charge, euerie pece of lande beinge vndeuided, vnvalued and vnsherueyed heretofore, to any purpose. I assure your honors it is an office of the greatest charge that I knowe in the realme fewe excepted, wherfore of necessitie there muste be one for Mounster.

The 6th counsellor to be receiuor of the kings mats rents, emoluments, profitts, and all other duties in Mounster, of the birthe of Irelande if one mete maie be founde, which office is an office that of necessitie must be in those parts, for lacke wherof the Ks. matie loseth a greate parte of his dueties and revenues at this prent time, as I am hable to shewe, so that when the reuenues shall increase it cannot be spared, but one must be appointed for the same.

[f. 261v] The 7th counsellor to be clerke of the counsell, borne in Englande, who shall haue charge and ouersight, not onlye of all the writings that shall passe from the lorde president and counsell, but also of the doinges of all and singular the clerkes, whose faultes he shall correcte, or bringe to the lorde president accordinglie.

And as the counsellors shalbe seuerallie charged with kepinge bookes or writinges touchinge the kings mats reuenues, aduantage and profits, so a copie of euerie of their bookes to remaine in the custodie of the president, another in the custodie of the receiuor of Mounster, and another in the custodie of the kings Thr. of Irelande.

The 4 counsellors to haue their places on the vndermost middle state: so that the 2 side high benches shall remaine for the erles and greate lordes of the countrey as they shalbe compted meete by your honors, ffor though they shall haue litle doinges, as they are worthie to haue none, yet shall they be well pleased with the prominence of the places. I meane at courte times and not at counsell times.

The sherif also to be continuallie attendannt, with 16 men in Englishe apparell, as longe while as the lorde president shalbe within his iurisdiction.

And other officers of townes to be likewise attendannt.

All the rest of the clerkes, messingers, criers and other officers to be after the order and maner of the courte of the marches of Wales and likewise the processes. Examinacion and decrees shalbe after the same order, prouided that easie processe, hauinge annexed vnto it the issues and decree, shall remaine in recorde in the courte, that if anie question happen vppon the wordes of the decree, by readinge of the processe, the same maye be annswered at all times.

Itm order to be taken that prisones to be made in euerye shire towne at the chargs of the whole countie, savinge the prison for the countie of Tiperarye shalbe at Cashell, or Clonmell, and not at Tiperarye.

[f. 262r] Itm order to be taken for the erecion of freescholes in 6 townes of the circuite, and 20 marks to be geuen out of the channtries of Monaster to euerye of the 6 scholemasters, which shalbe the onlie introduccion to ciuility and the roote of the same.

[f. 262v] Like as I haue thought good to saye thus much at this prent for the order and topographie of the courte, so haue I thought good to declare some parte touchinge the charges and findinge of the said lorde president, counsellors and men of warre.

I huae written aboue the lorde president to be archbihoppe of Cashell, not onlye because he shalbe hable therby to liue with the lesse stipende, but also for other necessarie causes. Cashell is situate in the best parte of seruice of all Mounster in the frontier of O'Carwell, O'Doyre, the Bourks, and c.. The archbishoppe of Casshell by his office hath charge of the 11 bishoppes of Mounster and so ouer the whole clergie there, which no priuate man beinge archbishoppe is hable to gouerne, to collecte his duetyes. Tharchbishoppe of Casshell hath libtie called the libertie of the crosse grannted by patent, which beinge in a priuate man's hands might hinder the execucion of iustice. And besids these and diuers other respects it lyeth in the circuite verie […][4] for the savinge of his charges and so doth the bishoprike of Ossorie. On this maner rest of the counsellors maie be preferred to livinges in the partes of the circuite, which if your honor will withdrawe your handes from makinge grannt to priuate persones yow maie geue aboundentlie and the kinges revenues nothinge diminished, the counsellors shall liue with small or no stipends, as I am hable to shewe.

Ffor their victuallinge.

The said circuite are verie ill victualled and therfore the greatest lacke shalbe the prouision of victualles for the said lorde president's house and counsel, which maie be easelye supplyed after this maner.

Ffirst, I would haue the whole counsell to goe to the lord president's table, which table shalbe 3 or 4 messe for thintertainment of gentlemen.

[f. 263r] The president's house in euerie towne shalbe furnished with beddinge, hangings, pewter, kitchin stuffe and plate by the towne, and at the towne's charges, which they wilbe glad to beare, onlie naprye must be caryed.

[4] There is a blank here in the manuscript.

400 kyne and 600 shepe Mounster wilbe glad to beare to the same and the same cattell beinge cessed equallie, euerye lordshippe knowinge for certaine what they shall beare so that there be no polinge, it shalbe nothinge to them to beare the same.

Prouision of corne there is sufficient for the same in the countreye nigh to euerye of the said townes of the kinges corne, so that the same be not grannted to priuate persones and if there be anye lacke it is in the townes on the sea coaste as Waterforde, Yoghell, Dongarvan, Corke and Kinsale, which are situate in barreine lande. These townes are yerelie petitioners for licence to lade corne out of Englande. If your honors would staye to grannt them anye but at the lorde Pr. contemplacion then might he forsee to be prouided at their handes for such lacke as he shall haue.

Ffor the findinge of the souldiors

Ffirst, for their horse. Wheras now the countrey is extremelie burthened with the findinge of horses so that they compte them selues vndone because they spende so muche of their corne in euerye of the said townes of the circuite, one stable, or 2, to be made at the charges of the towne for 60 horses. And likewise, euerie of the said townes to make 40 acres hey at the least, and the same to laye vpp so that all comers maye haue hey by the stone weight for their moneye, so that the people shalbe no more so burthened and the townes shall recouer their charges in retayninge the heye.

And of the souldior 60 onlie to be in the towne where the lorde president is because rome shalbe for the sutors of the other 40, 20tie to be in the next towne before, and 20 in the next towne behinde, where they maie be peraduenture nigh to some seruice aswell as thoughe they were alltogether. Thus, shall the charges be light both to the kinge and the countrie.

[f. 263v] There might also manye thinges be written touchinge thorder, entrie and beginninge of this attemptate, wherin manye circumstances are to be noted, and touchinge the naminge of the persones, and touching the prouision for their findinge, without pollinge or grieving the countrie, and touchinge the direction of their doings within the said countie, and without which must be diuers, and touchinge the rehersall of their authoritie, which must be certaine and ordinate to the lorde deputie and privye counsell, and touching thimpediments that it might haue, and so touchinge manye other circumstances concerninge the same, which were superfluous onles it might stande with your honorable pleasures to take this my informacion to effecte.

Thus much haue I written only as it were for an introduction to speake of the rest which requireth time and as touching yt difficult impediment or danger that can be in this honorable purpose I assure your honor it is a sure and palpable thinge if it be handled with secrecie and good order an if their aduises be not sought therin that be feed of the contrarie side or otherwise that lacke experience and knowledge in the same, ffor by this the kings mats proceadinges there haue bene hindered hitherto for the most parte.

[f. 264r] Of opinions touchinge the reformacion of Irelande.

There be diuers opinions for the wayes to reforme Irelande. Some holde opinion that it is necessarie for the settinge forthe of iustice in Irelande to haue 4 presidents appointed in 4 seuerall parts of that realme, beside the lord deputie and the priuie counsell, but after my rude

opinion it shalbe sufficient for this time to haue one president and counsell, or at the most two, thone to be set forthe in due order as I haue said within the 5 countyes of Mounster, and thother in Leinster, other parts of the lande beinge neither of such perfection, nor yet diuided into countie or shires, so that they maye receaue the rule of the lawe, are rather to be trained, and, as it were, by degrees brought to ciuilitye, and no doubt but the lorde deputie hauinge his eye onlye to the north and to Connaght, and the presidente beinge charged with Mounster and Leinster, shall in shorte time be hable to diuide and establishe muche therof into shires and counties, so that they maie be of perfection, as they yet are not, to receaue the lawe. For the finall confutacion of these I haue set forthe a litle plotte declaringe the varietie of state or condicion that the parts of that realme which hereafter followethe.

Some also holde opinion that it is goode for auoydinge of chargs to let the realme of Irelande remain vnder the gouernment of the lordes of the same, as it was before the goinge thither of Sir Willm Skevington, deputie. And others be of opinion that it were good with the sworde to destroye thinhabitannts of that relame for their wickednes and to inhabite the lande with newe, which are two extremities, ffor by the first the kings matie shall father the detestable and stinkinge abhominacions of murther, adulterye, rapine, destruccion, and all other wickednes, that by such license they vse, his highnes also should lose his owne dueties, which by this meane they appropriate to them selues, wherof in fine they growe to rebellion.

[f. 264v] And by the seconde waye, beside the vngodlines and vncertaintie therof, great nombers of faithfull subiects which the kinge hath there, for the offence of few euill disposed persones, should be destroyed which were vngodlie, and much pitie, and it is to be vsed against rebellions and manifest traitors. Example, sometime of O'Connor and O'More and now of Hugh McNele Óge and others.

But the onlye waye that bringeth with it certaine reformacion, honorable proffit and aduantage to the kinge is to establishe a president and a counsell in Mounster as before is spoken. And so in Leinster.

Here might be rehersed manye other good comodities that of this purpose must followe and also the sure perills that for lacke therof are to be looked for, which I leaue for another time.

Ffirst, it is to be noted that the ilande of Irelande, which sometime was all after one kinde of gouernment, is by meanes of the interest that Englishmen haue had these manye yeres there, brought to 3 kindes, which 3 extende euen as doe the thre coulours which be in this prent plotte. The whole white parte is in the same estate and gouernment that it had before the cominge of Englishe men into that ilande, eche lorde within his owne power vsinge such absolute authoritie, and more then any kinge may vse, wherby all obedience to our soueraigne lorde is excluded. I saye nothinge of their good will, fauour or promises that they make. The red parte, by meanes of Englishe gouernment and iustice, is in perfect obedience, as becomethe subiects to their soueraigne lorde. The grene parte differeth nothinge from the white in effecte, ffor all obedience to the kinge is excluded by meanes of the absolute power of the lords, but in good will, fauour and outward apparance it is Englishe, and herin note that it is not onlye requisite to haue the good will, fauour or outwarde apparance of lordes, but that therunto must be added more, wherin Trauers and others were deceaued who made no difference in their description betwixt the said grene and the said red. In this pointe stoode chieflie the confusion of those affaires, wherfore take these briefe examples.

[f. 265r] Of the matter and substannce that for reformacion is to be founde in these thre partes.

He that meaneth the reformacion of Irelande must compare the said thre kindes together and so doinge as appertaineth he shall want nothinge that belongeth to the description of that lande for him necessarie. He shall finde that the red parte of the lande hath in it goodnes, matter and substannce, which, because of the resident lawes and of the perfecte obedience, cometh ffruitfullie to the kings mats vse. Example is manifest if we consider the revenues of the lande and how the same riseth, and as the example serueth in the revenues, so is it in all other propocions touchinge the kings mats seruice, and behoof, so that of the red parte can be demannded no more perfection then allreadie it hath, as is declared. In the grene parte he shall finde goodnes, matter and substannce, which, for lacke of the causes aboue rehersed, come not the kinges maties vse. Example of the lacke of ye comissioners aboue rehersed, example of the seruice and example of the landes that the kinge hath there. In the white parte, which is almost all that realme, he shall finde no suche good matter, wherin reformation maye be extended but it is a comon […][5] maintayned onlye by the contrarie therof against the kinge.

[5] There is a blank here in the manuscript.

9. Anonymous
'Articles to be inquyred of concernyng the state and affayres of Irelande.' (c. 1553)
BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 57-58

[f. 57r] Articles to be inquyred of concernyng the state and affayres of Irelande.

Ffirste, what is ther dew to be payd for the folde of the soldiars, and other ordynarye, and extraordynary charges, and what sheruic hath bene done for the employeng the same sins the being of Sir Anthony St Leger last lord deputye in the said realme of Irelande.

There is now dew 37,000*li*, besid that hath bene spent this 2 yeirs.[6]

Seconde, what landes haue bene gotten to the increase of the revenews ther, and defrayment of the said charges during the thabod of Sir Jams Crofts ther, and what mvnycion hath bene consumyd in his tyme.

No lands haue bene gotten, but loste, for Faghinbug, buylded by Io. Parkar was burnd and 10 plowland wasted 3*d* for munycion. Let the clerke of thordinanc be callyd, namyd now Lawrence.[7]

[8]What obedyence hath bene more among Irishemen for all these charges then was in Sir Anthony St Leger's tyme, or at leste what obedyence ys lesse.

4th. What wilfull warres haue bene mad apon the dwellers in the north of Ireland, and what slaughter of Inglisshemen haue eshaurid by the saide warres, and what charges to the Inglishe and Irishe subiects haue the iorneys bene that weir thither made, and what dishonor by lewde attemts, and fortefyeng Belfarste, whiche was fayne to be gevin vp to Hughe McNele Óg, who firste they made sherif and then a rebell.

5th. What was the cause of the erle of Tyron's and his wiefe's imprisonment, who sherued the king with helpe of one hundreth Inglisshemen ageinst the Skotts better then all that was spent in these willfull wars, [f. 57v] and wold haue meynteigned the northe of Ireland ageinste Skotts, and all others, in cace he had bene vsid as the kings mats lat soueraign lord, king Henry the Eight, did enhable hym.

6. What grannts of landes, spchares and reuersions of fermes haue bene gyven sins the said kyng's days, and to whom, and for what sheruic.

7. What rewardes, offices and allowancs haue bene passid by the late lord depute ther with warannt, without warrant, and to what persons, and for what sarvice.

8. What was the cause whie O'Reyley was not skourged for his laste rebellyon.

9th. What was the cause of the delyuery and releasing the pledges that Sir Anthony St Leger left in the castle of Dublin for securytie of the kings peax in the north of Irelande and the Out Iles of Skottland, to say Soreley Buy, brother to James McConell, chief of thenymies of the Out Iles, Hughe McNele Óg's pledges, whose rebellyon sins ther enlargement haue cost

[6] This answer to the first article has been written in the right hand margin next to it.
[7] This answer to the second article has been written in the right hand margin next to it.
[8] The third article has not been numbered but appears to begin here.

meny a pound and meny a soldiars lief, McCartan's pledges, McGuyllin's pledges, and diuerse other at whose being in the castle one Inglisheman mought haue had soche sufferanc that thorowe all these mens contreys he mought tak distres, or pledg, of any these or other mischief that ware [f. 58r] done by any offender in their contreys or iurisdiccions.

[9]Whiche pledgs weir taken for quiete of Lecayle by Io. Parkar and set at large by yt deputye, all saving Sorely Buy who was let go in 500*li* ransom for Sir Raphe Bagnall when he was taken in Skotlande.

10th. What revenew hath bene levyed apon the contreys of Leix and Offally, whose conquest what they have cost let the thesaurer declare, and why the said lands being still occupyed yelde no more profytt to her highnes behaf.

11. What nomber of soldiers are in Irelande dayly allowyd by her gracs pay, and what nomber may be ded to say in ded pay among the capteyns, and other ther, and what capteyns and other soldiars are nowhere, and how long they haue bene from ther chardge.

12. What capteyns and gentilmen haue bene displacyd sins Sir Anthony St Leger's last being ther and for the what cause others of nor gret sheruic haue had ther placs and interteignement.

All these things must be answerd by wryting so that yt may appeir that obiection, or other matter said to the contrarye, may trewly appeir in cace they do not directly, and according their deuties, set forth things as they are, and for tryall of what soldiars be in Ireland her grace may please to send secret comanndment to certen of the counsell in Ireland to take muster all in one day, and I doubte not but her highnes shall perceyve grete deceyte, and also save moche money at the payday, and so god save her grac.

[f. 58v] To these matters let ther be callyd the thesaurer, Watkyn Ap Howell, Iohn Wakeley, Mathew King, Roberte Cusake, Gyles Ovington, Thomas Jenynson, audytor, Anthony Marche, Roger Broke and their seuerall deposicions kepte vntill god may send tyme that they may be present with others face to face that truthe may herein appere, and no lenger be kepte backe for feare of threate, or other displeasure, and these things so to be vsid that no man that shalbe examyned dare revele his deposicion to any other.

[9] The following adjunct to article 9 is written on f. 57v in the right hand margin but is presented here, for convenience sake, after the end of the article on f. 58r.

10. Anthony St Leger
'Propositions for services in Ireland.' (1555)
TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/9

[f. 28r] Mynstereven. Caterlagh. Leighlin. Ennescorthie. Ffernes. Tryme. Athlone:[10]

To be let to constables payeng nothing, to be bounde to fynde certen corne, butter, fleshe for the deputie yerlie, at the least one moneth, and also horsmete, he payeng for same at resonable prices, provided that [wyse][11] man of Irishe nacion be placed as a constable.

The fort in Offally to be comitted to therle of Kildare, with certein territories to be appointed therto, and for the keeping of the same to haue 300*li* str. yerlie. He to be bounde with good suerties for the saulf keaping therof, and to be for the L. deputie when he list to lye there, and to haue provision, as before is expressed, for his money.

The fort in Leax in like manner to be comitted to therle of Ormonde, to haue yerlie for the same 400*li* str., wherof to him self 300*li* str. and the lande, and 100*li* str. to Barnaby FfitzPatrike, with like condicions as of Offally. Neuerthelis, first to speke with gentlemen, capteins and souldiors what offers will make for both the said countreyes and to consider the same.

The L. deputie to haue allwayes attendant vpon him of horsmen 140, ouer and besids the comanndement of all the rest, to repeyer from place to place as to him shall seme requisete and to conferre with all other aucthorised for the better order of all partes.

Touching the north of the realme, the Scotts be banished thense as the tyme and oportunytie may therunto best sheruice and in the meane to be vsed with discrecion.

That Sir Nicholas Bagnall shall either inhabit vppon his lands of Carlingforde, Newry, Grenecastle and ch., or ells to shurendre the same vppon a recompence.

[f. 28v] It is thought good that there be two presidents, thone to be resident at Athlone or Galway, and to haue in chardge O'Molaghlan's countrey, and so ouer the Shenan to the Kell's countrey and the northwest. The president to be therle of Clanricarde for the honnor of his estate, and he to haue yerlie for his fee 40*li* ster., and to resort at all tymes of great cawses to the vice president, which vice president shall chiefly resede at Athlone or Gallway. He to haue yerlie for his stipende, or entreteignement, 100*li*, and the nomber of 80 men contynuallie to attende vppon him and the chief president at such tymes as he repeyreth. Euerie man to haue 9*d* by the daie.[12]

Euerie president to haue two counsaillors and a secretary to attende vppon the vice president. And they to haue emongest them yerlie 50*li*, that is euerie counsaillor 20*li* and the secretary 10*li*. Also, either of the same counsaillours to haue 10 men in wags and the secretary 5 men in wags, theis men to be parcel of the nomber of the 80 men.

[10] These locations have been written in the margin to the left of the proceeding paragraph.
[11] The manuscript is slightly damaged here.
[12] In the margin here St Leger has inserted a note reading, 'This fee is to be bursesed at the least 200*li* by yere in consideracion of the wildnes of the countree and the resort to him so as he must be at great chardgs in the houskeaping'.

The president to haue instruccion howe to vse the lawes there, for that the comon lawes cannot there be thoroughly vsed.

The same vice president and counsaill to haue authoritie to vse marshall lawe.

Itm they shall have authoritie to make cesses for theis resonnable fournyture at convenient prices.

Itm to here and determyn all causes within their circuyts, onles it be in great causes, wherin it shalbe lawfull for men to appeale to the L. deputie and counsaill.

Itm the same vice president to haue for the keaping of Athlone when he is absent thense 12 fotemen gonners, euerie of them to haue 8*d* by the daie.

Itm the same vice president to haue for the leading of his men one petie captein at 2*s* the daye and one trumpet at 12*d* the daye.

[f. 29r] An other president is thought mete to be placed at Lymeryke, who is thought most mete to be therle of Desmonde, as to haue the rule of that shere and his own countrey, and the countie of Corke, and as he may conferre with therle of Clanricard for the stay and gouernance of Thomonde. The said erle to haue for his fee yerlie 40*li* str., and to be called L. president, and to haue the chief prehemynence when he resorteth to Lymerike or Corke.

Itm to haue a vice president with the like entreteignments as the vicepresident of Athlone is before appointed saving the twelve fotemen.

Itm two counsaillors and secretary with entreteignement as before.

Itm a peticaptein and trumpet as before.

Itm the L. vice president and counsaill to haue authoritie saulf that they shall not vse marshall lawe but in cases of extremitie and that not in borrough townes.

The L. deputie's stipend yerlie – 1,000*li*
Horsmen 140 to attende vppon him – 1,466*li* 13*s* 4*d*
Itm 200 fotemen, 100 gonners, 100 archers, their wages to be bestowed vppon contre men there – 2,400*li*[13]
Itm 3 grannd capteins, 3 peticapens at 4*s* and 2*s* by the daye – 328*li* 10*s*
Itm to haue 3 standard berars at 12*d* the pece and 3 trumpetts at 12*d* – 91*li* 10*s*
Itm one to supply thoffice of marshall and to be capen of 100 horsmen, and thother 40 to attende in house with the L. deputie, and the same marshall to haue ouer 4*s* 2*s* 8*d* by the daie – 48*li* 13*s* 4*d*
[f. 29v] Itm one to be Mr. of thordynance with like wags as the marshall – 48*li* 13*s* 4*d*
Itm the fee of the L. chauncellor and all other officers of the lawe yerlie – 2,000*li* str.
Itm in reperacene and for concordatums yerly – 166*li* 13*s* 4*d*

[13] In the margin next to this point St Leger has written, '200 at the least and euery of them 40*s* a yere and wags when they sherue 6*d* the day and the wags of one of the capteins to be to him that shall leade those 200'.

Itm that certein gentlemen to be appointed to be of the counsaill with euerie president of suchie as dwell in the parts of the precincts of the presidents office.

Itm that before thereccion of the president at Athlone and Gallway the L. deputie and counsaill in the holl realme repeyre to Gallway, and to declare aswell thentent and meanyng of this ereccion, as also spially to therle of Clanricarde that he shall still haue and enioy all suche resonable customes as he before hadd, ouer and besides the 40*li* yerly, as is before expressed, and also to take all the pledgs to remeyn at Gallway.

The like declaracion to be made to therle of Desmonde.

Itm that all superfluous fees to be with drawen toward the chardgs of the premisss.

[f. 30r] To wayte vpon the L. deputie – 140 horsmen
With the president of Athlon – 80 H.
With the president of Lymerike – 80 H.
In the fort of Offailly – 40 fotemen
In the fort of Leix – 50 fotemen

Mynstereven. Caterlagh. Leighlyn. Enescorthie. Ffernes:[14]

To be in thand of constanbles, payng nothing, but fynding certein corne and necessaries to the L. deputie payeng theise.

The L. deputie's stipende – 2,000 marks
His 200 horsmen – 4,200 marks.
The president of Athlone for his own stipende and entreteignement – 200*li* str.
Itm a lerned man in the lawe to be ioyned with him to haue – 40*li* str.
Itm an other to theim – 20*li* str.
Itm to them 100 men – 2,100 marks
Itm the like president and company at Lymerike by yere – 2,300 marks 60*li* str.
Itm the 90 men in the two forts – 1,100*li*
Itm 6 grannd capteins and 6 pety capteins at 4*s* and 2*s* – 700*li*
Itm 14 officers at 12*d* the pece – 260*li*

Sum of the men:

Sum totalis of the chardgs aforsaid:

[f. 31r][15] 300 men at 20 marks the pece – 4,000*li*
The iudgs and lerned officers fees – 666*li* 13*s* 4*d*
The capteins and peticapteins – 340*li*
The L. deputie's stipend – 1,000*li*
Reparacions yerlie – 200*li*
Extraordynarie chardgs by concordatum yerly – 300*li*
For the L. deputie to geue horsss and other guyfts yerlie to Irishmen – 300*li*
For reward to messengers yerly – 66*li* 13*s* 4*d*

[14] These locations have been written in the margin to the left of the proceeding paragraph.
[15] f. 30v is blank.

Sum – 6,540*li*

The galloglas to haue lande in Leix, and to sherue for the same, and to haue their bonnaghes vppon Irishmen. The kerne to be founde vppon thenglish pale and to haue 40*s* a pece by yere – 160*li*[16]

Sum totalis – 7,333*li* 6*s* 8*d*

Towards which:

The revenues yerlie – 6,000*li*
The same may be advannced by newe leases yerly – 500*li*
The mynes may be leased yerly for – 500*li*
Sum – 7,000*li*
Ouer and besides 600*li* that may be made vppon the grannting of the said leases.

[16] '200 kerne' has been added in the margin here.

11. John Alen
'A discourse of the power of the Irishe men in Leynster.' (c. 1556)
BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 21-23.

A flyleaf on f. 20r reads, 'A discourse of the power of the Irishe men in Leynster'.

[f. 21r] A discription of the power of the Irishmen of Leinster made in theis daies.

First, MacMvrgho was called prince and lord of Leinster, and he and his kinsmen of his name wolbe 200 men on horsbacke well harnessed, a battayle of galloglas, 300 kerne.
Item O'Byrne is lorde of his cuntrie and wilbe 60 horsmen, a battayle, and 160 kerne.
Item O'Thole is lorde of Ffercullen and Imayle and wolbe 24 horsmen, 80 kerne.
Item Arte McDonogh is lorde of Ikenshill and wilbe 24 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item Remonde McShane is lorde of Gowilranell and wilbe eight horsmen, 40 kerne.
Item O'Murgho is lorde of Ifelim and wilbe 16 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item O'Nolan is lorde of Foghiree and wilbe 12 horsmen, and 20 kerne.
Item O'Brenan is lorde of Ydogh and wilbe 40 kerne.
Item O'Rian is lorde of his cuntrie and wilbe 12 horsmen, and 24 kerne.
Item McGilpatrick is lorde of Osserie and wilbe 40 horsmen a battayle, and 60 kerne.
Item O'More is lorde of Lease and wilbe 60 horsmen a battayle, and 200 kerne.
Item McMorishe is lord of Irry and wilbe 6 horsmen, and 24ti kerne.
Item O'Din is lord Iregan and wilbe eight horsmen, and 200 kerne.
Item O'Dempsee is lord of Clinvalire and wilbe 24 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item O'Chonor is lord of Ofalie and wilbe 40 horsmen a battayle, and 200 kerne.

The forsaid power your goodnes knowethe is moche deminished so as now ther reducement or exilment, the power of Leix, Evey, Clanmalire and Ofailie being so taken awaye as it yet apperethe, befor which thother porcion of Leinster could not well be set to or compassed, resteth in two waies.

Ffirst, by placing a garrison a bent an 100 men for two yeres in Ffernes, the like at Castelkevin or in Hew McShane's cuntrie, whoe hauing iudges, or ministers of iustice to execute the same, that porcion in that tyme wolbe reduced to obedience of a law, so as after that meane cumpanies in euery of thois places for the purpose aforsaid will serue whois charges besides yerely gaine woll rise to the crowne. And in or befor the beginning of this so grete, sos met, and so necessarie an interprise, yt shalbe good euery now possessioner haue under the brode seale his landes to him and to his heires males vpon sum reseruacion of rent, sauing to the king and quenes maties mete territories as Fernes to thother garrison, and other places as shalbe demed mete by the lord deputie, and seruices to the king and quene, vpon execution of the law with carefull gouerment, to were the men of warre to abandon ther armour and weapon, they wilbe so worne as ther shalbe no doubt of continewall profight reuennew and obedience to thintent to bring in thinglish towng and habite, which is to sone decaied. Let the bisshop of Ffernes and his charge be resident in the cathedrall churche of Ffernes, and let the late abbey ther of St Marie's be turned and vsed for a freschole, and the possessions of the same being not able let other spirituallities be giuen for that purpose. Let the same be made a citie, which in yeres at charges of the cuntrie may be well walled, yet the king and quene must bere sum charges to this and other. Let Wicloe towne, being the best creke in Leinster, sitting in the middes of the Birnes, be walled and incorporated, and ampler landes laid to yt, the custum wherof, with the charges of the cuntry, in 7 yeres well wall yt, ffor the litle ciuilitie and securitie of that remaynethe of the Inglish auncestors doings rested

in the walled townes the personage therof, [f. 21v] with the personage of Delgen, woll serue for a good frescole. My lord of Ormonde wold be exchanged with for Arcloe and the same likewise vsed. And the spiritualities of Glasker woll serue for the free scole ther. At the first let the scole masters and vsshers at leist be of Ingland birth. The good educacion of youthe is a chief thing in euery comen welth and the next meane to them well to gouerne or to liue in the same.

Thother meane is to banishe them and inhabite yt with Inglish people, which as it is most chargeous, so it is surest and for the same must be grete preparacion of corne, xc. to mainteigne diuers garisons. I deme the first best, that with ther owne goodes and people to banish or weare them vpon a law executed.

Seing this porcion is environed on thest with the sea, on south and by est with the countie of Wexforde, and sowthe west with the counties of Kilkeny, by west and northe the counties of Catherlaghe, Kildare and Dublin to the sea, and is scituated in the bowells of theis shires, as befor that procion be reduced ther can no securitie be had to assure vpon of the rest. Therfor all deuises and industries shuld be practised and executed in this behalf which had then from beyond Carlingford to beyond Kinsale were vnder oon obedience (which is about 200 Yrish miles) as then rested libertie to reduce the rest or to kepe thother in securitie.

The countie of Kilkeny is environed besides the Kavenaghes with the Mores and Osserie. Now if thois cuntries goe forward (as they are begune) and discharged of the Kavenaghes, whoe togither hath bene the let of the reformacion and ruyne of the rest and more befor Bellingehms and this rule was bestowed vpon them, than woll (they being in obedience) reforme the rest. The countie of Tipperarie is environed with the countie of Kilkenny, Waterford, Lymeric, and on the northe west and northe with O'Duer, O'Kynadie and Kerrolles inhabiteng Ormond. The county of Waterford environed with the sea on the southe east, the riuer of the Shower on the northest, and north with the countie of Cork and Tipperarie, and truth is yt hollie enclosed with the sea, Shower and ryuer that gotthe to Yoghell. In this shire standeth the castell and honor of Dungaruan vpon the sowthest towardes Ingland. The countie of Corke environed with the southest sea MacCartie Riaghe and MacCartie More, and on the northewest with the ryuer of Shenan, and on the northe with the countie of Limerick, and so with the countis of Tipperarie and Waterford in this porcion it the grete erle of Desmonde and diuers Inglish lordes.

Thomonde on the southe, ioyning to the ryuer of Shenan on the west and northewest to the sea, on the northe to the countie of Connaght, and on the northest, est and sowest to the Shenan. In this porcion are the yong erle of Thomonde, Sir Donell O'Brene, and diuers other Yrishmen betwixt whom is contencion.

Connaght, a large porcion wherin are the Burkes, and therle of Clanricarde, and diuers Yrishmen, and yoyneth to the west, northwest sea to Vlster to the noble riuer of Shenan (vpon which sitethe Athelone) that deuideth Methe of old, the florisheng shire of lord and gent, wherein O'Malaghlin, and diuers other Yrishmen are.

[f. 22r] Vlster, wherin O'Donell and many other Yrishmen are, and diuers shires, as Louthe and Lecale, xc. now in effect (the countie of Louthe excepted) all the sea cost planted and ouerrun with Scotts, so farre and strongly as enlesse ther meane vsed to expulse them in short tyme they woll hasard to get holie that and the rest of the realme, ffor expulsement of whom, after soch victorie obteigned by my lord deputie's honors meanes against them, and thoffered

tyme of such Yrishmen as are ther enemies after a substanciall iorney vsed this yere whith the placing of a garrison of thre or 400 men in two places, whois charges shall not be grete, hauing the quene's port men to paie that is appointed, so as betwixt this and All Saients (or Cristmas) befor the better no good tyme is ouer passed berrieng and furnisheng the matter thre yeres, in which tyme inhabitacion may be planted.

Let the king and quenes maties departe with landes ther vpon litle reseruacion to men and ther heires males, and so after habitacion and obedience had revennew woll growe, besides securitie of the realme, and advoydance of continuall charges, the crowne Ingland hathe been put to.

To conclude be he grete or be he meane that woll improve or evict a pece of ground, charges must be susteyned befor gayne be established, and if this tyme offered, and so nobly entered, hauing so many willing men of knowledge of Ingland birthe (whoe most naturally well lauboure to winne obedience to the crowne of Ingland) after the long travaile and charges yt is most to be doubted that in the same a while withdrawen if euer it shall cum to like likeliod, besides let wise men consider the apt and forward nature, and other consideracions, a masse of danngers and to sone perill may iustlie be considered.

Certen places to be appointed for discharge vpon perell.
The nacion to haue a counsaile in Limeric, and annother in Gaway, with men to euery of them is good, but befor god grannt Leinster to be established, and the northe put out of the Scottishe perell.

Desmonde

Item McCartie More is called prince and lorde of that porcion and wilbe of his name and kinde 40 horsmen, two battayles, and two thowsand kerne.
Item McCartie Riagh is lorde of Carbrie and wilbe 60 horsmen, a battayle, and two thowsand kerne.
Item Donnogh Óge McCartie is lord of Athally and wilbe 24 horsmen, a battayle, and one hundred kerne.
Item McTeige McCormocke is lorde of Mouskry and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle, and two hundred kerne.
Item O'Kew is lorde of his cuntry and wilbe 12 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item [O'Cwlie] is lord of that countrye and wilbe 8 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item O'Donowan if lorde of his countrey and wilbe six horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item O'Hiddirskolle is lord of Corclagh and Balytimore and wilbe six horsmen, and 200 kerne, and they vse long gallies.
Item O'Mahon is lord of Vnheragh and wilbe 16 horsmen, and 120 kerne.
Item O'Swolevan is lorde of Bere and Bentrie and wilbe 16 horsmen, and 200 kerne, and vseth lond gallies.
Item McYuyn is lorde of Gleneragh and wilbe 200 kerne.
Item O'Dongho More is lord of Loghlene and wilbe 12 horsmen, and 200 kerne.
Item O'Dongho Glanliske wilbe six horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item McGilzoddy is lord of his cuntrey and wilbe 40 kerne.
[f. 22v] Item O'Chonor Kerrie wilbe 24 horsmen, and 120 kerne.
Item a sept of the Brenes dwelleth at the manor of Kerrycleogynnell, and therabout, and wilbe 20 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item annother sept of that blode dwelleth at Haarlagh and wilbe 8 horsmen, and 24 kerne.

Item more of them dwelleth at the Combraghes and wilbe six horsmen, and 24 kerne.
Item there is in that Mounster the erle of Desmonde and his kinsmen, lordes, and his servanntes, and hath of landes vnder his domination, and lordship, 120 miles and wilbe 400 horsmen, 8 battayle of galloglas, a battayle of crosbowmen, and gunners, and thre thowsande kerne, and his countries bene so long, and so invironed with Irishmen, and for the more parte euer at warre with his kynsmen, so that he giueth no aid, ne assistance, to the deputie, whois power is farre greter, as by the mariage with McCartie Roo all that porcion is vnder him.
Itm ther is also in that Mounster a parte of the Burkes called the Burken countrey and wilbe 24 horsmen, a battayle, and 200 kerne, and they be so invironed wit Irishmen and desevered themself.
Item also the countie of Tipperarie, wherin parte of the Butlers dwelle, and wilbe 60 horsmen, two battayles, and 200 kerne, and they bene seuered in thre bandes or, and porcions, and eche of them hateth thother thoughe now they be obedient.

Tomonde

Item O'Brene is called lorde (now created erle), and prince, of that porcion and wilbe 200 horsmen, two battayles galloghlas, and 500 kerne.
Item MacNemarre is lorde of Clinzolan and wilbe 200 horsmen, a battayle, and 600 kerne.[17]
Item MacMahon is lorde of Corkwasbry and wilbe 20ti horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item O'Chonor is lorde of Corkkenrey and wilbe 24ti horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item O'Daais lorde of Iferagh and wilbe eight horsmen, and 24 kerne.
Item O'Laglin is lorde of Borrin and wilbe 20 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item McBrenearry of the Brenie is lorde of Aige and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle of galloglas, and a 100 kerne, most of theis vnder are now by sowthest, and est Shenan.
Item O'Mulrian is lorde of Ony and wilbe 24 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.[18]
Item McBrene a sept of the Brenis is lord of Ianagh and wilbe 16ten horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item MacTeig is lorde of oon of the Ormondes and wilbe 24 horsmen.
Item O'Kenedy is lorde of thother Ormonde and wilbe 60 horsmen, a battayle, and 120 kerne.
Item O'Kerwayle is lorde of Ely and wilbe 60 horsmen, a battayle, and 160 kerne.
Item O'Maghirre is lorde of Ikrunne and wilbe 16 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item McTeige McPhilipp is lorde of Kilfenaalougorte and wilbe 6 horsmen, and 40 kerne.

[f. 23r] Konnaghte

Item O'Chonohor is called prince and lorde of that porcion and wilbe of his name and kynne 120 horsmen, two battayles of galloghlasse, and 300 kerne, they be seuered and enemies.
Item O'Kelly is lorde of Ymanny and wilbe 200 horsmen, two battayls, and 400 kerne.
Item O'Flaharte is lorde of Yarconnaght and wilbe 14 horsmen, and 300 kerne.
Item O'Mayle is lorde of Owylemaghe and wylbe 16 horsmen, and 200 kerne, and vseth long galleyes.
Item O'Gare is lorde of Kowlowyne and wilbe 14 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item O'Hary Boy is lorde of Lymee and wylbe 6 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item O'Dade is lorde of Terhereghmoy and wilbe 20 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item O'Shaghnesse is lorde of Kymalegh and wilbe 12 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item O'Maden is lorde of Shillnannegh and wilbe 14 horsmen, and 120 kerne.
Item McDonoghe is lorde of Triwrris and wilbe 40 horsmen, and 160 kerne.

[17] In the margin next to this point Alen has written 'He affirmet him self of the Mortyemares'.
[18] In the margin next to this point Alen has written 'One was the bisshop of Dublin'.

Item McDermott is lorde of Moylorgee and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle, and two hundred kerne.
Item McManes I Lougher is lord of Kartrie and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle, and a 100 kerne.
Item O'Rorke is lorde of one of the Brenies and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle, and 300 kerne.
Item McCanell is lorde of Moyntyrolish and wilbe 8 horsmen, and 300 kerne.
Item Maganeehan is of Tallygha and wilbe 6 horsmen, and 200 kerne.
Item MacKirnan is lord of Tallaghloughour and wilbe 6 horsmen, and 200 kerne.
Item O'Ferroll is lord of the Annall and wilbe 60 horsmen, a battayle, and 300 kerne and be seuered and enemies.
Item O'Raytey is lord of thother Brenie and wilbe 300 horsmen, a battaile, and 400 kerne, which, and O'Rowrcks territorie, are accompt of many to be oon of the five porcions.
Item McWilliam Burke is lord of Clanricard in that porcion of Connagh and wilbe 120 horsmen, 2 battayls, and thre hundred kerne, and now seuered.
Item McWilliam Burke called McWilliam Eghteraghe is lorde of Kenykekoly and wilbe 200 horsmen, 3 battayles, and 300 kerne.
Item the lord Bremyngham is lord of Kennyldonnore and wilbe 14 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item Nangle is lord Clingoskell and wilbe 12 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item Barret is lord of Tirawle and wilbe 12 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item McShirtane called Depetin lord of Gallin and wilbe 12 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item McKemylee is lord of Kerre and wilbe 220 kerne.
Item McDavy of the Burkes is lorde of Clynkene and wilbe 24 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item McPhyllyme Burke is lord of Oyell and wilbe 40 kerne.
Item both the said lordes of the Burkes called either of them McWillm bene mortall enemyes.
Note the Fferrolles, the Railies and sum of thother Yrishmen dwe on this side Shenan.

[f. 23v] Vlstere

Item O'Neyle was prince, and lord, of that porcion (now erle of Tyrone) and wilbe of his blode and kindesmen 300 horsmen, and 3 battayles, and 300 kerne, moche decaied as all are except Desmond.
Item Con McHew Boy is lord Clanyboy and wilbe 200 horsmen, 3 battayls, and 300 kerne.
Item O'Kehan ys lord of Yraghe Ikanne and wilbe 60 horsmen, a battayle, and a 100 kerne.
Item McHonees is lord of the Glinnes and wilbe 20 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item McGwylie is lord of the Rute and wilbe 20 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item McGiness ys lord of Iueaghe and wilbe 60 horsemen, and 60 kerne.
Item O'Hanlon ys lord of Orrey and wilbe 24 horsmen, and 60 kerne.
Item McMahon ys lord of Fferny and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle, and 300 kerne.
Item McGwier ys lord of Ffermannagh and wilbe 40 horsmen, a battayle, and 300 kerne.
Item MacKena is lord of the Trimhis and wilbe 10 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item MacKawell is lord of Kunalard and wilbe 8 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item O'Donell is lord of Tirkonell and wilbe an 100 horsmen, 4 battales, and 300 kerne.
Item in this porcion dwelleth Sauage and Inglishmen in the Ard and wilbe 24 horsmen, and 60 kerne, a battayle and he is environed with Irishmen that heis nere hand expulsed by the Scotts, as all that porcion of the northe is, and except the Yrish in Desmond the rest decaiethe.

Itm in Meth, which is oon of the 4 shires that obieth the kingis lawes, ther bene this many Irishmen as here ensueth.

Itm O'Malaghlin, sumtyme called him prince of Meth, aforsaid, and it lorde of Kinkolman, and wilbe 14 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Itm O'Mulmoy is lorde of Ffertall and wilbe 20 horsmen, and a 100 kerne.
Item Glynnaghtes lord of Montirhagan and wilbe 6 horsmen, and 40 kerne.
Item MacGawle is lord of Kalry and wilbe 23 kerne.
Item O'Bryne is lord of Krahon and wilbe 60 kerne.
Item McKoghan is lord of Doltuy and wilbe 8 horsmen, and 120 kerne.

Item a battaile of galloglassis bene 60 or 80 harnised men on foote.

12. George Dowdall
'George Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, to Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor and the Privy Council.' (1557)
TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/61

A flylead reads, 'To the moste reuerend father in god, tharchbisshop of York, and channcelor of Englande, and ther maties honorable counsayle'.

[f. 172r] My humble dutie premised. I have stayed my hande all this while from writting of the pore state of this realme, trustinge the soner to se thesame amended by the rwelers, but seinge the misery dayly encrease, without eny hope of redresse, I thought it my dutie to declare to your honorz at this presents partly the state of this pore realme, which accordinge as I writ to my L. cardynall it was newer in my remembrannce in worse case then it is nowe, except the tyme onely that O'Neyll and O'Donyll enwaded thenglish pale and burned a great pece of it, ffor in euery quarterz of thenglish marchons there be burning, prainge, stelthe, morder and robery, with menny other enormitez, besids thextreme powertie that the countrey is brought in by cess to hostings, cess of corne, bewff, and all kinde of victwalz to the forts, the plasinge of souldyors, there horses and horsboyes, vpon fermorz, ye and conowe and lyuery moost parte throughout all thenglish pale, the chardgs therof may be compared to the Qnes. maties chardgs, as men of witt and knowledge here dothe exteme. And as for the northe it is as ffarr out of frame as euer it was before, for the Scotts berrith as great rule as they doth wysshe, not onely in suche lands as they did lately vsurpe, but also in Claneboy and all others that be in there confynes in the northe. Also the O'Mors and the O'Concors hathe distroit and burned Lexe and Afayle, sawing certain forts that be kept from them, besids what hurts they and othere rebelz did in thenglish pale. Verely your honorz ought to lament, and so ought all the quene's frends, to se what hir grace dothe spend dayly vpon Irelande and it euery yere raither worse then better, although you be otherwise enformed. But then came wherby the truthe of this may be brought to light is thus; to send som men of truste and grauitie here as comissionerz to examin the matter or otherwise to call certain of the lords and iudgs of this pore realme to declare the trwth before your honorz, with there good advice for the better reformacion of the pore countrey in tyme to com of mere lardge I have writin in my L. cardinall's lr.. Ower and besids this I am constrayned to be an humble peticioner to your honorz that I may have redresse at your hands of suche hurts and damags that I have susteyned by my L. deputie and army, who for that in counsalz and othere places I have bene moste strength agains there procedings wher I thought the hinderannce of the quenes subiects they have latly burned and spoyled [f. 172v] my pore see of Ardmachan with thre churches and certain imags in thesame, besids boks and westments that they fonde in my cathedrall churche. And because of this hindrannce and ywyll wytt to me I am reputed amonge them to be entrwe and in euery soldyorz mouthe called a traytor. And by consultacion amongs them as I am enformed bruted abrode that they fond my lres agains the quene in a cheste in Ardmagh which they and all the world shall newer be able to prowe or eny other point of ontruthe in my behalffe vnto hir matie. I am credably enformed that before this ther was ontrwe report made of me to parte of the counsayll there, and nowe I doubt not butt there shalbe moche more, and therfore I shall moste humbly require your honorz to gywe noo credit to suche senestrall reports of me, but raither call me before you and then I truste you shall knowe euery manne's truthe. But now, restinge from my singular sutts, I thinke it mooste necessarij your honorz to accellerat the redresse of the pore realme, *quia mora trahit*

periculum[19]. And this, taking leawe, I wysshe thesame thyncrease of honor and helthe. Ffrom my pore house of Termonfeghin, the 17th of November 1557.

Your honorz at all tymes to command.

G. Armachan

[19] 'because it draws the danger of delay'.

13. Thomas Alen?
'Matters for the good government of Ireland.' (1558)
BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 72-79

[f. 72r] Like as good subiects of knowlege hoop assuredly theron your honors noble birthe, vocacion, trust and favour, the quenes matie and counsel rightfullie haue conceyuid in the same soche reformacion shalbe, vpon your lordships now retorne into Ireland, established as therby the quenes matie shalbe in few years disburdened of furder contynuall charges, hir highnes realme guarded from land foes and foreyne enymies, the subiects ther preserued from feare and perelles (wherin now they remayne), reformacion established, the subiects in the realme of Ingland shalbe moche enriched and guarded, ffor let yt be well [iveird] and yt shall appere nighe as many good subiects in Ingland haue ther lyving by the trade of Ireland as are vpon the now state therin. Let yt be also considered how long and ferre the realme of Ireland[20] lieth against the sea cost of Ingland and Wales, what noble havens and ffisshingis (emong other comodities) are in Ireland. The same being brought to obedience, what riches, strength and suirtie were yt to bothe the realmes? Whoe than were able to wrong or overmatche them? How moch the Frenchemen shuld be impouerished by taking awaie Ireland trade? Sum haue been of thopinion to suffer the said realme to contynew as yt is, let man doo his best in tyme to bring yt to obedience and god is preseruer therof and of all other. Oon thing emong other is to be considered, that Yrishmen grow of late to knowledge in feats of warr to exercice gunes, making of them and powder, the subiects to lesse strength of archerie (which is to be renewed, theron the delight and exercise of noble men and gent, the procurers of other subiects to exercice and imbrace the same being the chief guard) wherby bothe the subiects of Ingland and Ireland preuailed against [f. 72v] ther ffoes. Now your honor hauyng soche knowlege in the realme by grete paynes and industrie (the foes by your L. being iustly plaged), hauyng so many good subiects seruitors ther of knowledge (whois banishment of covert meanes and malice is most affected, that for lack of soche ignorance shuld sone insue to the perell of tholl realme) to execute your honors deuise. So after so long charges, onlesse by your honors meanes, paynes and dexteritie the reformacion of Ireland, or the foundacion therof, be establisshed yt is not to be looked for in my tyme. Besides the obedience now les shalbe in grete dannger, which if yt shuld channce to be evicted (as god forbid) the charges and perilles to recouer the same your honor can best deme. Thoughe I know this my rude phansis is but a troble and nedelesse to your honor, being of grete wisdome and experience, yet for zeales sake I take yt my bounden duetie to shew the same and seing part of Leynster is yet vnreduced to soche perfection as the same may be a suer foundacion to contynew that in obedience and the next and suerest to reforme the rest or kepe yt from furder harme doing. Therfor with that I will medle chieflie. This porcion is called the fift part of the realme and in the same are the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Dublin, Kildare and Catherlaghe, and in a porcion therof are the Tholes, Birnes, Kavenaghes and other which after the conquest was parcell of the said shires and vnder the gouernance of Inglishmen and obedient to the quenes most noble progenitors [f. 73r] vntil therle mershalles heires generall, being maried into Ingland, hauyng the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Catherlaghe, Kildare and Leix, being thenritannce of the said erle, deuided emong them, after whois deathe they contyneueng in Ingland with there husbandes hauyng litle respect to ther possessions in Ireland committed the gouernannce and defense therof to the said Yrishmen (whoe are scituated in oon angle, enyoieng emong other good grounnde the chief woodes and mountaynes) entier togeder in that porcion, hauyng the sea on thest side againste northe Wales about 40 myles and were till now of late as many good horssemen and other men of

[20] 'Ingland' is also written here, however, Ireland has been written above it without scratching out 'Ingland'.

warr in effect as been in the said fiue shires (being chiefly maynteigned by spoyles, tributes and other meanes exacted vpon the said subiects of the shires aforsaid). Considereng the discomoditie, contynuall hurts and the let to reduce [f. 73v] the rest which theron them occacioned and comitted to the quenes subiects and what profight, suirtie, comoditie and quiet shuld insue by subdueng and wynnyng of that porcion yt not (me think) be denied, thoughe the quene shuld never haue penny in revennew (which well increste after obedience had), being the most suerest and profightablest act that may be doon within the realme. The said Yrishmen inhabiting that porcion (as is befor) haue been the chief or oonlie let that the rest of the realme hathe not been reformed and comonlie the rebellions and insurrections (that hathe been mouid and executed in the said realme to evict the obedience of that porcion and the rest from the quenes possession) were by theis Yrishmen (wherof a haue been either actours or procurers for the more part) begune for fortheward, ffor pacifieng wherof the quenes matie hir highnes most noble granndfather, ffather, brother, and other ther progenitours haue spent grete treasure and losse of many [f. 74r] good subiects, which hath been most practised to let that shuld not be brought to obedience, wherby the revennew mought be sufficient to maynteigne good gouernor. Theis men are deuided into parties and bandes betwixt 1 and the 2 whois quarelles and causes to get most of them to be ther partakers haue occacioned moche dissentcion betwixt them. When so ever the quenes deputie doe ponish any rebell vpon any other border theis men so lieng in the bowelles of the said shires by open warre, nightly robbeng or often burnyng, hinder his procedings. In this place mought be said that the gouernors heretofor of the said realme haue been veray remisse, (as sum had moche more oportunitie than others) or had litle pollicie to suffre theis men after this sort, but rather shuld haue omitted all other exploites and oonly attended to thexile, destruccion and subdueng of the said inhabitants. The annswer may be this; that the deputie attempting that interprice O'Neile, O'Chonor and other Yrishmen perceyuyng ther anncient assured frends to be insubdueng, which alwaies in effect befor tyme in ther nedes and for ther releef had taken ther part ded make insurrection on other parties, the deputie and subiects were not able to subdue thoon partie and resist thother. Ffurther to [f. 74v] expresse a greater let to this interprise the said Yrishmen and ther septes in the said porcion of Leynster being deuided betwixt 1 and 2 the most of them were vnder tribute to 1 and part to the 2 which hathe been their chief safguard and also as by mysticall arts perceyued 1 preserued most of them for skurges to the quenes subiects at soche tyme as they wold be in displeasur for refraynyng of ther appetits and for other causes knowing well that if thois parties were reformed the advantage ne vnle befor enyoied wold not be furdor permitted.

Theis men also let that the quenes subiects can not resort thoon to helpe thother or to ioyne entier ther grete forces to reforme the rest.

Theis men exiled the mynistracion of the quenes lawes owt of Cartlaghe, best scituated and metest place to kepe them in.

Theis men be a sanctuarie and receptacle aswell to soche of quenes subiects as commit murders and robberies as to the Mores, Chonors and other rebelles.

Theis men haue the quenes auncient inheritannce in that porcion in ther possession and most of the subiects and landes ioynyng to them vnder expenses, robberies and vnder tribute.

[f. 75r] The premisses well considered befor this procion be subdued and with Inglish subiects inhabited ther resteth no smale perell to that now obedient and no hoop groundly to reforme the rest and as yt is affirmed the hill Aetna ever burnethe so shall charges and tyme be ever consumyng to an vncertayne securitie or end tyll this porcion be reformed. To the perfection of this interprise yt is to be well remembred after what sort the same may be executed, whereunto principallie yt is to be noted not oonlie what captaynes, what number of men (besides the now garrison), what inhabitannts shalbe mete, but also by what meanes the same shall procede according the purpoos, maner and diuersitie, wherof the number and

charges must be considered. Ther been diuers waies and meanes to wynne this angle and euery of them fecsible, to constreyne them to obedience and tribute the army or number foloing victeyled and monethely paid (the lack wherof wolbe an grete hinderance to the quenes seruice and yet in ende hir highnes charges therby nothing alleviated) with thande of the quenes subiects shalbe sufficient, neverthelesse the same being so brought to purpoos no securitie may be demed therin ffor longer than they shalbe kept in subiection by strength and force, they well kepe neither promise ne bond, oportunitie serueng them to digresse to insue that way with thois inhabited in this place (wherin most trust of securitie is to be planted) were not good [f. 75v] ne to be trusted to. Ffor which purpoos considereng that this place in respect of the scituacion and for the causes befor expressed is the foundacion and rock of suirtie to the quene and hir subiects yt is to be resolved vpon that none now inhabiting of Yrish blud on condicion be suffered in that porcion to inhabite, remayne or be interteigned ffor the most assured atchyueng therof is to exile them, wherby all thooll cuntrey shalbe made vacant and wast which may be doon in a yere, but the same so wasted and they exiled onlesse the same be inhabited many woll retorne agayne and be worsse than they were befor. Withowt inhabitacion the rost were but vaynely continued and to the inhabitacion of that porcion be requisite 10 or 12 thowsand coples which must be had owt of Ingland of mete substance of young yeres and good actiuitie which may be had owt of Ingland of mete substance of young yeres and good men of actiuitie[21] and they may be had emong the shires adioynyng to the sea cost whois lacks ther others may well supplie (vpon soche need) of which number let a mete cumpany be planted in Wicloe which towne must first be walled (hauyng the best creke hauen vpon thest sea of Leinster), enfrannchesed and a large territorie laid to the same and to be giuen in frehold. Arcloe is within 12 myles of the same (where is a castell of therle of Ormonds) that must be walled, enfranchesed and a [f. 76r] large territorie to be giuen in frehold. Next to that vpon the sea cost is a decaied priorie called Glaschary, the same to be walled, or inclosed, and a number to inhabite yt, a good territory of ground to be laid to the same and to be giuen as is befor.

In Kynshelaghe and Dunnd Duf hath a safe towne ioynyng to the woodes and good ground belonging to yt. Let a cumpany be planted ther.

In Hew MacShane's cuntrey (which ioynethe to the grete fastnes of that quarter and deuidethe the strength of the Birnes and Kavenaghes) let a good cumpany inhabite. Annother at Castelkevin or Glan Dilaghe. Annother good cumpany at Ffernes, which towne is to be walled and infrannchesised or a towne to be set by the ryuerside (which being within half a myle to the castell is best). Annother cumpany at St Malingis vpon the Barrow, to whoch place may cum grete boats. Annother cumpany at Ynnyshescorthie lieng vpon the water of Slane which is within 12 myles to Wexford. By the same ryuer may Fernes and other places be vnteiled (if labour be vsed to clene the ryuer). At Cloghehamon annother cumpany.

At Clonemore annother fort. The rest to be bestowed in other nedefull places and all the landes whoe so ever they been within that porcion or ioynyng to yt be giuen to the quene for exchange of other or for the rent now paid. And ther must be elected certen gent of Inland, being younger brethern, of honest substance, of good discretion and artiuitie, which haue litle or nothing to dispend ther, to the intent they shall [f. 76v] trust to nothing elleswhere, but to soche lands as the quene shall appoint them, and euery of them to chose soche men to cum with them as will inhabite with them, whoe must be of sum habilitie to inhabite. Let oon of them haue Powerscourt and all Ffercullen to him and to his heires mascles, annother to haue to him and to his heires mascles the Newcastell MacKenygan 14 myles from Dublin with certen money to reedifie the same and a barony of land therto adioynyng.

Annother to haue Castlekevin and the Fferture to him and to his heires mascles.

[21] The repetition here is Alen's.

Annother to be made lord of Wicloe and he to haue to him and to his heires mascles a barony with all the mete lands betwixt that and Arcloe reserued to the quene, the propertie of the castell the making of the castell cunstable, the custum and fee fferme of the towne.
Annother to be made lord of Arcloe with the lands of Ynnyshkyn, Felaghe and other lands to a barony.
Annother to be made baron of Glascary with a barony of lands saving to the quene in the ports and creks the custum and fee ferme.
Annother to haue Ynnyshcorthie with a barony of landes.
Annother to haue O'Morghoes cuntrie.
Annother to haue Old Rosse with the [Ffasghe Bentrie].
[f. 77r] Annother to haue the Abbay of Duske with a mete territorie next and ioynyng. Annother to haue Omayle. Annother to haue Colraynell and a barony of landes. Annother to haue St Malingis lieng vpon the Barrow (which were good to be walled). Euery of theis capitaynes or chiefteynes must haue a certen horssemen and footemen to be contynewed in wags for two or thre yeres and euery the said gent must deuid soche landes, saving mete demaynes (for ther occupieng) as shalbe lotted to them vnto ther souldiours and soche as shall cum with them into freholdes. Ther must be an hed capitayne which shall haue the gouernance, guyding and leading of all the rest. He must be an actiue expert and grate personage to be created erle of Catherlaghe and lord of Ffernes and he to haue the same honors and to him and to his heires mascles with the baron of Ydrone. The lordship of Clonemore with all the landes of Catherlaghe, Slewmorh and the rest of the landes betwixt that and Fernes and so to the [neres] of Ynnyshscorthie and the rest as shalbe lymyted by soche as shalbe auctorised for the lymytacion of that porcion to euery of the said erle, lords and gent Euery of them and others to whom the said possessions shalbe giuen to hold by knight seruice, yelding sumwhat yerely to the quenes highnes, which erle, lords, gent, ther men and the forsaid number being not able fullie to inhabite may allure more owt of Ingland and owt of the Inglish pale of Inglish towng, habite and condicion, ffor in caas they trust or suffer the now inhabitannts to terrie vnder them, the former [f. 77v] will couertly seke and compasse the confusion. An order also must be taken and executed that none of the borderers or other in the forsaid shires cherishe, kepe, ne haue any men of warre after the Yrish sort, nor vse Yrish habite, ne trade, ffor if they doe they woll corrupt thother and be ther decaie.
To the profighting of this interprise thre hundreth horssemen and 800 ffootmen woll serue vpon the now state the first yere and oon hundreth masons, carpenters and other artificers and theis men may attend to nothing but to this interprise.
Laws and mynysters therof must be had and two frescoles established. The victeileng of theis men is to be forseen.
Grannt that the interprise shuld be begune at Mydsomer or toward haruest, than reping the cornes and bringing the same to certen places wold help and the cattell to be had in the cuntrey. Better yt were at All Sts whan all cornes are in haggard, most of the whete and bere sowed, beves ar in season to be powdered. The supplie of victeiles (which may not be had in the realme that must be forcast and considered) must be prouided and transported from Chester, Lyrpoole, Man, Nerthe, Sowthwalles, Bristell and elleswhere to Wicloe, Arcloe, Ynnyshscorthie and St Malingis (the places to store and laie vp the [fence] in must be for prouided). The carriages from euery of theis places [f. 78r] to others must be forseen and prouided ffor whan so ever this army shall set into this cuntrey, either shall ther aduersaries destroie all ther victeiles of the same porcion or if they shuld not so doe the army shall take the beastes and cornes of the cuntrey, wherby with owt present supplie they shall destroie ther owne habitacion and make all wast and therby be constreyned to leave of the interprise for lack of victeiles. The nobilitie of theis Inglishmen and the valiant corage of them and ther souldiors which beganne the conquest in Henrie the secunds tyme is moche to be extolled and

noted. Wher to so grete an interprise being few in number (thenymies than knowledge and armor were smale) ded valiantly lonyngly, obediently, paynefullie, circumspectly and groundly procede to fortifie and inhabite as they went (whois deades remayne to ther imortall renowne and to the reproche of ther posteritie) not giueng place to thenymie ne yet hoop to them by ther delicate fare lodging ne apparell, nor by sumptuous buyldings, nor by haunting walled townes, to preuayle, but inbraced the contrarie and therby atchiued ther purpoos. Yt is to be demed in youghtful, coragious hartes that the desire of fame, to inlarge the obedience and lands of ther native realme and wynnyng of lands to them and to ther posteritie changed payne into pleasure. Yf this litle befor [f. 78v] mencioned interprise (hauyng soche help therto within the realme as is) the key, the foundacion and as yt were the rock and the chief begynnyng of the subiection of the land be not fecsible what is to be denied of yt and the rest. But befor this army be appointed to this interprise and enter into the realme ther capitaynes must haue straight charge that none of ther men be suffered to haunt Dublin, Wexford, ne Waterford, ffor if they doe they shalbe the lesse mete to serue this purpoos, but that euery of them vpon payne of dethe contynew in the place where he shalbe appointed. Yt is to be knowen that thre things may be the let or hinderance of this interprise; the insurrection of Yrishmen, default of victeiles and lack of money. Therfor, as touching victeiles, part must cum with them and part after them that woll serue for a yere and mony for that tyme and so duely after during the interprise, the want wherof shuld occacion the let and losse of thooll and likewise furnature of money for your noble lordship and army, whoe for lack being constreyned to leave the borders and seruice wold let and cut of this most suerest interprise. This being the suerest waie for charges (which in soche a caas shuld not be passed on) and other things woll not take place. Than [f. 79r] a losse nomber may serue to banish and kepe them owt by wast of the cuntrey and to inhabite and wall the sea townes and other few mete places and to inhabite them with and with. Yf that like not; than a garrison of fiftie footmen and an hundreth footmen to be contynewed in Ffernes, a like cumpany at Castelkeven and so vpon the execucion of a law to weare the men of warre and ther armor and to bring the rest to obedience and with and with by ther helpes tow all Wicloe, Arcloe and sum other. In theis last two shalbe bothe seking charges and no securitie of the contynuance of the obedience. This part being duely reformed and inhabited the quene hathe in oon intier porcion and obedience from the furthest part of Lecale by northe vnto beyond Kinsale sowthe and by west about 20 myles of Yreland lenght in which space are the obedient counties of Lowthe, Est Methe, West Methe, Dublin, Leix, Ofailie, Kildare, Catherlaghe, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperarie, Cork, Kerrie and Lymerick. In the same porcion are the hauens and creks of Strangford, Ardglasse, Carlingford, Dundalke, Drogheda, Skirreis, Malahid, Howthe, Russhe, Dublin, Bray, Wicloe, Arcloe, Glancary, Wexford, Waterford, Dungarvan, Yoghill, Cork, Kinsale, Lymerick and other.

[f. 79v] Before your honor repaire into Ireland Leix and Ofailie were demed that the disloyall inhabitannts therof wold moche haue letted this interprise (as in dede ther wold) and the same cuntries being now in effect wast wold be strongly inhabited in few places that the enymie were not able to hurt ne haue succour and so by litle and litle groundly to procede. To avoide the suspect that Yrish men may conceyue in this behalf yt were good a comission shuld be grannted to your honor to gyue and grannt them and to ther heires mascles vpon sum reseruacion ther now landes. As for Mounster saving the guardeng of the Bulwerk in Cork hauen after Myhilmas next shuld not be medled with ne any other place more than nedes must this interprise taking place as god grannt yt maie.

Therles of Desmond, Ormond, Thomond and Clanrichard with other subiects doing ther dueties, Yrishmen may be by them so infested as your honor may preserue the subiects from ther malice and yet this interprise to take place.

Obedience causethe quiet and quiet causethe welthe, welthe serchethe the riches vnderground, welthe causethe ryuers to be amended, welthe wynnethe the ground surrounded, welthe eradicated the trees and makethe that errable ground or otherwise to improue welthe by industrie alterethe the marrses, forcethe them to profight by welthe the baren soyles be improued. To conclude yt maie please your honor to take the length and rudenes in good part.

14. John Walshe
'Informacion geven [to the Privy Council] by your oratour John Walshe of Youghell in Irlande for the reformacion of thenormities of the saide realme.' (1559)
BL, Add. MS. 4,767, f. 123

[f. 123r] To the quenes mats moost honorable counsaill.

Informacion geven by your oratour John Walshe of Youghell in Irlande for the reformacion of thenormities of the saide realme and to bring the same vnto civilitie, humbly desiring your honors to pardon his boldness herin and tacceipte his good will and simple discreacion in the declaracon thereof according of his bounden dutie.

Ffirst to haue a lorde deputie of great power that shall haue contynuannce there and will mynister iustice without pardon grannting, suche one as therle of Sussex is.

Item than an acte of parliament may be made there that no lorde nor gentillman in Irelande shall vse nor set cony nor lyverey, for then shall they not be hable to make insurrections nor oppress the pore commons as they nowe do.

Item an acte to be made that all lords and gentilmen shall lett there lands for rent as they do here in Englande, for then they shall not oppresse those that dwell vpon their lands.

Item that an acte be made that no lorde nor gentilman shall not haue any suche trayne to oppresse the pore, but suche as he shalbe hable to maynteyne in his owne howse.

Item an acte that all malefactors may be tryed and suffer by the quenes lawes after the custome of Englande and not to acceipte nor take fyne, hericke nor restitucion for thefte or murder as they do by the like Irishe lawes and custome of the conntrey and also that the receyvors and maynteyer may suffer aswell as the malefactors and principall.

Item an acte that there be no Irishe iudge or brehowne (whiche the lords and gentilmen kepe according to the custome of the countre) but that all they may annswere the quenese mats lawes as they doo in Englande.

Item to haue an Englishe sheryfe to execute true iustice being of power and also iustics of the peace and quorn in every shire after the maner of Englande and also the said sherife to haue aucthoritie to execute the marshall lawe.

Item an acte that if any of the lords or gentilmen offend the Quenes mats lawes and suffre for it, that then the next heyre and worthrist of his kynred to enioy his inheritannce, then shall they perceyve that her matie seketh not their lands nor goods but the obedience of her lawes.

Item that there be but one kynde of coyne in Englande and Irelande wherby her hieghnes shall the more imbeare the love of her mats comunaltie there.

These things being doon with spede your orootor doubteth not that the saide realme shalbe brought to civilitie within fewe yeres.

[f. 123v] Your honors shall vndertsande that certain lords sonnes of the west of [Irelande][22] are goon into Spayne and Ffrannce to seke ayde of forreyn princes and to procure them to come into Irelande. One of them is lately come out of Ffrannce with two shippes vnder the collour of bringing of marchanndise but chiefly to knowe who will take there parte and as it is secretly declared an other is comyng after with 30 sayle wherefore your honors may provide as ye shall see cause and furnishe the porte townes there of all things necessary and especially the pore towne of Youghell with corne (whiche is in great neade and lacke thereof as the lorde deputie partelye knowethe) wherby they shalbe the better hable bothe to defende theimselfs and also to receyve here mats power and in the meane tyme by your loving lres to require therle of Desmonnde to haue an ernest regarde to the defence of the conntrey. And thiese things I thought standing with my bounden dutie to repayre hither at myn owne chardge to declare vnto your honors humbly prayeng pardon for my rudeness in this bihaulf referring the redresse hereof vnto your honors.

[22] The right hand side of the text on the reverse of the folio is slightly bound.

15. Cormac MacBrian O'Connor
'A device for the government of Ireland showing by what means the countries of Offaley and Levx, and the ten countries adjoining to them may be brought to peace and quiet.' (c. 1559)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/1/84

The flyleaf reads, 'Ireland. A deuise for the gouernment of Ireland. Ffrom Ireland. From O'Connor'.

[f. 204r] By whate meanes the contrees of Aphaly and Leyse and the ten contrees adioyned to them may be brought to pease and quiete.

1. The first and moste notable cause wherfor thos two contrees of Aphaly and Leyse, and all other the lyke, haue transgressid and lyvid withowt order or rule was, and yet is, by cause ther was never lawe mantay, civill order proscribed vnto them, nor the people edified nor instructyd in the knowledge of god, nor ther prynce, neverthelesse they ar as proue, and as ernistly, and hartellye, inclined, and disposed to lerne to know ther dueties, as is possible for eny of ther sorte to be. Then ther is no impedyment to reduce this simple people to conformite yf thes lackes be planted emongest them, and that they may be suer by the measur of iustice to enyoye the fruts of ther anne sweat, ffor establishement wherof in those tow contrees aforesaid, yf yt shall lyke your moste excellent wysdomes, of your honnorable clemensye, to grannt the restitucion of those 2 contrees with all other possessions therto belonginge to me, and to myn heires, and to the O'Mors in lyk maner, to houlde the same by tenure and services after the lawes of England. Yt shall ensue that aswell bothe those contrees shall be in short time cyvilly inhabited, and also by my perswacion and ernist endevour the ten lordships or contrees next adioynynge shalbe brought to lyke vniforme, which I dare vndertake if it may lik your honnors to auctoryse me, wherby the quenes excessyve chardges, and the grete chardge and disquiet of the Englyshe pale, shalbe dysmynisheid and the quenes maiesties revenue augmentid.

[f. 204v] Whate rentes shalbe paied owte of those tow contrees.

2. It may lyke your wysdomes to consider the calamite and grete povertye that the pore people of those contrees ar precently yn, thrughe thintollerable exaccions and impacissions, and captens of gentlemen ther appointid to sarve, and also by prainge, burnynge and stealthe, by reason wherof not (for a certen time) well hable to bear eny chardgs. Neverthelesse, let ther be a certen rent lymitted by your honnors or the L. deputy and counsell of Ireland. And it woll do well that the furst 3 or 4 years rent be not demanndid, that the pore people may take sum proffit owte of the grounde to exonerate ther chardge and whate rent so ever shalbe thought gode by your honnors to be reserveid shalbe by godes grace duelye and truely paide.

The meanes how the harts of those subiects of Ireland now owte of quiet may be won.

3. Let it please your cyrcomspecte wysdomes to vnderstand the causes that moveid those subiects to withdrawe ther harts from obedienc of late years, vpon myne exile, withowt defeat or order of eny lawe cyvill or marshall all the Iryshe in all parts, and specyally the men of gretist power and habilite, stode in greate mistrust of Englishemen, and lokeid every oure for a conquest, sins which tyme Englishe captens wear placeid and had absolut power and rule in Iryshemens contrees, and in thinglishe borders they founde and deviseid suche shifts and practises to slannder and accuse the lords [f. 205r] and quiet gentlemen and inosent people of

the contrees, that withowt farther triall or profe if it wear ones spoken of a soldior or captens mowthe hit was a sufficient quarell for the capten to rob, prey and kill the person so accussid and all his tenants, without other auctoreyte or comision then the captens anne allegallegacion. And this, from time to tyme, hathe ben vseid emongs the pore people withowt redresse by way of recompenc or restitucion, all which enormities and abvses looked vpon, and by your wysdomes thought good to be taken awaye, and this order taken, comissioners to be appointid to hier and determyn the enormities and se restitucion to be made to the pore people that be greveid, and proclamacins made through owte the realme, that whate soldiors, capten or other hathe vniustlye, by eny meane, taken the goodes or cattels of eny Irysheman that he shalbe harde that complained and able it the captens and soldiors be never hable to make full satisfacion vnto the pore men, yet when they shall vnder stande this order, taken for punyshement of malefactors, aswell those that ar fre (which ar veary feawe) as those that haue susteyned the hynderance, shall reyoic to haue suche indifferency nowe as they never had to this daye, and shall hope for the dayly contynuance therof, which shall bothe wyn ther harts and sarvice for ever.

[f. 205v] By whate meanes the quene may haue that realme presarveid withowt chardgs to the quene.

4. Ffor asmoche as in time of pease the queanes soldiors do ly still in the contre to the grete chardge of the pore people, and for the most part be not dryven to sarve in one whole year together, and yet the quenes maiestie chardgid with the wages therfor, it shall do well that order be taken that captens be appointed in every baronye, and certen archers to be chosyn and taken vp in the barronies to the number that shalbe thought meate to serve. The capten to haue 4*li* ster. standinge wags, and the quenes wags, durenge the time of service, and no longer, and lykwyse every soldior to haue 26*s* 8*d* ster. towards the payment of his rent, and a white cote yearlye, and the quenes wags duringe the tyme of sarvic, and no leinger, and bowes and arrowes to be deliuerid to them by warrant so as the same shall not be spent or wasted. But during the time of sarvic by thies meanes the quenes maiesty may haue tall soldiors and the number of 800 for the chardgs in effect of 200 now and ten captens for the chardge of 2 captens. And for horsmen, ther be dyvers gentlemen that haue horssemen and to gyve him that haue 16 horsemen 20 nobles yearly, and according that rate to other that haue more in nomber with the quenes wags onely for the time of sarvic, and 4 marks by the year to every horseman, I am assureid ther shalbe inughe of horsemen to be gottin so. Wherby ther shalbe had 6*s* for the chardgs of one hundrethe horsemen and the captens, and likewyse kerne, may be had, and 600 chosin men of the army, wherof to be 300 northern horsemen, 200 artchers and one hundred gonnors. I suppose the revenue wyll go ner to vnborden the sume.

[f. 206r] By whate meanes the danngers and straytes of that realme may be in the quenes posescion.

5. The moste perrellouse straits and danngers of Ireland ar in the northe contre in Leckell, which ar the manors of Carlingford in Coule and Ardglas, with diuers other names the quenes auncient enherytans in Lecell, which ar now in the possession of Sir Nichas Bagnald by the gifte of kinge Edwarde the sixt. And thiese castels and straytes woulde be chefely kept in good securyte, for they ar buyldid in the porest places of all the whole realme for all enemyes

and streang[23] strangers to com yin, and wear at the begynyng erectid for the safete and defenc of the realme. It wear well done therfor, seinge they ar things of so grete chardge and trust, that the quenes highenes, if your honnours thought so good, would call the same in to her hands ageyne, and recompenc Sir Nychas Bagnald with sum honest recompenc of lyveinge sum otherwhear, for sins the same came to Sir Nyclas is possession he so demeanid himself towards the Irishemen of the northe that well nyer the subvercion, and vtter distruccion, of all the whole contre did ensue, and vpon that occacion gyven by him, Brook and Brerton, and ther capens, the contre was dryven to seake freindship and ayd of Skotts, who befor that tyme wear mortall enemies vnto the Skotts, and ones they had favour within the contre all the Irishemen of Irelande, for the more parte, gave the Skotts intertaynment to resist thes captens wherso ever they wear, and this as moch as I am hable to say in annswear to this article.

[f. 206v] By what meanes the Skotts may be exilid and the realme best presarveid from foren enemies.

6. Ther be certen Skotts that dwellithe in the northe contre by the see sid that haue had certeyn terrytories of certein gentlemen by marriage, and haue contynued and kept the possession thies 300 years, and ar more naturall Iryshemen and subiects, but they haue bene dyvers tymes wrongfully disturbid by soldyors and captens, and thies men haue ben ever mortall enemies to the Reedshankes, and if it did like your honnours to addresse your lres to the lord deputy and counsell of Irelande, willinge them to suffer those men quietly to enyoy ther contre, and that the chief capten of them may haue sum intertaynment of the quenes highenes. Yt shall veary moche encorradge them to be paynfull in servic when neade shall require, so that they, with the help of the contre, shalbe hable to defend and keape those partes from perrell of forren hostilite, being the most danngerouse place of all the realme for invacion of Skotts or other enemies.
It may please your wysdomes to call to remembrannce the greate favour and love that of ould time hathe bene betwene the quenes highenes auncestors and thauncestors of James McCoynell, who is of the blode roiall of Skotland and now chief governour of the Owte Isles. I suppose if it would like the quenes highenes to write her graces favourable lres vnto him, and send sum tooken withall to renew the oulde freindshipe, it shoulde not onely be a meane to cause him to keape his power from doeing eny hurte to eny the quenes subiects in Irelande, but also it is the meane to debilitate the power of thinglishe Skotts, and to streyngthen the quenes maiestye ageinst the same Englishe Skotts, if it would please her highenes to enterpryse the wynyng of that realme.

[23] There appears to have been an attempt to write strangers here at the end of the line, which, not fitting, has been rewritten in full at the beginning of the next line.

16. James Croft
'A remembrance by Sir James Croft showing the need of some to administer justice throughout Ireland, and proposing that Grammar Schools be erected, that the people may be bred to be meet for that purpose; also the dissensions in Ulster, the number of Scots, and proposals for reformation thereof.' (1561)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/3/17

Italicised footnotes refer to marginal notes by Burghley, who has also synopsized the main points of Crofts memoranda on a flyleaf.

A brief remembrannce of certen things concernyng Ireland.[24]

[f. 42r] Fforasmuch as Ireland, after great travaile, and expenses, continueth neverthelesse for the most part owt of order, and the wayes and meanes to reforme the same dependeth vpon sondry things to be devised, and not easy to be put in execution, and as it is very mete that the impediments be sought owt, and remedy provided. Hit is to be noted, as an introduction to the whole matter, thate the longe continuannce of the disorders, and disobedience in Ireland consistith[25] chiefly in two points; thone for lacke of sufficient ministers of iustice in all partes, the other is the great acesse that Scotts hath in to the north partes of Ireland, partely by makyng invasions to spoile the countres, but chiefly callid in by the inhabitannts of the realme to help to defende them and to revenge their wrong or to vsurpe vpon their neighbors, for lack of ministers to releve them, or to restrayn them of their willis as the case shall require wherof folowith that the north parte is not only in continual discention amonge them selfs, but also those Scotts (which come as ayd gevers) doth inhabite the ralme, some possessyng lands by force, and others remaynyng in Conaught, wherby thinhabitants of that parte of the realme decresith and the strangers cometh so fast as by the help of their complics in the Owt Iles and the ilands of Scotland, gret perill is like to ensewe, as partely doth appere by the rebells which of late hath byn in those partes, wherefore it is necessary that theise two poynts be wayed, and considered, aswell for the contynuall gouernannce, as for avoyding of the perill which dayly growith. And to the first point, it is manifest that England is not hable to spare so many ministers, as were convenient for thexecution of the lawes in all parts of that realme, neither is the chargs tolerable that is to be bestowed for their mayntenance and therfor gramerscoles and other placs for students wold be erected that the people of the same realme may be bred to be mete for the purpose. And in the meane tyme to procure that the wyld people may be brought by degres to be apt to receyve such lawes, and ordnance as be vsed within the English pale, eyther by comissioners to be appoynted to lyve in seuerall partes of the relame, or to be sent sundry tymes in circuits to vnderstand the disorders and to se redreffe made. And of these comissions a myxture wold be made both of English and Irishe aswell [f. 42v] to frame the Irishe men to ciuilitie, and knowlege, as also that it appere vpon their good deservyng they shalbe estemed and vsed as faythfull and obediente subiects. And by cause the countres are not in such case as the common lawes caner be put in execution. It shalbe necessary that with the consent of the chosist and wisest of thinhabitannts of euery part, such ordinancs fitt be made as may be thought requisite for the tyme, appoynting in euery shire shryves, and such other officers, as both thordinancs and officers may haue a resemblance (as nere as may be) to the common lawe till things shall growe to a more rypenes. And by theise meanes it is very like that much good shalbe don in all partes of the realme savyng Vlster, which by occasion of Scotts (as is aforesaid) is not in case to receyve

[24] *James Crofts*
[25] *1. Lack of ministers, 2. Scotts*

any good orders. And seyng that parte is not only vnapt to receyve good gouernment but is also like to continewe in rebellion, and be an occasion of continuall chargs to the prince and perill to the hole realme, it is most necessary that the matter be deply considered, as whether it shalbe mete to extirpe all the Scotts or by degrees to put away some parts of them, and retayne parte for a tyme, or that those Scotts which be now in Conaught with the Irish lords may be taken to the princs service and that there bonaught may be borne ouer the countrey. And so with lesse nomber of English men vnder good gouernor to seke to bryng into obedience some parte of the countrey and to procede forward as the works shalbe found to haue good successe, ffor assuredly except the disorders in the north countrey be stayed there is no hope to bryng Ireland in to obedience, or to make lesse the princs charges, but contrary wise the realme will continewe in disobedience and put the prince to excessive charges. And therfore this work before all others after good deliberacion, is to be taken in hand, and the matter takyng good successe (as there is no dowt if it be will considred and good ministers chosen to put the same in execution) the realme wilbe in vniuersall peace, wherby it shalbe easy in processe of tyme to establish and minister lawes both for the wealth and comoditie of the people and consequently to the princs perpetuall honor and increase of revenewes and other proffitts sufficient to mayntayn the state.

17. Thomas Cusack
'Mr. Thomas Cusake to Cecill, relative to a reformation in the government of Ireland.' (1562)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/5/33

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right honorable Sir Williame Cisell, knyght, principall secretarie to the quenes maiestie'.

[f. 88r] Right honorable my dutie considered. Allthoughe I haue not vsed to aduertyse your honor of the affaires heare, yet knowinge your greate care of the quenes highnes seruice and the good estate of this her maiesties realme, I haue thought it my dutie to signyfie vnto your honor some parte of my knowledge and experiens in the procedings heare. And first, the quiete of this realme vniuersallie is suche as in no mans memorie the better hathe bene sene, so as yf the northe partes weare perfictlie ruled, and the fortes of Leyce and Offaeleye comytted to the gouerment of suche as nede no ayde nor imposicions of the countrey, and order for presydentes to be establyshed in Vlster, Mounster and Connaught, it would reduce this realme to greate welthe, ciuilitie and obedienc to our soueraigne lady, and in short tyme annswer vnto her highnes a revenue sufficiente to sustaine the chardgs of the same, and her highnes dysburdened of her superfluous garrisons, and her Engylshe subiectes relyuede of the prente chardgs they of necessitie do beare, assuringe your honor that to resyst the mallice of any Iryshe captene that would perhapps revoult ther maie be allwaies in a redines of her maties Englishe subiectes halbe men the nomber of 2,000 horsmen, archiers and harguebutiers without any further chardg to her highnes then the prente event shall requiere. I haue knowen these in my yeres the gouerment and pollicie of this realme, and in all orders deuised for reformacione, none could be compared to this way, yf it maie so stande withe the quenes highnes pleashure. Thus, maie a crewe of 300 men of warre suffice to attend vppon the gouernor seme and otherwyse if this greate garryson should remaine it cannot be remydied but bysides her maties greate chardgs. Her Englishe pall should be sore impoueryshed and therby daielie ryseth greate clamor. Thus, besechinge your honor to beare with my boldnes and to contynue your goodnes towardes Mr Wyse, who with his ffrends are moste bound to praie for you. He hath nowe found surties for dyschardge aswell of thre houndred poundes and odd to the quenes matie, as also for 600*li* to Mr Sentleger in her highnes dyschardge. I trust your honor will the rather at this [prente] pore sute consider him in his right. And so I humbly tak my leue this 17th of Ffebruary 1561.

Your honors to comande.

Thomas Cusake.

18. William Bermingham
'Bermyngham's memorial of advices for the government of Ireland.' (1563)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/9/27

A flyleaf reads, 'Bremychams memoryall anno. 5 Eliz.. Advisces for government of Irland'.

[f. 54r] I thoght it not necessary to declare the state of Ireland vnto your honorable L. as it nowe standethe, for I do iudge your L. ar not ignorant therof, wherfor I thoght good to declare (in myne opinion) the best meanes to reforme the same.

Ffirst, that ther be a governor ther allwaies out of England, and one of the nobilyte, and for the magnificens of that estate shall have these specyall instructions:
Ffyrst, to be trve of his promysse in all the prince's affaires. Secondly, to have a zeale of iustice in maynteinynge the lawes to his vttermost veary slove, and care in gravntinge of pardons, and not without great consyderacions, kepinge a good parte meete for that estate, affable to good men, severe to evill men, makinge no dyfference betwene the good subiect of Ireland and the subiect of England.

Itm that ther be a gentleman made for a tyme an ouerseer, and vnder him the Byrne's and Toole's contry, with specyall instructions for exchetinge, extorcion and brybere, beinge contented with suche comodyties as the prince shall appoynt him, wherwith he may be well contented and the prince a grettr gayner then she is nove.

The lick to be senshiall of the countie of Wexford.
The lick to be in the Cavanaghe's contry.

The lick man to be constable of Athlone, havinge the rule and chardge of the Irish contries adioyninge vnto him, and order taken for the stableshinge of Leyse and Offale to hir maties leaste chardge. Also, that ther be a lorde marshall ther duringe this thre yeres, otherwise it is thoght that such as shalbe nowe dischardged and put out of wadges perhappes wyll make more work for the tyncker. And that order be soche as no coyne nor lyuery be taken of eny of the Q. maties subiects within hir Englyshe pale, vppon payne of the stattuts made to the contrary, and the takers to make a grevous fyne to the prince *tories quonies the*.[26] Coyne and lyuery is […][27] the takinge of horsmeat and mans meate of the […] will [f. 54v] they will they and as muche as the takers will caringe nothinge thease, which coyne and lyuerie as the bredinge vppe of many idell persons the veary mother of and comon auctor of extorcion and robres.

The reformacon of Mownster.

Itm that ther be a lord president made ther, with a vice president, two learned consailars, and a clerk to attend vppon them, and that the lord president do put in exsecution all the devyses of the said vice presidentes and consailers for the mynisteracion of iustice or service to the prince. Also, that ther be order taken yt the Spaynards do not fishe eny waie at all in the west partes of Ireland, as they now yerly do without painge eny custom to the prince, and also that the citties and haven townes ther, as Waterford, Corke, Yoghell, Kinsale and Limerick, may furnishe certayne shipps and barkes aswell for ther owne defence, as also for the service of

[26] because the muscles
[27] A word here has been erased.

the prince ther, to prosecute and punyshe such malefactors and piretts as nowe do onely lyve by raven and piracy vppon the said west costes, and also put in exsecution the comavndements of the sayd presydents and consaile from tyme to tyme, which citties and townes ar well able to do the same by meane wherof the quenes maties revenve will augment greatly, and that McCarty More, McArty Reaghe, O'Kennede, and Teyge McCormyck, and others the lyck who be rulers and doers in Movnster may be called to consultacion of things for fowrnes sake, and euery of them to put in exsecution vnder his rule the orders devysed by the said L. presidents consaile, and whosoeuer shall disobey ther devyses the rest to go vppon him and dryve him out of his contry without the princes chardge, otherwyse to cavse him obeye, and ther callinge to consaile will not onely induce them to the more cyvilyte and obedience but also will cavse them for the honor of ther place to furnyshe them selves with Englishe apparell, and be the more gyven to Englyshe order, and that the lick order that shalbe taken in Leynester for the abolyshinge of coyne and lyueries be taken in Mavnster in processe of tyme, which may not be put in excecution presently.

[f. 55r] Itm that ther be order taken between the earle of Tomonde and Sir Donal O'Brene and Teghe O'Brene's sonnes, which wilbe best taken by the earles of Desmond, Kildare, Ormond, and Clanrickard, and suche other lordes as dwellith in those quarters, and whosoeuer shall breake those orders onese taken, or go abowt the breakinge of them, to make a grevous fyne to the quenes matie, and if eny of the said parties do comyt eny mvrdre, one agaynst an other, then the partye to have the lave and the quene the land, which she may easely pocesse, havinge it by suche order as is prescribed, and the said lords best specyfied to prosecute the offendors.

A reformation for Connaght.

Itm the lick lorde presidente, vice presydent, counsailers, and clerk be in Connaght, folovinge the lick order as is prescribed in the tytle of Movnster, with shippinge in Galve. Ther ar no more towns in Connoght that have eny shippinge but Galve alloneth.

A reformacion for Vlster.

Itm the lick order as is prescribed In Movnster and Connaght for the L. president, vice presydent, consailors, and clerk, and all other orders befor specyfyed, to be foloved and kept in Vlster, the shippinge exsepted for ther is no towne from Drogheda forthe able to kepe or mayntene eny shippinge in all Vlster. It is also to be noted that ther wilbe lack of corne in Vlster for the proviccion of the vice president and consaile for the furst two or thre yeres which mvst be consydered. It is also to be noted that coyne and lyuery may not be so sone banished in Vlster, as it may be in Connaght and Movnster.

The lord presydents befor specified havinge small fees rather as a knowledge of senioryte then as eny great augmentacion of lyvinge, and also that the L. gouernor for the tyme beinge shall onest euery yere make his progresse throghe the lymytts of the said L. presidentes […], and hauinge ther order and gouernment ther, and beinge contrary to the prescribed orders by the quenes mate and your honorable L. here, then the said L. president or consail in whom the first shalbe to be removid and punyshed accordinge to the quantite and qualyte of the first.

[f. 55v] And for that it becometh not the sayd lord gouernor to ryde with a small company into those contries, for excheting of anting that ought befall to the quenis maties dishonor, I do also thincke good that two thousand able men with ther capens and officers be chossen out

of the Englyshe pale, bothe horsmen, and archers, and suche as the L. gouernor may be bold to trust with suche of the [100] galloglas as do allwaies remayne ther in wadges do attende and wayt vppon the said L. gouernor duringe his sayd progresse, havinge the quenis maties wadges as longe as they shalbe with the sayd lord gouernor in his progresse, and at ther retorne to be […], and that euery man so chossen may have a litle stipend by the yere to the valew of […][28] for the mayntenance of ther weapons, and incorradgement of ther service, and that shirtes of mayle to the maker befor specyfied be onese delyuerd vnto euery man, for the which asmuche mony shalbe paied agayne as they cost to hir highnes. Also that ther be so many shirtes of maile more with 200 corseletts for pickmen in the Mr. of thordynances of kepinge to prevente all soddayne eventes, with mvnicion sufficient to remayne ther as a store for the prince, and that mvnicion be delyuerd to the men that shall wayt vppon the L. gouernor, accordinge the proportion befor speccyfied and ther capen havinge chardge to mvster them onese euery moneth. This progresse done by this order and sorte one thre yere the L. gouernor shall not nede to cary with him eny more then his owne howsehold.

Itm that ther be order taken that the earles and Irishe lordes children of Ireland be here as pledges vnder the pretense of ther civill bringinge vpp, that hereafter they may civilly lyve. So shall you be sure of ther parentes alwaies to have them at your honorable L. comavndements.

Yf it shall please the quenes matie onese to take suche order as ther may be peace in the northe then those orders may be put in exsecution forthwith and the garyson dischardged to the nomber of a 200*li*, or ther abbowts, whear the quenis matie subsyde is nowe not abowe [f. 56r] the som of 600*li* a yere, it may be then above 2,000*li* a yere, euery plowe land in Ireland painge subside as the Englyshe pale dothe (that is to saie), 13*s* 4*d* the plowe land, but this nor no nother chardge may be moved vppon the Irishmen's contryes till they be furst broght to the orders prescribed, and vnder the obedience of the lawe, and ther children to be here as before specified. Ther is no suche meane to conquer an Irish man as to bringe him to riches and cyvilyte, for then the feare for the losses of his goods and the spoylinge of his folovers is suche a terror vnto him, yea his veary folovers will cut his throtte rather then they will suffer ther owne distruction.

Itm when the gouernor and consaile shall have cause to laye any chardge vppon the contry that then ther shalbe called two gentlemen owt of euery shire wher the chardge shall lie to consultacion suche as the lordes and gentlemen of the shire shall thincke featest for the purpose.

[28] There is a space here in the text.

19. William Piers
'A paper [apparently by Capt. W. Pers of Knockfergus, intended to be presented to Cecill or Sussex] relating the policy of Scotland, to promote James McDonnell to be Lord of all the Isles of Scotland, with the reasons of its failure.' (1565)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/9/83

A flyleaf (torn) reads, 'Willm Piers[29]'.

[f. 179r] In the name of the ever liveinge god amen.

Ffirst, the quene of Scotts that nowe ys, and her mother also in her tyme, haue longe sought meanes and haue practised to make Iames Mackonell lorde of all the Isles of Scotlond. And when the quene that nowe ys fayled of that she then wrought to make mariage betwixt Donell O'Donell, beinge lorde of the Isles (whooes auncetors haue of longe tyme borne friendshipp to ye kings of Englande), and the doughter of Iames Mackonell, and hadd nere brought it to passe, and ffor that purpose sent for Donell to her court and gave hym his pardon. But on thother syde the erle of Argile wayeinge his own case against Mackonell, his ollde enemye, and seinge that if Donell sholld then ioyne with Mackonell in that sorte sholld ffalle into a mischief, sought to preuent the quenes purpose and indede through perswasion with Donell to consider what an enemye Mackonell had alwayes been vnto hym he altered Donelle's intent, and taccomplish the thinge ffullie therle himself with onelie twoo mounts rode poste with Donell and asarid thym to the doughter of a MakAlane, enemye to Iames Mackonell, whiche wurke of his mariage is thonelie staye that theare is no further invasion into Ireland, viz. the Scotts. Neuertheless, it is to be forsene that if ever these devises of the quene of Scotland maye hereafter take anye rote as it like, [f. 179v] she dooth and will doo her owne, it wilbe evill for Ireland for this other purpose, ffor Iames Mackonell hathe one sonne of tholde O'Nele, whiche was begotten vppon a new kynneswoman of the said Iames, whiche childe is nowe in Scotland at scoole, and is as Iames affirmeth right heire of Tyron, and tolld me hymself that if he live he will within ffowre yeres haue manye a longe bowe followinge hym in Tyron.

Itm fforasmuche as the said Donell O'Donell hathe diuers tymes sent to me to knowe yf the quenes matie wolld be his good ladie as her auncestors haue bene to his in tymes paste, protestinge therewithall that if her highnesse wollde doo so assuredlie he wolld serue her as faithfully as ever anye of his progenitors hadd doone. Yf therfor yt might please her highnesse to sende or wryte to hym secretlie, willinge a contynuance of his warre against Iames, he sholld so weaken Iames as the Scotts wolld be the more easylie expulsed owte of Ireland. And therebye, also, yf the Scotts sholld channce hereafter to deale in war with England we beinge planted in the northe of Ireland what exployts and destrucions we might daylie doo in Scotland is easylie sene, considering how the landes doo lie one against an other yea, and asmuche tanoye the Ffrenche also yf occasion shall serue withoute anye greate charge to the prince, [f. 180r] ffor if well plant theare with meane to builde shippes theare, tanoye them both bie sea and land, wheare heretofore the Scotts were never trobled but vppon the borders of England, but bye the place takeinge they shalbe driven to have suche a ffeare towards Ireland as they shall not be hable to have their anempst England so well furnished with men of warre as they heretofore have bene. Wee shall also make the Ffrenche paye well yf they come through Saint Georges Channell, ffor they shall not enter into anye haven in

[29] The document is evidently a petition by a central group of twelve individuals, however, Piers appears to have been their representative, given the appearance of his name on the flyleaf and a reference by Henry Sidney elsewhere (TNA: PRO, SP 63/13/46) to the tract as 'Cap Peers hys offer'.

those parts of Scotland but god willinge we will sseche them owte yf wee mysse them comenge.

Itm ffor the better order of the enterpryse in the north of Irelande yt maye like her matie and her honorable cowncell to wryte to the quene of Scotts for a quiet redresse, in that sundrye of the subiects of Scotland doo incroche vppon therin her realme of Ireland and doo convey and maynteyne divers rebells theare against the state of that her mats realme and domynion to her great anoyance.

Itm yf her mats pleasher be to putt Shane and the Scotts bothe in one warr our fforce must be the greater, ffor I take vppon me that all they of Clandeboye will goe bothe vppon O'Nele and the Scotts seinge owre [f. 180v] helpe theare to remayne with theim, ffor wheare the Scotts were wont to serue them as their men they nowe are become their Mrs and lords and on thother syd they beare heavylie the tyrannye of O'Nele.

Itm yt is then necessarye that O'Donell be sett into his cuntrey, ffor that all his sonnes be prisoners with Shane and his brother Hugh O'Donell nowe in that cuntrey of Tyrconell haveinge good strength to make hym stanest of the cuntrey. He will by that meanes be more easylie drawen from Shane O'Nele to ioyne with O'Donell, and therunto the quenes mats powre beinge placed thear nere, the hole cuntrey will come to O'Donell with Maguyre and cutt offe Shane's scope. And further in makeinge Turlough Lenough stanest of Tyron yt is possible also he will ioyne with O'Donell and Maguyre, ffor that I am sure he loveth not O'Nele, and certainlie all these will come in, and then the O'Kane, his cuntrey lieth so as he must of fforce come from O'Nele, orels his cuntrey we will destroye and take all that he hathe.

[f. 181r] Wee with goddes grace beinge aucthorised bye the quenes matie, and ayded with grannt of our peticions ensuynge, will enter the northe parte of Ireland in the chief place of the Scotts force and expell them from all possession in that realme, and plant our selves wheare wee shalbe moste nere to ayde O'Donell, and to ioyne with hym against O'Nele and the Scotts, in suche wyse as within ffyve yeres or lesse next comeinge yf anye of the people, eyther noble or other, of the northe shall not be redye to serve her highnesse or her deputie and yelde to her lawes, we shall with continuall warr so persecute theim as shall force them either to submit themselves to order, orells wee shall take his or their cuntreyes and carcases to her highnesse disposicion, and staye her a quiet dominon of all the cuntrey from Gennes Isle besowth Strangford to Sligo, and shall in tyme bringe to her mats vse all suche auncient rents and customes as the trust people have of olde tyme payed in their cuntreyes.

Itm wee shall wth the grace of god within the terme of three or ffowre yeres next comeinge plant ffowre thowsand inhabitants of her naturall subiects in that northe cuntrey and at thend of seven yeres wee shall yelde vnto her highnesse a yerelie rent of a syse, viz. for everye acre of arable land, medowe and [f. 181v] pasture 4*d* Irishe, every acre of mountayne, heathe and wood 1*d* Yrysh, to be answered as parcell of her mats revenewe of Ireland.

Itm at thend of seven yeres wee shall also yelde to her matie and her crowne all suche customes and subsidies of merchandyse as hathe bene and as accustomed to be payed to her vse in the other parts of Ireland.

Ffor accomplishement of all whiche thinges wee humblie praye of the quenes mate the matters hereafter ensueinge…that is to saye.

Ffirst, that it will please her highnesse to direct her comissions into sundrye shires for leveinge of one thowsand horsemen and twoo thowsand footemen, whereof 500 horsemen and 1,000 footemen to be presentlie putt in arredynesse, furnished, and in place of the other 500 horsemen and 1,000 footemen, to levie in redye money, to be delivered after the rate of 20*li* for every horsemen and 10*li* for everye footeman, vnder which proporcion those forts of seruitors can not be furnished, and that the same maye seme to be disposed vppon ye furniture of suche gentillmen and soldiors as offer themselfs to serve withoute constreynt of comyssion.

[f. 182r] Itm to haue comission for continuall supplie of so many of our men, men as shalbe planted in habitacion of the cuntrey, to thintent the strength of the garrison be still increased and not deminished.

Itm to have of her highnesse sume ordinarie armie, munition and engins for fortificacions, with also a proporcion of wheate, malt and puls sufficient for a staple for one yere, the pryce of the same grayne to be payed to her highnesse at thend of seven yeres next comeinge and to have comission to carye over corne and all other victuell yerelie from tyme to tyme for our men vntill we shalbe hable to wynne victuell owte of the grownde.

Itm to have of her highnesse one galey, two brigantines and the Phenix to serve theare on the seas and ryvers, whiche wee shall of our owne charges repayre from tyme to tyme and furnish all the rest of our shippinge at our owne costs.

Itm in respect of this adventur of seruice that it maye please her highnesse bye her lres patent to incorporate certen persons of vs to the nombre of twelve as a bodie politique vnder her matie, with suche grannts of libties and ffredom of traffyck as in those cases are [f. 182v] requisite, with also the gift of all the customes and libties of the cuntrey to our owne vse, and aucthoritte taccept vnto our ffredom suche as we shall think mete deservinge the same or otherwise as amongest vs may be determyned.

Itm that in consideracion of the greate charge of the mayntenance of the garrison as forsaid, whiche must be borne vppon the charge, devise and rewarde of those 12 persones so to be incorporate, and to thintent theye maye be hable in lawe to make estates in ffee symple, ffee tayle for terme of life or otherwise to the other gentillmen and soldior to be planted thear accordinge to their deserts, yt maye please her highnesse to make a gift of ffee farme bye her lres patent to the said 12 persones and their heires of all suche lands and possessions as theye shall thus adventurewslye achieve, aswell abbeye lands as all other whatsoever within the lymyts and cyrcuite of Clandeboye, Kylowlto, Arde, Kylwarnell, the Rowte, and so all betwixt Gennes Isle besowth Strangforde and the Banne, with all the comodyties and perhemynences aswell, vnder the grownde as above, and the ffishinges of all the sene havens, rivers and waters within and lyeinge vppon the same cuntrey, and the same to hold for these [f. 183r] seven yeres next comeinge free of all rents and payments, except sume honorable sume to her highnesse, and after the said 7 yeres then to yeld to her highnesse for every acre of arable land, medowe and pasture as before 4*d* Yrish, and for euery acre of mountayn, heathe and wood 1*d* Yrish, and suche rent for ye ffisheinge as hathe bene heretofore accustomed to be payed.

Itm wheare wee shall paye and answer to her matie from thend of 7 yeres next comeinge forward all the customes of merchanndyse brought in and caried owte of those partes wee

praye to have to vs and our sucessors all the said customes and subsidies of merchanndises freelie vntill thend of the said 7 yeres, and also to haue thonelie ffysheinge of those shores and all waters, and also the onelie trades and trafficks of all merchanndise and occupeings, aswell staple merchanndyse as other whatsoever, bothe bye land and bye sea, in all places betwixt Sligo, Dennes Isle besowte Strangford, withoute anye custome payeinge dureinge the said 7 yeres next comeinge. And that ymediatlie after the said 7 yeres next comeinge we maye haue and hold the same ffyshings and traffick forever, yeldinge for the ffisheinge as before tyme hath bene accustomed.

[f. 183v] Itm if it shall please her matie to deliver vs presentlie the sume of 12,000*li* in money we shall within three yeres next comeinge wall the towne of Knokforgus stronglie with stone and reinforce the castell in good strength, which nowe ys all in decaye, the strength vncoverid and a greate parte ffallen downe.

Itm as in all affayres of vertue the honor and seruice of god is chief and principallie to be contemplate. So whear for the guidinge of vs all within the compas of religious life, to the glorye of god and good example, wee are determyned to obteine certein learned men as preachors amongest vs. Wee yet for the better establishement and countenance of the religion of the gospell humblie desyre, yf yt maye be her highnesse pleasure, that she will preferr sume wurthie learned man to the bishopryck of Downe within that pale (a goodlie benefyce), to thintent that he beinge assisted bye certen Irysh prelates nere adioyninge, whoo are verey zealowsly affected, maye with specuall seueritie establish order in the churche.

Itm as a necessarye remedye against all sudden mutinies and rebellions, that it maye please her matie to grannt vs a comission to execute her marshall lawes.

[f. 184r] Itm that vntill wee shall haue ffullie accomplished this service, and stayed the cuntrey on all sides saffe, that none of vs be called from seruice in that place bye anye meanes.

Ffinallie, fforasmuche as this yere is thusfarre come on, and that suche an occasion is nowe offerid for this attempt thear as before the next yer may be preuented, wee think it (vnder reformacion) a thinge verey nedefull to be considerid prentlie and putt in execucion forthewith, whiche wee shall most willinglie and humblie take vppon vs withoute wages or entreteynement of the quenes maty, and dowbt not with the grace and ffavor of god to achieve the same to thadvanncement of his glorye and the quenes mats high honor.

20. Nicholas Arnold
'Notes to be considered of, by Cecill, for the government of Ireland, sent by the Lord Justice Arnold to the Earl of Leicester and Cecill.' (1565)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/12/20

A flyleaf reads, '29 January 1564. Nots to be consederid for ye government of Irland. Sent from Sir Nicholas Arnold from Waterford to ye erle of Lec. and W.C.. Contr Sussex'.

[f. 58r] Notes to be declared and considered of by the right honorable Sir Willim Cicill knight chief secretarie to her matie.

1. First, it is to be considered that the lacke of a settled governoure heere dothe breede contynuall mutanyes, murthers, bodraggs, thefts and divers wayes disobedyence and contempts, in hope to receive (as the manner hathe bene) pardone at the cominge in of the newe governoure.

2. Then to give his honor to vnderstande that I haue apprehended already, vppon a suspicion of treason for conferrence with the rebells, John Johnson, Robert Newton and John Thomas, all three Sir Henry Radcliff's men, one Willim Lye and another called John Sankye, Mr Marshall's men, vppon sondry accusacions made to me of theim for maynteyning of rebells and conferringe with theim synce proclaymacion hath bene made to the contrarye, which be the suspected persones I wrote of in my former lres, who if the matters obiected against theim fall out aswell in proofe as they are like by accusacon haue deserued well to dye.

3. If I shoulde neuer advertise any matter of the estate of, or of our commyssion, with out subscrybence of the greater parte of the councell, or of the commyssioners, I shoulde either certefie to late, or not at all, bycause the nomber of theim do dwell so farre of as they may not be had in tyme convenyent, and called togeither will hardly be kept in consultacon twoo whole dayes, yet haue I not certefied any thing which commanded I shall not be able to proue with sufficient testymony of theim.

4. To declare that Adams' accusacions be allreadye certefied.

5. To declare that neither I bare any matyre at all to Adams, nor that I have caused any of my L. of Sussex well willers to be apprehended, or executed except open rebells, or the manyfest maynteners of theim may be accompted his L. well willers.

6. Brian Ffitzwillm's checke, and the cavse why he was checked, do in myne oppynion sufficiently appere in the advertisement laste sente from the reste of the commyssyoners, and was checked in the whoale bycause he woulde not annswer any thinge at all to suche interogatories as we thought meete, and were by our enstruccions commannded to mynister to him and others to be annswered, but prospour suche matter as he listed and thought fitt for the excuse of his manyfest decyvinge of her matie in the enterteignment of his soldyours, with which tryfells he fedd vs so longe refusinge to annswer to any other, that we weare enforced either to overthrowe the whoale effecte of our commyssion not onely in his cace but allso by his example in all the reste, or to checke him in the whoale.

[f. 58v] 7. The capiteynes and other my L. of Sussex friends haue bene so longe and so muche borne withall here (allthoughe not in my defaulte) as I feare rather rebuke of her matie and your honnor for so longe tolleracion, then any blame or fault that may iustly be layde to

our chardge, who now remayne heere in commyssion for any extremitie or wronge offred to any of theim.

8. What cawse we haue had of checke, and how the rest be very like to fall out, may appere to your Lp. by the booke of checks of Sir Henry Radcliff's band, which I haue sent enclosed with the lre directed to yourself now with this. And what soeuer it shall pleaz my L. of Sussex to say in the excuse (as his L. doth terme theim) of his capens, they all (allthough not all so deepe as Sir Henry Radcliff) be muche in the same predicaments.

9. I meane assone as we of this commyssion haue finisshed the casshing and check of Sir Henry Radcliff's ffortie horssmen and fiftye footemen, Sir George Stanley's 100 footemen, Capiteyne Dellves' 100 footemen, Gyrton's ffortye horssmenne and the 30 footemen with their offycers of Brian Ffitzwillim's bande (which I trust shalbe ended within 14 or 15 daies), to sende over Bermingham, so enstructed as he shall be able face to face to maynteigne [infrete] the cawses of every man's checks, to declare the trewe cawses and impediments why we haue gone no faster forwarde, by whome we haue bene letted and how uncourtiously and vndewtifully we here commyssioners haue bene, and yet dailie be vsed, in the procedinge in this commyssion, howe dailie Sir Henry Radciff, Sir Geordg Stanley and Geordge Dellves (Sir William Ffitzwillms beinge yet not muche deuled with) do lye dailie and openlye, wheare we sitt in commyssion to our chardge, that we be iniust declare parciall adversaries yea and open enemyes to theim, vtterly refuse to make any direct annswer to vs, to any one pointe of the check matter, in suche sorte as by her mats commyssion and enference we be commanded (for the openinge of the trueth and her highnes profittes) to examyne theim. But they do daylie put their owne rates, and will annswere no matter but suche as they can best devise for the excusinge and wypenge away of their manyfest vntrewe dealinge with her highness, offred in their rolls and books of thentrye, and dischardge of their soldiours, allthoughe we do daylie tell theim that dealinge [f. 59r] with thenn for the queenes matie and not for our sellues we ought not to be accompted adversaries or parciall, namely when we offer theim nothinge but that we haue good warrant or rather expresse commandement to offer, and that we were not sent heither to examine theim vppon their owne devices, imagined to cullor or hyde suche apparant faults as we sawe did daylie fall out, but rather to try the trueth aswell of their former books delivered, as the truth of those their tryflinge and vayne excuses. And did will theim (as we did longe before Sir Thomas Wrothe's goinge hence good sundry tymes synce had written and spoken to theim) to make out and sende, or deliver to vs, in writinge playne recknings how muche money they had received in prest out of the treasurie, what and how muche thereof they had delivered to every soldior in money, in munycion, in vytailes and in other necessaries, eche of thies things to haue bene severally and distinctly sett vnto vz, whiche they haue, and yet still do refuse to doe. And will make annswere to nothinge more than (as aforesaide) they can devise for their owne excuses, saving now at lengthe Sir Henry Radcliff hath bene contented to enter into recognisannce (but he will devise and make the covenannts thereof himself) whenn he had drawen and offred the deliverie of theim on such sorte penned as her matie may take no advanntadge by theim. And in theim dothe refuse to enter into any covenannte which her mats learned conncell heere can devise, except he may indent with her matie that he shall make his owne paye, whiche grannted woulde not onely overthrowe the chief effecte of our whole commyssion, and shaddowe the more parte of their apparant faults, but allso it woulde drive the queenes matie to the proofe of that which they ought to prove, and do knowe she shall never be able to proove (bycause they haue before hande corrupted and made suche a confusion, bothe of the ckecke bookes and of their owne rolls, as dothe take away the iuste order of all due proofe for her matie), or ells her highnes to loose a great deale of that which will be prooved due to her

and to the poore contreye heere. And therefore expedient that the capens may accordinge to our enstruccions be compelled [f. 59v] to make proofe of every man and the tyme of his shervice for whoome they do demannde any paye.

10. For the great gayne to the capteynes and losse to her matie (beside the corecting of a nomber of faults) will not fall out in the examynacion and paye of those soldyours whiche now remayne here to be dischardged and paide, but in the proofe bothe of the persones, and tyme of shervyce of all those men which be now dead or dischardged, and were rather (a great manye of theim) supposed to be heere then heere indeed or not so longe heere as the capens have, and will require paye for theim, which grannted may make the capens well able to paye her matie, the soldiors which now remayne here and the contrye to with her highness owne money, and gayne to theim selves soommes to boote.

11. And there of I shoulde discourse all those frivolus reasons and devics which the capens (and their advocate Mr Dix) have vsed to make, to the ende they mought procure the paye into their owne hands (and the cawses of all those losses which mought ensewe to her matie and contrye thereby), I shoulde write to the trooble of your honnor in readinge a longe booke then all our enstruccions. And therefore to make your honnours (as shortly as I can expresse it) vnderstande the conclusion the capens and we be now at, I haue written it as followethe.

12. Vppon Ffriday laste, beinge the 5th of this Ianuarie 1564, we called Sir Henry Radecliff, Capityne Girton and Capen Dellves, with their bandes now to be cassed, before vs, requiringe of those capens (in the hering of the soldiours) the deliverie of perfect billes of reckininges as beforesaide, who then (as at all tymes before) refused so to doo. And thereon we dischardged theim presently out of waags and saide to the soldiours in their heeringe, go every one of yow which haue not a profitt bill of reckeninge allready delivered from your severall capiteignes, and humbly and reverently require bylls and reckenings of theim, whiche yf they refuse to gyve come ye back to vs and, vppon your othe and other inquyrie made among [f. 60r] your sellues, ye shall every one of yow receive present payments wherein of ye who be capteynes shall happen to loose any thinge it muste be deyned to be loste in your owne defaults and follyie. And if the queenes matie shallbe by your willfull delayes driven to loose ought we will lay it on your necks. And we then saide thus muche more to the soldiours in the capiteignes heeringe, yf any of yow will refuse to come to take paye we will dischardge him presently out of waags, and drive him to seeke it, and to come by it, afterward, how he can vppon good proofe of his service. Sayenge further to theim altogeither, we will now presently ende the matter of casshinge of theim which be now to be dischardged and cutt of her mats daylie growing great chardgs, heitherto prolonged by theis willfull delayes and obstynance of yow the capiteynes, and so we will indede ende this matter out of hande in the order before expressed, whiche in myne opinion is the onely waye (what soever hathe bene, or shalbe, wrytten or saide to the contrary) as well to make the quenes matie vnderstande the difference betwene theim who haue sued here trewlie, and the craftye dealers, as to stay the payment of sondry sommes of money, which by any other way of tryall or offer yet made by the capiteynes would haue bene caryed awaye in a clowde to her mats great losse.

13. And I thinke yea and am sure to I woulde haue ended thies matters of dischardge muche before this tyme, yf either I coulde haue brought the capiteynes to any order prescribed, or commannded by our enstruccons, or that I had not bene otherwise letted allmoste contynually in doinge her matie other weighty servics touchinge the estate heere.

14. And nowe vnderstandinge that the right honorable, the erle of Sussex, doothe mysselike bothe with my procedings heere and advertisements heere to fore made into Englande, I am enforced moste humbly to crave leave bothe to put her matie and your Lp. in remembrannce that I never made sute to sve or to come into Irelande, but was sent for and commannded to go. And at my comminge away, and afterwarde aswell by enstruccions and lres ready to be shewed, as by her mats owne mowthe, especially commannded to learne, by [f. 60v] all wayes I coulde devyse, to vnderstande the trewe estate and condicion of this realme, not onely in the wellthe, the povertie, the government of the people by iustice, or of the oppressinge of theim otherwise, but allso of the deceipte offred to her highnes by her capiteynes in paye demannded, and soondry other matters apperinge in her mats soondrye enstruccions and commissions, and from tyme to tyme to advertise myne oppynion and knowledge therein, whiche I do assure your Lp. (by the faythe I owe to god and the queenes matie) I haue in myne owne oppynion done trewlye without malyce or respect to any mannes person living, wherein if my L. of Sussex be offended it must be longe of the matter and not of any thinge I haue layde particulerly to his chardge, and so his L.[30] faulte and not myne, bycause I do not remember that I for my part have burthened his L. persone at any tyme, with any thinge more then with the myssvsinge in woordes (and otherwayes) of me and others myne assocyatts commyssioners at my firste comminge into this lande, which woords and myssehandlinge as heretofore (without declaracion of the names of the witnesses) so now I do sende theim herewith severally articled as they were spoken and done with the names put to of suche gentlemen as have subscribed thesame, every man to asmuche as his remembrannce did sve him to carye awaye, which I truste is proofe sufficient that suche woords were spoken.

15. And if I haue declared allso to her matie, or to any one of her moste honnorable privie conncell, that the earle of Sussex, while is L. was lord lieutenannt here, did take vpp in divers yeeres his breves, for the provision of his house, at the pryce of 8*s* Irisshe, when the like byeves were solde in the markett for 13*s* or more, and the hyde for 6*s* and many tymes more, and his muttons at 12*d* Irisshe, when the like in euery market were solde for 3*s* at the leaste their, tallowe and skynnes commonly more woorthe then was paide for the whole sheepe, his goose, his henne, his chicken, his eggs, his butter, his porks, at haulf the pryses they were woorthe in the market (and not yet all payde for), whiche was a great empoverisshing of the whole Englisshe paale. If I haue sayde that my lorde of Sussex tooke vpp in divers yeeres the moste parte of corne that served his house by cesse in the contrey, the wheate at 4*s*, the pecke and the maulte at 2*s* 8*d*, the wheate then being solde in the markett for 20*s* and vppwarde, and the maulte for 12*s* (which was allso a great chardge [f. 61r] to the contrye), when he mought haue bene served of corne ennoughe for his house of porte corne belonginge to the quene, and to him sellf at lyke pryses as he tooke that served him by cesse of the contrey, and that the quenes matie shoulde haue left nothinge therby, bycause she receaveth now but 2*s* for every pecke of all the rente corne (or porte corne as it is termed[31]), and payde after the rate his L. paide the contrey which was 4*s* for every pecke, her highnes mought haue received duble the rente for her corne, that hathe at any tyme yet bene paide. If I haue saide that the nomber of horssmen which their horsses and horsboyes, and the nomber of soldyours footemen, layde at suche small raats vppon the pale, with so longe delayes of payment that the people thereof be made poorer then they were at any tyme within these 20ti yeeres, I may saye theim agayne bycause I am able to prove theim all to be trewe.

[30] Cecil has written 'Erle of Sussex' in the margin here.
[31] Arnold has written 'called' here and then replaced it with 'termed'

16. And heere if any man (as I knowe some man will do) declaring the nomber of the ploughe landes and acres of the paale which do contribute to the cesse, and ratinge the cesse vppon every of them, woulde so sett it out that it mought seme (althoughe the trueth be otherwise) that the pryvate cesse sett vppon every man were so small that it coulde hurte no man, I may say, and vnder the proteccion of your honnor well proove (bycause it is allso theim), that allthoughe no one of theis things be the onely cawse of the decay of the contrey, yet the provision, the cesses and acatinge of the late L. lieutenannt's house, the burthen of the horssmen with their horsses and boyes, the great nomber of footemen allso layde on the contreye, with the longe delay of payments for their boorde, with the cesses of corne and bieves, and cariadgs of theim to the fforts, put alltogether haue brought this contrey into so great povertie and mysecye as not considered, and holden in tyme may breede suche an inconvenyence as may shortly growe to the great perill of the whole estate.

17. And therefore I do humbly beseche yow that I may be supported and allowed by your honnor playnely to declare these things which I thinke I may not with my duetie of alledgiannce, and a fauls consyence, spare vntolde, whiche favourable heringe, and supportinge in my trutthe denyed (as I truste they shall not be to me), may make me (or any suche other as I am servinge in this place) vtterly vnhable to do so good service [f. 61v] as we shoulde, and mought well do, vnder her mats supporte and yours. And herein I do proteste before god and her matie I haue neither wrytten nor spoken any thinge more then I haue thought to be trewe, nor taken vppon me the direct knowledge of any thinge which her matie and your honnor not offended, I will not stande to prove. Wherein if any thinge shall seeme doubtful to your honnor, or yf any man will deny the trueth of any thinge that I haue now written, vppon advertisement thereof from your honnor, I will trust satissfie your honnor therein, bothe by trewe and playne demonstracion of good matter, and good and substanciall proofe, by witnesse yf it shalbe requyred.

18.[32] O'Nele in myne oppinion can never be a conquist or an over throwe of Tyrconnell, O'Donell's contrey, or to bringe thinhabitannts thereof so to his devocion as he mought therby get either strength or profitte, vnles he should disspeople Tyrone his owne contrey, which were but an evill exchanndge for him, and thinke he will never attempt it. And O'Nele, thinkinge him sellf either to be assured of the freendshipp of Tyrconnell or not to leave theim enemyes at his backe, may ever be the more bolde to expugn and expell the Skotts, whome otherwise he may be enforced to reteigne for his owne strength and saulfgard (the title betwene the baron's soonnes and him dependinge as it yet doothe).

19. O'Nele, if his followers or freendes of his nacyon were pulled from him, is like to imaginn that he must be enforced either to loose lande and lief or to seeke ayde and reskue of stranngers, Skotts or other wheare he may gett them, wheare as if by her mats supporte he may be abled to keepe in hande all his followers he shall not neede to seeke mayntennance of any strannger. And yet in my iudgment he may the easlyer be overthrowen when so ever it may please her matie to enter into the generall reformacion of Irelande, before which tyme (pardone craved for writinge playnely) it may do muche more hurt then good to proffer to make conquest of any one Irishman or contrey, more then is allready conquered.

[f. 62r] 20. And if O'Nele may be drawen on with gentle woordes, and some title of honnor, and suffred to pull in as many followers as he can by any means get, he will rest I thinke contented, and his followers, what with their owne deceiptfull and vnstable nature and with

[32] Cecil has written 'O'Neyle' in the margin here.

the great imposicions O'Nele would daylie laye on theim in the meane tyme, would with more ease and les chardge be drawen from him to serve the queene, then kept from him vnto the tyme of service at her highnesse chardge. Ffor if either his followers shallbe pulled from hym, or his enemye O'Donell advannced or preferred before him, he will so plague theim from tyme to tyme as the vnseasonable defence or protection of theim once taken into her mats hand would stande her matie in greater chardgs then the reformacion of this whole estate in tyme convenyent woulde doo.

21. And therefore (as I yet vnderstande it) the makinge of O'Nele ryche and stronge, and the assuring of him of the queenes mats favour and proteccion, woulde rather overthrowe O'Nele (when so ever her highnes woulde go about the vtter overthroweng of him indede), then the kepinge of him poore and doubtfull woulde doo. And yet in the meane tyme he may become so good a subiect as hereafter her matie shall thinke mette rather to be cherisshed the throwen owt. And so craving aswell leave to declare to your honnor that I did never beare either to O'Donell or to O'Nele or to any other in this lande any kynde of love, hate or affeccion other then I thought my sellf dewtyfully bound to beare for her mats beste servyce, and assuredly am indifferently affected to theim, as allso to put your honnor in rememberence that I thinke it will be more expedient and behoofefull for her matie (as thestate of this realme now standeth) rather to beare something with the weaknes of O'Nele (whoo must either be borne withall in some tryfells or hasarded to be loste) then with the renewing of the rebellion of the O'Cconnors and O'Mores (now all most vtterly subdued), to styrre vpp the Breney, which is O'Reiglie's contry, the Tooles, the Byrnes, the Demsyes and a nomber of other allready bent to do what so ever myschief they may be able to do, yf they either mought vnderstand [f. 62v] that they mought put their cattell backe into or toward O'Nele's contry when we shoulde go about to plague theim, or that O'Nele woulde not ioyne with vs in her mats servyce when they were to be plagued, which oppynion of O'Nele's obedyence hathe bene and yet is the chief cawse of staye of theim all this doubtfull tyme from extremyties (allthough they ceasse not daylie to do some myschief in one place or other of this paale, as Cahir O'Reigly hathe lately donne in Meathe, whiche I doubt not shall be recompenced shortly well ennoughe).

22. And suer I am there is no one waye to be devised fitter to enforce her matie to keepe a greater garryson here then shallbe needefull or expediente for her mats profitte, and the eaze and relief of this her poor afflicted contrey, then to offer O'Nele suche condycions as he will not, or may not, well receive, nor any waye so fitt to disapoinnt the present dischardge of the bands now to be cashed, and the matter of check (bothe now allmoste ended), as to dryve out Shane O'Nele who I thinke vsed with some suche pollycie as your wisdomes can devise, woulde be made the moste apte mynister for thexpellinge of the Skotts and other necessarie servics, before rehersed, that may be founde (of his estate and condycion) in this whole lande.

23. And therefore, still trustinge hat I shall not offende your honnor in wryting playnely what I think, I cannot but wryte that who soeuer dothe put theese fryvolus doubts in her highnes hedd, or yours, either doth not vnderstande the trewe estate of Irelande indeed, or for excusing of former faults and negligencs, or for the maynteyninge of what so ever they have allready wrytten or spoken (which vppon dewe examynacion may be founde vntrewe or mysse taken by theim), would be lothe her matie or your honnor should vnderstande the trewe estate thereof.

24. O'Donell I fear me will not be brought into his contrey and settled therein without her mats power and greate chardgs. And brought into it (as he is nowe hated and doubted of by his vncles, [f. 63r] his bretherne and the rest of the gentlemen and freeholders there) shall

hardly contynew any tyme therein without her mats contynuall assistence and great chardgs, vnlesse he shall be driven to call in Skotts for his ayde, whome, as he now resteth, he shall never be able to reteigne.

25. Ffor it is a thinge almost impossible to fynde any nomber of Skottes that will followe any man whome they do knowe neither to haue money in hand to enterteigne theim with, nor contry at his owne devocyon to bringe theim to. But when he shalbe holpen to the possession of his coontrey, yf after his kynsmen, followers or people do at any tyme fall out with hym (as it is verey like daylie to come to passe, the great hate with doubt of their lyves dependinge on bothe sides as they nowe doo) they will on every side plucke in as many Skotts as they can get, every man for his owne defence and saulfgarde.

26.[33] I cannot learne of any man in this lande that ever O'Donell, or any of his, did ever sherve her matie any one daye in the fielde againste any man, or that he ever did seeke friendship, or offer any kynde of service before he was by extreame necessitie compelled there vnto for his owne saulfgarde or relief.

27. Neverthelesse now that I haue (as I trust dewtifullye) declared myne oppynion I will with all humble dilligence according my bounden duetye execute to the vttermost of my power what so ever the queenes matie or your honnor will commannde. Assuringe your honnor I am with all the wilde Irishe at the same poynt I am at with beares and banddoggs when I se theim fight, so that they fight earnestly indede and tugge eche other well. I care not who have the woorsse.

28. And yet I thinke that the reports whiche be dailie brewted here of my L. of Sussex retourne heither with an armye to expugne O'Nele, and of the favoure and ayde which O'Donell hathe, and is like to haue against hym out of England, for which purpose it is allso bruted here O'Donell dothe tarie thus longe in Englande, may sette [f. 63v] O'Nele in suche feare and doubte as may occasion him to practize with stranngers for his ayde and assistance, and make vs here not able to ioynne suche things at his hand for her mats better service, and the quietnes of this contrey, as otherwise we mought be able to doo. And therefore (pardonne once more craved to speake my mynde) it will be verey necessarye for her matie either to sende some one suche a governor presently out of Englande as she meaneth to settle heere, which may remove thies doubts out of O'Nele's hedd, or ells to make some practyse with O'Nele in the meane tyme for the staye of him, who lefte thus in doubte is like ennoughe to practyse ellswheare for his owne saulftye in suche sorte as it may turne to her mats great chardge, trooble and dannger of this her highnes whole realme.

29. Vnderstandinge that the queenes matie and your honnor haue bene enformed that if I had followed the advice of the older soldiours here the rebells had bene overthrowen long er this, I do assure your L. nor thear was nothing done touching the service against those rebells, or any other of the estate, which was not deliberately consulted of by the whole conncell, or as many of theim as I could convenyently call togeither, and put in practyse and execucion accordingly as may appere by the decres allway ready to be shewed vnder their hands wrytinge, which if I proove not when her highnes shall comannd it to be trewe, let me haue no better creditt with her matie and your honnor then they which dare make these crafty and vntrew surmyzes to her matie ought to haue. And besides that I dare adventure one whole yeeres close imprysonment (besides the losse of the one half of my lyvinge in England) that if

[33] Cecil has written 'O'Donell' in the margin here.

he that made that reaport (what so ever he be) had evyn nowe to deale with the rebells and the repression of theim commytted to his chardge, he woulde in shorter tyme then they haue allready bene in meanes vtterly subdewed [f. 64r] bring theim to be as many in nomber, and the contrey into as evill as estate, as it was when these late warres were begoonne.

30. The booke before mencyoned of Sir Henry Radcliff's checkes and the lre to be sent from the commissioners, for that they were not yet come heither, I haue written vnto theim to send theim from Dublin to her matie yf they be not allready sente.[34]

N. Arnold

[34] Cecil has 'not sent' in the margin here.

21. Henry Sidney
'Sir Henry Sydney's articles for the publick affairs of Ireland.' (1565)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/13/46

A flyleaf reads, '20 Maij 1565. The opinion of Sir H. S., K., L. P. of W.'.

[f. 109r] Ffor the publick affairs of Irelonde[35]

That it may please your moste excellent matie to resolve and signyfie your pleasure in the articles following.

Leax and Offalye.[36]

These contryes wer conqueryd by Sir Edward Bellingham and after being lost wer revyved by the erle of Sussex, devyded in to shere grownde, and also by him severall estates made to severall men, as by their grannts may, and doth, at large appere. Neverthelesse, the naturalls of these two contreies of late have rebelled, and ar in actuall rebellion, and dayly doth hurte and owtrage. Your heighness hath to resolve what you will do with these, whether to quyet them by pardoning them, or exturpe, or at least banyshe, them by force, both which is at your mats arbytrainnt and according the quallytie of ech accion feasyble inough in my opynyon.

Myne oppenyon.

By pardoning them your matie in those two contryes may have quietenes. By due chastising them your highnes shall avvoyde like rebellion hereafter.

Monster.

Your heighnes hath great advanntage for reformacion therof by having the two erles of Ormond and Desmond and the other two Irishe lordes now in this realme, and if your heighnes had no of the potentates of that province in your land it wer the better, emonge whom if your matie dyd but make to peax and charge an amytie to be obsherued, and take bonde for performannce therof, it would do muche good to that contrey. But reformacion of enormyties now dayly comytted, [f. 109v] good quyet emongste your subiects, obeadience and profit to your matie, neuer is to be loked for out of that provynce vntill you establyshe ther a counsaill furnysshed with good counselors to devyse, and sherued with well governed soldiars to execute.

Myne oppenyon.

This only way of reformacion if your heighnes like then I thinke that a president with 2 or 3 suffycient counsellors, having at ther commandment 2 hundreth fotemen and 1 hundreth horsemen, may do eny thinge in that contrey that they liste and tending to the quyet of the people, and ther obeadiens to your matie.

Tommonde.

[35] This heading is in the top left corner of the page.
[36] This, and the ensuing headings, are found in the left margin next to the article to which they refer.

This contrey was conqueryd by therle of Sussex and put in to the pocession of the erle that now is by delyuery to him of all the fortes in the conntrey, and by recognyssance of sheruyce, and following to him as to ther chief lorde of all or moste parte of the gentlemen and ffreeholders of that contrey, the greatest nomber of whom are now revolted from him, and moste of his castles in the pocession and at the devocen of his kyndsmen and aduersarryes. In this your matie hath to consider whether your heighness will renforce him in his conntry againe or establishe ech that now enioyeth parte of that contrey in that which he now houldeth, and of right ought to haue.

Myne oppenyon.

I thinke it more for your heighnes sheruyce, and more for the quyet and profit of the people, that the contry being great be devyded in to many mens hands then in one. The people alwayes acknowlaging and following of the therle in all sheruyce by your matie or the governors comandment or in eny sheruyce within that conntry for the defence of that conntry.

[f. 110r] The Scotts.

These ar the malyciouste and daungeruste of people that inhabit Ireland, who by longe suffringe haue already inpatronyzed themselves of a greate parte of Vlster and Tyrony, by incursions and spoiles vppon muche more. Your heighnes hath to resolve whether you will admytt them as subiects, expuls them as enemyes or tollerate with them as naturalls.

I am not of oppenyon that they should haue eny grannt from your matie for bettring of ther tenure, for solonge as they shall inhabit wher they do your enemyes can neuer want an open porte to enter and invade your conntrey. If your matie fynde not apte tyme presentely to expuls them your heighnes may winke at them for the tyme. If your heighnes will expuls them ther ar divers wayes, but the suerrest and sonest is to inhabit betwene them and the sea, wherby with some shipping all hope of succor shalbe cut from them.

Note Cap Peers hys offer for thys.[37]

Shane O'Neill.

Your heighnes hath to resolve what you will do with him. Dayly spoiles ar comytted and carryed in to his contrey. Little or no restytucion is made. He will neuer be reformed but by force. His losenes from obeadience is no smale incoragement to all the Irishery to deny subiecion and to rebelle. If your matie will haue him by force subdued and set vppon forthwith the nomber of men, the proporcion of victuall, money and munyssion muste be therafter and the vyctuall aswell as the reste to com from hence. If your heighness thinketh not good so, but that you will temporize with him, I then thinke it needful [f. 110v] that your matie this yere restore O'Donell to his contry, therof aswell, as for other things, to wryte to Shane, and vnder hande fortifye Newry, Dundalke and Carygffargus.

Reparacions.

[37] This note is not a heading, but rather has been inserted in the margin next to the end of the section on the Scots.

Your heighnes houses, as the castle of Dublin, the house of Kilmaynan with wears and mill and to the same belonging, Monesterevan, Laughlin Bridge, Carlow and Alone, ar all in great decay. They are all veary nedefull to be repayred and intertayned, for the doing of which it may please your heighnes to appoint comission with warrant.

Money.

It may please your heighness that all oulde debts may be payde forthwith before my taking the charge and that ther may be 10 or 12 thowsand poundes in the treasaurors hand beforehand to answer all events.

Munycion.

That the bandes ther maye be thoroughly furnyshed and some store of ech kynde beforehande, wherof presentely (as is sayde) remayneth nothing.

Number of soldiars.

If your matie meane to make actuall warre your heighnes muste haue in folde a farre greater nomber of soldiars then now you haue and though your matie make nowe yet 200 horsemen and 500 fotemen, beside the governors bande willbe as few as may be, and vnder that nomber I would be loth to sherve.[38]

Payes in bandes.

That it may please your matie to give warrant that ech captaine may in euery hundred haue 8 ded payes to distrybute emong the better sorte of soldiers, which is veary necessary.

The channselour.

If your heighnes convenyentliy coulde remove the arche bisshippe of Dublin to a bisshopricke in Englande your matie shoulde both advannce religion greately, your polyticke sheruyce muche and some gaine to your heighnes also, ffor by reason [f. 111r] of his infirmytie of the palsie he is not well able to preach and by reason of his great years and corpulencie he is not so able to sherue neyther in his offyce nor in other sheruyce as an habler man wer with two offycs of the archbishoprick and channselor might be disposed to 2 able men, and your heighnes might therby gaine the firste frutes of 2 bisshopricks (or haply 3). I thinke the bisshopricke of Oxforde, with a little thing more in comendam, woulde please him, but without some suche lyving I beseche your matie that he be not removed neyther from thone nor thother.

A learned councelor.

That it may please your matie to appoint some one Englishe man, learned in the lawes of the realme, whom I may speacially truste in your heighnes affayrs.

St Patricks.

[38] In the margin here Cecil has inserted a note which reads, 'To be remebred for ye forte cast as Knockfergus [impost ece treassaris nombre], xc.'.

If your heighnes will disolve that house, which now sherueth to no purpose, your matie may advannce the sheruyce of the churshe, relive poore, impotent soldiars, erect a comon scole, disburthen the contrey of a great parte of the burthen of the soldiars, accomadate your livetenant and counselors by lodgings and increase your owne revenew. This is a matter worthy consideracion and warthy reasolucion in myne oppenyon.

That it may please your matie to name and appoint 3 or 4 counselors to whom I may speatially addresse my lres and from whom I may accordingly expect answer and reasolucion.

22. Patrick Sherlock
'A note set forthe by your mats faithfull servant, Patrick Sherlock, for the reformacion of Irland, and howe to augment your mats reuenewes, and to cutt of a great part of ye charges that your maty is dayly at for ye same.' (c. 1568)
BL, Add. MS. 48,015, ff. 279-284r

[f. 279r] A note set forthe by your mats faithfull servant, Patrick Sherlock, for the reformacion of Irland, and howe to augment your mats reuenewes, and to cutt of a great part of ye charges that your maty is dayly at for ye same.[39]

The revenue that of righte your mate shoulde have out of the province of Mownster.

Ffirst, whereas it hathe ben geven your mati by parliament to have a marke of euerye plowghland throwgh out all Ireland your maiestie, nor none of your auncestors, haue not receaued one groate thereof in Mownster, savinge of the countie of Tipperary, to your mats yerely losse of 5,000 markes, at the least.

Also, whereas it was geven your mati by parliament all the abayes, monasteries, commanndries and channteries of all Ireland your mati, nor none of your auncestors, receaved not one groate of the same in Monaster, neither the said abbaies, monasteries, comanndris, nor channteries, were not sherveid but by geffwise, by reason if the rebellion and disobedience in Mounster, to your mats losse of 500 poundes at the leaste, savinge of the countie of Tipperary, and a smale pece of the countie of Waterforde, which are obeidient to paie.

Also whereas it was geven your mati by parliament to haue all the first frutes and 20th parte of all the spirituall lyvings in Ireland your mati, nor none of your auncestors, did not receave one groate thereof in Mounster, to your mats losse of 200*li* by the yere, and more.

Also whereas it was geven your mati to haue the ymposts of all the wynes that sholde, or shalbe, discharged in Ireland your mati cannot receave one groate thereof in Mounster, more then of the citties and townes of Waterford, Corcke, Lymiricke, Yoghell and Kinsale, to your mats losse of one hundred poundes by the yere.

[f. 279v] Also of all the customes, cocketts, and all the ffishinge, and all other merchanndises which are laden and discharged in Mounster, you have no profit, savinge of the portes aboue written, to your maties losse of 200 poundes by the yere.

Also, of the wardes and releifes of all the province you mati, nor none of your auncestors, haue not receaved one groate, savinge of the countie of Tipperary, and a smale pece of the countie of Waterforde, to your maties losse.

So the losse that your mati dooth lose in Mounster amounteth to 5,000 pounds by the yere, besides the ymposte of the portes aboue written, and besides the wardes and releifes, escheates, amerceaments, and forfeytures of recognisannces of felons landes and goodes.

Also, there is a rent that Sir Henry Sidney did put apon a ireke, which rent certen captaines had aforetyme, and as I here saie was not receaved since Sir Henry departure out of the

[39] The title is in a different hand to the that of the text, possibly Beale's.

realme, the which rent is to be receaved as afore to your mats vse, amountith to three hundred pounds by the yeare, and more.

Also, an other rent was geven your mati vpon the mere Irish counties for the interteinement of your mats galloglasses, the captaines be deade and killed for the more parte, and the rest are rebells, so that this rent is to be sett in vpon them as afore to your mats vse, and not to the galloglasse, amountinge to 700 poundes by the yere.

Also, whereas your mati had geven you a marke apon euerye ploughlande thorough the realme, the sheires that be obedient to your mati doe not paie thone half of the same by reason that the sheires were not sherveid, wherefore it is requisith that a comission sholde be sett forth to sherveigh euery sheire and to make the sheire agree one with an other, so that your mati shall wynne by the sheires that be obedient 200*li*, and rather more then lesse by the yere.

Thoccasion of your mats greate charges for Ireland.

Also, whereas quynny and lauery is the rote of all the mischeif [f. 280r] of Ireland, and the Mr. of idlenes, and is the greatest occasion that the noblemen and gentlemen doe kepe soche greate routes of ydle men, who doe nothinge but live idlely, wastinge and consuminge of your mats poore subiects, goodes, and devouringe of all the meate and drincke that they have to finde them selves with all, and an other idle lief they leade all daye playinge and sleapinge, and all the nighte killinge, spoilinge and robbinge vpon one nobleman, or gentleman, or other. When theis develishe actes are knowen they are revenged by him that the factes are don vnto, soe that he revenginge of the firste facte is tossed to and fro so that at length it growes to hostilitie, and thend is the strongest to invade the weakest, and growes to that ende that your maty muste be at greate charges to ende the pride of theis good fellowes. By this meanes your mati is put to great charges, your subiects that sholde paie your mati all your tributes and dewties as subiects ought to paie be left in suche desolacion and povertie as they have not to paie your mati, nor yet to finde them selves meate, drincke, nor clothe, but thowsandes dye in the heighwaie, and by hedge sides, for lacke of soche as they lost by the pride of their landlordes.

The cheife salue and remedie of theis most ranckerd soares is to take awaye from the L. captaines and gentlemen qyunny and livery, and the libtie that they had in spoilinge thone of the other, and every of them to be their owne carvers. This libtie taken from them they wilbe suer to kepe no more men then their lyvinge shalbe able to maynteine, for if they be forced to kepe men apon their owne revenuew, as other civell gent. doe, theis greate routes shalbe sone dispersed and driven to worke for their livinge. And soche as will not worke for their lyvinge, nor finde Mr., nor suerties for their good abearinge, the provost marshall shall take paines with them.

Well theis Ls. and captaines will saie that it is no reason that quynny and livery sholde be taken from them and geve them no recompence for it, for that they gave them the landes that bare the quynny and liuery vntill this tyme in lew of the same.

[f. 280v] To this I answere lett them shew anie charter wherein is mencioned that any gentleman holdes his landes of any of them by that tenure, then the tenannts that holdes his landes of any of them by that tenure to recompence his landlorde and nowe other.

Then will the Ls. said they cannot kepe so great a nomber of men to sherue your mati as they weare wonte to doe if if qyunny and liverye be taken from them.

To this I answere sayinge they maye kepe more and better men, let every gentleman be charged with horsemen accordinge to his abilitie and as he beares your maiesties subsidie, and to every horsman, two footeman, thone to be a hagbeter, and thother an armed man according to the countery manner, and every gent. to be bounde to kepe his horses, and his men's horses, in his stable, and his men at his owne table. By this meanes every gent. shalbe bounde for his men to appere when they shalbe called before the iustices of the peace, or thassises, or he comitt a faulte, wherefore they lived at libtie and cann to rebellion when the sherief missed the apprehention of any of them.

An other defence our noblemen and gentlemen of the Englishe nacion will make for quynny and livery, that is in takinge awaie quynny and livery from them, and sufferinge the Irishe L. to vse the same, it weakeneth them and maketh the meere Irishe stronge. I meane that your mati sholde take it from them bothe, but first from the L. of thenglishe nacon, for the Irishe nacion have ticklishe heades of their owne, so that if they sholde lose the benefitt of it before the L. and gent. of thenglishe nacon lost it they wolde thinke it weare to weaken them and so to over throwe them. Therefore lett it be taken from them both, but first let our noblemen and gent. of thenglishe nacion leade the dannce.

And suerlie the placinge of horsemen and footemen vpon every [f. 281r] gent. according to his abilitie, wherewith they wilbe well content if quynny and livery be taken from them, it wilbe more stronger and readie then it was and the lewetenants of every sheire shall knowe the certaine nomber of his men, where afore he did not knowe the same.

Also an other matter growes of quynny and livery which is the rebellion of Ireland, growinge cheiflie by the reason of the libtie that the idle men have, for one that hathe not one foote of lande will haue in his traine 60 or 80 men to attende apon him. This varlett hathe not one groate of vags to geve them, nor meate, but soche as he steales, and their meate and drincke is apon the tenannts your mats subiects where he comes in the name of quynny and livery. Theis canniballs that lives apon the spoile of the poore must fale to worke or ells ronn to the gallos to receave the iust rewarde of their wickednes if that quynny and liuery be taken from them.

An other matter that geves theirishe to rebell is when gouernement is geven to any gent. he within a while, followinge thirishe trade apon a faulte comitted by any man that is vnder his gouernementm he goes afore he tryes the matter and spoiles him apon the first informacion made vnto him. So when the gent. is spoiled by his captaine he dares not come vnto him to knowe whie he was spoiled but sendes his man whoe is answered by the captaine that he will not tell him the cause but bedds the knave his Mr. come. This answere, beinge retorned vnto the gent., he answeres sayinge that he will not go to him that hathe his goodes, fearinge he shold kepe him faste with them. And so this gent. getts him into the wodds and mountaines for feare of his lief, gatheringe a greate copanie if idle men to revenge the spoile comitted by his captaine, so that this is an occasion of your maiesties greate charge.

[f. 281v] The remedie.[40]

[40] This had been written in the left margin next to the proceeding paragraph.

What is the remedie of this: that euery one that shall haue any gouernement vnder the L. deputie shall comitt no spoile vpon any man that is vnder his gouernement vntill the L. deputie be made previe of the cause and vntill he send his advice vnto him. This shalbe a great occasion of stayinge of the rebellion and to take nothinge from them but by order from the L. deputie, or by your mats lawes.

Also, it is requisite that your mats subiects, beinge greved vnder any gouernor in Ireland if he deale not with him as iustice requireth, maie appeale vnto the L. deputie for iustice, which wilbe a cause that gouernors shall vse severytie and no parcialitie.

Will our nobilitie of Ireland open theis matters vnto your matie? Suerly they will not, for this restraines the libties that they haue and had hetherto. Who will live vnder the yoke of the lawe, as the nobilitie of England doe, if they may live at libtie. Yf they did not open theis matters vnto your mati then is the libtie that they haue had hetherto gon and then bringe them selves vnder the yoke of the lawe. No they will none of that. They will live at libtie so longe as they can, this libtie that they have vnder Ireland and putts your mati to great charge.

O noble princes where is the remedie of theis horrible slaughters, prayengs, burnings and spoilings of your maiesties poore subiects. It resteth in your mats handes and none other.

Another occasion ther is that augments your mats great charges, which is the souldiers to be longe vnpaied greate somes of money, besides the revenue of the realme your mati sendes into Irelande, but it is in small parcels 3, or 4, or 5 thowsand pounds, at a tyme. Theis smale somes comes not a brode, but is parted betwixt the L. deputie and counsall, so that the most parte beinge lost in England the rest is litle worth enough to beare the L. deputie and counsaile's charges, and some to the captaines, but I assure your matie [f. 282r] there comes litle or nothing vnto the soldiers, and never a penny to the poore subiects for the victualinge of the souldiors.

So that by the longe paie your mati loses and is ill sherved, the soldier he loses, and the poore subiect that victualls the soldier is thereby ympoverished by the longe paie, your mati looseth, and is ill sherved, for the soldier that is killed and the soldier that is deade is alwaie alive in Ireland, for your mati must paie the captaine his enterteinement whether he be deade or alive. What is the reason that your mati sholde paie for the deade aswell as for him that is alive? Yt is the longe paie, for the soldiers of Ireland are not mustered in 3, 4 or 5 yeres monethes, so that the deade is still alive. And when the muster daie is knowen 15 daies aforehand and he that was killed or deade is alive at the muster daie.

The other cause is that your mati is ill sherued. He that shoulde have two hundred footemen in the feild can scant make sixe or seaven score at the moste. The captaine of one hundred can scarce make 70 in the field. Vntill the muster daie they shalbe whole bandes, for the captaine will haue the furniture of soche as he shall lacke in his chamber and will enterteine their supplies for 5 or 6 daies vntill the musters be don, and then they ar discharged and the bands shalbe as they were afore.

The remedie of this is to knowe what is your mats charges by the yeare, and then to paie your garrison twise a yere, and to apointe a comptroller of your mats musters that shall not geve the captaines warninge, but come vnto them apon the sodaine, and muster them once a moneth, so that if any be killed or deade the daie shalbe knowen, and the daie of thentrie of

him that comes into his place. By this meanes your mati shall saue a greate deale of the chargs that your mati is at, and shalbe well sherved, and your bandes well furnished.

The comptroller of the muster if he have good skill will well desherue his wages.

[f. 282v] The souldier he loses, for the longe paie cutts his throate, for what he receaves at the merchannts handes vpon the captaines creditt for 16*d* for ready money he might buye the same for 8*d*.

The subiects he loases for that he is never paied, so that when the soldier comes to his howse he is as welcome as water into a shipp.

The captaine he loases not, but gaines, as I haue declared, in your mats losses.

The remedie of theis inormities and losses.

Yt is veary requisite to apointe a president in Mounster, the same to be the like of Sir Iohn Perott, or him self one severe in iustice and painefull, one that punishe the evell doers, and mainteyne the well doers, one that cared for no person of what degree soever he weare in ministringe iustice, but his onlie care was howe to sett forth your mats honor and sheruice, and to wine himself fame, and to make the gentlemen welthie, where afore his coming thether they lived in misery and beggery.

Alwaies prouided that the president have to live of his owne, so that he make not his gaine of the goods of your mats poore subiects, as divers gouernors did and dailie doe.

The saide president to have of the nomber of men that are in Ireland 200 footemen and 100 horsemen, and the saide president to haue to attende apon him a provost marshall, and a treasorer, or receavor of the revenue of the province of Mounster. and to paie the same vnto soche as shall sherue there. The provost and the treasorer to be men of good creditt and skill in sheruice, and euery of them to haue to attende vpon him 25 horsemen of the hundred aboue named, and thother 50 to attend apon the L. president as his men.

Also, to apoint the like president in Connaght, with the like nomber of men and counsaile, for there is asmoche revenue to be recouered in Connaght as in Mounster.

[f. 283r] And one other president in Leinster, with the like nomber of men and counsale, which president to sherue in the rome of a Lewetenante of bothe your mats fortes. This president shall kepe the Mores, the Kconnores, the Towles, Hughe MacShane, and the two sectes of the Kavanaughtes, who be all ill members of the comon wealth. There is as moche more revenue to be had in Leinster as now is, besides the kepinge downe of theas rebells and devourers of the comon wealth.

Also it is requisite there a lewetenante of bothe your mats fortes for divers causes that I will declare vnto your mati.

And that the L. deputie and counsall sholde lie in Aloane, he havinge in his companis to attende apon him the nomber of 400 footemen and 200 horsemen, I meane the L. deputy lyinge in Aloane is for that Aloane if placed in the middeste of the realme where his L. is to answere where most ned shall requier within the realme.

I doe not meane that the bisshopps sholde be of your mats previe counsale, nor yet the iudges of the lawe to attende apon the L. deputie in Aloane vnder your mats correction. It is not fitt that busshopps sholde be of your mats previe counsale for two causes. Thone is for that none of them haue no skill neither in the lawes of the realme, nor in marshall affaires, neither in the civell nor comen lawes. The other cause I will declare vnto your mati by mouth.

Also it were fitt that the counsale that sholde attende vpon the L. deputie in Aloane sholde be the knight marshall, one expecte in marshall affaires wise and discrete, a treasorer to be the like manners and Mr. of the ordinannce, to be one that hathe good skill in vewinge of a fortresse or stronge holde, and in placinge and plantinge his ordinannce to batter the same. Not onlie theis but diuerse other skills he must haue that aperteineth to this office which were nowe tedious to recite. Theis were fitt men to attend apon a deputie and to be of his previe counsale. I feare we lacke soche in Ireland but here be many to choose.

[f. 283v] Also lett the bisshopps be compelled to finde a preacher and a scholemaster in every their dioces accordinge to the statute therefore provided, as they doe not, which is a greate cause that your poore subiects doe not knowe their dewtie to god, nor yet to your mati.

Theis articles that I wrott, I write them by experience, for that I haue sherued a longe tyme as a captaine, and doe knowe what a captaine maye doe, and what a comptroller may doe in his musters.

And as for the rest knowledge teacheth me, for that I was sent by the gouernors into the moste parte of the realme. I sawe thenormities of the realme and the occasion of your mats great chargs, soe that the most bounden dutie that I owe vnto you my deare mistrisse, and most gracious soveraigne, and the zeale that I beare vnto my poore countery did cause me to sett forth theis articles being resolved in mynde that the placinge of presidentes, and the followinge of the reste of theis articles, will bringe wealth and quietnes and discharge your maiestie of a great parte of the great chargs[41] that your maiestie is dailie at for Ireland.

In theis articles I haue declared vnto your mati the plane and perfectt waie to reforme Ireland, to cutt of a great parte of the charges that your mati is at, to make the countery civill, to make the subiects willinge to be at your mats comanndement, to see your soldiers trewlie paied and encurrage them to sherue, and finallie to make the countery that nowe is rude, barbarous, and nothinge comodious, but chargious vnto your matie, a countery civell, profitable, and comodious vnto your highnes, to the which I pray god to put in your graces harte to geve care that I may here and saie the most gracious princes Elizabeth hath brought that countery to welth and civilitie, which heretofore her auncestors did not, this or a plaine conqueste your mati must doe to them that shall not obey, or otherwise your mats great chargs shall haue no ende.

[f. 284r] Othe thinges I haue to saie vnto your mati, the which I will omitt to write, which if they be not remedied in tyme it will grow to your mats greate charges.

Thus I end, prayinge the almightie god to presherue your maiestie with long lief and perfectt health, to the contentacion of god, and wealth of your mats realmes, with the reioysinge of your heighnes subiects.

[41] 'care' has been crossed out before this.

Your maties faithfull shervannte.

Patrick Sherlock.

23. Jerome Brett
'Offer of Hierom Brett and sundry good subjects to the Queen, for planting Munster and Wexford.' (1568)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/26/53

A flyleaf reads 'To the right honorable Sir William Cecill knight, principall secretary to the quenes maiestie and Mr of her maties wardes', and, 'Offers for the lands in Monster. Mr Brett'.

[f. 111r] Sith it semeth good vnto your matie to vse meanes to reduce your realme of Irland to obedience and civilitie it standeth with the dutie of good subiects to offer there assistance in furtherance of the same. And therefore touchinge these contries called or knowne by the name of Munster and that country called or knowen by the name of the countie of Wesheford, heare followeth the humble offers of sundry your maties good subiects, who with your laufull favour vnder god and your lawes are sufficientlie hable to accomplishe the same without any charge to your matie other then armoure and munycion, if it will please your matie first to grannte this peticion whiche is:

Ffirst, that it wolde please your matie to grannte your common lawes of England to be vniuersallie vsed through the whoall realme of Irlande.

Item that it wolde please your matie to give and assure vnto them and theire heires these contreys called or knowen by the name of Munster and that countie called or knowen by the name of the countie of Weshforde, with the benefits of all exchetes and forfeited landes therheld, and alredy forfeited, and that hereafter shall exchete and be forfaited together with the havens in or adioyning to the same contries (and at this prente not in due obedience) and all the Ilands lyinge adioyninge or apperteigninge to the said contries of Munster and Weshforde, with the prerogatyve of the fisshinges in those seas and suche your regalities for enioyenge of the premisses as lawfulle as maye be desired and necessarie to be granted, standinge with the honor of your matie and sucessors, and thassurance of the demanndments yeldinge and payinge vnto your highnes and successors asmuche yerelie rente as you are answered of at this present daye.

Ffor which bysides the same auncyent rente they offer:

To giue your matie for the benefite and custome of the havens, ilands and fisshinges (beinge not alredie vnder obedyence) liynge and adioyninge to the contreys of Munster and Weshforde, the some of 200*li* yerelye ___ 200*li*

The rent to begynne 3 yeres after the grannte and possessyon hadde. To giue for all landes to be evicted from the wilde and rebell people and for all other concealed landes within the said contreys of Munster and Wesheforde whiche by your maties lawes or any other laufull meanes shalbe be recouered and not charged with thauncient rente as aforesaid after the rates heare ensuinge viz.

For every acre of meadowe _____ 4*d*
For every acre of arable and pasture _____ 2*d*
For every acre of wood and bogge_____ 1*d*

The rente to begynne within one yere next after any such eviction of recouerye hadde of any such landes aforesaid.

Whiche vndoubtedlie, in consideracion that there be dyvers landes and territories that hath of longe tyme byn wrongfullie witholden from your matie and auncesters with dyvers other porcions in likewise concealed, bisides that there be sondry houses of papestrie to the greate displeasure of almightie god and contrarie to your lawes mayntayned as abbyes, frieries and suche other not yett suppressed, and many other royalties as hones, castells, lordshippes and manors latelie happened vnto your highnes by waye of excheate and by like violence witholden from your matie your lawes and obedyence within your said contries of Munster and Weshforde whiche beinge reduced to civilitie must of necessitye increase your Maties revenue more then you are nowe possessed of 8 or 10,000*li* _____ 8 or 10,000*li*

[f. 111v] Besides that your matie hereby shalbe very well hable to recover all suche tributes as from dyvers of the nobles and commynaltie hath byn by parliament grannted for thadvanncement of the crowne viz. in footemen and horsemen to suche nomber and beinge bothe devided and converted into money will surmounte the some of 20,000*li* the more parte whereof is to be raysed and levied oute of Munster and the said countie of Wesheforde, as by rates and your maties recordes shall more playnely appeare ____ 20,000*li*

They offer to builde a towne vpon the haven of Ballatymore or Beare Haven or at suche other haven as shall seeme for that purpose by their discressyon most convenyent, praying your matie to encorporate the same, enioyninge the best lawes of the city of Dybelyn.

They will fortefy ther owne defence and suretie of that contrey to your matie aswell against sea as lande, as they for their owne securitye shall thinke most convenyent, and as best maye agree with their habilitye, and therfore they desire to transporte convenyent nomber of artificers and labourers for the same purpose duringe the yeres aforesaid.

They yelde to holde theire landes by the tenures and lawes of England with wardship and mariage to your matie and to haue in grannt the said landes and possessyons from your highnes to them and to theire heires male so that suche heires males within 2 yeres after the death of their auncestors, and beinge of full age, or beinge within age, within 2 yeres after he shall come of full age doe come dwell and inhabite theare or othewise for wante of suche heires males, or in defalte of refusall of such heires to dwell and inhabite theare, as is aforesaid, the same landes to revert vnto your matie by way of excheate, savinge and exceptinge certeine persons hereafter to be named.

They doe desire that it wolde please your matie to grannte that euery Irishman of 40*li* by yere or vpward shall oute of everie 2 yeres attende vpon your deputy the space of 3 daies in token of his obeisance, ffor defaulte wherof to lose his goodes and lands to your maiestie.

Ffurther, that it wolde please your matie to grannte that no Irishe man of what degree or condicion soever he be of shall kepe or maynteyne any idell men as reteyners or otherwise other than suche as shall take wages, meate, drink and lyvery in his mancion house, necessary officers onlie excepte.

Ffynallie, for the better incouragement of the willinge myndes of your lovinge subiectes that herin without any charge to you matie other then armour and munycion of their owne costes and charges with expence of blood and life are willinge to exercise the accomplishment of

this enterprise and must of necessitye bothe by sea and lande mayntayne greate nombers of men. They do most humblie in consideracion thereof desire your maiestie that it wolde please the same to lend vnto them duringe the terme of 5 yeres 2 ships well armed and sufficiently tackled and 2 meaner barkes, in like sorte furnished, at the costes and charges of the demandantes to be named and maynteyned. The same to be restored to your maiestie in thend of the said yeres, like armed and tackled, or for defalts therof somuche in value as the delyvery to them they shalbe indifferently praised, whiche vesselles in tyme of warre cannot sherve your matie in any parte of christendome better then on those seeas and coast of Irlande provided that if they be lost in your maties affayres that the demanndants not to be charged with the redelyvery or any thinge in consideracion therof.

[f. 112r] What proffit and comoditie maie growe to the crowne of Englande by granntinge this sute.

Thies contries, nowe possessed by disobedient people assistinge everie rebellion to the disglorie of god and greate dislike of your maiestie, shalbe inhabited by naturall English men, whoe besides other assurance of fydelitye haue suffycient counterpoys for their truthe in England And those havens nowe enioyed by Spanyards, Ffrenchemen and other nacions to no proffit of your matie but great perell and annoyance, bringinge weapon and armour (reddie meanes to rebellyon) shalbe advoyded, your gayne and suretie to that contrey encreased and the rest of the Irishe men lesse hable to annoy and withall those places unnyted against invasyon and incursyon of all strangers, thonlye comforte of the Irish nacion.

The habundance and plentye of ffishe wherin those seas are verie fortunate shalbe enioyed by the naturall Englishe men wherby all other strannge nacions, whiche nowe are hable to sell the same, shalbe driven to buye to the greate and laufull enrichinge of the good subiectes, thenbasinge of forrayne comodityes and the honorable aduanncement of your maties crowne of Englande.

The like comoditie and welthe will growe to your maiestie and your good state of marchanntes in that thies stranngers shall not at ther pleasure traffique oure best wares as hides, tallowe and other forbydden wares as nowe they do without controlment to their owne encrease and oure decaye.

Also the frutes of this obedience and civilitie will worke in the wilde of Irlend as meane to ymytate and follow the like or els through idelnes offende to die and that verie spedely there shall not be seene any one that shall weare any habit or garment of Irishrie.

Bisides, that your highnes by like reason shall with a meane charge putt in vse or execucion any your mynes of silver and golde, whereof there is so greate plentye, by reason of whiche welthe longe hidden, and to your matie no comodytie, youe shalbe hable to erecte sondrey free scooles, hospitalls and other like houses for relief of povertye, whiche actes of charitie must awitnes your noble fame forever to be hadd in memorie.

Ffurdermore, thies havens and fisshinges must nedes greatlie encrease the necessarye nomber of marryners nowe in this realme of late daies very muche decayed, a matter asmuche to be pitied and helpen as any other.

Moreover, by this meanes the noysome nomber of pirats of all Europe must be discoraged whoe nowe without all feare haunte the saide havens, not havinge the like succour and convenyencie of place in any coast of christendome.

[f. 112v] Ffynallie, by these havens your maiestie and your sucessors forever maye with a smale power staye all traffique and passage by sea from Ffrance, Fflanders, Scotlande and Denmarke into any partes of Spayne, Portugall and all landes by south or from thence backward at your will and pleasure. So as youe maye at all tymes give peace or warre, holdinge thenymys habilitye an your owne handes, gretter honor then which cannot happen to any prince, neither greatter causes maye be to perswade wherin also your highnes shall enlarge your governance and revenue, dymynisshinge your charges and obteygne thencrease of a nomber of good subiects who herin meane the best and therfore they trust god in your harte will give it the like vnderstandinge.

Your most obedient subiecte
Hierom Brett

24. Patrick Sherlock
'Notes or recommendations by Patrick Sherlock for the reformation of Munster.' (1569)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/28/12

A flyleaf reads '2 Maij 1569. Patryck Sherlock's booke for matters of Irland'.

[f. 40r] Certeine brefe notes set forth by your mats most humble sheruant and subiect Patrick Sherloke for the spedy reformacion of the province of Mownster in Ierland.

1. Ffirst, where therle of Desmond's frends, kinsfolk and sheruants do not only think but also reporte that your matie do keip the said earle in the towre wrongfully, to avoyde that bruyte it weir good in my opynion if it woulde stande with your mats pleasur to send the sayde earle into Irland to the L. deputye and he to comytt him to the castell of Dublin as prisoner there to be tryed by this peres vpon the articles that are to charg hyme. And if they do fynd hym giltye, then cannot his freinds say that your matie did him any wrong. Hereby shall they be perswaded, and this triall shalbe be a terrour to the rest of the nobilitie and disobediens which they dayly practise, repugnant to your mats lawes.

2. Itm if the saide earle be condempned by his peres your matie may extend your clemencye vpon his body and enter immediatly vpon all his lands and the same to bestowe to your mats pleasure vpon such gent as shall stand bound to defend it at their owne chargs and to paye your matie for the same as it shalbe surveid.

3. Itm where the said earles kinsmen do nowe rebel and as I am informed out of Ierland it was the said earle that did send horsemen willing them so to do, in hope he should the soner therby procure his [own] inlargment. My advice is to give comission to therle of Ormond and to the L. president to call befor them Thomas, brother to the said earle, Iohne, uncle to the said earle, James Fitzmoris, cosen germayn to the said earle, the sonnes of [f. 40v] James Ffitzgerald, the sonnes of Iohne Fitzgerrald and Morish Fitzgerald, and to offer to the said Thomas such lands as he hathe nowe in his possession to him and to his heirs males as your mats gift, payeng to your matie acknowleg out of the same lands and for lack of heir males lawfully begotten, the same to come to your matie and to your heyrs and sucessors for ever. And so the lick offer and state to be made of all the persons afornamed, which wilbe an ocasion for all the said Geraldines to leve their rebellion and obediently to serve your matie, for thus extending your clemency towards them in restoring them to their lands, which the said earle kepith from them with out anny right or lawe but by strong hands, tyrannising over them. And if theis said Geralds be thus appeased, and with this offer contented, then is there none to interrupt you to convert the said earles lands to the most profit for your mats behofe. And if they be not thus contentid, then the said earle of Ormond and the L. president to haue comission to proclaim them traytours and all their aiders and mainteyners.

4. Itm for asmoche as the O'Neyles, Scotts of the north, the Geraldines of the southe, therle of Clancarty, with diuers others, do nowe rebell and for the suppressinge of them that it weir great chargs for your matie to set forthe two armyes, the one into the northe and the other into the south. It weir good for the former ending of this rebellion to devide the shires of that realm, some to serve the sowth and the othir some to serve the north. As for the south the counties of Wexford, Watford, Kilkenny, Typperary, with soche of the counties of Corck, Kyerry, Lymerick and Thomond as will tak your mats parte and the rest of the [shears] to serv the northe.

[f. 41r] 5. Itm where there is an acte of parliament latly past in Irland that no noble man nor gentle man which had any capitainship here to fore over anny shere or contrey (onles he can obteine the same by warrant from your matie vnder your brode seale) vpon pain of fellony shall take vpon him the name of a capteine nor levye anny conye of lyvery. And for that this sheruice can not be done but according to the old custome that it would pleas your matie to grannt that the capiteins over the sheeres afore named to haue their wonnted auctoritie by patent vnder the broed seale by calling to them the gent of euery sheere to excercise the said coures of capiteins with cessing the contrey with as many men of warr with coney, lyvery, wags, cariags and other chargs as they were wont to do according the auncient custome of the realme that act not with standing. And the fittest and best able to exercise the said coures of capteins I will disclose to your matie as over the

Countie of	Kilkeny	The earle of Ormond
	Typperarye	
	Wexford	Sir Nicholas Deueroux
	Watford	vicont of Deesies
	Corcke	vicont Barrymore and lorde Roche
Countie of	Lymericke	Such as shalbe thought fitt by the L. treasorer and L. president.
	Tomond	The earle of Tomont
	Kyerry	The L. Fitzmorish

6. Itm for the spedy suppressing of the earle of Clancarty and the Geraldines (if they will not be reformed) to plac therle of Ormond in the countie of Lymerick and the president in the countie of Corck, therle of Ormond to haue in his company Thomas Mastersons band, the same to be devided into two bands and to be turned to [f. 41v] harbutiers on horsbacke, for that the countie of Lymericke is a plaine contrey and that the harbutiers on horsback are redy to sherue there in bothe kindes as ocasion shall sherue. And to place with him also such nomber of men as shalbe rest vpon the countie of Kilkeny, Typperary, Tomont, Wexford and such as shall take your mats parte in the countie of Lymerick.

7. Itm with the president to place his owne bande and horsses band which is 100 in nomber, with the power of the conty of Watford and all suche as be your mats good subiects in the countie of Corck and Kyerry, whose names be, the vicont Barrymore, the L. Roche, the L. Fitzmorish, Sir Diermot McCharty, the L. Cursey, the L. Barrey Óge, Baret and Condon, and the earle of Clancartie's parte takers be the two O'Solevans, O'Mahon, O'Hidriscoile, McCharty Rewghe, who I thinck with small travaile wilbe reconsiled to your maties, O'Callaghan, O'Kyve, McDonogh, the White Knight, McBryen, O'Goanaghe, O'Connor Kyerry, the Knight of Kyerrye.

8. Itm to direct your mats lres to the mayor of Lymerick, the soffrain of Kilmalok, the soffrain of Fedirth, the soffrain of Clonmell and the portris of Casshell, comannding them to haue so many men in a redynes at all tymes as the lord treasorer shall will them to attend vpon him in doing your mats sheruic with their fvrniture of weapons and victualls for so long time and as often as he shall apoint them with the like comanndment to the maior of Youghell, the maior of Corck, the portris Dongarvan and the suffrain of Kinsale to attend vpon the L. president. And this wilbe the reddiest waye, and easiest meane, to overthrow their

traiterous enterprises and best remedy to prevent the great chargs your matie should be at in sending an army hertheir.

[f. 42r] 9. Itm in following of this devic your matie shalbe at no mor chargs then before tyme, other then the L. treasorer enterteignement to be considered and allowid during the sheruice and your mats pleasure. And it weir requisite also that the saide L. treasorer should haue the leading and charge of the L. souldiors, which Mr Heron had before tyme to attend vpon him during your mats pleasure that he maye traine them for the pistolel which is rare and a terror to the contrey people.

10. Itm in consideracion of the great chargs that the said sheeres shalbe at in mainteyneneng of thes men of warr at their owne chargs it wold please your matie to discharge them of all cesses and other imposicions, other then the finding of the said men of wars and paieng of your matie subsedie accrodinge as they hawe paied the same this 40 yeres.

11. Itm in placinge of the lord treasorer and lord president in this sort, then hath my L. deputie to attend vpon him in the north the residue of your mats army, the countie of Catherlaghe, the countie of Kildare, the countie of Maryboroughe, the countie of Dublin, the countie of Phillipston, the countie of Methe and Westmeithe, the countie of Louth and the rest of your mats trewe subiects in the north.

12. Itm where certen gentlemen do swe to hawe all such lands as they maye by anny means gett and purchase, paieng to your matie a certain for euerye acre by them so gotten. This ffee is vncertein and will be an occasion to move the Irish nacion to rebellion althoughe the said ffee be large. It weir good therfore for avoydinge yelosie to grannt them the lands of all them that shalbe proclaymed traytors, reserving vnto your matie all the Gerraldines lands, the in cvstomes and oute customes of all the havens that are nowe in the rebelles hands.

[f. 42v] 13. Itm wheir your matie is chargid with the keeping of of 8 soldiors at 8 the pece per diem for keping the maior of Dongarvan, whose wags mots to 100*li* per anno, it weir good for avoiding the said chargs to yoyne the personage of the saide towne of Dongarvan to the manor aforsaid by act of parliament which personage is worthe to your matie but 20*li* a yere and to gewe the lessour 20*li* ayere during his intrest, and the residue to be converted to the vse aforsaid, and the constable to be bound vpon the said personag to gard the castell.

14. Itm wheir your matie is chargid with 8 men for keping the castell of Cathirlagh also aft the said rate it weir good to take the lick order with yoyning the personag of the said [toun] to the castell. So shall your matie save 120*li* by the yere during the farmers leasses in the said personag and aft thexpiring of the same 140*li* by the yere.

15. Itm for euery article conteined in this booke your sheruant is able to yeld your matie good reason that they are beneficiall, both to your matie and to the whole realm, and the readist waye to allure the good subiect and banish the evill.

25. Robert Weston
'Lord Chancellor Weston to Cecill.' (1570)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/30/29

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right honorable for William Cecill, knight, principall secretarie to the queenes most excellent maiestie'.

[f. 57r] Right honorable, my dutie done with hartie comendacions. I wishe and pray vnto you grace and peace in god the father and his sone Iesu Christ, from whose fatherlie providence and mercie, as we are thought by his woord, that all things come, so yet he for the deper impression of the same in once hartes, to the comfortable increase of our faith and trust in him, with care of more a thankfullness hereafter, hath, besyds his dailie fatherlie blessings by his laws, benefyts in disclosing the secrete and dangerous treasons and conspiracies of her owne subiects in that realme against her matie, and her mercifull and quyet gouernemente, and the spedie suppressinge and overthrow thereof, lyvely and sweetlie tought vs the same.
No lesse, or rather more dangerous, to her mats gouernement here were the late many and greate conspiracies and rebellions in this realme, and no lesse or rather more swete and effecteous were the fatherlie lessons of his care and mercie over vs in the spedie deliverannce of his people from the same, and all to schoole vs by the experience and feelings of his mercies in both realmes to depend whollie of his godlie wisdome and providence and to establishe our harts in him onlie and the obedience of his woorde, the ignorance or neglecte whereof is the cause (in my opinion) that this cursed people contynew so still in theire great disobedience, ever stirringe, consypringe and rebellinge againste her matie as oft as they dare. There is no knowledge of god or of theire duties to their prince in the harts of this people that should teach or move them to theire dutifull obedience, only the feare of the sword without inforceth them there. And therfore in reason can contayne them in theire office no longer then it hangeth over theire heads, which hath bin, is and still must be a contynewall and intolerable charge to the prynce, ioyned with bludd, slaughter and murther of her people comytted by god to her highnes to be preserved and kept without. Contrary wise learninge, vnderstandinge and the knowledge of god growen in theire harts wold breed in them good lykinge and love of honestie, civilitie and true obediens and without further charge of the prince, bluddshedd or any inforcement through good will, egg and stirr them alwayes to the preservation and holdinge of the same. This were a peaceable godly and mercifull request and the gouernement so grownded through knowledge, vpon the good lykinge of the subiects lyke without comocion or styrr, to contynew longe in firme peace, to the wealth of her highnes subiects and the increase of her maties revenewes.
The consideracion of the premisss hath moved me to ioyne with some of the bisshopps of this lande, how by parliament here some things might be established for the furtherannce and increase of learninge and the knowledge of god, as in drawinge of bylls (for buyldinge of schooles, for reparinge of churches and chappells, which are so vniversally downe or decayed as though there were no god nor religion) to call churchmen to theire cures, whose non residence is a great cause of this great desolacion and wast.
Motyon also hath bin made for the fowndinge of an vniversitie and is much lyked of vniuersally of all here. Yet for that the devyce, direction and fowndacion of that so godly a dede is a most worthie woorke for so verteous, bountifull and carefull a soueraigne and prince, and shall consecrate to perpetuall memorie her mats godlie zeale to true religion and learninge, and her mercifull, motherly care over her pore and rude subiects here, as also that our barenes and povertie in this realme is not hable to performe such a woorke of charge without her mats liberalitie, good countenance and lykinge, to the encurradgement of others, there is sent from the L. deputy and counsaill here vnto your of the queenes maiesties

honorable privie counsaill there [f. 57v] a supplicacion that it wold please you to comende and further the same to her highnes, wherein I knowe I nede not much to crave your ayde and helpe that alwayes haue byn so greate a lover, a speciall patrone and furtherer, and a procurer of all helpes, to true religion and learninge.

These things rudelie and too boldlie I haue wrytten vnto your honor. Trustinge yet that you of your accustomable goodness and gentlenes will rather consyder my zeale and love towards my bretherne here that carried me away past the bonds of my dutie then ether my rashness in vtteringe my rude opinion, with the feeble and weake reasons thereof, or the homely and rude penninge of the same. And so leavinge and comyttinge all the wholl matter to your honorable iudgement and godlie zeale, I cease to trouble your honor any further and shall with hartie thanks, not only for your goodnes alwaies showed vnto me, but much more for the frute and profitt that the comon weale hath receaved in the grace of god, of his great gyfts bestoed vpon you whermost prayer comende you to his grace I speake nor for flatterie, the prayse is godds what ever is don, the frute his people, the conforte of a good consciens yours that have dispensed as a good steward the creditt comytted to you of him to the vse of his people. And thus estsones prayinge god to increase in your honor, the gyfts of his holy spirite to your confort and his church I humbly take my leave. Ffrom Dublin the 12th of March 1569.

Your honors to comannd.

Robert Weston.

The bill mencioned before in this lre
touchinge non residence hath bin sought
for and cannot be fownd.

26. Thomas Gerrard
'Second book and offer of Sir Thomas Gerrarde and companions for planting the Glynns and part of Claneboy.' (1570)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/30/32

A flyleaf reads, '15 March 1569. Sir Tho Gerrarth 2 book of demands'.

[f. 62r] The humble petycion and offer of Sir Thomas Gerrarde, knight, in the behalf of himself and the companions of his attempt for the planting and inhabyting of the Glyns and part of Clandeboy in the north of Irelande.

Fyrst he desireth that all the lands betwene Olderflete and the Rowte by the sea and all the lands of Clandeboy from Castelltowne along the Lough Neagh and so over to the demesne of Belfast be passed to him in fee symple to be dysposed over to his companyons.

Aslo he desyreth the nomber of 100 horsemen and 400 footemen at such ordynarie wagies as the soldiors of those kynds are enterteyned there, the same to contynue vntyll three crops may be gatherid.

Also he desyreth to haue one yeres paie before hande for the making of their provysions and at thexpyracion of that yere to haue prest half yerelie tyll the tyme come that they shalbe cassed and that the same soldiors shalbe maynteined during the whole tyme proscrybed they will put in suffycient bands and tye lands for it.

Also he desyreth to haue the queenes mats ships there alreydie to be contynued in paie for their defence against the Scotts which covet to come thether and that they may haue of hir matie twoo hoyes for necessarie transportacion of victualls.

Also he desireth suche munycion for the defence of the peecs to be fortyfied as shall seme requysyte to the lord deputye for which they wilbe answerable and praserve the same as parcell of hir mats stoore.

Also he desireth to haue the martiall lawes within the plat of grounde before named and that neyther he nor any his companyons shalbe ympeached for thexecuting of any offenders or rebels that shall transgresse the lawes of the realm within an part of the same realme having robbed or spoyled them of any of their goods within the saide plat of grounde.

[f. 62v] Also he desireth that they may custome free and transport owte of England thother yerelie syx thousande quarters of grayne of all sorth and suche other grayne of their owne as they shall haue in Englande eyther by their owne manurannce or of tithes or rents from their tenants.

Also he desireth to haue the fysshing vppon the coast as farre as their lands stretche and to haue the whole comodytie of Lough Neagh for fysshing.

Also he desireth comyssion to levie the soldiors afore named furnyshed with armor and weapons with convenient nombers of laborers and artyfycers within the counties of Yorke, Lancaster and Chester.

Also he desireth that the same grounde may be made a shier and that the offycers of the same may be yerelie chosen by the chiefetayns and companyons of this attempt or the most part thereof and that it shalbe lawfull for them to make good ordynancs for the better obedyennce of their people so as the same do not dyffer from the lawes of the said realm.

Also he desireth to haue free lybertie to transport any thing that shall renew or grow in or vppon the said lands at any tyme vnto any place except it be to the pryncs enemyes.

Also he desireth that the garryson of Knockfergus may be planted North the place of their seate where the lorde deputie shall think meetest and that her matie will fortyfie the Red Bay, […], the Raughlyns and Skyrrys Portrushe.

Also he desireth that the lord deputye may remayne in those parts this somer.

In consideracion whereof he with his companions doeth offer withall humylitie and duetyfulnes to serve the queenes most excellent matie with their lyves and substanncs and to acknowledge all obedyence to hir highnes as their naturall soveraigne observing hir mats lawes and to the vttermost their power compell suche as rebell against hir maty to lyve obedyently and in good order.

Also he offereth to buyld within convenient tyme to be assigned by the L. deputye twoo townes, the one at Olderfleete, the other in suche place as the L. deputy shall assigne [f. 63r] within the said lands which townes they will people and fortyfie suffucientlie against any rebell of that contrey or Scotland and defende the same to the vttermost of their powers.

Also he offereth to paie all customes saving of suche things as they shall receyve for their owne provysyons.

Also he offereth after three yeres to paie vnto the queenes maty for those said lands a yerelye rent, viz. for every acre which they shall enioye ratable after the moytie of the lands in Leix and Offallay acoording the first survey thereof taken and that the same rent remayne no longer then they enioy the same lands.

Also they will bring besyds theis men which they desire in paie 100 or mor able persons for hir highnes shervice there and in thend of three yeres to maynteyne the nomber of 500 within the said lands, the one half of them to serve hir maty vpon all sooddens within three daies march from the said lands.

27. Thomas Browne and Thomas Barrow
'Enterprise to inhabit and fortify Claneboy to the use of the Crown.' (1571)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/34/42

A flyleaf reads, '1571. Captein Thomas Browne. Captein Thomas Borrow. For ye Arde in Irland'.

[f. 112r] To the quenes moste excellent matie.

Your maties moste humble subiects, captein Thomas Browne and captein Thomas Borrowe doe make their humble requeste to haue of your matie in fee farme the Arde, as well spiritualts as temporalts (to mete), from the movthe of the river of Strongford vnto the river at Belfast, including Castell Rewgh, and the woodes from by east that river adioyning to Kylwarling and to the Dufferne.

And they doe offer to paie to your matie, and to your successors, for ever after the ende of 4 yeares next ensuinge two hundred pounds yearlie rent for the said premisses.

Item they doe requeste to haue one hundred footemen and fiftie horsemen at your maties charges for those fower yeares.

Item they doe request to haue the whole iurisdicion of the same country for ever by the name of senescall.

Item the doe requeste to have comission for ever for the prente execucion of suche malefactors as theves, murderers, house burners, comytters of rape and takers of meate by violence.

Item that this shall not be preuidicall to any freeholder within that countrie being a subiecte, nor to any bisshopp or any other having lands theare and dwelling owt of the country, so that the will dooe their indevor to builde vpp their waste houses and to have theire lands inhabited with good subiects within 3 yeares next.

And in consideracion that theare is no howse with in that countrie (Castell Rewghe excepte), nether religious house nor other, but is all waste and defaced, as the Grey Abby, Banghor, Mevill, Newton and Hollye Woode, which are requisite to be builded as houses of strengthe, and sondry other placs of greate importannce, the chargs wherof wilbe greate.

Ffor that consideracion they doe make request to have licence to transporte two thowsand packs of wooll, a pack of 500 weight and a thowsand tonne of tallow out of Ireland into England.

Item they doe requeste to make an office of custom of the river of Strongforde and the creekes from thence to the sownde of Copland Iles to them for ever.

And in further consideracion of the building there they doe make request to have the custome and imposte free for seven yeares and to have speciall licence from your matie to trade theare, any acte to the contrary not withstanding, and at thende of 7 yeares to paie to your matie, and to your successors, for ever 5*li* a yeare for the custome theare.

[f. 112v] And for the same consideracion they dooe requeste to have licence to shipp owt of that haven into any forren parts for 7 yeares next ensuing, without paiment of custome, any comoditie that happely shall arise and growe there as hydes, tallowe, befe, lether or any other, any act to the contrary not withstandinge.

Item that it shalbe lawfull for them, and every of them, to receave any Irishe man, and his goodes and cattells, that shall seke to inhabite vnder them or any of them.

And they will covenannte with your matie that after the end of the sayd 4 yeares they wilbe redye to sherue your maties deputie with somany Englishe men, to witt a 100 footemen and 50tie horse men for 15 dayes, at there owne chargs if he come into the north parts.

The whiche also shalbe a president to any other and also a good asistannce and backe to him that shall take the like enterprise vppon any other country in the northe.

28. Anthony Power
'Anthony Powar his noate for reformation of Ireland vnto Mr. Sec. Walsingham.' (1573)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 71-74.

The text has been heavily annotated by Walsingham, who has summarised the main points of each paragraph or section in the margins. As these notes, with the exception of the title and an additional brief insertion, of which note are made of below, do not provide any especial additional information concerning either Power's text or Walsingham's reflections on it they have been largely omitted here.

[f. 71r] Anthony Powar his noate for reformation of Ireland vnto Mr. Sec. Walsingham.[42]

Right honnorable, I haue thought it my duetie, consdering the inward affection that I bear your honor, to dedicate this note vnto your honor, as touchinge the through and indubitate reformacion of the realme of Ireland, as vnto one whome I hope will further the same, knowinge that by furtheringe therof you bringe a rude realme into good rest and quietnes, and your honnors owne name to continew in euerlastinge memorie while Ireland stande, and augment the renowne and fame of the Q. most excellent matie, and cause her doings therin to excel the deeds of her predecessors, for there is as great prayse to be geven to him that kepethe a thinge conquered as to him that hathe conquered. Therfore bringe you to passe that her matie may conquere by myldenes, and not by spillinge of bloude the allreadie conquered, and yet not through conquered, realme of Ireland, to theuerlasting fame aswell of the procurers as of those that execute the same. I haue declarid and expresse things in this book sufficient if they be not executed or kept secret to be my distruction, yet for dischardge of my conscience I have expressed yt and accordinge my bounden duetie vnto her matie my most dere mistris, and my promise vnto her honor. I have herevnto annexed a platt of the haven of Waterford[43] which ought to be spedelie looked vnto. And so wishinge your honor all happie sucesse and increase of honor to your harts desire, I most humblie take my leave cravinge pardon for my bold attempt herin.

Your honnors most humble for
ever to command. Anthony Power.

[f. 71v] Whereas Aloane is scituated in the midst of ye realme of Ireland, it wear good that her mats lord deputie and counsell should lie there, for that thear his L. is most rediest to annswere to the reformacion of any disorders within the realme.

And the counsell that should attend vpon ye L. deputie in Aloane should be ye knight marshall, ye Mr. of thordinance and thesaurer at warres and not to want ye skill and experience that apperteynethe to eche of their offices.

The said L. deputie and counsel to have to attend vpon them of the number of men that ar in Ireland 100 horsemen and 300 footmen.

This L. deputie shold be a man of great experience, wise, valliant and habel to endure travaille, and to be noe lesse magnanamitie then liberalitie as ye honor of his rome require,

[42] The title is in Walsingham's hand.
[43] Missing.

representinge so mightie a princes, servinge vnde her matie in thoffice of a kinge, havinge also the chardge and gouerment of an inteyre kingdome. Therfore, if the worthines of ye office and the honor of his rome that is placed therin be considered, the nobilitie and worthines of the name must be noted. Sir Henry Sidney was he that last fame and not vndeserved praise supplied that roome, to the quietnes, welthe and consolation of the subiects, advancement of his princes service, and duringe his time to thexile and bannishment of wicked rebellion. A man as fit for the rome as anny yt ever gouerned, not onelie for his wisdome, liberalitie, experience and pollicie, and in time of ware for the hassard of his owne worthie carcasse into the force of the rebells, and to expell rebellion spared not to sustaine cold, hunger, thirst and ill lodging, instead of daintie faire and good lodgings, but also for his vpright gouernment with equall iustice, not wayinge any after the abundance of his riches but after ye iustnes of the cause, in so muche as he was a stedfast friend vnto the good, and mortall enemy vnto the evill, and ended by his wisdome, industrie and travell the funerall of the traytor Shane O'Neale, in so muche as he wanne the harts of all, in so muche as they thinke it a sufficient plague for them to want his presence and wholesome gouernment. Therfore no man more fitter for that office than he.

[f. 72r] This deputie rather lost then gained by his office, his travell was imploied to thadvancement of hir mats honor and service, welthe, and quietnes to the subiects, and honnor and credicte of himselfe, which worthelie he hathe deserved and in thend (accordinge to his deserts) thankes be hoped to have of her matie.

The reformacion of the realme must be spedelie loked vnto, otherwise it wilbe past remedie, for the next way to loose the harts of the subiects is to have the soldiors sessed vpon them and pay nothinge for that, that they taketh. Yt is a pitifull thinge that in the civilest parts in Ireland the poore subiect can not be Mr. of his owne, but what by great travell and honest labour he gitteth in a yeare to be devoured in shorte space, which is a principall cause that there ar so many idlemen in Ireland, because they se if they do worke others will have the frute of these labour and others do fare better with there goods then themselves, whearfore they have chosen and taken an vngodlie, idle life, because they counte the subiects bondmen and they at libtie, but if the subiect could git money for moneyworthe and to be Mr. of his owne, then labor would wax riche and the idle beggers be moved that[44] so that the same beinge broughte to passe for the hope of riches there should not be so many idlemen, nor instruments of rebellion.

Thyrishe wax more stronger and pollitique then ever they were, by reason that some of them have bene trained beyond the seas, and have sene the order of [saigrant] battailes, and now at home do traine their conntriemen, vnto the which some are compelled, because ther is suche division made of the Q. subiects as the Irishe subiects that ar of thinglishe nacion hable to deserve ther waiges ar not entertained as thinglishe.

Vnder which L. deputie to be appointed thre presidents of great wisdome and experience hable to live of [the fee][45] in those provinces ensewinge, viz. Mownster, Connaght and Leyniester.

The president of Mounster and Connaght may do great good in these provinces so as they be men of sufficient experience in marshall affaires.

[44] 'be moved that' has been inserted above this line in what appears to be Walsingham's hand.
[45] Some of Power's text has been obscured due to weathering in the bottom corner of this and the ensuing pages.

[f. 72v] The president of Leynester shall kepe the More, the O'Cconors, the Towles, Hughe McShane, and ye two sects of Kavanaghes in good order, who be ill members of ye comon welthe and may serve in rome of the leiftenant of bothe her matie fortes.

To attend vpon eche of which LL. presidents, as therfore of ye nomber of men that ar in Ireland, ther should be appointed 200 footmen and 100 horsmen.

And to have to attend vpon euerie of the said LL. presidents and ther counsell a provost marshall and a treasurer of receivor of ye revenue of the said provinces, to be paid vnto suche as shall serve there for ther intertainment, and euerie of the said provosts and thesaurers to have to attend vpon eche of them 25 horsmen of the hundrethe aboue named and the rest to attend vpon the said LL. presidents as ther men.

The revenue that is lost and may be recovered by sendinge good gouernors into the province aforesaide.

Thesse acts of parliament ensewinge augmenting her mats revenue take no effect in all Mounster, savinge in ye contry of Tiperarie and Waterford, for lacke of gouernors as aforsaid.

An acte givinge her matie a marke of euerrie ploughland[46] in Ireland, in Mounster amountinge by yeare to 5,000 markes.

Acts in like sorte givinge her matie all abbeis, monasteries, coman, and chantries, throughout all Ireland, and the first fruits and 20th parte of all ye spiruall livings in Ireland, and givinge her matie all thimpost of wines through Ireland, noe more had therof in Mounster savinge of ye cities and townes of Waterford, Corke, Limericke, Yoghall and Kinsale, all the customes, coketts, and all other merchandiz, wards, releiffe, escheats, amercements, forfatures of recognisance, and fellow lands and goods, together with many other rents and acts of parliament not put in execucion, so as her matie loseth 5,000 pounds by the year in Mounster at the least.

There is lost in Leynester and Connoughe for lacke of good gouernors [5,000] pounds at the least by yeare.

And that it may please her matie to extinguishe qunny and leuerye, which is ye nurse of idleness and manteyner of rebellion instruments for the same.

[f. 73r] Quynny and liuerrye is cause that those LL. and captains of contries do kepe suche great routs of idlemen, who devoure in the daye time her matie poor subiects litle sustenance yt they have to sustaine them selves, ther poore wiues and children with all, and so for lacke therof ar ouercome with famine so as in ye night they robbe, kill or spoile one or other, and the subiect is at the commandement of the worst rascall his landlord kepethe, a pitefull hearinge, abhobenable before god and man, and a great contempt of her mats lawes, and greater shalbe contempned if quynny and lyvery have his course.

[46] 'viz.' has been entered here over ploughlands.

The LL. will alleadge that if quynny and liverie be taken frome them they ar not hable to kepe suche store of men to serve as there were wont with diverse other alleagacions, to which may be annswered that they may kepe more of euerrie gent acordinge the countrie manner and the other haybetter, and euerrie suche gent to be bownde to kepe his men and ther horses at his owne chardgs and to be answearable for them at any time.

Otherwise if her matie thinke it necessarie to continue, wheras it is a great chardge vnto the poore subiects to mak inquisition in euerrie countrie how muche it should amount vnto by [year], which must amount to a great deall, and the iust some beinge knowne to ease the subiects of thone halfe theirof wherof they will reivise and the other halfe to her mates vse to be imploied as hereafter wilbe declared.

That is to saie, wheras diverse LL. in Ireland ar captaines of conntries, wherby the subiect knowes no prince but his captaine, and must do what he will, in right or wronge, or know no duetie they owe vnto any but onelie vnto them, somuch as the force of the captaines of conntries is fare greater then the Q. in euerry conntry. Therfore if her matie will displace the said LL. out of suche offices, and appoint civill gent, skillfull in marshall affaieres in the same […], to be allowed a certaine number of kearne, and to have that [so] levied aforesaid for there manteynannce, her mats force […] be greater in the L. conntrie then his owne, the subiect shall have iustice and shall know his duetye vnto her matie [and] if any nobleman be stirred by follie, pride or vnduetifull lustines he shalbe matched with [force].

[f. 73v] The garrison is so longe vnpaide as ye captaines and soldiors ar soon to become debters vnto merchants at whose hands they must have some releife or else goe naked, but in ye meane time they must allowe well favourdlie for it which I may not terme an interest but a gentle forbearinge. The merchant knoweth he must be a sewtor for it in England, not knowinge how longe he shalbe without it, so that he taketh more then he wold otherwise his conscience, and yet in thende her matie paieth all, and ye soldiors remainethe a begger lyvinge vpon the subiecte who is never paid, wherby the soldier is as well welcome vnto him as his enemy.

Therefore it were good that her matie should pay her garrison twise a yeare. Then should the soldior be hable to pay the subiecte for that he taketh and the subiecte should be hable to live, and have the fruite of his labour, and pay his landlord to his contentacion. Then wold the rebells have a desire to labour and become good subiects in hope of riches, but now they count there lives better then the subiects.

Yt weare good euerrye nobleman in Ireland should deliuer a note of all the men of land euerrie of there conntries vnto the L. deputie and to be bound in recognissance for euerrie of them. And euerrie of them deliuer the names aswell of ther retainers, as brothers havinge no lands vnto the nobleman, and for ther apperannce at any time to be bound in recognisance, and all ye forfarture to come to the Q, so as if any of gentlemen rebell the nobleman must bringe him in and if any of the retayners or yonger brethrene rebell the gentleman must bringe them in. And if that any such gent of lands rebell and be brough into the lawe by ye noblemen, his lands to be given vnto the nobleman after a reasonable service, in recompence of his travel, so as he beinge therby encouraged will banishe rebellion out of his conntrie.

And that it may be lawfull for any of her mats subiects, beinge greved, may appeale vnto the L. deputie for iustice.

And that all those that hold lands of ye quene shalbe bound in recognisannce not to aide any nobleman in Ireland without ye L. Dep. licence and ye same to be executed to ye vttermost.

And that all busshops shalbe compelled to kepe a preacher and a scholeman in euerrie of there dioces, as they do not, which is a great cause that the subiects know not their dewties to god, nor to her matie.

29. Edmund Tremayne
'Whether the Q. matie be to be councelled to governe Ireland after the Irish manner, as it hathe bin accustomed, or to reduce it as neere as may be to English government.' (1573)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 357-360

The text has been heavily annotated by Walsingham, who has summarised the main points of each paragraph or section in the margins. As these notes, with one exception on f. 358v, of which note has been made below, do not provide any especial additional information concerning either Tremayne's text or Walsingham's reflections on it they have been omitted here.

[f. 357r] Mr Tremyane's discourse whether it be better to governe Ireland after the Irish manner or to reduce it to the English government.[47]

Whether the Q. matie be to be councelled to governe Ireland after the Irish manner, as it hathe bin accustomed, or to reduce it as neere as may be to English government.

In consideracion of which matter it is needefull to be knowne howe the Irishrie doth governe, the English manner beinge knowne to euery Englishman.

The Irish government (as I at least haue conceyued yt) is yt one grett Lo. possesseth and ruleth a contrie some tymes as bigge as an English shire, some tymes more, some tymes lesse. As yt happeneth he attayneth vnto yt rather by choice and ellection then succession, in which ellection they obserue to choose him of the kindred, which they call the septe, of souche as haue bin vsed to ruled them. Souche are O'Neyle, [f. 357v] O'Donell, O'Reyle, O'Carroll and souche others. And for the most parte he yt hath shewed himselfe most mischevous in murderings, spoylings and burnings doth sonest attaine the gouernment, ffarste to be thanist, which is as it weare haire in succession, and afterwards to be thonly ruler when the Lo. in possessy dyeth.

When this great Lo. is thus in possession of his contrie he is followed of all the warlicke people of the same viz. horssemen, galloglas and kearne, and with thes multytudes he vseth the inferiour people at his will and pleasure. He eateth and spendeth vppon them with man, horsse and doggs. He vseth man, wiefe and children according to his owne lust, without any meanes to be withstanded or againesaide, not only as an absolute kinge but as a tyrannt or a Lo. ouer bondmen. For decidinge of causes in controuercie he hath a judge of his owne constitution and vseth the lawe called the brehonne lawe, nothinge agreing with the lawes of England. Yf any of his people comytt an offence he is ponished or pardoned as pleaseth the Lo.. Yf an of his people receaue wronge or any offence be don againste his contrey this greatt Lo. vseth the revendge acordinge to his owne will, without making any stay of comission from the queene or her governour, so as in short tearmes a man may see the Irishe rule is souch a government as the mightiest do what they list againste the inferiour.

The propertie of this kinde of gouernment is to drawe all loue and fear, and consequentlie al aucthorytie, from the prince and turneth it to the great lorde of the contrie, for in good reason men do moste feare, loue and obey them who be in state to do them most good or harme.

[47] This heading, written in the same hand as the rest of the text, has been inserted in the top left above the body of the text and the second title.

And if reason weare not sufficient to make proofe of so moche as is saide touching the propertie of this kinde of gouernment, you shall find it most manifestlie confirmed by experience within yt realme, for wheras ther hath divers tymes gon owte of this realme of Englande, pretending (as it is likelie) to sett downe and plante ther after thenglish manner, the swetenes and gaine of the Irish gouernment hath bin souche as it hath rather drawen our nation to become Irishe then any way wroughte the reformacion of the Irishrie to reduce them to English lawes.

And albeit that the lords of thenglish race be in some points different from the Irishrie, namelie in suffering their lands to go by sucession of inheritannce, yett in this pointe of vsurpation, to be an absolute gouernour in his owne contrie, to eate and spend vppon his inferiours with his ydle followers at his will and pleasure, ther is in very few of them any difference at all from the Irishrie.

[f. 358r] The desire to be mightie and grett and to rule most hath bredd souch contention among those Lo. of thenglish race as to make them selfs stronge one against another they haue lefte no Irish practice vnattempted, gossipping, mariaginge, nor fosteringe, nor any kinde of buyenge that might procure a partie, by which meanes they yt have attained to be greatest haue as it weare devided the realme in two factions not vnknowne to them that haue experience in yt lande, the perill wherof to the crowne of England is a matter of deepe consideracion and the longer yt commeth on the more danngerous is the sufferance of it yf all sircomstancs be well marked.

Ffrom this humour, that the mightiest desireth to rule at his pleasure ouer the weakest, you shall not find any of our nation to be free yf he come once to posses any thinge in that realme, for he will rather inhabite his land with the Irishe, of whome he may exacte, then with thenglish, by whome he may be strengthened. Hardlye will he beare the queenes writte to be sherued vppon himselfe or any of his tenannts. Yf he cannot obtayne to be priveledged in those cases by lawe he will procure either to be seneschall, sherif or with some other office, to be exempted and vntouched.

In the very English pale shall you not finde any other lawe betwixte the lorde and tenannte but the very will and pleasure of the lorde. Grant any Lo. maketh vnto his tenannts any lease for lives or yeeres but turneth him oute, or ye tenannte departeth as he seeth aduantadge, and still the choice is made of tenannte as likelie to yeelde most vnto the lord withoute regarde to make him selfe strong by his tenannts, wherby it followeth yt ye English pale is marvelously weakened for strength of men and therof also yt ensueth that the tenannts neither buyld nor repaire their howses, make neither gardens, orchardes nor meddowes, vse no enclosures, nor in effecte do any thinge ells that may be to the betteringe of their tenannts.

And as the Irishe kinde of tyrannie is generall, so is it moste grevous and insupportable wher the Lo. be greateste, for with more safetie may a man live in England in the displeasure of ye prince then ther in the displeasure of a grett lorde of a contrie. Heere a man is not touched in life, lands nor goods, be the indignation never so greate but by the lawe. Ther the Lo. only displeasure forcath him to forsake his habitacion or ells to make provision for a newe hedd. And for the most parte the better a man is inclined to ciuill gouernment the more is his perill in yt barbarous rule.

And as it cannot be denied that ther is a difference between ye meere Irish and the Lo. of thenglish race yt, is easelye fownde that some be more deuote to thenglish state of gouernment than some others be. But in this pointe to be thonly ruler in his contrie ther is scante [f. 358v] any difference at all. By the meanes wherof neither hath the queenes writte, good currencie, neither haue her mats tenants and farmers any meanes to live in safetie, but at the devotion of theis greate lordes in the contries wher they rule.

The gouernment of that realme standinge in this sorte yt doth plainly appeere howe the aucthorytie royall of the crowne of England is therby diminished, howe the force of her mats lawes are taken away for thadministracion of the iustice betwixte the great and the small, and howe the profitts and revenews that ought to growe to the crowne are not be recouered, but at ye will and pleasure of the lordes. And to speake nothinge of the withdrawinge of the hartes of all the commons, which should be in deede the very fortres of a prince. Ther is not ther to be levied oute of thenglishe pale to the vse of the crowne any proffitts of woods, marriadgs or reliefs, fynes, escheats, nor amercements, nor any things ells gainefull. Yea the very recordes that shold declare her mats tytle to those matters are in yt barbarous government [ineruelously] confirmed, as by souche scrolles which remaine is plainly to be seene.

Yf this respecte aforesaid, wherin consisteth the very office of a prince, and which taken away ther is nothinge lefte but the name of a prince, and the spendinge in vaine of 20,000*li* or 30,000*li* a yere theis many yeeres to hould it still in theis armes, and rather to worse then better. Yf theis matters I say be not sufficient to provoke faithfull councellors earnestlie to perswade the Q. matie to take the enterprise in hande, to reduce that realme to better government, yett lett not the cause of god be neglected, nor the compassion of so many sowles as are perished, and are to perishe, for wante of good instrucions in ye cause of god.

Ffor to say nothinge of their disposicion to poperye, or of their simple superstition which hath yett some sparke of religion, though but in dymnes, you shall finde their inumanitye and beastlines souche as they will sweare and forsweare, murder, robbe, ravish, burne and spooile, marry and vnmarry at their pleasures, with pluralyte of wyves, without any grudge of conscience which is hable to abashe any christian harte.

Well it may be said the causes are great to moue her matie to take ye enterprise in hande, but when her highnes shall yeelde vnto yt the difficulties be souche as do declare an ympossibillitie to accomplishe yt. Yt cannot be denied but the difficultis in deede, in apparance seeme very greate and experience dothe also somewhat[48] wytnes the same to be so otherwise. In so many yeeres as yt hath bin vnder the gouernment of the crowne yt is likely that yt shoulde haue bin reformed, but if a man do marke howe things haue [f. 359r] proceded he shall finde that the stay of reformacion hath proceded rather of an opinion of sett purpose not to haue yt reformed then for a difficultie to do yt when a prince would take yt in hande with souche a power as is convenient for souche a purpose.

Yt may also move her matie to forbeare this enterprise to consider what a quantytie of threasure it is like to consume and yt this realme, beinge already indebted, is vnhable to beare yt, to which may be answerd that in the presente state of gouernment this realme doth yerly consume vppon that kingdom betwixte 20,000*li* and 30,000*li*, all which beinge spent to no purpose dothe, and shall contynually, exhauste the revenues of this crowne and bringe it dailye in debte, wheras if in one yeere, with an order rightly taken, ther might be spente

[48] 'somewhat' has been inserted here by Walsingham.

100,000*li* or 200,000*li* to bringe yt to souche a reformacion as might make yt realme to beare his owne chardgs yt were the best purchuse that could be made for this realme, besides the glorye to god and man for reducinge that people to civill order.

And further, as it is not to be doubted but yt for so good a purpose, this relame wilbe contented to contribute souche an extraordinary helpe as thordinarye revenewes of this realme shall not neede for yt cause to be touched so. If ye matter be taken in hand in souche sorte as it may ther be, wise men do thinke yt the chardgs therof wilbe nothinge so greate as some men will beare in hande that it will be.

To make thenterprise in apparannce very fesible, a man may thinke that Ireland being an iland as England is apte with dilligence to be brought to yeelde the commodities yt England doth both by sea and land and is not so difficile to be brought in ye principall poynts of gouernment to ye like order yt England is.

Yf then it be yeelded yt it is thought meete to be reformed, yt must be duely considered what is the greatest disease therof and accordinge thervnto to applie the medecyne requisite for the purpose.

To vse no grett circumstances I thinke yt wilbe yeelded that the greatest, yf not the only, disease wheron all others do depend is the iniustice, or rather tirannye, as is their practiced. And yt beinge so, yt followeth consequently that the plantinge of iustice must be the medecyne, which medecyne of it selfe after a small workinge in souche a diseased and wasted boddye will bringe soch comforte as it is nothinge to be doubted by yt wilbe ernestlie embraced of the multitude and cannot be misliked of anye but of souche as desire to tirannize, whome good gouernment shold correcte.

The procedings of this enterprise shold be answerable to ye matter that it purporteth, that is as it pretendeth the planting of iustice so shold yt in all doings be iustlie handled, no intention of any vsurpation or inequallitie, but as her matie is the naturall liedge souereigne of both ye realmes so shold ther be made no difference of subiects, so farre foorth as both shall shewe like obedience to her mats lawes.

[f. 359v] Yt shall serue to very grett purpose and as it were the very atcheving of all that is intended to participate this matter, so with the greate lordes of that realme as they may ioyne with the Q. mats aucthoritie for thaccomplishing of this purpose, and chieflie with thearles of Kildare and Ormond, and that beinge attained, with their assured consents, ther shall neede otherwise a very small chardge or force besides the ordinarie garrisons to bringe not only this to passe, but what yt her matie haue don in that realme.

The Q. matie of her selfe must so firmlie tender ye furtherance of this cause, when it shalbe once taken in hand, as whosoeuer shall halte in yt, or practice againste it, in this realme or that, shold be made to vnderstand her grievous discontentacion.

Then the depute must be souche a one as throughlie shall like and allowe of this platt. He must be a man of iudgement and of action, valiannt, very dilligent and aboue all sincerelie inclined to iustice, without respecte of all factions in this realme or in that.

A choice must be made of thre presidents of quallities as neere as may be like the other and that it may be foreseene that they all drawe one lyne amongest them sealfs with the deputie,

thone of thes to be placed in Monnster, thother in Connaught, the third in Vlster. The deputie's place most metest to be in Leinnster, aswell for the respondence out of England, as to annswer eache of the presidents vppon all occasions. The deputie and eache of theis presidents to be garded at the firste with so mightie a garrison as they may stand assured of the due execucion of any comandment or processe yt they shall send foorthe in her mats name, for yt shold be the very office of the garrison, thencrease of which garrison for this purpose shall not neede to be moche yf the lords of the Englishe race and yt contrie birth will in this action showe them sealues English in deede.

The greatest matter of importannce to be don by this order are to remove theis tirannies and cruell exactions, which not beinge orderly taken in hande might be brought to passe with greate quiettnes and contentacion of all partes, for wher the greate lordes with ther followers take nowe what they liste they might be brought to declare the lymitts of their terrytories and who be their tenants, sire or otherwise, and that knowne ther might be souche a composicion by the consent and good allowance of the same lordes as it should certainlye be knowne what the Lo. should receue and what the tenannt shold pay, and though not at the first by penny rent, yett with some certaintie of souche provision or seruice to be taken and don as shalbe agreed vppon betwene the Lo. and the tenannte, so as ther may be a certaintie what thone shall geue and thother take.

[f. 360r] By this the Lo. haue no cause to complaine of the taking away of quony and liuerie and the poore tenannts and farmers, which be in effecte the very nources that geue foode to the lande, shalbe marvelously eased and comforted when they may say vnto them sealfs this is owers, this is the lords duringe this many yeeres, or thus many lyves, without souch exactions as hathe bin vsed afore tyme, wherin they had nothinge certaine when the spoiler listed to take yt.

Herewith also must be orderid that all men pay for yt they take, aswell the Q. garuison as others, for otherwise, pretendinge to remove a tirnannye, you shall vse an exaction as grevous to the poore people as that which would seeme to reforme. And yett with the good consent of the lords and the comons ther might be a reasonable rate grannted aswell for the dietts of the soldiors, as for other provision of her mats seruice, so that ye rate agreede vppon be duelie paid in redy money or by day certaine as it is vsed here in England.

By this order of redy payement for yt that men shall take there vanisheth away *ipso facto*, as a man woould say, all the superfluous horsboyes and the multitude of idell kearne, which two be in very deede the caterpillers of the realme, the galoglasses for the most parte beinge gentillmen and in tyme of peace vsing to live honestlie vppon their lands.

By this order likewise no man nedeth to complaine of the weakenes of his force for the men [remer], as they did throughe setled to live in better order and as redy to serue nowe by the queenes mats comission as they wear before vppon the only will of the Lo. of the contrie. And when tyme of the Irishe should offer any force to any of the English besides the present force of the contrie ther still remayninge by good aucthorytie to be taken, there is the assistance of the garuison ready to ioyne with it to geue correction according to iustice, and one souche attempte duely ponished would make all the Irishrie in Ireland in terror to comytt the like. And yett is there not in this reformacion offred any souche matter, but yt is very likely yt all the Irishrye in Ireland will accept it, nor yt cannot be thought yt any man can mislike of it but souche as can be contented with nothinge but to governe by absolute aucthorytie without answeringe to lawe or Iustice.

When this plott shalbe thus, lande and chosen ministers for yt purpose apointed, theffecte of thenterprise tendinge to remove tiranny and iniustice, and in steede therof to plant iustice and lawe, who can doubte of good succes therof, and suceedinge well who is hable to accompte the particuler benefitts that shall growe therof.

[f. 360v] Besides the inestimable glorie to the Q. matie to take in hand that which hath bin forborne by all her progenitors she shall bring vnto both realmes an vniuersall, quiettnes and comforte, and as it weare purchace vnto the crowne of England at the least 20,000*li* or 30,000*li* a yeere, which is nowe spent there and vtterly cast away.

For when her good subiects may sett them downe in quiet, and stande assured that iustice in their good causes shall defend them, and keepe them in possessy of yt which is their owne, her matie shall recouer rents for all the lands which nowe lieth waste, she shall withdraw ye garuison from sundry placs which now her matie is drawen to defend, all fines, amercements, forfaytors, issues, wardes, marriadgs, reliefs, escheats and all other prerogatives may then be recovered. Of the bonaght of galloglass, a matter imposed vppon the Irishrie when the prince is serued with them, and not needefull when the realme is reformed, ther may be recouered, in myne opinion, more yerlie rent then ther is at this hower recouered to the crowne of England, so grevous is it vppon them when it is taken. And when those great lords shall compownd for thinges belonging to them, ther wilbe occasion offred to good ministers to make like bargaine for the Q. matie, in dischardge of the bourden of the garuison, which shall remaine ther, but this pointe were better put in practice then moche spoken of.

And this rather confusedlie then, as so good matter shold be handeled, I haue vttered vnto you my opinion in thes matters, in which one thing of importannce is omitted, which it behoueth not to be forgotten if any reformacion be intended, and that is wher before I haue declared howe all men of our nation do growe corrupte, and therby made the more vnfitte for gouernment when they come once to possesse any thinge there, yt is necessarie to be ordayned that souche as shall governe ther for the queene may come newe and newe oute of this realme, chiefelie the principall officers, viz. the deputie, channcellor, thresorer, chief iustice of euery benche, chiefe barron, Mr. of the rowles, chief remembrancer, the surveyor and escheator, or at least one Englishman to be in eache of this offices. To haue all the busshopps English in places wher English is spoken viz. Dublin, Waterfoorde, Corke, Lymericke, Galway etc..

Yt were to be wished yt her matie mighte here the lamentacion of her poore comons of yt realme in this case which do crie owte for iustice, or ells thoppinion of ye meane gent and freholders yt be opressed with theis exactions, or of souche her best subiects as do inhabite ye walled townes and haue possessy in the contrie, and then doubtles vppon vnderstanding of the truth, as it is her matie of her gracyous goodnes would either take yt reformation in hande or geue them warninge to provide for them sealves that they may saue what may be saued. Ffor it is nowe come to souche a degree as none be in more perrill then souche as desire to live by iustice, and make what quarrells they will in pretence, all their struglinge and rebellion is to shake of the yoke of iustice.

30. Humphrey Gilbert
'The book for the reformasion of Irland.' (1574)
Bod. Lib., Carte MS. 56, ff. 254-263

On f. 254, in a different hand to that of the text, is written, '1574: The book for the reformasion of Irland […] to the Q. Mat of England'. Two near identical copies amongst the Yelverton Manuscripts (BL, Add MS. 48,015, ff. 397-407; BL, Add. MS. 48,017, ff. 118-125) attribute the document to Gilbert, the present copy being unsigned.

[f. 255v] A note of such chapters as are conteyned in this simple discourse.

How yt ye danngerous and hurtefull to governe Ireland in this savage sorte

folio 1

Howe yt is not difficulte to be reformed folio 1

Howe the charges of this exployte wyll not be greate and howe the souldyers shulde be furnished for the same folio 2

Howe manye wayes your maiestyes revenues shalbe encreased hereby all which you maye leese folio 4

What maner of man ys apte for this exployte folio 5

The particuler places apte to laye guarrysens in what place soever disorder shall happen to growe folio 5

What forme in governemente ys meetest to be followed for performannce hereof
folio 6

[f. 256r] Howe yt ys danngerous and hurtefull for your maiestye to governe Irelande in this savage sorte.

1. Ffirste, whereas the people are not defended by the princs sworde, nor cannot have righte by the ordynarye course of there iustice, there they neyther love nor feare the prynce, but are enforced to depend on others, az taughte onlye to honor and feare those that do theym moste goode or hurte, which they take for the originall causes of love and feare. By which meanes yf any man be oppressed by one faction he wylbe come of the contrarye faction, which maketh youre matie weake there and theym stronge, yt beynge danngerous for a prynce to have his subiects greatelye folowed for theym selves as maye partly appeare by Nevyll late earle of Warwycke, by the prynce of Orannge in the Lowe Countryes, and by the factions betwene the howse of Burbon and Guyse in Ffrannce.

3.[49] Also by this savage governemente your matie leeseth in effecte all your revenues and services every kynde of waye suffringe theym to invade upon your maties princelye auctorytye and to lyve and obeye as they lyke, not governynge as kings, by any reguler

[49] Gilbert's numbering goes out of sequence here, with 2 skipped.

course or certeyne forme of iustice, but rather lyke tyrannts by luste and selfwyll at there pleasures.

4. It ys also danngerous to leave the sworde in there hands that have so often gyve such manifeste testimonye of there aptnes and dispositione to rebell and revolte, all sorts of theym beynge presentlye offended as I gesse, the lewde for feare of reformacion and the well disposed throughe dispayre thereof bycause the matter hayth bene so often accepted, althoughe never perfourmed.

5. And howe welcome any strannger shalbe that wyll professe to restore they to theire auncyente titles of honor, libertye and papistrye. I praye god yt be not soner felte then mistrusted ffor politique enemyes wyll ever shrowde there malice vnder the vale of plawcible fryndshipp, vntyll opertunytye maye serve theym to perfourme yt which they desyre and therfore yt is wysdome aswell to respecte howe things maybe by thensample of the squyrrell and [erimett], as howe things are tyme alteringe occasion and channginge the course of things, Irelande beynge not somuch desyred by stranngers for yt self, as to have by the havens thereof the apter meanes to invade Englande.

7. The Irishe are also the lesse to be trusted by your matie bycause all nacyons doe naturallye myslyke forreigne subiection, conquered people obeyinge rather for feare, then throughe love, as may appeare by Naples, Myllayne, Sicill, xc..

[f. 256v] 8. And as ragged facion amongest theym wolde procure suertye to your matie wyth litle coste in respecte of theym selfs, so yt standeth not wyth polycye to leave such discontented people to have answerable power to aide others accordinge to theire malicyous mynds, consyderinge howe readye they are to ioyne together mischief, notwythstandinge anye pryvate quarrell or deadly [sworde], as maye appere by the late ioynynge together in rebellion of the Gaventynes and the Butlers in the south, and of the O'Neyles and Sir Bryan Mackfelyne ioyninge with Sharlaboy and the Scotts in the north, and of the ioyninge together of the devyded Burks, O'Bryans and Connors in ye weste, and of the Moores, Cauanners, Brynns and Tooles, xc. in ye easte, and what other fruyts are youre matie to looke for of such catterpyllers as neyther knowe the lawes of god, man or nature.

Howe yt ys not difficultye to be reformed.

1. Howe easye a matter yt is to suppresse these people yt maye partly appere by thencounter of Mr Randals small company with so manye of they when there was no more slayne on his parte but hymself. And by captayne Hostens repulsinge of O'Neyle at Dundalke and by his standinge of chardge agaynste a greate numbre of Scotts and Irishe wyth a very fewe Englyshe men. And by what very fewe Englyshe men that stoode O'Neyles charge in Clandeboye. And by gyvinge of an overthrowe to the gallyglasses in the conntrye of Kilkennye. And also by the gyvinge of a chardge with a very fewe Englyshe vpon a great nombre at Kyllmallocke in the countrye of Lymericke.

2. Also the lordes and capteyns strength and forces doe consiste and chiefly depend on spoylinge of the freholders and tenants, who wolde gladlye gyve themselves to your highnes protection to be defended from theire capteyns yf they mighte see a settled vniversall order for theire defence, wythoute which they wylbe doubtefull to submytts themselves leaste afterwards they shoulde be lefte to there lords revenge as in tymes paste.

3. Also the cytyzens and churls wold be glade to assiste your matie this exployte, thereby to enioye there libts and become owners of there owne, wythout whome the captaynes of themselves are able to do litle.

[f. 257r] Howe the chargs of this exployte wyll not be greate and howe the souldyers shoulde be furnished for the same.

To performe the exployte throughlye in Mounster there nedeth not above 2,000 soldyers which I wolde wyshe to be furnished onlye with shotte, halberds, armed in iacks of mayle, swords and targatts and light horsmen.

My reason ys, beynge stronger then the enemye in horsmen, they shall defende the footemen in the playne. And in wodds and boggs pykes can do no service. And for assaultes they are not so mete as the shorter weapons, neyther yet for slaughter vppon victorye as experyence hath taught vs. So that in this exployte I accompte pykes vnnecessarye beynge stronger then thenemye in horsemen. Further pikmen are so hevelye laden with there armor and weapons as that they are not able to endure so greate marches as ys necessarye to be vsed in that conntrye which haith impeached many a good exployte.

Of which nombre I wolde have 1,600 footemen at 8*d* sterlinge per diem.

And 400 horsmen at 12*d* per diem.

Ffirste, whereas Munster ys nowe contynually charged with Irishe men of warre to the nombre of 5,374 foote and wyth 474 horsmen as hereafter particulerly appeareth by ech mans ordinarye rysings out az:

In the countye of Waterford:

The lord Power, 100 footmen and 16 horsemen.
The viscounte Dessye 200 footemen and 20 horsemen.

Which maketh in the whole – 300 footemen and 36 horsemen.

In the countye of Corke:

Cosbryde, belonginge to the Earle of Desmond, 100 footemen and 12 horsmen.
[f. 257v] O'Mekellye 80 footmen and 12 horsmen.
Condon's countrye 80 kerne and 8 footmen.
The lord Roche's countrye 100 footmen and 36 horsemen.
The lord Barye 200 footemen and 30 horsemen.
Sir Dermon McTeage 300 footemen and 20 horsmen.
Kyrye Whyrrye 80 ffootemen and 4 horsmen.
Barret's contrye 24 footemen.
McCarte Rewe 1,000 footemen and 30 horsmen.
O'Ssuliuante Beere 200 footemen and 2 horsemen.
O'Ssuliuante Moore 240 footemen and 2 horsmen.
Therle of Clankars with theise his folowers O'Donough Glan and Mackellye Hodye and McKennie 400 foote and 8 horsmen.
McCoolye 200 footemen and 6 horsmen.

O'Keeff 100 footemen and 3 horsmen.
O'Kallahan 100 footemen and 12 horsemen.
McConghe 100 footemen and 8 horsemen.

Which maketh the whole – 2,304[50] foote and 193 horsmen[51].

In the countye of Kyrrey:

Therle of Desmonds countrye of Kyrrey 200 gallyglasses, 240 kerne and 20 horsmen.
The Baron of Lixney 200 footemen and 24 horsemen.
O'Konnor Kyrrye 100 footemen and 6 horsemen.

Which maketh in ye whole – 740 footemen and 50 horsmen.

[f. 258r] In the countye of Lymericke:

Coneloughe, therle of Desmond's countrye, 160 gallyglasses, 300 kernes and 30 horsemen.
Keinry 140 footmen and 10 horsemen.
Cosmaye 100 ffootemen and 12 horsemen.
Pulbelbrean 60 ffootmen, 6 horsemen.
The small countye of Lymericke 100 footemen 12 horsmen.
The Whyte Knight's contrye 100 footmen, 10 horsemen.
Acloughe 50 kerne and 3 horsemen.
Onoughe 50 ffootemen, 14 horsemen.
Mr Bryan O'Gonouthe 100 footemen and 12 horsemen.
Mr Bryan Arrye 100 footemen and 12 horsemen.
Wyllyame O'Mulrrean 100 kerne and 6 horsemen.
Syr Wyllyeme Burke 150 footemen and 12 horsemen.
O'Dwyre 120 footemen 12 horsemen.

Which maketh in the whole – 1,630 ffootemen and 145 horsemen.

In the countye of Tiberrarye:

The baron of Dublyn and Syr Tybotte Butler, with ye reste of gentlemen and freeholder there, have at the leaste 400 footemen and 50 horsmen.

Which maketh in ye whole of footemen 5,374 of horsemen 474.

Yf anye man have more then accordinge to this proporcion he hyreth theym of others. So that yet notwithstandinge this ys theire whole strength.

[f. 258v] I wolde wyshe the contrye were discharged of this improffitable wretches and theis idle men enforced to serve and laboure for there lyvings, or els to be cutt of by iustice, as improffitable membre of the comon wealth, infringers of Christian charytye and breakers of your mats peace. And in consyderacion of beynge disburdened hereof I wolde wyshe theym continuallye to yelde cesse for the findinge of victualls for one thousand sixe hundred

[50] This would appear to read 2,304 although the kern and foot listed number 3,312.
[51] The figure here would also seem to be inaccurate as the total horse listed number 185.

Englyshe footmen and four hundreth horsemen, in consyderacion whereof your matie shoulde reteyne the moyetye of every souldyers wags for his victuall, by which meanes your highnes shall have 2,000 soldyers founde with ye paye of 1,000. And yet ye souldyer gayne more by yt then he had his whole wags to fynde himself, and the contrye also be lesse charged thereby then presently they arr.

In consyderacion whereof the people should be disburdened of coyne and lyvery, bonogh beggs and bonogh burres and of all other cesses and taxes as of there cuddes, blackrents, xc..

Also I wolde wyshe your matie to reigne by the old stamps or such lyke, there Irishe base money as redd harpes, whyt grots, [suylkyns] and such lyke which with small art may be mayde to seme olde although they be newe coyned all which amongeste the Irishe at this daye are better estemed then your your mats currant Englyshe money. Of which coyne the souldyers should alwayes receyve thone half of the first remayninge moyetye of there wags, wherebye that youre maiestyes chargs should also in effecte be dimenished by thone half wythout any inovacion And so by this meanes your highnes maye kepe 2,000 soldyers with the paye very neare of 500.

Also by meanes of this reformacion your highnes shall receave your whole revenues every kynd of waye, the whole in effecte beinge nowe loste, which canot amounte to lesse then wylbe hable to defraye the remayninge charge of these 2,000 soldyers, so that yf it maye lyke yowe to followe this platt your maiestye may kepe the whole fore recyted nombre of 2,000 soldyers with the charge of 500 in effecte, which will suffise for this exployte.

[f. 259r] It maye be doubted lest the Irishe wylbe so muche offendyd with this enterprise as they wyll generallye refuse to yelde this cesse. Yf yt should so happen this nombre ys lyklye to abate there pryde in very sholde tyme, seynge the greateste parte of Munster beyng of late rebells were reformed within lesse then fower moneths with onlye 400 footemen and 100 horsemen. And all theis in effecte enforced to submytte theymselves on there knees by oathe, pledge and bands savinge James Mr Morrys who had not at that tyme left hym above 17 footemen and 2 horsemen, who then soughte by all meanes to have submytted himself yf he myght have bene receyved and pardoned. And yet yf the worthe should fall oute, consyderinge the benefyte of there base money, the charge wylbe litle more for the fyndinge of those 2,000 then otherwyse the paye wyll amounte vnto for the half thereof. But this in myne opynyon, vnder youre highnes most gracyous correction, wyll never be brought to passe, excepte the matter be generally attempted at one tyme, aswell in Conough and Vlster as in Munster, for by triflynge therein youre maiestye shalbe enforced to beare all the foresayd chargs and lose your whole revenues, havinge no toleracion for any parte thereof, to ye contynuall greate consumption of your mats other revenues and that to no purpose as in tymes paste.

And as for the chargs of the courts of lawe, for the minsitringe of iustice emongest theym. The benefytte for the wrytts, processs, ffynes and amercyaments and xc. wylbe aswell hable to defraye ye some in that countrye, as yt doth nowe in England.

So that by this yt maye appeare that yt shall not need to be anye thinge chargeable to youre matie to provyde both marshally and cyvyllye for the reformacion and well governinge of Ireland, yf this course shoulde be vniversallye taken in hande. Otherwyse Conoughe fronteringe both Munster and Vlster wolde receyve the rebels of both coountryes, when they shulde be enforced to flye, or ayde theym, in there need.

[f. 259v] Howe manye wayes your matie revenues shalbe encreased hereby all which yowe nowe lose.

Ffirst all prynces revenues do eyther growe by:

Theire propryetye in the soyle.
Or by custoomes, imposts, taxes, xc..

In respecte of the soyle yt groweth eyther by:

The rents certeyne.
Monnerals and submuneralls.
Or by perquists, escheats or other casualytes.

1. Whereas youre maiestye hayth not in England, not above the hundreth parte of the soyle, verye nere the whole soyle of Ireland ys your mats, eyther by auncyente right, or by attaynts, escheats, xc. and they so apte to offende as yt is very lyklye that by iustice they wyll make your maiestye within small tyme owner of all the reste. And howe greate a revenue yt will amount vnto your matie easylye may iudge, the soyle and contrye beynge litle inferior to this realme.

2. Also your matie ought to have 13*s* 4*d* out of every ploughland.

3. Also youre highnes doth nowe lose the proffits of wardshipp and maryages, fynes of lands, perquisits of courts, escheats and all other casualtyes.

4. Also yt is thought that the contrye ys very nere aswell stored wyth mynes and submynerals as this realme ys.

5. Youre matie doth lease also very much in customes both in places where customes have never bene answered and within such other townes as ought to have no more customes eyther outward or inward then were vsed at the tyme of the grannts of there charters and there customes are lyke to be very greate there contrye beynge stored wyth comodytyes, apte for transportacion havinge good havens answerable to yt.

6. Also yf the conntrye were inhabited yt is lyke that this realme mighte very neare be furnished from thence of lynnen cloth, they beynge so naturallye gyven to ye spynynge of lynnen, yarne, and the soyle apte for hempe and flax, whereby your matie shoulde gayne an outwarde custome thereof from thence and also reteigne within this realme a great deale of money that ys yerely carryed out for lynnen cloth, as by comparinge of the custome books yt doth and may appere.

[f. 260r] 7. Also yf Ireland were reformed your subiects of this realme should be disburdened of many troubles and chargs wherevnto they be nowe subiecte, by armynge, victualinge and settinge oute of souldyers.

8. Youre highnes doth also nowe loose the firste fruyts, tenths and a 20th parte which yowe ought to have of the clergye.

9. Also yf yt were well reformed and inhabited there might ayde this realme very much many wayes in tymes of neds and necessytyes.

What maner of man ys mete for this exployte.

He that shall take this exployte in hande ought to be wyse, for he shall mete with the dissemblingest and craftiest people that lyve. Also to be iuste of his worde, for yf he once breake his fayth, they wyll never afterwards truste hym althoughe they wyll never kepe there fayth with any man. He ought also to be valyannt and resolute for he shall hardlye come to fayghte with theym but wyth there great odds both in respecte of nombre and place. He ought also to be courteous and famyliar amongest theym for they are naturallye ye prowedest and disdeignefulleth nation lyvinge. He ought also to be industryous and to have a stronge bodye able to endure greate travell and wants, otherwyse he shall hardlye be able to doe great things amongest theym, the service there beynge so paynefull and myserable as yt is. Neyther ought he to be a man wylbe corrupted for I knowe no nation so redye to gyve bribes as they. And yf they cannot wynne a man with goods they wyll not so lose hym yf his wyf of daughter maye serve the turne.

[f. 260v] The particular places apte to laye garrysons in what place soever disorder shall happen to growe.

To suppresse the L. Power, yf he should rebel at the cytye of Waterforde.
To suppresse the viscounte Desseye at Dongaruon and Youghall.
To suppresse Emekelley and the L Barrey at Ballymartin.
To suppresse the L. Roche, Conde's country and the Whyte Knights at Kyllmallocke.
To suppresse Mr Donough McCanley, MrKeiff and Ckallaghan at Bouteuante.
To suppresse Syr Darmen McTeags contrye at Corke.
To suppresse McCarta Rewe at Kinsall and Rosse.
To suppresse O'Ssuiliuannte Beare vpon Bere Haven.
To suppresse O'Ssulivannte More at Duken.
To suppresse Desmonde and the contrye of Kyrrye at Caste Mayne, Dingneley, Cowche, Traley and the Iland.
To suppresse the Barron of Linxney and O'Connor Kirryes countryes and to kepe Irishe gallyes to transporte souldyers vpon all the parts of the sea coste at the castle of Carrygenhennell.
To suppresse Canoloughe at Garestone.
To suppresse the Knight of ye Vallyes contrye at Asketinge,
To suppresse the contrye of Lymericke at Lymericke cytye and in the Enule beinge betwene the montayne of Sleagrote and the mountaye of Slevallye and at Kyllmallocke.
To suppresse Tibarrarye at the Onoughe and Clomell and Casshall.

I wolde wyshe your matie to wall aboute Dingeley Cowche and Rosse and to incorporate the townes, the charge whereof wyll not be greate consyderinge the ayde of the countrye and the revenues of your mats customes that shall growe thereby wyll be very greate. Also to buylde a brydge over the greate ryver that passeth betwene Corke and Kyllmallocke by which meanes in my iudgment Munster shalbe brought in greate subiection.

[f. 261r] What forme of governemente ys meete to be followed for performance hereof.

1. I wolde not wyshe yt to be determyned to putt theym all to ye sworde, but rather to suffer every man to enioye his owne that wyll lyve lyke a good subiecte, cuttinge of all those which shall refuse theire obedyence to your matie and vyolentlye beare armes agaynste yowe. And, bycause the people there have lyved alwayes in vnbrydled licentiousnes and libertye, I wolde wyshe the governour shoulde seke at the begunynge to punnyshe theym onely for treasone, murder and fellonye and for other such fewe necessarye things as shalbe meetest in polycye for the reformynge of theym.

2. The greater disorders in Ireland are chieflye nouryshed throughe coyne and lyverey which ys hable to destroye hell yf yt were vsed in yt. This tyranicall exaction ys fellonye and treasone by sundrye lawes made by there owne consents at Droughdaugh before Syr Edward Poynyngs, then L. deputye, and therfore not disputable whether yt it to be permytted or not excepte yt be doubtfull whether felony and treason be to be allowed, which kynd of oppression was firste begonne by James, earle of Desmonde, in Munster who dyed in *anno dom.* 1462, and brought subiecte to this his tyranicall exacion the countyes Waterford, Cork, Lymericke and Kerrye, whose sonne Thomas, afterwards lord deputye, did impose the lyke in the countyes of Meath, Louth, Dublyn and Kyldare and was condignelye executed at Drodcaugh in Ireland for the same.

3. As yt is reason that every noble man and gentleman maye at the firste kepe as many servannts as he thinketh god, so wolde I wyshe that every of theym shoulde delyvere to ye governour in wrytinge vnder hys hand, the nombre and names of every horsemane, galloglasse and kerne, within his contrye and he to vndertake vpon his pledge to bringe any such person to answer to the lawe, yf he shalbe therevnto requyred wyshinge every freeholder to stand boond for hymself vpon his owne pledge yf the L. or capteyne shall not vndertake for hym. [f. 261v] In chose of which pledges to respecte asmuch the strongest of theym fosterers as the affection of hym whose pledge he is and yf this L., capteyne or freholder, shall fayle therein then he to satisfye the partye wronged, yf the qualytye of the faulte shall requyre no more. But yf any such person, so vndertake for shall offend in cases of death, then his L. and capteyne do not bringe the partye so offendinge to yf the governour in forme before, yf he shall therevnto be required, the malefactor not beynge first pardoned, then yf yt maye be ever afterwards approved that the partye so offendinge shalbe, by hym, by his consente, or sufferannce, ayded, victualled or sucored in his contrye and shall not endevour himself to apprehende hym, then the said L. or capteyne shall from thence forth be iudged as necessarye and gyltye of the same cryme, by which meanes the lords and capteyns wyll not kepe so manye men of warre as they nowe do.

4. Also yf any man shalbe at any tyme fostered within any if their countryes and shall not be thus enrolled, then the L. or capteyne shall do his endevour to apprehende every suche person as a fugytyve and bringe hym to have iustyce.

5. This beynge once performed, afterwards yt maye be consydered howe idle men of every sorte are meete to be allowed to every L., capteyne or freholder, consyderinge his callinge and habylytye and they to be permytted to kepe no mor then shalbe so allowed. And then as many others as shall not be allowed, to be grevouslye punyshed, yf they shall at any tyme be founde to ryd or have of his owne eyther a pillyon, a puncheon staff, a iacke, habergern, dart, gallyglasse, axe or harquebushe. By which meanes the force of there men of warre shalbe taken awaye by degrees and thereby the idle sorte enforced to labour and become profitable members of the comon wealth. Yt maye be obiected, that yf these pryvat lords and capteynes should thus disarme theymselves, there nexte disordered neighbour wolde anoye theym, for

avoydinge whereof I wold wyshe no L. or capteyne to be enforced to this but wher there shalbe placed so manye of your mats souldyers as shall sufficyentlye serve to defend theym, theyr people and contryes.

6. Also I wolde wyshe ever man that hayth 20tie kyne to be enforced to kepe one plough for tyllage and to headge and diche asmuch as he doth yerely tyll, which in shorte tyme wylbe an occasion to reforme the countrye, yf their were no more done but yt. [f. 262r] In consyderacion of which labour and charge I wolde wyshe every L. and capteyne to be enforced to make his tenants a lese of his tenements for thre lyves or 20tie yeres, whereby they shoulde not onlye have occasion to enclose there grounds, but also to buylde and plant which they nowe omytte.

7. I wolde also wyshe iustyce to be administrated in criminall offencs wythout mercye and wyth open pretence of grief for the partye to please ye multitude therebye, I accomptinge nothinge truellye done that swarveth not from the equytye of lawe.

8. Also I wolde wyshe the countrye to be enforced to bestowe certayne due dayes yerely for the cuttinge of pacs and mendinge of passages to them, that men maye both travayle the safelyer and have the apte meanes to folowe the rebell through their fastnesses.

9. Also yt is necessarye for the governour to determyne one course in mercy and iustice to all men and not to swarve or alter from the same, to thentent that every man maye stande assured wher vnto to trust which wyll make theym to endevour theym selves to be honeste (excepte they maye be allwayes hable to defend theym selves). The comodytye of this course of governemente doth appere by Camberleyns vsinge of his whyte, redd and blacke tents.

10. And yf mercye be once offred and refused, afterwards never to grannte yt, howe many mens lyves soever yt coste for the pryncesse mercye ys to be facced, a thinge to be refused when they liste and to be had when they wyll.

11. Also I wolde wyshe the governour for youre mats honor to disdeyne to parle, conferre, capytulate, make peace or graunte protecion for tyme a rebell, nor to receyve any to mercye, excepte he wyll directly on his knees submytte hymself, puttinge in pledge and band, and take the for his truth, for vndoubtedly they wyll never yelde to any thinge to serve the governours turne but there owne. And therfore lett the governour ever make showe to care leste for that he desyreth moste.

[f. 262v] 12. Also I wolde wyshe that as malefactors are cutt of so Englyshe men to be planted in there places, prohybytynge there maryage with the Iryshe vnder payne of forfeytinge there lyvings and bondage to there succession ffor by those meanes the Englyshe becometh in shorte tyme much worse then ye naturall Irishe.

13. Also this ys circumspectlye to be prevented, that the sonn of the gallyglasse, kerne or rymer, shall not professe hymself of the same profession that his father was of vpon payne of damnation death. The maner of that contrye beynge that the sonne soth ever followe the profession of the father which is the greateste occasion of the mayntenance of there lewdnes.

Also the rymer are to forbydden for makinge of rymes for thereby they anymate men to myschief, comendynge all kynde of tyranye and wyckednes for there greatest honor and vertue.

Also an other great occasion of there ledwnes is bycause the relligious men and clergye do mak theym beleve that they wyll pardon theym beforr god for any murther or offence that they shall comytte, so that they gyve theym as they call yt gods parte of the fallen goods, whereby yt appeareth that althoughe they professe god in there words yett they followe the devyll in theire deeds throughe wante of knowynge god.

Also yt ys good for the governour to note of what faction any rebell ys, for I never knewe any man bringe in any outlawe of his contrary faction, whereby your maiestye maye iudge who putteth theym out and howe fewe men of that countrye maye mend these things yf they were in deed as they seme to be.

So that I conclude in my symple opynyon, vnder youre mats moste gracyous and favourable correction, that yt is necessarye for yowre highnes to reforme Ireland wythout pretendinge of generall invasion, ye matte beynge vsed in this sorte very fesible and profitable and therewithall much to your mats suertye and honor and to ye greate benefytte of both your highnes realmes, to the glorye of god and to the disburthenynge of your maties conscyence of so greate charge commyted to yowe in that behalf, to se your people trayned in his love, fayth and feare, who hayth comytted to your maiestye the generall charge of youre subiects soules, as vnder yowe he hayth done in the bushops and curats of particular places, nothinge doubtinge, but that your highnes subiects of this realme wyll moste wyllinglye gyve double subsidies towards so honorable, godlye, necessarye and profitable an exployte. Havinge vttered my simple opinyon playnely, reiectinge as a moste vyle and lewde thinge to seke to persuade your matie to take any thinge for truth which in consyence I knowe to be otherwyse, hopinge therefore yt your highnes wyll the rather pardon me in this behalf, seynge your matie comannded me to putt my simple opinyon of theis Irshe matters in wrytinge, which I have done so well as I can within so shorte a tyme, althoughe not so well as I wolde.

31. Francis Agard
'Necessarie thinges to be considered of concerninge the quiett mantennace of the state of Munster.' (c. 1574)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 160v-164r

The text has been heavily annotated by Walsingham, who has summarised the main points of each paragraph or section in the margins. As these notes, with two exceptions, noted below, do not provide any especial additional information concerning either Agard's text or Walsingham's reflections on it they have been omitted here.

[f. 160v] Necessarie thinges to be considered of concerninge the quiett mantenannce of the state of Mounster.

Inprimis that sharpe lres be written to all tharchbisshops and bisshops of that province to deale more carefullie in ther charge, then heretofore they haue done, in settinge forth of gods worde throughout there seuerall diocs causing the decayed churches to be reedified, and to place good ministers in them, by which ther good example the people shall the sooner growe vnto obedience and vnderstandinge there dueties towards ther prince.

[f. 161r] Itm that the same bisshoppes be enioyned to pay henceforthe the first fruits and 20th parte of all the spirituall livings within eche of ther diocs, which them selves hithervnto haue deteigned in ther owne handes, althoughe that by the lawes of yt realme ye same ought to haue come to her maties vse.

Itm that the said bisshops do geue ye oathe generallie vnto all preests within ther seuerall diocs and to deprive suche as do, or will, refuse the same, placinge others of honest behavior in ther roomes.

Itm that a president be sent thither beinge a man valient, wise, sound of religion and indued with other qualities meete for the place.

Itm that a principall iustice be likewise sent thither out of hand, whome I wishe should be excelentlie well learned and of honest religion.

Itm that the principall iustice and second iustice be inioyned likewise in ye year to kepe sessions in seuerall shiers as ordinarilie as they do in Ingland.

Itm that 2 of the most honestis attorneis be had out of the marches of Wales and sent vnto Mounster for the better instructions of the attorneis there to follow the course of the said courte.

Itm to call into her maties hands all libties within Monster (excepte of cities and townes) yeildinge recompence to the owners thereof.

[f. 161v] Itm to write vnto the L. deputie that Desmond may be made a countie and adioyninge vnto it parte of the contie of Corcke, as parte of Carberrye, parte of Doally and all that is betwene the river of Mague and the earle of Clancare's contrie. The same countie to be called by the name of the quenes countie or suche like.

Itm to haue comissioners appointed to make agrements betwene the LLs. of Mounster and ther freholders (which alone I haue caused them to consent vnto) and to tye the LLs. to leave all ther wonted exactions, with a clause yt if the same LL. at any time hereafter shall take any of those forbidden extorcions that then suche rents as the freeholders ought to pay there said LLs. to fall by way of excheat into her maties hands, and the same lands wherof suche rents ar reserved imediatlie to be holden of the crowne.

Itm that the surveors be comannded of new to survey al her mats lands within the saide province not beinge leased togither with the pryorie of Killa, thabbey of Adron, the pryorie of Ballyskillike, thabbey of Aloghe, with divers other abbeis, monasteries and pryores, never heretofore surveid or put in charge (which now may easelie be surveid), and to same to rate at reasonable rents, for of late one FitzWillm's cominge not farder then to Waterforde did survey diverse abbeis, parsonages, and other her mats revenues there, at suche great and highe rent (wherby he made a large booke as one that wold shewe him selfe a good officer) as by reason of suche survey the lands hathe ever since lyne waste, no man mourninge the same to her mats no smale losse.

[f. 162r] Itm that comissioners be appointed to vewe the libties of all citties and townes within the said province and to se what customes they ought to haue by ther charters, for they do not onelie take all such customes as was given them at the first grannt of ther charter, but also all other things customable which by acte of parliament haue bene grannted since vnto the prince, which by noe meanes they ought to haue.

Itm that there be appointed 2 trustie persons, thone to be auditor and thother receyvor, within the said province, with some reasonable ffee to them assigned, which will profitt her matie five times more then the same fee geven.

Itm that ther may be customers, comptrollers and serchers in all cities and porte townes, whearas hir matie hathe not alreadie geven her customs to receive suche customes as shalbe due vnto her highnesse.

Itm that all offics of collector and comptroler of her mats impost within the said province may be at the disposicion of the president for the better recompensinge of suche as shall serve vnder him, thear beinge nothinge else for him to giue and for that also no man of accompte will serve without recompence.

Itm that her mats lands not leased be lett vnto Inglishe men as neare as may be, for that they beinge placed in seuerall sheires within the province will more trulie aduertise the president and state of things then other of the Irisherie will doe.

[f. 162v] Itm that a parliament may be had wherby the like ordinannce may be maad for Mounster that hathe bene for Wales, ffor in effecte the misorders that heretofore hathe bene in Wales wear of late in Mounster, and that in the same parliament it may be inacted that it shalbe lawfull for the L. deputie and counsell of Ireland to appoint commissioners for the devision of the shiers into seuerall hands, and likewise that the LLs. in ther segnories be assigned what escheats shall come vnto them, and farder yt by like comission the LLs. seignories may be devided into mannors wherbye [courtyes][52] barron may be kept for the peoples more ease in the determinacion of smale causes.

[52] This word appears to have been crossed through by Walsingham, who has then written 'cowrte' above it.

Itm that abase coyne may be made of pence, towpencs and threpencs, and the mint to be at Limericke, and to call in the halfe face grote, with other old coyne, the residue of the coyne to cum as it dothe.

Itm that ther may be allowed of the same base coyne 200*li* vnto thinhabitants of Kylmallocke towards ye fortifieing of ther walles and castinge of the diches therof which place servinge most aptelie of all others in Mounster will at all tymes be as a forte for her matie to assemble hir people when anye occasion of service shalbe required.

Itm that 200*li* of the like coyne may be allowed to the men of Dingle towards the makinge of a wall about the same (the residue them selves thought they be poore will furnishe), the rather for that the saide town hathe faithefullie served hir highenesse, beinge much envied therfor, and that it is an apte place for the prince to haue footinge in.

[f. 163r] Itm that Castelmaigne may be reedified which wilbe done with one hundreth markes charge, and that the priorie of Killa be annexed vnto it, wherby it will mantaine the captaines and 12 men, defreyinge hir mats charge for the kepinge therof, and that the same be never suffered to passe frome the crowne because it will alwaies maister Kerry and the earle of Clancare's contrie.

Itm that annother smale castell lienge in Arloghe called Ballynycourt may likewise be builte vpp, which wilbe done with the matter of fiftie pounds, whearby if any rebell should hearafter starte out into the saide woodes he shall not be hable therin longe to abyde.

Itm that ther may be 1,000 markes allowed towards the buyldinge of the castell of Limericke (wherof 600 markes out of the quen's coffers and the rest to be had out of the fynes ther growinge), wherby, togither with the tymber of thabbeis near vnto the said citie and those within the same, an apte place may be made both for ye president to reside in and the L. deputie also when occasion shall serve, or the prince hir selfe if nede be, which castell so beinge reedified (whervnto may well be brought the warde of Dungarvan) it wilbe no smale mean to reduce Connagh the sooner to obedience, and it is not farre frome the countie of Tipperarie, neare vnto McBrian O'Canaghe and Willm O'Mulrien's contries, Connelagh and Arathie Connogher, which haue bene the worste placs of Mounster.

[f. 163v] Itm that one other howse for the president be builte at Corcke, or neare thervnto, ffor that he at this present hathe no one howse of aboad within any part of the said province, but is driven (to his no smale charge) to hier in eache whear that he cometh too howses for him and his, besids other store howses for his necessarie provision.

Itm that the lease of the parsonage of Dongarvan by some convenient meanes may be had againe into the princ's hands, and the same, togither with other abbeis, parsonags and lands belonginge to hir highnesse ther, may be annexed vnto the state of presidencie, for the better maintennance of the same, ffor that my selfe haue not had hitherto, by any meanes or waies, the benefite of one myte, besids my ordinary alowance of[53] 6*d* 3*s* per diem, will find a horseman his cheife horse and hackney, and 6*d* per diem eache footeman and his furniture, I referre me to the iudgement of the L. chamberlyn who best knoweth what thervnto belongethe.

[53] A word appears to have been added here above the text by Walsingham which seemingly reads 'how'.

Itm that if hir matie will lend vnto certen persons 60,000*li* pounds of theforesaid base coyne, they to give good assurance to repaye the same in the like mony at 4 years ende, her highnes in consideracion therof shall haue cut downe the great woods of Dromfyne, Arlogh, Kilhowghy, Connelaghe, Glenfleske, the Great Wood, and other woods within that province, in which workes wilbe imploied 200 or 300 men onele for service, if nede should requier without any charge to her matie, wherby also no rebell herafter shall haue any succor or place of strenghe in thesame wood to put her highnes vnto farder charge.

[f. 164r] Itm to consider of the buildinge of shippes at Youghell.

Itm that her matie do take order to pardon thearle of Ormond's 3 brethren and James FitzMorrice or else otherwise to determine of them, for as they now stand doubtfull owt knowinge what shalbe come of them ther is no certenty what they will do, which breadethe rather ill example then otherwise, wherefore in my opinion it were not amise, vppon assurance, to pardon them for that is past.

Itm that some comfortable lre be written to Sir John of Desmond of the good reporte which I haue made of him, and likewise that he may haue assurance of the hundrethe pounds per annum in lease according to her mats lres written vnto the L. deputie, which may be had out of the White Knight's or Knight's of the Vallye's lands, or other escheat lands, as by the L. deputie and L. president shalbe thought mete, and this the rather in respecte of his willingnesse to serve duetifullie, and because he hathe agreed vnto all tharticles proscribed vnto him by the L. deputie and me, with the rest of the counsell there. Also for that state is but poore and therfore to be helpen.

32. Anonymous
'Device how the soldier may be found without cess, and Her Majesty at no greater charge.' (1577)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/57/18(iii)

A flyleaf reads, 'By this note (beinge delyvered by 2 gent of ye contrye) apppereth noe more but howe cesse first crept in, howe yt had a contynuance and of som abvse in ye cessors, howe if ye soldior hadde 6d *per diem he might well live and paye for his victualls hymself and now having but 10*s *per mensem viz. 4*d *per diem they require the victuallor maye be called for to showe what allowance in beove, bread and beare a hundreth soldiors have per diem and for ye which they paye 33*s *4*d *Irishe and the conserning the same with the prics of things as they be comonly sould yt will appere saye they what an hidden gaine is hadd by victualing'.*

[f. 75r] Notes within the compasse of memory towchinge cesse how ye soldiors may be fond.

In the tyme of therle of Surrey, Skeventon and L. Laynard Graye, and Sentleger,s ffirst coymge deputye, the soyldors were plased at ostes howses in the contrey, not by cesse, euery man beinge willinge to haue them, they payed so well ther costes and the contrey wher throghe they went to euery iorney and behaved them selves so well, as ther was no cause of complaynt.

Then after, when as Sir Edward Bellingham wan the contreyes of Offalye and Lex and did expulse those hurtefull nations of the Conors and Mores and did fortifie ther, cesse was hadd for the soldiors remayninge in garison and that but for a tyme demannded so as Mr Cowlie hadd one thowsand peckes of grayne owte of the countie of Methe to the vse of the forte payinge nothinge therfor and euer after to have bene dischardged of cesse towardes that forte.

In the tyme of therle of Surrey, Skeventon and L. Laynard Graye no Englishe souldior horseman hadd but one horse and no boye but one servisable geldinge which the souldior did hede vnto him. First the duble horses and boye did crepe in to the chardge of the subiect and as good service done by the horseman then as sinse.

After came Sir James Croftes deputie with a thowsand fotemen of the bullenoyes to Corcke and so throghe the contrey towardes the northe, vppon which province he ment and bent his service. And not havinge any thing in that contrey for the souldiors relefe, with such provision as was made owte of England which was greate, had cesse here.

[f. 75v] All this whyle hadd no deputie any cesse but carons for small acats. The other provision of beves on the Irisshe contreyes and coorne on the quenes fermes the horses placed in ther stables at Laghlen, Carlaghe, Carvayne, Maynothe and Kilmaynam in which places ther was bothe medewes and otts apointed for them.

After Sir Antony Sentlegers beinge in England the La., his wiffe, beinge at Killmaynam the stable ther was burnt with all the haye and provision els for horses and he retorninge ffrom England shortly thervppon demanded of the countie of Dublin of ther cortesie to see his horses plased for a tyme which sins hathe neuer bene displased.

And in the tyme of the former deputies for the provision of the shouldiors towards a yorney for byskett and bere cesse hath bene made of wheat and malt to answer the present terme at prises as the markett went or towardes the same.

When as cesse was to be hadd and first begone for the furniture of the souldiors the same was agreed vppon by the deputie and counsayle in October for the yere followinge, the chepest tyme of the yere for grayne, and the same so neighe the market then no no[54] man which hadd any corne to spare could fynde any fault withall sins hathe the same price bene kept as thoghe the corne and beves did hold all yeares and tymes of the yere [thicke] or that that president oght to take place.

[f. 76r] The abuses and miserie which hathe growen to the subiect throughe the continvance herof apperes to the world, the gentleman and husbandman, beggers as yt maye be iustlye verified, that ther are not thre gent betwixt Alone and Howth, the civilest place of all Irland and if he be not towardes the lawe that hathe 10*li* in mony, and not fowre husbandman in one parisshe but hathe solde of ther grene corne in grounds to paye the cesses by [paytie]

Ther is crept in late an office called cessors of a barony which is growne to that reputation as is to be of the governors prefermentn which muste have a plowe land, which the appurtenance for his chardge which the subiect do berre and the more chardg that is exacked of the subiect by comission the more ther gayne an office to be abolyshed.

Where yt is saydd the souldior is not able to lyve vppon his entertament, the foteman at 6*d* ster per diem and the horsman at 9*d* ster per diem, and that the quene wilbe at no no more chardge in the inhannsinge of ther wadges, and therfor the subiect must berre the ouerplus by cesses or suche som other meane, this is to be answered in this sorte.

The souldior hath allowed him for his finding by the nowe governor ten shillings by the moneth wherwith he semeth to be very well plesed and demanndeth 5*s* more by the moneth for his wadges and he wilbe well able to lyve and the quene not to enhannce ther wadges, ne the contrey trubled with cesse for them, but that [f. 76v] they will make ther owne provision and paye for what they do take as they may agre with the owners. All this is to be referred to the foteman souldior.

And wheras your L. do require to knowe howe a souldiors maye be vitled at 4*d* ster per diem, knowe of the vitalor the alowannce in bef, wheat and malt for one hundred per diem, which yeldeth for ther vittayler by the daye 33*s* 4*d* and conferre the same with the prices of things as yeres and tymes do rvne and your lordshipps shall fynde what an hidden gayne is hadd that waye, the souldior men the better and the subiect spoyled and vndone.

[54] This repetition is founded in the original text.

33. Henry Sidney
'A brief memorial of Sir Henry Sidney's service in Ireland, during his deputations.' (1578)
Cal. Carew MSS. 1575-1588, 120 (LPL, MS. 607, f. 32)

[f. 32r] A breif memoriall of Sir Henrie Sidneis shervice in Irelande duringe his deputacion.

1. Ffirst it is to be considered in what state Irelande was when he entered deputacion and in what state the same was when he leaft it, and in what state it is now at this prente.

2. Next what increase of revenew aswell by impost and newe custome of wines as by subsidies of 13*s* 4*d* of everie plowgheland, the convercion of the bonaught into an annewall rent, fines for pardons, leases and other devises, how well the same was annswered in the Q. receipt in his time and how it is annswered at this prente.

3. Then the deminishinge of the Q. yearlie charges for the ffortes of Philipstowne and Maribowrghe and what charge the same stoode her matie in when he entered the governement and what increase of charge it standeth her in at this prente.

4. The gevinge the Q. by acte of parliament the White Knightes countr, the Knight of the Valeis countrie, Comerfordes landes and all Vlster to dispose at her pleasure and the erldomes of Thomond and Clancarre in like maner to be at her devocion.

5. The subduinge of Shane O'Neill and cuttinge of his head and the deliveringe of so manie lordes of countries and good subiectes that he detained in prison and placinge them in the tirans greatest pride in ther owne habitacions for the advancement of the Q. service and extirpacion of the rebell.

6. What debtes of her mats he paied in Irelande after his enteringe into that governement and to whom and what yeares the same were paied and to what vse and advancement of shervice the same was emploied by his direction.

7. The vniuersall obedience of the people throughe owt the realme in his time and the contenuinge of comanndements and processes at this prente even in the harte of the Englisshe pale.

[f. 32v] 8. The apte placs he erected for the kepinge of the Q. recordes (which was before his time neclected) and the necessarie howses he builte within the castell of Dublin for thre of the principall officers of the exchequier wherby the Q. might be and was more certenlie answered of her revenewe which before was scattered bothe in placs and accountes to the werisomnes of the officer and accountant and too farre owt of order.

9. The worthie monumentes he leaft behinde him at Athlone, Knocfergus and the Newrie, the burninge of the shippinge and Owt Islands of Scotlande, to impeache the Scottes enterance in Vlster.

10. The practise and intelligencs he had in fforen partes for the discoveringe of the Q. enemies that intended annoyance to the countrie or other her mats dominions and what ffruits came of the same.

11. His manie, longe and painfull iourneis in the hardest seasons of the yeare and his soden expedicions vpon the enemie wherby he brake the corage and hartes of the Irissherie and browght them to obedience.

12. His polecie and redie dispatche in civill governement […][55] of ffitt officers which had everie one in his degree regard […] and obedience, so that more matters were ended in one sevenight in his time (and therby the people better pleased) than now are harde in a whole yeare and that with no smale grief, charge and tediousnes to the suters, besides the generall enrichinge of the subiectes then and the beggerie and basenes thei now live in.

13. Ffinallie the subduinge of the Butlers rebellion which was achived with as greate honor and as litell charge as was ever any suche service done in Irelande.

[55] The right side of the folio is damaged here obscuring the text in this sentence and at the end of the next.

34. John Chaloner
'Notes of certen inconveniences in Ireland with the remedyes […] therby.' (1578)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 50v-52r

[f. 50v] Mr Chalonner.

Notes of certen inconveniences in Ireland with the remedyes […] therby.[56]

1. Inconvenience
The English pale is the weaker for yt is a contry open and not fenced with ditches and quicksett hedges, nor yet somoche as with dead hedges, so that the Irishe theves, without encumbrance, make night rodes, and sometymes suodenly also be daie light, and stealle awaye or bereive them ther cattell, which to recover when once they ar gotten into the Irishe borders requirethe time to assemble power sufficient, but ere they can so doe their cattell are gone and ch..

1. Remedie
Enclosures with diches and quicksett hedges so as the waies maye be all brought to passe throughe the townes, ther fenced with turnepike and wacche by nyght, and also in the daytime, when eny crie is reysed, wherby no thieves, nor sodeine rodes, can haue hope to gitt any prey owte of suche strenghts and encombranncs, and therby also the conntrie, which is bare of fuell and wood, may haue suffizance.

2. Inconvenence
Ffor that also the most parte of the vndertenants ar not of the birthe of thengelishe pale, but suche of the Irishe as will yeild more service rent then those others wold, or cowlde doe do, live and susteine themselves ar men of defence.

2. Remedie
Order by her mats expresse pleasure, signified by proclamacion, with a penaltie, that no landlorde shall accepte any Irishe tenant, wheras any tenannt of Inglishe birthe or of Inglishe race [not] degenerate into Irisherie will hier his land for rent and service reasonable to be arbitred by the lord deputie or L. iustice and counsel, the more parte Inglishe.

3. Inconvenance
Ffor that in like sorte those vndertennants havinge no livinge on ther tenures, or ells noe terme to encorage then to enclose with diche and quicksett, attemptethe not that kinde of fencinge of the soile for the more parte, neither will the landlordes do it themselves for gredines of lucre present, improvident and rekles of the time to come, nor yet allowethe that his tenants do it, wherby he might apere to merite a more easie tenure and interest of terme.

[f. 51r] 3. Remedie
Order likewyse by her mats expresse pleasure, signified by proclamacion, with a penaltie, that no suche tenante of Inglishe birthe or of Inglishe race, as aforesaide, which hathe, or shalbe haue, bestowed costs or traivill in suche sorte of inclosure or in plantinge of trees in hedgrowes shalbe put of without the reasonable valew therof first recompenced by the

[56] Both the title and the attribution of the text to Chaloner appear to be in Francis Walsingham's hand, though in places the hand in which the body of the text is written alters to one nearing that of the title suggesting a common author who altered his writing style.

landelord, or by the tenant next to sucede him, which was the order of the marches of Calleis extendinge also vnto buildings and ch., this valew so arbitred *vt supra*[57].

4. Inconvenience
Ffurthermore, for that besides plowmen, who haue (as aforesaid) so skant and wrecched a livinge vnder theire landlords, ther is almost (but in the walled townes encorperate) no trade of handcraft, wherby to entertaine and susteine the [common] people breed in the Inglishe pale, wherthrough they slippe away into Ingland and els where.

4. Remedie
The lord deputie or lord iustice with the councell ar by statute aucthorized to let at a rate suche wast landes as the landlords for greedines of great rent or by whatsoever occasion do not occupie nor let fourthe. Therefore her mats pleasure may be signified that they sodoe and wher no husbandemen dare manure suche land for evill neighboures of the Irishe borders ther (by proclamacion) to allure suche as with the spade will digge and sowe anie parcells therof with flax and hempe, the seede to be lent to them on a contribucion of the conntrie and ch..

5. Inconvenience
The excessive derthe in the Inglishe pale, wherby nether hand crafts men nor taskars nor yet the soldiors can live of ther erning or hier, arisethe for the most parte not of scarce but of pollicie of the gredie and insatiable possessors by sendinge graine furthe of the realme and kepinge in nedelesse […] the prices[58].

5. Remedie
Comissioners to be appointed to se the marketts well served, and no licencs at all to be grannted for carriage furthe of graine or victuell, but as statute dothe licence, and good heed to be taken that none ells passe further, and when anie liklihode of scarcetie to come appearethe, then by lres and fitt factors the stranngers of estland to be allured and procured to bringe mysklyne and rye.

[f. 51v] 6. Inconvenience
Moreover, it is discovered that the timber and boordes wherwith the Scotts make ther galleys, and therby, as mercenarye soldiors not well hable for the scant victuells of ther owne conntrey to abide at home, put them selves so often, or in manner continuallie, into Ireland, to receave hier in disturbance of the qwiett of the realme, and in encoraginge and aide of suche as hathe mynd to rebell, is for the most parte furnished vnto them owt of Ireland, yea and ye notablest parte of suche timber and boordes frome Wexforde, Wyklow and Arklowe, whose trade is, and hathe bene, very ordinary to send downe suche timbre and boords northwards, and if they do not sell the same them selves vnto the Skottishe merchannts then the merchannts of Dublin and Droheda and Dondalke vnto whome it is sold do trucke the same vnto the Skottishe merchannts for Scottland, and in like maner some is made and trucked more northe as partelie at Carlingford and Knockfergus, and by northe and northwest therfore, but not in suche quantitie as by sowthe of Dublin, for as for the boords and timber of the Skottishe Iles is neither so muche nor so easie for ye Scotts of the maineland to come by as owte of Ireland.

6. Remedie

[57] as above
[58] In the final line of this paragraph, in the mid sentence, the hand again reverts to that of the title.

The remedie hereof (with successe of time) may be by a generall restrente by her mats expresse pleasure, published by proclamacion, with a penaltie, that no more timber be felled and made into suche boordes and shipptimber then by a rate downe shalbe onelie for the makinge and reparinge of the fissher boots of the costs of the realme, frome Carlingford sowthwards, and by sowthe, and frome Gallway to Lymerke and Dingley, and the impleyinge of the same to be loked vnto, parsicelur by the maiestrate, vpon a severe penaltie, and likewise in the water of Beallefate for Knockfergus, and her mats good subiects of that bay of Knockfergus, and in Strangforde, likewise for her mats good subiects of the Aerdes and Leycale, and what other trade they will make of boorde or timber, vnles for shiptimber for merchanntsships, by licence and survey especiall frome the governor of that realme in that behalfe, to be passed and assigned from time to tyme, that they cutt the clove boorde of caske, and the saw boords and plancks fitt for howse buildings and ch. and not otherwise. [f. 52r] And if any transgression be, in the Irishe partes, as in Vlster and Conaghte, good espiell and hede to be vsed therto by suche as haue the charge of those provinces and to burne the same if it cannot comodiouslye be brought frome them and ch..

35. William Gerrard
'Notes by Chancellor Gerrarde of evils which annoy the English Pale.' (1580)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/71/31

[f. 69r] Wante of churches.
Wante of circuts.
Wante of disciplyne.
Wante of schooles.
Coyney and lyverie.
Takinge of blacke rents.
Cowsherie, cuddeys, suppers and refections.
Revendge of all wrongs by prayes takinge.
Order of wrongs betwene Englishe and Yrishe after Yrishe maner vpon the mountaynes.
Agreements for ffelonyes.
Ffosteringe with the Yrishe.
Marryeinge with the Yrishe.
Takinge of Yrishe exacions and imposicions by Englishe captaines.
Lords and owners of lands adioynynge vpon the borders not inhabitinge the same in the wynter.
That the owners of lands vpon the borders kepe not for defence of the same viz. horsemen and ffootemen as the ar tyed by their tenures and grannts.
Wants of pounds overt.
Takinge of pledgs without order.
Wante of cowrte howses.
Wante of convenyent gaoles.
Wante of itynerant circuyts and good iustics to kepe the same, the onlie nvrse to geve helpe to the weake oppressed by executinge the lawes.
Wante of armor.
Wante of orderlie mvsters.
Yrishe speache.
Yrishe habite.
Swarmes of ydle ffollowers.
Takinge of victualls without payement.
The coyneynge and exaction of sheriffs.
The harde setting of lands in the pale, which hath and doth abandon the Englishe, and increase Yrishe cottiers.
Wante of enclosures with lib. are the greeffes which annoye the palle.
[f. 69v] But briefelie yt is for her matie at this present tyme above all things to have eie to the practise of fforren nations, for yf she be not provided to answere all attempts for a yeare or two such is the disposition of the Yrishe vniversallie to revolte, and of howe manie of the Englishe vncerten. But lett this experyenc of Mounster suffice to think them not a fewe, as if twoe thowsande sett forte on lande, her highnes estate in that lande were hazarded to be lost, and except by a newe conquest not to be hadd againe.

36. William Russell
'Russell's discourse of the present state of Ireland and the way to redrese and reforme the same.' (c. 1581)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 347v-354v.

The text has been heavily annotated by Walsingham, who has summarised the main points of each paragraph or section in the margins. As the vast majority of these notes, with two exceptions, noted below, do not provide any especial additional information concerning either Russell's text or Walsingham's reflections on it they have been largely omitted here.

[f. 347v] Russell's discourse of the present state of Ireland and the way to redrese and reforme the same.[59]

Hereafter followeth the names of the contries in Vlster and the names of the Irishe captains of the same.

Itm Terlaughe Lenaghe who calleth himsealfe O'Neyll.
Itm O'Donyll chief captaine of Tyre Conyll.
Itm O'Neyll of Trene Conyll.
Itm O'Cahan of Irraght Yecchan.
Itm O'Doghertye of Innysyanon.
Itm McGuyre of Firmanaghe.
Itm McGenes of Iweaghe.
Itm McNeyllog of Clanneboye.
Itm O'Hanlon of Orrere.
Itm McCoylen of the Roote.
Itm McMahon of Irish Vryell.

Here followeth the names of the contries in Lynister and ye names of the Irish captains of the same.

Itm Bren McCayer Cauenaghe chief captaine of Idrone.
Itm O'Byrn of Kryvranaghe.
Itm McMorgho of I Felym.
Itm O'Tolle of Imaylle.
Itm O'Tolle of Ferter.
Itm O'Tolle of Fferquolen.
Itm O'Nollan of Ffeyder.
Itm O'Doyn of Iregan.
Itm Leix conquest by ye queene wherin the forte of Marybroughe standethe.
[f. 348r] Itm Ofaley likewise conquest wherin standeth the forte of Phillipstone.
Itm Ossorie Sir Barnabe Fitzpattrick L. baron thereof.
Itm O'Demsye of Glan Malirye.

Hereafter followeth the names of the Irishe contries in Mownister with the names of the captains of the same.

Itm McCartie of Desmond.

[59] This title, and thus the attribution of the treatise to Russell, is in Walsingham's hand.

Cormuke McTege of Mouuskrye McDermot.
McDonaghe of Allo.
O'Donaghe of Loghlyn.
O'Sowlan O Berre.
O Conor of Kerrye.
McKary Reaghe of Carbry.
O'Hederscall of Cannytymore.
O'Mahon of Kynalowke.
O'Donowgan of Serganeghe.

Hereafter followeth the names of the chief Irish contries in Tomond with the captaines of the same ther names.

Itm O'Bren of Towe I Bren nowe called earle of Tomond.
Mc Ne Mare of Glan Cullen.
O'Kenedy of Ormond.
O'Kerroll of Ellie.
O'Meager of Ikeryne.
McMahon of Bruse alsi Kirwiskie.
O'Conher of Carranro.
O'Lowghlin of Boryne.
McBren of Arraghe.
O'Mullreyan of Wehen.
O'Duyre of Kylnemanaghe.
McBren of Ighonawghe.

[f. 348v] Hereafter followeth the names of all the Irish contries in Connaghte with the names of the captaines of the same.

Inprimis O'Conhordoyn of Magher Conaght.
O'Conher Roo of the same.
O'Kelle of I Maynee.
O'Maddyn of Shillanoughye.
O'Fferrall Boy of the Analey.
O'Fferrall Bane of the same.
O'Reylle of the Brennye.
O'Royrke of Bren I Royrke.
McDonaghe of Tyrnerall.
McDermot of Moylorge.
O'Gara of Colawyne.
O'Fflaertey of Boryne.
O'Mayle of Thomo.
O'Harre of Magherlyne.
O'Dowde of Tirerarаghe.
McDonaghe of Coron Riaghe.
McManis Ironghor of Carbrye.

Hereafter followeth the names of the Irish contries in Meth and the names of the captains of the same.

Inprimis O'Mullaghlene of Clancolmane.
McGogheghane of Kineleaghe.
O'Mulmoye of Fferkeall.

Yt is to be noted that the sonne of any of these captains shall not succeede him excepte he be the eldest and strongest of all his nacion, for he is euer captaine that hathe the strongeste armye and is of most power for in the said contries is contynuall warre for euer, most commonly to stryve amongest them sealues to be masters.

Also in euery of the said contries, besides theis that be spoken of which be the strongest of the nacion, be dyvers pettie captains and euery of them maketh warre and most comonlye withoute lysence of the chief captaine, called tanist.

[f. 349r] Hereafter followeth the names of the English lordes and gent in Mounster that vsethe Ir. lawes and Irish exaccions and is crepte in Ir. habite and vseth Irish armor and artillarye, which is all moste become Irishe men in effecte.

Inprimis Thearle of Desmond called Garrett Ffitzgarrett sauinge souche tymes as he is present in the L. president or L. deputie's companye.
The Knight of the countie of Kerye.
Ffitzmorishe of the same.
Sir Thomas Desmond knight.
Sir Garrett of Desmond his heires.
The Lo. vycount Barrey.
The Lo. vycownte Rooche.
The Redd Rooche.
Barrey of Kymaley.
The Lo. vycownte of Deese of the Garraldens.
The Lo. Condon of Armwy Condonaghe.
The Barry Rooe.
The L. Coursey.
The White Knighte ----------
The Knight of ye Valley ----- of the Garraldens.
McNycoll ----------
The senescall ----------
The L. Burke of the countie of Lymericke

Hereafter followeth thenglish nations in Conaght degressed in likewise.

Inprimis thearle of Clanrycarde, one of the Bourks nowe in prison for suspition of treason.
The L. Bourke of Keny Karrowill.
The Lo. Brymingham of Aury.
Sir Myles Staunton his heires.
The Lo. Wangill his heaires.
Sir Walter Barrett his heaires.
Constantyne his heaires, with many more.

[f. 349v] Hereafter followeth the names of thenglish nacions in Vlster digressed from their kinde as is aforsaid.

Sir Rowland Savadge his heires.
Ffitzowlyn of Tuskey his heires.
Ffitzjohn Bissett of the Glannes his heires.

Hereafter followeth the English nation of Westmith degressed as is aforasaid.

The Dillons.
The Dallamares.
The Daltons.
The Tirrells.
Parte of the Newients.
Parte of the Tutes.
The Vriells.
The Carons.

Souche as are digressed in Estmith in like sorte.

Parte of the Pluncketts.
Parte of the Fflemmings.
Parte of the Drakes.
Parte of the Veldons.
Parte of the Cruses.

Hereafter followeth thenglish nacions within the countie of Dubline.

Parte of the Wealshmen.
Parte of the Archepotts.

Hereafter followeth thenglish nations within the countie of Kildare degressed as is aforesaide.

Itm the Lo. vicounte of Baltingeglas whose father was made vicount by K. Hear the Aight of famous memory, who also gaue vnto him the Lo. of Baltingeglas with 500 marks land within one Lo. and ye best place to do sheruice in Irelande. [f. 350r] He vseth coyne and lyverye and all Irishe exaccions and Irish habite excepte only when he is in the Lo. deputies presence or in the cittie of Dubline with other wourse condicions as the Breon lawes, which is divelish and abonynable before god.
Itm the Bastard Garrardines.
The moste parte of the Ewstacs.
Parte of the Wesleys.

All the countie of Catherlaughe vseth Irish habite, armour and all Irish exaccions and lawes.

All withoute the [pill] of the countie of Wexforde vsethe the like.

As the Lo. vycounte of Montgarrett and others.

Yt is to be noted yt all theaforesaide lordes and captains, knights, esqwiers and gent, Irishe and Englishe, be degenerate from ther kinde and vseth Irishe habytts and Irishe lawes, Irishe harnes and rideth in pillions for the more parte and vsethe extorcion in takinge of meate and drinke withoute payinge therfore, aswell of their neighbours as tenants and vse the Breon

lawes, and takes fines and canes of their tenannts, which is deuilish and abhomynable before god to the vtter distruccion of the comon weale and ymporishinge of her mats subiects within the realme of Irelande.

Here ensueth the names of all the counties and shires in Irelande.

The countie of Dublin.
The countie of Myd.
The cowntye of West Myd.
The cowntie of Lowth.
The countie of Kildare.
The cowntie of Catherlaghe.
The countie of Wexforde.
The Queenes countie.
The Kings cowntie.
The cowntie of Kilkenny.
The countie of Waterford.
The con. of Tippararie.
The con. of Corke.
The con. of Limericke.
The con. of Kerrye.
The con. of Conaghte.
The con. of Antryme.
The con. of Down in Lekall.
Vlster.

[f. 350v] Itm that all thenglish Lo. and gent in all theis shires are creapte into Irish habite (excepte fewe in the con. of Dublin and Myd and the walled townes, citties and burroughs with a fewe of the countie of Wexforde, and a fewe of the rest when they come in the Lo. deputies presence.

Yt is to be noted also the other great causes of ye distruccion of the said realme of Ireland and impouerishinge of her mats subiects there.

One cause is our English lordes of the borders do marrye, gossopp and ffoster with the Irishe men contrary to the laudable lawes made to the contrary, for it is fellony by statute lawe who so doth the same.

Also our said English Lo. and gent be swoorne vnto the Irishe men next vnto them the one to the other to do no hurte, wherof groweth a great inconvenience to thenglish subiects, ffor when the said Irishe men are disposed to robbe the Q. subiects, this Englishe lorde or gent so sworne will absent him selfe for yt tyme (for that) if he should be asked whie he dyd not rescue his neighbours goods or annswer the hue and crye he will saye he was not at home and so excuse him selfe by that slie meanes.

One other cause is our said Lo. and gent borderers vseth the Breon lawe and takes canes and fines of their tenannts and this with coynye and liuerye takinge meat and drinke, horsmeate and mans meate without paying any thinge therfore, which can neuer be forgotten, for yt bredeth nothing but idleness and idlenes bredeth thefte and robberye.

One other cause is our Lo. and gent of the borders kepeth a force of kearne more then their habillytie is which do nothing but sleepe all daye and steale and robbe the subiects in the nighte.

One other cause is the sheriffs, seruannts and cessors polls and extorteth her mats English subiects (as thus). The sherif will haue 20 kerne, some more, some les, which do robbe and spooile the true subiects for they will not only take meate and drinke but also money for eatinge and drinkinge of the same. They are the wourst members of the comon wealth in ye worlde for their nature is only to robbe and steale. [f. 351r] The cessors and serieants when

they haue a comission to ceasse 20tie kien or 100 busshells of grayne, some tyme is more, some tyme is lesse, the cessor and serieants, thoughe they haue to them allowed one ploughlande for their paines, will cesse 8 or 10 kien, or 20 or 40 busshells of corne more which they take to their owne vse which is vnknowne to the Lo. deputie or victualler.

One of the other great cawse of the decay of the comon wealts is ower lerned men of the lawe when he is a barrestor hath comonlie a fee of all his cliants during his life and when he is chosen to be a iudge or any of the queen's officers what through the friendship of this fee and the neere kinred of one to another, so lincked within thenglish pale as comonly they are within the 5th degree. The poore can haue no iustice nother the Q. her righte for that her lawes and statutes be not put in execucion, ffor ther is not a gent and he be but att 20*li* and he will keepe courte barron yf he do not keepe courte leete and will take fines and amerciaments of his tenants as thoughe he had a charter or libtie for the same and not only that but if any of his tenants do steale sheepe or corne or any souch like he will take a fine of him called a cane and so suspence with him like a prince wherat the Q, mats officers wyncke.

Itm also the Lo. and knights of the borders be iustices of peace and by their lres they will featche any prisoner if they be their owne man or any their Irish frende his men, and that man shall come in no more, so that the poore man robbed by the prisoner is without remedy for ever excepte yt happe he hath some good frende which speaketh for him and then he muste abyde the Breon lawe and before the breons geue their sentence. The poore man robbed muste geue them the 12th parte of that that[60] is made vnto him or suertie for the same and then after sentence geuen the theef hathe nothinge to pay but findes his suertie to pay by a day, before which day he stealeth or robbethe some other true subiecte and so with one robbery payeth another and thus lacke of iustice.

Itm one other evell ther is when a band of soldiour remoueth from ye sowth to the north as occasion serueth he will not only take meate and drinke for nought but also take 8*d* or 12*d* for eatinge of his meate which ympouerisheth moche the comon wealth.

[f. 351v] Itm one other cause of the decaye of our comon wealth is our lords and gentillmen setts their landes for cowpells of corne or a peacke an acre, so that yt is so deere that all our housbandmen of English nacion are gone vnto England and the Irishe nacion planted in their steede, so that where we were wonte to make a 400 or 800 or 1,000 bowemen in a shire we are not nowe able to make 100th in some shire, so that our Irishe nacion is stronge and our English weake.

Ther is many and divers other cawses of the decay of owr comon wealthe (as this). The queene's procedings is not fauord with some. Some gentillmen kepeth owld preests and haue masse and owld sheruice in their howses and will not come to churche to heere the devyne service sett foorth by the Q. matie. Not only this but a 100th more causes of the decay of the comon wealthe.

May it please your honor to accepte this my simple aduice as toucheinge the redresse of theis enormyties. Suerlye all this world shall neuer redresse the same nor subdue the Irishe captaynes and make them obedient to the Q. mats lawes but by force and strength and that the swoord be bent naked ouer their heddes.

[60] The repetition here is Russell's.

Wher may this swoord be fownde. Ffirst her matie must send into Ireland thre English iudges and one man of lawe. One ther is allredy, Lo. chancellor, a good iust gentillman, another to be chief iustice of her mats beanch, the other to be her mats serieante or attorney generall as her matie shall thinke good to putt her lawdable lawes which was made for the preseruacion of her comon wealth in execucion and to looke earnestlie to theis enormyties aforsaid. Secondaryly to muster all the contries obedient before parte of her mats councell and that no lorde nor gentillman of that contrie birth, thearle of Desmond, thearle of Kildare and thearle of Ormond excepted, be any of the commissioners in taking of the said muster ffor causes which I will write hereafter. And that is this; euery lorde, knight, esquier and gentillman that hath a ffredome is bownd by his tenure to serue vnder the Lo. deputie to all hostings and iorneys. For euery 20*li* land he hath by the yeere to haue one archer on horssebacke to wayte vppon his honor, which is not indifferent looked vnto, as by the councell booke of Ireland shall appeere. Ffor their you shall see lords, vycounts, barrons, knights, esquiers and gentillmen of 400*li* landes not 8 men [f. 352r] of 300*li* land not 6 men of 200*li* land not 4 men of 100*li* land not 3 men and the poore gentillman of 20 or 40*li* lande in persone, so that this is not indifferent. And where the Q. matie's Lo. deputie should haue in the feilde of that race 400 or 500 men he hath not 200. Perhappes your honor will say the Lo. deputie and councell knoweth not their reuenewe, when it pleseath you you shall haue an extent made neere ther revenewe and ch.

Yn theis musters orders must be taken that euery farmer of 3 ploughes haue in his howse 3 bowes, 3 sheaf of arrowes or 3 gonnes, with their furnyture, 3 iackes, 3 sculles, 3 swoods and 3 daggers, and euery husbandman of 2 ploughes after the same rate, and euery housbandman of one ploghe after the same rate.

Euery cottyer woorth 20*li* or 40*li* to haue a bowe, a sheaf of arrowes, a scull, a swoorde and a dagger.

Euery other cottyer or yoman to haue a good bill and a scull.

Euery gentillman or freholder of 40*li* land to haue a horsse with a saddell, a iacke, a scull, a swoorde and a speare yf he cannot shoote. Yf he can shoote a bowe and a sheaf of arrowes or a gonne.

All the lords, knights, esquiers and gentillmen having fredome to haue an archer or speareman on horsebacke, one for euery 20*li* lands by the yeare and theis to be mustred once euery monethe by the yeere, and after the first musterday proclamacion to be made in the said muster that whosoeuer make default the next muster day to be fined accordinge to ye discrecion of the comissioners and the same fyne to levyed for to buy artyllarye for the same shier.

Itm a captayne traded in the warres to leade and trayne euery shire, and after they so trayned to choose a 1,000 of the best men of the same to be within 6 howers warninge at souche place where the lorde deputye and councell shall appointe with armor and victuells as the said Lo. deputie shall appointe.

Itm further the iudges and the Q. learned councell to kepe quarters cessions in euery shire for ponishinge of the malefactors and the redressinge of the enormyties aforesaid.

Itm a quo warrante to be brought againste all souch fayned libties that vsurpeth vppon the Q. aucthorytie.

[f. 352v] Itm proclamacion to be made in the said open cessions that all men somoned or warned to the same do appeare, the Englishe subiecte vppon paine of forferture of fyne accordinge to the discrecion of the iudges, and the Irish subiecte to be proclaymed traytor. And that what soeuer subiecte of the Irish birth that shalbe sent for by the Lo. deputie and councell yt do not appeere vppon the same comanndement with protecion or safe conduyte be ymediatlye proclaymed traytor and a rebell and that all other the Q. mats true subiects being comannded by the Lo. deputie and councell do pursue the same malefactor and plague him to his vtter distrucion. And any subiecte so comannded will not obserue the same comanndement he to be in the same predycament as the said malefactor and rebell is and to suffer like ponishment.

Itm like proclamacion to be sett fourth by the Lo. deputye and councell that the soldiers nowe in the realme do not vse the like extorcion vppon souche paine and ponishment as his honor shall thinke meete.

Itm 500 men to be chosen in England, artificers, to be sent into Ireland to inhabyte Lynester, for withoute Lynester be reformed and inhabited with Englishmen Ireland will neuer be reformed, for Lynester is a scourdge for thenglish pale. Yf any Irishe man in Ireland be at warre he practiseth the Irishe rebells of Lynester as Hughe McShane or his sonne or the Cavenaghts, which are lyncked in mariadge with ye Moores, that when the Lo. deputie goeth to plague any souch malefactors they robbe the English pale behinde at home, excepte greate force be lefte behinde for safe kepinge of the same and this is their only devilish practice which souche other like as if one of traytors be at warre all the rest of the Irishe rebells his men shalbe with him yt is at warre and this is the fruyte yt cometh of them. Let any man say what they will without the reformacion of Lynester all is in vayne that is don in Ireland.

Itm for victuallinge and entertaynment of the said soldiers a generall cesse to be granted by the whole realme for the same, which cesse shalbe nothinge grevous to the people.

Itm first a 1*d* to be paid owte of euery acre arrable land within the Englishe pale yerely.

Itm a 1*d* euery acre of arrable land and pasture in ye Irishe pale, for that their acres be more 3 tymes then our English acres yerely to be paid in like sorte.

Item euery holder of the plowgh yt take wages to the sume of 10*li* [in our mony] as other things to pay yerely 4*d* of his wages.[61]

[f. 353r] Itm euery dryver of the ploughe heard or any other man seruannt or woman sheruannt takinge wagis to paye owte of the said wagis 2*d* by the yeere.

Itm euery yoman or seruingman and baylif that taketh 10*li* by the yeere to pay 4*d* yerely as is aforesaid.

Itm euery cottyer or yoman that kepeth howse beinge worth 10*li* or more to pay yerely 4*d* as is aforesaide.

[61] This point has been added by Walsingham at the bottom of the page.

Itm euery other cottyer that kepeth howse to pay 1*d* by the yere as is aforesaid.

Itm the cittie of Dublin to pay by the yeere to the same vse 20*li*.

Itm the towne of Droughada to pay by the yeere 10*li* to the same vse.

Itm the towne of Wexfoorde to pay by the yeere to the said vse 6*li* 13*s* 4*d*.

Itm the cittie of Waterforde to pay by the yere to the said vse 20*li*.

Itm the towne of Kilkenny to pay by the yeere to the said vse 10*li*.

Itm the towne of Yahoughe to pay by the yeere to the said vse 6*li* 13*s* 4*d*.

Itm the cyttie of Corke to pay by yeere likewise 13*li* 6*s* 8*d*.

Itm the cite of Lymericke likewise to pay 20*li*.

The citte of Galway to pay by yeere to the said vse 13*li* 6*s* 8*d*.

Euery person of ye reuenewe of 20*li* by the yeere to pay 20*s* owte of euery 20*li* yeerly which he hath by ye yere 10*s*.

Euery viccar yt may dispend 20*li* *10*s in like manner to the said vse.

All archbusshopps, busshops and suffregans to paye owte of their living after the said rate.

An acte of parliament to bringe all channtries and lands of parish churches into the Q. hands and to be annexed vnto ye crowne, for that it doth no other steede but maintaine papists and owld preeists or ells is in the chief Lo. of the soiles hands which hath no right to the same.

Itm all the said money and landes, after they be valued, to be receyued by two of the honestest thought by ye Lo. deputye in euery shire, they havinge for their labour and receipte [f. 353v] of the same 12*d* owte of the pownde. The same money to be deliuered to the vice threasoror or generall receyuor for the tyme beinge to thuse aforesaide.

And what shall surmounte aboue thentertaynment of the 500 soldiors aforesaid, which shall not only inhabyte Leniyster aforesaid but also helpe which thother 1,000 soldiors of ye contrie aforesaid for reformacion of the said Leniyster to be kepte. And for that all the citties, townes and burghes hathe bin buylded by others then the prince, as Irish men and Norwayes as the cronicles do declare, the said ouerplus to be towardes the buyldinge of walles on bothe the sides of the water of the Shanon, Alone[62]. And the said cittie and wall towne to be of the queenes maties farte and deede and to beare her name according to her mats device and her mats courts to be keapte there for that yt standeth in the very myddest of the realme wher the lorde deputye may searve and annswer all parts of the realme as oportunyte shall sherue. And an vniuersitye to be erected there which may be yf it please her matie and her honorable councell without any chargs to her grace, and that as this wher the archebusshoppe of Dublin

[62] Athlone?

hath 2 sea churches (that is to say) Christ Churche within the cyttie of Dublyn and St Patrycks by Dublin I meane not the suppression of any of them for erecion of the vniuersitie. But wher ther is in St Patricks 24 dignyties and persons and 24 viccaries to the same, 4 pettycannons, 6 quyrresters and 2 or [3] clarkes, all thes to serue god theare, my advice is that 12 of the said persons or dignyties with their 12 viccares, the parson of Roslaier in the countie of Wexford, the parson of Kallan in the countie of Kilkenny and the parson of Trym theis to dwell at Alone their to spende their lyvings and to masters and wardens of the said colledge for ever ffor lacke of bringinge vppe of yowte in the faith and feare of god is only principall cause of the decay of comon wealth, for howe is yt possible for any man to knowe his duetie to his prince before he knowe his duetie to god and to obserue his lawes.

Itm an acte of parliament to passe that euery inherytor or Irish gentillman possessed of lands that his eldest sonne laufully begotten shall possesse and inheritte his fathers lands after his deathe.

[f. 354r] Itm to be enacted by the said parliament that all persons within the realme shall vse the Englishe habyte and Englishe armor and all lords, spirytuall and temporall, knightes, esquyers and gentillmen that may spend 10*li* lande or vpwardes to ryde in saddells vppon payne of forfeyture of 10*li toties quoties*[63].

Itm after the Leniyster wonne to the prince that the said 500 men be placed ther and euery man to haue his porcion accordinge to the discrecion of the Lo. deputie and councell, and the same to haue 3 yeeres free and after to pay for euery acre arrable and medowe 3*d* by yeere, and to hold the same of the prince in capite.

Itm the towne of Wickeloo to be walled and made a markett towne.

Itm a forte to be builded at Ballyn Corre, Hughe McShane his chief towne and he and his seede to be banished for euer for he is the ranckest traytor in all Ireland, as if the question be asked shalbe well proued.

Ther is already in Leinster of ye queenes 5 castells and fourtes.

Itm also thearle of Ormonde hath a castell and a bourgh towne called Arkloo with 3 shires which be called Towmalyn, Towrell Comen and Towleyrye which be subiects and obedient.

There is also dyvers castells and townes within the said Leinster which may be a great relief for the said 500 soldiers placinge and plantinge in the saide Leynister as yt shalbe well declared and told to your Lo. deputye and councell.

My meaninge and advice is not to putt any good subiecte Irish or English owte of his terrytory or lands that will take the same at the princes hands accordinge to the rate and estate aforesaid, that will finde suertie within the English pale for performance of the premisses though ther is no man from the water of Wexfoorde and so in compas from the sea to the countie of Kildare in Dublyn but haue forfeyted his lands and goods if he be narrowlye soughte or come to the iustificacion of the mats lawe.

[63] As often as the

Itm after Leynester reformed and planted with theis English soldiers and others as shall seeme meete to the Lo. deputie and councell then a 1,000 soldiors of good and hable men to be chosen owte of England for thinhabitinge of the Q. mats owne inherytance in Vlster geuen her of late by acte of parliament though yt were her owne before as heire vnto thearle of Marshe and Vlster which dyed withoute issue, which is the Arde, Claynyboy, the Rote and Yrraght de Cane.

[f. 354v] Itm theis poll peance and money aforesaid to be after Leynester reformed to be for the victuallinge and entertaynment of the said 1,000 men, and after theise 3 contries be reformed and inhabyted as Leynester aforesaide then the said 1,000 soldiors to haue theis 3 contries, and to houlde the same of the Q. matie in like sorte as the men of Leynester shall.

Itm thearle of Ormond to muster his 2 shires viz. the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary to sherue the prince in the like sorte as other English shires.

Itm thearle of Desmond with the Lo. president to do the like in all Monister.

Itm that no man Englishe nor Irish entertaine any Scotts, but proclamacions to be made through owte all the realme yt all ye Scotts shall departe the realme ymediatlye vppon paine of forferture of life and goods and that all Ireland shall putt their helpinge hands therto.

And then this don the Lo. deputie or gouernor for the tyme beinge with his owne crewe of souldiors, the captains and soldiours of Leynister, the captains and soldiors of Vlster, with the 1,000 soldiors, of thenglish pale which shalbe ready at 6 howers warninge at the Lo. deputie's comanndement, thearle of Desmond and the Lo. president with all the strengthe of thenglish nacion in Mounster and the noble earle of Ormonde with his gentillmen and tenannts is the swoorde that shall make the Irishe rebells to be good subiects and become true, for the feare of this multytude inhabytinge and beinge resident within the realme, beinge prest and redy to [sue] vppon him that shall rebell at the Lo. deputie or lorde gouernor for the tyme beinge his comanndement is thonlye swoorde that shall make the Irish rebells to become faithfull and true subiects.

And this don then the Q. matie shall haue oute of the realme 20,000 or 30,000*li* by the yeere wher she nowe spendeth 20,000 or 30,000*li* for the reformacion of the realme.

37. Lodowick Bryskett
'Lodowick Bryskett to Walsyngham.' (1581)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/81/5

A flylead reads, 'To the right honorable Sir Ffrancys Walsingham, knight, principall secretary matie and one of her highnes iorable privie counsell yeve these. In courte'.

[f. 12r] May it please your honor. The manifold favours that it hath pleased you to bestowe vpon me doe often summon me to make some satisfaction as an honest man standing so farre indebted and bound to so honorable a personage. But when I consider myne owne inhabilitie, muche lyke to him that is forced to hyde his hed from his creditors, I am ashamed to showe my self or appere before your honor in any sorte. And yet your great humanitie and courtesie cheereth me vp againe and geveth me courage, perswading me that your honor with your singuler iudgement is hable well enough to consider, and will not refuse to enter into the weighing of my case. And withall in reason I am taught to knowe that a willingnes and a good intencion in any man to discharge his obligacions is so muche the more easily taken for paiment as the personage to whome the obligacions are is more noble and worthie. This doth embolden me (right honorable) to trouble you with these my rude lres, hoping that you will rather take in good parte this simple shewe or token of acknowledging my infinite debt vnto your honor then impute me for being troublesome vnto you.
Of the state of the countrey if I wryte but little I am to beseche your honor to thinke that the shorte tyme past since my retourne in which I could have asyet lerned the state of the provinces severally and the more large advertisements which my lord deputie hath sent over lately doe yelde me small occasion to enlarge my self in that behalf. Onely thus muche I hope I may without offence say, that considering the greate and many practises against this state (the depthe whereof I am perswaded is not yet throughly founded) [f. 12v] and the vniversall disposicion of this people to disobedience I doe rather wonder to see things in so good frame then loke they shold much better, onlesse her matie by the advyse of your honors putt on a determinacion to goe throrough with the reformacion of Ireland, the state whereof me thinketh I may well compare vnto an old cloke or garment often tymes mended and patched vp, wherein now so great a rende or gashe being made by violence, as of late all the world doth knowe, there is now no remedy but to make a newe, for to piece the old againe will be but labour loste, consumption of that shalbe bestowed vpon it and doubtfull whether tyme now omitted will suffer her highnes and your honors when you wold to have any newe at all. Ffor this is most assuredly to be built vpon, that whatsoever obedience is shewed now, ether in suche as have manifested them selves in this rebellion or in the rest, is but for feare because of the force her matie hath here and to winn tyme, as men that by long experience of this state and taught by their owne devyses doe knowe how loth her highnes will be to continue the great charge she now is at or at the lest suche is their hope. But the furder discourse of these matters are nether fitting for my place, not being comannded, nor mete for my reache being of so meane iudgement. And therefore I humbly crave pardon at your honors hands for my boldnes in that behalf.
At my arryvall here in this land I found my L. deputie out in a iorney which he had made towards the borders of Conaght, to whome nevertheles I repaired prently and having delivered vnto his L. the counsells and your honors lres and the rest, he afterwards somewhat [f. 13r] blamed my long absence hence, nevertheles in respect of the lres which I had brought was contented to remitt that was past and to assure me of his L. favour hereafter in the excercyse of my place, and accordingly have found his countenance toward me ever since. But concerning the office I had in the impost before my coming not long his L. had disposed some of them the best. Nevertheles I am not out of hope but his L. will, vpon consideracion

of your honors lres, and in regard of my service, restore them againe vnto me, the rather if it wold please your honor estsones to prick him but a little forward in some lre of yours, ffor by perceiving that your honor hath some care of me in my absence he may easily be induced in my conceite to wishe me that good was ment me, especially when he may withal turne her matie to benefite as by comitting that trust to me of reforming the abuses of the officers through which I dare boldly affirme, and the auditor will testifie, her highnes is yerely hindred above a thowsand marks. I confesse I am half ashamed to presse your honor thus farre, but seing that with a fewe words you may doe so good a dede I doe presume to crave it in humble sorte at your hands.

I knowe it is not mete for me to be tedious to your honor being otherwyse so continually busied in weightier affaires and therfore with humble recomendacion of my duetie and offer to perfourme this office hereafter, so farre forth as the same may not be troublesome vnto your honor, I end beseching almighty god to prosper your honor and all your godly actions. Ffrom Dublin the second of Marche 1580.

Your honor most bounden and at comandement.
Lod. Bryskett

It may please your honor. I have allwayes found this place toylesome but now most of all and that without intermission and small or no proffitt, the fee is onely 10*li* Ir. by the yere where the clerks in the provinces have 20*li* str. by the yere a piece. I humbly beseche your honor to consider my case and to be favorable vnto me, that I may not altogether consume my self as hitherto I have done, god is my witnesse, and yet live in continuall toyle and labour. Mr Waterhowse him self ever vpon the first conference hath made an end betwene Mr Chaloner and me, so conformable have I ben to be ruled as Mr Waterhowse wold appoint.[64]

[64] The postscript is written vertically along the left margin of the leave.

38. Robert Dillon
'Justice Robert Dillon to Walsyngham.' (1581)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/86/27

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right honorable and my singuler good ffriend Sir Ffranncis Wallsingham, knight, principall secretarie to her matie and of her maties privie councell at courte yeve thes'.

[f. 92r] After due and hertie comendacions. I had ore this oftner written to your honor weare it not of your absence in Ffrannce and would nowe more largelie save that I stay till my L. deputie's returne from this iorney, which is longe then was thought would have contynued, at who's returne I purpose to writt to hir matie, accordinge hir graces pleasure and comanndment, what I can lerne ore discern of the state of this miserable countrie, of hir maties superfluouse charge and hir pore subiects cases, whearin I humblie beseeche your honor's favorable advise. In the meane I assure your honor things are excessivelie vsed in charge cheflie by the man's meane I aduertised you of as, specialie in erectinge and devisinge needeles officers as a seriante maior, corporalls, scowte Mr., post Mr., to no furder then 20tie myles, ore there abowts, from Dublin, pursuiannts and concordatums oute of measure since my cominge are grannted. The poore pale is also exacted to muche abowe reasons for eny soldior passinge thorowe the pale ore cessed and take but 12*d* str. a daye for him silf, 4*d* ore 6*d* for his boye over and abowe hir maties paye is cownted a reasonable sowldior and oft takes meate of the next villadge, and a foote comonlie they travaile not past 4 ore 5 myles adaye. And also hir gracs compisicions broken, which greavethe the subiects and hindrethe hir highnes cawses as I thinke. Wheare I lerne hir matie is in charge withe interteinment of six thowsande men many reporte and affirme in pryvate speaches there are not in dede abowe thre thowsand men boddies and many of them same men of the mere Irishe and raskall which is no credite to the Englishe soldiors here, a hinderance to seruice and is verie expedient to be loked in.
This last conspiracie of Williame Nugent (brother to the [B.][65] of Delvin) and his confederats was lyke to wourke suche a mischeif in this countrie as hathe not bene herde of sence the conqwest. And if it be not seuerlie punyshed yt wilbe for the honest sorte folly to abyde here. What payne and trouble Sir Lucas Dillon and my silf have, and do daylie take, in prosecutinge and apprehendinge the traytors of this conspiracie I suppose is certified your honor by the L. channcellor and Sir Hanry Wallopp, otherwyse I would have particulerlie written you hit. Ffor my pryvate suyte I have sent the berrer, my seruante, to put your honor in remembrannce of this same, and as myn onelie trust is in yow so do I not seke in hit eny other's furtherannce ore favour but yours, as I have by speaches declared to yow of my longe and chargeable seruice to her matie withowt [f. 92v] eny kynde of recompence, and that I procured for my sylf hetherto none other enhablement till nowe, that I expect whate hir grace will freelie bestowe on me. So I humblie beseeche your honor to have the same and my sayd suite in remembrannce and to furder me[66] with your honorable favour and dispatche. Thus, hartelie comendinge yow to thalmightie, who encrease and contynve your honor, I humblie take leave. Dublin, the 20th of October 1581.

Your honors most bownden.[67]

[65] The manuscript has been slightly damaged here partially obscuring the text.
[66] 'and to furder me' has been written twice, with the first version crossed through, perhaps indicating some hesitation on Dillon's part at soliciting Walsingham so openly.
[67] Both this and the signature appear to be in a different hand to the that of the text.

Robert Dillon.

I have omitted the names of officers which in myne opinion might well be spared, as colonels. Her matie is charged 20*s* str. per diem for euerie of them. Your honors will I have fullfilled by declaringe my minde plainelie and trewlie of the state of this comon welthe in generalitie and the charges of her highnes. As I have so done if order shalbe taken for redressinge the abuses, then will other men of better skill and experience then I enter to make spetiall discourse therof, if otherwise I feare I have writen to much and do humblie besech your honor that it may be but to your selfe.

39. Nicholas White
'N. White, Master of the Rolls, to Burghley'. (1581)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/87/55

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right honorable, my singuler good L., my L. of Burghley, highe treasorer Englande', and in another hand, '23 December 1581. Mr. of ye rolles of Ireland to my L.. His opinion of proceadinges and stat of that realme.'

[f. 151r] My singuler good L.. This land is driven to that streight of necessitie as men must speake, thoughe the matter wherof ther grief arisithe hathe so many maynteyners as the speche of a fewe will litle availe, except her matie whome the case chiefely concernethe take thexamynacion therof into her hands. Ffor myn owne parte I am none of the malecontants that sek to better my state by changs, ne yett of conscience so indifferent as I passe not which endinge forwarde. But beholdinge the likelyhode of evills wherinto this cuntrey is lyk to come, bothe for prince and people, I thinke it my dutie to be aforwarner therof, least when we (which are putt in trust with the good ordringe of the same) be called to arecknynge, I for my parte shalbe founde not to haue somoche as gagled to save the capitell from spoyle. I haue bene for my tyme a runer of many courses for the goverment of Irlande, and haue bothe with pen and tonge labored moche therin of veray zeale to do it good, and nowe do find by experienc what things the stomak of that body can and can not digest. And in conclucen it is perceaved that this violent and warlik forme of goverment will but exhawste her mats treasyor, wast her revenue, depopulat the pale, weaken the Englishe nobilitie that haue bene, and may be made the suertie of this state, leave the wild Irishe to ther dasires that be the perill therof, and consume with mysery of the warrs her soyldiors which she sendithe hither, whose captens hathe ther payes fuller then ther bands. Yf her matie be rightly enformed of the true state of this her kingdome it is highe tyme for her to lok to the amendment therof, least (emonge other grevanncs) the sworde by which it was first gotten be whett too moche against the rases of thenglishe that with the sworde so longe defendad it against the Irishe from whome it was first taken and who lok daily throwe the weaknynge of thenglishe to recover it. Her matie hathe to regarde of it as of her anncient kingdome, subiected to her by gods ordynannce, and reformed by consent of the nacion, and withall to consyder whate stronge garison withoute paye the sede of Englishe bloud hathe made to her crowne sync ther first plantinge, which are easier reformed then supplanted, and more to be reformed for the prioritie of ther tenors then others that seke by posterioritie to goo before. And if by comparinge of tymes there might be away founde by which her matie may be eased of her chardgs, her kingdome quieted, and all sorts contented (except the wild Irishe over whome her matie may, as in tymes past, with the helpe of thenglishe bloud, cary asteddy hand), that way (in myn opinion) nere best to be ffollowed and this which of all syds provethe so ill to be reiected. What my poor iudgment conceavethe herof I haue not imparted, nor meane to do to any vnder her matie, but to your self. It may be that some woll advise her matie to spare for no [f. 151v] cost to translate this kingdome of the [new], *sed hic labor hoc opus est*[68], moche lik to artyzants that perswade awners of anncient hovses to pull theme downe for alteringe of the facion, wherin they seke more ther owne settinge a worke then they do the awners profitt. Innovacions hathe bene in all adgs accompted danngerous and the by first man that way be not the profitablest mynisters, and if it hathe bene thoght nether iust nor sure to tak away suddenly the anncient customes of the people, howe dangerouse shall we iudge it to seke that which they possesse and not themselfs. The mightie sorte will seke to revenge it with armes and the poor with teares, wherof there are many shedd in this land. Nether is it good (in myn

[68] but this work is labour.

opinion) that her matie extende the vttermost of her correction against this people, and if any want of dutie hathe bene found in any greate ons of this estate (whose cases I knowe not) I holde it for more suertie ether to dissemble it or remytt it, then to revenge it, for it may so happen that thinking all lawe were ended there might arise other mener, more indigested angers. Her matie hathe likwise to be advised not to suffer the particuler goverment of her cuntryes here to be comytted to suche as can not governe themeselfs but sek to mak quarells with her people, delyuering theme iniustice for iustice and cavsinge ther owne wills to be holden for laws. God dalethe mercifully with suche men, as he leavethe not into the hands of suche rulers, which comytt a thowsand extremyties, that many tymes there neds more reformacion for theme then for the offencs the people comytt. The iudgs also to whome her matie dothe putt her conscienc in trust ought to be rightmost in ther iudgments and pitifull in ther executions. We are taught by writers to be ware of iudgs that be bloudy, which to thend ther fame may sond at courte, to receave from thes that which they dasier, may worke things of danngerouse effects. Her matie hathe alwaies imbraced a temperate and peasible government, which hathe prospered best with her of any prince in Evrope and shoued herself so farr from dasier of bloud as she hathe measured punysshments farr vnder the qualitie of mens offencs, by which she hathe gotten the vnfayned love of her people. So moche hathe she also abhorred the rooting oute of anncient nobilitie as the father falls no soner for the heynousnes of his offenc then she rayseth vpp his son to fill his place withoute planting twiggs of vncerten provfe in ther staid, wherof hathe ffollowed that she is of all her nobilitie feared for love and not loved for feare. Yf it lyke her matie to give eare to suche as wishe peas and honorable concorde she may heare more of that syde to her advantadge then the contrary hathe hitherto brought further here, [f. 152r] assuring your L. that if men of better skill then my selfe may be beleved her mats extraordinary chardgs in this land comethe to twise asmoche as the ordinary chardgs of her army, to which is added also a newe increase of chardgs other then haue bene sene here in former tymes, as shall appere vnto your honor by the scedule herinclosed. Nether do I adiudge all this vnnecessary (wherin my skill may deceave me) if it be so allowed when it is knowen. The burden of her mats people besyds is intollerable and the behaviour of the soyldiors in many things farr worse, wherof one proffied to run the lord Poer throwe with his lannc bicavse he refused to give him so lardge a composicion by the day for his cesse as the soyldior required. This lorde baron, whose anncestors and himself haue bene captens of the countie of Waterforde, is contented to live in veray private, obedient and humble sorte and if he were not (as he is in dede) a man of greate staydnes he wolde not haue borne suche indignytie at so meane a persons hands. My good L. I love the quene mainely for her awne goodnes, besyds my naturall dutie to her as a subiect and seruant, but I love most of all the prepuringe of my end in this life to the begynyng of thother, from which I wold not be with drawen into any worldly longs other then to yelde her matie the vttermost frute of my poor vnderstandinge whensoever it shall please her to comannd me wherin the respect of dutie shall vanquish in me all scare of private displeashure. And yet me thinke I haue in this lre spent all my stuff wherby my conscienc may be spared. I malice no man, and if I speak vnwisely I hope her matie will beare with the weaknes of my vnderstandinge, and if my speche be to any purpose lett the gayn be hers to whom of right it dothe belonge. Yf this gentilman, Mr Aylmer, who repayreth nowe to attend on therle his Mr, after beinge putt oute of pay, were not so trusty and true a messenger as I knowe him to be I wolde not adventur the trowbling of your L. with this lardge kynde of writinge, whose accustomed care of me will I hope bothe cover my folly and provide for my saftie. The present occurants here I refer to the reaporte of Mr Aylmer who in some things knoweth theme better then my self. And so, recomending he to your L. good favour, I humbly end with my contynuall praier to god for your helth and prosperose estate. Ffrom my hovse of St Katherins besyds Dublin this 23th of December 1581.

Your good L. most bounden to comannd duringe life.

N. White.

40. John Ussher
'John Ussher to Walsyngham.' (1582)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/90/14

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right honorable Sir Ffranncis Walsingham, knight, principall secretary to her matie and one of her highnes most honorable privie counsaiyle'.

[f. 29r] It may please your honor although the mocion I made at my being in court to your honor and others of her maties councell touching the erection of an vniversitie in this poore land was not lyked of, yet the due consideracion of the necessitie of the thing and present meanes offred to compass the same, haue embouldened me once agayne to putt your honor in remembrance of that mocion and most humbly to desyre your gracious furtherance of so good a cause. The want of carefull provision of scoles for the education and bringing vp of our children, what broyles and troubles to this decayed realme and what grefe and vexation of mynd with infinite charge it hath wrought to her matie, as at all tymes by experience it hath bene duly observed, so now almost to our vtter destruction yt hath bene lately sene. The youth of this poore countrey wherin doth rest the speciall hope therof is ether trayned vp in ydlenes and ignorance, both of god and her maties lawes and therfore addicteth it self to all kynd of wickednes or els from hence they are sent to Lovan, Dowa and other vniuersities, wherin being misled in papistry and rooted therin, returning home agayne they infect ye ignorant with their damnable religion and withdraw the mynds of subiects from their dutifull obedience to her matie and stirr vp rebellions to the vtter spoyling of this miserable land. The daungerous rebellions which hitherto from tyme to tyme haue bene attempted in Irland haue only bene stirred vp by students returning from forrayn vniuersities which easily haue seduced the ignorant and simple and drawen them to execute and put in practise their devellishe intents. Now yf in this land an vniuersitie were erected for the trayning vp of our children in the fear of god and due obedience to her matie your honor may vndoubtedly conceave that both these mischefes might sone be cutt of, for the ydle and ignorant by due diligence and instruction would sone be reclaimed from such actions knowing the grevousnes of the offence in the sight of god and the iust punishments due for the same and thother might be restrayned and kept at home, all excuse of their departure to other vniuersities being taken from them by so good and ready helpes in their native countrey. These things yf they were put in present execution as they would be direct and ordinary meanes to plant in the harts of her mats subiects the feare of god and faythfull obedience, so I am of opinion that in short tyme they would not only ease and abate her mats infinite charges but also quyt cutt of the occasion of all broyles and rebellions. And I suppose yt is the speciall provydence of god that by meane of rebellion, a remedy shalbe provided to cutt of rebellion for ever, for I hope that when it shall be gravely consydered by your honor what way the lands lately fallen into her mats hands may best be converted to her highnes advanntag having regard (as I knowe you already have) chiefly to ye glory of god and the vtilitie of her highnes realms, god will putt into your mynds to cause some reasonable portion therof to be employed on the erecting of a colledg or vniuersitie, having already a fitt place for that vse, I meane the house of Kilmaynam, which is now farr in [f. 29v] decay for that the same hath not bene occupyed nor putt to any vse these 12 yeares, during which tyme the reparacions therof hath bene chargeable vnto her maty and the house it self profitable to no man. May it therfore please your honor for the love you beare to learning and vertue and the earnest care you haue of this miserable countrey at your convenient leasure to move her highnes in this behalf and to be the meanes to bring this godly mocion to good effect, wherin besydes the acceptable service yt you shall do to god, you shall forever bynd vnto you this whole realme with a thankfull remebrance of this vnspeakable benefit. And thus comending this most nedefull cause to your

honors speciall furtherance with request of pardon for my bouldnes, I humbly take leave from Dublin the 8th of March 1581.

Your honors to comannd.
John Vssher

41. Edward Barkley
'Mr. Edward Barkley's advice how to overthrow the traitors in Munster.' (1582)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/95/69

On the flyleaf is written, '25 Sept 1582. Edw. Barkleys advise for ye rebellion Irland'.

[f. 147r] My poore opinion how to ouerthrow the traytors in Mounster.

At the first begininge of the warres in Mounster the traytors were very stronge bothe in horse and foote, to the number of 8 thowsand, also very rich in corne and cattell. Further the lords of the countrey stood very dowbtfull, wherbie it was necessary to haue a stronge battell of footemen, to defend vpon all extremities as a sure stand, as also to spoile the traytors of theis corne and cattle, taking their wyues, children and followers which oftentymes was such a [ill] to the enemye as did constraine them to fight wherbie many of them came to their ends. But now not being trobled with any of these cares, but lyving altogether vpon the spoile of their neybors I hold it very necessarie to alter those footemen into horsemen and kerne of the countrey, for that our English footemen are able by no meanes to anoy them for want of footemanship. The pollicie of the enemy is onlie to wery owt the queene with chargs and by keeping them selues by all meanes from fighting with vs, wherbie their force maie not bee lessened and the warres prolonged. I hold it necessarie that this their meaning shold bee lookt vnto and warres to bee made not chargable to her matie with a farre fewer garrisons then ther is and their wages bettered, for otherwise (the countrey beeing soe spoiled) soldiers are not able to lyue now soe well with 12*d* per diem as they were wont with 6*d*, as also the countrey not able to sustaine the soldiers that be now vpon them. And trulie myne opinion ys, the barenes of the soldier is an incoragement to the enemy, besides it doth cause the sowldier to spoile the subiect, which is a great occasion to draw their good willes from vs, and many tymes make them to traytors which otherwise would willinglie contrymen, subiectes. [f. 147v] And therefore I hold it a sufficient companie to overthrow these traytors (considring their weaknes and the pouertie of the countrey) to haue 2 garrisons, one upon the borders of Typparary, ther to haue one hundred horse, and to haue 18*d* per diem sterling, and the kerne of the contrey will willinglie defraie of them selues, and another at Malew with the lik number of horsemen and kerne, and soe to make it a warres defensiue, soe shall the traytors be forced to seeke vpon one of these 2 garrisons (for that the other three counties are vtterlie wast) or els to starve. If it like her matie to be at any further charge, they may bee very well placed in Kilmalock which lieth in the middest of the traytors countrey, and betweene both those counties, and maie easilie step vnto eyther of these garisons vpon any extremitie. And further if the enemy shold set vp any plowing, or haue any goods and cattell, that garrison is able to take it from them within 3 howres traveyle, having but 2 hundred footemen and 25 horsemen, which is the garrison now mantayned there, which in respect of keeping of the towne and scowring of Harlow and the Gret Wood, I think it not amisse to haue footemen in yt places, soe as they maie be victualled owt of England, for that ther is no meanes possible (otherwise) to lyue their. This garrison of 2 hundred and 25 horse and 2 hundred footemen (besides ye warders) well paid, I dare venture my lif and credit, shall do more service in three monethes, then wee haue done in 2 yeares. But if they bee not soe well paid, as captaines may keep their companies compleet it is but all cast awaie, for the nature of vs yt are captens is this; if wee bee well paid wherbie we maie keep our selues stronge our onelie endevoure is to doe service, if not wee dare not to often complaine for feare of offending, by which meanes service ys let fall and every man seekes to serue his owne torne, which hath byn the cause the warres haue contynued soe longe.

Yf Mr Zowche retorne not againe into those partes (who is a verie sufficient man for this service) I doe think that the contrey and the garrison will most willinglie embrace Sir Warham Stlenger, who ys a man that will not see the freeholders extorted vpon, neyther the soldiers to want that in dewtie he ought to hand. Yf it shold [f. 148r] be said that he is not able to traveyle, he lying in Kilmalock, which is betweene both garrisons, shall bee very well able to direct the service, and himself not vnable at anytime to rise owt. I dare vndertake that ther is no man in England or Ireland better acquaynted with that service then himself, and considring his old yeares and longe experience (if I might speak it withowt offence) I would think that he shold haue gret wronge to be put from hit.

42. John Ussher
'A booke for the reformation and preservation of the realme of Ireland, aswell against all foren emimies as also againste all tratervs rebelles devised by Iohn Vssher of Dublin, alderman.' (c. 1583)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 488-489

[f. 488r] A booke for the reformation and preservation of the realme of Ireland, aswell against all foren emimies, as also againste all tratervs rebelles, devised by Iohn Vssher of Dublin, alderman.

To the Q. most excellent matie.[69]

Albeit most gracious souerrene I dowbte not but your highnes and your most honnorable counsaile haue not spetiall care of the preservation of your maties realme of Ireland, no nation contre against the wicked attempes of such as would violently wrest the same out of your maties handes, yet the bounden dutie which I owe as well vnto your highnes, beinge my naturall prince, as also to that realme, beinge my naturall soyle, haue inforced me to employ my endevore in layenge downe suche matter as my simple opinion do perswade me may be furtherance to the same, which for avoidinge of tediousnes I will brefely laye downe.

Ffirst, yf the reporte be trew which heare wente abrode in writtinge, of a craftie conspiracie of the poope, the Spanishe kinge, the states of Venice and Fflorence, and theyre adherents, against your highnes, and your relame of England and Ireland (as by theyre late practice in Ireland most lyke it is), your maties may well consider that such an enterprice of so great personages will not be dasshed or made frustrat for so smale a hindrance as hetherto they have sustayned. And therefore it behoveth that your highnes do cause preparation to be made of ten thowsand good soildiors, to be sent into Ireland to garde all the landing portes there, and to advertice the same by your letters vnto suche of the nobilities there as heatherto haue continued faythfull and trew vnto your highnes, requiringe theyre assistance of victual, and other necessaries for theyre maintenance there, and these ten thowsand to be placed at twentie the best landinge places there, viz. five hundred at evry landinge porte, with whom mvst be sent one thowsand plowes, viz. fiftie plowes for evry five hundred to finde them corne from time to time. And leaste that the sendinge and maintenance of these men there shoulde seme vnto your matie to be an over great charge, if it maye please your highnes to bestowe vppon that realme this yeare only duble as mvche as the same dide cost your highnes the laste yeare, which I esteme to be 70 thowsand poundes, the duble where of is 140 thowsand poundes, I will, by the healpe of god heare laye downe [f. 488v] a meane whereby your highnes shall not only be discharged of all maner of charges to be bestowed vppon that realme at any time heare after, but also highnes shall receaued a good sounde some of yerely revenues from thence, to be clerely put in to your treasvrye, over and besides the charges of the L. deputie and sevne hundred soldiors to be continually maintained there.

Chardges to be disbursed for the furniture of the soldiours and plowmen befor mencioned.

Ffirst, preparation mvst be made of one thowsand plowmen, which theyre drivers to evry plowmand, and his driver, sufficient mony to be delyvered to buy a plowe with all things there vnto apertayninge, viz. for fowre plowe horses __ 12*li*
Item for five qrter barly to be sowen in Aprill next __ 3*li* 6*s* 8*d*

[69] The address appears to be in a different hand to that of the text.

Item for one quarter whet for bred for six monethes __ 20*s*
Item for thre hundred waight of butter and chese __ 3*li*
Item for sixe barrayles beare __ 24*s*
Item for five quarteres wheate to be sowen at Michlmas __ 5[70]*li*
Item for yorne and other necessary stuffe for the plowe __ 20*s*
Item to buy the mylche kine __ 3*li* 10*s*
And so amontethe the charges of evry plowe __ 30*li*

Soma for the 1,000 plowes 30,000*li*.

Also there mvst be prepared ten thowsand artificers of maner artes and yf it be possible lett them be yongemen, and vnmaried, for the first halfe yeare vntil theyre houses be builded. These mvst be so devided that eche maye lyve by other in maner of citizens. Evry five hundred of these mvst caste a pott for building of a towne at the fittest parte of the porte where they shalbe appointed, viz. eche of these mvst be lente ten poundes mony, wheare of fowre poundes to be bestowed in victualles and sixe poundes in stuffe to be wrough by his arte, evry ten of them to make a tents to lye in vntill theyre houses ar redie, and so the charges of these 10,000 men will amounte:

Soma 100,000 poundes.

Item the charges of fowre hundred carpenders dvringe one whole yeare to build them howses, where of the Mr. to have 16*d* per diem and eche of his fowre men 12*d* per diem, amountes in all:

Soma 8,000 poundes.

Item the charges of thre hundred masons, and one hundred bricke makers, and teele layers, for one halfe yeare, where of the Mr. to haue 16*d* per diem and eche of his fowre men 12*d* diem, amounts to:

Soma 4,000 poundes.

And so all the charges to be layd owt as afore sayd amountethe to:

Soma 142,000 poundes.

The abatements our discharge of the former sommes.

Ffirst, where the charges of your maties garrison now in Ireland do cost beside the charges of the navye and the revenue of that realme threscore thowsand poundes this yeare your matie may immediatly vppon the arrival of the ten thowsand men in Ireland discharge the tow partes of the soldiers [f. 489r] there and with in tow or thre monethes when they be setled at theyre portes the otherthirde parte of that charge may be discharged and so your highnes vnburdened of that charge of:

Soma 60,000 poundes.

[70] This figure may also be a 6. there is the briefest of marks after the v and before the li which would seem to indicate an i however there is no leg on this as there would generally be.

Item the fowrescore thowsand poundes in the charge which yet remaine shalbe payed your matie in thre yeares in manner folowinge.

Evry plowman of the hundred plowes shall yearly in respecte of his stock of thirtie povndes and for the rent of his fearme pay ten poundes in mony or the fowrthe part of his corne which comonly wilbe worth no lesse and so the 1,000 plowes will amounte yerly to:

Soma 10,000 poundes.

Also evry one of the artificers shall yearly paye for the rente of his howse, garden and one acre of land 20*s* and the thirde yeare eche one of them shall pay the ten poundes that was lent him or else pay yearly in respect there of 20*s* which will amount in all yearly to:

Soma 20,000 poundes.

Item I gaue instructions in my former booke howe by makinge the mony of Ireland of equall value with the money of Ingland your matie shall yearly advantage in your revenue there, as I sppose, 4,000 poundes, so that your highnes shall receave yearly the first tow yeares 24,000 poundes and the thirde yeare your matie shall receave 34,000 pounds, which amovnteth in all to:

Soma 82,000 poundes.

And so your highnes, fully payed of all disbursmentes, and shall yearly advantage from the sayd thre yeares forward for ever the full som som of 34,000 poundes.

Also yf your matie will furnishe one thowsand plowes, as a foresayd, to inhabite the landes of Baltinglas and the residewe that rebelled with him, your matie shall advantage there by yearly 10,000 pound.

And so may your highnes receave from thence yearely the some of fortie thowsand poundes to be clere put vp in to your treasvry and the reveneve[71] of that realme, with the awgmentation by my former devise, will maintaine the lorde depute, and sevne hundred soldiors to attend vppon him continually.

And if it may please your highnes to put this in practice I dowbte not but that by the healpe of god it will bringe to passe that that realme shalbe as profitable vnto your matie as ever it was to any of your noble progenitors yf the matter be handled in time, for the lyke oportunitie haue not bene offred in any mann's memory that now lyvethe, nether is like to be in our dayes, yf this be omitted the lord put in your maties mind to do ther that shalbe most to his glory, and greatest honor, and advantage to your highnes, and to bothe your realmes.

And yf the charges aforesayde shall seeme vnto your highnes to be over mvche to be layd owt at one time, then may the thirtie thowsand pounds for the thowsand plowes be omitted for this yeare, and eche of the artificers shall carry with them victuales for one halfe yeare, and for theyr furniture from thense forthe it is requisite that there be an owner of a barke appointed to dwell in every of the sayd porte townes, which barke [f. 489v] shall cary away

[71] 'the' appears to have been written after this with the briefest of lines through it.

theyre wroughte stuffe, and with the mony there of propare and bringe them all things necessary for theyr maintenance.

Also the ten thowsand artificers may esily be gathered by taking a vew or note of all the iovrnaymen, and suche as haue served theyre yeares of apprintice in all the citis and corporat townes in this realme, and out of them may be chosen suche as are fittest for that purpose, without disturbinge of any housholders, but onlye one skilfull maister of every arte to be placed in every of the said port tovnes.

43. Richard Spert
'The requests of Richard Speart and others for a grant of Desmond's lands, with a plot for establishing certain trades there.' (1583)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/106/24[72]

A flyleaf reads, 'The humble requestes off Richard Speart and others', and, '20 Decemb. 1583. The suite of Richard Speart and others, for a feefarme of certaine landes in Desmondes contrye'.

[f. 48r] Our humble requests be as ffolloweth.

Imprimis we humblie desier to haue a graunt in fee ffarme to us and our heyres from her matie of 160 ploughlands arrable and pasture, together with all such woods as aperteine to the same, to be assigned vnto us in some such convenient place of Desmonds contrie as maie be most convenient for such trads as wee meane there to employ ourselues in.

Item we humblie desier a commyssion to be graunted to one of our societye for the pressing of 100 maryners for our shipping for two yeres we paying them such wags as her matie doth accustomablie paie.

Item we humblie desier a comission to be graunted to one of our societie for the pressing of so many husband men and other artificers as shalbe by your honor thought convenient for the manvring of the said 160 ploughe land, we paying them such wags as shalbe thought resonable by your honors. Our reson is because we would make choise of such as haue able bodyes and fytting at great rents having wyves and children might, seing the benefitts of the contrie and the resonable peniworth of land, be induced there to remaine and inhabit.

Item we desier a comission for the taking vp and transporting of so much corne and hempeseede as shalbe necessary for the fynding of those people we must transport by the space of 18 monethes and for the sowing of the said ploughelands out of such convenient placs in England as shalbe most fitt for our purpose.

Item we desier to be viceadmiralts of that coast where we shall inhabitt.

Item wee desier to be free from impost and customes for seven yeares.

Item we desier that all mynes of gold, sylluer or copper which shalbe fownd in any of the grownds denised maie be to us and our assigns, awnswering her matie the tenth pece of the proffitt thereof.

[f. 48v] In consyderacion of the premisses her mate shall recepe theese commodities following.

Imprimis wee will paie vnto her mate and her successors yerely during our graunt for euery ploughe land after three yeares 20*s* sterling.

Item after seven yeares we will paie her mate yearlie for her custome and impost 140*li* sterling.

[72] A near identical copy is TNA: PRO, SP 63/106/15.

Item her mate by this her graunt and chardgs shall haue of Englisshe men there maineteyned apon euery ploughe land three men which admounteth vnto 480.

Item her mate shall haue there maineteyned about other trads which we meane there to sett vp at ye lest 600 men.

Item by meanes of our trade within one seuen yeares we shalbe able apon that parte of Ireland to mayneteine 10 or 12 saile of shipps and in tyme likelie to encrease them to a further nomber so that our strenghte by sea wilbe such as wilbe able, the fittnes and aptnes of the coast consydered, either for dyscouery or otherwise to do her mate great shervice. Besyds our nomber of men apon the maine wilbe a greate defence aswell against any attempt that might be made out of Spaine orells where against that contrie as allso to be employed vppon any occasion the deputie shall haue neede into the northe partes of Ireland which wilbe both a redy supplie and a great cutting of of chardgs to her mate.

The trades we meane there to sett vpp are as ffollowethe.

Imprimis we meane to sowe yerelie 20 ploughe land with hempeseede, the hempe whereof we will employ to the making of [polldaurs], cables, ropes and other kind of cordage and the seede thereof we will convert to the making of oyle.

Item we will employe 10 ploughe land in woad.

Item 10 other ploughe land in madder.

Item the other 120 ploughe land to remaine for tillage and pasture.

[f. 49r] Item we meane to sett vp our fisshing viz. from Maie to the eand of June salmon fisshing.

Item from August till Halloutide herring ffisshing.

Item from Allhalloutide till Maie fisshing for codd, lyng, millwell and hake.

Item the great store of fisshing consydered we meane to make trayne.

Item the great quantietye of yarne that the contrie yeldeth we meane to sett vp syx to seuen skore lomes and to encrease them as we fynd store of yarne and for the better furthereence of the same we humblie desier that no yarne maie be transported out of Ireland by vertue of any lycence.

Item we meane, if we maie plant ourselues where myne and water is, to sett vp an iron worke. Then the which there is no one thing in our opynions more fitter to bridell that idell and fillching people then the cutting downe of their woods which are their chieffest succour and strenghes.

Item we wilbe bownd to her mate for the performance of all things we haue here sett downe.

44. Morgan Colman?
'Short notes to be considered upon for the reducing and settling of Munster.' (1584)
Cal. Carew MSS. 1575-1588, 569 (LPL, MS. 607, ff. 110-111)

A flyleaf reads, 'To the righte honorable the lorde deputie generall of this realme of Ireland'.

[f. 110 r] Shorte notes to be considered vppon the reducinge and setlinge of Monister.

Ffirst, for the late earle of Desmond is cutt of by her maties forces and yet the offences of him and his confederates not punished by the lawes of the realme, yt weare good a parlyament weare speadilie called to invest in her matie the landes, regallities and possesions of him and all others chardgeable with his falte throwe out the wholle province of Mounster (the rightes of the true subiectes spiritual and temperall alwaies to be saued).

A gouernor to be established in that province, as in Connought, before the parlyament for that he maie looke into thenormyties, depopulacion and wastes in euery shire of that countrey and make true relacion of the defectes.

Ffor that diuerse of the LL. and others of the better sorte of that province by reason of their adherence to thearle in his rebellion cane not abyde their iustificacion by lawe, her matie is to consider whether shee will in mercie wrapp vpp their offences or remytt theim to the tryall and sentence of the lawe. And in this poynte yt weare good yt weare distingvished howe many offended by will and howe many by compulsion, to thend her High. grace maie be apporcioned to them accordinglie. Yet yf her matie will come to the coursse of mercie and pardon with eyther sorte yt weare good shee did yt vppon a grounde of their voluntarie submysion.

A comysion of survoye to goe owt to consider of the countrey, the nature of the soyl, quantitie of the people, their condicion and diuersitie of their lignages, and so her matie of meare grace and bowntie to grannte to eche of them according his degree and hope of good defect some porcions eyther of their owne countreys or by lymytacions otherwise in places throught meete and the same to be houlden by English tenures and profitable reseruacions to be deuised by those whom her High. shall putt in trust for the same.

The regallitie of Kerrie being of countie pallantine to be eyther absolutlie disolued or to contynue resumed into her maties handes, in sorte as the countie pallantine of Chester is in England, with the lyke lymytacion for orders and officers for iustice and yet not to be otherwise setled then that her matie vppon further showe of fydelitie maie alter yt at her pleasure and bring back those subiectes to be annswerable to comon lawe.

[f. 110v][73] Yt is to be considered that such of the Irishrie as are taken to mercie and haue their soyles and landes by theim forfeyted, depending vppon strength of bogges and woddes, which hath bine their couert and nourishment, or vpon the stronge situacion of their pyles and castelles be remoued and planted in seuerall places of the vpland countrey having asigned to theim competent skoape to lyve vppon and to remie, manicuure and tyllaige which they wilbe the more easelie drawen vnto when they shall see themselves depriued of their former

[73] The right hand side of this leave has been bound into the margin making some of the last words in the lines throughout the page unreadable.

fastnes, which in trooth wer norsses of their felones and helpes to anie loosse partes they would plaie.

All the landes and contreyes of the Irishe LL. within the whole province which [accompt] themselves to be exempted from shire grounde to be brought within compasse [of] shire grounde according to the statute of Ireland.

That all the escheated landes and castelles alongest the sea costes of Mounster [be] replenished with habitacion of Englishe seruitors of Inglishe byrth to be drawen thether by proclamacion eyther in England or Ireland wherby that manner of setlinge in parte an envyreninge of the others planted in the vpland and hem theim in the better from reuoltinge in tyme to come.

This newe inhabitancie of thenglishe and Irishe to haue their landes and [manners] free for such a space as her matie shall lyke of, withowt cesse, rent or other [ympositons], but onlie to meynteine competent defence for her matie, both of horssmen and ffootemen, by the lymytacion and aseignement of the gouernor and as the rates of the seates and lyvinges will stretche prouided alwaies that the wardes xcs. those inhabitants dyeinge shall remeyne still to the prince.

After the said first tyme be expired then to paie […][74] of yearelie rent to her matie for euery acre of arable land (not comprehendinge in that rate as is the vse of Ireland in all fearmes) eyther meadowe or pasture, and then besides their asigned defence tannswer moreouer ordinarie cesse and contrybucions as thenglish pale doth.

Their estates to be passed by such grannte as thenglishe and Irishe haue had in the conquered landes of Leix and Offalye or by other meete tenures such as by [your] councell for her matie maie be deuised.

The necesarie and ordinarie course of gouerment to be vsed amoungest this new setled and reconcyled people for annsweringe right and iustice is to be extracted by the [same] of Wales viz. certeine asistanntes of councell to the gouernor and iustices, a […] attorney in the lawes, a clerck of the councell, clerk of the ffynes, clerk of recognizinces and generall examynor of wyttneses in all causes of controversie and for quarterlie tearmes to be kept by removall of the gouernor with the [councell] and iustices to fower meete places of the province yearelie, by which […] [f. 111r] thus from quarter to quarter they shall the easelier discerne the state of the wholle countrey and exercise the people into an accustomed obedience wherof they shall not be hable to pretend ignorance.

The inhabitants possesinge the wodd countreies to be tyed to drawe vnder their [mannurancs] artificers owt of England, skylfull to make coale, tyle, brick, earthen pottes and such other deuises to be putt in sole for the comon vytlitie of the countrey, yea and other artificers of tymber worke in regarde of the great plentye of woddes which in former tymes haue serued to euill tornes to reskue and succor rebelles.

The LL. or anie others not to hould any their castelles or fortresees with force of great artyllerie or wardes in the same for privat defence withowt licens of her matie or gouernor

[74] A figure should be here but is blank in the manuscript, indicating a copy.

vppon payne to forfeyte to the crowne their mannor castelles xcs.. This will worke the disolucion of their ydle horssemen, galloglasse, kearne and [scokers].

The LL. and all other principall men to haue the quantitie of their armor aseigned to theim by the gouernor, according their callings, and that to serue the prince therwith onlie when they shalbe comannded, and not their privat quarrelles and revenges.

That vpon a great payne of felonye or the lyke all ydle horssmen, gallowglasse, kearne and [scokers] be forbidden to weare or haue armor or weapon but by licens of the prince or gouernor and that in a realme of peace, as this ought to be, noone to hould warriors but the prince who is their souereigne.

The countie of Lymrick being a verie lardge shire in circuit, and in diuerse partes remoate besett with malefactors hauntinge those borders, would better be exercised, and the sheruice better executed, yf by aucthoritie of the parlyament the same weare deuided into two counties and equall nomber of baronies to be namd and aseigned to the countie with two seuerall sherreiffs and the other vsuall officers and gaoile in each countie to be aseigned for matters of peace and iustice.

That two markettes at the least be erected in euerie countie within Mounster and contynued weakelie in meete places, wherby the concoursse of people resortinge together twisse a weake in euerie shire will drawe the comon countrey people the better to acknowledgement of civill order. And as they are possesors of their owne so to haue libtie to sell their owne and so embracinge the readiness and sweetenes of comon gayne, which they neuer before tasted, for that the merchannts dwellinge in corporat townes and having landes in the countrey tyed their tenannts to furnishe to them alone all their wares and vyttles and so ingrossed into theimselves all the trades in the countrey they wilbe hardlie afterwardes withdrawen from the same.

[f. 111v][75] The better to weede owt all malefactors yt is requisite vpon setling of a gouerment [in] Mounster that lardge comysions of marshall lawe be addreseed to one especiallie of trust and seruice in euery baronie in ech shire of Mounster, who as a current provost marshall maie daielie rome his circuit to weede owt malefactors according to such instructions as maie be sett downe to him which being vsed for some meanewhile in sharpe execucion in the begyninge whilest they are langwishing in their former fawtie and loosse lief wilbe a terror to drawe theim more speadelie to a [plener] order of obedience. And afterwardes those comysions maie be revoked at pleasure.

The statute for English habite and language vpon this newe establishment is to be [put] seuearelie in execucion withowt extraordinarie favor to any.

That an othe be mynistred to all those taken to mercie and to all other meete to be sworne to her matie for obseruacion of their loyealties henceforward.

A precise order in tyme meete to be taken for repairinge of the dekayed churches and plantinge of sufficient mynisters in the same, of meete litterature and doctrine to edifie and instruct the people in the pure worde of god, the want wherof in former tymes hath bine one of the principall causes that hath brought in ignorance and rebellyon.

[75] The right hand side of the page has been similarly bound to f. 110v.

45. Ralph Lane
'Offers of service touching the delivery of the English Pale from the annoyance of the Mores, to be performed by James Moore, who undertakes to draw the whole sept into any part of Munster now uninhabited and fallen to Her Majesty.' (1584)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/107/61(i)

A flyleaf reads, 'Mr Ralfe Lane, his petition to the Q. most excellent mate. An humble offerre of a servyce'.

[f. 158r] Maye yt please your moost excellent mate.
As by the meane of a poore islande gent, a faiethfulle subiecte, and soldyer of your mates, one Thomas Meaughe, in ye beehalfe of hys brother, the cheeffe O'Moore, hit hathe pleased ye allmightye to make mee ye instrument (by them selfes choweseene) to tenderre for your mate to your H. now appointed depute, the servyce vnderwrytten by him selfe approoued, and acknoweledged soo good and necessarye for ye establysshinge of a greate parte of your H. Englysshe palle in good subiecione and strenghthe, as ye lyck heretofore hathe not beene offerred to eny former gouernor, but to him selfe onlye, who thoroughe hys iuste dealings in ye tyme of hys presidentsshyppe in Mounsterre was then, and stylle ys greatelye, boothe respected and beelooued of ye Ierysshe nacione.

1. Soo my moost humble sewete to your mate ys for ye better encouragement of ye said Meaughe to soo nere an enterpryese and soo suffyciente a servyce that your mate maye bee pleased (yf soo yt shall seeme good to ye same) to make him one of your H. pensyoners within that your mates reallme of Irlande.

2. Secondelye, that my selfe (since chowseine by them selfes to bee boothe ye moost humble offerrerre for them of the matter to your mate, as also by them especiallye requested to bee (vnder ye L. depute)) by your mate assygned to ye particulare gouernement of them, maye also by your mates grace bee admytted and caste of to yt wylde chardege with suche convenyente compagnye and countenance as shall seeme (onlye in respecte of your mates servyce) good to your H. said depute, my selfe beinge otherwyese withoute sum presente ymployement by your mate, there or elleswhere to seeke with your mates graciouese fauoure to beestowe my poore personne (as yeate I knowe not where), but as I thincke in ye frosenne countreyes of Dennemarcke or Sveadenne.

3. Thyrdelye, that (in ye proporcionninge of ye number of Englysshe soldoures for ye supplye of thys servyce) your mate maye bee pleased to remember thes 2 particularities followinge, viz..

4. The one, that I am not onlye with ye same, to represse ye insolencyes of ynlande borderinge ylle subiectes, but also with them to ouerruelle a heape of murtheringe theeues (yeate in tyme by ye mercye of god, to bee woonne to moore honestye) who are to bee lodged, even as yt were in my cabbenne with mee.

5. The other, that yf Spayene doo estesones make eny newe inuasione vppon Irlande, the same coasts (the Kerreye I meane, allready nominated by your H. said deputye as ye onlye fyttest placce in Mounsterre for the said compagnye) the same wyll with ye fyrst (as latelye yt was) bee the onlye choyese quarter for them, to seyse the lande withall yf theye bee not at ye fyrst attempte strongelye fronted, vntylle your mates mayene force with ye L. depute maye bee drawenne vppon thenc.

All which theys premises beinge cheefelye your mates owene case, ioyentelye with my lyfe, and all in thys or eny other servysable coursse whatsoeuer, I moost humbellye referre to your mates perelesse wysdom and timeelye bountye.

Whoose moost royalle sacred personne thallmightye euer blesse with all happinesse.

Your moost excellent mates
moost humble and vnworthye servante
Rafe Lane.

The particularities of ye offerred servyce, viz.

[76]Ther are two septs or nacions bredd within ye Englishe pale in Irelande, thone called ye Moores, thother ye O'Conneres. Theis weare some tyme lords and tenants of ye two English countries called Lease and Ophaly, and so their demerits of otherwise, vppon sutche causes as semed good vnto their gouernor, weare dispossessed of that their inheritance, and ye same lands given to diuers Englishe men, whoe, and their ofspringe, doe prently enioy ye same, and thother twoe nacions afore mencioned, and their ofspringe are quit, thrust owt and are sought daylie to be cutt of as they may.

Neuertheles ther be a geat nomber of ym still remayninge that doe liue very savagely, and very hurtfully to the gouernement, ther in woods and boggs, and where a fore tyme they weare gent, whilst they weare in possession in ye said land, nowe they are become kerne, they and their progeny whoe are bredd vpp in nothinge but in roberies and murthers, lyinge styll in waight by all opportunities they can finde to kill and spoyle ye prent possessors of yt which they take to be their right.

And as them selues are neuer obedient to ye gouernement ther, otherwise vnder proteccion, so are they euer redie to assist any whoesoeuer to rebell as lately Baltinglasse had a cheif assistance by ye sept of the Moores, whoe are approvid as valiant men generally as any Ireland bredeth.

Nowe where ye state hath euer of necessitie benn heretofore enforced, and still is constrayned even to vse great cruelty, sparinge no sexe of ym to ye rootinge of ym vpp, and yet by no meanes can either reduce them to good subiection or restrayne them from doinge daylie spoyles to ye whole countrie, and from procuringe your maties great chardge whilst they remayne ther in ye veiwe of their daylie eyesore.

Hit is therfore offerid by one of ye chief of ye sepe to your maties appointed deputie Sir Iohn Parrott that ye whole septe of ye Moores shalbe prently drawen owt of your maties countrey of Lease claymed by them into any part of Munster nowe vninhabited and fallen into your maties hands.

Provided that they may haue land ther laid out for them to manure and to live vppon with thother [condicions] aboue mentioned.

[76] The second half of the text, beginning here, is composed in a different hand to Lane's.

46. John Perrot
'Lord Deputy Perrot to Walsyngham.' (1584)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/111/71

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right Ho: Sir Ffrances Walsingham, knight, hir mats principall secretary'.

[f. 158r] So it may please yow, albeit I haue at this dispache trobled yow with 2 private lres, the one whereof concernes myne owne particuler besydes one written to my LLs., wherewith yow are to be imparted, yet must I crave pardon to troble yow with this one lre more in a cawse I knowe you favour greatlie, I meane the advanncement of lerning emongest these barbarous people, a matter (as good as it is is that in this manner I nowe move it) will not please all appetites.

It is for the erecion of 2 vniuersities whereof there must bee some begynninge, and the best and rediest that for the present I can fynde is this: here be in this lytle cyttye 2 greate cathedriall churches richelie indued and too neare together for any good they dooe. The one of them dedicated to St Patrick had in more superstitious reputacion then the other dedicated to the name of Christ and for that respect onely things there were none other fytter to be suppressed then continued. But being suppressed it woold verie materiallie be converted to those good and necessarie vses. Ffirst where there is heere no places for the lawe saue onlie an old hall in this castle (as I am sure yow knowe) and the same vearie daungerouslie over the munician and powder, where a desperate fellowe by dropping downe a mache might happelie marr all. This churche which is romethie and lardge woold vearie sufficientlie serve the torne for all the severall courts though the lawe shoold be as I hope in tyme by good governement it may and shalbe farr better frequented then it is. Besides this good vse of the churche where there is heere greate want of a store howse for graners and other provicions and no place fit for it, wherebie the wast and losse in victualing is the more, the canons howses that environ the churche aboute woolde vearie aptlie serve for an In of courte to bestowe the iudges and lawers in, and that howse which they nowe haue for ther daies of courte, lieing comodiouslie for loding and vnloding over the ryver here hard by the bridge, woolde as aptlie serve for a storehowse and graners. The church and buydlings annexed, being converted to those good vses, the lyving of the same which ar abowte 4,000 markes a yeare ster woold serve to begyn the foundacion of these twoo vniuersities and indowe a cople of colleage in them with a 1,000 li a yere the peece at the least. The residue of the lyving (besides what is to be appoynted for the reperacion of the churche and howses) may be annexed to Christes Churche, wherebie Christ may […] St Patrick and I hope a numbre of his devoted followers two, and parte of the quire of the one may be turned over to the other, and as the overplus of that lyving beeing added to the other will suffyre them all so will the [f. 158v] churche suffyre also to receave the state of this governement and cyttye two.

And because the frawdelent dealings of the canones and prebendes in diuising their things at vndre values to please privatlie there frendes may be met withall, it weere well that in the acte for the disolucion of this churche and convercion of it to these good vses there were a clause inserted to make voyde those grannts.

Trwlie Sir this devise proceedeth not altogether from my selfe ffor some of this counsell best affected and manye others that either ar not interested in the churche, or not too superstitiouslie caried with the name of St Patrick haue showed their allowance of it and are vearie desirous to see yt, ffor as that churche and lyvings is nowe imployed it dothe but

vnnecesarilie mayteyne both some in England that ar no way capable of those kyndes of lyvings and some horsemen, boyes and bad men in Ireland, not fit for any good [finicion] temporall, muche lesse dignitie spirituall. The best turne it servethe for is to maynteyne a sorte of idle singinge men, that can not aptlie pronounce an Englishe woorde or redelie reede the lessons appoynted for publique prayers. Thus leving this matter to be according your graue consideracion either sett forwarde or suppressed, I humblie take my leave. Ffrom the castle of Dublin, the 21st of August 1584.

Yours humblie ever
assured to comaunde.

J. Perrot.

47. Thomas Williams?
'Deuise for the reformation of Irland.' (c. 1585)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, f. 485v

[f. 485v] Deuise for the reformation of Irland.

To the right honorable Sir Ffrancis Walsinghame, knight, princepall secretarie to hir matie.

Right honorable, being bound by your honors many great goodnesses, as allso imbouldened by your most favorable acceptance of my former slander travayle and simple shew of iudgment touchinge svndrie dysorders comytted in mvsteringe, trayninge and settinge out of men, do therby presently presume to offer to your honnable vewe and consyderacion these few pertyculers following. And albeit I know your honor, aswell by your prvate iudgment as from others sufficient collections, to be alredie resolved vpon the most best and redie courses for the bringinge of Iarland to dutyfull obedience and contenewence in the same, yet do I humbly beseche your honor to pervse the same as principall, which in my simple opinion I do some what import, and are therfore deliuered as the testimonies of my zelous mynde towards my prince, my cvntre and your honorable selfe, whom I desier to have the patron of my simple travells, of which besechinge your accvstomed favorable consyderation hvmbly comynd your honor to thalmightie, whom I besech to presarve and increase you.

Inprimis that no temperall man hould any spirituall livings but that the same be bestowed on lerned Englishemen who may be resident and kept hospitalitie theron.
Item that all offendors in highe treasone and mvtherer be nether protected, pardoned nor their heyers restored, but lawe duly executed vpon them or any supportinge them.
Item that no noble man, knights and lorde of any covntris kept fellowers, servants, nor retayners, but souch as shall weare their liveries in coates of Englishe cloth with their cougnisance, and all other of that contrie borne generally to bere no weapon.
Item that none inhabitt in any citte or towne, exept he be gentleman, merchant or artyficer, withowt lycence of the L. deputie, and that they and their famyles speke Englishe.
Item that in every cetie and towne the recorder, waterbalie, Mr gonner and porter be mere Englishemen.
Item that all Englishemens wyves and famyles goe in Englishe apparell and no maner of parson weare mantells but they travell.
Item that all children be norisshed wher they be borne and christoned and fostering [generally] cut of.
Item that the benyfitts of statuts bovnde and recognizances be past over to cites and townes in rewards and for debts allso that their might be a mynt for [back] mony to pay labourers, sease and souche like charges.
Item that all noble men, knightes and lordes of contries have ovens in their hovses. Allso that their bee comon ovens in every citie and towne so [that] they before rehearsed and all their familie eate loffe bread.
Item that all riuers may be made navigable, which shalbe thought necessarie for the comon wealth and to devyde countries.
Lastely, if it may so please your honor to favoure and further the same, I intend to be at some chargies for the makinge of peter and powder for her maties [service] and will myne with one Nicholas Hewett, servant vnto the earle of Warwicke, for the better performance ther of.

Your honers most humbley all wayes to comavnde.

Thomas W.S.[77]

[77] The autograph here is given as Thomas W. F. with the F over the right leg of the W. Given the reference to the mustering it has been assumed that the F here stands for an S, and thus Thomas Williams, who served as the muster master, and in 1585 had submitted a series of books on the musters to which the author may be alluding at the outset of the treatise.

48. Nicholas Taffe
'Nicholas Taffe to Burghley.' (1585)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/116/31

A flyleaf reads, 'For the reformacion of the northe of Irland, the banisshing of the Scotts and dischardging hir matie of a great chardg', and in a different hand, 'April, 1585. Information touching Vlster. Nicholas Taffe'.

[f. 83r] To the right honourable the L. Burghley, L. highe thresurore of England.

Right honorable, as it is the dutie and parte of euery well myndede man to haue som care of his comone weale, so ought I (being idle heare expectinge hir matie and your honors resolucion in my long and infortunate suite and in exchewinge idlenes and vayne thoughts) to imploy my self the best I may to discowyre, vnfolde and sett downe to your honors, feawe qwestions and articles as followethe aswell for exonoratinge hir matie of hir greate burdone and chardgs which hir highnes is att in Irlande, as also for the reformacion of the northene borders wheare I duell and banishinge of our olde and mortall enemies the Scotts, which is alreddy well begone and like to hawe good success (being well followyde) god being pleasyde who preserwe your good Lp. long in felicitie and grannte your honore lyff euer leastinge.

Questione. Ffurst, whate is the cheafe occacione that our Irish men of the northe of Irlande are so brutishe, so idle, so full of trecherye and rebellione.

Annswere. Wante of learnynge and bringinge vpp and that from there nativitie till they com to man or womans state they are broughte vpp with there foster wheare they neuer learne to knowe god or there prynce, but to steale, prey, robb, spoyle and lywe contynually in advoultrye.

Remedy or Reformacion therof. That euery L. and gent that hathe eny lordshipe teryterie or lyving shall from hensforthe vpon eny peace concludyde with him by the gouernoure be bownde to send his sonn and heire to hir maties courte heare to attende vpon som noble man or other, or to som scoole wher he shalbe brought vpp tyll he accomplishe the adge of 21st yeares. And suche as be not able to mayntayne there childryne heare to kepe them to scoles in thenglishe pale of Irlande till they speke the Englishe tonge and be letteryd. And suche as be not able to keape ther childrene heare or there to scoles or learning they to be bownde to send them hethere or into thenglishe pale of Irland to be artificers imediatly after they accomplishe the adge of 12 yeares vpon a penaltie whearby in fewe discents they shalbe com cyvill and by that meanes hir matie, hir heires and successors dischargid of the warres there.

[f. 83v] Questione. Whate is the occasione that the Irishe lords and inhabitants of the northe of Irlande wantethe good maners, castels, howses, lodgings, good meatts and drinks.

Annswere. Ffor that the sonn is neuer certayne or assuryd to possesse the ffathers lyving or goods.

Remedy or Reformacion therof. That euery L. and gent that henssforthe shall profess to be a subiecte there do knowe his owne terytorie or lyvinge by lymitacone and bondes and vpone the acknowledginge of his or there submissione and loialtie to haw hir maties lres patents for

the same, yealdinge what shalbe thoughte good by the gouernoure and counsell, according the qwantitie lymited vnto him or them.

Questione. Whethere the northe shall be devided or whethere eny peculiare man shall beare the name of O'Neill, O'Donyll, McGwyre, McMahone, xc. or whethere eny of them shalbe creatid erle, viscunt, or barone, xc..

Annswere. That the names of O'Neile, O'Donyll, McGwyre, McMahone and all the maks and ooes be banished and they to be creatid viscunts, barones, knights, esquyres and gent and that there lands and teritoryes be gewine them by lres patents and tenures as shalbe thought good and laide downe by the L. deputie and counsell and that nethere of them hawe to do with anothere by tenures but hold all generally of hir matie, hir heires and succesors for that the contrie all is hir highnes by parlemente. That Tyrone be devidid as followethe, viz. reserve to hir matie, hir heires and successors the forte of the Blake Watere, otherwise callid the Greate Water, with 2 myles by easte the same, and that a cyttye or towne of liberties and corporacone be buildyde there, wheare in a howse for hir highnes gouernoure for the time beinge be furst builded att hir maties chardgs and that nethere that howse ne eny of hir maties manors or houses be hensforthe giwyne in lease or otherwise to eny persons or persons but the gouernoure for the time beinge to hawe his ore there constable there.

[f. 84r] Questione. How shall that cyttie or towne be buildid and defendid and att whose chardgs.

Annswere. That there be som worthey knight of good rase and parentadge of Englande byrthe, sobere, wyse and polyticke, voide of ambicione and extorcione, hawinge som stay of lywinge of his owne, which the 200 men in wages that Tyrelaghe Lynaghe and his contrey nowe berethe be placid ther during his lyff, with suche condicons as your honors of hir maties privie counsell heare of Englande shall thinke fytt and that the garisone or house be buildid att hir maties chardgs, the contry fyndinge carriadge.

That the barone O'Neile, otherwise callid the barone, lymitting his presinct and bonds be creatid viscunte of Donganyne to hawe and to holde to him and his heires males, the remandere to hir matie, hir heires and successers.

Lykwyse that Sir Arthure O'Neile sonn to Tyrrelaghe Lynaghe be made and creatid barone of Strabane or of the Homy[78] to him and his heires males and his presinct and bonds lykwise lymittid to be holdin to hir matie hir heires and successors.

That all Shane O'Neile is sonnes being 4 or 5 in nombere (as I take it), vpone there reconsiliacone and booke othe for there fydelitie and loialtie to hir highnes, hir heires and successors neuer to go to Scotland or to bringe, procure, perswade, induce or conducte eny Scott or Scotts to the realme of Irlande or to rebell or reise warres against hir matie, hir heires or successors, hawe the fourthe parte of all Tyrone, to holde by seuerall tenures as aforsaid. Note that the Neiles of Tyrone viz. the cepts of Conn O'Neile, late erle of Tyrone, and the cepts of Art Óge O'Neile, granndfathere to Tyrrelaghe Lynaghe, hathe land sufficient for 2 erles.

[78] Omagh?

[f. 84v] The lyke devicon to be mad att the discressione of the gouernoure and counsel of all the lands from Ardmaghe to the Roche, betweise the cepts of Hughe O'Neile of the Ffuise, Henry McShane is sones, and other cepts of the Neils, with lyke estats, tenures and limitacone of bondes and [meares].

That Tyrconyll be lykwise devidid between O'Donyll, Conn O'Donyll, is sonn and suche others as clayme eny enherytannce there, euery man is parte or porcione to be lymited and devydide with suche estate and tenures as before reserving alway to hir matie, hir heires and successors a place fytt for hir maties howse or garisone vpone the ryuer of Loghfoile, with so many miles compase as the said garisone or house of the Greate Water hathe, in such place as the gouernore and the counsel shall thinke ffytt to be buildide att hir highness chardgs, the contry gewinge caryadge and the lyke captayne to be placyd there with 2 hondryd men, wherof O'Donyll berethe one hundryd at this instant and that McGwyre, McMahone, O'Hanlone, McDonyll, the Neyles of the Ffuise, Turelaghe Braselaghe, Henrie McShane is sonnes, the captaines of Kylvltaghe, Kylvaclyne, McCartane, Conn McNeile Óge, Neile McBryane Feirtaghe, Sir Bryane McPhelomye is sonnes, Sir Hughe McPhelomye is sonnes, McQuuyvelyne, Bryane Carraghe McCormocke, O'Kahane and all others as claime eny enheritannce in those contreis do the lyke and holde there landes as aforsaid the pledges of all the persons befor namyde savinge 3 the L. deputie now hathe.

Questione. What wyll compel ore inforce them all to yealde such loialtie and obedience and how shall the Scotts be banished.

Annswere. To mayntaine the garisone vpone the Greate Water, the lyke bridge and garisone vpone Loghfoile, a bridge and garisone vpone the Bande, att Culrahane, placyinge there the lyke captaine with the 2 hondiyide men which McQuyvelin now bere the, a garisone of 2 hondiyde men at Glanduerne and the garisone now att Knockfergose, reservinge alway to euery garisone the compase of lande ffurst reservude to hir maties vse, the gouernoure himself to duell presently att Culrahane and provyde to duell there and in the rest of the said garrison during 3 yeares except vrgente causes be offryde to the contraiye and keape certaine ships and gallies as shalbe necessarye and thus with the contynuall [f. 85r] fforce of the contrye shall banyshe the Scotts foreuer, dischardg hir matie of the wadges of 8 hundryd souldors, reforme the contrye and brynge the people to cyvilitie, ye and in proces of time if neade shall requyre make the souldiors of the Bande and Barwyke mete in Scottlande.

Questione. Vndyre what lawes shall the said Irishe viscunts, lordes, barons, knights, esquyrs, gent, captains and souldiors be gouernyd and after what sorte.

Annswere. The said contreis all to be made shyre grownde presently by act in this parlement now to be holden in Irland. A L. presidente and counsell to be ther appointid as is in the marches of Wales of which counsell I wishe certaine of the best of the said Irishe visconts and barons to be sworne counsulers. The contrey to be devidid in dyuers shyres for the lardgnes therof. Shyriffes and officers to be appointed and to be made counties palatins for that they be farr distant from Dublin the way very evill and dangerous, not passable in wynter for sundry small ryuers and pases of woddes. Note that the nombre of souldors which are to be placyd in the said fyve garrisons amountethe but to the numbere of one thowsand whearof the northe berethe eight hondryde att this instant att ther owne propere chardgs and so hir matie dischardgid of so many godwilling, who bring all to good perfection. Crawing your honors pardone for trowbling the same with this my simple advise but being incurraged by the good nature and great desiere your honor haw had to vndyrstand by all meanes the

stablyshing of the comone weale as I fownd in my last booke dedicated to your Lp. for building the Neworye 18 yeres a gone. I most humbly take lewe.

Your honors most humble to
comannde during lyff.

May it please your honor to
appointe me a time to conferre
with your Lp. of secrete matters
concerninge my contry which I
will not putt in wrytting least
I showld offende eny man.

Nichas Taffe.

49. Edmund Tyrrye
'A particular relation of the extortions tolerated in the province of Munster, showing the evils which result from the sale of offices.' (1585)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/116/68(i)

A flyleaf reads, 'Informacion for her maties behowlf, and for the comon wealthe of the prouince of Mounster in her maties realme of Ireland. To the right honnorable the lord threasourer of England. By Edmond Tirry of Corke'.

[f. 161r] Yf yt maie please youre honnor. In the province of Mounster, within her maties realme of Ireland, there are diverse counties whoose names hereafter insvethe, and in every countie there is appointed yerlie ashiriffe, and greate frendshipp made howe shold by sheriff, and noo wounder, there geattinge is greate, and vsinge the same office as there weare and are acustomed, great anoyance to the comon wealth, defrauding her matie of her right, and too the impouershment of manny poore men, contrarie to there othe and dutie as hereafter shalbe declared vnto your honnor.

The names of the counties within that province.

The countie of Watterfowrde.
The countie of Corke.
The countie of Lymerrike.
The countie of Kearrie.
The countie of Dessmonnde.

As touchinge the abwses comitted within the countie of Corke, because I am best acquainted with the same, I will briflie declare youre honnor thereof the best I can, but I doo imagen the abwses comitted in those other countes are nothing inferior to the same.

When the shiriffe of the countie of Corke is sworne, within one fortenight after he is sure to receive for apointeing of other officers vnder him as hereafter insweth the som of 200 marks, or at lest 120*li*, for he that givethe moost is best wellcom and noo great regarde had to the person whether he bye aiust man in deling, or no, or what other qualities he hathe, or demenor, so as he comethe of with good mony

The names of the countrees within that province where the said shiriffe apointes his substitute or attorney and what everie one paies as nyere as I can gese beseds gifts bestowed by them vppon the said shiriffs.

First for apointing of a subshiriff for that yere – 10*li*[79] or 30*li* at lest
For apointing of a substitute or atturney in Carbiry – 30*li* or 40 marks
For apointing of a substitute in Mvskrye – 20*li* or 20 marks
For apointing of a substitute in the Barrimores countres – 20*li* or more
For apointing of a substitute in the L. Roches countree – 20 marks
For apointing of a substitute in Kerricurihue and Coursie countre and Kynalee – 20 marks
And so to be brief in everie countree within that countie (as Barret's countree Innvellie, Cosbrids, Doweallie and O'Calghane's countree and suche lick) som paies 5*li*, 6*li*, som more and som les.

[79] Tyrrye has repeated *li* here.

Nowe thiese substitutes, whose paies suche somes of moneye, they will doo what they can to gett by there said office and will apoint vnder them other officers which will paie them monie. And where the said substituts are apointed by the L. pressident and comissoners to have noo more officers vnder them in these seuerall countrees, but in som countrees two or three at the moost for putting in execution all suche orders or iudgements past by the said L. pressident and comissoners in execution betwixt partie and partie, yet that not withstanding there wilbe in som countrees continvually 12 officers vnder pretence of shervice whoo hathe nothing els to doo but eatinge and drinking vppon the pore husbandman, whoo som tymes is forced to fast all daie and night with his poor wife and children and to delyver the said officers such foode as they have for there owne relief. And yet all notwithstanding if they be not well pleased the next morow they will carry awaie for pledge if therbe any thing in the poore men is howse or if not they will carry awaie his garment or his wife garment or otherwise his plowhorse or mylkwo which is theonely relief of the poore man and his children and force hym either to sell or pawne the same for monie to be paied them. So as thereis noo remedie, the must be brybed or rewarded besids meat most comonlie to the great impouerishment of the poor husbandman and yf he fynd fault with all they will beat hym and brag they will have hym hanged. [f. 161v] And so putting the poor and ignorant in feare, having the continuance of the hed shiriff, the poore is contented to tak all iniurye fearing of aworse tourne and thus youre honnor may see that offices bought must neades be sold, for either they must have brybes, or vse extorcion, or som other meanes to gayn ther monie. I doo not belive that the shiriff would anny vane alue thereof, god forbyd he should, but I am aswred and certeyn the poore are over bourdened (and so ther can be no comon wealth, but where everie man may quietlie inyoie his owne and noo extorcion vsed).

Also when there is anny manner person accused of treason, fellonie or suche lick, as som tymes men are accused for malice or suche lick, if the partie so accused bye a freeholder or chief of a towne or villadg, and having other pore husbandmen to his [tenants], whoo hath noo other living or good but fewe kyne or plowhorsses, prentlie, thise substitute and other officers repaires to the towne or villadge where suche person is and prently apprehendes hym, as reason is, to annswer to the matter. And all soo they gather tigether all the kyne, horsses and hushold stuf in all the whole villadg or towne and dryve the same towards the shiriff or other chief officer. And if the nomber by 100 or 200 kyne of horses, possible of all the same ther would beloning to the said partie accused not 20 kyne, but all to the poore tenants vnder hym, so as notwithstanding the poore men whoo hathe none other livinge crieng and lamenting pittifullie shall have noo remedie but if the partie which is so acused be accused for felony. Then if the chief lord the countree or some other wilbe bound for his apparanc the next cessions and the goodes to be replevied vppon surties, yet notwithstanding the poore men shall not have there iust nomber bak agayn, suche is the dealinge and polling of those vnder officers, so as som pooreman or other or peraventure tow or thre will have cause to complayne and yet thew shall have noo remedie but to be beaten.

Nowe at the next cessions the partie being appirith and being vppon his tryall found giltie, as som tymes they are, the prentlie the said swrties must bringe all the kyne, horses and other things delyvered vppon ther swrtiship to the said shiriff to her maties vse, as good reson is. But the poore whoo hath nothing to doo with the matter, but as a poor tenant, shall loose his goods vnder pretenc to by the chif of the towne goods, albeit he would have sufficient testymonies to the contrary, so as if anny doo speak a good word for the poore, whoo hath no other relief for hym and his children but suche as he had there, he wilbe caulled a traitor, and a rebell, for speakin for the poore. And if by great frendshipp the poore tenants can have

amongs them anny restoranc, yt will not be the 20 parte and yet he must be contented with all. I am assured her matie is pleasoure is god sawe her grace that every poor man shold have his owne, for yf the poor were accessure to the deed comitted he shold first have the lawe and so the goods is her matie, but all as, albeit the said officers spekes for hir matie, they speek for themselves, and takes no care how to get the same, so as they cane kache yt ons. And so by thise meanes there is diuers pooremen and honest impouershed, and ther wifs and children goith abeggeng, and god knoweth her matie is revenus not 2*d* the better for the same in manner.

For yf her matie had suche goodes as the shiriff of the countie of Cork hath received of such persons as hathe beane executed at Cork, both for fellonie and treason, seance the begeneng of Dessmonds is warres tell this prents, I dare boldly saieth ytt, her maties revenus hath beane the better for the sume of one thousand pounds at lest, over and besids what accompt the said shiriffs past to her matie in her exchequer. Which being true, as I think now is in verie trothe, must meanes by great losts to her matie. And where her matie looses so moch no one countie in such a sorth tyme, then you maie iudg who what her mats looses in the rest of the counties within the said province, which dothe amont to a great som of monie.

[f. 162r] And albeit theris 12 honest men of the cittie and countree inpanelled, as a iure vppon all suche person executed, having in chardg to enquire what lannds or goods the partie so accused had at the tyme of the fellonie or treason comitted, yet they having noo knowledge of them selfs touching the same, nor yet having no informacion of anny other thereof, doth find *ignoramus* of the lands and goods, albeit they fynd the party gilty and soo the shiriff and his officers […] comoditis and her mats soo defrauded. I am som what the bolder to write your honnor of those abusses, bothe towards her matie and also towards the comon wealthe, because I have beane diverse and soundry tymes appointed in a graunde iure emonge gentlemen of the countree and somtymes I was apointed foreman of the iure, albeit vnwourdie, and trulie there was more exclamacion made vnto vs of the disorders and abusses offred by the said subsituts and shiriffs, atturneis, aswell towards the poore as riche, then of anny thing els which wee have preshcuted in our verdicte, and yet noo redresse for the same. The chief and onlie cause thereof is because thereis noo that will seame to controlle them, fearing of the shiriffs displeasoure and by that meanes the poore is oppressed, and her matie looses her right, and so the comon wealth decayed.

Touching myne oppion for these reformacion therof, bothe for the profict of the comon wealth and the increase of her matie revenus.

It maie therefore please your honnor that forasmuch as her matie is in great chardgs for maynteing of iustic in the said province of Mounster in keaping a lord pressident, iustics and all other officers, yt weare verie necessarie that there weare appointed som trustie man or other whoo would tak paynes to lye at everie cessions holden within the said countie or counties and would tak a note of all suche persons as would be executed by her mats lawes, and of what countree they woulde be of. And he to learne as nigh as he could whate goods or lannds the said partie so executed had at the tyme of the fellonie or treason by him comitted, or anny tyme after, and thereof to tak a true inventorie. And if he could not learne the certeyntie there wheir he should be executed, then that yt weare lawfull for hym to repaire to the seuerall countrees whereof anny such person so executed was of and he to pannell 12 of the best gentlemen of the countre who would by swoorne to declare to hym in hir mats behalf what goods or lannds the said person so executed had at the tyme of the fellonie or treason so comitted, and to whose vse the same lannds or goods came or anny part or parcell thereof

directlie or vndirectly, and to have the same vnder the iure as hannds, and the same note vnder thr hannds to retourne [two ayers] to hir mats exchequer, so as if he shiriffs, subshiriffs or anny of the substituts did receive the same they might acompt and annswer for the same to her mats vses or anny other whoo did receive anny part or parcell thereof. And in soo doinge your honnor would hive that so owe or none would give anny somes of mony for to be substituts or shiriffs atturnies then the shiriff would apoint none but men of good consienc and substanciall men for his atturnies. And so the poore whoo is nowe, and of lonng tyme, oppressed would be relived and quietlie enyoie there one and her matie yerelie annswered of her right to her maties great profict and to the comfort of the poore and maynteing of the whoole comon wealth. And thus praieng the onne power to preserve and keape her matie in good and prosperus estate, lonng to raigne over her subiects in prosperus felicitie, and to send her victery over all her enemyes, and your honnor lonng lif and good helt to your herts ease, I moost humbly tack my leave, praieng your honnor to accept this my bold and vnlearned interprice in good part this 29 of May 1585.

[f. 162v] Your poore sherants most humbly bessecheth your honnor to be a meane, that in consideracion of dues great and soundry looss by hym received aswell by sea as by the last rebell in to presence hym, to be one of those who shall oversee to those countys of Cork and Lymrick, and to grannt hym for the better furtheranc in that servic such resonable exhibicion by the yere [always] his lif, to be received yerlie of her mats impost at Cork, for which he doth not dobt but he will augment her mats revenues yerlie vuchang the said office of shiriffship of 300 pounds, and doe the countrie 300 pounds […] good you, and he shall ever more praie for your honnor most prospers estat brought to continue xc.

50. Edward Waterhouse
'A Plot by Sir Edward Waterhouse how Ulster may be governed by the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Tyrone, without danger to the Pale or increase of her majesty's charge.' (1587)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/129/3

A flyleaf reads, 'Sir Edward Waterhous, his plott for gouernment of Vlster without danger to the pale or incres of hir mats charges. 7 April 1587'.

[f. 4r] A dimonstracion how Vlster may be governed, without dannger to the pale or increase of her mats charges, with assurance of the vraughts to her maty and to prevent the greatnes of the O'Neyles hereafter.

Ffirst, it is to be remembred that the most danngerous bordre of the pale is to the north and northwest, as the O'Hanlons, the Ffues, the McMahons, Ferney, the O'Reighlies and certaine small bordirers between Ffarney and O'Reighly called Clankies.

To restraine and bridell this, this semith a reasonable way.

To appoint a continuall garrison, parcell of hir mats ordinary bands in Ireland, and the same garrison to be at Donanayn in Ferney, and to consist of 100 horssmen and 200 footmen, wherof the erle of Eshex to be generall and to haue the gouernement of:

The O'Reylies,
The McMahonns,
The Clankies and the Poles of Methe,
Maguire and
O'Donell.

To all which countryes the said Erle may travell with thes forcs and the risings out of the Irish vndir his rule, without touching of eny gouernement hereafter mencioned.
The voluntary retribucion which may be contritely gotten by the L. deputy and counsell out of this countreys may very well yeld a sufficient maintenanc of a convenient intertainement to ye said erle for his travaill in defenc of ye pale from thes borderers and to maynteyne ye quiet emonge them selves.[80]

The erle of Tirone to haue presently the gouernement of the Ffines and of so much now as he hath in lease of Turlogh Lenaugh, and after his deth to haue all the parcells contayned in his patent, which it is likely he will gouerne without offence to eny good subiecte during his lief. And while O'Neyll shall lik the erle being [countenicid] for the state, and having the footing which now he hath in Tirone may allways forc Turlogh to kepe beneth the mountaines, and to prevent the pasing of the Scotts ouer the Bann to annoy ye rest of Vlster, and after Turlogh deth to prevent likewise their landing in Lough Foyle [for] to contynewe his band of L. horsse.[81]

[f. 4v] The discontentment yt hath growen betwene the erle of Tirone and Sir Nichas Bagnall hath bene cheifely for the superiority over Magines and O'Hanlon which 2 do inviron the

[80] In the margin next to this section the author has written, 'For the erle of Eshex'.
[81] In the margin next to this section the author has written, 'The erle of Tirone'.

marshall's lands and being taken from his gouernement wold be distruction of his [birn] and tenants. And therfor for his better assurance, and for a good gard and strength to gouerne the countries between Dundalk and the Bann, yt war good yt Sir Nichas were made principall comisioner and had the cheif rule within ye circuit contyning thes countrey.

The O'Hanlons,
McGuines,
The marshall's own lands of Moorne, Cooley, Newry and Onneth,
Killwarlin,
Kilvlt,
McCartan,
Lecale,
The Duffrin,
The lesse and greater Ardes,
Both Clandeboyes,
The Rowt and the Glins,

For ye better gouernement of thes, and for the gard of the Newry and Knockfergus, to haue Sir Hary Bagnall's band of footemen and our other band of 100 – the quenes pay.
Also to haue the contribucion of this countreys for his mayntenc, which besids a comvenient stipend for him self, and for the seneshall of Clandeboy (who might be his lieutenant in Clandeboy, ye Rowt and the Glins), might well maynteyne, without grudging, 100 footemen and 80 horsse men, wherof 50 to ye marshall and 30 to ye seneshall besids ye marshall ordynary of 30 horss.

So as the whole number in Vlster vppon the quenes pay parcell of the army now is:

Vnder the erle of Esex	---------- 300	----------	
Vnder the erle of Tiron	---------- 50	---------- 580	------
Vnder ye marshall	---------- 230	----------	760
And of increase of contribucion	----------	180	------

wherof

Horssemen	----------	260
Ffootemen	----------	500

Wherof 200 footemen might allwayes, vppon euery occasion in other parts, ether answer the necessityis of the L. deputy or the gouernement of Connaught.

[f. 5r] It is also to be remembird that O'Rwarke ioynith in parts of his cuntrey vppon the gouernement of the erle of Essex, as ioyning with O'Neylie's cuntrey, and with Maguir's cuntrey, and with O'Donell's countrey neer Ballyshenin, and wit above our dayes march ffor McMahon's countrey, so as if O'Rwark shall rebell against the gouerment of Connoght the said gouernor might be well asistid by the erle of Essex to the vtter ouerthrowe of O'Rwark for euer.

51. Henry Duke
'Henry Duke to Burghley.' (1587)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/128/48

A flyleaf reads 'To the righte honnorable and my verie singuller good lorde the Lo. Burghley, Lo. highe threasorer of Englande', and in a separate hand, '29 Feb. 1586. Mr Henry Duke. His seruice in the northe. For a reuersion of Balliboggan'.

[f. 100r] Righte honnorable, that I haue no oftener acknowledged your honnorable favour towardes me by writtinge vnto you I humblie beseache you not to impute to anie ingratytude on my behalf but to an exceedinge respecte I haue had (emongste your waightie affaires) not to trouble you with my rude lettres, ffor as I muste confesse my good happe in thobtayninge my sewtes at my laste beinge in England to haue befalne me principallie throughe your good meanes and honnorable furtherance, so doe I protest whiles I lyve to ymploie my vttermost endevours in doinge you all the honnor and service I shalbe able in racquitall of your greate favour and doe beseache you so to accompte and esteme of me.
It maie nowe please you to be aduertised that ever since the entrye of the L. deputie into the governement heare I haue been by his Lo. comanndement and direction ymployed as shirief in the Breany, a countrey wherein the O'Reylies are the chief and before my comminge thether a nurserie of all Rome runners and all others robbers, spoilers and burners of her mats good subiects of the pale, so as neyther merchaunte or other coulde passe to the markett vnrobbed, poore inhabitants dwell neare them vnspoyled or anie other in manner lyve thereaboutes without contynuall danger of loosinge bothe liefe and goodes. Besides which suche was their incivill and disordred course emonge themselves as daylie murthers were by them comytted one vppon another, no man annswerable to the lawe, neyther anie penny of her heighnes revenues paide, but her matie putt to a yearlie chardge of allowannce made vnto comissionners for endinge controuersies between them and the pale, all which inconveniences, by reason of my aboade emongste them, and the course and order I haue followed and observed, are cutt of and refourmed, and not onlie everie man brought to be annswerable to size and sessions, but the subiecte freed from feare and dannger, the poore (aswell as other) leavinge their cattell nightlie abroade withoute stealinge, her matie allso trulie annswered of her arerags and her revenewe by this meanes muche encreased and advannced.
In my travell in those partes I founde owte for her matie thabbay of Cloneys in Dartry in McMahowns countrey which was concealed from her heighnes ever since the suppression and is the onlie place to laie a garrison for the brydelinge and refourmynge of McMahowns conntrey, McGwyres and the O'Reylies and of all others, the moste apte and fytt to annswere anie other parte of the northe where the placinge of 100 men in garrison will subdewe and bringe in subiecton more ill disposed men, and farre more encrease her mats revenue then dooble the conquest of Leix and Offaley. At this place Sir John O'Reylie and all the rest of his countrey, togeather with Sir Ross McMahowne, haue ernestlie written to my Lo. deputie to haue a garrison placed and McMahowne hathe by his lettre offred vnto his L. to yealde yearelie vnto her matie (over and above that he nowe paieth) 400 choice beaves so as he mighte be freed from the O'Neyles and not yealde anie thinge to anie of the Irrishrie but onlie to holde of her heighnes. Ffor theise things yf I could haue obtained the Lo. deputies lysence to goe into Englande I wolde haue layed downe before your honnor so sycure a plott, as I nothinge doubte but shoulde haue been to your good lykinge, [f. 100v] but ffor so muche as I can not, beinge still imploied in the service. I beseache your honnor not to thincke that I haue waded into the circumstance purposelie to be myne owne heraulde, but onlie to lett you vnderstande of some harde measure I am lykelie to receaue in my absence from thence whiles

I am detayned heare to serve her heighnes namelie in this, that where as I boughte and dearelie paide my money vnto Sir Lucas Dillon for the lease of the personnadge of Balliboggan in the countie of Meathe, which he holds of her heighnes for yeares yet to come, I am enfourmed that some nowe doe goe aboute to woorcke the meanes to gett the reuercion thereof from me, which yf yt so fall owte I shall not onlie sustaine greate hindrannce therebie but haue cause to thincke my self hardlie vsed that beinge ymploied heare in her mats service, and in respecte thereof debarred from ffollowinge my cause by my presence in Englande, anie thinge shoulde passe so much to my preiudice and disadvantage. Therfore I am bolde moste humblie to crave that by your honnors good meanes I maie obtaine her mats moste gracious lettre to the Lo. deputie heare for granntinge vnto me 41 yeares in reuercion of the saide lease with reservacion of suche annuall rent as is therein speciffied, and as you haue allreadie by your former favour tyd me to be forever at your comanndement, so shall I never fayle to acknowledge them accordinglie and will reckon this as an establishment of my devocion and vowe to doe you all the service that whiles I lyve I shalbe able. Thus, recomendinge my humble dewtie vnto your honnor and cravinge pardon for my bolde and tedious writtinge, I comytt you to the protection and guydinge of god. Ffrom Dublin, the 19th of Ffebruarie 1586.

Your honnors moste humblie at comanndement.

Henry Duke.

52. Warham St Leger
'A Plot for the establishing of a sound and severe government in Munster.' (1589)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/144/80

[f. 247r] A plott for the establishinge of a sounde and severe government within your mats province of Mounster in Ireland, as also for the cutting of the chardges that youre highnes is nowe at in the saied province, yf yt will please your maiestye to condiscend to the saide plott.

Ffirst ffor the establishing of a sounde and severe government. Your highnes is to yeeld your good liking to have in the said province contynually in garisons fower hundred footemen and fiftie horsemen to be bestowed as hereafter shall be expressed. The nomber of soldiers which be nowe there in garisons, the province being so greate as yt is and the cuntryes within the saide province so stronge of mightie woods and other strenghtes, are not sufficient nombers to subdue the lewd disposed people. And thereby ever and anon there starteth vp one Robert Hood or an other that disturbeth the whole province or a greate parte thereof. Where having those convenient nombers of soldiors, those wicked disposed persons could not enter into any of those yll actions but they should presentlie be cut of and thereby severe iustice executed. Where nowe, for want of those convenient nombers of soldiers, governors are forced to grannt to such as have done vile murders and other detestable actions, protections, a thinge that bredeth no small mischief in the saide province and greatlie hindereth the well doing of the state there to the disperadgement of youre highnes good and loving subiects, a matter that will hardlie be redressed with so fewe soldiers as are nowe there in garysons. This fower hundred footemen would be disposed to the leading of fower sufficient captaynes with fower lieutenants and other officers apperteyninge to fower foote bands, whiche captens woulde be chosen men of habilitie whereby they should not for need dymynishe any of theyre companies but to maynteyne them still compleat bringing to field when occasion of service should be offred fower schore and fiftene men, the other five to be allowed in dead paies for maynteynannce of gentlemen in every band, where nedye capteynes manye tymes when they should bringe a hundred men to the field they want commonlie thirtie and sometimes fowrtie of theire companyes, a corruption that hardlie will be remedied without good choise of capteynes and order taken to disgrace that capteyne that shall so corruptlie serve. The fiftie horsemen to be disposed to the president and thereby there maye be cut of the thirtye horsemen and twentye footemen nowe allowed to the president vpon your mats chardges, which chardges riseth yerely to the some of nyne hundred and thirtene pounds. Theis fower hundred footemen and fiftie horsemen will be numbers sufficient to suppress any rebellion that shall arise in that province and annoye, with the assistance of the vndertakers forces, forreigne invasions excepte yt be very greate and withall will be an occasion of severe iustice to take place and all [patcht] government drowned, a matter that would greatly comforte your highnes good subiects and dead the hartes of the wicked disposed. Theis nombers of horsemen and footemen to be founde by the six counties within the saied province devided as hereafter is expressed (viz.). Ffirst one the countye of Coork, two hundred footemen. The other two hundred footemen and the presidents chardges to be borne by the other five counties within the saide province, which will be no great burden to those counties indifferentlie levied. The fyndinge of the fiftie horsemen maye be well maynteyned by the inhabitours within the cytties and walld townes within the saide counties (viz.). On the cyttie of Waterforde syxtene horsemen. On the cyttie of Lymerick nyne horsemen. On the cyttie of Corcke nyne horsemen. On the towne of Youghall three horsmen. On the towne of Rosse in Carbry one horseman. On the towne of Kinsale two horsmen. On the towne of Kilmallock two horsemen. On the towne of Cashill one horseman. On the towne of Ffedder one horseman. On the towne of Clonmell fower horsemen. On the towne of Dungarvan one

horseman and one the towne Dinguecouch one horseman. This chardge beinge made a generall chardge will be no great burden to the whole province, indifferently devided amongest them. Where nowe the composition that youre late commissioners haue taken in Mounster is very burdenouse to them that be chardged, in as much as there is none chardged with the composition but men of landes, where yt shoulde have bin a generall chardge vnder correction they tooke a wronge course to defraye your mats chardges and so I tould them when they made me acquaynted with theire determinacion, I telling them that yt would be a generall chardg and so many handes would make light wourck but my pore opinion could take no place with them. And thereby a plott well devised in Englande (vnder correction) laide a grounde by their ignorance which by good foresight would have taken effect according to the meaninge. Pardon me, gracyouse ladye, in this my boulde attempte, humblie beseeching youre highnes to accept in good parte this my rude enterprise and reserve this my plott to youre maiestie and not bewraye me to be the aucthor thereof, ffor if I shoulde be made aucthor to the same I shall be odiouse bothe to Englishe and Irish. And yet rather then that province should be a contynuall chardge to youre highnes as yt hath bin to your wourthie progenytours, I waye not what displeasure maye be owen me therefore, ffor I depend vpon none but on youre highnes who god long prosper in ffelicytie to raigne over vs.

53. Warham St Leger
'Answers to such objections as may be alleged against the plot for a sound government in Munster.' (1589)
TNA: PRO, SP 64/144/81

[f. 248r] Aunswers to be made to such obiections as maye be alleaged against the plotte set downe for a sounde gouernment to be stablished in the province of Mounster in Irelande, also the cutting of such chardges as the queenes maiestie is nowe at in the saied provynce.

Ffirst yf yt be alleaged that fower hundredd ffoote soldiers and fiftye horsmen soldiers are a superfluous number.

Yt is to be aunswered that there can be no fewer numbers of soldiers to maynteyne a sounde gouernment, the province beyng so greate, wide and of such streyngthes of woods and boggs to succoure the rebells as yt is, where those convenyent numbers of soldiers being devided into fower companies or more yf need shall require rebells shall not be able to sturre, but they shall be cut of.

Yf yt be alleaged that the maynteynannce of fower hundred footemen and fiftie horsemen is to greate a burden for the province of Mounster to beare.

Yt is to be aunswered that the saide province maye verye well beare that chardge and no great burthen vnto them, and the rather maye do the same, in as much as in theire owne private quarrells amongest them selves, there hath bin by them maynteyned ffive tymes the numbers of soldiers herein expressed, as it ys to be made good by the cantrids within the saide province which bare the chardges of them, which men of warre were as chardgeable to them every bands, as will be a bande of a English soldiers. And therefore theis fewe nombers maye very well be brooked, in consideracion that yt is for the benefit of them selves in having a sounde gouernment amongest them.

Yf yt be alleaged that the finding of the presidents chardges will be overburdenous to that province.

Yt is to be aunswered that the chardge will not be overburdenous in as much as in the countie of Corcke, only beinge but one of the six counties in the province, bare a greater chardge in finding Irish soldiers in tymes past then the presidents chardges will come vnto. And therefore the president's chardges and the findinge of the fower hundred footemen and fifty horsemen will be no great burden to the whole province indifferentlie devided on the counties within the saied province.

Yf yt be alleaged that this burden of chardge to be laide vpon the province maye be an occasion to sturr the inhabitours of the province to dislike of the imposition to be laied vpon them and thereby provoke them for to grudge there at and to move them to insurrecion.

Yt is to be aunswered that there nedeth no such doubt to be had in as much as those convenient numbers of soldiers together with the assistance of the vndertaker's forces as also with the ayde of such of the cuntrie people as will showe them selves dutifull subiects will be able to subdewe any such vndutifull attempts. And chieflie considering the nature and disposition of those cuntrye people, and the custome that they have bin borne and bred in which hath allwaies bin to brook and beare what impositions soever by theire lords and

chieftaines hathe byn allwaies laied vpon them. They houlding yt amongest them an allowance tollerable for theire lordes to spend them and defend them and therefore the more ought they to allowe of this youre maiesties imposition on them. Inasmuch as youre highnes defendeth them against the extorcions of theyre lords and [f. 248v] also against all others that seeke any manner of waye by harde dealings to offer them iniurye. And therefore no cause why they should grudge at this chardge, consideringe yt tendethe altogether to their safety and benefit, whereby they stand assured by this theire composition to reste in safety of theare lyves bothe in theire houses and abroade and enioying such goods as they travell for, where in former tymes, not withstanding that they paied greate somes of money to theire lordes and chieftaynes for the maynteyning of theyre men of warre, yet were they in no suertie of theyre lyves, nor yet enioyinge of theyre goods they were owner of overnight the next morninge and besides they are nowe to be dischardged of other great exactions theire lords were accustomed to impose vpon them as sorohon, gullicres, gullicon, cuddey, kertye, south, mustron, connewe and lyvery which was as chardgeable vnto them as will be nowe imposed on them by this plott.

Yf yt be alleaged that the maynteyning of those soldiers maye be dangerouse to the state if they shoulde become vndutifull and so enter into some lewde and vnnatural enterprises as manye tymes yt is sene that idle men bend them selves to mutunye.

Yt is to be aunswered that soldiers beinge well gouerned maye be rather a safetye for maynteynance of governmente then any waie to hinder the same, good choise made of theyre leaders and they removeable every three monethes from one countie to an other within the saied province, whiche will be the cutting of all combynacions that maye growe by conferring with the cuntrye people and them to enter into anye lewed conspiracies without revealing thereof and thereby no perill to growe to the estate of gouernment, but be a great safetye as before I have saied both to youre highnes in governinge that realme as also to those shall have government vnder your maiestie.

This beinge made a generall charge vpon the whole province will be no greate burden indifferentlie imposed and chieflie considering that they of that peovince are growen to form greater wealth then they were in the tyme they were chardged with maynteynance of soldiers that in tymes past they bore. As also being nowe dischardged of manye other impositions that theyre lordes and chieftaynes were also in former tymes vsed to impose vpon them.

And for the better auoydinge of mutynies and other lewde conspiracies, theys soldiers maye be removed out of the saied province into some other province and the soldiers of another province imploied in the service of Mounster and so yerely to be removed from province to province and likewise to be removed every quarter of the yere from one countie to an other within the saied provinces.

And for the better auoidinge of rebellion and safetie for the goverment of the province yt were very very requisite to haue fower cytadells to be fortified in fower of the principall townes within the saied province of Mounster (viz.) Corrck, Kinsale, Lymerick and Youghall, which cytadells those soldiers and theire leaders shoulde be placed in, the chardges of which ffortifications maye well be done without great chardges to youre highnes and be a great strength to the realme and defence against forraigne invasions.

54. John Merbury
'Mixed collections, by Capt. J. Merbury, proving the necessity to make war in Connaught.' (1589)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/146/57[82]

A flyleaf reads, 'A collection of diuerse things shewing the prent state of things in Ireland'.

[f. 177r] Mixed collections proving it necessarie to make warres in Connagh and shewing the easynes to ouerthrow the rebells, partly through the diuision is like to follow by the Scotts, partely through the old age and pouertie and the meanes to drawe most of the landed men from them.

Henry McGyn would be better examined aboute the Scottishe lres he caryed or brought from Castle Barres soones, now that they be supposed arrived with Scotts in Irrare by the supporting, as is likely of duke Parma, for their are five of them in pay with Parma, and so is Shane O'Clevy Burke, Edmond Nugent with diuerse other Irishe there, all in favor by meanes of Mulmorough O'Hygin, an Irish preacher greately favored with the duke.

The rebells have wonne thadvantage allreadie, but yet most necessarie in all hast to make warr, for els the doubtfull subiects will certainly and peradventure the true to fall to them.

The Clandonels shalbe hindered by the Scotts, for ether they shall have parte of their land or els the bonnaugh which is prepared for them, for they be thordinarie galloglasses of McWillm.

The comon people shalbe vndone by ether of them, for bonnaught must run vppon them all, and if but the idle knaves of McWillms and the McRoys have libertie of eating the commons must rue straite the faults of the composition hath bred all this.

Better loose thus muche of the composition rent and spend more for the recorverie hereafter than loose all.

Rigor hath his tymes in all gouerment, when better than now? The principalls, save a fewe newcoms that wilbe downe ere they can gett hold, are all of them ether for old age or for povertie quietly to be dispatched.

Sir Morrough is reconed above 75 yeares, the Devils Hook, Vlick Burke, and Robert O'Maly nigh to 60, Walter Ny Mully exceeding poore but craftie headed and bould.

Water Cyttough wise enough but for the nomber of competitors, and brothers, and brothers children he is weake to attayn to the McWmship.

Davy O'Doud, a yong knave drawen in through anger against Donough O'Conor for his cheefe rents charges, or els for affectation to recouer the old lordship of O'Douds, or els sett on by some against Sir Richard and Sir George, his brother.

[82] TNA: PRO, SP 63/146/58 is a near identical copy.

The Blinde Abbott was neuer wise, honest, nor stedfast, he [doots] for age, is verie beggarly, ouerborne by his owen children and if Castle Barr's soons should prevaile they would keepe him from all creditt for their tyttle is bifor his.

The Scotts would ouerrule all and if the lands and cattells promished them at their last comyng by Shane O'Cleavy and other Burks be geven them they shalbe well able to compasse it in deed.

Edmund Burke of Cong, called McTho Vvaughery, is a verie hand some man of personage, always out for feare of the lawe, for killing Vlick Burke of the Neale, and if Cong be taken from him which in deede did belong to Sir Willm Collyer, he wilbe verie poore by and by

[177v] The many factions amongst them selves for clames of such landes as they have vsurped is enough to ouerthrowe them all.

But when soeuer the Englishe howses whome they have disseysed, as the Barrets, the McPadyns, McOwile, sometyms baron Stantons, McIordans, sometymes Dexcester, Clan Costilaugh, late L. Nangles, the Cusacks, and a nomber besides, shall see anie hope to recouer their owne from the Burks as by good pollycie they may doo no doubt, but they woulde be glad all to ioyne against he and returne to be good subiects againe, souche I mean as are by them of late dyspossessed.

Nether was ther euer better oportunitie than now for now bleeds your Irish seignioryes by the composition and in other places of the realme those that list to live vppon their owne lands have tasted of it alreadie and some in Mayo to as Willm Burk of Shrowr, McMorryce, McIordan and others begin to doo.

If the comone subiect may feele it in these countries, where these tyrants bee, as nowe doubt may be brought to passe without greate charges if it shall please hir matie but a while to open hir purse whilst the sowing tyme is and lett the crop alone till harvest come, the hope is assured when theise weedes be plucked vpp to have that province and her realme of Ireland first replenished with people, than consequently with wealth.

Theise carrenn crowes devour the seede, theise weedes choake the corne, whie should they not be killed and weeded out in tyme?

The nomber of them is so small in respect of the multitude of the rest that in good policies, and in the vse of many old comon welthes the lives of so few have been thought well given for the preservation of so many, and is it against christian pollicie for the safetie of all the rest of the good to punishe by iustice, and vtterlie to rootte out a few inveterate tyrants, ravening robbers and violent murderers of man kynd.

If the customes they pretend can stand with anie lawe divine, naturall or civill, if they can conveye vnto them selves anie title by inheritance, by sucession lawfull, or by good purchase to those lands they clame, I say god forbid they should be taken from them. Yea I say more if they can proscribe in good reason and not as rebells and disseasors of fresh memory it might be thought wrong to take such their livings from them.

But on thotherwise if they whome they have dispossessed by meere wrong make continewall clame, have the helpe of the lawe on their side, by good meanes repossesse their owne, yeald

their dutie to god first and to hir matie, their prince and countrie next, wherefore then I say hath god ordayned hir matie prince ouer them, but to defend them and maintaine them in their right against the destroyer.

I beeleeve verely hir matie would shrinck to vnderstand hir subiect to bee destitute and forsaken of that hir most royall office.

[f. 178r] O'Rwrck caryed allwayes an ill minde, there too whome he holdeth vnder him, some discended of Englishe septs, not long agoe and in tyme of the last composition, when it was told them they should be delivered from his Irishe exactions and accustomed vncertainties from henceforth past to O'Rwourke in liew of all a mark vppon a quarter where they them selves confessed he had taken 6*li* before and to the queene 10*s* vppon a quarter, and if he should exact more of them, that then hir matie had hir officers hard by to redresse it, some verie old gentleman among them fell downe straight on their knees and with teares cryed out thanks to god and hir matie, for that daie the best that euer they lived to see. For all this O'Rwourk falls to his vomyt againe even by and by but he scaped narrowly Sir Richard's hands by Sir John Perrotts dandeling.

In deede he made that match better by good luck than by cunnyng for though Sir Rich. wrytet but of 100 markes, yet in troth he gott 120*li* by yeare at the least abated of the queenes rent and kept his marke vppon a quarter still he was sett in such a pride ther that he was neuer since good. This tyme of peace making hath been his harvest yet hath he no more witte any than before, he verely beleeveth the queene to be afraid of him and so will all the rest of Ireland to, if they see it goe with him as it doth hitherto. There was neuer manhood in him. In Sir Nicho. Malbie's tyme his owne Scotts ouerruled him so that they caught him by the beard and plaid with his nose. What good meaning trew wee makes him seeke vppon them now.

As for those fewe septs of gentlemen that bee with him which of them would not be glad to be ridd both of the Scotts and of him. To save peradventure Glannough whome he holdeth in perforce against the right heire, a yong man that would follow the state with all his harte so he might recouer his land thereby. His cruelties bee manie and greate beloved of no bodie nor having anie suche things in him whie to be beloved for, but only a stubburne foole good to hold the candle before the rest and to bob the foole with all when they committe or meane anie treasons themselves. Indeede he hath a fast countrie, specially in winter tyme, but for all that and he be well kept in with soldiers about him and readie to be vppon him at all howers his fastnesses will serve to keepe him fast enough against somer come for the queene to take him in his owne pittifull. Lett Scotts consume him in the meane space. When soeuer he is downe the composition rent shalbe well spent vppon him and will come in fast enough ere it be long after. Therefore he must be plyed first of all men.

As for his two soons Owen and Brian O'Rwourk what hurt can they doo when he is gon. Thone was a given soon when he was about 25 yeares of age and was neuer thought his naturall soon in deede. The other is a playne bastard and both professed traytors.

[f. 178v] Sligo hath been praid and harried ouer and ouer by him and those his twoe soons during the tyme and since the treatie of the peace. If the cheife gentlemen yt have been by the late Sir Donel O'Conor oppressed and by our composition, more than by anie right layd vnder him, might recover their owne againe. Everie tennant be laid vnder his owne lord and enioye his owne parte paying such lawfull rights as belonged than non, no doubt hir matie should quickly enioye hir composition rent againe. Yea and neuer a cheife lord of them all

should have a man to followe him against the Qu. and crowne. Stood they assured of this it is credible it would satisfie them for all their losses by past. And sure I am it should be a poore pleasing god and in conscience ought to be out of hand thought with some cost and charges.

As for the countie of Roscoman, seeing the sept of Hugh O'Conor Don, Duealtaghe O'Conor of Buraglin, are now gon vnto the Burks, O'Conor Roes his soons, the McDerman Rewes, with the O'Flaningalls, the O'Burns, with the rest, are ioyned with [O'Rurk], and all of them vnder high treason and in likelihoode to drawe all there lose of the O'Kellies vnto them consider hau daungerous delay will be. If they prevaile as far as to Athloane and to break downe the bridge there farewell all the queenes parte in Connagh. They are all nedie, lustie and many in nomber wherefore they must ether be maintained in their owne, helpen by the Qu. paie or els they will excuse them selves of their goying out vppon pure necessitie.

But although all this be done as it should be, yet if good heede be not taken to one pointe more all this is not worth a rushe. The handling may not be comitted to these men thate formerly have had ye doing, for many of them by your leave have hatched the chickin of rebellion. Some by lenkering to muche my poore countrie people, some by hoysting the Irishe LLs. alofte in the last composicion, not without their owne profitt I trust, some againe by soothing them in the now complaints and peradventure by peopling them to, other some that care not which end goe forward so they may gett by it vppon averie quarrelsumnes and spight to treade downe their enemies; such men I say (if there be anie) must be excluded out of this chardge.

So that the busines must be rowndly gon in hand with all. Nether may there be anie more wincking at faults but sufficient men, faythfull men and men of experience in the province might be employed, sought for and entertained, such as hault and layter lett them be punished in god's name.

[f. 179r] There is new aduertisments that Teig O'Kelly of Canbrakes and Rowland Burk of Bunmoore with diuerse other are newly gon out yt. These scattered rebells, having no force of their owne, doe adheare vnto thother only vppon hope to be vppon their peace as hath been done allreadie, by which meanes euerie ill minded Kn. taketh libtie to goe out, doth this mischeefe first, and afterwards winnes his pardon, and by it goeth away with all the stelthes he made before.

Clanricard and Thomond are to be doubted must needs followe, for though at this prent it be no manner of way good for the erle to swerve, yet if he must needes he shalbe the mightest and most able man. And where as heretofore verie necessitie and pouertie have diuerse tymes driven him to rebellion and after that feare of punishment made him to keepe out, so now when he shall see the rebells rownd about him stronge, the state weake and by that meanes himselfe infected to scramble for his living. Whie should we not thinck that he would rather trie by such meanes to rise and increase according to his power, than by his loyaltie to loose all and stand in danger of life to hereafter? Yet may be when he shall have felt once his owne strength, pride and ambition shall breede as greate and strange effects then as neede and feare did before. Besids that no question but there be diuerse have galded mynes in his countrie, looke but to Darbie O'Shaftnesse, Cogh O'Madden and your new Robinhoods of Clanricard. As many shall you finde in Thomond amoungest the Mc Ny Marrowes, McMayhounes, O'Laughlins and some of the O'Brians to that carie wounded hartes with the erles greatnesse and for other cawses.

All these cannot be redressed by giving them right for whie they have done wronge them selves therefore they must of necessitie and in iustice be repressed with the sword which only shalbe now the right course and the most full of pitie of all others.

[f. 179v] Greate searche would be made through out the realme for Rom Runner and provisioners lurking there, especially in the north, for they are at this tyme the bellowes of rebellion from Pope, Spaine, Ffrannce, Lowe Countries and Scotland and if they finde no frends in court or high places they shall come to [Bayard] quickly, and all the schollers shall learne the better both in Ireland and here to peraduenture.

Albeit Irishe are most comonly papists because they know no better christen but the rebells they take his parte for their owne profits sake, otherwise they care neyther for god nor man.

Sir Jeffrey Ffenton is fallen to be an Irishe practiser in Sir Richard Bingham's opinion, author of these troubles as well in perswasion and drawing the dep. into this last and needlesse northen iorney as in his Spanishe comission for Spaniard's persons, [wrackes] and goods he hath taken to his followers Robt. Johnsen and Nehemias Ffallan, thone the craftiest, thother the naughtiest impudent fellowe of all Ireland. He sent vpp a servant of purpose to linger the knowledg of the cownsells lres written in Sir Richard's behalfe whoe made ten dayes goying betweene Dublin and Athelone.

55. Robert Gardener
'A Memorial for Ireland delivered by Justice Gardener.' (1590)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/150/5

[f. 14r] In the title of matters for iustice.

That all comissions for martiall law, formerlie grannted by any governors, may be called in.

That the ordinary circuits of the iustices of assises be only countrywide and not putt of for any respects whatsoever and that the iustices in theire severall circuits, to certifie into thexchequer theire hands, the yssues growinge [no ende session] xc. to thend yt may [come] in chardge xc..

That the sheriffes through owt the whole realme, be appointed according the manner of Englande, for aveydinge of partyalitys.

All new fredoms not warranted by direction from hence to be recalled and not allowed to thend there may be one iust and vpright coursse vsed in the comon burd of the realme.

In the title concerninge the better orderinge of her mats revenue and treasur.

That the trer be enioyned by speciall warrant from here to pay all pattents […] by ye yere vppon the [revenues].

[f. 14v] That from hensforth no pardons be grannted but at ye councell table where the partye yt sue for pardons and theire qualytes may be ditermned and other consyderacions debated meate for her mats service, but specially fynes to be imposed (yf nede bee) to her mats vse, as hath bene vsed heretofor.

56. Robert Gardener
'Mr. Justice Gardener's opinion of the course to be observed in the cause of the O'Ferrals.' (1590)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/152/29

A note in the bottom corner of f. 104v gives the title as 'What course convenient to be holden in the case of O'Fferralls. Iust Gardiner'.

[f. 103r] The course in mi simple opinion best to be observed in the cause of O'Fferrall.

Imprimis it appereth the patent made vnto Ffanghne O'Fferrall Boy is not warranted by the statute bycause the offer of the surrender of Ffanghne was not first certefied vnto hir matie and by hir allowed and vnder hir signature the allowance returned and partye named to receive the same. Againe neyther the warrant vnto the lord chancelor to make the patent was made with consent of the most parte of the privye counsell ther accordinge the said statute, neyther in my opinion may any warrant or instruccion from hir matie alter or dispence with eyther the matter or procedinge sett downe in the statute.
Yet to avoid some inconvenience by present certificate to be made of eny surrender which should be offered and ther vppon to expect hir mats resolucion and returne therof it ware reasonable the Lo. deputie should once in the yere, or in two yeares, certefye [f. 103v] all offers of all surrenders made within that tyme and togither with the more parte of the counsel ther, to certefye in what manor, to whom vnder what reservacions, condicions or limytacions the same ware mete to passe and then after hir mats likinge returned to procede and this would no doubt avoid many quarrells nowe made or hereafter to be made.

2. Item that this patent not warranted by the statute nor agreing with the true meaninge of thindenture of composicion nor yet mete for the comon quiet of the cuntrye or most profitable for hir matie should be altered and yet not fullye accordinge the words of the said indenture which maynteyneth a new seneshalshipp to be erected and to be maintayned with the dutyes belonginge to the late captenrye but ware mete both captenrye and seneshalshipp to cease with all vnreasonable customs and exaccions accordinge the true meaninge of the statut [f. 104r] and not hereafter eyther this or anye to be granted by any Lo. deputie or gouernor.

3. Item bycause the lands, dutyes and customes belonginge to the late captenrye are not certenly knowne eyther in quantitye or qualitye and also in question whether to belonge to the late captenrye or to the defends as chiefe of his name and nation and now grannted by patent to the dep. in generall termes and names it ware convenient to returne the same to the discretion of the Lo. deputie and more parte of the counsell ther with this advise and caution; first to consider what lands, dutyes and profits did belonge to the late captenrye, howe much vnlawfull by the meaninge of the statute to be grannted, what ware convenient for thes competitors to have and howe much and in what nature it ware convenient for the cuntrye to beare and paye over and besids the resyvacions to hir matie now reserved and howe to be levied with least dannger with dewe [f. 104v] regard that such as be eyther nowe in possession or nerest next to the possession be allowed most, bycause the interest of him in possession or nerest to the possession is of most value. It ware also convenient that such dutyes as should be ordered to be paid by the freholders and happen to be vnpaid ware by the shrive alwayes levied by warrant from the Lo. deputie, otherwise eyther want of knowledge in the lords howe to levye the same or want of skyll in the tenants to pay the same will brede continuall troubles.

57. Geoffrey Fenton
'Notes of points wherein the Earl of Tirone is to be restrained, drawn out by Sir G. Fenton.' (1590)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/152/41(i)

A flyleaf reads, 'Notes for therle of Tyrone by Sir Geffry Fenton. 1590'. The document is all in one hand but is divided between general statements with comments on these in the left margin, all, it would appear, of Fenton's design.

[f. 141r] Notes to be considered vppon towchinge thearle of Tyrone viz. that he be bownd.

To relinquish all clayme and tytle to the name of O'Neyll and that after the death of the now O'Neyll he forbeare to attempt any thinge vppon the segniorie or captenry of that cuntry withowt her mats allowance and consent and that he seeke not by the accustomed vayne ceremonie of the stone and other idle toyes apperteyninge therto to be created O'Neyll.

To take vppon hym the name of O'Neyll is treason by statute as I take yt, yett doth thearle somuch affect that tytle as onlesse he be restrained by verie greate bondes he will adventure to stand for yt when yt shall fall, whereof he gave manifest prooff not long synce rydinge in hast with all his forces to the stone when he heard yt O'Neyll was dead which was not.

To renownce all challenge and pretence to any the vriaghtes whatsoeuer and particularlie after the death of the now O'Neyll that he medle not with O'Kane and Maguyre who are now assigned to O'Neyll duringe his lyff but that they with all the rest of the vriaghtes maie remeyne to her matie to whome they belonge.

The earle will not much stand to have any of the vriaghtes other then O'Kane and Maguyre and those he will seeke to have because O'Neyll had them, butt yt maie be aunswered that O'Neyll had them by grace and not of right with a clause in the instrument as I take yt that after O'Neyll's death they should reuert to her matie.

That he putt owt of his cuntrie by a day all Scotts which are not natyves of the cuntrie and not to suffer them to have any dwellinge vnder hym and that he medle not with enterteininge fforreine Scotts withowt lycence of the state for any occasion whatsoeuer.

Though yt be fellonie by the statute to wage Scotts yett there is so strayte a frendshipp and coniunction betweene thearle and Agnus McDonnell and all that sept in Cantyer that onless there be some greate pecuniary punnishment layed vppon thearle yt is to be dowbted that the penaltie of the statute will nott conteyne hym.

That he putt in pledges or good suerties in the pale for the good behaviour of his brother Tyrleogh McHenry capen of the Fues.

He is a dangerous man, he neuer cometh into the state but vppon protection or some word given for hym, he is wholie devoted to thearle.

That at his retorne sen forth a comission to have his cuntreyes made shier ground whereby his people maie tast the sweete benefytt of law and iustice and all intollerable Irish customes and tyrannies cutt of.

All parts of his cuntrie maie convenientlie resort to Armagh ether to sessions or other assembly of iustices who yf they com but once in the yeare yt will suffice vntill the people be better wonne and allured to the lykinge of iustice.

[f. 141v] That by compownding with his tenants and free holders after the manner of ther parts in Ireland all Irish exaccions and extorcions may ceass whereby the earle maie have of his tenants more in certenty with theire good lykinge then he hath now by compulsion and yet with theire grudge and murrmore by this meanes her matie might be provided for as shee is by the composicion in Connaght though not owt of the plowgh landes yett by the heades and poles of cattle which beinge discreetlie handled by moderate comissioners maie rise to a rownd revenew to her matie withowt any grudge or murmore of the people.

Yf thearle stick at this for that none other of his neighbors in Vlster have compownded yt maie be aunswered yt he being the principall man in that province vppon whose example all the residue do depend yt is more honorable in hym that he leade the first waie to so generall a good for the whole cuntry then that yt be begon by inferiors.

That he relinquish all clayme and tytle to the forte of Blackwater and the teritories of the same and that he suffer his cuntry in tymes of scarcetie and necessitie to releeve the constable and warde with corne and other vittells at reasonable prices takinge ether ready money or the constables tyckett.

Thearle hath of longe pretended a tytle to this fort but yt is so weakly grounded that yt holdeth no waight in law, yett yt is such an eye soare to hym as he will styll stomack yt and not ceass to quarrell yt vppon euery advantage of tyme yf he be not bownd in greate bondes to the contrary.

58. Thomas Lovell
'The beginning and contynuannce of the rebells of Ireland, bye degrees truly discouered.' (c. 1592)
BL, Add. MS. 34,313, ff. 49-56

To the queenes most excellent matie.

[f. 49r] Most royall and gracious soueraigne, may it please you to vnderstand, whereas your highnes obedient seruannt, Thomas Louell, was swoorne extraordinary of your gaurde four yeeres past, and for that hee had not done any seruyce that was vnto your matie knowen wourthie, of desent thought it best fitted his dutie to doe your maiestie seruyce. Hee went into Ireland to serue your highnes there and after his coming into that land, seeing and perceaueing many great abuses done and daily practised, was mooued in conscience, and in regarde of faith and loyaltie towardes youre highnes, by his dilligent endeuor and trauaile during the space of twoo yeeres, hath discouered the causes of the mightie routes of rebbells, and what principallie moueth the same, which hath bin, and is daily, to youre great chardges and expences of your treasure by infinyte sumes from tyme to tyme, and wilbe more if it be not by youre highnes and honourable councell foresene.

The begining and contynuannce of the rebells of Ireland, bye degrees truly discouered.

They haue a kinde of order in Ireland to call such lordes as be Lo. of great territories, the lorde of the country, as, for example, Gerrod FfittsJams[83], desended of Sir Morris FfittsGerrod, veecount of the Decis, is called Lo. of the Decis, Ffittz Gibbun, als. the White Knight, the White Knighte's country, the lorde Barrie, Barrie's country, the Lo. Dun Boyne, Dun Boyne's country, and such like lordes over the lande. And many more which might be named vnto youre matie [f. 50r][84] haue within theire seuerall territories, or countries as they terme them, gentlemen that be called horsemen, which doe vse to ride armed, as well in the tyme of peace as in the tyme of warre, either in a shirt of maile, or else in a faire iack imbrodered with silke lace, or else with goulde and silke lace of dyuers coullers, very faire with a hedpeece clasped vnder his chin, without a beuor, and a groome carrying his horseman staff by him, accompanied with many kearne, armed, which gentlemenn be called ye followers of those Lo. of the countryes. And vpon the landes, aswell vnder the lordes as vnder those gentlemen, be bred many idle menn and countenannced is howshoulde, as well by the Lo. as by those gentlemen, and they doe vse them to serue twoo turnes, somtyme to be cators for houshoulde, and somtime to be wood kearne rebbells.

Now there be other that I haue not spokenn of yet which sturreth all the wourkes of evell in Ireland, euen as the rurther sturreth the ship, so shee sailes and can ancker her againe at theire pleasure, for as the Lo. and gentlemen of those seuerall countries keepe theis idle men, even so doe those other countenannce those which be the leaders of the routs.

The example.

In some countries when they intend to put vp any companies or garrisonns they will either muster theire menn, or else will call them together by the sounde of the drum, or sound of ye

[83] Beginning here the names of such lords as are mentioned throughout the text are written in the right hand margin in a different hand to that of the text. Thus, 'Fitzgarald' has been written. These annotations do not add to the substance of the text and have consequently been omitted hereafter.
[84] The verso side of each folio has been left blank.

trumpet, blowing of a horne, or ringing of a bell. But they can call the routes togeather in great nombers without any of theis calles.

In the daye of theire begining theire leader goeth foorth very secreatly with some fewe, which meteth him at some place appointed, and that night following they will robb and burne a towne, which after the thing done goeth foorth from towne to towne, and from country to country, to the heereing of theire conscarts, those idle men which I spake of before, and within foure or fyue daies there wilbe asembled a great route, somtyme a hundred, somtime twoo or three hundred, and somtyme more.

[f. 51r] Then after the rout of the rebbells be assembled they will goe about some tenn or twelue miles from the place where the first towne was burned, and there they will burne a greater towne, and doe a greater robbery, and then there begins a great sturre in the country, which pretentes is alwaies either to levie monny, or for ye most part to trouble your maiesties gouernement.

Then the first lordes and horsemen, and theire followers, will assemble, and come together, to those other lords to councell what is best to be don. And then they doe agree to make a great tax vpon the poore churle of the country, which is only as they say for the chardges of a houlding kearne, which they will presently put foorth for ye defence of the country, and safegarde of the churle, his goodes and cattell, which prooueth afterwards nothing so, for the country people are robbed still notwithstanding.

Then they will muster theire houlding kearne, which shalbe for the defence of the country, as they say, and betake them either to the shreeue, or else to some other which they will appoint to be theire leader, but for the most part they haue a leader without the shreeue.

Then presently the monny is leuyed vpon the churle, and after the monny be levyed then followeth this houlding kearne with some horsemen, and are fed, they and theire horses, vpon ye churle, notwithstanding the monny leuyed before for ye chardges of the houldeinge kearne. Then, if the churle doe grudge or repine at theis chardges, they will beat them, and then the churle will crie ‘Oh hoe. Oh hoe. Bandreene. Bandreene’, which is as much to say, ‘O Queene, O Queene’, but cannot come to your matie for helpe.

Now is the rebbell abrode and the houlding kearne and horsemen. The rebell spoiles, killeth and robbeth the English people in great number, and theire houlding kearne and horsemen feedeth as well vpon the English as vpon the Irish, so that betweene them both, and theire Lo., there is more mony leavied, goods stolen and destroyed, and chardges put vpon the country, then woulde pay twoo subsidies after the manner of England, quantety for quantety, and yet is not perceaued of your English gouernors.

[f. 52r] So now theis routes of rebbells be assembled, and yet to serue annother turne for your matie hath not any gouernor or forte in that lande, but there is rout of rebbells put iust by them, onely to keepe them occupied to the ende that your mats gouerners there may not haue leasure to looke into theire wourk.

The example.

Even as I sayd before, those other lordes which stirreth theis wourkes of euells as the rurther stirreth the shipp and can ancker her againe at theire pleasures, so after the rebbell hath killed

some English captaines and souldiers they can releeue the rebbells againe by the helpe of the English gouerners, for then will they seeke to haue the rebbell protected, somtyme for daies, somtyme for weeks, and somtyme for monethes.

Then when the rebbell is protected, the English captaines and souldiers goeth, some to theire fortes, some to theire castells, and some to theire howss, and then all is quiet and well during the tyme of the protection, for the rebbell will not breake his protecion during the tyme lymmited.

Now when the rebbell is protected, all such store as hee hath stolne and gathered since his first goeing out, as of cow hides, sheepe fells and tallowe, which they haue hidden vnder grounde vntill that tyme, then they convey those comodities to the citties and walled townes, where the merchanntes doe dwell, and doe exchannge with the merchanntes theire hides, wooll fells and tallowe for wine, aquauytie and sault, which commodities when they haue receaued them they burie in the woodes vnder grounde vntill they haue neede to vse them.

Also in the tyme of theire protection, all Irish merchanntes, gentlemen and churles, which haue farmes and groundes neere vnto ye rebbell, will send theire black rentes, (viz.) tubes of butter, and tubbes of oatemeale, which, one having receyued those thinges, doe likewise burie them in the woodes vnder grounde vntill their protection be out, or they haue neede againe.

[f. 53r] So by the meanes of protecting of rebells geveth them assistance, as well to make prouyssion for theire victualles, as for libertie contynueth long warres and doth much imboulden them to rebell, because they know that after protecting they get pardons, or pardonns are gotten for them by such as first put them out.

These be the deuelish practizes of theis people from tyme to tyme against your highnes, and your gouernement, in that land, nothwithstanding they get by meanes great prefermentes of youre maiesties liberalitie, and yet are the beginners, and wourkers, them selues of all theis mischeefes against your highnes.

Moreouer, to let your matie vnderstand how many seuerall routes of rebbells there be in Lenster, Munster, Connatt and Vlster which be leaders of the routes.

Ffewfe MackHugh and Walter Rewgh were wont to walke in the Rawghlinges, not yet sheere grounde, which lieth betweene the county of Dubeling on the north part, and the county of Washforde on the south.

Rewre Óge walketh part of the county of Washforde, the county of Carloe and troubleth youre maties twoo forts, viz. Carloe and Laughlin.

MackRowre walketh the country of Lease, where hee and his companny hath almost killed and destroyed all the English people there in that country saueing such as be rune away.

Fuch MackFewgh walketh in the country of Afaley, part of the country of Ormound and Sir Charles O'Ccaralls country.

[f. 54r] Peeirce Óge Butler walketh in the county of Tipperrarey, part of the county of Kilkeny and part of the county Crofs.

Murreto MacShee walketh the county of Lemerick, part of the county of Corke and the county of Waterford, where they doe robb and kill the English people in great number, and this rebbell tendeth the vice president, Sir Thomas Norris, at Mallowe, in the county of Corke, and somtyme taketh a pray very neere him, and goeth quite.

There is a rout of rebbells in Kerry which somtyme weare led by Donell MackCarta, and nowe they be led by Donell Duff MacFewgh, which rout dooth walke part of the county of Corke, and part of the county of Waterford, where they doe robb and kill the English people in great number.

O'Donell, O'Rurke and the Bourkes, with theire routes, walketh the west and north partes of Connott, even to the gates of Galwaie.

The earle of Terone, MackGweere and theire companny in Vlster are now still, but not trusted to contynue long.

One thing theire is, if it weare foresene by youre highnes and honourable councell, woulde be very good and necessary, forasmuch as the merchauntes of Irelande doth vse to come to England twice in the yeere (that is to say at Saint James tide and St Powles tide, after Christmas), and doe vse to buy great store of armoure and weapons, (viz.) callyuers, musketts, swourdes, headpeeces, bowes and sheues of arrowes. This haue I seene at Bristowe, that they haue carried at one tyme out of England as much armoure and weapons as woulde haue loden a wayne.

[f. 55r] One thing there is of late put vp and vsed in Ireland by the English souldiers which prouoketh the Irish to enlardge theire routes of rebbells. When the English gouerners and the Irish rebbells haue had a daie of parley, and the Irish rebbells protected, then the English souldiers are disperced into dyuers sheeres, the company of every captaine by them selues and doe live vpon the churle of the country, and when ye souldier commeth to any towne they are deuyded to the howss of every churle according to the abillitie, to some churle three souldiers, theire quenes and boyes, and to some other twoo souldiers, theire quenes and boyes (and lesse if they be but poore churles). There the souldier taketh his supper at night, and his breakefast the next day, and six pence in monny vpon the churle, and if the souldier haue not wine or aquauitie he will haue six pence more for the want thereof, and if he be not so payed hee will take a pledge from the churle, either a pan or a mantell, out of the howse of the churle, which maketh for the most part great outrage emonng the common people in the country.

As it is a most honourable pollecy with princes to houlde warres with theire ennemies and straungers .

Even so it is a kinde of pollecy with captaines and leaders of souldiers somtyme to geue occacion of warres and after to contynue them long for gaine.

I most humbly beseech your highnes to geue mee leaue to yeelde my opinion concerning ye euells of Irelande as followeth.

[f. 56r] Draw out the Irish nobillitie such as be doubted to be daungerous men.

The lorde deputie not to be vnder the degree of an earle, for at the meanenes of the estate many tymes they will make but a tash, because they haue greater persons (as they thinke) emonng them selues.

Your highnes obedient seruannt.
Thomas Louell.

59. Anonymous
'Plot for erecting certain wards in Connaught for defence of the good subjects, without charging Her Majesty with any pay.' (1593)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/169/17

A flylead reads, '1593. A plott for erectinge of certaine wardes within the prouince of Connaughte, for the increase of her maits reuenue and the defence of the good subiects of the cuntrie, withoute charging of her maitie with eny paye for the same, xc.. And the like mynute wherof is alredie sente to the L. tresorer of Englande'.[85]

[f. 80r] Her maitie is intituled to Sligo and all the lannges which the late Sir Donnell O'Cconner helde, oute of which the lady O'Cconner hath her thirde.

It is thoughte moste requisitt and conueniente for the generall seruice of Connaughte that the castle, towne and abby of Sligo, with barrony of Carberry, be continued in her maits possessione and her maitie maye gratiouslie consider the supposed heire Donnoghe O'Cconor, with the reste of the said Sir Donnell O'Cconnor's lynags isuinge oute of the seuarall barronyes of Terragh, Tererell and Laney.

The abbey of Slygo is little worthe, but in respecte of seate, being parcell of the towne, 5 or 6*li* per annum abbey.[86]

The lynages within the barronye of Carberie wilbe sufficiente maintenance to keepe a warde in Sligo castle, and not to charge her maitie, and the rather if the custodie of the howse be comitted to some suche pincipall gent as will lyue and reside ther, and then if thother liuings be not bestowed vpon Donnoghe O'Cconnor the same may be conuerted to a yearlie benifitt of rente to her maits behooffe.

Alwaise prouided yt her maitie haue her yearly composicion out of Carbery by him that shall haue the custodiam.[87]

Now Mr Lane maye make sute to her maitie for the custodiam of the castle, towne and abby of Sligo, with the lyvinge thearvnto belonging, with the barrony of Carberie, and alsoe with the castle of Bundrois and Beleick, bothe which doe apperteine to her maitie and are conteyned within Carbery, but not in the righte of Sir Donnell O'Cconnor, for he had not the same, but rather vsurped somtymes by O'Donnell, and somtymes by McGuoyere, and they be placs of great seruice, standinge one the ffrontures, and vpon two straites, especially Belleick.

Lett your suite be for whatsoeuer her maitie hath, or oughte to haue, within the barrony of Carbery to mainteine the warde. Bundrois is now in her maits handes but Belleick is kepte by Hughe Duffe O'Donnell.[88]

If a gent of accompt had Belleick he mighte doe great good seruice to her maitie, for it standethe vpon the straite that lettethe the yll subiects of Tire Counell into Connaughte.

[85] Burghley has written, 'Bellyk. Ballyshenan.', below this.
[86] This point is in the margin next to the preceding paragraph.
[87] This point is also in the margin next to the preceding paragraph.
[88] This point is also in the margin next to the preceding paragraph.

[f. 80v] In anno 1588 ther was an office taken for her maitie by the escheator Ihon Crofton vpon the castell and landes of Ballishennon, and the abby of Asheroe, and Mr Lane mighte doe well to deale for a ffee farme of the same, for the verrie ffishinge of Ballishennon might be made verie beneficiall yearlie.

60. Alexander Cosby?
'Articles [by Mr. Cosbye] most important for the thorough reformation of Ireland.' (1593)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/169/24

A flyleaf reads, 'Aprill 1593. Articles concerning diuers abuses in Ierland worthy of reformation. By Mr Cosbye'.

[f. 115r] Articles moste important for the thoroughe reformation of Ireland, easilie herebye compassed, to be a moste quiet and rich comon wealth in shorte tyme.

Pardons and protections evermore hath been the nurserie of rebellion.

1. Wherefore it maie please her matie to take order that noe pardon or protection be geuen vnto anie that shall murder, burne or waste anie her maties lawfull subiectes, but to be pursued evermore to the death, both he and his releevers. Lett his hurtes not be feared whatsoever but withstoode and prevented by all pollicie and meanes that maye be still continewinge pursute.

2. Noe pardon or protection to be graunted vnto anye theefe (withoute great deserte by service) of which people Ireland swarmes, cheifly Leinster and the Inglishe countyes, by the sute of anye speciall or pryvate person, but the cuntrye, or countryes, wherein he moste offended to be before therewith acquainted and they to make certyficate vnto the L. deputie and counsell whether it be convenyent or not to graunte him or them pardon. And soe all sutes for pardons to be publyklye consydered before anie graunte and then if the graunte of pardon be allowed that he or they put in suertye of good behavioure from thenceforth before the pardon passe the seale.

3. Noe pardon to be graunted vnto anye that shall receave, retaigne or buye from a suspected or knowne theefe anye felonous goods, but he to be taken as deepe an offendor as the theefe and soe his releever, by meate, cloathinge, furnishinge or harboringe, but vnder conditions before expressed.

[f. 115v] That noe man keepe or retaynge anye more fotemen then his lyvinge is able to sustaine at his owne proper chardge and not to oppresse with uniuste spendinge the poore tennaunts and next neighbors to keepe them forces for revenge and myscheef where they list, as is and hath been ever the pernicyous custom of Ireland. Ffor by this custome a younge impe of sixteene yeares olde, being a gentleman sonn, whether legitimate or base, it is indifferent, will geather vnto him tenn, twenty or fortye, or more, to followe him that neyther hath freeholde, fferme or mayntenaunce of frendes, but what his trayne shall steale to him, for him and themselves, and when he is discovered, and maye not any longer be indured, then he startes oute a rebbell onles he haue his pardon. In the meane tyme he spoyleth, razeneth and wasteth whome he lyste.

5. Allso such as retaigne at theire owne chardges idlemen, that they put in good securytye in open assise for them, and not to retaigne notwithstandinge anie idlemen withoute aucthorytye from the state, by whome the cause thereof may seeme allowable.

6. Allso that noe captaynes of kearne or galloglass keepe anye idlemen, stoakeaghs or daltings, straangers as ffollowers, but to be inforced to geue securytye in open assyse to be

the better knowne for theire forthcomynge durynge the tyme they serve them, and for a threemonth and a daye after his departinge from him to annswere any thinge he hath wysdome in the tyme of his service vnder him, and in the tyme of peace not to beare anye weapon or armore onles yt be for knowne service.

7. If there be anye idlemen or stoakeaghs that serueth not, but remayneth with father, mother or neare kynred, that they be inforced to stand bounde for him, or els to delyver him, that he maye be comytted vnto the gaole, there to remayne at theire costes and chardges, beinge contented to norrishe his idle lyfe vntill such tyme as good securytye may be hadd for him, ffor there is noe theefe or idleman but maye put in securytye as by experience none of them, if he be in daunger, but hath allwaies frendes in distresse.

[f. 116r] 8. That all captaignes Inglishe or Irishe doe not receave or intertaygne into theire service anye one idleman of Irishe byrth, althoughe he be to take vp men for service, but knowne men, and such as he maye saflye intertaygne and haue of them good securytie, wherewith to acquaynt the state and to delyver in vnto the state a booke of theire names with their recognysances.

9. That noe Irishe man receave or lodge, or any of his tennauntes receave, or lodge, into his or theire howses anye idleman for a night or longer tyme, or shorter, whoe is to be suspected, but that forthwith he make it knowne vnto a iustice of peace, and at indue tymes morninge or eveninge, to lett passe or receive anye but cumminge at inseasonable tymes to apprehend him beinge to be suspected.

10. That none of the O'Mores, O'Conners, Cavanoughes, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, the onelye gulfe of myscheifes in Ireland, beare anye kynde of weapon, but such as have moste faythfullye served her matie, whoe maye stande in doute of the enymye moste in tyme of peace, because the subiecte, and servytane, may not breake her maties protection or pardon geuen, yet the enymye will take his opportunytye of revenge, reiectinge her maties grace, late extended gratiouslye.

11. The pensyons her matie geues, as vnto Donall Spayne Cavenoughe, Owen McShane O'More, Tege McGylphatricke O'Connor, and such other naturall traytors, doe furnishe theire ffollowers, with armore and weapon, soe keepes by meanes of these pensyons troops of theves and traytors aboute them, which were it not for these pensyons woulde be dispersed and overthrowne and noe feare woulde be hadd of these myscheevous leaders and traytorlye pensyoners.
A wonderfull strannge metamorphosis howe they shoulde obtaine pensyons and whye, the reason. It is pyttye that ever mysheevous traytor shoulde haue pensyon or releefe from the crowne. Onelye lyfe is grace ynnoughe yf it so please her matie.

[f. 116v] Because the O'Mores and O'Connors hath neare theas fyftye yeares turned her maties ffather, brother, sister and her selfe to the greatest chardge of anye rebbells in Ireland, by meanes of chargeable officers, garrysons and wardes in those twoo countryes called the Kinges and Queens countye, amountynge at this instant to six hundred pounds *per annum*, meare fryvolous noise and that her matie maye spare, hath coste above an hundred thousand poundes, that that chardge maye be dyssolved forevermore. It were thus convenyent to proclame in each shiere and countye in Ireland that whosoever doth foster, norrishe, cherrishe, releeve or bringe vp in service, or for good will, anye of these twoo septes shall present, by a certayne tyme lymyted vnto the state of Ireland, the names of soche entringe

therewith into recognysannce for theire loyaltye, or els to delyver theire boddyes into theire countye gaole, tyll the state be of them resolved. And of these two nations it were moste expedyent to haue a cataloge yearelye renewed and kepte and duelye observed by ye clarke of the crowne. Soe theire fforces allwaies increasinge shall allwaies be knowne. And yf anye starte into rebellion her matie shall knowe by yt cataloge and booke where to demaunde him. Soo shall theire myscheafs providentlye be prevented and they never able to annoye if they multyplye thousands.

13. And if anye captaines to haue anye sole goverment in anye countye, or shiere, as by the name of livetenaunte, seneschal or such lyke, but in such country or shiere where it is convenyent to haue ayde of a bande for a tyme, that he be dyrected in his service by the shirrife of the same shiere, and other gentlemen of the cheefest accompte therein. Soe shall the services goe forwarde withoute preiudice vnto her matie and subiectes, ffor great and rufull hath been, and ys, the calamyties proceedinge throughe such absolute goverment and countenaunce of captaines.

14. Allso yt is verye inconvenyent that anye on matched with an Irishe woeman shoulde beare anye speciall or absolute aucthorytye. Lamentable is that aucthorytye to a common wealthe.

[f. 117r] 15. That noe souldyers, horseman or footeman take anye straunge boye of idle race, as a kearne's sonne or galliglasse's sonne, into his service, but to take some honeste man's sonne, or poore man's sonne, to bringe vp, in which people there is leaste daunger and moste assurednesse of loyaltye.

16. Moreover that kearne and galloglasses maye be compelled to bringe vp theire children, in labores, occupations or learninge, whereby those odyous kynde of people wilbe in fewe yeares transformed into a better nature, which wilbe a greate happinesse vnto that myserable poore countrye.

17. In like sorte that anye souldyer which hath matched with the O'Mores and O'Connors, naturall enymyes to the crowne, shalbe from thenceforth dischardged of paye and to live of themselves, by theire owne industrye and furthermore that they be bounde and vrged to bringe vp theire children in learninge or occupations, and not in armes.

18. Allso that noe man shall carrye anye weapon or armore that is a doubtfull man, feared or suspected, nor keepe anye weapon offensyve, which if he refuse to doe, after proclamation made, that yt shalbe lawfull for anye officer to apprehend him and to take his weapon from him, and the partye soe apprehended to be comytted vnto the gaole till he put in suertye.

19. And that there be hard fynes impose vppon all such smythes and carpenters as shall make longe skeaynes, speare heades or speares or galloglas axes, targetts or scaills withoute lycence from the state, and they to be accoamptant vnto whome they sell them at every cessions.

20. Allsoe it were a moste provident and necessarye care, that marchaunts and townesmen throughout Ireland should be restraigned from buyinge or sellinge anye munytyon or weapon buy yt shoulde be treason.

[f. 117v] 21. Allsoe that there be noe double horses suffered with anye to travell with, onles with gentlemen of service or of good reckoninge, for theire owne saftie and pleasures (her maties garrisons and fforces xc. excepted), whosoever after proclamation doth offend to forfett both horse and hackneys, the horse vnto her maties vse, and the hackneys vnto the ceaser of them, and that both towne and countrye shall assiste the partye or parties that doth execute this vppon penaltye of greate punyshment for theire contempte and negligence herein. Great devowrers and wasters of corne be these double horses. Soe manye double horses, soe manye idle caterpillar boyes are bredd in that poore myserable countrye. Besydes, and moste to be looked vnto, is that most of those that be in the borders thus double horsed are ever apt to greate myscheife and most often they fornyshe the enymye with theire horses when they breake not themselves into rebellion.

22. Item that goshopringe with the badd Irishery, as such whose kynred and frendes hath been, or be, or maye be, badd lyvers, maye be vtterlye restraigned. Great and manye inconvenyences happen by yt.

23. Allsoe goinge vnto the holye crosse, which is in Typerdarye, maye be treason, both to the partye that thether supersticiouslye and traytorouslye goth, and to the partie that hath the mynisterye of the same, and yt howse vtterlye to be raysed, because all traytorous conspiraties for the moste parte of all Ireland are by a solleme oath ether determyned which for theire lives, they will not infringe or fayle in. Such is theire foolish custome at this howre and hath been ever.

[f. 118r] 24. That none within the realme retaigne anye semynarye or perverse papiste to instructe or teach chyldren, pryvatelye or publiklye, vppon payne of greate punishment. If care be not hadd of the education of the younge sorte, all other pollycyes are vayner.

25. Fosteringe is by statute inhibited, yet still in greate vse and custome, to the great and greavous hinderance of her maties service, and moste pyttifull hinderaunce of the fatherless. Ffor the poore man is yearely at all tymes benficyall vnto him to whome he fostereth, both in monye, in attyringe of his childe with whome he taketh, with manye other meanes chardgeable to the poore man. Notwithstandinge when the poore man dyeth, his childe, with whome the poore man tooke, must haue as deepe a portyon in the goods of the poore man (whoe is in nature but a straunger vnto him) as anye childe of his owne boddye. An inconscionable robbery. The traytor, theefe or supporter of theeves, it is his countenaunce and saftye to foster to one in aucthorytye, for thereby he is fane to be borne oute in all his vyllanyes.

26. All Inglishe men of habillytye, that keepe twoo, three or more men, to be constraygned to retaigne twoo Inglishmen for everye one Irishe which they maye keepe as good, cheape, as the Irishe, which wilbe a great strengthninge againste all soddaigne attempts, which is in tyme to be prevented, ffor the soddaigne is feared to come, which tyme the Irishrie expecte, as easilye is perceaved. The Inglishe fforces are verye weake, Inglishmen rather for the moste parte intertaygninge Irishe, in whome there is noe love, nor truste, but to serve theire owne turnes, which is moste daungerous.

[f. 118v] 27. Allso where it hath been an auncyent custome to take pleadges of ye Irishrie, as of O'Neale, O'Donell, Ffeaghe McHeughe and such like, for theire loyall assuraunce, the which reason, and longe experyence, doth evidentlye shewe to be noe good course or pollicye, ffor it hath been allwaies seen, even at this instant, that they ronne theire oulde

course notwithstandinge in shorte tyme, vppon anye light occasion, not weyinge the daunger of the poore innocent pleadge lyinge in fetters and coulde irones for them. Therefore to reforme that weare beste both for her matie and the innocent prysoners, whoe never geueth his consent to lyve in that myserye, but is betrayed and soe comytted by his freinds to inforce stronge bondes of recognysance vppon the offendor and others nearest frendes vnto him, which will restraigne him, if not, her matie hath the advauntadge of theire recognysaunces. And yf rather they enter into armes then paye the fforfetture, that then the L. deputye applye and bende forthwith his forces againste them, and not to receave them into favoure, or mercye, tyll they haue payed the fforfetture, or consented to paye yt, ffrayinge moreover the leaste parte of her maties chardge she hath been at in paye and vittayle for soe longe tyme as the fforces haue been imployed agaynste them and lastlye to reenter into recognysaunce.

28. The lordes of Irishbirth are verye highe and mynded, and dysdainfull towards ye Inglishrie, which will growe daungerous, and the greatest reason hereof maye be thought because of theire dignytye and honor, beinge earles manye of them, vicountes and barrons manye, and none of ye Inglishe race, but knights ye beste. Therefore, for the better staye, and preventye, of doubted daungers, and allsoe for her maties greater honor in yt realme, and preferment of service, it were good and necessarye to geue ye tytle of honor vnto some of everye province, whereby noe doubte but great good events woulde happen; ffirste, in highe courte of parlement, it woulde be verye honourable, necessarie, and moste convenyent, for her highnesse, and profitable to a comon quyet and prosperous publickue welfare, an onley furtheraunce and speciall meanes. [f. 119r] It woulde allso incorradge them, the more to fortifie there, to be carefull housbands there, to plante yt with men and to leave yt stonglye, and wealthylye, to their posterytye. It will induce manye gallaunte gentlemen, that lyves vaynlye here in Ingland, to spend the reste of theire tyme in her maties service in Ireland, for benefitt and advauncements sake. The realme that is not quarter peopled, but moste as a fforreste, whearin fewe dwell, woulde in shorte tyme be replenished with people, to her maties great wealth and everlastinge renowne. The ende of the goodnesse heareby succeedinge is not apprehensible.

29. If anie landes shall fall oute by the attainder of the Irisherie, to bestowe it vppon these howses for theire better mayntenaunce and incorradgement and soe shall the Irishrie be dewlye corrected, the Inglishrye stronglye and wealthylye planted, the right of the crowne stronglye defended againste all treasons and invasyones whensoever.

30. Allso in Ireland there is an auncyante custome grounded vppon yt lawe of armes, which hath, doth and will breede (if it contynewe) a moste pytifull calamytye viz. the proclaymed enymye, burneth, murdereth, prayeth and spoyleth the subiectes, which spoyles he houldeth in his possession fowre and twentye howres or longer as yt happeneth. The garrysons appoynted for that service pursueth them and receaveth parte or most parte of these spoyles and prayes, the which the captayne imedyatly dystibuteth to him self and his companye withoute respecte. Soe ye poore subiecte is depryved of the propertye of his goods, because it hath beene in the enymyes possession 24th howres and this they defend by the lawe of armes. Notwithstandinge this harde course, the souldyers in theire travayle and pursute, if these spoyled poore people haue anye releefe lefte them they will chardge them, and spend them both in vittayle and monye. Soe if the enymye leave anye thinge the garrysons spendes yt.
[f. 119v] Then these poore men, thus oppressed and extracted from theire goods, forsake theire countrye, which longe tyme after lyeth waste.
A moste happie and easye reformation maye be hearein resolved. As all such spoyles of the subiectes by her maties fforces rescued and recovered to be forthwith delyvered into the

custodye and chardge of ye shrrife of that shiere, withoute distrybution, but by the shirryfe, by whom proclamatyen to be made, and restitutyon to everye owner, devydinge the proper goods of the traytors or offendors amonge ye souldyers and noe further.

31. Allsoe, onles yt be vppon an enymye, where rebbells be releeved, that the souldyer vyttayle himselfe from his garryson place, for soe longe tyme, and not to spoyle and spende the countrye, which they shoulde defend with theire outeragious spendynge and voluntarye incursyons, with theire harlots, theyre boyes, theire horses and doggs as theire manner is, and vnder the collor of service great abuse is comytted and the subiectes impoverished daylye.

32. Allso there is an other moste lamentable course of service in Ireland to the wonderfull impoverishinge and depopulatinge of the same. When anye lordes, cheeftaignes of countryes, or commaunders of loose people, enter into rebellion, comyttinge fyrstlye murders, as theire manner is, then raysinge castles, perpetratinge all myscheevous spoyles, both traytorouslye and inchristianlye, theire poore people called thear followers, seeinge noe happie course taken for them, doe flee both bodye and goods vnto the traytors strengthe and fastnesses, not knowinge, or trustinge, anye where els to shyfte. [f. 120r] In short tyme beinge pursued by her maties fforces, the enymye scattreth the poore ffollowers surprysed in this fastnesse, not able to make anye further meanes for theire succoure, are turned to the swoorde, both man, woeman and childe, where the traytors most comelye eschape and afterwarde pardoned. By these meanes the moste parte of Ireland at this instant will hardlye be well peopled, these thyrtye yeares to come, by meanes of the slaughter of the poore people and comon drudges.
Therefore wheresoever anye such rebellion happeneth, to haue fyrste an especiall regarde of the poore innocent drudges and craftes men, for theire saftye and wellfare, lymyttinge by proclamation vnto them certayne dayes, and by a pursevaunte at armes, for theire cominge in both bodyes and goods by such a tyme, and the place of theire repaire appoynted, where they saflye, both in bodyes and goods, shalbe provided for, to theire comforte and comodytie. And such as shall reiecte this favoure after the daye lymytted never to expecte anye favoure thenceforthe.

33. Allsoe Ireland overfloweth with myscreants and pestiferous papists vnto which the realme, especiallie the cheefe townes and cheefe gentlemen of the countrye, are moste pyttifullye and dangerously inclyned. The countryes are overcome with seminaries and iesayters[89].

34. One parrishe in the pale called Luske, a great parrishe whereoute hath been mustred a thousand men, takinge but the cheefe of everie hosue, this parrishe was a moste zealous parrishe, none comparable vnto it in Ireland. The saboth daye and other hollye dayes a great [f. 120v] vewe of people still frequented the church, both younge and oulde, where nowe within these twoe yeares, they swerve from yt and nowe scante twentye vppon a sabbothe daye.

[89] Jesuits?

61. Robert Legge
'Remembrances for Her Majesty concerning the better regulation of sheriffs, pardons, execution of martial law.' (1593)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/172/47

A flyleaf reads, '1593. Remembrancs for hir moste excellent maiestie concerninge hir realme of Ireland'.

[f. 241r] That from hencefourth sherifes in all counties may be yearelie frelie chosen of the best and ablest men inhabitinge and dwellinge within euerie countie, that they may yerelie take their oathes in thexchequier and if eny *dedimus potestatim*[90] shalbe graunted that they be directed to the iustics of the seuerall circuits or gouernors of the provincs, otherwise they maye execute their offices as they haue done withowt oathe or haue yt retorned they are sworne, when indede they are not. And that all sherifes maye be bounde in thexchequier with sufficient suerties to accompt at the yeare ende and not suffered to depart vntill they haue fullie dischardged their accompts. And that they maie not hereafter be suffred to haue such great nomber of kearne and horsemen to followe them vpon the chardge of the countrey as they haue had.

That pardons of course maye not yerelie be graunted to sherifes as hathe byn for 20, 30 or 40ty in a pardon, wherein moste of them for theire owne benfitts haue incerted murtherers, rebells, theues and all other evill disposed parsons, which hathe byn a meane to encorage evill doers, knowinge that at euery yeares ende for need they might be put in one sheriue's pardon or other.

That hereafter no more seneshalshippes may be graunted in countie ground where sheriues are and that those that be maye onelie enioye their fees for theire tyme withowt exercisinge such iuriseliccion as heretofore they haue by vertue of theire said offics. And that they maye not be suffred to haue enie traines of horsemen and footemen to followe them vpon the chardge of the countrey, wherewith diuerse countreis heretofore haue bin oppressed. And where thauctoritie of the sherife is obeied there nedeth no seneshall. And that neither sherife nor senishall maye be suffred to take anie distres but accordinge the course of comon lawe.

That all pattents or grauntes heretofore graunted for executinge of marshall lawe, exceptinge deputies or the cheife martiall of Ireland, may be reuoked and called in and none hereafter graunted, for by the grauntinge thereof to verie manie parsons in tymes past manie subiectes hathe byn executed and oppressed, and theire goodds seized vpon, by sherifes, senishall, and suche other as haue had like auctoritie without yealdinge eny accompt to youre maiestie for the same.

That pardons maye not be so vsuallie graunted as in tymes past and that when eny shalbe thought fitt to be graunted it may be done by the mutuall consent of the Lo. deputie, and certeine nomber of the councell, in which pardons wilfull murther should not be pardoned as vsuallie heretofore hit hathe byn.

[f. 241v] That all offices of iustishippes and atturneys of anie provinces in that realme, as they shall happen to fall in youre mats guifte, maye be hereafter gyuen frelie to such parsons as shalbe well knowen to be men well learned in the lawes, and of good habilitie to execute

[90] A writ issued by authority of the crown to authorize a party to have an agent appear on their behalf.

the places, and that all recognizances, or bond, taken by them, and before iustices of peace, and arise for thapparancs and good behauior of enie, to be by them dewlie certefied into your mats court of exchequier that proces may issued fourthe as the same shall happen to become forfaiet.

That all offices in your mats court of exchequier, or in eny other youre courts of recorde there, maie hereafter be giuen frelie to such parsons as haue longe serued youre highness, being of good experience, and habilitie, to dischardge there seuerall places, whereby manie offices may be better executed, and more to your mats profytt then in tymes past they haue byn.

That all manor of casualties accrewinge to youre highnes by ffines of pardons, for the lyues and goodds of sondrie malifactors, ffines for wardeships, liueries, alienacions, instrucions, ffines of leases, present in possession or vpon surrendor maie be dewlie hereafter resherued vpon euerie graunt that shall passeth great seale, and halfe yerelie to be certefied owt of the chauncery into thexchequier, whereby youre mats officers maie with spede recouer them to your highnes vse, and not to be giuen awaie to priuate parsons who haue not desherued them, whereby such parsons as haue well behaued them selues in youre mats seruice maie be there recompensed owt of those casualties, and so not driuen to repaier hither to seke vnto youre highnes for reward, either by pencion there, or owt of your cofers here, as in former tymes they haue done.

That all maner of ffines imposed by the highe comissioners in cawses ecclesiasticall and the proffitts of the courte of faculties maie be dewlie accompted for into youre mats courte of exchequier. And that sufficient men maie be appointed from tyme to tyme to collect the same to youer highnes vse and not to be giuen awaie by concordatums to men of small desarte, as in tymes past they haue bin.

That all forfecturs for prohibited wares vpon penall statuts maie be dewlie satisfied to youre mats vse and not to be giuen awaie to men of litle desarte, as in former tymes haue byn done.

That no custodiams of escheated lands, concelement, wardeships, or otherwise, be hereafter graunted to eny before offices taken by theschetors and retorned of recorde and therevpon surveys to be taken by the surueyor and to be by him retorned into youre mats court of exchequier, whereby the certeintie of the land maie be knowen, with the value thereof, except the landes lie in the remote places where offices and extents may not be taken at all tymes. That then in such cases the parties sewinge for such land by custodiam to be bound by recognizane in thexchequier to paie the true valeu accordinge thextents to be taken and returned and that the Lo. deputie and comissioners shall passe leases accordinge the said extents, bothe for lands and tiethes, resheruing also ffines vpon the same, and vpon graunts for wardeship, to resherue bothe fines and yerelie rents to youre mats vse.

That order maie be taken to haue dew inquirie made in your mats courte of exchequier of all such lands and tiethes as haue, or of right ought to haue, come to youre matie, or anie your noble progenitors, either vpon the dissolucion of religious howses, atteindors, or by anie other meanes, and haue byn concealed, or wrongfullie detained, by enie maner of waies, especiallie by color of lres pattents heretofore past, and caried awaie by generall words, not beinge warranted by eny lres from your highnes or youre progenitors, wherevpon the pattents were made, and that the same must be carefullye examined and loked into by youre mats lerned

councell there together with thassistance of such officers and men of best knowledg in youre mats said courte of exchequier there, which can giue good light for the findinge of them owt.

That all busshoprickes, deanries, prebendes, and other ecclesiasticall dignities, maie be hereafter giuen to men of good life and lerninge, and beinge well knowen to haue desarued such preferments, that thereby great inhormities maie be reformed, which in times past haue byn comitted by some not worthie of enie such places. And that men of no lerninge or children at schole maie not be admitted to livings well able to kepe sufficient lerned men. And to tie such as shalbe admitted to enie chardge of church lyvings to kepe residence vpon them, whereby youre mats subiects maie be instructed in gods lawes and deu obedienc to youre highness, the want whereof in times past hathe bred much hurte in that your realme.

62. Nicholas Dawtrey
'Propositions for the South and North Claneboys, Killultagh, Kilwarlin, and Killaleertogh, to be graunted to the chieftains in fee farm for a reasonable chief rent to Her Majesty.' (1594)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/174/52

A flyleaf reads, 'The state of ye [principall] lords of contrees in ye north part of Vlster with a note what they may contribute'. Footnotes refer to annotations made by Burghley in the margin.

[f. 204r] Yf the south and north Clandeboies, Kilultaghe, Kilwarlin and Killaleertogbe in the northe of Ireland weere graunted vnto the cheiftains nowe in possession in manner of fee farme to them and their heres male for reasonable cheefe rent vnto her most excellent matie with promise to haue certaine free holders within each contreye to serue her highnes which course would be a verie good and directe meanes to bridle the highe minded cheeftaines and to preuent insurrections, herby their factions maye be broken in peeces without any charge or difficultie, for that they partlie desiar this course themselues. Farther they hauinge once a certaine state to them and ther heires males, the cheeftaines them selues I meane, will seek to establish good courses for ciuill gouernment because they wilbe assured that their children shall enioy the fruits of ther peace wheeras otherwise euerie one will but tak care to serue his owne turne while he liueth not regardinge what maye ensewe for that their children after them can haue no other interest then ordinarie tennaunts of the contreys but the eldest of the name which is a most saluadge custome.

Yt is will knowne that Shane Mc Brian, cheeftaine of North Clandeboy, Neale McBrian, cheeftaine of South Clandeboye, Cormack McNeale, cheeftaine of Kilultaghe, and Euer McRoury, chieftaine of Kilwarlin, haue ben earnest suters to hould their landes by pattent for her most excellent matie for reasonable cheef rent.

The ffreehoulders maye be chardged with some two or three pence the acre with risinge out of horse or foote accordinge to their abilitie which imposicion at first woulde be bestowed vpon the chieftaines for their better satisfactions and the chieftaines both to answere the seruice with the whole risinge owte in parson and to paye the whole rent vnto her matie once the yeare.

Shane McBrian, cheeftaine of North Clandeboye, wilbe verie well contented to geue some 80 or 100 beaues by the yeare with risinge out 12 horsemen and 60 footemen.[91]

Neale Mc Brian Fertogh, cheeftaine of South Clandeboie, maye well be drawne to geue 200 beoues by the yeare with risinge out of 20 horsmen and 120 foote by reason that South Clandeboye is best inhabited of any those contries.[92]

[f. 204v] Cormack McNeale, cheeftaine of Kilultoghe, hath offred of his owne accorde 40 beoues by the yeare, he maye welbe drawne to geue 60 beoues with risinge owte of 6 horsemen and 40 footemen for he hath to the nomber of 3,000 kyne in Kilultoghe out of whose yearlye increase he maye well spare 60 vnto her highnesse for cheef rent and haue better then 200 poundes to liue on by the yeare himself.[93]

[91] N. Clandeboy
[92] South Clandeboy
[93] Kilvltogh

Euer McRoury chieftaine of Kilwarlin hath also offered 24 beoves by the yeare. He maye well be drawne to geue 40 and a risinge out of 4 horsemen, 30 footemen. He hath to the nomber of 2,000 kyne in Kilwarlin out of whose yearlie encrease he maye well spare 40 beoves vnto her highenesse for cheefe rent by the yeare and haue better then 200 marckes to liue on himselfe by the yeare.[94]

Phelomy McCartan also maye welbe drawne to geue 60 beoves of cheefe rent by the yeare with a risinge owte of 50 footemen for he hath to the nomber of 3,000 kyne in Killaleertogh out of whose yearlie encrease he maye well spare 60 vnto her highnesse for cheef rent and haue better then 200 poundes by the yeare to liue on himself.[95]

There maye be conuenient place hadd in the castle of Carickfergus for the keepinge of their pledges whome this matter concerneth most meetest there for that their frendes maye most conuenientlest victuall them with smale charge for the farthest of the aforr mentioned contries is not aboue 20 myles from them.

[94] Killwarly
[95] McCarta

63. William Piers?
'Proiect for Ireland deliuered to ye Q. by an old captaine of Irland.' (c. 1594)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 567r-568r

A flyleaf reads, 'Proiect for Ireland deliuered to ye Q. by an old captaine of Irland'.

[f. 567r] The first question is whether that this waie taken against the rebell of Tyrone, by generall hosting and putting an armie into ye field, be lykelie to further her maties service or hurt him somuch as layeng strong garrissons by him, which shall both defend ye contries adioyning from his incursions and invade him.

It is thought not. The reasons are.

1. Because such an armie or hosting is long of preparing, slowe in marching and giues the enemie a great alarum, which waie soever it makes hedd, so as ye rebell prouids to kepe all ffords, to plaishe all woodds or prepares to besett all streights and to dryve and cary away all manner of praie before hir maties forces come, where of ye otherside garrissons well placed sallie out vppon him on a soddaine so as he cannot before hand knowe their intencion, march to safe being troubled with nothing but their armes (and every man a daies bread perhaps in his pockets) and he cannot haue leasure to lay for them and are at ye place where they should assaile any of ye rebells dispersed troupes or take any praie before they are thought of.

2. As ye hosting or armie is lesse able to anoy ye enemie so is it ye lesse strong to defend it self and more subiect to a generall defeate then a lesser then a lesser[96] number, that come sodenly from some neare and sitly seated garrisson place. For it is a maxime in ye warres then one thousand men will march or retyre in more strength and safetie if they haue nothing to gard but him selues then double their nomber if they be loaden and combred with carriages and if this rule be trae in all armies much more in that of Ireland where ye carriags are infinite and ye contrie hard to passe with hin.

3. This generall hosting shall never be able long to kepe ye feild for lacke of victualls, especiallie if it march farre into ye inemies contrie where only service is to be done, but ye rebell which [f. 567v] hath eaten all ye contrie throughe which her mats forces must [come][97], and will retire from it into his owne strength, shall haue mean to kepe his fforces togeither longer then her maytie, wheras ye garrysons shall lye vppon all ye yeare long when he shalbe dryven to disperse his troupes because he cannot kepe his creatts in any one place continually, but must devide his forces as he doth his creatts. This reason is grownded vppon an other principle in ye art of warres, that he is lyke to haue aduantag by ye warres that can tary last in ye ffeild and he shall tary last that can be longest victualled.

Then yf ye warres must be made by garrisoning vppon him the questions must followe.

1. Where the garrissons are to be placed.
2. Of what nomber euery garrison shall consist.
3. Howe those places shalbe fortefied and victualled.

[96] The repetition here is Piers'.
[97] The right hand of the text throughout this page has been obscured by the binding of the manuscript.

To ye first is aunswered that as in this contri of Vlster there is three principall ryvers, the Ban, Lyfford and Blackwater, so ye garrissons should command ye passages over theis ryevers and therfore should be placed vppon ye Ban at ye abbey of Colrand, vppon Lyfford at her mats castle of Lyfford, vppon ye Blackwater where ye bridg and ffort was before. [Yf] it be obiected that most of theise places want commoditie for [to] entertaine and lodg a garuyson of any great number and [that] it were better to place the garrissons at some townes as at Knockfargus, the Newrye and ye Derry or such lyke [it] is aunswered that theise townes, especially Knokfergus and Newry, are so farre from ye hart of ye rebells contrie and ye other aboue named so nere (besides that theise other places command ye ryvers), as that ye service which her maytie shall [receive] by ye fytnes of ye scituacion will counteruayle ye charg that [is] bestowed in making ym in as commodious as ye other, for if ye passages of theise ryvers be not kept in wynter yow shall seldome or never find ffordes and ye rebell wilbe most puld [downe] by a wynter warre.

[f. 568r] To ye second question is aunswered that ye least of theise garryssons should be 6 or 700 foote and 2 or 300 horse and ye strongest of ym should be at Lyfford, because it is nearest to ye rebell's contrys.

To ye third, that her mats army must goe to every one of theise places and stay some 10 or 12 daies in every one till ye brydg be made (which must be before ready in fframe), and till the places be put in some defence, and then ye garrysson that is left will finishe ye works. The tymber ready cut out for the brydges or for buylding of store houses, brewhouses, bakhouses or such lyke maye wine to Cowlrand and to Lyfford by water from Waisheford, and may be cut out not farre from Waisheforde at Enischortie, and so may any victualls be sent by sea to any of theise garryson places ffor to Lyfford castle boats of 10 or 12 tonnes may come and to ye Derry (which is but 8 myles from it) vppon ye same ryver barks of 50tie of 60 tonnes may passe, and to Colerand abbey boats of 20tie or 30tie tonnes may passe and to ye road (which is but 5 or 6 myles from it all ye mouth of ye Ban) very good shipping may come. The victualls that are sent to ye garrysson of Blackwater must come by sea to ye Newry and from thence they must be convayed by land which is 19 or 20tie myles, but ye contry is good and there is as good meanes to make a newe bridg, as there was to make ye vld, though it be ye hardest warke of ye three.

64. William Saxey
'William Saxey to John Puckering.' (1595)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/179/48

A flyleaf reads, 'To the right honourable, my very good L. Sir John Puckering, knight, L. keper of the great seale of Yngland'.

[f. 107r] I have presumed right honourable to laye before your grave censure such defects as in this tyme of my being within this province I have abserved concerning the state of this countrey, and the maners and condicion of this people, wherin albeyt I shall be wray my small skill in state causes, yet vnder your honourable pacience, moved with zeale to the good of the countrey wherin I live, I am emboldened to discover the enormyties in this government and my poore opinion for the reformacion therof. Ffirst, because all reformacion ought first to begin at the house of god, yt is lamentable that there ys here so small care of publick devine service after the course allowed by comon acute, that in many places within this province within 20 myles compasse there ys neither church nor minister, and, for want of due discipline, open recusants and obstinate papists most contemptuously refuse to rapayre to the church, or recognize her maties supremacy and yet many of them possesse the greatest places of iustice *deus misereat nostri*[98]. The state of the countrey in civill matters ys very imperfect, ffor the noblemen and lordes of great countreis are the auctors and nourishers of ill disorder, eyther by retayning great nombers of vagrants, who can geve no reason of their mayntenance by any lawfull meane, but fytt instruments for all murders, robberies and myschief, or els by extreme oppression of their poore tenants, extorting from them what they list without controllment. The way to remove this myserable oppression, and to woorke a fyrme loyalty in the harts of the people, weare that the nobilitie and lords of the countrey should be ordered to make vnto their tenants estats for no lesse terme then 21 yeers, or three lives, by indenture, wherin should be contayned all such rent and service as the lord should have or demand. By this meane yt wold come to passe that where thestats of the tenants are now at the most but for 3 yeers, in regard of which brevitee of estate they have no care [f. 107v] to make any civill or defensible buylding, or to continue long in any place, wherby they lye open to the rebel in regard of the weaknes of their habitacion, and them selves the more apt to be drawen to rebellion, or mutynyes, when they possesse nothing but that which they may easily cary away or convert into money. Yf thear estats weare more producable yt wold encourage them to build strongly, to plant and to husband their rents, which they wold make better account of, then to enclyne them to every tumult, as they are now enforced by reason of their villanous tenure. Another great hindraunce of iustice and of indifferent triall of English mens causes groweth by this; that of all English inhabitants in anyone county there are few or none fitt and enabled in lawe as freeholders to passe in iuries, ffor that almost all English are tenants for yeers, so yf the cause be betwene an English man and an Yrish yt doth go hard many times with the Englishman for want of English iurrors and therby both lif, lands and goods of thenglish standeth subiect to the triall of them who, as they know not god aright, so they make small conscience of an oathe. The want of enclosure of land ys a great encouragement of theeves, robbers, vtlawes and rebells, ffor once out of sight yt is impossible to pursue, there ys such choise of wayes to escape by without stopp or lett. Thus, humbly craving the acceptance of this my bold and tedious discourse, as a memory of my humble duty, and that it may please your good L. to vouchsaf me thencrease of your honourable favour, I end with my harty prayer to the allmighty to make your L. an old and happy counsailor vnto her sacred matie. From Youghall, the 25th day of Aprill 1595.

[98] God have mercy on us.

Your L. most humble
at comannd.

Willim Saxey

65. J. Goring
'Discourse by Capt. J. Goringe on the Rebellion.' (1595)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/180/61

A flyleaf reads, 'June 1595. Mr Goring's discourse of Irish matters'.

[f. 189r] Whereas by the unduetifull and moste vnnaturall mysdemenors of the Erle of Tirone there is a generall rebellion in all the north parts of Ireland, to the greate discontent of her matie and impoverishinge of her mats subiects in the said realme, the which rebellion is nowe latelie bourste fourth into burninge, killinge and wasteinge all suche people and provincs as are theire borderinge neighbours. It is therefore to be examined frome whence this audauciousnes should growe, and howe, and from whence one soe vile and abiect, and in all things soe farre inferiour to her matie in force and power durst once vndertake the least of theis his trayterous attempts againste her matie by whose grace and mercie he is come to what he hathe. These things beinge considered, and the man well loked into as one well acquainted with our state and breed vpp under her mats protecion, alsoe his valiour and actions for this many yeares beinge well disgested it is to be doubted that he would never enter into soe mightie a warre without he had made some combination without some forine prince the which I thinke to be the kinge of Spaine. Howe muche his aide maie annoye or hazard the state of Irelande I will sett downe hereafter. But first I will lett you see as neere as I cane gesse what conteries and forces the erle and his accomplises doe commannd. Ffirst the erle is cheife in name, next O'Donell, beinge as great of power and of contrie as hee, then MacGyer, Brian O'Rourke, Shane McBrian, made captaine of both Clanne Boyes by the erle, Con McNell Óige, Jeamas McSaurly Boye, and all the Scots of the Route, with the erle's brothers, and all the LLs. and septes frome the easte sea to the west, soe that theire power ranks of no lesse nombers then 10,000 or 12,000 and daylie [f. 189v] doe increase by the fugitives that flye out of Conoughte, the Analle, the Breney, the Fuise and Euan McColles sonnes for they have spoyled all theis contries following; first they reear theire bonetts on Lecalle and late the Ardes, the have waisted the countie of Louth, the countie of Kauan, the countie of Longford and in Conoughte the countie of Raskoman, and a contrie called the Maubary, soe that by theire contries and doeinge youe maie iudge of theire forces. Nether are the lightlie to be sett by for notwithstandinge theire barborusnes, they have manie souldyours amongest them that have served both in her mats bands in those contries and in forine warres and great nombers of shoote, more then accustomed, and manie horsemen which is theire cheifest strength, her mats subiects beinge vnfurnished by theire longe peace and fewe tropes of horse in her mats paye. This maie suffise to shewe their strength, but to sett downe what forme of warr or what forces were necessarie for the supressinge soe notorious a roite of rebells, or to give counsell in soe danngerus a war as this is lyke to be, becometh me not. But beinge commannded by your honour I submitt my selfe to your favorable sensure, venturinge to be condempned by all of follie rather then once to be found vnduetifull towards youe. Ffirst, her mats armie in Ireland consisteth in theis forces followinge; of the olde companes 7, of the Britaine companes 13, of the new supplie 10 com., some 7 or 8 com. levied in the contrie, soe that her mats whole foote forces cannot be aboue 4,000 men, and in lykesorte to the nomber of 400 horsmen, but soe devided by 10, 12, 25, and 50 that they doe little service, except when the deputie goeth in person. But to make this more plaine I will sett downe the names of the severall places the armie was lodged in at my [f. 190r] cominge awaye. Ffirst, in the province of Mounster there remained the Lo. president, the vice president and provost marshall, and all the horse in her mats paye in that province. In Conought there remaineth all the horse allowed the governour, the provost marshall and all other in that province. In lyke sorte there remaines the governoures com. of ffoote and two com. of the new suplie viz. Captaine

William Mostion and Captine Conwaye and thre com. levied in the contrie, and to follow Fyaghe Mc Hughe I thinke there were thre com. appoynted. To answer the service of the North and for the garde of the pale there was placed in Mollinggare one com., in Athboy one com., in Tryme one com., in the Nauan two com., in Slayne one com., in Derdath 3 com., in Dondalke 3 com., in the Neuerey 3 com. and the marshall 20 horse, in Carlingfourd one com., in Arde one comp., in Kells one com., at Foure one com., at Monohan one com., in Knockfargus 60 of the tresorer's com. and one of the com. levied in the contrie and 25 horse of Sir Edward York's, ffor the 50 horse of Sir Henrie Harringtons and the 25 newlie levied by Sir Edward Yorke, nor the 50 horse newlie levied vnder Captine Russell, all theis as yett have noe garrison on the border for that there was noe horsemeate in the conntrie. It maye be asked whie theis forces of 3,000 men should not be sufficient to suppresse the rebells, or whie they have not invaded the erle's countries? Whosoever will note it shall fynde that men and iron make warr and money and meate mainteyne warr. Sure her matie payes well but there is noe meate to be had in the north of Ireland more then youe carrie with youe. Neither doth that contrie yeald other cariage then on horse backs which are verie poore and weake and muste [f. 190v] be taken from the plough, whereof noe smale nomber will serve, for the necessaries be not fewe that belonge to a campe. Yf the deputie had intended any exploite or service wantinge foode and sustinance both for man and horse which was not ther to be had, howe longe could he have remained in the enemies contrie. An other thinge is to be considered. If he should have made a iorney on the erle he muste have reazed a generall ostinge out of the whole contrie for the defence of the Englishe pale, by which meanes the agreement for the composicon money would have bine broken, and they armie would have eaten vpp all the provisions that should have releived her mats armie at their returne frome thes service for more hurte will theire owne people doe hym in one weeke then the like nomber of her mats forces in three monethes and should not the pale be garded it is to be supposed the erle would have entered behinde him in likesorte it hade bine open to O'Donell who would have made his waye through the countie of Longford into Westmethe. Soe that I holde it more wisdome to forbeare then by adventuringe to hurt his enemie, the disgrace to returne on his own heade and especiallie when it toucheth ye staite of a kingdome.

But to sett downe my simple opinion what might be moste safetie for the staite, and to bringe this warr to an orderlie proceedinge, with as little charge as maie be, I thinke it not amise that the warr were followed with good meanes at the first, soe the charges will growe lesse and lesse, whereas by lettinge it want the provisions and sufficient nombers the charge will dalie increase and consume both men and money without doeing any service.

[f. 191r] And to laye the ploote of this warr I will begine in Conought for that it fronteth on the contries of O'Donell, McGyer and O'Rourke, wherefor I coulde wishe that province were strengthened with 3 com. of foote, and one hundred Englishe horse, for theis beinge supplied to those the governoure hath alreadie, I thincke he would be hable to make in his province 1,000 foote, and 200 horse besids the reisinge out of the contrie, with which I beleave Sir Richard Binghame woulde doe verie good service, and by this meanes youe maiebe assured to hold the forces of the erle and O'Donell disvnited. The next place to be supplied with garrison, for savegard of the Pale and to anoye the enemie, is to place one comp. in the countie of Longford, and two com. to be placed in West Methe for the gard of the passages over the Eny, which beinge kept that parte of the contrie standeth assured for theis 3 com. beinge seconded by the inhabitants of West Methe and the Dillon's contrie wilbe able to withstand any invation the enemie shall dare to attempt, and will doe manie good services on that border, soe that the direction of the service be comitted to suche a one as maiebe thought fitt for it, for vppon all occations if need soe require the service mayebe seconded by 100

horse and 2 or 3 com. of such as lye most neere for the garde of the border, but otherwise those 3 com. wilbe able to defende the pasages. Ffor the keepinge fronter againste the erle, and the safegard of East Methe, it will be necessarie there be in garrison in the Nurie 4 com. and 50 horse, in Dundalke 4 com. and 50 horse, in Arde 2 com., in Carlingforde one com., in Kells one com.. It wilbe necessarie that the garrison of Monohan [f. 191v] be supplied with another companie and 50 horse it they maie convenientlie be acomodated, which maiebe supplied if it be well looked to in tyme. And it will be verie needful for the service, that there be placed on the borders 200 horse more then aboue named, else the foote shall never be able to lett the enemie from burninge and spoylinge, nor be of sufficient force to enter his contrie, but theis garrisons beinge furnished in this sorte wilbe of sufficient strength to defend and offende. Ffor the followinge of Feugh Mc Hew lett 3 com. be appoynted.

And whereas the garrison of Knockfergus is now but 160 foote and 25 horse I could wishe it were supplied with 4 com. of foote and 100 horse for this will be found the moste fitt place to annoye the erle's in all the North. Yf the garrison be stronge and comannded by a soldier of experience, and suche a one as knowes howe to manage that warr, for till suche tyme as the erle shall fynde himselfe wounded in his inner parts he will litle care for all the iorneyes shalbe made vppon him, but by this garrison youe shall drawe from him bothe the Clanne Boyes, the Route, Con McNelóges contrie, the Ardes and manie other contries and weaken him in forces 2,000 foote and 200 horse and if the matter be well handled by the governour he maie strengthen her mats forces 400 or 500 men which shall not charge her a pennie, and take soe good assureance of them, as they shall alwayes remaine faithfull subiects. Ffor it will be found that the garrison of Conought and the garrison of Knockfargus muste be the skurges of this warr, not that I would haue your honour thincke I meane that the [f. 192r] tropes should lye continuallie in Knockfargus but I would have it for the retreate, and to furnish them of all thinges they should wante. For with suche a garrison the governoure maie commannd all the contries frome Knockfargus to Castle Tombe, and from thence make dalie incursions into the erle's contrie or O'Donell's as occation should present. The cause whie I chewse Knockfargus rather then any other place though some will speake of Lough Suly, Straban and the Dery, whosoever doth note the scituacon of those places and the chargs that will growe by settinge downe a neewe colloney, or the disbursments, that will arise by providinge all things fitt for the accomodatinge of an armie in places remote and vninhabited will be of my mynde. Againe the comodiousnes of the haven of Knockfargus, beinge muche nerer to all parts of her mats dominions then the others, beinge places litle frequented and skarce knowne to any her mats subiects. This reason make me speake soe much for the allowance of this place, and aboue all for that I knowe it will further the service of the North more then any other with farr lesse charge, and better meanes. Yf it be obiected howe this garrison shoulde be vitled without any extraordinarie charge to her matie, I thinke it maie be this; there muste be disbursed some proportionall some of money aforehande for the furnishinge the garrison of breadcorne and malte and some oats for horses for yf the garrison be placed before September they will make theire winter provisions of flesh, and beinge well paide, they have the Ile of Man, the north parts of England and the west parts of Scotlande that will releave them with manie things. There maibe some allowance appoynted for the repayringe of suche vessells and other provisions as remaine in the store howse there, for bruenge and [f. 192v] bakeinge for the garrison. It hath bine thought a great charge to her matie the tenne shillings per diem for the governoure, and the paye of twentie men allowed for the keepeinge of the storehouse, which charge is a smale matter in comparison of the service a man of action maie doe her matie at this tyme. But yf it might soe please her matie, it were not amise if he had 50 horse in paie duringe this service, and for his tenne shillings per diem, and the paye for the warde of the storehouse to paye himselfe on suche

compossission rente as he shall reare on the countrie for the which he maiebe accomptable to the staite, and this I durst vndertake to performe, and much more then I will speake. One thinge is to be remembered that whereas I have sett downe the nomber of 560 foote and 180 horse for the garrison of Knockfargus it is not ment that it should remaine in that strength aboue twoe moneths, but frome thencforth to be reduced 360 foote and 100 horse the other 2 com to be imployed at the appoyntment of the Deputie.

Sir accordinge to my symple iudgment I have devided her mats forces into most fitt places for the service and have not encreased her mats charge more then 200 horse, the which I thincke verie necessarie to be sente over which as muche speede as maie be. Alsoe I would wishe there were sufficient store of municion and all other provisions fitt for the maintenannce of the warr sent over before the winter which in those part is verie stormy and vncertaine. Neither cane it muche damnefie her matie consideringe the soldier payeth for his powder and for vitlinge the companies frome England I thinke there will be noe greate cause except it be the garrisons of the Neury, Carlingford and Knockfargus, which muste be supplied with breadcorne and malte, and some cheese and butter. The lyke provisions muste be made for the vitlinge [f. 193r] of the armie in all suche iorneyes as they shall make into the erle's contrie, which provisions are moste fitt to be transported to Carlingford, frome whence they maie be conveyed to the Neury by water, which will saue much carriage. One thinge more Sir I could wishe for the perfectinge of all the rest; that this warr were followed with such as had both aucthoritie frome the staite to command, and experience in them selfe to take the occasion of all oppertunities, for the presence of the deputie nor the aucthoritie of the counsell will not continuallie be in place.

Now lastlie I will sett downe what dannger the staate of Ireland standeth in if the Spanyards should arrive there with 4,000 or 5,000 men. If any man imagine they will lande in the Northe he deceaved himselfe, for never soldier will attempt the conquiringe or invadinge of a forine contrie but he will have the comoditie of a porte, frome whence he maiebe seconded and whether he maie make his retreate. And to thincke the Spaniards will seeke out the hidden rocks in the north and northwest of Ireland, beinge above 200 leags from theire coste and leave the faire havens in the southwest, as Waterford, Corke and Kinsayle, with the rest which are not above 100 leags frome the north cape of Spaine, or to thinke that the Spaniards, that above all other nations loveth the Irishe hath not vnderstandinge of all the comodious places for fortificacon in theire costs, I thincke he were much deceaved. Neyther am I of the oppinion that any man of warr commanndinge sufficient forces [f. 193v] will seat himselfe in a barbarous contrie without habitacion when he maie with the same meanes commannd faire townes and settle himselfe where all things are in great plentie. To thincke he shall have noe partakers in those parts it were to deceave once selves, for firste even for Mounster, I thincke there remaineth muche drege of theire laste rebellion and manie evell affected of our owne nation, for I thincke therebe more withdrawne thether that wante the duetifull mynds of good subiects, then of any desier to drawe the contrie to sivellitie. Next there are all theis contries and septs, beinge meere Irishe, within 60 myles of Waterford; O'Carroll, O'Dun, O'Malaughlyn, O'Maloy, the Kelles, the Dempses, the Moores and the O'Connors with divers others, all which inhabite the verie harte of the contrie. On the other side betwene Waterford and Dublinge dwelleth the Kaueners, the Bernes, and the Tolles, and Feghe McHew, all which have bine ill affected to the staite, and the whole contrie in generall contrarie in religion to her mats proceedings and greatelie addicted to the Spaniards. All theis things beinge looked into, howe easie a matter will it bee as I saide before for 4,000 or 5,000 men of warr landinge at Waterford to possesse them selves of the place and frome thence, beinge but thre dayes march to Dubling, what shall lett them to overrune the contrie before

any heade cane be made against them. And haveinge spoyled the Englishe payle what is lefte to mainteyne her mats armie, soe that in a manner without one strooke stricking, the forces will be compelled to quite her mats realme and truelie I knowe [f. 194r] noe remedie in this but to have a good care of the haven of Waterford. But if the land any further of it will give tyme to provide the beste remedie that tyme will aforde, and they shalbe entangled with the faire wants of carriage and other necesseries belonginge to the feilde, that our forces in the North doe wante, by which oppertunitie maie be taken for necesserie defence. Thus craveinge pardon for presumeinge to shewe my simple oppinion in soe high a matter I rest wishinge your honour all happines.

Your honors ever to be comannded

J. Goring

66. John Norris
'Project of Sir J. Norreys for carrying on the war for a certain sum of money.' (1595)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/182/72

A flyleaf reads, '27 Aug 1595. A proiect for Irland fro' Sr John Norrycc'.

[f. 270r] If her maiestie wilbe pleased that the companies of horse and fote aboue specified maie be supplyed to be made full to the nomber of their commissions which will not be done vnder 800 or 1,000 fotemen and 100 horse and the same to be paide for six monthes viz. three monthes to be aduanced before hand and at the end of those three monthes, thother three monthes to be likewise aduanced and that her matie will alowe the same of 2,000*li* ster. aboue the paie of the soldier towards all manner of buildinge, fortifications, makeing of bridges, transportacions and losse of victualls and all other extraordinarie charges, I dare promise that her matie shall haue the countrye in that state as the people shalbe glad to yeld obedience vppon soch condicions as her matie shall think fitt. Or if her maty shall think fitt to continewe the warre for six monthes more for the better estableishing of the countrie that then the warre shall put her matie but to half the charge aboue specefied for those six monthes.
And by that time not only the countrie wilbe brought to obedience but to yeld her matie a greate rent.
In this charge aboue mentioned shalbe comprised the paie, transportacion and victualling of 1,000 fotemen and 100 horse to be sent directly from Ingland into Lough Foyll after the said men shall come to the waterside.
The makeing of the fort at Lough Foyll shalbe comprised with botes and all other things for it.
And likewise the fort and ouerbridge at the Black Water, reparations of Armaugh and Monhoan and anie other smalle forte that shalbe thought fitt to be made.
Yf at thend of the six monthes ther shall remaine anie of her mats thresour in her highenes thrers handes yt shalbe ymploied towardes the charge of the six months following.
During theis six monthes, the companies being full paid as aforesaid and that allowance made for extraordinarie charges as is demanded, her matie shall be at no charge for losse of victualls but the capts shall vittle their companies vppon their owne paie. Yf her matie wilbe pleased that this course be held in paying, imployeing and victualing of the companies that then her pleasure [f. 270v] maie be that my self haue the nominateing of all soch persons as shalbe imployed in this seruice, her mats threr only excepted, which cannot be thought vnreasonable since I must answeare for that shalbe done herein.
The terme of the six months to begine when her mats thresour and the men to be sent into Lough Ffoyll shall be come to the sea side.
Prouided alwaies that yf ther should happen anie greate descent of Spaniards, wherby it shalbe thought fitt the nombers of soldiers to be increased, that then her mats charge likewise to be increased.
And if anie of the victualls or other prouisions should happen to perrishe by shipwrack or to be taken by the enemyes shipping her matie then to supplye yt and to beare the charge of it.
Espetially ther is greate expedicion to be vsed in sending of the men and prouision to Lough Foyll, that they maie be setled before winter.
If anie disbursment made by me touching the matters aboue mentioned shall be misliked by her mats councell I will be content to answeare yt. Dated in camp by the Newry this 27 of Aug. 1595.

J. Norreys

67. Francis Shane
'A brief discourse by Francis Shaen, declaring how the service against the northern rebels may be advanced, and the Connaught tumults in some sort repressed.' (1597)
TNA: PRO, SP 63/198/124

A flyleaf reads, '28 Apr. 1597. A discource of Irishe matters, deliuered by Mr Ffra. Shane'.

[f. 368r] A briefe discourse declaring hou the service against the northerne rebels may be advaunced and the Connoght tumoults in som sort repressed.

Ffirst, the scituation of the contrey yelding as well a conveniencie for the transporting of victuals as also for the service is cheifly to be observid, both which comodities the ryver of Lough Earne affordith. This ryver, beginning his greatnes at Beltyrbert, doth run from theast to coast therby, as a very strong bulwark deviding Connoght from Vlster. The passadges of this ryver, as Ballashanan and Bealick (being at the most fyve miles distant), being garrisoned with indifferent forces, will not only defend Connoght, and represse the insolensies therof, and defend ye south side of the pale next adioyning, but also at convenient tymes annoy O'Donell in such measure as he shalbe forced to disvnite him self for his owne defence from the earle, which is one of the chefist things that carefully ought to be labored, in performing wherof a strong garrison is to be planted at Lough Foyle, at the Dyrry, which being well provided for will dissipate the hoale forces of the north in so mutch as therle shall not be able to releue O'Donell, nether O'Donell therle. Ffurther, it is to be considerid that this garrison at their first landing shalbe invested with the possession of Innishowen, a contrey of 30 myles long and 14 broade, resembling as it were an iland, the istmus wherof from Lough Sowlie to Lough Foyle is but two myles. O'Dogherty, cheife lord herof (being a man alwayes him self well inclined to the state), will no doubt becom loyall. Also Heugh McHeugh Duff O'Donell, a man of great valluor, with Neale Garrow, son to Con O'Donell, with McSwine Banagh, will do the like. These first thre gentlemen of no litle accompt in their contrey and inwardly hating the tyrannye of O'Donell, having depryved them of the possybilitie of the contrey which to them in right aperteyned, will seake all the meanes they can to pluck him downe, if not for affection to the state, yet in revendg of their pryvat recevid iniuries, will ioyne with the garrisons of Ballyshannen, Bellick and Lough Foyle, the last wherof at all tymes of advanntadge may sally at their pleasure into any part of Tyrone and returne in full strength within 48 howres to their garison place.
Ther will an other benefit arrise herof; this garison bordering vppon O'Cahan, the cheife strengh of horse yt therle hath, will disarme him therof, or els by dayly incursions will so hurt him as in thend he must cloase with the garrison in many good porposes and beneficiall capitulations.
[f. 368v] These recited garisons do not want the benfit of well disposing such booties as they shall attayne, nether the meanes to transport victualls and munition, the sea and Lough Earne yelding what is to be desired for that purpose.
The garison at Ballyshannan and Bellick may turne into Connoght all such spoyles as they shall win, ether to be preservid for their further nede, or by sale to furnish their present wants, or what they can not dispose this waye they may turne it into Inishmorrey, an iland in the sea not farre from Bundroise, betwene which and Ballashanan ther is, as it weare, an iland conteyning every way five myles, wherin tylladg with securitie may be planted if the tyme serue. Hither also by sea many good meanes are offered to bring all manner of provision from Mounster and all parts of Connoght.
The garrison of Lough Foyle hath Inishowen for place of disposing their booties also, yea if they list to haue a collony of thenglish for tylladg, if not they may be cherishing the natyves

of that soyle effect the same which will stand them to no small purpose. Hither all things must be transported by sea and it is sertayne yt thenglish Scots of Vrrin and Ayre for monny wilbe glad to haue a vent for their wyne and ale, wher with (dobtles) they will furnish this garison plentifully. The fishing of the Band will stand this garison to good vses.

By these garrisons befor sett downe, the haunt which the Spaniards haue got in furnishing thearle and O'Donell with munition and other habiliments of warr fitt for supporting them in these theire trecherous attempts against hir matie, may easely be cut of, which put in practise what possibilitie hath these rebels to hold out in their disloyalty if they be defeated of their Spanish hoapes.

Magwire shall not escape but that these garisons of Bellashannan and Bellick, but cheifely Beltirbert, on both sydes of Lough Earne shall play vppon him with an equall harmony to his vtter confusion, which the soner shalbe brought to passe in that the now Maguire hath depryvid Connor Roe Magwire of the name of the lordship which to him in right did belong ether by Inglish lawes or Irish customs.

[f. 369r] To procede to Tyrowen, the fittest places for garrisons [of the] borders are these, the best wherof as I conceaue is the Blackwater, in regard of the sondry commodities which redoundeth by Lough Eagh, into which the ryver of Blackwater descendith for the space of five myles in such depth as nether man nor beast can passe the same but by boat from the fort to the hed of the Lough. This Logh affordith this vse; that what you meane to transport to Cowlrayne, the same by water may be done, and what you [mean] to receaue in at Cowlrayne from the sea, the same may returned to the Blackwater or any other place of moment which shalbe had for hir matie vppon those borders without impeatchment. A further benefit procedith herof; Knockfergus is within 12 myles of Logh Eagh, als. Sydney (all thampion ground), vppon the edge wherof standith a ruinated pile called Edendoncarrick (and not far of thabey also of Masserine), which being made wardable wilbe fitt to receaue into stoare what provision shalbe intended from Knockfergus for the reliefe ether of Blackwater or Cowlrayne, if by sea you con not for tempestuous wather performe the last. By the garrison at Blackwater the hoale contrey to the Newry shalbe conquered and therle forced to kepe beloe the Blackwater, wher not withstanding he shall tak small rest, the garison at Lough Foyle playing vppon him as a northerne storme and the garison at Blackwater descending vppon him as a southerne tempest, to whose assistance may be called such forces as shalbe resident at the Newry, being distant but 20 myles at the most. The garison placed at Monnaghan, 14 myles from the Blackwater, may be imployed to offend or defend and if any cause of service be ministred may annswer Blackwater, which also for a sprint the forces of Beltirbert may do.

A further benefit in tyme may fall out, viz. that if any of the 4 sons of Shaien O'Neale, now prisoners with therle, maye be released any way, wherin monny will mutche prevayle among those covetous and barbarous people, besides their naturall inclination to thofspring of Shaien O'Neale, what doubt is to be conceavid that if one of them, or all of them, get liberty but that their followers (being very manny), now deteyned by therls tyrannye, will imbrace their libertye and cast of the yoake of such a tyrant, whom in hart not only they but many of the best [f. 369v] sort in the north do inwardly detest, a testimony wherof we haue of both his bretherne Art, by father, and Turlagh McHenry, by mother, the first offring to revolt if he might be manteyned against his brother's tyranny. Thother was in person imprisoned by therle for a yelousie concevid of his returne to obedience.

It is to be hoaped that Sir Art O'Neale, son to the late O'Neale, with many others, if these garisons be placed in the bowels of their contrey, will renounce this ingratefull tyrannt's government, which is the lesse to be dowbted in that his suspicion conceauid of many in the north doth increase in such measure as he thinketh him selfe in no securitie of their truth, though he be possessed of their childerne manacled as prisoners and their hoale creaghts and cattle of what kind so ever.

An obiection may be made that the chardge herof will excile which I grannt and yet not excede the dishonor of the losse of a kingdom held these 400 and 30 yeares. Nether will this excessiue chardg hold but for a tyme and then in this manner may be defrayed.
These garison places must be buildid gardable, to the buildinge wherof the pay of 4 or 5 hundred men may be spared out of such forces as is supposed fit for the fynishing of this war, which ended the greater forces casshierd, the forces the thought fit for garding the places and contynuing the subiect in his loyalty may be manteyned in forme following.
To the mantaynannce of Ballashannan and Bellyck may be added to composition of 800 beoves dew in O'Donel's contrey, together with a bonoght of thre hundred galloglas which O'Donell imposeth to the vse of the thre McSwynes, viz. Fanad, Banagh and McSwine Ne Doe, [whose] entertayngment amountith at the least to 2,000 beeves and all imployed against the state.
To which may be added all such spirituall and temporall lands as do belong vnto the crowne as an augmentation, together with a fine tract of land called Moygynny betwixt Bondrowish and Bellashannen, which may be vsed for tylladg as befor is said.
Ffor the better strenghening of such as herafter shall reside at Ballashanan and Bellick the rising out of Connoght, consisting of nere a thousand horse, and that may be adioyned yearely, serving their tyme by hundredth monethly for 40 dayes, wherby that garison shalbe corroberated at all tymes more by a hundred then hir matie shall gyve allowance for. [f. 370r]
The fortification of Logh Foyle may be by the like meanes manteynid, adding the composition of the next contreyes thervnto, as O'Cahan and other the borderers, who may yeld for further composition what of them selves willingly they haue don to therle for supporting his trecherous practises against hir matie, which (vnder correction) in conscience may be exacted as inflicting the same vppon them a chastisment for their disloyalty such lordship beves as the late O'Neale and the now earle doth yearly levie as dew to the name of O'Neale vppon Magwire may be disposed to the defraying of the chardg of this garrison.
Beltirbert may be supplied at all tymes better then any the rest in regard it borderith on thenglish pale from whence the wants therof may be supplied with plenty and also the garison at Bellicke and Ballashannan by water, in distressed tymes, may be conported.
This Beltirbert may be made a goodly segniory by knitting ther vnto thabbey of Clonys, not far distant, with all spirituall and attaynted lands, both in the countyes of Longford and Cavan, by doing wherof hir matie in tyme shalbe at litle or no chardg at all and the contrey like to be planted with Inglishmen, which after long service in that garrison will affect to be well planted in such lands belonging to that place so well knowen to them.
The composition of the counties of Cavan, Moneghan and Magwir, als. Farrymannagh, with others the Irishry adioyning, wherof hir matie of long tyme hath reaped no benefit, though done wilbe a good meane to defray a great part of such chardge as shalbe grow by this garrison. Here also in tyme of tranquilitie som of thold garrison bands may be resident to represse any sodden attempt that shalbe intended by the Irish.
The Irishry, well discerning yt Lough Earne ministred good meanes to prevent their lewed purposes, brake downe all such forts as were of moment vppon or adioyning to the Earne that might stead the state, as Bellick, Bundrowishe, Inishkillen, Lisgowle abbey, Moneghan and Blackwater, which if they had ben garded and contynued might haue paled in the north from their dayly incursions into thenglish pale, which yet they will doe if things be orderid skilfully and the forces in the borders placed orderly.
[f. 370r] Many of the Irish lords by south these garrisons shalbe broght to conformotie, albeit many do conceaue a great difficulty therin but the reason is playne.
Litle I will say, or can be said, till things considerid of that part of the north lying by east Lough Eagh towards Knokfergus, in that the Newry forces, Knockfergus, Cowlrayne and the

Blackwater, may, from tyme to tyme, as occasion shall serue, bend their strengh in part or the hoale against the same places.

To conclude, necessitie requireth for the spedye and esey effectinge of what formerly is set downe that boats and pynnesses of dyvers sorts be provided in such places as ether the sea or freshwater affordith passadg for the salf conveyance of men, monny, victuall, munition and what so ever els shalbe requisit for the performannce of ye service.

[f. 371][99] The disposing of the forces in garrisons befitting ye service.

Lough Foyle	2,500
Bellashannan	350
Bellick	350
Beltirbert	700
Moneghan	800
Blackwater	2,500
Newry	300
Knokfergus	300
Cowlrayne	200

[99] This list of locations and troop numbers is provided separate to the text, on the flyleaf, in the same hand as the body of the treatise.

68. William Mostyn
'Proposals of William Mostyn to the Lord Deputy and Council for the subjugation of Connaught'. (c. 1598)
BL, Add. MS. 4,819, ff. 171-175

[f. 171r] The opinion of William Mostyn to the right honnorable the Lo. deputie and counsayll at war towchinge the service of Connaght, howe the same maye be brought to better obedience to her matie then it was theis 40tie yeres past without eny chardge to her heighnes, besechinge your honnorable Lops. not to condemne his opinion tyll your honours throwly redd the same.

Accordinge as all dutifull subiectes are bownde to signifie vnto your Lops. there knowledge to putt downe and subdewe her maties enemyes in this realme I am embowldened to declare my oppinion for the service of Connaght where I have theis 26 yeres past served and for the most parte thereof an officer travelinge in the contrey and thereby do knowe the countrey throwlye which maketh me the bowlder to sett downe my opinion howe and in what sort and with the lest charge the rebells of Connaght may be brought to better obedience to her matie then it hathe byne in eny of oure tyme, which if the plotte hereafter layed downe to your Lops. by me wilbe followed, if the same will not reduce the whole province to a quiett establishment within one ten monethes I am content to losse my head and for securitie of the performance thereof my self to lie in durance in the towre of London tyll the same wilbe perfected and with the chardge then her matie shalbe at in followinge the service with 1,500 ffottmen as I have sene or as I here saye it shalbe.

Ffirst it is well knowen to your Lops. that the same cane not in no sort be perfected without men and victualls from England, which beinge sent no dowbt but Connaght maye be brought to a setteled quietnes in this sort and cravinge pardon I will laye it downe.

Ffor the accomplishinge of this service I woulde have sent from England for Connaght three thowsand footmen with there victuells of bread, butter and chease for one full five monethes in Irland, and landed in the places of garrisons hereafter sett downe with there good proportion of mvnition and instruments for piners as shovles, spades, picaxes xc..

And when they were a seyborde I would have dirction to 1,500 of them with there proportion of victualls, mvnition, and other instruments as shovles, spades xc., to lande at Gallowey. The other 1,500 to lande with there proportion of victualls mvnition and all other necessaries at the places hereafter sett downe.

Nowe I would have five hundereth of them that landed at Gallowey, with there proportion of victualls, mvnition shovles, spades xc., to go from Gallowey to garrison to Kilellenan in Cwlagh harde by Clonegashell and that John Burcke sonne to William Burcke of Shrowre and Ricard Óg MacJonyn towe good subiects and services may be made muche of and vsed for instrument for the service to drawe iorneyes [f. 171v] vppon the enemyes ethere forwardes from the garrison to the harte of MacWilliams countrey towardes Boreshoole or towardes Tirawley or this wayewarde backwardes in the Kellies contrey, in the county of Gallowey or in eny place in the Joyces countrey.

Then I woulde have five hundereth more of them that landed at Gallowey, with there proportion of victualls, mvnition , shovles, spades xc., to go throwe the countrey directlye to O'Born's countrey adioyninge vppon Wynterowles beinge O'Rwrcks countrey and there in

the river of the Shanen at the ffortt of Garrantorpan to fortifie and sett downe there garrison place, which may be alwayes relived by watter from Athlon and for there instruments to provyd gwydes to make Teg O'Rwrcke, sonne to the late O'Rwrck executed in England (and nowe banished by his brother Brean the rebel there) whom I would wishe should be muche made of, and some of the countrey promised to him after the banishinge of his brother the traytor which if the people of Rwrcks countrey might se him countenannced with force, many of the people of O'Rwrcks countrey, would aswell for feare as for love, withdrawe from the rebells vnto him, John Rinalds, Robert MacPeetters, Nvgent and O'Borne are also fytt men to drawe this garrison to service ethere forwardes to the furthest parte of O'Rwrcks contrey, or ells to the maghery or to Gwyscellagh in MacWilliam's contrey or to O'Connor Ros contrey.

Then the other five hundereth that landed at Gallowey may be devided in this sort with there proportion of victels and mvntion.

Ffirst one hundereth to lie at Athenry which together with the erle of Clanricks good helpe may daylye do service vppon the Kellis, the O'Maddyns, and all places in the countie of Gallowey.

One hundereth more of them to remayne at Balleneslo which maye daylye do service in the O'Maddyns contrey and in the Kellis conntrey west syd the Sucke, or into the countie of Roscomon vppon the Kellis there est syd the Sucke.

One hundereth more to lie at Corraghboye which daylye maye do service vppon the Kellis est syd the Sucke in all places.

The othere two hundereth to remayne at Roscomon from whence they may daylye do service alonge the maghery, O'Connor Ros countrey, towards Gwystellagh in MacWilliam's contrey or towards Athlon. All theis garrisons to bring there victualls from Gallowey and mvnition.

Nowe I have placed the 1,500 that landed at Gallowey, I will place the othere 1,500 in this sort.

[f. 172r] There shall lande five hundereth footmen at Boreshoell, with there proportion of mvnition, victualls, shovles, spades xc., where they shall place them sealves in the abbey or at the castell and to take Tybett Y Longe for there gwyde together with some othere good gwyds which dwelled in the contrey there beinge Englishemen and they to drawe this garrison to service, which with ease maye in one daye meette the garrison befor placed at Kilellenan, and do service daylye vppon there left hande towardes Tirawley or one the right hande towardes the Joyces countrey.

Then in like sort I woulde have landed five hundereth more at the abbey of Moyen in Tirawley, with the proportion of victualls, mvnition, shovls, spades xc., who are able thence to do service at all tymes in the countie of Sligo, O'Rwrckes countrey, at the maghery towards Roscomon, towards the garrison of Boreshoell and towards the first garrison placed at Kilellenan. I would have Ricard Bwrcke nowe soldier vnder capten William Mostyn and his father and brother beinge nowe fledd in Mownster maye be made muche of and drawen for gwydes to drawe this garrison to service to the places aforsaid there dwellinge is in Tirawley harde by this garrison and they knowe all the contrey thereabouts and are able to bring them daylye to service.

Then the other five hundereth I woulde shoulde be landed at Sligo, with the proportion of victualls, mvnition, shovles and spads xc., and to fortifie there and make there garrison place in the orched harde by the castell (if the abbey be brocken) tyll the castell maye be made vp, from which place they maye daylye serve in all places in the countie of Sligo, the maghery towardes Roscomon, O'Rwrcks countrey or into McWilliam's countrey and to have William Tathe, Donnogh O'Connor, [als pope] sent to them for instruments to provid gwydes for the service, and by some good means to drawe Tirnan Bane, (nowe a traytor) from the rebles to be a gwyde, who hathe a longe tyme served for that purpose with George Bingham agaynst the traytor O'Rwrck and no doubt may yet be drawen (if force wee at Sligo) for that purpose.

Nowe I have layed to your Lops. the forces and places requisitt to establishe Connaght in civilitie your lops also must vnderstand that the same will never (by all licklihood) be effected so well by the dent of the sworde, as if also it should come by the [f. 172v] crueltie of famyn which must be by takinge there cattells from them in eche parte of the province where the traytors inhabyt, which cattells I would wishe should be in this sort distributed and should very well please the soldiers.

Ffirst her matie towardes her highness intollerable chargis in the service showlde have the one moyitie of all the cattells taken from the enemyes and reserved for her highnes and the same by some good stewardes and officers imployed for the victualinge of the said garrisons for a further tyme, more then the forsaid five monethes victualls, before layed downe from England, which moyitie no dowbt but shalld and will reache to answere and paye the remayne of the entertaynments of the said three thowsand men, besydes there victulinge and a farr higher proportion to paye for the forsaid five monethes victulls so bought in England.

Your honnors must vnderstand that the said garrisons, especiallye, the garisons at Boreshoell, Moyen and Sligo must be carefully provyded for from England of all thinges necessaries as brogges, stockinge, and rwgges to lie in because there is non to be had in so aremotte places, for there is no hope of eny suche, but what they carry with them, and if the soldiers should lande at the said places and driven (as I did se the late soldiers so that came from England) to lie a whole monethe or a quarter of a yere in there clothes, not in so good a sorte a kennel of howndes do in England. Howe dothe your Lops. thinke that they may be able to endure and be in strength to serve her matie, yea when at there first cominge ove they shalbe driven to travel and wett all daye, to sleepe in them at night for very cowldnes, dothe your Lops. thincke but there feette thereby will swell and be gawld and they thereby vnable to travell. Yeis I have often sene the same.

Therefore your honnours should do well to send to England that seuerall shires which dothe sende men over may not onlie take great care to send over by some good mean, towe payre of stockings, towe payre of thyne brogges for eche soldier, but also a rwgg betwene eche towe man, all which maye be bought to furnishe a hundereth soldiers with 45 li str beinge a smale some for sheire, for comenly the shires in England vse to rewarde the captens with a hundereth pounds vppon the receapte of the soldiers from them. Therefore they maye in reason bestowe so muche vppon the soldiers, but if it be delivered to there captens the soldiers wilbe deceyved, all which to be delivered to the soldiers here after the landinge.

[f. 173r] Your Lops. must consider this, that as the countrey nowe standeth, all theis garrisons are in remotte places and cane not be daylye relived especially Boreshoell, Moyen, and Sligo but what come to them by the sey. Therefor I take it expedient that the 20tie tonnes of sault be sent with them to eche garrison one the sey cost, from thence, the other garrisons maye be

relived with sault and that a victuler in eche garrison be appoynted to receave her maties moyitie of eche praye or boottie and the same to be by him ethere saulted or otherwise bestowed to her maties best advanntadge as in deliveringe it freshe to the soldiers for there victuling, to sell what they maye for redie money and sault the rest with there heides and in theis garrisons thee must be order geven to the said victuler to bey the soldiers moyitie of kyne at a noble [str] a beofe in redy money, which maye be in like sorte, ethere saulted for provition to serve theis garrisons for a longer tyme then the forsaid five monethes victualls brought from England or sowld for redey money, or whollie saulted for provicion for her maties shippes in England and Ireland, otherwise the soldiers are not able (beinge stranngers) to do eny good with there moyitie, which beinge thus bought by her matie cane not be a lesser be beyinge the soldiers moyitie, but a great gayner and the soldiers wilbe therebye the better encorraged to drive and gether the enemyes cattells when they gett some litle helpe of money to bey them drincke to strengthen them in there garrisons.

And if any man howld opinion that Connaght wilbe reduced with a lesse proportion of soldiers then is layed downe your Lops. maye marke what effecte it will take when it is begone and howe longe the service wilbe lingered to the increase of her maties charges and withal (I feare me) the service to no good purpose for (vnder correction I writt it) the enemye have sene there owne power and strength in Connaght and do beleave they cane not be by no prince conquered or brought to obedience agaynst there wills. Therefor I would wishe the plot before layed downe might be placed and mayntayned which (vnder god) will kvrbe them, and besides suche as fire and sworde will not cut of famyne will dispatche them, by which means the very children that are with the traytors when they see the fatheres and motheres dye for hunger, the countrey by the quenes maties power brought to so miserable estate for there faultes no dowbt when those children shall have grace and mecye shewyd to them, they will ever so longe [f. 173v] as they live, not onlie embrace and love peace and tranquilitie but also geve there children to vnderstand to what miserable case the quenes maties power is ever at all tymes able to bringe them if they should hereafter offend.

It is necessary and most needful to have certayne horsemen placed in garrison where some of theis garrisons do lie and in this sort.

Ffirst I would have fiftie horsemen placed with the garrison of Kilellenan in Cwlagh.

Also fiftie horsemen more to be placed at Roscomon or vppon the maghery as occastion served.

And a hundereth horsemen at Sligo, but if there were garrisons placed at O'Donells contrye viz, at Balleshanen and at Lyffer, or Dwn Y Longe, towe fytt places bothe to be victuled by the sey, but Dwn Y Longe is the fyttest and nearer to the haven mowthe, then fiftie horsemen might well serve at Sligo.

There must be great care hade that eche capten do bringe with them a good surgion with good store of drwgges for sawlves for there must be no runinge to Dublin for the same for at the comynge over of the late soldiers diverse captens had no surgion and suche as had a surgion he had very litle store of sawlves or drwgges for the same.

It may (perhappes) bethought by your honnours the charges of three thowsand men to be to great for Connaght service and that a farr lesser number might serve as I my self have harde some saye but I never hard then saye and yeld the same might be ended in eny shorte tyme.

Therefor it must needes be a lingeringe chardge. But I beseche your Lops. not onlye to consider the quicke dispatche of the service, but also that theis garrisons being thus placed, if eny of them be hurte, slayne or sicke (as no dowbt there wilbe) and they weackkoned saylye by suche adventures there is no supplye to be looked for from England for Connaght tyll the service be ended (which vnder god) there shall neede non tyll the same be brought to a full end for I would not wishe that eny of theis countrey people should be taken for eny supplye in Connaght, but only trust in god and those three thowsand ffottmen and the forsaid horsemen.

[f. 174r] And if the number in eche garrison be thought to great for chargis they maye be drawen somewhat to a lesser proportion, but I take it not fytt to do the same. Not howsoever it be the places aforsaid are the fittest to be placed with garrsions to bringe Connaght to dutifull obedience and those garrisons must be stronge at the first for daylye they wilbe weackened and at the lest they must alwayes leave fiftie stronge to make there garrisons place good, when they salley furth for eny service.

Your Lops. may consider what number of soldiers were sent to the last iorney in Connaght, what effecte the same iorney came vnto, what chardge her matie hathe byne at in the same, a what benefytt it yelded to her highnes vppon there retorne by which you maye consider that the sendinge thether of a thowsand or 1,500 men is but to putt her matie to a continewall charge without eny benifytt to her highnes or bringinge the people to eny dutifull obedience at all but rather to encorrardge them to proceed further in there mischeif, for although theyre was taken some fewe cattell from the rebells, it hathe byne diverse tymes sene that they will take two for one from the subiects if they be not well lookt vnto.

And above all thinges yur honnours is to consider that Connaght is a province most profitable and fertyll cituated with principall towns and howldes for her highnes and hathe yelded great rentes and revenewes to her matie by the late compossission, taxacion of first frutes, twentie parts, ympost and the owld auncient revenewe and nowe by theis trobles and rebellions vtterly decayed and wasted aswell from eny revenewe (to accompte of) as aucthoritie and consideringe the same to be so commodious a province as it was I do thinke it (vnder reformacion) not fytt to be cast of our forgone for the bestowing and layinge out for a tyme so smale a charge for the same is not to be lickened in no sorte to Vlster which is a barbarus and a savaidge countrey in respecte of Connaght and harder to bringe to knowe there duties, and that Connaght hathe tasted ons the sweetnes of good goverment and civilitie and maye be easelye made with forces to acknowledge there fawlts and brought agayne [f. 174v] to dutifull obedience. Altho nowe it is brought by some means to a most miserable estate as you se, and vnlesse her highness wilbe requitted (all thinges considerd) sixtie fowld, which otherwise I feare me wilbe an accation to a further and more generall mischief. Connaght hathe byne one of the best places of this realme planted with Englishe and Englishe goverment and nowe all throne out at the wynde. Dothe your honnours thinke if the same be quietted (as hardlye it wilbe) with a mylde course but at there pleasure they will agayne thro it vpp throwe the chimney when they be greeved or discontented and take this a bandoninge of the Englishe for an example herafter to fawle agayne to a seconde rebellion and yeis dowbt not of it.

I would that there showld be no protections nor pardons geven to non (if this plotte be followed) but onlye to suche as would first drawe blind vppon suche principall traytors as they should be appoynted vntill suche tyme as it should please her matie to cease her furie.

It were expedient and verey needfull to reseave one soldier out of eche hundereth to be placed in a warde at Milicke for the defence of the passardge from Limiricke to Athlon and othere services vppon the river, which needes no more there, theis garrisons beinge this placed.

And if your honnours will consider the number of kyne the rebells have which no dowbt wilbe taken by their garrisons your Lops. will yelde there wilbe fower score or a hundereth thowsand kyne at the lest taken from the rebells the one moyitie being free to her matie the othere at a noble [str] a beofe there is no dowbt but her highnes wilbe at no charge in puttinge Connaght vnder ffoott and withall wayinge not onlye the quick dispatche of the service, but also wayinge the [f. 175r] wantes her matie hathe yerely for beofe to victual her highnes shippes in Ingland and Irland it is no chardge at all to mayntayne those three thowsand men for so shorte a tyme to so good a purpose as is layed downe beinge the recovery of so good a province as Connaght is.

I humblye beseche your honnours to confer theis my opinions with some otheres which knoweth Connaght and especiallye with suche of Connaght as are present in towne, viz. iustice Dillon, capten Malbie and otheres and if they all aswell suche as are nowe in Connaght, as they here do concurre with me in substance then in all likelihood my plott is rightlye placed and therefore (vnder reformacon) ought to be mayntayned.

The dewe consideracon of all which I humblie leave to your honnorable Lops. grave consideracons.

69. William Udall?
'Considerations respecting the state of Ireland.' (c. 1598)
BL, Add. MS. 19,831, ff. 3-4

[f. 3r] Those which set downe theyre opinions for the recouery of Ireland hold it for a rule it must be a generall conquest. Thees men want a deepe coreyk of the state of that contrey, and other adioyning, only vppon the first sight they deliuer theyre slieght surmises. It must be more deeply considered, of the forces, of the charge, of others nations adioyning, howe far the Irish are in league and confederate with them, with the like.

Albeit there be many rebells in Ireland, yet the name of a conquest in all policy ought not to be vsed, for that makes them more desperate and to fly to other nations.

Whosoeuer doth more advisedly consider the state, and the complaynts it may be, shal finde that the most honorable, profytable, assured, and swift course is by this meanes to recouer that contrey.

To send ouer reasonable forces which may cause an awful regard and then to examine the contrey greffs and complaints. Both theis ioyned togather wil cause feare and reuiue loyall affection.

The rebells of Ireland exclayme at home, and to forrayne nations abroad, that theyre wrongs and oppressions can neither be herd, nor remedied, so that an examination of theyre wrongs doth import aswell to fre the gouerment of England in Ho. abroad, as further to cut of forrayners from al advantage. Yf the Irish do iustly complayne let them haue remedye, yf vniustly, then let the dishonor returne to forrayne nations who ioyne to relieue and aide wilful rebells to theyre natural soueraigne. Yf they complayne with cause a remedy wil avoyde the charge of warrs, yf withowt cause yet the hearing of theyre complaynts can breed no hurt, and the notice of the hearing, and examination of theyre causes, yf it were presently published by proclamation, it wold stay much of the rebell's procedings.

The examination of complaynts wilbe greatly impugned by 2 kind of people, first by officers who dare not abide trial, secondly by such who haue supported the offendors. But there is no reason why hir matie should be at charge and pay so deare to serue the humors of hir bad officers and not to examine theyre offences yf that course may recouer or establish a whole kingdome.

What are the chieffe complaynts of the Irish as I haue herd them, and know them, I haue here breffly set downe.

First, they complayne vppon exchetors, surveyors, iurors and such like, for taking away theyre lands by forgerys, rasings, periurys and such like. In this poynt amongst many I wil name a fewe offendors. There is in Dublin one Robt. Bire, a known forgerer, and so recorded in the excheqs of Ireland.

[f. 3v] Rich. Boyle, a man nowe seking preferment at court, ran out of England for rasing of records. He came into Ireland without cloaths or money, both which he got by counterfeiting of hands, by forgerys, rasings and periurys. He hath thrust many a man out of his land and was the first beginner of rebellion in Connaught. His wrongs were so intollerable that one Deane, nowe at the court alsoe, prosecuted sute agaynst him and procured hir maties lres towching this Boyle to have his behauiours punished. When Boyle vnderstood this, knowing he could not endure triall, he mett with Deane and did compound with him for fifty pound to teare hir maties tresour betwixt them they did. What an indignity was this offered. The sollicitor of Ireland, nowe in towne with others, can iustyfy this.

This Boyle had seuerall enditements of felony agaynst him, and being in prison for the same he ran from his keper, who is nowe in town to iustify the same.

In the litle tyme that Sir Thoms Norrys was L. iustice of Ireland Boyle tooke the advantage and gaue an hundred pound for his pardon for felony, by which hir matie lost 2 thousand. His practises are intollerable.
The Irish further complayne of infinite extortion done vppon them by the sheriffs of the contyes. When that office was bought and sold at a deare rate how could the sheriffs make theyre money agayne but by extortion, which made the subiect growe in hatred of English lawe.
Anthony Stanton, late sheriffe of the count of Kerry is hevyly exclaymed agaynst. Is was one of his practises to bringe nombers of people to Dublin by protest and when they came there he had nothing to say to them.
Further, they alleage, for what seruice soeuer they did, they had not reward or recompence, whatsoeuer pay was due to them they could neuer get any. This captayne Tirrell doth alleage and Patrick Art Moyle, the sheriffe of Monottan, who deliuered vp that fort for want of pay. Infinite others make this complaynt. There is nowe in the same kind an important consideration to be had of one, Phelim O'Hanlon, the best seruitor that euer hir matie had in the North, and that hath done the most and best seruices. The forcis the neither do, or can doe anithinge, without him or his seven sonnes, as tal soldiers as any Ireland yeldeth. This man hath lost thre hundred pound a yeare. He hath nothing to lyue vppon but his pay for 25 horse, of which at Christmas he could not get a peny, but remayned at Dublin in greate distresse, without meate, drink, money or apparell. Tirone offereth thousands to haue him, his sonne and theyre, for want was enforced to come to England. Heare he hath remayned some 6 moneths without respect making very hard shifts, rather then with shame to returne back, [f. 4r] and so be occasion of rebellion to his brothers, or to others. It is a comon word in Tirone's mouth to bid his seruitors loke vppon Phelim O'Hanlon and so see howe he is vsed, and what is gotten by seruing the English, with like speaches.
Vppon this hard vsage of hir maties seruitors, James FitzPearse, the sonne of Sir Pearse FitzJames, who was burned by Walter Rewgh, with his wyfe, daughter and sisters, in a castle most miserably, doth lay one cause of his rebellion, and addeth further that Sir Richard Bingham went about to entrape him, did thretten to hange him, and did cause his towne to be burned. It is to be considered by James FitzPearse, and by another Gerraldine, a base brother to the erle of Kildare, that when they were held as rebells, yet both of them at seuerall tymes did vittayle hir maties fort, Liesse, which they wold not haue done but vppon some extraordinary regard.
This Sir Richard Bingham hath bin the cause of many a mass rebellion in this respect. He is hateful in Ireland. No Irish wil trust him. When he was sent ouer the Irish sayed there was nowe no more dependance vppon England, there was no hope of mercy, or remedy from hir matie. Nowe all was fier and sword.
They further complayne they are neither trusted with munition to defend them selues, neither when they shewe theyre estate and danger to the state of Ireland they can be defended, which is to true. I haue seene important gentlemen as Barnewells, Aylmers, and others with teares, lament it thus last Christmas. This hat bin the cause of burning many a towne and losse of many a castle. My Lo. of Kildare by this meanes lost his castle of Rathangan.
Another complaynt is vppon extortion by captaynes and soldiers. When a they came into a towne they made havock of all and not content with vittayles they wold haue money or cary away what they found in the house. To complayne was without regard, or remedye, besids they were charged with continuall ceases, which came in the yeare to 20 mark, and 20 pound a plowland, and yet hir maties treasure no whitt saued, nor any seruice done.
It is alleaged further agaynst the vittayler that he serueth with rotten and stinking corne and all the worst promises. The victualer man Newcum had once the rope about his neck for seruing the soldiers so, whereof many died, but they say money was his friend.

Those that prouide soldiers apparel do greate misechiffe in that contrey called the provant Mr.[100], for they bringe all out of England redy prouided, by which course all merchants decay, all occupations decaye, so that by this means the contrey is, and wilbe, vtterly vndone by it, for when men haue neither where vppon to liue, nor where vppon to worke, either they must sterue, or as they [f. 4v] for preseruation of theyre lyues to rune into rebellion. This is an hevye speach and importeth a deepe consideration to thinke that liues are rather preserued by rebellion then by loyalty.

The city of Dublin, who are charged with all soldiers that come at 5*d* per diem and yt not payed, who lend money to hir matie as cause requireth, who vppon occasion of seruice send out soldiers at theyre owne coast and charges, are exceadingly greued as these provant Mr.. They say theyre trades are all decayed, they shall not be able to put meate into theyre owne bellyes, much lesse reaceue soldiers as they have done. They offer so they may haue the prouision of soldiers, as now it is had, to saue hir matie out of euery thousand soldiers a thousand pound per annum.

The Irish are exceadingly greued with the words commonly vttered by our English captaynes and soldiers, that Ireland must be generally conquered, and that there is no true Irish man in it. Thees words do much hurt and are to be remedied by a sharpe and present proclamation. The Irish might be the more condemned for theyre rebellion yf none but them selues went to the rebells, but when as the soldiers borne in England, and sent ouer for seruice, rune into rebellion by 30, forty, threscore at a tyme, a further cause must be considered, yf not a naturall inclination doth moue both, but rather some kinde of gouerment doth discontent both. My L. chancelor of Ireland hath al his sonnes captaynes. From one of his sonnes forty sixe soldiers came to the enemy, with armor and furniture, at one tyme since Decembre and since Christmas thirty ran from another sonne. I hope my L. chancelor's sonnes wold not entertayne those who had a natural inclination to rebellion, then the further causes must be looked into.

The Irish feare they shal neuer haue remedy of theyre iust complaints, in yt some who are to be charged are officers and in authority, for which that costume in China were a rare example heare, that when any magistrate is in any sort accused, vntil he haue cleared him self of the accusation, to be remoued from his place.

Udall[101]

[100] Provost marshall

[101] There is an ambiguous mark off of the left hand side of the U which might indicate a J, but most likely a W given that internal evidence points substantially towards William Udall as the author.

70. Anonymous
'A paper of advice, concerning the disposal of troops and garrisons in Ireland.' (1599)
BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, ff. 268-269r

[f. 268r] If there be 2,000 foote and 200 horse landed at Lough Foyle they may march withoute let of bogge or wood till they come to the mountayne of Lough Dericke, which is 15 myle from Ballyshenan and as much from Lough Foyle, where they may mete with the forces which shalbe with Sir Conyers Clyfford, which forces, beinge vnyted together, maye march till they come to the pace of the Curryn, which is 5 myle on this syde of Don Gannon and within 2 myles of the Blackwater, which fforces can be no lesse than 5,000 foote and 400 horse least that O'Nele should bend all his forces towards them.

If you lodge at the abby and castle of Colrane 1,000 foote and 100 horse they will constrayne Sir James McDonnell and O'Cane to kepe theyre owne countryes for that theyre countryes are bothe subiect to the spoyle of that army.

This garrison and the garrison of Lough Foyle may meete at any tyme within 8 howres march in the myddest of O'Cane he cuntry whoe is the strongest L. of horse that belongeth to Tyrone.

These forces and garrysons beinge come and placed in the country I make no question but Sir Art O'Nele will ioyne with them, who is able to bringe with hym 300 foote and 60 horse to ioyne with them in my lord his absence, especially to Sir Conyers Clyfford if he haue the comannd of those forces.

Sir John Doughardye wilbe likewiese forced to come in because his country is altogether subiect to the spoyle of the forces which land at Lough Foyle and so will O'Cane.

If there be apoynted 6 longe boates and a pynyse at Lough Foyle and [4][102] longe boates and a pynyse at Colrane there is taken away from them all theyre meanes for theyre munytion and apparrelynge of themselues, which they haue only oute of Scotland.

If there come a force of 5,000 foote and 500 horse to Armagh and soto the Blackwater O'Nele wilbe inforced to quit all his intrenchments betwene Armagh and the Blackwater by reason of the other army, which intrenchments beinge disolued he wilbe constrayned to fly to Glan Conkynne with his cattell and army, which if he do he wilbe dryuen to lose a greate part of his cattell which is the only meanes he hath for the mayntenannce of his army.

Ffor hym to ly vppon the pace of the Curryn or Benburbe where he fought with my L. Bourough it wilbe greatly to his disaduantage, especially if my Lord passe the Blackwater, for then will bothe our forces be within a myle the one of the other, which if he cannot passe there will not be aboue 2 myles distaunce betwene bothe our armyes.

[f. 268v] If he do let forth as he promysed at my comynge from thence he would Henry McShane, O'Nele then will the Clan Donells, which are Tyrone's, strongest sept of people, ioyne with hym and the Quynes, which are his pryncipall horsemen, for that the sayd Henry is theire true foster sonne, whereof they dare not be knowne for feare of Tyrone his tyrany.

[102] This figure is ambiguous and may also be a 9, though 4 seems more plausible given the designation of 6 boats for the service at Lough Foyle, which would have held priority.

The O'Hagans are true foster brothers to the other brother caled Con O'Nele, which I did fynd by his wief vpon his delivery, or vpon any forces of ours comynge in to the country, will ioyne with vs.

There is a mortall hatred betwene 2 septs of the country, the O'Quyns and O'Hagans, which neuer come together in one place but they are on theyre garde one of the other.

If it shall please his Lpp. when we shall make our retreate from the iourney, to place a garrison in Lough Muckney of 1,000 foote and 100 horse, with 6 or 8 longe botates, he shalbe able to land in McMaughan's country 800 foote in fowre howres, which place is within a myle of the strongest place of all that country caled the Ffuse and within 3 myles of Lough Rosse where the bastard soone to Tyrone doth kepe for the anoyaunce of the pale.

This gaurrison will anoye all them on this syde [Drunimcurry], which is Henry Óge McHenry McShane O'Nele, his towne, which is beyond the Blackwater a […] of a myle till a come to the pace of Bealeagh Nergath, which is within 8 myles of Dondaulke.

The guarrison of this place, and the guarrison of Dondaulke, the garrison of the Newry, and the garrison of the Blackwater, may mete within 12 howres vpon any playnes on this syde of Armagh, where if the be possest of any praye they may march eyther to the Newry or to the sayd Lough Muckney withoute any wood or bogge to hynder them.

This place caled Lough Muckney by nature is so stronge that 2,000 men in 48 howres woorke will make it impossable for the Iryshe enymy to wyn.

[f. 269r] This which I have here set downe I had by conference in tyme of my emprysonment and by one which I have brought ouer with me.

This should be excecuted by the myddell of March, for then theire cattell are weakest and then in theire pryncipall sowinge of theire corne, for that they sowe no grayne but only oats and barley in that country, which if they be kept from they shall be forced to liue vpon theyre ould corne without any hope of encrease.

Note on Conventions for Lists

The following is an authoritative listing of the 'reform' literature. While the overwhelming majority of these are formal treatises in manuscript, there are also a large number of items of correspondence, journals, histories and assorted print material. For more on the variety of forms in which the 'reform' literature of the period appears, see Chapter One. The proceeding material has been arranged into three lists along ethnic lines. As such, the first, and by far the longest, list is of documents composed by members of the New English community, the second is a catalogue of tracts composed by Old English writers, while the third, final, and brief, list, is of the few treatises which were written by Gaelic Irishmen. The arrangement of the material within these lists is chronological. Also, considering that multiple tracts were composed per year the material for each year has, furthermore, been itemised according to the collections in which the document is found in the following fashion:

Items printed contemporaneously; Items printed since; State Papers; Carew Papers; *SP Henry VIII*; L.P. Henry VIII; HMC; Cotton MSS. Titus B; Cotton MSS. – Other; Add. MSS.; Lansdowne MSS.; Royal MSS.; Carte MSS.; TCD; Bod. Lib. – Other; Hunt. Lib., EL; Fitzwilliam MSS.; Philadelphia Papers; c. (same year)

For the titling of texts the convention generally applied has been to utilise the title given in the pertinent calendars where appropriate. As such, reference to documents amongst the State Papers is given by using the title provided in the original calendars thereof, etc.. In respect of tracts authored by various magnates the title held by those writers at the time of writing has generally been applied. Thus, Thomas Howard is given as Surrey in 1520 and Norfolk in 1535. The exception is in relation to the first and second earls of Essex. The first earl has been listed as Walter Devereux, while his more infamous son is given as Essex for the sake of clarity. Where there are multiple extant copies of a text reference has generally been given to the most easily accessible or best calendared version. Thus, for example, for Nicholas White's 1578 'Plate' the reference given is to the version in the Carew Papers, which is the best calendared, although a copy amongst the State Papers may well actually be the original, while there is a third copy in the Cotton MSS.. The following three lists are limited to tracts which apparently were authored by single individuals and generally those with direct experience of Ireland or those such as Thomas Smith and John Dee, who either had some works go through the press on Ireland or produced works of some theoretical interest on the country. Consequently, the proceeding lists do not offer a catalogue of memos, etc., on Ireland by senior ministers in Whitehall, a group of texts which await further study. Additionally, the extensive series of collectively compiled reports and memos from the Irish council to Whitehall, which often offer much by way of proposals on policy initiatives, are not included. However, and finally, a supplementary list of select tracts by multiple authors, generally those mentioned in the body of the text, has been included to provide some limited impression of this type of document.

‘Reform’ Treatises by New English Writers, 1509-1609

John Kite, ‘John Kite, Archbishop of Armagh, to Thomas Wolsey’, 1514, TNA: PRO, SP 60/1/3

John Kite?, ‘The State of Ireland and Plan for its Reformation’, 1515, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 1
Anonymous, ‘Description of Ireland’, 1515, L.P. II(i), 1367

Surrey, ‘Surrey to Wolsey’, 1520, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 15

William Rokeby, ‘Memoranda for Ireland’, 1520, L.P. III (i), 670

Anonymous, ‘A device how Ireland may be well kept in obedience’, 1521, TNA: PRO, SP 60/1/28

Surrey, ‘Surrey to King Henry VIII’, 1521, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 20

Surrey, ‘Surrey to King Henry VIII’, 1521, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 21

John Alen, ‘Report to Crumwell’, 1533, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 64

Anonymous, ‘Report to the King “of the state of Ireland at the time of Kildare’s recal from the Deputyship”’, 1534, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 69

William Brabazon, ‘The Treasurer of War in Ireland to Cromwell’, 1535, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 70

Norfolk, ‘Norfolk to Crumwell’, 1535, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 104

William Brabazon**,** ‘Brabazon to Crumwell’, 1535, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 105

Anonymous, ‘Proposals submitted to Secretary Crumwell, for the pacification of Ireland and suppression of rebellion’, 1536, TNA: PRO, SP 60/3/3

Anonymous, ‘Remembrance for Mr. Secretary [Crumwell], for settling the Earl of Desmond’s lands’, 1536, TNA: PRO, SP 60/3/49

Anonymous, ‘Note of the five shires in Ireland, which should be obedient to the King’, 1536, TNA: PRO, SP 60/3/88

William Brabazon, ‘Note how to bring Ireland into good subjection, being remembrances to be declared by Master Body to Crumwell’, 1536, TNA: PRO, SP 60/3/94

Anthony Colclought, ‘Anthony Colly to Cromwell’, 1536, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 73

John Alen, ‘J. Alen to King Henry VIII’, 1536, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 150

William Brabazon, ‘Notes of certain remembrances’, 1536, L.P. XI, 521

Anonymous, ‘An abstract of the misorders and evil rule within the land of Ireland’, 1537, TNA: PRO, SP 60/5/24

Anonymous, ‘Devices for the ordering of the Cavenaghes, the Byrnes, Tooles and O Mayles for such lands as they shall have within the county of Carlow, and the marches of the same county, and also of the marches of the county of Dublin’, 1537, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 113

Leonard Grey, ‘The Lorde Deputes Boke’, 1537, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 181

Edward Staples, ‘A certen Information for our Soveraigne Lordes moste honourable Commyssioners In Irlande’, 1537, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 182

John Alen, ‘To the Honourable, by the auctorytye they use, Mr. Anthony Seintleger, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, and William Berners, the Kinges Commyssioners in Ireland’, 1537, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 183

Anonymous, ‘A devyse for the Weall of Irelande’, 1537, BL, Add. MS. 48,017, ff. 166-168

George Browne, ‘Theise be articles devised by the moste reverend Father in God, George, Archbusshop of Dublin, at the commaundement of our most dreade Soveraigne lorde the King, for the reformation of certen enormyties and abuses amonges his clergie’, 1538, printed in J. Payne Collier (ed.), ‘The Egerton Papers’, in *The Camden Society*, Vol. 12 (1840), pp. 7-10

Anonymous, ‘Book addressed to the High Commissioners’, 1538, TNA: PRO, SP 60/6/15

Anonymous, ‘A device to deceive the rebels and apprehend young Fitzgerald’, 1538, TNA: PRO, SP 60/6/62

George Browne, ‘The Fourme of the Beades’, 1538, *SP Henry VIII*, ii, 214

Edward Staples, ‘Bishop Staples to Sentleger, or Moyle’, 1538, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 233

Anonymous, ‘Journal of the progress of the Lord Deputy in a hosting into Desmond’s country from Nov. 5 to Dec. 24’, 1539, TNA: PRO, SP 60/8/38

William Brabazon, ‘Brabazon to Crumwell’, 1539, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 270
Anthony St Leger, ‘Lord Deputy Sentleger to King Henry VIII’, 1540, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 322

Anthony St Leger, ‘Sentleger to the Privy Council’, 1540, L.P. XVI, 43

Roger Barlow, ‘A Brief Summe of Geographie’, 1541, printed in E.G.R. Taylor (ed.), ‘A Brief Summe of Geographie’, in *The Hakluyt Society*, Series II, Vol. 69 (London, 1932)

John Alen, ‘J. Alen to King Henry VIII’, 1542, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 369

John Travers, ‘Certaine Devices for the Reformation of Irelande’, 1542, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 382

Anthony St Leger, ‘Sentleger to Council of England’, 1543, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 392

John Alen, ‘Certen Notes on the State of Ireland’, 1546, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 441

Anthony St Leger, ‘An Answere to such notes, as concerne the state of Ireland, exhibited by the Lorde Chauncellor against the Kinges Majesties Deputie there’, 1546, *SP Henry VIII*, iii, 445

John Alen, ‘A note of the state of Ireland with a device for the same’, 1546, L.P. XXI(i), 915

William Thomas, ‘A Relation of a Conference had between William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to King Edward VI., and Certain Italian Gentlemen in his Travels, touching the Actions of King Henry VIII., entitled *Peregrine*’, 1546, printed in J.A. Froude (ed.), *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue of the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eight* (London, 1861), pp. 3-81

Anonymous, **‘**Brief of the getting and of the decay of Ireland, and ordinances and provisions for the same’, 1547, HMC, Salisbury MSS. i, 52

William Brabazon, ‘A note given to Mister Bellingham the worthie general Anno primus Ed. VI’, 1547, BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, f. 31

Andrew Boorde, *The fyrst boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London, 1548)

Edward Bellingham, ‘Lord Deputy Bellyngham to the Privy Council’, 1548, TNA: PRO, SP 61/1/84

John Alen, ‘Lord Chancellor Alen to Mr Comptroller William Paget’, 1548, TNA: PRO, SP 61/1/129

George Browne, ‘Device of George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, for converting the lately suppressed Cathedral Church of St. Patrick’s beside Dublin into a University, the church now called St. Patrick’s to be

named the Church of the Holy Trinity, and the college to be Christ's College of the foundation of King Edward VI', 1549, TNA: PRO, SP 61/1/10

Anonymous, 'What Ireland is and how much', 1549, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 191

Anonymous, 'Romish Policies', 1549, Marsh's Library, Z3. 1. 16

Anthony St Leger, 'Remembrances for Yrelande', 1550, TNA: PRO, SP 61/2/55

Anthony St Leger, 'Lord Deputy Sentleger to Mr. Sec. Cecill', 1551, TNA: PRO, SP 61/3/3

Thomas Wood , 'Thomas Wood to Mr Secretary Cecill', 1551, TNA: PRO, SP 61/3/21

James Croft, 'Sir J. Croft to J. Duddeley, Earl of Warwick, Lord Great Master of the Household', 1551, TNA: PRO, SP 61/3/27

James Croft, 'Instructions given by the Lord Deputy Croft to Thomas Wood, to be declared to the Privy Council, on various important particulars relative to the government of Ireland', 1551, TNA: PRO, SP 61/3/39

James Croft, 'Lord Deputy Croft to Secretary Cecill', 1552, TNA: PRO, SP 61/4/27

James Croft, 'Lord Deputy Croft to Secretary Cecill', 1552, TNA: PRO, SP 61/4/28

John Bale, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie*, 1553, eds. Peter Happé and John N. King (Binghamton, 1990)

Anonymous, 'Propositions for service in Ireland', *c.* 1555, TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/9

Sussex, 'A present remedy for the Reformation of the North and the rest of Ireland', 1556, TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/13

Anonymous, 'A Journey made by the Earl of Sussex Lord Deputy, in the year 1556, 3rd and 4th Year of the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland', 1556, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 207

John Alen, 'A discourse of the power of the Irish men in Leinster, Desmonde, Thomonde, Konnaghte and Ulster', 1556, BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 19-26

John Alen, 'Instructions touching Ireland', 1556, BL Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 27-29r

Sussex, 'Opinions of Lord Fytzwauter on the article sent by the Queen to be considered', 1557, TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/22(ii)

Sussex, 'Articles delivered to Sir Henry Radeclyff to be explained to the Queen', 1557, TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/31

Sussex, 'Articles touching the state of Ireland, brought from the Lord Deputy Sussex by Sir Henry Sidney and to be declared to the Queen', 1557, TNA: PRO, SP 62/1/38

Anonymous, 'A Journey made by the Earl of Sussex', 1557, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 211

Anonymous, 'A Journey made the Earl of Sussex', 1557, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 212

Thomas Alen, 'Thomas Alen to Secretary Cecill', 1558, TNA: PRO, SP 63/1/9

Anonymous, 'A Journey made by the Earl of Sussex', 1558, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 215

Anonymous, 'A journey made by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, when he went over in England, and left the government to the Lord Chancellor and Sir Henry Sydney as Lords Justices in his absence', 1558, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 217

Thomas Alen, ‘Matters for the good government of Ireland’, 1558, BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 72-79

Thomas Alen?, ‘Vpon alteracion of S now Patricke’s an opinion in that behalf’, 1558, BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 104-108r

Sussex, ‘For the settling of religion’, 1559, HMC, Salisbury MSS. iii, pp. 459-460

Anonymous, ‘Matters to be noted for Irland’, 1559, BL, Add. MS. 4,767, f. 126

Sussex, ‘Notes for Ireland’, 1559, BL, Lansdowne MS. 159, ff. 97-98

Sussex, ‘Memorial of considerations for reforming Ireland’, 1560, TNA: PRO, SP 63/1/20

Sussex, ‘Memorial by Sussex for the Queen’, 1560, TNA: PRO, SP 63/1/21

Sussex, ‘The opinion of th’ Earl of Sussex, touching the reformation of Ireland’, 1560, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 227

Anonymous, ‘Notes of Ulster, Connaught, Munster and Leinster’, 1560, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 229

Sussex, ‘Articles of aduise sent from the Lorde Lieuftenant, from Drodagh, by Gilbert Gerrard attorney Generall’, 1560, BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XIII, ff. 12-13

John Smyth, ‘Smyth’s Information for Ireland’, 1561, printed in John Smyth, ‘Irish Bardism in 1561’, in *UJA*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (1858), pp. 165-167

James Croft, ‘A remembrance by Sir James Croft, showing the need of some to administer justice throughout Ireland, and proposing that Grammar Schools be erected, that the people may be bred to be meet for that purpose; also the dissensions in Ulster, the numbers of Scots, and proposals for reformation thereof’, 1561, TNA: PRO, SP 63/3/17

Sussex, ‘Lord Lieutenant to Cecill’, 1561, TNA: PRO, SP 63/4/37

John Parker, ‘A slanderous book addressed to the Queen against the Lord Lieutenant Sussex and other governors of Ireland’, 1562, TNA: PRO, SP 63/6/37

Anonymous, ‘Certain notes or memoranda on the state of Ireland, shewing how the people are stirred to hate the English, and procured to exclaim against disorders without seeking amendment’, 1562, TNA: PRO, SP 63/7/55

Sussex, ‘The opinion of the Earl of Sussex Lieutenant-General, as well for the ordering of Ulster as the government of the whole realm, after Shane O’Nele shall be expulsed’, 1562, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 236

Sussex, ‘A relation of the Earl of Sussex, in what sort he found the Kingdom of Ireland, when he came thither, and in what estate the same was (*in anno*) 1562, and his opinion of the reform thereof’, 1562, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 237

Sussex, ‘Lord Lieutenant Sussex to Cecill’, 1563, TNA: PRO, SP 63/8/46

Anonymous, ‘A journey made by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, in the year 1563’, 1563, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 238

Laurence Nowell, ‘Chrionica Hiberniae’, 1563, BL, Cotton MSS. Domitian XVIII, ff. 57-90
Anonymous, ‘A note of the Gentilmens names within the severall counties’, 1563, BL, Add. MS. 4,767, ff. 162-168

William Piers?, ‘A paper [apparently by Capt. W. Pers of Knockfergus, intended to be presented to Cecill or Sussex] relating the policy of Scotland, to promote James M'Donnell to be Lord of all the Isles of Scotland, with the reasons of its failure’, 1565, TNA: PRO, SP 63/9/83

Nicholas Arnold, ‘Notes to be considered of, by Cecill, for the government of Ireland, sent by the Lord Justice Arnold to the Earl of Leicester and Cecill’, 1565, TNA: PRO, SP 63/12/20

Henry Sidney, ‘Sir Henry Sydney's articles for the publick affairs of Ireland’, 1565, TNA: PRO, SP 63/13/46

Sussex, ‘A briefe note of the Earle of Sussex cowrse in his government of Irelande from the beginninge of his chardge, withe a declaracion of Sir Nicholas Arnoldes doings there synce his first arrivall as Commissioner in that realme, and a note of the presente state thereof’, 1565, BL, Add. MS. 4,767, ff. 156-160

Nicholas Harpsfield, *Dialogi sex* (Antwerp, 1566)

Henry Sidney, ‘Lord Deputy Sydney to the Earl of Leicester’, 1566, TNA: PRO, SP 63/16/35

Thomas Lancaster, ‘Thomas Lancaster to the Earl of Leicester’, 1566, TNA: PRO, SP 63/16/45

Henry Sidney, ‘Lord Deputy Sydney to Cecill’, 1566, TNA: PRO, SP 63/19/51

Henry Sidney, ‘Lord Deputy to the Privy Council’, 1566, TNA: PRO, SP 63/19/71

Anonymous, ‘A brief memorial of service done in Ireland, during the government of the Earl of Sussex’, 1566, TNA: PRO, SP 63/19/83

Henry Sidney, ‘Henry Sidney to Queen Elizabeth’, 1567, printed in Arthur Collins (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of State*, 2 Vols. (London, 1746), I, pp. 18-31

Henry Sidney, ‘Memorial of things not expressed in the letters brought by Ralph Knight, but committed to be declared by speech’, 1567, TNA: PRO, SP 63/21/20
Henry Sidney, ‘A note of the chiefest matters contained in the Lord Deputy’s letters which are to be considered and answered’, 1567, TNA: PRO, SP 63/21/48

Francis Knollys, ‘Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Knollys's opinion not to allow the name of O'Neill to Turlough Lynagh, but rather to offer his freehold to Alexander Óge and his new Scots, on condition that they expel him and take it themselves’, 1567, TNA: PRO, SP 63/21/56

Anonymous, ‘Three books concerning Irish affairs’, 1567, HMC, Salisbury MSS. ii, 352

Henry Sidney?, ‘Places fitt for the garrifons in Ireland’, 1567, BL, Cotton MSS. Titus B XII, f. 491

Humphrey Gilbert, ‘A dyscors for Munster’, 1568, printed in D.B. Quinn (ed.), *The Voyages and Colonizing Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 Vols. (London, 1940), II, App. 1

Anonymous, ‘Device for the plantation of Ireland with Englishmen’, 1568, TNA: PRO, SP 63/23/26

Robert Weston, ‘Lord Justice Weston to Sir W. Cecill’, 1568, TNA: PRO, SP 63/24/2

George Thornton, ‘Captain George Thornton to Cecill’, 1568, TNA: PRO, SP 63/25/19

Henry Sidney, ‘Lord Deputy to Cecill’, 1568, TNA: PRO, SP 63/26/18

Henry Sidney/William Piers?, ‘Memorial of things for Ireland, gathered out of letters to Mr. Secretary, dated Nov. 8, and out of the above, of Nov. [12.]’, 1568, TNA: PRO, SP 63/26/19

Jerome Brett, ‘Offers of Hierom Brett and sundry good subjects to the Queen, for planting Munster and Wexford’, 1568, TNA: PRO, SP 63/26/53

John Smyth, ‘John Smyth’s Advice for the Realm of Ireland’, 1569, printed in Gerald Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565-1603)*, (Dublin, 1937), App. 1

Thomas Finch?, ‘Mr. Finch's memorial for Ireland’, 1569, TNA: PRO, SP 63/29/90

Anonymous, ‘Notes touching the Presidentship of Mounster’, 1569, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 266

Henry Sidney, ‘Journey of Sir Hen. Sidney, Lord Deputy, against Sir Edm. Butler, etc., in 1569’, 1569, TCD, MS. 660

Anonymous, ‘A 1570 list of Castles in County Clare’, 1570, printed in Martin Breen (ed.), ‘A 1570 list of Castles in County Clare’, in *JNMAS*, Vol. 36 (1995), pp. 130-138

Robert Weston, ‘Lord Chancellor Weston to Cecill’, 1570, TNA: PRO, SP 63/30/29

Thomas Gerrard, ‘Second book and offer of Sir Thomas Gerrarde and companions for planting the Glynns and part of Claneboy’, 1570, TNA: PRO, SP 63/30/32

Edward Fitton, ‘Sir Edward Fyton to Cecill’, 1570, TNA: PRO, SP 63/30/43

Ralph Rokeby, ‘Ralph Rokeby to Cecill’, 1570, TNA: PRO, SP 63/30/44

Thomas Smith, ‘A breife of the demaunde and humble peticion of Thomas Smythe and his associats to Queenes moste excellente Matie’, 1570, HMC, De L’isle and Dudley MSS. ii, pp. 12-13

Thomas Smith, ‘A breife of the said suppliantes devise or deseigne for the first enterprisinge, inhabitiinge, devideinge, and defence or polliceing of the saide countrie or plowlandes’, 1570, HMC, De L’isle and Dudley MSS. ii, pp. 13-15

Edmund Campion, ‘Two bokes of the histories of Ireland’, 1571, printed in A.F. Vossen (ed.), *Two bokes of the histories of Ireland* (Assen, 1963).

Edward Fitton, ‘Sir Edward Fyton to Cecill’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/31/6

William Herlle, ‘Note of the confederates in Ireland by William Herlle’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/32/16

Edmund Tremayne, ‘Advice touching the state of Ireland’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/32/64

Edmund Tremayne, ‘The causes why Ireland is not reformed’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/32/65

Edmund Tremayne, ‘Notes and propositions for the reformation of Ireland by Ed. Tremayne’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/32/66

William Piers, ‘Captain W. Pers to the Queen’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/33/1
John Perrot , ‘Brief of the expense of time by Sir John Perrot in the province of Munster’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/34/6

Anonymous, ‘Enterprise to inhabit and fortify Claneboy to the use of the Crown’, 1571, TNA: PRO, SP 63/34/52

Anonymous, ‘A declaration of the length and breadth of all the principle woods within the province of Munster; the distance of every wood one from the other; the apt places for garrisons to be settled; what numbers of men are requisite to be placed in each garrison for subduing the traitors, and how these garrisons may be victualled’, 1571, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, 278

Thomas Smith, *A letter sent by I.B. Gentleman vnto his very frende Maystet [sic] R.C. Esquire vvherin is conteined a large discourse of the peopling & inhabiting the cuntrie called the Ardes, and other adiacent in the north of Ireland, and taken in hand by Sir Thomas Smith one of the Queenes Maiesties priuie Counsel, and Thomas Smith Esquire, his Sonne* (London, 1572)

Thomas Smith, *The offer and order giuen for by Sir Thomas Smyth Knighte, and Thomas Smyth his sonne, vnto suche as he willing to accompanie the sayd Thomas Smyth the sonne, in his voyage for the inhabiting some partes of the North of Irelande* (London, 1572)

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