

COIMISIÚN LÁMHSCRÍBHINNÍ na hÉIREANN

**Calendar of State Papers
Ireland
Tudor Period
1568–1571**

Revised Edition

Edited by
Bernadette Cunningham

Irish Manuscripts Commission
2010

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NEW CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1509–1585

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In 1860 and 1867 two volumes of *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland for 1509–1585* were published under the editorship of Hans Claud Hamilton. The work was soon faulted as an inadequate scholarly guide to the prime archival source dealing with the formulation of English government policy for Ireland during this pivotal period. With this in mind, a team of accomplished Tudor historians were persuaded to return to Hamilton's task of more than a century ago. The first of the revised and expanded series to appear was *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1571–1575*, ed. Mary O'Dowd (London and Dublin, 2000). This particular volume was sponsored jointly by the Public Records Office (now the National Archives at Kew) and the Irish Manuscripts Commission while this current volume *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1568–1571*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham, and its successors, are being published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission alone once they have been made ready for publication by the succession of editors and indexers chosen by the Commission. The task is taking longer than anticipated because the resources of the Irish Manuscripts Commission do not allow it to hire full time editors to accomplish the task in a scheduled fashion.

The inadequacy of Hamilton's work was a reflection of the task to which he had been assigned. His responsibility was to list in chronological order each document appertaining to Ireland that was then housed in the Public Record Office, and to identify author and recipient while providing a brief summary of its contents. The mechanical aspect of Hamilton's task was accomplished with a high degree of accuracy, and it is to his credit that the present team of editors has only occasionally had reason to correct his identification and dating. Despite this real achievement, Hamilton's first two volumes of the old calendar series proved unsatisfactory because the published summaries of the original documents were so brief that they frequently gave a misleading impression of what the originals contained.

This insufficiency was tacitly acknowledged by Hamilton himself when he produced altogether more extensive summaries of the original documents in the next three volumes of *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* that he saw through the press (the calendar for the years 1586–8, published in 1877, that for 1588–92, published in 1885, and that for 1592–6, published in 1890). This improvement in the quality of the work may owe something also to a change of policy by Hamilton's superiors at the Public Record Office, since the volume for 1588–92, and all subsequent volumes in the series, opened with two pages of 'Instructions to the Editors' from the Master of the Rolls. These instructions, among other matters, directed editors to 'frame' each calendar 'in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it'. Since this objective had clearly not been met in the first two volumes it might be said that the purpose of the present team of editors, in preparing this new set of calendars treating the years 1509–85, is to meet those standards set by the Master of Rolls more

than a century ago. The reliable guide to the state papers that was then requested is even more essential today than it was in the later decades of the nineteenth century because the destruction, in 1922, of the Public Record Office in Dublin, which housed the papers treating of the administration of Ireland through the centuries, has resulted in the State Paper Collection in London becoming relatively more important to historians.

The core of the state paper collection consists of letters addressed both by the chief officers of the crown in Ireland and the Irish Council to the monarch and principal officers of state in England. The one-way character of this correspondence is frequently supplanted by drafts of the replies that were being prepared in England for the correspondents in Ireland, and many of the letters received in England also include marginal commentaries, or even the principal points of a reply, penned by readers in England. Another important element within this massive collection of papers is the correspondence of minor officials or private individuals in Ireland addressed either to officials in the Dublin government, or to the monarch and principal officers in England over the head of the administration in Dublin. A small number of such letters were composed in Irish or Latin but English is the normal language of the collection and most documents are in Secretary hand although some senior officials on both sides of the Irish sea penned drafts, notes and even entire letters in a personal hand that was sometimes little better than a scrawl.

Private persons or minor officials were usually inspired to write out of a sense of grievance, and they frequently bolstered their complaints with detailed charges against particular people or practices, or supplemented their letters with elaborate suggestions on how the wrongs they identified might be rectified or their society reformed. Many of these accompanying documents extend to scores of pages, and the official response to the charges elaborated sometimes led to the appointment of commissions to investigate the source of grievance or even the workings of the administration. Reports of such official investigations are usually to be found among the state papers, as are draft statements of account compiled by officials in Dublin.

This summary describes the principal elements in the material which was retained among the state papers relating to Ireland during the normal course of government business. Whenever this routine was broken by the threat, or actuality, of foreign invasion or internal revolt, the paperwork relating to Ireland escalated and came to include: plans for the better defence of the country; reports on the interrogation or trial of those suspected of disloyalty to the crown; investigations into the ownership of property by those found guilty of treason; and schemes either for the granting of such property to those considered worthy of reward, or for the erection of plantations on those lands that had been forfeited to the crown. Such official response to exigencies goes some way to explaining the uneven spread of documentary evidence from decade to decade or from reign to reign, but unevenness is attributable also to the fact that some officials were more concerned than others to keep records, while some also regarded the papers they accumulated during the course of official duty as personal property and took possession of them when they resigned from office.

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The miscellaneous nature of the collection, with its core official correspondence, indicates that it was the product both of organic growth and accidental preservation. However, the order in which the collection has been preserved is far different from that in which it was held during the sixteenth century when these were administrative working documents. The chronological and geographical order into which most state papers for the early modern period in the National Archives at Kew are now organized and bound was imposed upon them by the succession of Public Record Office archivists who, over the centuries, were given responsibility for preserving and ordering all records that remained in public hands. While arbitrary, this order is logical and was essentially guided by the beliefs, held by archivists in previous centuries, on what might best assist the research needs of historians.

While this introduction serves both to explain the purpose behind this grand undertaking and to identify the conventions that all editors shall follow, the editors of successive volumes shall supply introductions devoted to a consideration of the historical importance of the papers they have calendared. It remains for me to thank those volunteer editors for devoting time stolen from their normal responsibilities to a task that will have inestimable benefit to Tudor historians of this and future generations. I am also grateful to the Irish Manuscripts Commission and the National Archives at Kew, and particularly to the late Dr Donal Cregan and to Dr Roy Hunnisett of these organizations, for their imagination and patience in negotiating support for this endeavour in the first instance and setting procedures and permissions in place with the agreement of governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland to make it happen. I am also grateful to those who have succeeded Donal Cregan and Roy Hunnisett at these two institutions for retaining their faith in the project.

Nicholas Canny
GENERAL EDITOR

INTRODUCTION

The documents in this calendar span the final three years of Sir Henry Sidney's first term in office as lord deputy of Ireland, from January 1568 to March 1571. Sidney was sworn in on 20 January 1566 and remained in office until March 1571 apart from an interlude from 9 October 1567 to 6 September 1568 during which time he was replaced by Robert Weston and Sir William Fitzwilliam serving as lords justice. The calendar is based on the documents contained in the SP 63 collection, volumes 23 – 31, in the Public Record Office at The National Archives in Kew, with a few miscellaneous items from other collections at The National Archives that were included in the original calendar of these documents prepared by Hans Claude Hamilton and published in 1860.¹ No attempt has been made to incorporate official correspondence from other archives relating to the years 1568–1571, since published descriptions are already available in most instances.²

The first deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney has been well discussed in the modern secondary literature and does not need to be rehearsed here.³ The extant state papers do not merely document the workings of central government, but also reveal much incidental detail on life and politics in the provinces, which have been used to good effect in some recent monographs.⁴ The State Papers are not a stand-alone source, and the evidence they contain can be supplemented and balanced by other kinds of historical record.⁵ While English perspectives on Ireland predominate, even those historians wishing to concentrate on themes relating to 'natives' rather than 'newcomers' in early modern Ireland will find the State Papers an invaluable source.

The calendar entries presented here aspire to accurate transmission of the meaning of the documents, while reducing them to approximately one third of their original length. The writers of the original documents themselves do not always clearly express the intended meaning, and many nuances are inevitably lost in the calendaring process. An attempt has been made in most instances to preserve something of the flavour of the original language of the documents although, since individual styles inevitably differ, a more modern style may be discerned in the entries calendared by Kevin Forkan. In no case does a calendar entry in this edition reproduce the original text of a document verbatim. Therefore, entries in this calendar should never be cited as though they contained the actual wording of the original document being summarised. The calendar is not meant to serve as a substitute for consulting the original text; it simply offers a convenient guide to researchers preparing to embark on an in-depth study of the documents themselves. Researchers wishing to engage with the rich collection of material preserved in the SP 63 collection should always consult the original documents. Copies of these are currently available on microfilm in many research libraries in Ireland and elsewhere. The publication of digitised images of the collection is planned.

As a general rule, all names of people and places have been modernised in this calendar, in so far as identifications proved possible. An exception has been made for a very small number of documents containing lists of castles or monasteries where it was judged that the intrinsic interest of the documents would be diminished by the use of exclusively

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modern orthography. Conventions in respect of the spelling of names of people and places have changed over the course of the century and a half since Hamilton prepared the original calendar of these documents. The spellings adopted here are not necessarily more correct than those selected by Hamilton from among the myriad variations of individual names found in the documents; they are merely the conventions currently more generally accepted by historians. For instance, Hamilton's rendering of Fitzwilliam as Fytzwylliams more accurately reflects Sir William Fitzwilliam's spelling of his own name, but the modern convention is preferred here. The arbitrary nature of decisions as to the 'modern' form of place-names is indicated by the name of Dingle/An Daingean, County Kerry where the official form of the name became a matter of public controversy in 2005 while this calendar was in preparation. Both the Irish and English forms of that particular place-name were in current use in the 1560s.⁶ To provide the standard Irish forms of the names of Irish persons would be to distort the sense of half-comprehension in a dual language environment that permeates the documents and therefore anglicised forms have been preferred. For explanations of technical terms derived from Irish, see the glossaries published by Kenneth Nicholls and Katharine Simms.⁷

As is now conventional, dates have been given old style, but with the year starting on 1 January.

BERNADETTE CUNNINGHAM
Editor

- 1 Hans Claude Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509–1573, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London, 1860), pp 285–442.
- 2 See 'Note on other sources' below.
- 3 Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: a Pattern Established 1565–1576* (Hassocks, 1976); Ciaran Brady, *The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588* (Cambridge, 1994); Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown Community and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470–1603* (London, 1985); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland: the Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin, 1994). A specialised study of the Dublin administration in this period is provided in Jon G. Crawford, *Anglicising the Government of Ireland: the Irish Privy Council and the Expansion of Tudor Rule, 1556–1578* (Dublin, 1993), while the older narrative account provided in Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors* (3 vols, London, 1885), vol. 2, is based primarily on the documents preserved among the state papers.
- 4 See, for example, Vincent Carey, *Surviving the Tudors: the 'Wizard' Earl of Kildare and English Rule in Ireland, 1537–1586* (Dublin, 2002); Anthony M. McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond, 1463–1583: the Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship* (Dublin, 2005); Christopher Maginn, 'Civilizing' Gaelic Leinster: the Extension of Tudor Rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole Lordships (Dublin, 2005); David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515–1642: the Rise and Fall of Butler Feudal Power* (Dublin, 2003); Colm Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989).
- 5 Overviews of the extant manuscripts relating to early modern Ireland are provided in R.W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd, *Sources for Early Modern Irish History, 1534–1641* (Cambridge, 1985); J.G. Simms, 'Bibliography', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland: III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 634–95; R.J. Hayes, *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilization* (11 vols, New York, 1965; first supplement, 3 vols, New York, 1979).
- 6 SP 63/20, no. 11(i) (16 Jan 1567); SP 63/25, no. 57 (July 1568).
- 7 K.W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), 184–8; (2nd edn), Dublin, 2003), 223–6; Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords; the Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1987), 170–8.

NOTE ON OTHER SOURCES

Portions of the official correspondence from Sir Henry Sidney's first lord deputyship have previously been published. These include TCD, MS 745 (formerly MS N. I. 1), a collection of seventy-nine documents in Trinity College, Dublin, comprising warrants and instructions from Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Sidney, ranging in date from 1565 to 1570, published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission under the title *Sidney State Letters, 1565–70*, edited by Tomás Ó Laidhin (Dublin, 1962). This edition was later supplemented by D.B. Quinn (ed.), 'Additional Sidney state papers, 1566–70', *Analecta Hibernica*, 26 (1970), pp 89–102, which published full transcripts of a further seven documents now dispersed in libraries in the United States of America, but which in the eighteenth century may have formed part of the volume now in Trinity College, Dublin. In quite a few instances TCD, MS 745 contains the final text of correspondence addressed to Sir Henry Sidney of which an earlier draft or a copy is preserved in TNA/PRO, SP 63. The lord deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney has long attracted the interest of historians, and the mid-eighteenth century fashion for editing the papers of statesmen from particular families prompted the publication of the *Letters and Memorials of State ... Written and Collected by Sir Henry Sidney ... Sir Philip Sidney and his brother Sir Robert Sidney*, edited by Arthur Collins (2 vols, London, 1746), a volume which includes full transcripts of some of the correspondence of Sir Henry Sidney calendared here. Two specialist collections of ecclesiastical material compiled in the nineteenth century similarly provide full transcripts of selected items from the SP 63 collection, E.P. Shirley (ed.), *Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland, during the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth* (London, 1851), and W.M. Brady (ed.), *State Papers Concerning the Irish Church in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1868). There is some overlap between the documents calendared here and the Carew papers preserved in Lambeth Palace Library. These were comprehensively described in J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–1574* (London, 1867). Related administrative documents are also calendared in J.T. Gilbert (ed.), 'Acts of the Privy Council in Ireland, 1556–71', in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix III (1897), pp 1–256; James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland* (3 vols, Dublin, 1861–3); *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae ... Repertorium* (2 vols, Dublin, 1826–9); and *Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth I*, with a new introduction by Kenneth Nicholls (4 vols, Dublin, 1994).

Sir Henry Sidney himself displayed his awareness of the historical perspective on his public career when he compiled a political memoir of his time in Ireland. Written in 1582–3 and reflecting on the years covered in the documents in the present calendar, Sidney's memoir has been edited most recently by Ciaran Brady, *A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland, 1556–78* (Cork, 2002). Sidney's

autograph draft of the memoir is not known to survive but there are two manuscript copies among the Carew Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace Library (vols 601, f. 89ff and 628, f. 318ff, and one in the State Papers, Domestic series, in TNA/PRO (SP 12/159). The memoir was first published in H.F. Hore (ed.), 'Memoir of government in Ireland', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ser. 1, iii (1855), pp 33–44, 85–90, 336–57; v (1857), pp 299–315; viii (1860), pp 179–95, both published editions being based on the text in TNA/PRO, SP 12/159. Some individual documents from TNA/PRO, SP 63 calendared here have been published elsewhere, and where known these are noticed in a note at the end of the relevant calendar entries below.

An overview of the most significant types of other archival sources for the history of sixteenth-century Ireland is provided in R.W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd, *Sources for Early Modern Irish History, 1534–1641* (Cambridge, 1985). R.J. Hayes (ed.), *Manuscript sources for this history of Irish civilisation* (11 vols, New York, 1965); *first supplement* (3 vols, New York, 1979), is still an invaluable guide to the locations of a wide range of manuscript materials of Irish interest,¹ usefully supplemented now by Brian C. Donovan and David Edwards, *British Sources for Irish History, 1485–1641: A Guide to Manuscripts in Local, Regional and Specialised Repositories in England, Scotland and Wales* (Dublin, 1997). John Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1997), provides a valuable survey and discussion of the historical context of sixteenth-century maps of Ireland. Also of value is *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office, I, British Isles, c. 1410–1860* (London, 1967). For an example of a map of Ireland that was available to English administrators such as Sir William Cecil in the years covered by this calendar, see 'Hibernia, insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirlandia vocata', by John Goghe, dated 1567 (TNA/PRO/MPF 68).²

1 Now accessible online via the 'sources' link on the website of the National Library of Ireland (www.nli.ie)

2 The map has been reproduced in *State Papers: King Henry the eighth, vol. 2, part 3: correspondence between the governments of England and Ireland, 1515–1538* ([London], 1834), and in a reduced format in John Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1997), 43.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Brady, *SP* W.M. Brady (ed.), *State Papers Concerning the Irish Church in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1868)
- Breen, 'Castles' Martin Breen (ed.), 'A 1570 list of castles in County Clare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 36 (1995), 130–38
- Cal. Carew* J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–1574* (London, 1867)
- Canny, 'Select' Nicholas Canny (ed.), 'Select documents, XXXIV, Rowland White's 'Discors touching Ireland, c. 1569', *Irish Historical Studies*, no. 80 (Sept 1977), 439–63
- Collins, *Letters* Arthur Collins (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of State ... Written and Collected by Sir Henry Sidney ... Sir Philip Sidney and his brother Sir Robert Sidney ... Transcribed from the Originals at Penshurst Place in Kent and His Majesty's Office of Papers and Records* (2 vols, London, 1746)
- CSPI 1509-73* Hans Claude Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509–1573, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London, 1860)
- d *denarius*, a penny
- Dunlop, 'Maps' R. Dunlop, 'Sixteenth-century maps of Ireland', *English Historical Review*, 20 (1905), 309–37
- Hayes McCoy, *Scots* Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565-1603)* (Dublin, 1937)
- £ *libra*, a pound
- Marron, 'Documents' Lawrence Marron (ed.), 'Documents from the state papers concerning Miler McGrath', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 21 (1958), 75–189

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Memoir</i>	Ciaran Brady (ed.), <i>A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland, 1556–78</i> (Cork, 2002). Text originally published in H.F. Hore (ed.), 'Memoir of government in Ireland', in <i>Ulster Journal of Archaeology</i> , ser. 1, iii (1855), 33–44, 85–90, 336–57; v (1857), 299–315; viii (1860), 179–95
MS	manuscript
ob	<i>obolus</i> , ½d, a halfpenny
PRO	Public Record Office, The National Archives, Kew
q	<i>quadrans</i> , ¼d, a farthing
Quinn, <i>Voyages</i>	D.B. Quinn (ed.), <i>Voyages and colonising enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert</i> (2 vols, London, Hakluyt Society, 1940)
s	<i>solidus</i> , a shilling
Shirley, <i>L. & P.</i>	E.P. Shirley (ed.), <i>Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland, during the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth</i> (London, 1851)
<i>Sidney SP</i>	Tomás Ó Laidhin (ed.), <i>Sidney State Papers, 1565–70</i> (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1962)
SP 63	State Papers, Ireland, The National Archives, Kew
<i>Statutes at Large</i>	<i>The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland ... 1310-1800</i> (21 vols, Dublin, 1786–1801)
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1568–1571

SP 63, VOLUME 23. JANUARY–MARCH 1568

1 Sir William Cecil's memorial for Ireland **2 Jan 1568**

To appoint a council at Armagh with a garrison there and in the rest of Ulster towards the sea. To make houses and places for the wards in Ulster. To enquire how the queen's lands may be recovered. To enquire how contributions may be made of the Irish freeholders. Councils in Munster and Connacht. Laws for parliament. Mr Dillon. Mr White. Devices to increase revenue. O'Connor Sligo's submission and letters patent. Sir Owen O'Connor. O'Carroll. O'Reilly. Baron of Dungannon for Oneilland. O'Shaughnessy. Pensioners of Ulster and Berwick. Private suits for fee farms or leases. Suits for service. Creagh in the tower. Earl of Desmond. Sir John of Desmond. *In Cecil's hand. 1p.*

SP 63/23, no. 1

2 Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to Sir William Cecil **6 Jan 1568**

In favour of a neighbour, Sir Christopher Barnewall, concerning a gift of the queen to Mr Cusack to choose lands to a certain value in Ireland, a portion of which is in the occupation of Barnewall. Barnewall furthers Her Highness's service with loans of money. He should not have to part with any of his lands. Other ways should be sought to satisfy Cusack.

Postscript. No letter has been sent from the commissioners in Munster since their going, nor from Carrickfergus since 6 December. Turlough Luineach did not come to Dundalk on 30 December or during the six days following. Mr Christopher procured an act to be sent to England and to be passed. If so it might stand with Her Majesty's pleasure to assure certain land to him that he sought of the earl of Ormond and bestowed great cost on building. He is assured of the earl's good will, and desires Cecil's favour. Lessenhall. *Signed. 1½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 2

3 Lord Justice Weston to Sir William Cecil **7 Jan 1568**

Letters to the queen were written on 23 December and a messenger dispatched to the sea the next day, but he was delayed by contrary winds and storms from then until today. Advises of this lest they be thought negligent. Dublin. *Signed. ½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 3

4 Examination of Cormac O'Connor **7 Jan 1568**

O'Connor went to Murrough O'Brien's sons, being proclaimed traitors. After he himself was proclaimed a traitor he sent a boy to the earl of Desmond to know whether he should come to him in person or not, who returned word that he should come to him. Whereupon he came to Tralee, a town in Desmond where the earl came and appointed him to a house in the town for three days. Desmond was to meet the Justice and the earl of Kildare, where if he could have any impartial order between the earl of Ormond and him he would treat for him, and if not would send him word what to do.

The earl sent with him Teig mac Donal his servant to conduct him to Donagh MacCarthy in Carbery. For three weeks he was guided from place to place by Teig and others. He was most in company with Liseagh mac Murrough O'Connor, a proclaimed traitor and cousin to the earl and to this examinant. Liseagh was continually maintained by the earl and Sir John of Desmond. The said Liseagh was slain on the plain of Desmond. Art O'Connor, his brother, a proclaimed rebel was also

with the earl at the conflict. He says he can charge Sir John of Desmond with nothing. The proclaimed traitors that were with the earl of Desmond were Liseagh O'Connor, the deponent's son, Call mac Con his nephew, Art his brother and Edmund mac Shane Ballagh. The latter two last were slain at the aforesaid conflict. Further movements of Cormac O'Connor in Desmond's country are summarized and those he encountered are named. *In Cecil's hand. 2pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 4

5 Examination of Cahir O'Connor

8 Jan 1568

Understanding his brother Cormac had been with the earl of Desmond he came into that country to Adare, thinking to find his brother with his company there. He met there a boy of his brother's called William Maol O'Cahill who told him his brother had departed that morning and followed Liseagh mac Murrough O'Connor and his company, who had the earl's man, Teig mac Donal, to conduct them, by the earl's appointment. Cahir followed them to a place four or five miles from Adare and met Liseagh and his man that night and his brother Cormac next morning. For a fortnight they went to various places to eat and drink.

They went to a castle called Ballepolline, then to MacCauley's, then to Drissane castle, then to Pobail O'Keefe, then to MacDonagh's country, then to the old Prior O'Callaghan, then to the young Prior O'Callaghan. The time allotted by Desmond expired, and his man, Teig mac Donal would not go anywhere else with them without further instructions. They sent Liseagh O'Connor, being the earl's near kinsman, with Shane O'Moene to the earl at Connigh, Shane MacGrath's house, for licence to spend on the country by way of coign and other succour. Cormac and Cahir and the rest of the company went to Carvigevrick castle and next day went to meet Liseagh. They met Shane O'Moene, but Liseagh stayed with the earl. Shane told them the earl's pleasure was that Cormac and Cahir go with Teig mac Donal to Donagh MacCarthy and to remain there until after his return from Waterford. If at Waterford he agreed with the governor, he would be a mean for them. The rest of the company he wished to go with Liseagh to attend on the earl and so they continued with the earl until he went into Sir Maurice Fitzgerald's country. There, in the conflict between the earls of Ormond and Desmond the said Liseagh mac Murrough O'Connor was slain. Art O'Connor, brother to Cormac and Cahir, and Garrett mac Shane Ball were also slain. Shane O'Moene was slain. Connor mac Cormac O'Connor was hurt and escaped. Cathal mac Coyne O'Connor escaped. Cormac and Cahir continued in Donagh MacCarthy's castle until they heard of the overthrow of the earl of Desmond.

They then departed and went to MacCarthy Mor's country and then Cahir left his brother and went to O'Sullivan's country to speak to some of his kinsmen, then followed his brother to O'Connor Kerry's country where he was told that Cormac had gone to Sir John of Desmond. Two nights later, Cahir with Teig mac Murrough O'Brien, chief proclaimed traitor of the O'Briens, went to meet his brother. He came to a house of the earl's called Askeaton where John of Desmond then was, but missed his brother who was gone into Thomond. Cahir sent Teig Roe O'Meagher to John asking that he stay in John's company until his brother returned from Thomond, and was welcomed. He asked the messenger to tell the said John that he named himself MacColvin's son of the Route who was banished by the Scots. After seven nights Cahir followed Cormac into Thomond. *Taken under oath and signed by Cahir O'Connor. 3¼pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 5

6 Examination of Andrew Skiddy

8 Jan 1568

He never saw any of the O'Connors with the earl of Desmond. Neither any of the O'Briens. He heard that some of them were proclaimed traitors. He heard the earl of Desmond kept Piers Grace in his castle of Ballinecott, but the earl denied it saying to this deponent that Piers was in his own country. *½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 6

7 Memorandum for Ireland**8 Jan 1568**

To examine the O'Connors that are present about the earl of Desmond's rebellion. How many proclaimed traitors of the O'Briens, O'Mores, Ryans and O'Carrolls were retained by the earl and his brother John. To examine Andrew Skiddy concerning Cormac O'Connor and the other proclaimed traitors. To examine Garret Fitzjames of Desmond about Cormac and others. To examine all these whether Piers Grace, a proclaimed traitor, was retained by the earl of Desmond and his brother and dwelt in a castle named Ballinecotty. To examine the bishop that came from Rome [Richard Creagh], now prisoner in the tower, about what confederacy he knew between Desmond, O'Neill and others concerning rebellion. To examine Oliver Sutton whether the bishop sent a letter to the lord deputy or Weston and what the bishop told him. To examine Sir John of Desmond about whether the earl aided the rebels after they had been proclaimed traitors. Also whether Piers Grace was in Ballinecotty or not. To examine the earl of Desmond about whether Liseagh mac Murrough O'Connor was slain, also whether Art O'Connor, Edmund mac Shane Ballagh O'Connor, a kinsman of the Foxes and others were slain and whether Connor, son of Cormac, was there. To examine Sir George Stanley, Sir Henry Radcliffe and Sir Nicholas Heron of their knowledge in these articles. *1³/app.*

SP 63/23, no. 7

8 Memorandum of interrogatories to be ministered**[8 Jan] 1568**

Whether the two O'Connors were aided by the earl of Desmond or his brother after they were proclaimed rebels, how many of their surname were aided by Desmond and his brother, their names and where they are. How many proclaimed traitors of the O'Mores, O'Briens, O'Carrolls and Ryans were so maintained. Whether Piers Grace was so maintained or lived in a castle called Ballinecotty. Whether Liseagh mac Murrough O'Connor was slain in the conflict. Whether Edmund mac Shane Ballagh O'Connor and Art O'Connor were slain. Whether the son of Cormac O'Connor was there. *Interrogatories for Creagh.* When he first came to the company of Shane O'Neill. What letters he brought from Rome and other places, their meaning and intent. Whether he preached in the presence of Shane O'Neill, where and what the contents of his sermons were. Whether he extolled the authority of the Pope in O'Neill's presence, and dissuaded hearers from obedience to Her Majesty. What Shane O'Neill intended to have done, if he had not been killed. What was the confederacy between O'Neill, the earl of Desmond and Sir John of Desmond. What did he tell Oliver Sutton thereof when he sent him with a letter to the lord deputy. What noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland had confederacy with Shane O'Neill. *Interrogatories for Andrew Skiddy.* Whether he ever saw Cormac O'Connor in the earl of Desmond's country. Likewise other proclaimed traitors and Piers Grace. The like to be asked of Gerald FitzJames of Desmond. Upon these answers, the interrogatories of the earl of Desmond and Sir John are to be made. Note that it has been deposed on 14 March 1565 that Cormac O'Connor was in December 1564 kept at Lismore in the house of Gerald FitzJohn, steward to the earl of Desmond and attended by a boy of the said earl's chamber. It has also been confessed that Liseagh mac Murrough O'Connor was conversant with the earl of Desmond eight or nine weeks before the conflict and was in the earl's house at Lough Gur. Also that Liseagh and Teig mac Con O'Connor were with Sir John of Desmond at his house called Ballybarry in late November 1564 and from there went to Lough Gur. Deposed that Art O'Doran, proclaimed traitor of Laois, was maintained by Sir John of Desmond when Sir John parleyed with William Caoch O'Mulryan.

Note. There are other depositions by which the earl of Desmond and his brother are to be charged with maintenance of rebels, and for sending for many rebels to come to the earl when he invaded Sir Maurice Fitzgerald. *In Fitzwilliam's hand. App.*

SP 63/23, no. 8

9 List of persons serving in Ireland under Thomas Might, the surveyor of the victuals with their entertainment 10 Jan 1568

Surveyor: Thomas Might, and 48 persons listed. Clerks. Bakers, brewers and artificers at Carlingford. Butchers, bakers, brewers, millers and artificers at Carrickfergus. Turners of grain at Dublin. Total daily charge: £4 12s 4d. *2pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 9

10 Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam to Queen Elizabeth 12 Jan 1568

On 9 January they received letters from Piers and Malby dated 2 January, copies enclosed, and copies of letters between Piers and Malby and Sorley Boy MacDonnell concerning his departure from Ireland. Glad of the good bargain done, but having doubts on it, the lords justice sent Horsey and Gilbert's bands to do as Piers and Malby shall assign. They will do good there if the Scots return. They have received much intelligence, including Turlough Luineach O'Neill's doings if the Scots return. These two bands lessen the chances of the Scots returning, discourage the Irish of wavering minds, and encourage those willing to serve Her Majesty to openly do their duty.

The commissioners held their day on 30 December at Dundalk and were forced to set a new day on 18 February, not having received notice of Her Highness's pleasure regarding Turlough Luineach. It appears he intends to work traitorously. Enclose the demands of Turlough Brasselagh, but cannot proceed therein without knowing Sidney's orders in the matter. No news from the commissioners in Munster so they assume it is in a reasonable state. Plan to withdraw half those commissioners soon to lessen charges. The time grows dangerous and treasure is required. Dublin. *Signed. 1½pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 10

enclosing

10.1 Captains Piers and Malby to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 2 Jan 1568

Their honours' letter of 22 December was received on the last of December. Thanks for their favours. Still awaiting a larger commission of martial law. Captain Horsey's band will not be needed. Since their letter of 19 December, which was returned to them because of storm and is now sent, Sorley Boy [MacDonnell] has agreed to depart. He is on the point of departing if not already gone. Being cut off from the aid he sought, he could not but depart. He did no harm. The country is quiet and the ways free without danger. O'Neill has received 160 Scots into his service, which the captains had intended would join them against the Scots but are now a danger. The lords justice should write to assure him the Scots will not return. Captain Piers is prevented by the lords justice from going to England. The lord deputy gave him special commandment to be with him in England for special causes. The Scots now being gone, Piers intends to go presently, leaving Malby behind. It is untrue that the hoy is only deployed in fetching wood for the army and thereby the bakers and brewers are unfurnished. Without them they would starve. Thank God they have enough food and drink. The boat Francis Applyard bought serves small purpose saving only to load the hoy. Captain Piers undertook to furnish herring of his own free will and has sent into Scotland for herring having made a bargain with a Scot in this town. Thanks for granting of ward, about which Malby wrote to Sir William Fitzwilliam. When Sorley Boy desired to have peace his request was to have Alexander Og MacAlister Henry [MacDonnell] to join him. Piers and Malby agreed so as to get rid of the rest. Since then Alexander has sent them the cess that they bound him to answer for the garrison. Hugh mac Murtagh, one of the first that went to the Scots, today requested protection to come in, offering to bring his cess, to which they have agreed. Gill Duff of Gilmore, of whom they took prey, has requested protection and come in to Sir Brian mac Phelim. A man from Carrickfergus, hired by Marshal Bagenal to look to the

pledges under his charge, let them escape, and ended his days on the gallows. The lord deputy promised seed oats. They ask for 40 tons of oats in a boat, and to charge it to them until the lord deputy comes. It will encourage the country to manure the land. They enclose their letters to and from Sorley Boy.

Postscript. One Ferdorough MacNamee was sent into Scotland by Turlough Luineach to treat of a marriage for him. Request their lordships reply on this. They have heard nothing of Brian Carragh. Carrickfergus. *Copy.* 3¼pp.

SP 63/23. no. 10(i)

10.2 Captain Nicholas Malby to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 19 Dec 1567

Received their letters of 3 December. Sorley Boy is on the point of returning to Scotland and yesterday promised loyalty to Her Highness. Sorley Boy said he did not come to do any hurt. That was because his expectations were frustrated by Malby and Piers' policies. They have written to him and expect answer in three days. He is ready to depart. Had it not been for Alexander Og MacAlister Henry who went to them at their coming, and Rory Og MacQuillan, the Scots could not have tarried three days. Alexander Og seeks to come in, but they will not receive him so suddenly. The brigantine has been recovered. It is not a vessel for these seas in winter. The master brewer died today. Many of the sick men have recovered; they are the best bands in Ireland these twenty years. Malby's horseband is complete apart from some horses. Asks for a dozen horses. As already notified, Captain Horsey's band is not required. They have enough men to do any exploit in those parts. Carrickfergus. *Copy.* 1p.

SP 63/23, no. 10(ii)

10.3 Sorley Boy MacDonnell to Captains Piers and Malby [16 Dec 1567]

Requests peace and assurance between them until next May Day. If their letter of assurance is sent with the bearer, Sorley Boy, Angus MacDonnell and Alexander Og agree to such peace by land and sea until May Day. *Copy.* ½p.

SR63/23, no. 10(iii)

10.4 Captains Piers and Malby's peace with the Scots 20 Dec 1567

At the suit and submission of Sorley Boy and Alexander Og, and Sorley Boy having agreed to return to his own country until the return of Captain Piers or May Day, and Alexander Og having agreed to retire to his own country obedient to such as by Her Majesty have authority to command him, they are to be allowed to pass quietly to their countries, provided they accomplish the promises given above. This to be their sufficient protection. Carrickfergus. *Copy.* ½p.

SP 63/23, no. 10(iv)

10.5 Sorley Boy MacDonnell to Captains Piers and Malby [23 Dec 1567]

Hearty thanks for their writing. The weather being inconstant he does not know when he may go. He sent his men fourteen days ago for his galleys and boats. Will not fail to return home the first fair day after the galleys arrive. The Glens. *Copy.* ½p.

SP 63/23, no. 10(v)

11 Sir William Fitzwilliam to Sir William Cecil 17 Jan 1568

Since Bagenal's letter of 3 January, he has sent word to the lords justice that Turlough Luineach had hired some of Sorley Boy's Scots and that Sorley was going, as he heard, to fetch a greater number over. This came after Her Majesty's packet was made up. In the commissioner's letters from Dundalk

they advertise that Turlough Luineach has gathered his force and looked for Con O'Donnell with his followers to come to him, and had come with them close to Armagh. His intention thereby is very strange, for he will not look yet to the English Pale.

If Sorley Boy is not gone to Scotland he has deceived Piers and Malby and nothing but force will drive him to leave so wealthy a living. The offer by Con Boy and the O'Donnells, mentioned in Mr Marshal's letter, will weaken Turlough Luineach and the Scots, if well meant. If Piers and Malby had notified the lords justice before concluding the peace, Her Majesty's pleasure would have been sought, whereby the intent of the Scots and the Irish would have been revealed. If Piers and Malby do not again reject the offer, Horsey and Gilbert's bands will be sent. Fitzwilliam fears these Scots will not leave Ireland until better weather comes. If Piers and Malby had dealt with the Scots within a month of Sidney appointing them to do so, Sorley would not have found so many Scots in the Glens and that side of the Bann to join him. On receipt of Turlough Luineach and MacMahon's letters for a prey taken from MacMahon by Con Boy long since, the lords justice were considering the subtle handling of those matters. Have checked Turlough Luineach's indenture in the rolls. Prays for the lord deputy's speedy return, and that Fitzwilliam may then have order to pass his account. Dublin. *Signed. 1½pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 11

enclosing

11.1 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 3 Jan 1568

Writes to report their proceeding as commissioners. Also his messenger has come out of Tyrone and reports that Turlough Luineach has agreed with the Scots and has sent two men to Scotland to bring in Scots and get him a wife. Sorley Boy's messenger is with him. One Scot called the commissioners English churls. There was a fight and Bagenal's man injured a Scot with his sword. If the Donnellys had not rescued the man the Scots would have murdered him. The Donnellys have sent word that at the coming of the Scots to Turlough Luineach they will leave him and come to Bagenal. Rory MacQuillan, who sides with the Scots, has married Turlough's daughter. Brian Carragh mac Cormac, who fostered Sorley's son, has joined with the Scots. Con Boy mac Henry mac Shane does not agree with Turlough, but has come to the borders of MacCann's country and sent word that he would serve the queen and give Bagenal's messages to MacMahon and others. Mac Neil Mor's sons have sent word they will be with Bagenal on Monday night. They are about to follow stealths into MacMahon's country and Farney. They do not trust Lord Louth and Justice Dowdall. Bagenal will do his best to assemble a force against Turlough Luineach. Has sent another messenger to get news from him. Dundalk. *Copy. 1p.*

SP 63/23, no. 11(i)

11.2 Commissioners for the north to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 3 Jan 1568

Edmund O'Quinn, servant to Turlough Luineach, appeared before the commissioners on behalf of his master and submitted certain complaints. They have replied and have agreed a new date, hoping by that time to have Her Majesty's full resolution. Great disquiet is likely to happen between Turlough Brasselagh and Art mac Baron for Oneilland, which Art has in possession. To appease matters between them and Magennis, the commissioners have requested the dean of Armagh to intervene. A commission for the dean, from the lords justice, is requested.

The commissioners wrote to Hugh mac Neil to appear before them concerning complaints against him. They conjecture he fears order may be taken against him with Phelim Roe's sons for the title of the Fewes and other complaints. Collo mac Brien would not come without safe conduct, which the commissioners refused. They have heard no more from him. Con Boy sent a message to Mr Marshal

[Nicholas Bagenal] that he would come to him on safe conduct, which the marshal refused. Requests the lords justice to certify if they are to receive any by safe conduct. MacMahon wrote that he could not come without great force of men, for fear of Turlough Luineach. They appointed by letter that he should send his proofs by Wednesday concerning the prey taken by Con Boy, and according to that they would give order for him.

Postscript. Reported today that Turlough Luineach with all his power is within three miles of Armagh and that Con O'Donnell has appointed to meet him. No further intelligence on what they intend. Dundalk. *Copy signatures of* Thomas [Plunkett], Lord Louth, Nicholas Bagenal, James Dowdall, Terence [Daniel], dean of Armagh, William Bathe. *Copy. 1½pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 11(ii)

11.3 Commissioners for the north to Turlough Luineach O'Neill **3 Jan 1568**

The Commissioners had sent him a letter via Thomas Fleming, arranging a meeting in Dundalk, but Turlough Luineach did not appear. He sent them a message through his servant Edmund O'Quinn (O'Coyn). They now summon him for 18 February, and he is to bring with him Alice, daughter of the late [Shane] O'Neill, and Con Boy O'Neill. His controversies with O'Reilly and Art mac Baron shall be ordered at his first coming. Dundalk. *Latin. Copy. 1p.*

SP 63/23, no. 11(iii)

11.4 Turlough Brasselagh O'Neill's complaint to the Commissioners **[2 Jan 1568]**

Turlough Brasselagh O'Neill, son of Phelim, desires that the territory known as Oneiland may be divided between him and the sons of the Baron. Much has been lost in this contention. The Baron was expelled by Con O'Neill. Turlough Brasselagh was unjustly expelled by Shane O'Neill. MacCann, O'Donnelly and O'Meallain and other senior men can testify in the matter. Turlough Brasselagh will not leave that land in anybody's hands without this satisfaction but will trouble the country until his death. Castle Corkery. *Latin. Copy. Transcript headed 'Jhesus Maria'. ½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 11(iv)

12 Indenture between Queen Elizabeth and Sir Donal O'Connor, alias O'Connor Sligo

20 Jan 1568

On 8 November 1567, the said O'Connor Sligo came to the queen at Hampton Court and submitted to her. He acknowledges her as his ruler and will persecute all her rebels. He submits his life, lands and goods to her mercy and surrenders his office of O'Connor Sligo with all its lands and castles in Connacht, imploring the queen's pardon and grace, and asks to be reputed as a natural born Englishman. He wishes to hold his lands of Her Majesty and not to suffer exactions from O'Donnell or any other. Lord Deputy Sidney has confirmed that the said O'Connor Sligo has constantly refused to join with Shane O'Neill. The queen accepts his surrender and resignation. An inquiry will be made of his lands and he shall then receive them by letters patent at a rent not exceeding £100 Irish. For observance of these premises, he binds himself to the queen for £10,000. Westminster. *Latin. Copy. 3½pp. Fuller summary printed in translation in Cal. Carew, 1515–74, p. 378.*

SP 63/23, no. 12

13 Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to Queen Elizabeth

22 Jan 1568

Is upset that Her Highness has a poor opinion of him, as shown in her letter of 24 December. He was always dutiful to her service and encouraged others to do likewise. Denies blame for the Scots arrival or continuance, or that they were not resisted. The letters of Piers and Malby will testify to this.

Neither Weston nor Fitzwilliam were made privy to the peace with the Scots until 20 days afterwards. Has served eight years in Ireland and is ready to do the queen's assignment anywhere. He is an unfit treasurer, untrained in auditing or accountancy. Neither was he trained in martial matters. He would rather be a doorkeeper at court than serve in Ireland to enrich his purse. Her Majesty will not lose by his expenditure in excess of his allowance, even if he has to sell his land to meet the cost. Has served without bribery, robbery or gifts. He is ready to give up his office at the queen's pleasure. Dublin. *Signed. 2pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 13

14 Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to the Privy Council**22 Jan 1568**

Their letters of 17 December he received 18 January. He has received at the hands of John Ussher of Dublin only £100 of the £2,000 sterling to be sent here for service in Ulster. Has written to Piers to send for it, but if he does not do so soon, Fitzwilliam will convey it with him when he goes to him. Their lordships' letter mentioned that carriage was to be paid to Nicholas Fitzsimons of Dublin. He has not arrived and John Ussher, who brought the money, is seeking payment for carriage. No payment has been made yet lest Her Majesty be charged twice. Laments the queen's letter of 24 December. Will always serve her faithfully. Asks that sinister accusations may not cause the queen and council to dislike him before he can respond. No further news of Ulster. Has not yet heard that the Scots have departed. Turlough Luineach is in daily contact with the Scots. The chief sort of Munster act strangely towards the commissioners there, as their letters sent to Her Highness specify. Their reform will better succeed if a governor is sent here to take charge of government. Dublin. *Signed. 2¼pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 14

15 Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to Sir William Cecil**22 Jan 1568**

On 18 January his servant arrived with two letters from Her Majesty dated 10 and 24 December, and two from Cecil dated 15 and 24 December, along with two for Fitzwilliam himself dated 24 and 29 December. The last letter from Her Majesty makes him weary of his life. Has written to her. Thanks Cecil for the postscript to Her Majesty's harsh letter. The earl of Ormond has let him know of Cecil's role therein. The peace with the Scots must be observed. Otherwise Her Majesty's commissioners in Ireland would not be trusted again. The season is unsuitable for warfare. Cannot see how the Scots with Turlough Luineach can be put away at small charge. They should have been opposed before they landed. Hopes for Sidney's speedy return. Alternatively if Vice-Chamberlain Knollys were to come things would be much easier. No money can be got for the earl of Desmond or his brother. Has not heard from Piers since 2 or 3 January. Hopes to be recalled from Ireland.

Thanks Cecil for his goodness in dealing with the lord keeper and Mr Mildmay. He does not know why the lord deputy would not act for him. Neither Sidney nor Sussex found Cecil other than sorry for the trouble between them. He knows no evil Sussex ever wrought against Sidney. Fitzwilliam has enough burdens of his own. Has declared Cecil's mind to the bishop of Dublin. He has done great good in the churches and among the idle idolatrous people. One Skiddy went over with the earl of Desmond who knows the causes concerning Thomas Cusack. Fitzwilliam has now received the £2,000.

Postscript. Has returned Cecil's letter as requested. Neil mac [] has come in again to Cosby and submitted. A report has come of the Scots, enclosed. At the last muster Gilbert's band mustered but 68 persons, mostly unfurnished with horses and equipment. The captains, lieutenants etc. are in England. Requests some officer be sent over to lead them. Intends to have as many of them with him

for Carrickfergus as may be furnished, with Horsey's band and his own, but with English horsemen. Will take some of Agard's, Moore's, Hedrington's, Bagenal's and Wingfield's men, with some of Kildare's who are as well appointed as any of the country can be. Letters from Bagenal, the dean of Armagh and Turlough Luineach show the likely state of the north. Dublin. *Holograph*. 3¼pp.

SP 63/23, no. 15

enclosing

15.1 Note of the Scots in Ulster before the coming of Sorley Boy [Jan 1568]

With Turlough Luineach. Gillespick MacAlister Galte and his brother Alexander Og, captains of Irish birth with 140 Scots. With O'Doherty: 60 Scots under Turlough Luineach. Brian Carragh mac Cormac MacDonnell, with 30 Scots. Donal mac Sorley and 80 Scots. Tirrell Og mac Owen Moill, Irish, with 100 Scots. With Con Boy mac Henry and his brethren: Owen Baugh and 60 Scots. In the Glens: Alexander Og, Irish, and lately joined with Sorley, and 100 Scots. Randall Og and Mac Phelim Roe, with 120 Scots. With O'Cahan: Laughlin mac Callen of the Campbells, which is the earl of Argyll's own name, with 60 Scots.

About the Dufferin: Mac Con Boy. Alexander MacDonnell Boy's son with 750 men. There are others unnamed, including Turlough Brasselagh. Notes that Captain Gilbert's men mustered in Mullingar on 16 December 1567. *In Fitzwilliam's hand*. 1½pp.

SP 63/23, no. 15(i)

16 Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam and Council to Queen Elizabeth 23 Jan 1568

Received her letter of 18 January. They are to encourage Piers and Malby in expelling the Scots. They have written to Brian mac Phelim and Randall Og MacAlister. They have already written on the state of the north. They will try and find Turlough Luineach and O'Donnell's intentions and send the information on to the queen. They agree that the young baron should be maintained and hold his lands and titles in the English manner. However, others such as Maguire, whose manner of succession is in the barbarous Irish manner, would not like to help maintain him so. The Irish chiefs cannot force their followers to use English land tenure. If Turlough Brasselagh's pledge were executed it would cause great terror. If O'Donnell proves unfaithful, Con O'Donnell should be maintained against him. Fitzwilliam has received £2,000 of the £3,000 sterling that was to be used to expel the Scots. £100 has been delivered to Captain Piers. They have ordered Malby to report on the state of the garrison there. On 9 January they received word of a peace concluded between Piers and Malby and the Scots. Bad weather prevented them from sending a letter to the queen on this matter until now. To go north now in force would cause disruption and show the Scots bad faith. Fitzwilliam or Agard will attack the Scots if they do not leave. They have heard nothing from O'Donnell. It is a difficult time of year for their men to cross into Turlough Luineach's country. It is better not to stir him, as he does not offer rebellion at the moment and they can deal with him later. They have just received letters from the commission sent to Munster, where disorders are beginning to occur. There is little hope of getting money from there to keep Desmond and his brother in England. A settled governor should be sent to Ireland, as this will help prevent disorder. The collection of articles against the earl and Sir John was delivered to Patrick Sherlock in December. But for the bad weather the queen would have got them by now. He will return them to the lords justice if he has not already embarked, and they will send them on as soon as possible. Dublin. *Signed by* Robert Weston, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Adam [Loftus, archbishop of] Dublin, Francis Agard. 5pp.

SP 63/23, no. 16

enclosing

16.1 Commissioners in Munster to Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston 14 Jan 1568

They came to Youghal on 7 January, expecting the coming of the countess of Desmond as according to their letters written at Waterford. The next day they wrote to Lord Barrymore, the sheriff of Cork, the seneschal of Immokilly and John FitzEdmund, so called dean of Cloyne, requiring them to come to them. Their letters were intercepted by wood-kerne under Gerald Bracke, a close kinsman to the earl of Desmond. The sheriff came the next day. They heard that the countess had gone to Limerick, so they wrote to her again and went on towards Cork. Lord Barrymore and John FitzEdmund came out to meet them, and helped them avoid an ambush by the wood-kerne. They came to Barrymore's house, called Barryscourt, seven miles from Cork. The next day they travelled through the rain to Cork. They wrote again to the countess, and to the bishop and chancellor of Limerick, and also to Lord Roche and Sir Dermot mac Teig mac Cormac. They send on their replies. None of the chiefs will come to them unless the countess does. Scarcity of horse feed. MacSweeney is at large. Apsley is at hand and Mr Pickering is in the castle.

Postscript. They have since learned that Apsley is drowned and Pickering taken with three ships and all their furniture. Cork. *Copy signatures of* Hugh Brady, John Plunkett, Henry Draycott, Edward Fitzsimons. *Copy.* 1¼pp.

SP 63/23, no. 16(i)

16.2 Eleanor [Fitzgerald], countess of Desmond, to the commissioners 11 Jan 1568

She has received their letters sent from Waterford on 1 January. Could not repair to them as the earl's country is in great disorder, which she is trying to prevent by travelling through the country. She lacks money. The last charge laid upon her tenants has left them too poor to pay for her husband's need. Kilmallock. *Copy.* ¾p.

SP 63/23, no. 16(ii)

16.3 Hugh Lacy, bishop of Limerick, to the commissioners 11 Jan 1568

Received on 9 January their letters sent from Waterford, where they informed him that he was to be joined with them in commission and asking him to repair to Youghal. This country is in a miserable state and he cannot travel due to lack of money. He will wait on them when they come to these parts. Kilmallock. *Copy.* ½p.

SP 63/23, no. 16(iii)

16.4 Commissioners in Munster to Eleanor Fitzgerald, countess of Desmond 13 Jan 1568

Received her letter of 11 January, where they perceive she thinks little of their going into Munster. They did this to help and protect her husband's tenants and followers. They marvel that she has not appointed a time and place to meet. She is to reply as soon as possible as to when and where she will meet them. Cork. *Copy.* ½p.

SP 63/23, no. 16(iv)

16.5 Commissioners in Munster to Hugh Lacy bishop of Limerick 14 Jan 1568

They have written to him and the countess of Desmond. Their journey here is to preserve the earl and his brother's lands, tenants and followers from spoil. They think the countess does not believe them. He is to repair to them as soon as possible, and to bring the countess if possible. The commissioners will bear the charge of their coming. Cork. *Copy.* ½p.

SP 63/23, no. 16(v)

17 Queen Elizabeth to Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston**25 Jan 1568**

Sir Donal O'Connor Sligo, knight, coming here with Lord Deputy Sidney, to acknowledge his loyal duty to her, has humbly and voluntarily submitted himself to her grace and freely surrendered to her all his possessions, whereupon she has received him into her protection and agreed to make to him and the heirs male of his father certain estates of inheritance as may appear by letter patent under the great seal of England, which he will show the lords justice. He is trusted to continue a faithful subject. The lords justice are charged to hear his complaints and take order for detaining certain of his castles from him, the castle of Bundoran by O'Donnell, Ballytochar by O'Rourke and Ardnaree by Oliverus Burke's sons. If he complains that any of his goods have been spoiled during his absence, order is to be made for trial and restitution as the cause shall require.

On his request, the queen is content that the friary house of Sligo, where he says the sepulchre of his ancestors has been, should be so reserved. Regarding any other reasonable thing the said Sir Donal O'Connor asks, for the maintenance of himself, his tenants and possessions in the queen's peace, the lords justice are to aid and assist him. O'Connor to be supplied with a copy of this letter under their lordships seal as he has requested. *Draft. 1³/₄pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 17

18 Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin to Sir William Cecil**25 Jan 1568**

Was fully resolved to continue his suit for some learned man to hold the archbishopric of Armagh. Now understands from Sir William Fitzwilliam that some nefarious person has informed Cecil that Loftus intended innovations in the administration of communion, which is untrue. Cecil knows the number of Loftus's enemies in this land who have sought to discredit him. This is because of his vigour in attempting to banish popery. He has neither made innovation nor intends any. The daily service used in both his cathedral churches in the city of Dublin and elsewhere uses no other form of prayer or administration of sacraments than that allowed and appointed by the statute.

His sermons to clergy or people have not advocated any innovation or showed dislike of the order set forth by law. The only time he changed anything was when he placed the communion table under the pulpit because of the great number of people present around Easter, as is allowed in the Book of Common Prayer. Cecil is his only patron in his diligent endeavour to further God's work in cleansing his church from idolatry and vain worshipping of God. He could obtain letters in his favour from the lords justice, but hopes his credit is such that he will be believed.

Postscript. Beseeches Cecil to send him a few lines in the next post. Dublin. *Signed. 1¹/₂pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 18

19 Petition of Donal O'Connor Sligo to the Privy Council**[25 Jan 1568]**

Has petitioned for seven years to be restored to his inheritance of Sligo and Ballymote with all other lands and demesnes belonging to him, which remain in the hands of others chargeable to Her Majesty. During that time he has also kept his two brothers at his own charge, and deprived of his living he is greatly indebted and unable to pay his creditors, nor maintain himself and his brothers. Petitions the council to be a mean to Her Majesty to restore his lands and livings, whereby Her Majesty will be at no further charge. He will serve Her Majesty at his own charge. Otherwise he seeks a stay of living to maintain himself and his brethren until Her Majesty restore him to his small seignory. *1/2p.*

SP 63/23, no. 19

20 Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston to Queen Elizabeth**26 Jan 1568**

After finishing the two packets by this post, delayed by the weather, they received letters on 25 January from the north concerning the further practices of Turlough Luineach and the Scots. Have sent a messenger to Carrickfergus to learn the truth, and on his return they will report. The victualler here and Applyard, the victualler in Carrickfergus, report the victuals appointed to last to the end of March will decay and will not last. The lords justice will investigate this report. Dublin. *Signed. ½p.*
SP 63/23, no. 20

*enclosing***20.1 Nicholas Bagenal, Marshal to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 22 January 1568**

Received their letters of 16 January on 20 January. Does not intend to meddle with Con Boy and such as are under Turlough Luineach in case the indentures made between the queen and him are infringed. He sent the dean of Armagh [Terence Daniel] into the country to make agreement between Art mac Baron, Turlough Brasselagh and Magennis, who agreed. Trusts they will remember the dean for his travel and charges. If he had not made agreement with them, Turlough was coming to spoil Art mac Baron and as he went home he took a prey of Turlough Brasselagh. Sorley Boy has gone home and left the Scots with Brian Carragh mac Cormac Og, Rory MacQuillan and other gentlemen of the borders to be at Turlough Luineach's command. Heard yesterday that 120 Scots had come to Turlough Luineach and Rory MacQuillan. Turlough is sending Melaghlin O'Neill to Scotland. Sorley Boy took over 600 beeves, which he reared among the Irishmen. He hears their tenants are quietly in the Glens, which makes Bagenal think they do not intend to be long away.

Con O'Donnell was with Turlough Luineach this Christmas and sent Bagenal a message asking for an order not to aid Turlough. Bagenal did not reply, thinking Turlough was privy to the message. Their lordships should write to both O'Donnell and Con not to aid Turlough without their licence. Received a letter from Turlough yesterday, which is enclosed. He is content to abide by the order of the dean of Armagh between him and Turlough Brasselagh. Con Boy is with Turlough Brasselagh where Turlough Luineach cannot fetch him without force, unless he agree with him, which it is reported he is about to do. Art mac Baron has a great number of the followers of Tyrone with him who fear being sent to Turlough Luineach again. Turlough Brasselagh and Bagenal have messengers daily between them. Yesterday Art mac Baron and Hugh mac Neil Mor were with Bagenal, between whom there was disagreement over land and stealths. Also Phelim Roe's sons complained of Mac Neil Mor about similar disputes. Bagenal took order between them until their next meeting at Dundalk. O'Hanlon and others were also here, and agreements made. Also received yesterday a supplication from the chantor of Armagh, who has been in Scotland and fully knows the dealings between the Scots and Irish here. If given their lordships' protection he will declare his full knowledge to them or to Bagenal. Carlingford. *Copy. 1½pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 20(i)

20.2 Terence Daniel, dean of Armagh to Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston 22 Jan 1568

Being sick at Dundalk he wrote on the state of the north. After the sitting at Dundalk, Bagenal and other commissioners requested him to return to the north to determine matters between the Baron's son and Turlough Brasselagh, and between Turlough Brasselagh and Magennis and others. Was two days at Carlingford with Bagenal and then went to Newry and to O'Hanlon's country. Heard there that Turlough Luineach came on Christmas day to Benburb and Con O'Donnell, MacMahon and Con Boy mac Henry mac Shane came to him. Con O'Donnell left him in displeasure. Then Turlough spoiled much of Armagh and MacCann's country. Turlough Brasselagh and MacCann overtook them

and took the prey and killed some of his men. Turlough returned to Armagh on 9 January and departed the next day. Daniel brought the Baron's son and Turlough Brasselagh together before O'Hanlon, MacCann, MacDonnell and other gentlemen. Had them sworn to abide his order and then took order between them both to be friends until the lord deputy's coming. From there Daniel went to Magennis's country and brought Magennis and Turlough Brasselagh together and took order between them to be friends. Also between Magennis and the bishop of Dromore. On his return through Magennis's country he wrote to Turlough Luineach of the peace between those parties offering to take order between him and his nation. At Carlingford he took order between the Baron's son, Neil Mor's sons and Phelim Roe's sons and there received a reply from Turlough Luineach requesting a date to meet Bagenal. They decided to enter no further into the matter until they know their lordships' pleasure, for they hear sinister reports of Turlough Luineach of which some are true. 130 Campbells came to him recently with the earl of Argyll's kinsmen. Also a messenger out of Scotland named Ferdorough MacNamee. Another messenger has gone from him into Scotland named Melaghlin O'Neill. It is said Con O'Donnell sent him galloglasses out of Tyrconnell.

As soon as their lordships resolution is received, Daniel intends to resort to the English Pale for he has no living to maintain him here, it being so utterly waste. Rory Og MacQuillan came to Turlough to have a band of men and is to take his daughter as his wife. The news of the Scots is that Sorley Boy himself is gone to Rathlin and left as many people as he can. Carlingford. *Copy 1p.*

SP 63/23, no. 20(ii)

21 Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston to the Privy Council 26 Jan 1568

Recommend the suits of Sir Christopher Barnewall for greater assurance of certain farms he holds. He has assisted the service here at his own charge, and is to be commended for his hospitality. He had sought licence to repair to court, but they have thought better not to licence him, but to commend his dutifulness and serviceable dealings. They doubt not that Sidney can report on him likewise. Dublin. *Signed. ½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 21

22 Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston to Sir William Cecil 26 Jan 1568

Have received his letters of 15 and 29 December. They have informed the queen of their actions touching the peace made with the Scots and their orders for keeping the peace in Desmond's lands. They have sent over the book between the two earls and the charges against Desmond and his brother. They have received the £2,000 and are ready to send £100 to Piers and Malby. The queen has worthy counsellors in Irish affairs, and they keep the lords justice performing well in their charge. They are sorry for Sidney's illness and cannot blame him for not wanting to return to Ireland. Have heard nothing of Piers Grace. He is lying low hoping for a pardon. They have granted the wardship of Andrew Wyse's lands to two of the queen's servants here. They shall order it according to the queen's instructions. Ask that a governor be sent to keep order in Ireland. They will watch over Desmond and his brother's countries. Dublin. *Signed. 1½pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 22

23 Bull of Pope Pius V 26 Jan 1568

To deprive Patrick MacMahon, bishop of Ardagh, of his bishopric for simony, non-residence, leaving his cathedral in ruins etc. St Peter's. Rome. *Latin. 1p.*

SP 63/23, no. 23

24 Lords Justice Fitzwilliam and Weston to Queen Elizabeth 29 Jan 1568

After their packets were finished and delivered to this bearer, who was delayed by weather, they received a letter of 18 January from Piers and Malby. Copy enclosed. Diversity between it and letters from [Nicholas] Bagenal, the dean of Armagh [Terence Daniel], and Turlough Luineach. Turlough in his letter to Bagenal does not deny having 120 Scots. Malby and Piers write that Sorley Boy has departed, but Rathlin is only four or five miles from the Glens where they were before. Piers, who has probably now departed for England, can declare his whole knowledge to Her Majesty. On the return of David Hedrington, a horseman sent there, they will report on the state of those parts. Dublin. *Signed. ½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 24

enclosing

24.1 Captains Piers and Malby to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 18 January 1568

They wrote 12 days ago, sending a special messenger who has not yet returned. Four days ago Sorley Boy [MacDonnell] departed to Rathlin, intending to go to Scotland. These parts are quiet. A letter arrived today from the lord deputy, marvelling that Piers was not already with him, and charging him to repair there with speed. He intends to take the journey presently. Carrickfergus. *Copy. ½p.*

SP 63/23, no. 24(i)

25 Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to Sir William Cecil 29 Jan 1568

The queen's two packets are delayed by weather. On 29 January a letter dated 18 January came from Piers and Malby by which it appears the Scots and Sorley have gone to Rathlin. Yet Turlough Luineach confesses to entertaining 120 of them. Think the reports of the captains at Carrickfergus strange. Their slowness to notify the lords justice, and Piers' departure, makes Fitzwilliam wish he himself could leave. At the return of David Hedrington he trusts to be further satisfied.

Fitzwilliam intends to go to Carrickfergus himself, if the ways are passable for the soldiers. Wrote to Cecil of the receipt of the £2,000 though he had it not at the time of writing but is sure to have it shortly. Thomascourt. *Holograph. ¾p.*

SP 63/23, no. 25

26 Device for the plantation of Ireland with Englishmen Jan 1568

Every two parishes thought suitable are to chose one person in the shire, half of those chosen to be able men aged 25–35 brought up as servants in husbandry, of the rest to be brought up in husbandry, married men aged 30–50 without charge of children as near as may be, having no freeholds in England, and the rest to be artificers, ploughwrights, smiths, carpenters, fishermen and mariners. Every two parishes to sponsor one man to go to Ireland at 14s month. Countrymen from the same locality to be placed near together in Ireland to dwell in towns of 100 households at least. Motions to induce noblemen and gentlemen of knowledge to induce the parishes to contribute to Ireland, which has been a charge to the crown of England for hundreds of years. To reduce it to the state where it may now be replenished with English people has cost Her Majesty much treasure. If a good number may be sent there it is probable the crown will not be burdened hereafter but may yield a profit which it has not these 200 years. If not done the same English shires will have to support garrisons there, causing greater burden and no profit.

Those chosen as householders will have land assigned them in Ireland and for their heirs, three or four ploughlands paying nothing until the end of the first year and low rents thereafter. Those chosen to be servants will have good wages and later will get land.

Motion for artificers. For the first year they will be paid 6d a day paid monthly, besides such money as they gain in their work. They are to have a portion of ground for the maintenance of livestock and horses, paying like rents to Her Majesty.

At every change by death both they and the other freeholders shall for a period double their rent to the queen.

If any gentleman of the shire wishes to go and live in Ireland of his own charges he to be assigned up to forty ploughlands according the number of persons brought up in husbandry he brings with him, at two persons per ploughland, having the estate in tail with power to make grants of copyholds or leases.

Victual shall be provided by the queen. Wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, malt, cheese and butter will be stapled near the people and sold reasonably. All to pay tithes to the curates. Never less than 100 households per parish, that the curate may have a better living. *6½pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 26

27 Declaration for defraying £4,000 sterling delivered to John Thomas Jan 1568

Sums due to several persons on 31 August 1567: £1,939 15s 9d Irish. Extraordinary payments not in the book of reckoning: £757 10s 10d. Repayments for sums borrowed: £2,634 3s 2d. Total: £5,331 9s (sterling: £3,998 12s 5d). Remainder: 27s 12d. *2pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 27

28 Note of money due from Piers Walsh Jan 1568

Money due from Piers Walsh for the rent of Owney in County Limerick, and other moneys, from which he seeks to be discharged.

Due from Piers Walsh, 1562 to 1566: £285 11s 3d.

Piers to be charged for money received by him for the rent of the parsonages of Tully and Arklow in County Carlow and Cahirelly and Rathcondron in County Limerick, £52. He wishes to be discharged the remainder, £233 11s 3d. *Signed by John Thomas. 1p.*

SP 63/23, no. 28

29 Propositions for the reformation of the north of Ireland 1 Feb 1568

Propositions addressed to Cecil from an Irishman for the reform of the north.

Lack of grace and education is the main reason for Irish rebelliousness. A learned primate should be provided for the cathedral of Armagh together with a dean and chapter, and lands and liberties appointed to the same town, yielding yearly rent to Her Majesty. Since the church and dean's house and other houses belonging to the same are now ruinous, for building they to have £400 yearly of the living of St Patrick's in Dublin and other ecclesiastical livings in Ireland for 8 years, so they may build and reside there forthwith. The two ruined abbeys of Armagh to be repaired and converted into free schools, whereby the young will know to serve God and the queen. For said work a charitable subsidy of £6,000 to be had of the spiritualities of England and Ireland, £1,500 yearly for 4 years.

The town of Armagh to be strongly walled and gated, the market renewed, officers appointed, the customs reserved for building and maintaining thereof from time to time. The queen to give £1,000 for this, and men of substance in the Pale and Munster to give 6d out of every 30s revenue they earn. More schools in Cavan and Monaghan. O'Neill [Turlough Luineach] is now weakened and will gladly yield. Advises that the Irish lords in Ulster be made survey the lands they hold by Irish custom, and then to hold it in the English manner, and to take it by deeds indented with such reservations as thought fit by Her Majesty. A like valuation to be made of all spiritual lands and tithes belonging to