

**Calendar of State Papers
Ireland
Tudor Period
1547–1553**

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COIMISIÚN LÁMHSCRÍBHINNÍ na hÉIREANN

**Calendar of State Papers
Ireland
Tudor Period
1547–1553**

Revised Edition

Edited by
Colm Lennon



Irish Manuscripts Commission
2015

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Colm Lennon
EDITOR

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 Claude Hamilton. The work (and particularly the first volume) 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. However, nothing was done to rectify the situation until the later decades of the twentieth century when the Irish Manuscripts Commission decided to persuade a team of accomplished historians of Tudor Ireland to return to Hamilton's task of more than a century previously. The first of the revised and expanded series to appear was *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, Tudor Period, 1571–1575*, ed. Mary O'Dowd (London and Dublin, 2000). This particular volume was sponsored and published jointly by the Public Record Office (now the National Archives at Kew) and the Irish Manuscripts Commission. However, the arrangement to have the series printed by the National Archives broke down primarily because the resources of the Irish Manuscripts Commission did not allow it to hire full time editors to accomplish the task in the scheduled fashion expected by Kew. Instead, with the agreement of the National Archives, the Irish Manuscripts Commission assumed full responsibility for publishing and indexing subsequent Calendars which, like the volume edited by Mary O'Dowd, would be prepared by scholars who would dedicate their time voluntarily to a task they considered important to their subject. Under this arrangement the Irish Manuscripts Commission published *Calendar of State Papers Ireland: Tudor Period, 1566–1567*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham (Dublin, 2009) and *Calendar of State Papers Ireland: Tudor Period, 1568–1571*, ed. Bernadette Cunningham (Dublin, 2010). The present volume *Calendar of State Papers Ireland: Tudor Period, 1547–1553*, ed. Colm Lennon follows in that same tradition and is therefore the fourth volume in this New Calendar of State Papers Ireland series to appear in print.

The perceived 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 held in State Paper series at 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 (and particularly the first) 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 subsequent 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 not originally been met by Hamilton it might be said that the ambition of the present team of editors, in preparing this new set of calendars, 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 than had been the case previously.

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 that 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

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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.

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 were to follow, the editors of successive volumes have supplied introductions devoted to a consideration of the historical importance of the papers they 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 Public Record Office, and particularly to the late Dr Donal Cregan and Dr Roy Hunnisett of these organizations, for their imagination and patience in negotiating support for this endeavour in the first instance and putting in place procedures and permissions, 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 and to succeeding members of the Irish Manuscripts Commission for retaining their faith in the project.

Nicholas Canny
GENERAL EDITOR

INTRODUCTION

The documents in this calendar date from the years of King Edward VI's reign, from January 1547 to July 1553. In his name, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland ruled as lords protector of England from 1547 to 1549, and 1550 to 1553, respectively. During the span of the reign, there were four separate English chief governorships in Ireland: those of Sir Anthony St Leger, the first of which continued from the previous reign of Henry VIII until 1548, and the second from 1550 to 1551; that of Sir Edward Bellingham from 1548 to 1549; and that of Sir James Croft from 1551 to 1552. There were in addition administrations headed by lords justices for brief periods during the absence of a chief governor: these included Sir Francis Bryan (1549–50), Sir William Brabazon (1550), and Sir Thomas Cusack and Sir Gerald Aylmer (1552–3).¹ The calendar is based on the documents contained in the SP 61 collection, volumes 1–4, in The National Archives in Kew, with a few miscellaneous items from other collections of the former Public Record Office that were included in the original calendar of these documents published under the editorship of Hans Claude Hamilton in 1860.²

St Leger's first lord deputyship under Edward VI is thinly covered by the documents in this collection. A recent reconstruction of the events which dominated the early years draws upon these and other sources to explicate the causes and course of a rebellion in the Irish midlands from 1547 to 1548.³ The mid-Tudor period in Ireland has been discussed in the modern secondary literature,⁴ while recent monographs and articles also draw effectively upon the state papers edited here and elsewhere.⁵ In addition to its response to unrest in Leinster, through garrisoning and preparing for colonisation in Leix and Offaly, the administration was active in attempting to implement social, legal, financial and religious reforms throughout the island. Among the local manifestations of concern on view here are those of the communities of the towns and port cities at the prevailing shortages of goods, the unreliability of the currency and the incidence of piracy. Where names of civic officials appear as signatories these have been included, but most letters are merely subscribed generically by the mayor or sovereign and the commonalty. Some documents relating to the fortifying of towns and ports contain references to accompanying plans and maps, but unfortunately these have not been located. A major initiative as detailed in the papers for the later years of the reign is the iron and silver mining industry at Clonmines in county Wexford.

These calendar entries aspire to present the meaning and tone of the documents, while reducing them to approximately one third of their original length. In the process of calendaring, the verbatim text of the documents has not been reproduced, but every effort has been made to convey the linguistic characteristics of the original. As in the case of any calendared collection, the entries here must be regarded not as a substitute for consulting the original text but merely as a convenient guide to researchers preparing to embark on an in-depth study of the documents themselves. Copies of the originals are available now in State Papers Online⁶ and also on microfilm in many research libraries in Ireland and elsewhere.

INTRODUCTION

In keeping with the conventions established in this new series of calendars, all names of people and places have been modernised, in so far as identifications have proved possible. The versions adopted are those most commonly used in recent historical studies. In the case of the long document, 'Walter Cowley's survey of Offaly' [SP 61/2, no. 65], however, the versions of the place-names adopted by the modern editor, Edmund Curtis, in his full edition of the text have been used here.⁷ These provide a valuable guide to local topography and patterns of toponymy. Monetary confusion was rife in Ireland during the period, with variable rates of exchange between the Irish and English currencies. Sums of money referred to in the calendar are in sterling, except where otherwise stated.

Colm Lennon
EDITOR

- 1 Information on many of the principal personalities mentioned in these state papers can be found in the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (9 vols, Cambridge, 2009; online at dib.cambridge.org) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004; online at www.oxforddnb.com).
- 2 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 77–131.
- 3 Anthony Bryson, 'Sir Anthony St Leger and the outbreak of the midland rebellion, 1547–8' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, section C (2013), pp 251–77.
- 4 Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979); Ciarán Brady, *The chief governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland 1536–1588* (Cambridge, 1994); S. G. Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors, 1447–1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* (London, 1998); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland: the incomplete conquest* (Dublin, 1994).
- 5 V. P. Carey, *Surviving the Tudors: the 'wizard' earl of Kildare and English rule in Ireland, 1537–1586* (Dublin, 2002); David Edwards, *The Ormond lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515–1642* (Dublin, 2003); Anthony 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, 2004); J. P. Montaña, *The roots of English colonialism in Ireland: critical perspectives on empire* (Cambridge, 2011). D. G. White, 'The reign of Edward VI in Ireland: some political, social, and economic aspects' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xiv (1965), 197–211; Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Edwardian Reformation in Ireland, 1547–53' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxiv (1977), pp 83–99; D. L. Potter, 'French intrigue in Ireland during the reign of Henri II, 1547–1559' in *International History Review*, v (1983), 159–80.
- 6 <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>
- 7 'The survey of Offaly in 1550' ed. Edmund Curtis in *Hermathena*, xlv (1930), pp 312–52.

STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1547–1553

SP 61, VOLUME 1. MARCH 1547–DECEMBER 1548

1 Countess of Ormond to the duke of Somerset

6 Mar 1547

Since my last writing to you, I have received from the lord deputy confirmation of my right to a third part of the prise wines. He has, however, demanded the payment of twenty shillings per tun as well as freight, charges that were never sought from the family since the time of King Edward I. I ask for the restoration of the position as it was in my late husband's time. Robert St Leger informed me that my husband's servants and tenants are to be expelled from their properties and others installed in their places. In the name of the close ties between you and our family, as demonstrated most recently by my husband's entrusting his son and heir to your tutelage at court before his death, I appeal to you to direct the deputy and council to restore my rights to the prise wines unalloyed, and to preserve my husband's estate intact during my son's minority. This applies in particular to Dromineer Castle which was seized by some of the O'Kennedys after my husband's departure to court. Kilkenny. *Signed. Ip.*

SP 61/1, no. 1

2 Lord Protector Somerset and Privy Council to Lord Deputy St Leger and Council

25 Mar 1547

This is in response to your letters and the instructions that you sent by the former dean of St Patrick's and Henry Draycott. The king, with the councillors' advice, has decided to renew the commissions of you, the lord deputy, the lord chancellor and others. As a great number of the king's retinue in Ireland serve as cooks, butlers and housekeepers in the councillors' private homes to the detriment of the royal service and at an increased cost in allowances for entertainment, it is thought meet that officials should hire their own servants and so free up the king's retainers to serve as soon as and as often as they are required to do so.

In respect of the collegiate cathedral of St Patrick, as it appears that people there have a great affinity to that saint, deeming him to be their national patron under Christ, the king's wish is that you should press ahead with the plans for that college as you have been instructed to do in order to address the superstitious opinions of the common people, making provision for the pensions of the personnel and granting the dean 200 marks per annum until he is appointed to another living. As to the plate and ornament of that college, the king's wish is that those items that remain after donations to the other church there shall be sent by messenger to Bristol and handed over to the treasurer of the mint. Whatever portion you deem suitable for presentation to the king you should send it here. As part of that collegiate church of St Patrick serves as a parish church, the king wishes it to continue as such, retaining four small bells and other small ornaments for its use.

Finally, to compensate for the loss that you sustain in the exchange rate of money between the two realms, it has been decided to send to Ireland as treasure the coin that is current here in England. For placing the retinue in such countries as they may do the best service. For delaying of the mint for various reasons and receiving of the stamps pertaining to that purpose. *Draft. 7pp. Printed in part in Shirley, L. & P., pp 3–5.*

SP 61/1, no. 2

3 King Edward VI to Lord Deputy St Leger and Council

7 April 1547

William Cantwell and his man, who received twelve pence and six pence per day respectively under King Henry VIII, are no longer to receive payment from the vice-treasurer. Instead, Piers Walshe is

to receive ten pence per day, and Oliver Nugent and Owen Whyte four pence per day. The archbishop of Armagh, Sir William Wise and Francis Herbert are to be appointed to the council.

We assent to the retention by Cicilie, daughter of the late earl of Kildare, of certain plate belonging to her father. The constable of the castle of Dublin is to be marshal of the courts there, paying Edmund Griffith, keeper of the gardens at Hampton Court, the yearly fee arising from that office. Francis Harbart, farmer of Portlester, John Parker, farmer of Holmpatrick, and Walter Peppard, farmer of Kilkea manor, are all to have a patent for an extension of ten years to their leases. The bishop of Meath is to have the parsonage of Ardbraccan for the term of his life. John Goldsmith, the clerk of the council, is to get a grant of the site and precincts of the former hospital of St Laurence near Drogheda, with all the temporal and spiritual perquisites.

Lands to an annual value of £10 are to be granted to William Keating, captain of the kerne, and after his death to the one of his sons deemed most suitable to succeed. Hugh O'Neill is to be given an augmentation of his living in the form of an annuity of £10 per annum from the income of the college at Newry. You are to decide what lands, worth £5 13s 4d, are to be conferred on O'Connor [*and O'Melmoy?: paper torn*]. Robert St Leger, brother to the lord deputy, is to have the castle and manor of Dungarvan, provided that he keep it appropriately manned for its defence. We are happy to continue to pay to you, the lord deputy, the annual salary augmented by £200 as approved by King Henry VIII. We are likewise content that Justice Howth will continue to receive £9 6s 8d annually in recompense for leaving the office of remembrancer to Draycott. The lord deputy has asked to be compensated for the costs of sending letters dealing with affairs of state to the court, and we are agreeable to this. Hugh Kelly, who was placed in Dublin Castle by the late king at a wage of five pence per day, is to be continued in that position, but if he is unable to carry out that function by reason of shortage of means, he is to be placed in the almshouse which is to be erected in the former college of St Patrick. The justices, baron, remembrancer and other officers are to be paid their salaries biannually at Easter and Michaelmas.

Finally, we exhort you to govern our realm of Ireland with vigilance, and in particular to extirpate the intolerable extortion of coign and livery. We confirm the appointments of the chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer, Sir Gerald Aylmer, chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Thomas Luttrell, chief justice of the common pleas, Thomas Bathe, chief baron of the exchequer, Sir Thomas Cusack, master of the rolls, and Thomas Howth, justice, to the membership of the council. *Draft. 9½pp (3½ duplicated).*

SP 61/1, no. 3

4 Countess of Ormond to William Cecil

6 July 1547

I ask you to intercede with the lord protector not to overturn the decision to grant me the abbey of Leix. It would be a great blow to me were Mr Barnaby's suit to succeed. I enclose a poor token for your wife. Lambeth. *Signed. 1/3 p.*

SP 61/1, no. 4

Note: In the original calendar there is a series of three unnumbered entries inserted in a list between SP 61/1, no. 4 and SP 61/1, no. 5. These are very detailed accounts which are on oversized pages and have been filed in the folio collections SP 65. The first of the accounts, which is over 100 pages long, contains the arrears of the lands of the crown, the earls of Kildare and the former religious houses, covering a period from 1537 to the end of September 1547; the second is a duplicate of that account; and the third comprises two rolls of the accounts of Sir William Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, covering

the years from 1541 to 1547. In the folio collection, these records are numbered SP 65/5, no. 1, SP 65/5, no. 2 and SP 65/5, nos 3–4, respectively. As an edition of the documents would be beyond the scope of the present volume and as they do not relate to the years 1547–53, it is suggested that these accounts might be calendared in a separate volume as a companion to the *Fitzwilliam accounts, 1560–65 (Annesley collection)*, ed. A.K. Leask (Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1960).

5 Sum totals of accounts of Sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer for seven years to 1547

Sept 1547

Receipts:

Arrearages:	£3,200	4s	7½d
Rents and revenues:	£44,373	13s	4d
Subsidies from England	£46,835	19s	5d
Religious houses:	£191	1s	7½d
Total:	£95,000	13s	11½d

Charges:

Annuities, pensions:	£12,807	15s	4d
Fees and stipends:	£12,155	8s	2½d
Viceroy's expenditure:	£65,814	2s	10d
Paid to the executor of John Rawson, Viscount Clontarf	£45	11s	4d
Total:	£90,822	8s	0d

Remaining in hands of vice-treasurer: £4,178 5s 11½d

Signed by Richard Brasier, auditor. *1p.*

SP 61/1, no. 5

Note: The following calendared document was listed but unnumbered in the original calendar after SP 61/1, no. 5. Filed in SP 66, it contains a reasonably brief critique of the accounts of Sir William Brabazon by Richard Brasier, the newly-appointed auditor.

5A Answers of Mr Richard Brasier, auditor, to queries concerning the accounts of Sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer

Sept 1547

1. Fluctuations in the sums paid in pensions to former religious over the seven years from 1540 to 1547, ranging from £100 to £1,800:

In the first three years the treasurer paid the minimum, the rest being contributed by the farmers of the religious properties. In the fourth year arrears of Sir John Rawson's pension of £500 were paid for three and a half years. As Rawson had been paid already from the properties of the former priory of Kilmainham, I surcharged the income from Kilmainham to the sum of £1,750. In the sixth, pension payments were covered by the income from former religious properties. In the seventh year, the figures were affected by the payment of pensions to the clergy of the former church of St Patrick, Dublin, and to former religious personnel of the abbeys of Bective, Navan, St Thomas court and St Mary's, Dublin. Total amount of discrepancy: £643 5s 0½d.

2. Lands alienated to various persons but not charged to the treasurer in his accounts: a fee farm in Limerick to Edmund Sexton (value £121); arrearages of the manor of Dunganvaran to James, earl of

Ormond and Ossory (£1,058 0s 6d); later grant of manor of Dungarvan to Robert St Leger (value £300); manors of Ballymacorus, Teghbrodan and Kilmainhambeg to Peter Talbot (value £10 13s 4d); land in Templeton and the customs of Fore to William Nugent (value £34 6s 8d); a parcel of the late Carmelite friary, Dublin, to Nicholas Stanihurst (value 13s 4d); land in Dunboyne to Janata Eustace (value £9 3s 4d); the monastery of Dunbrody, County Wexford, to Osbert Itchingham (value £15 19s 2d); the manor of Rathmore (value £95 4s 2d). Total income: £1,645 0s 6d.

3. Money in the treasurer's hands from his account made for the wars but not declared therein: £9,707 11s 1d.
4. Comparison between the book of survey previously sent and the treasurer's accounts now sent reveals a discrepancy of £2,000 per annum. This is attributable mainly to casualties paid and also surcharges on various possessions.
5. The auditor sends the accounts of the former priory of Kenles for the inspection of the privy council to point up the arrearages due on the account of Dormer, the receiver of the revenues thereof.
6. There is a discrepancy between the accounts of the revenues and the book of arrearages, due to the failure to charge certain bailiffs, collectors and farmers with the outstanding sums. The total sum of the discrepancy is £737 13s 8. *12pp.*

SP 66/A, no. 4

6 King Edward VI to the earl of Desmond 15 Oct 1547

We have heard from the lord deputy and others of your dutifulness and diligence in helping him to contain rebellion and foster obedience in Ireland. As well as offering our thanks, we extend, with the approval of the lord protector, an invitation for you to send your eldest son to court to be educated here in our company in learning and other virtues. This bond of favour will encourage his abiding loyalty. *Draft. 1p.*

SP 61/1, no. 6

7 Privy Council to Lord Deputy St Leger and Council 24 Oct 1547

We thank you for your efforts on the king's behalf. Now that recent turmoil and rebellion have been quelled and that there is little to fear for the coming winter season, we think it appropriate to reduce the garrison there to the old number of 500 in order to cut costs. You should retain the fittest, properly equipped, and the rest should be discharged as soon as possible. The retained garrison should be strategically deployed in bands and fully occupied to avoid annoyance of the populace. We remind you of our previous instructions regarding the proper maintenance of the garrison, in line with conditions elsewhere. Once this operation is complete, we instruct Mr Bellingham to return to court for the winter. If O'Connor should make his submission, we require that he do so simply and unconditionally. Hampton Court. *Draft. 3pp.*

SP 61/1, no. 7

8 Privy Council to Lord Deputy St Leger and Council 2 Nov 1547

On reflection since our last letter, and taking advice from those here with experience of Ireland, we consider how malefactors during rebellions avail more of dark winter nights for their evil deeds than of other times. Accordingly, we wish that the retinue be placed on the borders of the English Pale as a defence for the king's subjects and the deterrence of rebellion. Moreover, we also think it good to assign men of war from every shire as a nightly watch for towns and villages. By these means, it should be feasible to draw the better disposed of the rebels into a truce, at least for the winter period.

As to O'Connor and others who are ill-disposed, we do not think it appropriate to accept their submissions on any conditions, as they shown great disloyalty at a time when the new king's reign was beginning. Besides, easy access to pardon has encouraged them to continue their evil-doing. On the other hand, those who have shown loyalty are to be given the king's pardon and promise of his favour. Sheen. *Draft. 1½pp.*

SP 61/1, no. 8

9 Privy Council to Sir Edward Bellingham

2 Dec 1547

We thank you for your pains taken on behalf of the crown, as reported in a letter of Matthew King. While we would be glad to hear an account of Ireland from your own mouth, we now request that you remain there for another season to continue with your industry the enforcement of obedience among that mutable nation. Moreover, as reports suggest that Garret [Fitzgerald] is to be returned to Ireland, your presence there is the more to be desired, it serving as a statement that nothing is being neglected for the preserving of royal influence. Somerset Palace. *Draft. 1¼pp.*

SP 61/1, no. 9

10 Proposal of Archbishop George Browne of Dublin for a university

1547

1. The recently-dissolved cathedral of St Patrick, Dublin, should be re-established with all its adjacent properties and turned into a large university college, containing a number of fellows to continue their studies in appropriate disciplines and to become preachers.
2. Four lectureships should be established in Latin, Greek, civil law and divinity. Latin and Greek are to be taught every day in term, and the others thrice weekly, civil law on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and divinity on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.
3. A sermon is to be preached on Sundays and holydays in the college church by the divinity lecturer, a fellow who is a divine or a godly man appointed by the university or the archbishop.
4. The dean and officials of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, may be transferred to the college, as there is room enough for all. A saving of £67 per annum, currently paid to priests and choristers in Christ Church from the royal coffers, could be made if livings and salaries were assigned to the dean and officials from the proposed college.
5. St Patrick's church should be renamed the church of Holy Trinity, and the college called Christ's college, of the foundation of King Edward VI.
6. The lecturers' salaries of £40 each per annum should be funded from the following benefices: the parsonages of Ardmulghan, Rathwire and Dungarvan (under the king's patronage), Callan (under the patronage of the earl of Ormond) and Trim (under the bishop of Meath's patronage), the wardenship of Youghal (under the earl of Desmond's patronage), and the archdeaconry of Meath.
7. For the commons of the students and staff of the university, the allowances of the four petty canons and sixteen vicars of the former cathedral should be drawn upon.
8. The king is to request the lords and bishops of Ireland to contribute to the endowment of the university by applying thereto the income of other parsonages and benefices.
9. A commission for ecclesiastical causes should be issued under the great seal for drawing many Irish people from allegiance to the pope, and for swearing all bishops and priests to the king's supremacy over the church in Ireland, as is observed in England.
10. Two archdeacons should be reappointed to replace those removed at the suppression of St Patrick's cathedral, each of them to support a lecturer.
11. Three bishops should be appointed immediately with sufficient income to preach the word of God in conformity with doctrine laid down for England.

12. By a charter of incorporation, the archbishop of Dublin and certain others are to receive all lands, rectories and other properties to be given for the use of the university by the king and the lords and bishops, notwithstanding the constraints of the statute of mortmain.
13. The dean and dignitaries of Christ Church cathedral who are to be transferred to the new church of Holy Trinity are to be incorporated as a chapter and council with appropriate livings, with the function of assisting the archbishop in accordance with the king's laws.

The noble university thus proposed for Dublin at no great cost to the king should elicit the support of the lords and bishops of Ireland. As an aid to this purpose, all colleges, free chapels and chantries should be surrendered to the king, their revenues to augment the funding of the university, and also a number of free schools for the education of youth.

The university shall forever recall the king's glory, and shall advance God's service and the education of youth, who will in time be agents for the reform of that barbarous nation from evil to good. All of the possessions of the late cathedral of St Patrick will be made over to the chancellor and fellows of the new university, and the dean and fellows of the cathedral church and college. The dean and fellows of the cathedral church of Blessed Trinity are to be transferred to the former church of St Patrick in order that divine service be better supported. Also, as the chantries in Ireland are as yet undissolved, but are profiting their incumbents through private leases, these bodies should be dissolved by royal commission and the profits bestowed on the university as follows: each of the four lecturers in Greek, civil law, science and divinity, who are to teach as in the manner of Oxford and Cambridge, will receive £40 per annum from the income of the chantries, which will also support the maintenance of up to 200 students. When the dissolution of the cathedral of St Patrick took place under the former lord deputy, Sir Anthony St Leger, the benefices were surrendered. When these are bestowed on the university, it will be expedient that the income therefrom, which was paid in corn, be received by the masters and students in that form for their sustenance, but only when the current leases expire. *Endorsed by Sir William Cecil. 6½pp. Printed in Shirley, L. & P., pp 5–14.*

SP 61/, 1, no. 10

†Please see below, no. 231, which is more appropriately located at this point chronologically.

11 Archbishop Edmund Butler of Cashel to Protector Somerset 25 Feb 1548

I have done my best to preserve the peace in this region since the departure of the dowager countess of Ormond. Your letters and support have helped to mitigate the effects of various robberies and offences, and I forbear to discuss the details here. As to the reformation of the people, Mr Bellingham has achieved uncompromisingly a great deal in a short time. Journeying thither is Walter Cowley, who through his honest pursuit, along with his father, of the extirpating of abuses, has sustained many losses, the latter having died in that endeavour. As he is honest and experienced, I ask that you give him your support in encouraging the common people to prize both the king's honour and the security of the realm, and to acknowledge truth. *Kilkenny. Signed. 1¼pp. Printed in Shirley, L. & P., pp 14–16.*

SP 61/, no. 11

12 John Butler of Ardmaile to Lord Deputy St Leger 1 Mar 1548

I was to transmit to the White Knight [John Fitzgibbon] your commandment that he appear before the royal commission at Limerick which has sent for him on several occasions to answer the charges levelled by me that he retains my wife and goods. But he defies the laws of God and the king in keeping them. Also O'Dwyer and his wife have agreed to send a good horse and sixty cattle to the White Knight, thus maintaining him in the face of my right. I ask you to direct Mr Powell to enforce the law or to impose distress upon him in respect of his illegal detention, and also to order O'Dwyer, who is your pensioner, to refrain from his ill-conceived intention. *Ardmaile. Signed. ¾p.*

SP 61/, no. 12

13 Dispensation to Peter Lewis to hold the rectory of Mourne and chaplaincy to Lord Deputy St Leger **18 Mar 1548**

King Edward VI assents to Peter Lewis, cleric, retaining the rectory of the parish of Mourne in the diocese of Down, which he has legitimately obtained, along with the office of chaplain to Sir Anthony St Leger, lord deputy of Ireland, and to his benefitting from the fruits of the two offices. This dispensation is issued through Edward, the bishop of Meath. Dublin. *Latin*. $\frac{1}{3}p$.

SP 61/1, no. 13

14 Thomas, Lord Wharton, to Lord Deputy St Leger **10 April 1548**

The bearer, Cornelius O'Sheridan, an Irishman, came to these borders when the garrisons were based here. He served so honestly that, when the others departed, I retained him as my servant, and so has continued faithfully with me to the present. As he has received a licence to return to his own country to visit his friends, I ask that you look favourably upon any requests that he may have of you, for my sake. Carlisle. *Signed*. $\frac{1}{2}p$.

SP 61/1, no. 14

15 King Edward VI to the mayor of Galway **12 April 1548**

On the advice of Protector Somerset and the privy council, we have assented to the request of the lord deputy, Sir Anthony St Leger, that he be allowed to return to court. In his stead, we have decided to appoint as lord deputy Sir Edward Bellingham, who has shown great wisdom and skill and whom we trust will govern justly and fairly. We have asked him to confer with you about certain matters, knowing that you will continue to demonstrate your loyalty to the royal administration in Ireland and its policies for the advancement of the common good. Greenwich. *Copy*. $\frac{1}{2}p$.

SP 61/1, no. 15

16 Anthony Colcloght and Brian Jones to Lord Deputy Bellingham **1548**

Last Monday we delivered your letters to Cahir McArt [Kavanagh] who refused to restore the prey until he had spoken to you, though he has not committed himself as to when. Cahir denied that the thief (who was present on the other side of the river and who had robbed Englishmen on several occasions) was one of his men, but rather of Richard Butler's following, and he refused to hand him over or to restore the prey which is in his possession. When we promised to take Moryt Oge in hand so as he would surrender the thief, who, if found guilty, would be hanged, Cahir said he would have nothing to do with a system of law that caused a man to be hanged for theft only in pursuance of the Brehon Law of restitution. He thus refused to acknowledge English law and order. We did gain conditional restoration of a horse that was part of Moryt Oge's prey, subject to your adjudication as to its legitimacy, and we undertook not to seize any Irish lord for his theft. Many from Counties Carlow and Kilkenny refused to answer for their having to do with Cahir McArt and his followers, but therein Sir Richard Butler set a bad example. He refused a summons to appear to answer charges of trespass and robbery, bodrags or tumults, the wounding of men in the night and the taking of gentlemen prisoner. Carlow. *Signed by Anthony Colcloght and Brian Jones*. $1\frac{1}{4}pp$.

SP 61/1, no. 16

17 Anthony Colcloght to Lord Deputy Bellingham **27 May 1548**

The bearer, Moryt Oge, who is coming to submit to you, has been loyal and blameless since the death of his brother, and has always answered my summons. He informed me that, having thitherto had no mistrust of Englishmen, he was attacked by Walter Apowell's men and had four of his horses seized

and one of his men killed. The following day Moryt captured one of Walter Apowell's men who had been left behind with his captain. On my orders, he released the man, who confirmed that he had been well treated while a captive. Wishing to make his submission, Moryt is being sent to you in the company of one of my men. I ask your pardon for not having presented myself to you in person since your arrival in Ireland, but I dare not leave this borderland. Carlow. *Signed. 1¼pp.*

SP 61/1, no. 17

18 Edward Plunket of Rathmore to Lord Deputy Bellingham 28 May 1548

As I am obliged to supply horsemen to the royal service, I ask that you write to the cessors of the barony of Kenlis and Lune, commanding them that I be furnished with carriages or carts as my ancestors were. I also request that my kinsmen of the sept of Rathmore be ordered to wait upon my standard [gytton] when I am on the king's business. Rathmore. *Signed. ¼3p.*

SP 61/1, no. 18

19 George Deverus [Devereux] to John Axssame [Isham] May 1548

I wish to let you know how badly I have been treated by my countrymen, and especially Robert Roche who, in the presence of Sir Walter Brown, Nicholas Deeds and Rowsedyr, put me in peril of my life, merely for serving the king's writ. Roche intends to cause as much trouble as possible in the region through his Irish followers and the resort of William St Lo and his company who have seized my house of Ablenstown. Justice is not likely to be imposed until Englishmen arrive to counter the raiding and pillaging of the Irish bands. Hamen Chever's sons and servants have been robbed of certain horses that were gained legitimately for a hosting in the company of Watkin Apowell, and he wishes the lord deputy to command the sheriffs to restore the horses to his possession. Cleryston. *Signed. 1p.*

SP 61/1, no. 19

20 Captain John Brereton to Lord Deputy Bellingham 1548

As the former lord deputy ordered me to guard the borders of County Kildare, I have been unable to attend upon you since your arrival, for which I crave your pardon. I have no petty captain here to take over from me, and also every night or second night we are compelled to respond on horseback and on foot to the cries and watch-fires, as the bearer will attest. *Signed. ½p.*

SP 61/1, no. 20

21 Mayor and commons of Galway to Lord Deputy Bellingham 11 June 1548

We have sent you a copy of the king's letter, expressing his confidence in our loyalty and in our support for the government of Ireland. We are, however, discouraged because, in response to a request of Lord Deputy St Leger, we raised an army of 800 men for twenty-one days to campaign against malefactors in the region, on the understanding that the cost would be borne by the king. The then mayor, Dominic Lynch, along with his colleagues on the council, borrowed money to cover the cost, but to date there has been no repayment as promised by the former lord deputy, despite our presenting a request to the Irish council. Dominic Lynch is particularly distressed financially, as it was he who borrowed the money. We have deputed him to go as our attorney to present the case for repayment and also to represent the interests of our town. He will raise our concerns about the lack of order and justice in this part of Connacht due to the weakness of government. We ask that you support his case by giving him letters to bear to the king, the lord protector and the privy council. Galway. *Signed by 'the mayor and council'. 1p.*

SP 61/1, no. 21

22 Freeholders of County Waterford to Lord Deputy Bellingham 14 June 1548

We have received your letter of the fourth of this month, enquiring as to whether Lord Power has cessed every ploughland in the county of Waterford, not having any right to so. We confirm that he has mulcted six shillings of every ploughland, reserving lands that have hitherto been free of tax. County Waterford. *Signed by Peter Doben, Geoffrey FitzNicholas, William FitzJohn, Nicholas Sherlok, Robert FitzNicholas, James Madan, Patrick Browne, Isabel Dobbyn, widow (by her tenant, Ohane McWalter), William Browne, Jenkin Morgan.* ½p.

SP 61/1, no. 22

23 Henry Dillon to Lord Deputy Bellingham 18 June 1548

I remind you that I sent to you within the last few days a letter proposing a military venture, which was read before the council. I understand that you gave the letter to Mr Goldsmith, though neither he nor members of the council greatly approve of me. Now is the time when my proposed enterprise should be most profitably commenced, as you set out on a campaign. I request that you advance me the sum of £10 so that I may satisfy my creditor and discharge a total of £18 due. Instead of lying here in irons in prison at the insistence of Rowland White and his friends, I could accompany you on the campaign, advising you on my plan and serving gratis if necessary. If you wish, you can order me back to prison on your return. Newgate prison, Dublin. *Signed.* 1p.

SP 61/1, no. 23

24 Edmund, lord of Dunboyne, to Lord Deputy Bellingham 21 June 1548

On 20th of this month in the afternoon, Teige ne Carrige Carrolle, the Callough O'Carroll's servant, and O'Meaghe's sons attacked a manor of mine named Ffymoyne and two towns in the region. Thence they plundered 100 cattle, three horse-ploughs and innumerable swine and sheep, as well as household effects, and captured a horseman of mine. These Irishmen knew that I had discharged my galloglass and men of war at your bidding. I ask for your licence to avenge these deeds or for another remedy to prevent our impoverishment. Cashel. *Copy.* ½p. *Note: this paper contains the reply of Lord Deputy Bellingham, which is given in 25, below.*

SP 61/1, no 24

25 Lord Deputy Bellingham to Edmund, lord of Dunboyne 1548

It is false to say that I ordered you to discharge a legitimate retinue for your defence and that of the king's subjects. Instead, I told you to dismiss all those that had been rebellious, and also the galloglass and captains, who were malefactors, unless you considered some mischief would ensue therefrom, which it has. *Copy.* ¼p.

SP 61/1, no. 25

26 Mayor, bailiffs and council of Cork to Lord Deputy Bellingham 27 June 1548

We have chosen the bearer, John Copinger, as our attorney to the king for the confirmation of the liberties granted to Cork by his predecessors. His purpose would be expedited were you to give him a letter to bear to the king on our behalf. Cork. *Signed by 'mayor, bailiffs and council.'* 1/3p.

SP 61/1, no. 26

27 Mayor and commons of Youghal to Lord Deputy Bellingham 8 July 1548

Last Saturday a pirate named Smyte [Smith] in a boat with six malefactors attacked our returning fishing fleet. He burned the first boat that he encountered and seized the great sail, a cable, an anchor

and small ropes, as well as some men. Another boat was also boarded and plundered, the fishermen being shot at with guns and arrows. Two or three of our boats having been tied together by their crews, the pirates boarded them, but the fishermen defended themselves with stones and forced them to surrender. Smyte, who is in jail with the others, awaiting your judgment on him, has been marauding with Tamsyne [Thomson]. We ask you to send your decision with the bearer. Youghal. *Signed by 'mayor and commons'. 1p.*

SP61/1, no. 27

28 Mayor and council of Youghal to Lord Deputy Bellingham 15 July 1548

We have received your letter per James Brone [Brown], your servant, and shall comply with your instructions to the utmost of our ability, as you will perceive if any such should come under our jurisdiction again. Youghal. *Signed by 'mayor and council'. ¼p.*

SP 61/1. no. 28

29 Sovereign and council of Kinsale to Lord Deputy Bellingham 15 July 1548

We received your letter on 13 July and shall comply with your wishes to the best of our ability, which is little enough at present. For pestilence has caused general mortality, and we have a wide, empty town, with few inhabitants. We are surrounded by untrustworthy Irish by land and sea, whom we guard against by night and day. Our port has been our lifeline, but now it is blocked by Eagle's pirates who prevent food supplies from reaching us. Recently, a certain Richard Colle has come with a pinnace and eighteen or twenty men, and, having married Barry Oge's aunt, lives in his castle in the haven and raids all traffic coming to us. We are uncertain as to whether to treat with him, but await your instructions therein. Kinsale. *Signed by 'sovereign and council'. 1p.*

SP 61/1, no. 29

30 Sovereign and council of Kinsale to Lord Deputy Bellingham 16 July 1548

We understand from your letter of 15 July that no soldiers or others should leave the country without special licence or passport, and we shall comply to the best of our limited ability. The bearer will acquaint you with our circumstances, especially in respect of the currency, which now will not be accepted from us throughout the countryside. We ask that you issue letters, instructing McCarthy Reagh, Barry Roe, Lord Courcy, Barry Oge, Maurice FitzEarl and their followers to receive the royal currency for food and labour, or else we shall starve. Kinsale. *Signed by 'sovereign and council'. ¾p.*

SP61/1, no 30

31 Mayor, bailiffs and council of Cork to Lord Deputy Bellingham 16 July 1548

We have just received your letter per your servant, John Brown, through whom we convey this reply. In pledging our loyalty to you and the king, we shall take particular care to prevent soldiers leaving the country through our port. Some of the many English adventurers, who have arrived on this coast and patrol the mouth of the haven, may convey soldiers hence, being removed from our control. They profess to be engaged in the king's wars and we have had to placate them by supplying them with food. We shall, however, conform to whatever you decide on the matter. Cork. *Signed by 'mayor, bailiffs and council'. ½p.*

SP 61 1/1, no. 31