

**Calendar of State Papers
Ireland
Tudor Period
1566–1567**

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Ireland
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Revised Edition

Edited by
Bernadette Cunningham

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
General Introduction to NEW CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1509–1585 <i>Nicholas Canny</i>	ix
Introduction to STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1566–1567 <i>Bernadette Cunningham</i>	xiii
Note on Other Sources	xv
Abbreviations	xvii
Illustrations	xix
STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1566–1567	1
SP 63, Vol. 16, January – March 1566	1
SP 63, Vol. 17, April – May 1566	35
SP 63, Vol. 18, June – August 1566	75
SP 63, Vol. 19, September – December 1566	113
SP 63, Vol. 20, January – May 1567	151
SP 63, Vol. 21, June – September 1567	185
SP 63, Vol. 22, October – December 1567	223
General Index	261

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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). That 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 1566–1567* 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 accurate and 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.

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

The documents in this calendar date from the opening two years of Sir Henry Sidney's first term in office as lord deputy of Ireland, from January 1566 to December 1567. 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 16–22, 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 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 1566–7, 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 and 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.⁶

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. While an attempt has been made in most instances to preserve something of the flavour of the original language of the documents, in no case does the calendar entry reproduce the text 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.

As a general rule, all names of people and places have been modernised in this calendar, in so far as identifications proved possible. 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 edition of the 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 Fytzwilliams more accurately reflects Sir William Fitzwilliam's spelling of his own name, but the modern convention is preferred here. One exception is made for the two distinct forms of the names of King's County (County Offaly) and Queen's County (County Laois) since both are used in the documents. The two forms have been retained in the calendar entries, but the modern forms are preferred in the index. As a general rule, however, only modern forms of names are given, where known. The arbitrary nature of decisions as to the 'modern' form 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. Documents extant in the SP63 series reveal that both the Irish and English forms of the place-name were in current use in the 1560s.⁷ 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.⁸ As is now conventional, dates have been given old style, but with the year starting on 1 January.

- 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), 285–346.
- 2 See 'Note on other sources' below.
- 3 Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: a Pattern Established 1565–1576* (Hassocks, 1976); Ciarán Brady, *The Chief Governors: 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. ii, 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), 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 See, for example, Ciaran Brady, *Shane O'Neill* (Dublin, 1996).
- 7 SP 63/20, no. 11 (i) (16 Jan 1567); SP 63/25, no. 57 (July 1568).
- 8 K.W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), 184–8; 2nd ed., 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.

1 Sir Nicholas Arnold to Sir William Cecil**1 Jan 1566**

Commissioners Arnold and his associates investigating check matters have sent a letter to the queen about Sir William Fitzwilliam's checks, his withholding of books of accounts and such like. They have also sent a complete set of his checks with explanations of them.

The queen and her council should read William Bermingham's information on the same checks as it shows the dishonest dealings of the captains with Her Majesty. The captains are in the same predicament as Mr Treasurer. The report also exonerates those on the commission of causing the costly delay or doing any other wrong. Arnold would have sent this letter a long time ago had he not been waiting for the appointment of a new governor. He had previously discussed these matters with men of standing in Ireland, and feels he must report to Her Majesty now as no new governor has arrived and there is no money. Besides his wife and family in England, Arnold must keep a household of eighty in Ireland, which is costing him £23 to £24 sterling, besides his men's wages, his own apparel and such like. He has never been in such extremity in his life. He asks for a review of his allowance so as he can serve the queen efficiently. The charges he has incurred since coming over from England have cost him £400 sterling. Dublin. *Signed. 2/3pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 1

2 Orders made by Queen Elizabeth with the advice of her Privy Council for peace to be kept between [Gerald Fitzgerald] earl of Desmond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald**5 Jan 1566**

1. They are in dispute over certain services and other duties claimed by the said earl to be yielded by Sir Maurice to the earl, over certain titles of land in the possession of Sir Maurice, over titles claimed by Sir Maurice to land held by the earl, and for offences complained of by Sir Maurice to have been committed upon him, his tenants and followers by the said earl and his servants. It is ordered that no attempts should be made to resolve these controversies between them except in a peaceable manner and by order of law or by order of the lord deputy and council.
2. Her Majesty rules that Sir Maurice will pay the earl of Desmond all such rents, duties and services as shall be proved due to the earl or his father, from Sir Maurice, within four years from last February, until by order of law Sir Maurice is acquitted thereof.

The earl shall not disturb Sir Maurice in the enjoyment of lands, houses and possessions which it can be proved he was lawfully and peacefully in possession of one year before the said 1 February [1564] in the seventh year of Her Majesty's reign, until by order of law the earl shall evict the same out of the possession of the said Sir Maurice Fitzgerald.

3. *Remainder in Cecil's hand.* Finally, the said earl will ensure that his brother, John of Desmond, or any other against whom Sir Maurice makes a complaint for trespasses committed against him, his servants or tenants in the county of Waterford or elsewhere, should answer to the lord deputy and council and obeys their commands. Also, those lawful liberties and privileges enjoyed both by the said earl and by any Geraldines living in Cork, Limerick or Kerry are not to be prejudiced by these orders. Sir Maurice and any persons under his rule are to be likewise answerable. *With deletions and additions by Cecil. Endorsed 'true copy'. 3pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 2

3 Orders made by the Queen with the advice of her Privy Council for peace to be kept between the earl of Desmond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald **5 Jan 1566**

Copy of the preceding document, with some amendments in Cecil's hand. 3pp.

SP 63/16, no. 3

4 Privy Council to Lord Deputy Sidney **5 Jan 1566**

In regard to the case between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, who have returned to Ireland, the council has examined the cases and allegations put by each (in writing) against the other, but has reached no final verdict for want of proof of the truth of the complaints and the answers given. It was felt best that the case be heard in Ireland where the doings of the said earls were better known, where their controversies began and where their disorders were committed. The council also persuaded them to submit to Her Majesty for all the disorders they have committed.

The two earls were then bound in chancery for £23 each to observe such orders as Her Majesty shall take between them, and have been licensed to return to Ireland. Sidney is to consider the controversy between them and together with the council is to come to a conclusion. He is then to keep the peace between them and find means to implement Her Majesty's orders. *Draft with amendments. 2pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 4

5 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Sidney **7 Jan 1566**

The queen has judged on the case between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, and more details are contained in another letter. The two earls have been allowed to return to Ireland, first going to Dublin or wherever Sidney happens to be so as they can confer with him to help put their agreement into practice. The earl of Desmond is in debt to the queen and to many of her subjects in Ireland. He has promised to send into his country for money, and not to leave Dublin until his creditors are satisfied. Sidney is to help him get the money from his country so he can pay off his debts more quickly. Desmond has also asked whether he can leave Dublin to go on his own and the queen's business, without any threat of injury to himself or his people. Sidney is to punish anyone that attacks him, and to make an example of them. Desmond has complained that an uncle of his, Sir Maurice Fitzdesmond, has been murdered, since the said earl's coming over, and requests the same to be dealt with by law. Sidney is to bring the case to trial and punish the offenders. Westminster. *Draft, with amendments by Cecil. 4pp. Later version printed in Sidney S.P., pp 11–12.*

SP 63/16, no. 5

6 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Sidney **8 Jan 1566**

Having believed that the disputes between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, and between the earl of Desmond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, had been brought to a conclusion as a result of the hearings held and orders given, it has now been reported by the earl of Ormond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald that John of Desmond (brother to the earl of Desmond) has recently attacked and spoiled the tenants and possessions of the earl of Ormond and Sir Maurice, and that he has also done likewise to the queen's tenants and possessions at Dungarvan.

At first it was thought that these reports were false as no reports had come from Sidney or his officers, but further letters to the queen confirmed the offences. It was strange that Sidney and his officers had not heard of these outrages, or that if he had he had not informed the queen at once. More reports of spoils committed in the English Pale, the possessions of the archbishop of Armagh, the possessions of the bishop of Meath and other places by the rebels of Laois and Offaly have come to the queen's attention.

The queen suspects some forgetfulness on the part of her servants in Ireland. Sidney is to address these outrages and to apprehend and punish the offenders according to the magnitude of their offences. He is to report to the queen on what has been done by the rulers and officers there, before his arrival, to redress the situation and to punish the perpetrators. *Draft, with amendments by Cecil.* 2½ pp.

SP 63/16, no. 6

7 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Sidney

8 Jan 1566

The earl of Ormond has declared that he has not been paid certain sums of money granted to him by warrant of the lord justice and council in Ireland, which was to be levied within the counties of Limerick and Waterford, for service against the rebels the O'Mores and O'Connors. If the money has not been paid and if Sidney knows no reason why it should not be paid, the queen orders that Sidney gives order to levy the money according to the warrant, in the same manner as for the earl of Kildare. *Draft. 1p.*

SP 63/16, no. 7

8 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Sidney

8 Jan 1566

The queen's council could come to no determination on the controversies between the earls of Ormond and Desmond. There have been so many accusations and counter-accusations that the council could not judge without an investigation and trial in Ireland. Both of the earls have been charged with great crimes. They are prepared to submit to the queen's judgement. They shall observe this between now and Michaelmas next year and have given submissions and bonds of recognizance to that effect. Sidney has been sent letters with these submissions and bonds, and the queen's orders regarding them. Sidney is to put these orders into effect and pacify Ireland, and he is to send on more information about the controversies between the said earls.

There are also controversies between the earl of Desmond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald over liberties, duties and service claimed by the earl. Again, the council did not have enough information to come to a determination, but have sent orders governing the two men's behaviour in the meantime. Sidney is to try and keep the peace and find justice in this case. Sidney is also to try and ensure that both the earls pay back any money they owe to the queen.

William Piers is to have the constabship of the castle at Carrickfergus for life with the fee of 3s 4d a day, and 20 soldiers who shall serve at the queen's pleasure for 8d a day each. Sir Nicholas Arnold is to come to court quickly to report on the state of Ireland. Westminster. *Draft, with amendments by Cecil. Received at 'Rossar' 18 Mar 1566. 3½pp. Later version printed in Sidney S.P., pp 12–14.*

SP 63/16, no. 8

9 Lord Deputy Sidney to Sir William Cecil

9 Jan 1566

The bearer arrived at noon this day after a very rough crossing. He reports the loss of one ship with more than 500li worth of stuff and Sidney's wines and fare. Sidney reports the sickness of his trusted servant William Thwaites. The wind is growing favourable and he hopes to embark within 24 hours, and prays for a speedy passage from this hungry head. Holyhead. *Holograph. 1p.*

SP 63/16, no. 9

10 Lord Deputy Sidney to Sir William Cecil

9 Jan 1566

Sidney cannot cross over due to the very bad weather conditions. There have been many shipwrecks at Liverpool and Chester and Chester pier has been washed away. Sidney mentions that he has left

Throckmorton as vice-president of the Marches. Sidney asks Cecil to speak to Lord Treasurer Winchester for a new warrant for the old lead at Beaumaris, and Sidney has sent the old warrant in a letter to Cecil. The lead, which Sidney insists is to be found only on rotted roofs there, is badly needed in Ireland. Sends his commendations on to Lady Cecil and Lady Bacon 'from the hungry holly head in Anglesey'. Holyhead. *Holograph. 2pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 10

11 Lord Deputy Sidney to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton

9 Jan 1566

Since Sidney's last letter to Throckmorton of 22 December, there were no favourable winds for a passage west to Ireland. Then a good wind came and he set sail from Liverpool with the queen's ship and 14 barks. Halfway over the sea calmed and they were forced to anchor the queen's ship and one other on which Sidney intended to go to Beaumaris. The rest anchored 20 miles onward at Holyhead. There then occurred a terrible storm, in which the queen's ship lost her sail and Sidney's bark was so damaged that he was forced to stay in Beaumaris for 6 days. The wind again turned west and the rest of the barks sailed for Ireland, but another storm hit them. Sidney has heard of only two which made it to the north of Ireland. One is destroyed, with the sailors drowned and his goods lost. The other is severely damaged but the sailors are safe. Sidney prays the storms will clear, as he is unhappy to remain in Holyhead for much longer. Holyhead. *1p. Copy of an original letter from the Conway Papers.*

SP 63/16, no. 11

12 Memorandum of writings delivered to [] Crockett in a packet to Lord Deputy Sidney

10 Jan 1566

The lord treasurer to the lord deputy.

Copy of the orders between Sir Maurice Fitzgerald and the earl of Desmond.

Copy of the recognizances of the earl of Desmond and Sir Maurice Fitzgerald.

Copy of the orders for the earls of Ormond and Desmond.

Copy of both the earls' recognizances.

Copy of their two several submissions. *½p.*

SP 63/16, no. 12

13 Lord Treasurer Winchester to Lord Deputy Sidney

11 Jan 1566

The earl of Desmond has left the queen and nobility of England for Ireland, and has dealt fairly with all of his creditors. Henry Campion, a servant to Winchester, has helped him in all his needs. Desmond has paid him well, saving £63 12s 8d for which he has left an obligation signed and sealed in Winchester's presence. The earl promises to pay the money to the lord treasurer of Ireland at the end of the next month after his arrival. Winchester asks Sidney to order that the treasurer receive Campion's money and keep it for the queen's use, sending Winchester a bill to pay the said money of the queen to Campion in sterling. The earl of Ormond has a similar licence. *Endorsed 8 April 1566. 1p.*

SP 63/16, no. 13

14 Privy Council to Lord Deputy Sidney

12 Jan 1566

Petitions exhibited by Jacques Wingfield, master of the ordnance in Ireland, before his departure:

1. To have by patent the captainship of the O'Byrne's and O'Toole's countries with 60 of Her Majesty's ordinary kerne, in which office he has endured great hardships and which he has only ever held by the pleasure of such governors as have had charge there.

2. To have by patent for life the constableness of Dublin Castle with the annual fee of £20 sterling, which office he bought of John Parker, now deceased.
3. To have Newcastle MacKinegan with the parsonage impropriate being in the value of £10 a year confirmed to him, which, he says, was given to him in fee farm by the queen under the instructions of the earl of Sussex.
4. To have his daily fee of 6s 8d sterling paid to him out of Her Highness' revenues in Ireland, as sundry other officers have.
5. To be discharged of any checks that have been or are to be set upon him during his time in Ireland, since about three years ago when he was licensed by the earl of Sussex, and also for the time immediately before his return there, which was over and above his time licensed to be there.

Replies

1. The privy council give their opinions before a resolution is made.
They do not understand the necessity of using letters patent to place a captain with the leading of 60 kerne in those countries, but Captain Wingfield has brought that area to such good order and should be continued in the captainship before any others and not discouraged. They seek Sidney's opinion.
2. The constableness of Dublin Castle and the mastership of the ordnance should be joined together with the fee required and Wingfield should be granted the same.
3. Sidney has confirmed that Her Majesty can afford to grant the lands requested in fee farm, and their lordships agree to ask Her Majesty to confirm the former grant.
4. The privy council cannot allow the fourth request, but they think it more convenient that his fee, and others in the kingdom of Ireland, should be paid, as formerly, in the money of Ireland, so that the accounts of Her Majesty's pay there can be more certain and apparent. However, if it is specified in his letters patent it cannot be reformed without his consent.
5. Upon consideration of his passport and licences, Wingfield is not to be damaged by unreasonable checks. He has remained waiting for an answer from the privy council.

Sidney's speedy response is requested, in order to further Wingfield's reasonable requests. *Draft, with amendments by Cecil. 4½pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 14

15 George Harvey to Mr King, clerk of the check

17 Jan 1566

To enter the bearer, William Gibson, in the room of Gregory Twydall, late one of Harvey's brother's band of horsemen, who died on 6 January, and the said William Gibson entered on the same date. Dublin Castle. *Signed. Received 18 Jan 1566. ½p.*

SP 63/16, no. 15

16 Lord Deputy Sidney and Council to Shane O'Neill

21 Jan 1566

Sidney informs O'Neill of his arrival as Her Majesty's deputy through Terence Daniel, dean of Armagh. In answer to O'Neill's letters of 8 January, Sidney urges him to appoint a parley at Drogheda or Dundalk, which are suitable places to meet. Dublin. Latin. *Copy with copy signatures of members of the council.* H[ugh Curwin, archbishop of] Dublin, chancellor, A[dam Loftus, archbishop of] Armagh, G[erald Fitzgerald, earl of] Kildare, Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, W[illiam] Fitzwilliam, Robert Dillon, John Chaloner. *1p.*

SP 63/16, no. 16

17 **Instructions from Lord Deputy Sidney to Terence Daniel, dean of Armagh, presently repairing to Shane O'Neill** 21 Jan 1566

He is to deliver Sidney's letter and announce his arrival as lord deputy.

The council has read O'Neill's letter of 8 January requesting copies of several letters contrived against him (the bearer of which is imprisoned) and requesting a meeting between commissioners appointed by both sides to address various matters. Commissioners have been authorised, and are to be headed by Sir Thomas Cusack, who is in Munster but who has been sent for. O'Neill is to come to meet with Sidney at Drogheda, Dundalk or some other place within the English Pale. His speedy attendance at such a place will help him gain those favours he seeks from Her Majesty. The dean is to reply as soon as possible, reporting how he found O'Neill disposed. *Copy. 1p.*

SP 63/16, no. 17

18 **Sir William Cecil to Lord Deputy Sidney** 22 Jan 1566

Suit on behalf of Cecil's servant Edmund Baname for a lease of the chantry of St Saviour's, with the appurtenances in the town of Ross rented about 21s 11d for so many years as Sidney may grant unto him. Westminster. *Signed. ½p.*

SP 63/16, no. 18

19 **Shane O'Neill to Lord Deputy Sidney and Council** 26 Jan 1566

Has received their letters by the dean of Armagh. Commends Sir Nicholas Arnold's government. O'Neill indicates that Sidney should come to Dundalk on 5 February. O'Neill desires that Sir Thomas Cusack be also present. Benburb. *Latin. Signed 'Mise O'Neill'. Endorsed 'R[ecieved] 28 Jan'. ½p.*

SP 63/16, no. 19

20 **Lord Deputy Sidney and Council to Shane O'Neill** 30 Jan 1566

Sends the bearers, Justice James Dowdall and Thomas Stukeley, gent., at his special desire. Requests O'Neill will certify whether he intends to meet Sidney at Dundalk, and to appoint a further day. Thomas Cusack will not have returned from Munster for the meeting. *Postscript.* Will award due punishment to the rhymer of whom O'Neill complains. Dublin. Latin. *Copy. ½p.*

SP 63/16, no. 20

21 **Instructions from Lord Deputy Sidney and Council to James Dowdall, Esq., second Justice of Her Majesty's bench and Thomas Stukeley, Esq., being sent presently to Shane O'Neill** 30 Jan 1566

They are to declare that they have been sent to O'Neill as requested in his letter of 26 January and to ask of him what he has to say.

In his letter O'Neill said that he would come to Dundalk if Thomas Cusack would come on 5 Feb in order to examine and redress the border problems and also partly to finish those of his petitions as were made in England by the dean of Armagh to Her Majesty. The latter is the main reason causing him to come in, so he can have the queen's pleasure at the hands of the lord deputy. The case of the borders may be discussed by suitable commissioners.

They are to exhort O'Neill to state clearly in writing whether he will meet Sidney at Dundalk. That meeting will take further time as Sir Thomas Cusack is still in Munster, delayed there by important business.

They are also to persuade O'Neill to show obedience to Her Majesty by coming to meet Sidney at some place within the English Pale, as it would be unfitting for Her Majesty's deputy to meet him in

22 Draft Book of Instructions for the government of Munster

1 Feb 1566

Instructions to be given by the lord deputy and council to Sir Warham St Leger as lord president of Munster, in the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, Limerick, Kerry and Cork, and in the countries of Thomond, Desmond and Ormond.

Munster is in a miserable and decayed state because of the late disorders and rebellions. This is to be repaired by the diligent and severe administration of justice. The lord deputy is to appoint St Leger to be the lord president of a council to be established in Munster. He is to have experienced and able councillors. These are to be the archbishop of Cashel, Thomas earl of Ormond and Ossory, Gerald earl of Desmond, Conor earl of Thomond and Donal earl of Clancare, the bishops of Waterford, Cork and Limerick, Robert Cusack and Nicholas White. Owen Moore to be clerk of the signet and council. White and Cusack being of special trust should attend at the council at all times, and may not depart without licence.

The lord president is to have 13s 4d a day as his entertainment. As the country is in such disorder he is also to have 30 horsemen at 9d a day, 20 footmen at 8d a day, a petit-captain, a trumpeter, a standard-bearer and a surgeon, all from the garrison in Ireland. Cusack and White are to receive £100 a year each, and Moore is to get £20 a year, to be paid by the treasurer-at-war.

A serjeant-at-arms is to be appointed to bear the mace in the queen's honour, after the manner adopted by the president in Wales. He is to apprehend any disobedient persons, and will have a place in the president's household. A porter is also to be appointed to have charge of the gaol, and be paid from the president's household.

The lord president is not to leave the above area for more than six days without licence from the lord deputy and council. He is also to deliver monthly reports to the lord deputy. The lord president and council, or at least two of the council, shall hear complaints and petitions in the counties of Tipperary and Kerry, and in the liberties of corporate towns, concerning title to land or other hereditaments or other personal actions by persons unable to defend by course of the common law. Two of them, including the lord president, can make determinations on suits.

The lord president and council, or whatever commissioners they appoint, shall have authority by letters patent for oyer and terminer and gaol delivery. They will also have power to declare martial law when required. They have authority to repress any rebellion with fire and sword. If any castle or house is kept with force against them it will be lawful to use artillery to batter, mine and overthrow it.

They to hear complaints summoning the person complained of to appear before the president and council to answer the charges. They may send forth letters, proclamations, etc. through sheriffs, constables or other officers. They may punish for contempt by sending the offender to the lord deputy in ward together with a certificate of his contempt or disobedience.

The president and council to try all manner of extortions, conspiracies, etc. Offenders are to be punished according to the gravity of their offences.

The lord president and council can promulgate in the queen's name anything they think will make for better order among her subjects in Munster. They can take forfeitures, pledges, bonds of recognizance, and levy fines. They can bring anyone in Munster before the queen's bench, chancery, exchequer or other court of record. If they suspect that a great offence has been or is to be committed, they can put suspects to torture. They also have authority to execute anyone attainted of treason or convicted of murder. If anyone is convicted of perjury in a case, their evidence is to be expunged and the offender is to be punished by fine, imprisonment or standing in the pillory.

When there is a great assembly before them, the lord president and council shall try, especially by example, to lead them to accept the established church. The bishops are to do likewise. The bishops to censure those who leave their wives without lawful divorce, or marry another while their first wife lives. The president and council to ensure such censures are administered, and to punish bishops who are slack.

The decay of church buildings is to be examined and repairs made with all possible speed. Those who spoil or rob any church are to be punished. The clergy are to be supported in the quiet possession of their lands, rents, services and hereditaments. Anyone who has usurped church property is to be punished. Statutes for hue and cry, for night watches, and for weights and measures to be severely executed.

The lord president is to have a chaplain or minister in his household.

To deal with cases of costs and damages.

Three or four honest and competent men are to be appointed clerks or attorneys to deal with suits, examine witnesses, etc. Their fees to be assessed by the lord president and council and the same fair written on a table and fixed in some public place where it may be seen and understood by all suitors. The fees not to be such as will discourage people making complaints.

A register of all of the doings, orders, declarations, etc. of the council is to be kept by the clerk of the council. Someone is to be appointed clerk and registrar of fines, so the book of fines can be examined at the exchequer. Fines collected may be used for the repair of the queen's castles and houses. A signet is to be made and is to be kept by the clerk of the signet for use on the letters from the lord president and council. A household is to be continually kept by the lord president at a suitable location in Munster, with all the necessary servants. The clerk attending that house will be allowed one servant. For the more honourable maintenance of the household, £14 a week is to be allowed for the table, to be received half yearly from the vice treasurer of the realm. A steward of the household is to be appointed, and he shall keep accounts. All of the officers are to swear allegiance to the queen and to her service, the wording of their oaths are given.

Officers to assist in possessing and recovering the profits of dissolved monasteries and other houses of religion.

Draft, with amendments and additions by Cecil. Endorsed 'Draft of Instructions for the government of Munster sent from the lord deputy, devised for Warham Sentleger'. 19pp.

SP 63/16, no. 22

23(a) Charges of the Lord President and certain councillors to be established in Munster and paid over according to the money of Ireland

Feb 1566

	1 st Year	Afterwards
Lord president per annum:	£243 6s 8d	£200
The Justice per annum:	£100	£80
An assistant per annum:	£80	£66 13s 4d
Clerk of the council and signet:	£20	£20
Diets for the lord president and council by the week:	£14 [p.a. £728]	£12 [p.a. £624]
30 horsemen at 9d a day:	£410 12s 6d	
20 footmen at 8d a day:	£243 6s 8d	
A petty captain at 2s a day:	£36 10s	
A trumpeter at 12d a day:	£18 5s	
A standard-bearer at 12d a day:	£18 5s	
A surgeon at 12d a day:	£18 5s	

Total: £1,936 10s 10d £1,736 3s 6d
(amended to): £1,916 10s 10d £1,735 17s 6d
Draft. Dated 1566 in endorsement; previously calendared at 1 February. ½p.
SP 63/16, no. 23(a)

23(b) Charges of the Lord President and certain councillors to be established in Munster and paid over according to the money of Ireland Feb 1566
Copy of above. 1p.
SP 63/16, no. 23(b)

24 Charges of the Lord President and Council to be established in Munster 1 Feb 1566
As given above, no. 23(a), for the first year: total: £1,936 10s 10d; sterling £1,452 8s 1¼d.
Endorsed 'Charges for Connacht'. ½p.
SP 63/16, no. 24

25 Privy Council to Lord Deputy Sidney in favour of Jacques Wingfield 3 Feb 1566
Copy of draft in document no. 14 above, dated 12 Jan 1566. This copy endorsed '3 Feb'. 3pp.
SP 63/16, no. 25

26 Shane O'Neill to Lord Deputy Sidney and Council 5 Feb 1566
Declines an interview with the lord deputy until the peace and his new petitions be finally determined. Will remain seven days on the confines for that to be accomplished. Urges Sidney to come to Dundalk for that purpose. Notes that Thomas Cusack has not returned from Munster. Refers to earlier negotiations with Thomas Cusack in the reign of Queen Mary. Fedan. *Endorsed '5 February 1566 by O'Neill for Mr Stukeley and Mr Dowdall'. Latin. Signed 'Misi O'Nell'. Endorsed 'R[received] 7 Feb'. 1½pp.*
SP 63/16, no. 26

27 Lord Deputy Sidney and Council to Shane O'Neill 9 Feb 1566
The copy of the peace of 18 November 1563 between Shane O'Neill and Sir Thomas Cusack, which should have been brought from England by the dean of Armagh, was left out of the bundle by mistake, as the said dean knows; and Cusack, who made the peace, is sick in Munster. Stukeley and Dowdall will give O'Neill full satisfaction in this. Sidney will only communicate with O'Neill in a convenient place. Offers to sign safe-conduct. Dublin. *Latin. Copy. 1¼pp.*
SP 63/16, no. 27

28 Privy Council to Lord Deputy Sidney 18 Feb 1566
Enclosing a petition of Jacques Wingfield, master of the ordnance of the realm of Ireland. He is a gentleman of long and honest service there and, as far as the council knows, has not yet been provided for. Sidney is requested to consent to as many of the petitions as he finds to be reasonable and that are not prejudicial to Her Majesty's service or good order in the realm. The council are to be informed speedily of Sidney's answers to each petition so as they can come to their decisions. *Draft. ½p.*
SP 63/16, no. 28

enclosing

Wingfield's requests and the lords' opinions thereon.

1. He wishes to have by letters patent the captainship of the O'Byrne's and O'Toole's countries in the same manner as Captain Heron, Captain Colley and others, of both English and Irish birth, enjoy their captainships of Irish countries. For the better government of the same countries, he also desires to lead 60 ordinary kerne, which he has enjoyed, along with the government of the said countries, ever since the earl of Sussex, then lord deputy of Ireland, placed him there.
2. To have by patent for life the constableness of Dublin Castle with the fee of £20 sterling a year, which office he bought for John Parker's life. He affirms the queen gave him the same office, with like fee during life, years past.
3. To have in fee farm Newcastle MacKinegan in O'Byrne's country, the parsonage impropriate with the friary of Wicklow, being in the value of an annual rent of £9 17s 2d Irish money as seen by a particular signed by Auditor Croft.
4. Considering the smallness of his living and the charge of his office he asks that he may receive his fee of 6s 8d sterling a day at the treasurer's hands from the queen's Irish revenues as many others do.
5. He led 100 footmen in Her Majesty's service and safeguarded Her Majesty's munitions for which he was discharged. Sir Thomas Wrothe and Sir Nicholas Arnold examined the faults whereof he was accused and recommended that he should be restored. The band is full of Irishry in his absence and he asks for a choice of other bands. He only requires 50 harquebusiers with wages of 2s sterling a day for himself and 2 officers at 12d a day.
6. He is charged by Auditor Dix with defaulting on a warrant from the governor for £104 13s 4d Irish, which arose for munitions delivered by the earl of Sussex's commandment to Irish or Scots who served her Highness. The auditor examined and paid relief in that behalf.
7. Finally, that he be discharged of any checks that are or are to be set upon him during his time in England.

Replies

1. If it is thought fit that a captain or governor be placed there by letters patent with 60 kerne, Wingfield is to be preferred in view of his English birth and good record.
2. For the safety of Her Majesty's ordnance and munitions the constableness of Dublin Castle and the mastership of the ordnance should, if there is no cause to the contrary, be granted to Wingfield.
3. Sidney has confirmed that Her Majesty can afford to grant the lands requested in fee farm, and their lordships agree to ask Her Majesty to confirm the former grant.
4. If his yearly fee, which he has by patent, is not prejudicial to Her Majesty's service, it should be paid.
5. The master of the ordnance should have a convenient band of footmen.
6. If he gives proof that he was overcharged he should be disburdened.
7. He is to be discharged of his checks, as was already written, if it seems proper to Sidney. *Signed.*

Somewhat altered from Cecil's corrected draft in document no. 14 above, 12 Jan 1566. 7pp.

SP 63/16, no. 28(i)

29 Shane O'Neill to Lord Deputy Sidney

18 Feb 1566

O'Neill takes well Sidney's deferring to repair to the borders as to the peace. Gives form of the peace which Sir Thomas Cusack concluded with him on 18 November 1563. Gives the reasons why he

wishes to meet with Sidney, and also why he should keep back. Credence is given to the relation of Stukeley and Dowdall. Benburb. *Latin. Signed: 'Misi O'Neill'. Endorsed 'R[received] 22 Feb'. 1¼ pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 29

enclosing

29.1 Shane O'Neill's reasons for not attending on Lord Deputy Sidney

18 Feb 1566

Reasons why Shane O'Neill's people will not suffer him to attend on Sidney in the manner the lord deputy requires, arising from incidents that have occurred within the last 20 years and because of the harm done to the O'Neills by the governors of Ireland.

Shane O'Neill's father went to England to attend on Henry VIII and was created earl of Tyrone. After good service to his prince he was imprisoned and forced to deliver Turlough Luineach whom the earl had taken prisoner after he had spoiled the earl's country of Tyrone. When the said earl arrived in Dundalk, the lord deputy said to him that were it not for his age he would have him executed, which was not taken well by O'Neill.

After helping the lord deputy expel the Scots from Ireland, the earl provided a banquet for the lord deputy at Armagh. There, O'Neill was imprisoned and taken to Dublin and a garrison was sent to Armagh and to Dungannon, which was his principal manor. The said earl conspired with the Scots against the king but Shane O'Neill offered his services against the earl to St Leger, who offered him £20 sterling a day. The earl spoiled Shane O'Neill's tenants and goods to the value of £3,000 and more, and if St Leger had remained as lord deputy, he would have been recompensed.

Because of the unfavourable actions of the earl of Sussex, war broke out between Shane O'Neill and the earl of Tyrone, and this continued until the earl of Kildare returned from England with his protection and pardon. Under this protection, O'Neill went willingly to see Her Majesty the queen. Sussex, despite this protection, ordered that Kildare and Ormond hold O'Neill as a prisoner until he was to see the queen. Before his return from England he had to deliver his three best pledges, and after his return he had to send 16 other pledges. O'Neill felt that this mistrust was not deserved as he had gone willingly to see the queen, his sovereign. On his return, someone was paid to murder him and some of his gentlemen with a poisoned drink. By the power of God he survived.

He recalls other misdealings between the governors and the Irish in the past nine or ten years. Donal O'Brien and his brethren and Murrough O'Brien and his son attended on the lord deputy at Limerick under the protection of the earls and nobility in the company. They wished for the benefit of Her Majesty's laws in the controversy between them and the earl of Thomond, but this was denied. They were then sent to the earl of Desmond's country, proclaimed traitors, and had their lands and possessions taken from them. Teig Mac Murrough O'Brien went to the lord deputy under the same protection but was imprisoned and a manor of his, Droghed Iwreine, is now in the possession of the earl of Ormond. The said Teig came to Limerick under the protection of the marshal, but he was brought to Dublin and imprisoned for 2½ years before he escaped. Art Boy Kavanagh attended on Captain Heron and was murdered after dinner with the Captain. Conall O'More, chief of that name was invited to the house of Viscount Mountgarret, father in law to the said Conall, and without trial was executed by Captain Heron. Doughe O'Connor, under protection, attended on the lord deputy, and Digby shot at him. O'Connor survived the murder attempt, but Digby was not punished. Contrary to the protection, O'Connor was taken prisoner until he delivered pledges, who were later put to death. Randall Boy's two sons were summoned by Mr Brereton. After supper, one of the brothers, who was sleeping in the chamber, was murdered by Brereton, who murdered the other brother later that same night. Brereton escaped punishment.

Shane O'Neill's son Harry and his godson are misused. He asks to know how his son is. He also asks Sidney to consider the attacks made on MacMahon. He asks too that orders be given for the punishment of the rhymer of which he has previously written to Sidney.

Despite these former events, Shane O'Neill hopes that he and Sidney will both want to serve Her Majesty. He has sent his other instructions with Mr Stukeley and Justice Dowdall, hoping that they will declare in his behalf. Benburb. *Copy with copy signature of Shane O'Neill. 5pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 29(j)

30 Lord Deputy Sidney and Council to Shane O'Neill

24 Feb 1566

Answers to the concerns O'Neill has expressed. Sir Thomas Cusack and the lord of Louth will repair to the borders for ratification of the peace. Justice James Dowdall, Thomas Stukeley, and the dean of Armagh are appointed to hear the hurts and other controversies on the borders. O'Neill's commissioners are to meet them at an appointed time. Sidney will be glad to meet O'Neill at Dundalk. The rhymer complained of by O'Neill denies having made any such verses, Dublin. *Latin. Copy. 1½pp.*

SP 63/16, no. 30

31 Sir William Cecil to Lord Deputy Sidney

24 Feb 1566

The bearer, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, has requested this letter because Cecil's recommendation has some value with Sidney and because he hopes to persuade Sidney of his good intentions. Apart from the controversy between him and the earl of Desmond, Cecil sees worth in this gentleman, and wishes all of his western neighbours were as civil. Cecil hopes to hear from Sidney soon, and compares him to a doctor who knows how to treat the diseases of Ireland, but who has not got the necessary medicines to do so. Prays God will bless him and his wife. Greenwich. *Holograph. 1p.*

SP 63/16, no. 31

32 Sir Nicholas Arnold to [Robert Dudley] earl of Leicester

28 Feb 1566

He hopes to be able to send the complete books of the checks of all the captains in one month, in the same manner as the checks of Sir William Fitzwilliam already sent.

His work now rests on the account of Mr Treasurer and those who have dealt with the goods of those executed by martial law or as intruders on Her Majesty's possessions. All of this might have been completed by now if he had had more honest answers from the captains and if Mr Treasurer had delivered up the receipts and records of disbursement, which have been asked for since Sir Thomas Wrothe came over. Her Majesty would have reason to deal severely with this case, and Mr Bermingham reckons that at least £10,000 of Her Majesty's money should be on Mr Treasurer's hands. Should he deal honestly with Arnold and his associates, the captains and others who have dealt falsely with Her Majesty will be found out. If the account books are delivered, these dealings will be exposed and Her Majesty should be able to recoup the money.

Arnold asks that no excuses from the treasurer, victuallers, or captains be entertained so that the commissioners can complete their task. Sidney is helping them and is seen with more favour amongst the nobility, gentlemen, and commoners of the Pale, while the Irish seem to fear him rather than love him. He is as likely to succeed in Ireland as any man in history. Dublin. *Signed. 1½ pp. Printed in Shirley L. & P., 30, pp 82-3.*

SP 63/16, no. 32