COIMISIÚN LÁMHSCRÍBHINNÍ na hÉIREANN

Calendar of State Papers Ireland Tudor Period 1568–1571

Revised Edition

Edited by Bernadette Cunningham

Irish Manuscripts Commission 2010

CONTENTS

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Acknowledgements	V11
General Introduction to NEW CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1509–1585	, Six
Nicholas Canny	
Introduction to	
STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1568–1571	xiii
Bernadette Cunningham	
Note on Other Sources	XV
Abbreviations	xvii
STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1568–1571	1
SP 63, Vol. 23, January – March 1568	1
SP 63, Vol. 24, April – May 1568	39
SP 63, Vol. 25, June – September 1568	63
SP 63, Vol. 26, October – December 1568	91
SP 63, Vol. 27, January – March 1569	125
SP 63, Vol. 28, April – June 1569	149
SP 63, Vol. 29, July – December 1569	171
SP 63, Vol. 30, January – December 1570	209
SP 63, Vol. 31, January – March 1571	249
General Index	273

v

PUBLISHED TITLES IN THIS SERIES

Calendar of State Papers Ireland, Tudor period, 1566–1567, edited by Bernadette Cunningham (2009)

Calendar of State Papers Ireland, Tudor period, 1568–1571, edited by Bernadette Cunningham (2010)

Calendar of State Papers Ireland, Tudor period, 1571–1575, edited by Mary O'Dowd (2000)

INTRODUCTION

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

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

BERNADETTE CUNNINGHAM Editor

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

NEW CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1509–1585

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

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

This insufficiency was tacitly acknowledged by Hamilton himself when he produced altogether more extensive summaries of the original documents in the next three volumes of *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* that he saw through the press (the calendar for the years 1586–8, published in 1877, that for 1588–92, published in 1885, and that for 1592–6, published in 1890). This improvement in the quality of the work may owe something also to a change of policy by Hamilton's superiors at the Public Record Office, since the volume for 1588–92, and all subsequent volumes in the series, opened with two pages of 'Instructions to the Editors' from the Master of the Rolls. These instructions, among other matters, directed editors to 'frame' each calendar 'in such as 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

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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.

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1568–1571

SP 63, VOLUME 23. JANUARY-MARCH 1568

1 Sir William Cecil's memorial for Ireland

To appoint a council at Armagh with a garrison there and in the rest of Ulster towards the sea. To make houses and places for the wards in Ulster. To enquire how the queen's lands may be recovered. To enquire how contributions may be made of the Irish freeholders. Councils in Munster and Connacht. Laws for parliament. Mr Dillon. Mr White. Devices to increase revenue. O'Connor Sligo's submission and letters patent. Sir Owen O'Connor, O'Carroll, O'Reilly, Baron of Dungannon for Oneilland. O'Shaughnessy. Pensioners of Ulster and Berwick. Private suits for fee farms or leases. Suits for service. Creagh in the tower. Earl of Desmond. Sir John of Desmond. In Cecil's hand. 1p. SP 63/23, no. 1

Lord Justice Fitzwilliam to Sir William Cecil 2

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

Postscript. No letter has been sent from the commissioners in Munster since their going, nor from Carrickfergus since 6 December. Turlough Luineach did not come to Dundalk on 30 December or during the six days following. Mr Christopher procured an act to be sent to England and to be passed. If so it might stand with Her Majesty's pleasure to assure certain land to him that he sought of the earl of Ormond and bestowed great cost on building. He is assured of the earl's good will, and desires Cecil's favour. Lessenhall. Signed. 11/2p.

SP 63/23, no. 2

7 Jan 1568

Lord Justice Weston to Sir William Cecil 3

Letters to the queen were written on 23 December and a messenger dispatched to the sea the next day, but he was delayed by contrary winds and storms from then until today. Advises of this lest they be thought negligent. Dublin. Signed. 1/2p.

SP 63/23, no. 3

7 Jan 1568

Examination of Cormac O'Connor 4

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

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

6 Jan 1568

2 Jan 1568

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS IRELAND

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

SP 63/23, no. 4

5 Examination of Cahir O'Connor

8 Jan 1568

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

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

They then departed and went to MacCarthy Mor's country and then Cahir left his brother and went to O'Sullivan's country to speak to some of his kinsmen, then followed his brother to O'Connor Kerry's country where he was told that Cormac had gone to Sir John of Desmond. Two nights later, Cahir with Teig mac Murrough O'Brien, chief proclaimed traitor of the O'Briens, went to meet his brother. He came to a house of the earl's called Askeaton where John of Desmond then was, but missed his brother who was gone into Thomond. Cahir sent Teig Roe O'Meagher to John asking that he stay in John's company until his brother returned from Thomond, and was welcomed. He asked the messenger to tell the said John that he named himself MacColvin's son of the Route who was banished by the Scots. After seven nights Cahir followed Cormac into Thomond. *Taken under oath and signed by* Cahir O'Connor. *3*/4pp.

SP 63/23, no. 5

6 Examination of Andrew Skiddy

8 Jan 1568

He never saw any of the O'Connors with the earl of Desmond. Neither any of the O'Briens. He heard that some of them were proclaimed traitors. He heard the earl of Desmond kept Piers Grace in his castle of Ballinecotty, but the earl denied it saying to this deponent that Piers was in his own country. $\frac{1}{2}p$.

SP 63/23, no. 6

7 Memorandum for Ireland

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

SP 63/23, no. 7

[8 Jan] 1568

8 Memorandum of interrogatories to be ministered

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

Note. There are other depositions by which the earl of Desmond and his brother are to be charged with maintenance of rebels, and for sending for many rebels to come to the earl when he invaded Sir Maurice Fitzgerald. *In Fitzwilliam's hand. 4pp.*

SP 63/23, no. 8

3

8 Jan 1568

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

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

SP 63/23, no. 9

10 Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam to Queen Elizabeth

12 Jan 1568

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

The commissioners held their day on 30 December at Dundalk and were forced to set a new day on 18 February, not having received notice of Her Highness's pleasure regarding Turlough Luineach. It appears he intends to work traitorously. Enclose the demands of Turlough Brasselagh, but cannot proceed therein without knowing Sidney's orders in the matter. No news from the commissioners in Munster so they assume it is in a reasonable state. Plan to withdraw half those commissioners soon to lessen charges. The time grows dangerous and treasure is required. Dublin. *Signed*. $1\frac{1}{2}pp$.

SP 63/23, no. 10

enclosing

10.1 Captains Piers and Malby to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 2 Jan 1568 Their honours' letter of 22 December was received on the last of December. Thanks for their favours. Still awaiting a larger commission of martial law. Captain Horsey's band will not be needed. Since their letter of 19 December, which was returned to them because of storm and is now sent, Sorley Boy [MacDonnell] has agreed to depart. He is on the point of departing if not already gone. Being cut off from the aid he sought, he could not but depart. He did no harm. The country is quiet and the ways free without danger. O'Neill has received 160 Scots into his service, which the captains had intended would join them against the Scots but are now a danger. The lords justice should write to assure him the Scots will not return. Captain Piers is prevented by the lords justice from going to England. The lord deputy gave him special commandment to be with him in England for special causes. The Scots now being gone, Piers intends to go presently, leaving Malby behind. It is untrue that the hoy is only deployed in fetching wood for the army and thereby the bakers and brewers are unfurnished. Without them they would starve. Thank God they have enough food and drink. The boat Francis Applyard bought serves small purpose saving only to load the hoy. Captain Piers undertook to furnish herring of his own free will and has sent into Scotland for herring having made a bargain with a Scot in this town. Thanks for granting of ward, about which Malby wrote to Sir William Fitzwilliam. When Sorley Boy desired to have peace his request was to have Alexander Og MacAlister Henry [MacDonnell] to join him. Piers and Malby agreed so as to get rid of the rest. Since then Alexander has sent them the cess that they bound him to answer for the garrison. Hugh mac Murtagh, one of the first that went to the Scots, today requested protection to come in, offering to bring his cess, to which they have agreed. Gill Duff of Gilmore, of whom they took prey, has requested protection and come in to Sir Brian mac Phelim. A man from Carrickfergus, hired by Marshal Bagenal to look to the

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

Postscript. One Ferdorough MacNamee was sent into Scotland by Turlough Luineach to treat of a marriage for him. Request their lordships reply on this. They have heard nothing of Brian Carragh. Carrickfergus. Copy. 3³/₄pp.

SP 63/23. no. 10(i)

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

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

SP 63/23, no. 10(ii)

10.3 Sorley Boy MacDonnell to Captains Piers and Malby

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

SR63/23, no. 10(iii)

10.4 Captains Piers and Malby's peace with the Scots

At the suit and submission of Sorley Boy and Alexander Og, and Sorley Boy having agreed to return to his own country until the return of Captain Piers or May Day, and Alexander Og having agreed to retire to his own country obedient to such as by Her Majesty have authority to command him, they are to be allowed to pass quietly to their countries, provided they accomplish the promises given above. This to be their sufficient protection. Carrickfergus. Copy. 1/2p.

SP 63/23, no. 10(iv)

10.5 Sorley Boy MacDonnell to Captains Piers and Malby

Hearty thanks for their writing. The weather being inconstant he does not know when he may go. He sent his men fourteen days ago for his galleys and boats. Will not fail to return home the first fair day after the galleys arrive. The Glens. Copy. 1/2p.

SP 63/23, no. 10(v)

11 Sir William Fitzwilliam to Sir William Cecil

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

[16 Dec 1567]

20 Dec 1567

17 Jan 1568

[23 Dec 1567]

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

If Sorley Boy is not gone to Scotland he has deceived Piers and Malby and nothing but force will drive him to leave so wealthy a living. The offer by Con Boy and the O'Donnells, mentioned in Mr Marshal's letter, will weaken Turlough Luineach and the Scots, if well meant. If Piers and Malby had notified the lords justice before concluding the peace, Her Majesty's pleasure would have been sought, whereby the intent of the Scots and the Irish would have been revealed. If Piers and Malby do not again reject the offer, Horsey and Gilbert's bands will be sent. Fitzwilliam fears these Scots will not leave Ireland until better weather comes. If Piers and Malby had dealt with the Scots within a month of Sidney appointing them to do so, Sorley would not have found so many Scots in the Glens and that side of the Bann to join him. On receipt of Turlough Luineach and MacMahon's letters for a prey taken from MacMahon by Con Boy long since, the lords justice were considering the subtle handling of those matters. Have checked Turlough Luineach's indenture in the rolls. Prays for the lord deputy's speedy return, and that Fitzwilliam may then have order to pass his account. Dublin. *Signed. 1½pp*. SP 63/23, no. 11

enclosing

11.1 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam

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

SP 63/23, no. 11(i)

3 Jan 1568

11.2 Commissioners for the north to Lords Justice Weston and Fitzwilliam 3 Jan 1568 Edmund O'Quinn, servant to Turlough Luineach, appeared before the commissioners on behalf of his master and submitted certain complaints. They have replied and have agreed a new date, hoping by that time to have Her Majesty's full resolution. Great disquiet is likely to happen between Turlough Brasselagh and Art mac Baron for Oneilland, which Art has in possession. To appease matters between them and Magennis, the commissioners have requested the dean of Armagh to intervene. A commission for the dean, from the lords justice, is requested.

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