

TNA: PRO SP 63/83/45*Grey to the Privy Council, 10 June 1581*

This is one of a pair of letters detailing a campaign Grey made into south Leinster in May-June 1581 against the Byrnes and Cavanaghs (often described elsewhere as the 'mountain rebels'). He was evidently accompanied by Spenser and at least one other secretary (working, as the sequence of copy and address makes clear, in a position below Spenser). In SP 63/84/12, Grey would continue the narrative, recounting 'the rest whiche hath fallen out in my retorne towerdes this cyttie [i.e. Dublin]'. The National Archives also holds a summary of this present letter ('Extracts out of the Lord Deputyes lettres of the 10. of Iune 1581', SP 63/83/46), presumably made by a secretary in Westminster, which suggests that it was of more interest to the Privy Council for Grey's incidental comments extraneous to his account of his journey: the secretary summarized points on the dishonour and danger of the general pardon, Grey's desire for revocation, his plans for a president in Munster, his intention to bring to trial all freeholders of Wexford who favoured the rebels, and the 300 Scots whom Grey meant to 'entertain', or put into military service.

The text of the letter is written throughout in a compact secretary hand (not Spenser's). Grey's subscription and signature are in his own hand, while the marginal annotations are in a distinct rough italic, probably Walsingham's. Grey's careful review of the letter, after the fair copy had been produced by the secretary, is attested by two insertions in his hand (see below). The address is in Spenser's characteristic secretary hand, while the endorsement is in at least two different hands, one of which ('From the l. Deputye') is undoubtedly that responsible for the annotations within.

Address and Endorsement

To the right
 Honorable my
 very good Lords &
 otheres of her Maiesties
 privie C{ouncil}

1581 Lordes
 Iune .10.
 From the Lord Deputye

Entred.*

Text

The Birnes and
 Cauenaghes
 notwithstandinge the
 garrisons planted about
 them to bridle them did

It may please your Lordships In my last letters, I declared vnto you my purpose to bestowe some time, in Leinster vpon the Birnes, and Cavenaghes, and vpon suche loose people, as they had drawn vnto them, who albeyt: they had bene muche deminished, by the garrison* planted vpon them, this last winter,

still remayne in strength to annoy the pale. namely by those, that weare placed at Wicklowe, and Artlowe, vppon the Este parte, and at Fernes, Clonmore, castle Dermote, and Ballemore vppon the Southe, and west partes, yet they remained so vnited, as they weare able to annoy greatly the good Subiectes bothe of the pale, and of this countrey of Wexforde:

His iournye against them And therefore, as soone as there was enny hope of grasse to bee founde for the feeding of horses, I did set forwarde from Dublin the 16 of May with purpose to seuer the Cavenaughes, and the Birnes, and to searche their fastenes, and to plante in places of most comoditye, for their annoyance other garrisons, that should offende the Birnes more neerely, then those whiche weare before planted vppon the Sea, at Wicklowe, and Artelow: According to whiche determinacion, hauing leuied in the pale at the chardges of the counteyes 300 laborers, I came to Castle Kevan, the 17 day, whiche together with castle Comin, (3 miles from yt southwarde) weare the ruins of old fortificacions, made (as yt seemeth) by the Englishe, at the conqueste, to dissever the Birnes, and the Raniloughes, the one from the other, and are bothe so situated, as ether from Wicklowe, or Artlow the one or the other place might be victeled by horsemen, without passinge enny woode, or paas: / Thes places (as before I had conceaued) seemed vppon the viewe to bee most apt for garrisons, and therefore I bestowed in eache of thes fortes .4.or 5. daies, in whiche time I made them Wardable, and by the worke of masons, and carpenters, comodious for the Soldiours to lodge in, And also entrenched strongly large bawnes, by the labour of the Pioners, easye to be defended, the rather to allure the countrey people (if they weare well affected) to inhabyt, and liue vnder the proteccion of the garrisons: While the worke was in finishing I searched all the mountaines, and fastnes adioyning, and tooke from the rebelles, stoare of their leane, and weake cattell, and slew diuers in those roades, and burned their villages, and places of releif as Clandeloughe, and suche like:

leauyeth 300 labourers in the pale for the seruice at the chardges of the Countrey

Repayreth Castell Comin and Castell Keuan and bestoweth wardes in them to annoy the rebells.

His exploytes against the said rebells

They dare not abide him

Receaueth some smaull losse at their handes which afterwarde is reuenged

The Substaunce of the men of warre in those mountaines vnder the leadinge of Feaghe, and Garret did sometime shew them selues, vppon the Toppes of the clifes, and in the edges of their strongest woodes, To whiche as soone as enny offer was made, they woulde retire themselues, without shew in manner of enny resistance Neuerthelesse, in my passage throughe a longe paas strongely plashed, betweene castle Kevan, and castle Comen, they sett vppon my cariages, and slew some of the garrans, and 3. or 4. poore leaders. In whiche paas Bryan Fitzwilliams was hurte, with a shott in the arme, but with no daunger of Deathe, three other Soldiours weare slaine, and one of mine owne cariage horses drawn into the woode, and the Basquettes rifled, wherein they did light vppon some litle plate of mine, whiche before I slept, was fownde* deare bought, on their partes, if I may beleaue soche of them selues as weare after taken, and executed:

<p>The chardge of the 2. fortes committed vnto Sir Henry Harrington with 400 footmen and 100 horse.</p>	<p>In thes two fortes I left <u>400</u> footemen, and <u>100</u> horsse, vnder the charge of Sir Henry Harrington, because both places, weare within his office and rule of the Birnes countrey, And taking order for their victualling, and for the retorne of the laborers into the pale, I prescribed to Sir Henry what cours of prosecucion of the rebelles should be taken in mine absence, And so departed towardes the Cauenaughes the 28 of the laste.</p>
<p>Taketh a great pray from Crephin Cauenagh. And burneth mac Vadocs Countrey.</p>	<p>After my coming into this county of Wexford, in my first daies martche neere vnto Fernes, I tooke a greate praye belonging to the cheif of the best sept of the Cauenaughes, called Crephin mac Moroughe, and burned some parte of mac Vadockes countrey. because he had lincked himself to the rebelles, and become as yt weare a follower of Chrephin before named: vpon which pray and burning, bothe Crephin, and mac Vadock, and all the freeholders of that parte of the Kinsheloughe made meane to bee receaved to mercye alleaging priuate iniuries betweene them and the Seneshall, to be the causes of their declining from their duetye: Wherevpon suffring Chrephen to repaier vnto me I was contented bothe to heere his complainte, and vpon this condicion to accept him, that he should presente him self and all these freeholders at Wexforde within v. daies, and that vpon pledges to bee receaved both of him, and them, I would bestowe hir maiesties grace vpon them, and not otherwise, For accomplismente whereof they are now with mee heere to deliuer their pledges for their good behauiour heereafter. / . It is like that the other Cauenaughes of Simolin, and of Arte Boyes sept will frame them selues to the like Submission, For which I vse the Soldiours as Instrumentes who hath alreadye made a pray vpon those of Simolin and shall vse all violence to the other in my retorne homeward, the rather to bringe them to suche a conclusion as may promise their better obedience heereafter.</p>
<p>They both excuse their vndutyfulnes and desier to be receaid to mercye with a great number of the freeholders of Kingsheloughe</p>	
<p>He receaueth them vpon pledges. Hopeth of the submission of other Cauenagh.</p>	
<p>Corrupcion of the gentlemen and freeholders of the Countye of Wexford.</p>	<p>The vnduetifull Dealinges whiche I haue founde many waies in the gentlemenn and freeholders of this countye, by deadly hatred emongste them selues, and by secrett supporting of the rebels, the rather to revenge priuate quarrells one vpon an other, did geue me occasion to leaue my campe, And with assistaunce of Mr Threasourour, Mr cheif Baron, and Mr Waterhous, to repaier hether to houlde a Sessions, for the discerning of all those differences, and secrett confedrancies with the Traytours, In whiche sessions this falleth out, that the best of the countrey are appeached, and cannot excuse them of ouermuche favour to the rebelles, And therefore I haue imprisoned soche, as are accused meaneinge to put them to their tryall, and haue executed other malefactoures, Whereof Walter Gallte Cauenaghe was one, the most infamous of all the rebels of his name, and that hath comytted most murders, and Spoiles vpon this county of Wexford by the space of 20 yeares past: From hence I purpose to</p>
<p>Houldeth a session amongst them. there the cheefest of them are appeached for fauoringe the rebels.</p>	
<p>meaneth to put them to their triall.</p>	
<p>Walter Galto Cauenagh and others executed.</p>	

Will publishe the proclamacions for the said pardons with speede /

The new supplye of 700
men deffectyue in
number, persons and
furniture

Dischardgeth Capten
Cecill and Horde, and
taketh their brooken
bandes to helpe the said
new supplye

The offer of generall
pardon daungerous and
dishonorable.

Desyreth to be reuoked
as vnfitt to gouerne any
longer there now that
theis pardons are
offered, having waaded
so farre as he hath don
into a contrary coorse.

ould my cours
towerdes Rosse,
and so to retourne
to the garrisons, I
planted emonges
the Birnes: /

In my marche
hether I receaued
lettres from
Dublin by whiche
I vnderstoode the
ariuall of the
supplies of the
700 men
appointed to land
there, emonges
whiche there is
not only defect in
the number, but
many of them old,
and impotente and
diuers very badly
furnished, (as the
Lord Keeper
aduertisethe) And
albeit I preuented
thes wantes, as
muche as might
be, by sending
Capten Sentleger
to conduct them,
and to make
choise of apt men,
and conuenient
furniture (of
whose iudgement,
and carefulnes I
nothing doubt)*
yet I perceau he
could not be his
owne choser, but
must either bring
those, or none,
And therefore to
help those
imperfeccions,
both in number
and furniture, is
one cause that

Drawethe mee towerdes Dublin, and to take with mee the broken
bandes of Capten Cicill, and capten Owrde, whome I do
discharge, to keep the Supplies: A seconde cause and most of
emportance is, that I haue receaued other lettres from your
Lordships signefieng hir maiesties pleasur for a generall pardon
to be published by proclamacion for all offenders within this
realme very few excepted: The proclamacions I perceau be
ariued thoughe not yet come to my handes, but are enclosed in a
casquet, remaining in the castle of Dublin: To this by way of
preuention, I haue saied my opinion in my former lettres,
touching the offer of pardon, to suche, as must be entreated to
receau yt, and being offred perhappes will not accept yt,
whereunto I add this: that I cannot but iudge, the honour of the
state someway touched, and hir maiesties best Subiect{es}* that
haue opposed them selues to rebells, and (as yt weare set vpp
there ref {...}* for hir maiesty) vtterly vndoon: For I see the
sequeall of this cours cariethe euidente perill to the good
Subiecte, whiche now vppon this reconsiliacion must liue at the
deuocion of his outragious neighboures, who vndoubtedly will
take their times, to reuenge all good seruices done, vppon them
and theirs, so as yt is likely that the good wilbe weeded out by the
euell, or if they be not yet,* in our age yt wilbe hard, for enny
gouernour to draw them againe to hazard them selues, and their
posterity, for their Soueraigne, And for mine owne parte I must
confesse, I haue so constauntly affirmed* in hir maiesties behalfe
the prosecucion, and extirpacion, of the ill affected and the
Defence of the good, as this contrary cours being now taken
(whiche puttethe litle difference betweene the one, and the other)
I finde how vtterly vnapt I am to bee continued heere, hauing
broken with the best sort, in a cace that so muche concerneth
their liues, and whole estates, And therefore I hope I shall not
wante your Lordships furtherances for my spedy reuocacion,
Neuertheles submitting my opinion to your Lordships better
iudgementes, and obeieing in euery thinge to hir maiesties
direccion, I will make the more hast to Dublin, to veiw and
publish the proclamacions, and will also follow the cours

Yt had ben fitter to haue reduced Tirlough to suche termes that he might haue sued for pardon, then to offer yt him so nakedly

Dischardgeth him self of the blame that may light vpon him for any inconvenience lykely to ensue of this offer of pardon.

Thearle of* Ormonds excuses, and meaninge to satisfye her maiesty towching his seruice

Dammages susteyned by {the}* said earle

The brooken state of the realme is suche that dyuers places requier his presence at once /

prescribed mee in offringe the pardon to Turloughe Lennoughe, with whome yt had bene to be wisshed, that suche a treatye might haue bene made, as that I might haue bene able to haue shewed force in the feild, so prepared to haue annoied him if he* had bene obstinate as he might rather haue sued for, and thankfully embraced the pardon, and put in his pledges, then that it should haue bene sent so nakedly, as by the treaty of comissioners it must needes seeme, for this cause principally I required the 1000 men out of England. But since that cours standeth not with hir maiesties liking, I will frame my self wholly to the direccion geuen mee, and set as good a collour vpon yt as I may, Wisshing that yt may take successe, aboue mine expectacion, and to fall out to hir maiesties honour and benifit, And if the contrary should happen, ether there, or els where, vpon this platte of generall pardon, then I must needes craue to wasshe my handes of yt, as a matter, wherein I was oueruled, and not standing with the reasons whiche I had conceaued for the seruice. /

I haue Declared to my Lord of Ormounde, (who is heere now with me) hir highnes pleasure, for the ceasing of his authority in Mounster, according to the direccion sent from* hir maiesty in mr Secretaries Lettres, wherevnto he seemeth contentedly to submitt him self, but very sorye, that he should stand in hir highnes disgrace, and desirous to satisfye hir maiesty touching the causes of hir displeasure, wherein he imputeth somewhat to his owne forgetfulnes, in not aduertising of suche seruices, as hathe bene done, within his charge, A matter (as he saiethe) omitted by him, because, he lighted not vpon the slaughter, or apprehencion of therle of Desmounde, or of his brother Iohn, or of the Seneshall, whome he thought the only personnes, for whose Deathe he might haue deserued thanks;/ but lest yt might seeme, that litle or nothing hathe bene done vnder him, within that prouince he meanethe to collecte the seuerall seruices, with the names of soche of the rebells, as the warres in Mounster haue consumed, to thende, that the same might bee knowen to hir maiesty, before whome he saiethe he doubtethe not, but to aunswere to all obieccions that may be made against his Creddyt, and honour, Lastely he saied, that this discharge came the more vnseasonably, vnto him, because he hath lost mucche of his reuenewe, by the wasting of his landes in this rebellion, whiche in troath I did partly finde in his lordship, or landes of Artlow, and know the like at Clonmore, where an english garrison was planted: /

But now I truste your Lordshipes will deapely looke into this broken state, and how I am distracted into seuerall partes: Leinster requiereth my attendaunce, for prosecution of this warre against the confederates whiche is the more perilous, because this parte, is the harte as yt weare, and the other provinces but members; It weare reason I should looke also vnto the northen

border, or els I doubt comissioners will make but a dishonourable conclusion with Turloughe, who will not mucche respect a pardon, if he haue not also the rest of his demaundes: /

The necessity of
placinge {a} president in
mounster

Mounster being now without a comaunder would haue requiered my presence there till some setled gouerment, had bene sent from hir maiesty, but because all places cannot be supplied by me in person, at one instaunte, I must leaue Mounster to the captens, euery one to defend the partes about theirre garrisons till ether I may resorte thether, or els till your Lordshipes procuer a presidente to be sente, that may direct the whole, whiche in mine owne opinion, and my associates heere is most necessary bothe for warre, and peace: The prouince is lardge the people many, and the rebells in suche force, and the state so generally euell, as if they haue not a gouernour to rule them by hir maiesties lawes and authority, they will vndoubtedly depende vppon those now in rebellion, and so in shorte time make the secoude errorr worse then the first: And therefore I leaue this principally to your Lordshipes consideracions.

All Connaught quiet
Orworck only excepted

Sir Nicholas Malby
wynneth 300 Scotts
from Orworke /

In Connought Sir Nicholas Malbey by diligente following of the rebells is entered into some calme of the stormes there, only Orwark yeldeth not to conformity, bearing him self very stoute vppon the strengthe of his Scottes, whereof he had* 300 in pay or neere that number: Thes Scottes haue bene allured by Mr Malbey to leaue Orwark, and to serue hir maiesty, vppon whose perswacion, I heere they haue taken a pray from Orwark, and are repaired to Sir Nicholas, withe the whole company, And because I cannot heere entertaine enny kerne whome I may trust, and that in all seruices yt is necessary, to haue some soche light men, to driue and take cattell, and that the Scottes are more seruiceable, and more feared emongst the irrish then the kerne are, I am resolved for a while to entertaine them in steade of kerne, thereby aswell to strenghten hir maiesties parte, as to weaken the rebells either orwarke, or enny other withe whome they shoulde happen to be entertained, And if the warre consume them, the losse is tollerable ynoughe, for in a matter so indifferentlye made, betweene them, and the Irrish rebells, I care not greatly whether I loose, or winne. Theirre charges shalbe borne by the pay of the two casshed bandes before named vnder Mr Cicell, and Thomas Owrde, whose companies weare consumed at Fernes, withe a kinde of plauge, or infeccion; that hath likewise taken away diuers vnder the leading of Sir William Standley, Capten Denny, and capten Scopham while they remained in the garrison at Wicklow.

He meaneth to
enterteine the said
Scotts in steede of kerne
as more seruiceable, and
to geue them the pay
allowed for the now
cashed bands of Capten
Cecill and Horde /

infection amonge the
souldiors

Lastely I haue not to presse your Lordshipes further withe my requeste solicited by mr Fenton for the 1000 men requiered for Vlster, for since hir maiesty meaneth to make proof of the conformity, of hir badde Subiectes by the lenitye of hir generall

meaneth not to
prosecute the warre
against the Vlster rebels
vntill he see how they
frame themselues after
the proclamacion

Condicion that they
shall delyuer pledges.

pardon, I will not attempt muche warre vntill the proclamacions be published, and till I see that they reiect peace, And yet I hope the proclamacion is so tempered withe assurraunce of obedience heereafter, as whosoouer will take benefytt by yt muste putte in pledges by a day for his good behaiour to come, And withe that condicion I will not take exceptions to ennye, but to suche as alreadye (as I heere) are set downe to bee excepted by hir maiesties owne order: And therefore desiring your Lordshipes, to retorne Mr Fenton, to execute his place heere, I comytt you to the Lord: At Wexford the 10th of Iune 1581

Yowr Lordships most assured to
Commaunde,

Arthur Grey

Textual Notes

* **Endorsement]** A small amount of what appears to be secretarial doodling, added at some later date, appears adjacent to the endorsement; we have not reproduced it here.

* **after garrison]** An inkblot or a single-character deletion appears here.

* **fownde]** Inserted above the line. Both the spelling of the word, and the characteristic hand, indicate that this is Grey's own insertion.

* **of whose...I nothing doubt]** This phrase was originally enclosed by commas; the secretary later changed these commas to parentheses.

* **Subiect{es}]** Damage to the right margin of the manuscript has truncated this word; context demands the plural, and spacing considerations make it likely that this was an 'es' brevigraph.

* **ref {...}]** Damage to the right margin of the manuscript here has cropped the end of this word, making it illegible.

* **after not yet,]** 'iv' deleted.

* **after affirmed]** 'the' deleted.

* *Marginal note after Thearle of]* 'Desmou' deleted.

* *Marginal note {the}]* Here, and below, damage to the manuscript (perhaps in the process of binding the manuscripts into volumes) has obscured part of the annotations; the nature of the missing words, however, is obvious from context.

* **after annoied him if]** A clumsy 'he' deleted after **annoied him if** and a second inserted above the line.

* **after sent from]** The beginning strokes of 'Sr' deleted here.

* **had]** Inserted above the line. The familiar hand indicates that this is Grey's own insertion.

Annotations

In my last letters] We cannot be sure which letters these are, or indeed whether they survive; there is reference to Grey's intention to go on campaign against the **Birnes**, and **Cavenaughes**, though, in the correspondence passing from Ireland of the time. See SP 63/83/24 (Wallop to Walsingham, 15 May 1581).

the garrison ... Ballemore] These garrisons form a circle around the eastern counties, around the north of Meath and down to Ferns and Artlow in the south-east; see map.

this countrey of Wexforde] At the very southeast of Ireland, south of the Pale and of the ring of garrisons described above.

fastenes] Fastnesses, fortified and often concealed hideouts (e.g. in mountainous or wooded country).

plante] Not in the sense of plantation-building, but Grey's choice of this word certainly reminds us of that aspect of English policy in Ireland.

the counteyes] The counties of the Pale: Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare.

Castle Kevan ... castle Comin] Approximately 50km south of Dublin, in County Wicklow. Grey remained at Castle Kevyn until at least 22 May, when he wrote a letter from there: 63/83/31. Comin Grey used as a base on his return: he 'came to the border of the Glinnes the xxth day of Iune, encamping neere to the forte, which I before builded at Castle Commin, In that place or neere vnto yt, I continued my campe till the xxvijth, euery day hunting the Glinnes' (SP 63/84/12).

the ruins of old fortifications] *A view* also comments upon the presence of ruins in the Irish landscape: 'Theare weare thoroughe all places of the Countrie Convenient, manye good Townes seatd which thoroughe that invndacion of the Irishe which I firste tould youe of weare vtterlye wasted and defaced of which the ruines are yeat in manye places to be sene and of some no signe at all remayninge saue onelye their bare names but their seates are not to be founde.' (ll. 5196-5201).

Raniloughes] the Ranelaghs (Gabhal Raghnaill), a branch of the O'Byrnes. Hugh McShane O'Byrne was their chief until his death in 1579, after which time their chief was Feagh McHugh.

without passinge ... or paas] It was a commonplace in contemporary accounts of Ireland that such woods, and the passes through them, were used by the rebels to ambush English troops; there were many attempts, motivated partly by this, to clear safe passages through the woods along which the English could travel. Safe transit and traffic through these places is an important focus of Irenius' and Eudoxus' discussion in *A view* (see ll. 2585-2599, and especially ll. 5120-5144).

Wardable] Defensible with a guard, or ward.

entrenched strongly large bawnes] A **bawn** is an Irish term referring either to a fortification, or to a fortified house and cattlefold. Spenser refers to Irish bawnes (also 'stronglie trenched') in *A view*: 'But these rounde hills and square bawnes which youe see soe strongelye trenched and throwne vp weare (they saie) at firste ordeyned for the same purpose that people mighte assemble themselves theareon' (ll. 2404-2407). Spenser also came into possession of one – the bawn at Richardston – when he gained title to Kilcolman in 1589.

Pioners] Pioneers, soldiers responsible for the digging of trenches, fortifications, and mines.

places of releif] Cf. the description of bollies in *View*, where criminals 'finde reliefe': 'But by this Custome of Bolloyinge theare growe in the meane time manye greate enormityes vnto that Comon wealthe for firste if there be any outlawes or loose people (as they are never without some) which live vppon stealthes and spoile, they are evermore succored and finde reliefe onelye in those Bollies beinge vppon the waste places, wheares els they shoulde be driven shortelye to sterve or to Come downe to the townes to steale reliefe wheare by one meanes or other they woulde sone be Caughte' (ll. 1532-1539).

Clandeloughe] We have not been able to locate this settlement; Grey seems to suggest that it may not even be a village, and it may very well have simply disappeared since 1581.

The Substaunce of the men of warre] See *OED*, 'Substance', *n.*, 15a: 'The greater number or part, the majority, mass, or bulk'. Grey means, presumably, that it was only on those occasions that the soldiers showed themselves in any numbers.

Feaghe ... Garret] On Feagh McHugh O'Byrne, see biographies. Captain Garrett, alias Garrett Jones, had 'gone over' to Baltinglass with 50 horsemen in August 1580, just as Lord Grey arrived in Ireland. In March 1581 Garrett offered to come in if he might be assured of a pardon (SP 63/81/28); news of this offer may have reached the Earl of Kildare in prison, for in December 1581 he sent to Feagh McHugh to have Garrett executed, apparently because Garrett had information that might inculcate him (see SP 63/87/53).

a longe paas strongly plashed] To **plash** is to bend down and interweave branches into a fence: apparently the pass has been cleared and defended on either side by this plashing.

garrans] Small horses bred in Scotland and Ireland.

Bryan Fitzwilliams] Leader of a band of horsemen in Leinster (and discharged later that year, see SP 63/88/40/1), who travelled to England in July 1581, bearing letters of recommendation from Grey and the Irish Council, speaking of his long service and the money he had lost.

deare bought, on their partes] I.e. they paid for the capture of the plate with the lives of some of their soldiers.

Henry Harrington] Harrington was apparently still stationed there on 23 July, when Edward Waterhouse wrote that Grey had instructed him to accept Feagh McHugh's offers (Waterhouse to Walsingham, SP 63/84/44).

Fernes] Ferns, seat of one of the garrisons mentioned above.

best sept of the Cauenaughes] A **sept** is a division of a family or clan.

Crephin mac Moroughe] Unidentified.

mac Vadockes cuntry] Unidentified.

freeholders ... Kinsheloughe] Grey would receive pledges of obedience from these freeholders on his return journey: 'At my passing by Fearnas, I receaved pledges of the freeholders of the Kinsheloughe' (SP 63/84/12).

made meane ... to mercye] Made advances to plead that they be granted mercy.

the Seneshall] Probably John Fitz Edmund Fitzgerald, Seneschal of Imokilly, an active rebel and confederate of the Desmonds; see biographies.

Simolin] See SP 63/84/12: 'The ixth of Iune, I departed from Wexforde, towerdes Rosse, and came thether the xjth day, leauing my campe, vppon the skirtes of the baronye of Simolins, a cuntry possessed by Ocion mac Caier Cauenaughe a confederate with the rest in this rebellion, thoughte not so malitious, as other of his surname'.

Arte Boyes sept] A sept of the Cavenaghs from Wicklow: they would indeed offer their submission later in Grey's journey: 'the remaine of the Cauenaughes of the septe of Arteboye, offred submission

vnto me in my campe' (SP 63/84/12). As Grey implies here ('shall vse all violence'), they were under considerable military pressure at the time.

private quarrells] In SP 63/94/15 (*infra*), Grey also notes the 'pryvat quarrells' that support rebellion in Ulster.

Mr Threasourer, My cheif Baron, and Mr Waterhous] Henry Wallop, Treasurer; Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and Edward Waterhouse, General Receiver; see biographies.

to houlde a Sessions] To convene a county court (generall for the purpose of hearing civil cases and 'light' pleas of the crown; but Grey's presence made it possible to hear and decide even the most outright treasons).

appeached] Impeached.

Walter Galle Cauenaughe] Unidentified.

Rosse] A small town (now known as New Ross) in south-west Co. Wexford, whence Wallop addressed a letter on 14 June (SP 63/83/54).

lettres from Dublin] These letters (including one, apparently, by Adam Loftus: see below) do not survive among the State Papers Ireland.

impotente] Weak, decrepit.

badly furnished] Poorly equipped.

Lord Keeper] Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; see biographies.

Capten Sentleger] Warham Sentleger; see biographies.

conuenient furniture] Suitable equipment.

broken bandes ... capten Owrde] On Captains Cecil and Howrde, see SP 63/83/47 and 63/84/26, *infra*.

to keep the Supplies] Grey used the men surviving from these discharged bands to compensate for those who had arrived in Ireland, unfit to fight.

I haue ... pardon] On 19 April 1581, Elizabeth issued a general pardon to all Irish rebels apart from Desmond, John of Desmond, Dr Sanders, Viscount Baltinglass, and the Seneschal of Imokilly (the last on Grey's discretion). A draft of the pardon (with corrections by Burghley) exists in the Irish State Papers (SP 63/82/42), as does a draft of a letter from the Privy Council explaining the pardon, and telling Grey that 'in case you resolue to enter into anie action of warre agaynst Tirlaghe, wee then thincke it verie meete that you should fyrst offer vnto him confirmation of suche thinges as by your Lordship weare thought meet to be allowed vnto him' (SP 63/82/41).

enclosed ... Dublin] Presumably copies of the letter and proclamation described above, with accompanying letters, arrived after Grey's departure in May. Dublin Castle, it is clear, was used as a repository and a stronghold for documents and valuables coming from England.

To this ... of preuention] In an attempt to prevent this (pardon).

in my former lettres] See, for example, 63/82/54, *supra*: 'Your Maiestie I heare, is in purpose [to] bestowe a generall pardon vpon this nation with some exceptions; I besече your Highnes to consider well of it...!'

someway] To some degree.

the sequeall of this cours] These events, as they will turn out.

vtterly vnapt ... continued heere] Grey here continues to appeal for revocation, an appeal that was being noted by the Privy Council (see headnote).

hauing broken ... best sort] Grey believed that in making no distinction between obedient subjects and rebels, the general pardon constituted an act of treachery, and was perillous, to the former.

offringe the ... Turloughe Lennoughe] As the marginal annotation makes clear, Grey was dismayed at having to offer pardon to Turlough, and would have preferred to have compelled him, through military pressure, to sue for pardon on less advantageous terms.

annoied] Attacked in battle.

so nakedly] So unconditionally.

set as good a colour vppon yt as I may] Make it seem as good as I can.

vppon this platte] As part of this scheme (*OED*, 'Plat', *n.*³).

Lord of Ormounde] Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond; see biographies.

her ... Mounster] Ormond had until this point served as Lord General of Munster; the Queen insisted on his discharge because of accusation that he had killed or apprehended very few prominent rebels.

mr Secretaries Lettres] These letters from Walsingham to Grey have not survived.

not aduertising of suche seruices] Ormond quickly complained to Burghley that he had been the victim of slanders (SP 63/84/19), and wrote again on 1 October 1581, to provide a list of the rebels whom he had slain (SP 63/86/3/1): over five thousand in two years. He was quickly reinstated, not only as Lord General, but as Governor of Munster.

this broken state] Of Ireland (as the marginal annotation makes clear). Cf. BL MS Titus B.XIII, f. 345, Chancellor Gerrarde's notes on the broken state of Ireland.

confederates] Allies, i.e. rebels allied to one another: presumably families such as the Cavanaghs and Byrnes against whom he was then engaged.

the harte] Perhaps because of its geographical centrality in the Ireland, or because of its proximity to the government in Dublin, or because of its status as the scene of such rebellion.

Mounster ... comaunder] Since Ormond had been deposed from his command. In his letter to Francis Walsingham of 9 June (SP 63/83/43, *supra*), Grey had been much more forthright about the

authority vacuum in Munster, created by Ormond's discharge: 'greate ouersyght it was withowte an oothers placyng too displace hym & so I euer aduyced'.

the captens] The captains of the bands garrisoned there.

presedente] No President of Munster was appointed until 1584, when the title was granted to Sir John Norreys, but the idea that such an appointment was necessary for the government of the region appears in a good deal of correspondence from mid-1581 (see e.g. *CSPI 1574-85*, pp. 315, 316, 325).

make the ... the first] Make their rebellion in an ungoverned state worse than that when Ormond was in charge.

Orwark] Brian O'Rourke (see biographies), of whose disobedience (and the comparative quiet of Connaught) Malby reported to Walsingham on 30 June 1581 (SP 63/83/63) and to Burghley on 6 July (63/84/7).

yeldeth not to conformity] Also mentioned by Malby, who writes that 'William Nugent has established O'Rourke in the roomishe religion which rule he holdethe for his only quarell' (SP 63/83/63).

vppon the strengthe of his Scottes] O'Rourke employed a substantial number of galloglas, Scottish mercenaries: see glossary and Hayes-McCoy (1937), pp. 131-4, 138. The English administration frequently attempted to prohibit the keeping of such mercenaries, but as can be seen here (below), and as Hayes-McCoy argues, they frequently sought to hire them for themselves.

kerne] See glossary.

light men] Lightly armed men, light infantry.

The Scottes] On English willingness to contract the services of Scots galloglas, see Hayes-McCoy (1937).

a kinde of plauge, or infeccion] The decimation of Cecil and Howrde's bands through sickness is also mentioned by Edward Waterhouse (Waterhouse to Walsingham, 10 June 1581, SP 63/83/51); **Captain Scopham**, in fact, died of the plague very shortly after this letter was written (see SP 63/84/26 below). On **William Stanley** and **Ned Denny**, see biographies.

my request ... mr Fenton] A request for soldiers to attack Turlough Luineach if he 'stand resolute to ronne the course of warre' is made in a letter from Fenton to Walsingham of 16 April (SP 63/82/30): 'for this seruice, your honnor cannot perswade to send ouer les then a thousand men with their victuells for two monethes'. Fenton writes this letter 'in haste at Dublin'; it seems that he may have been on his way to England to solicit Irish causes (see SP 63/82/47; 63/83/3 is a letter written from Fenton to Leicester when both men were in London).