

TNA: PRO SP 63/86/51

Grey to the Privy Council, 6 November 1581

As after his journey to Wexford in May-June (see SP 63/83/45, *supra*), and to Ulster in July and August (see SP 63/85/5, 63/85/6, and 63/85/13, *supra*), Grey here sends a formal report of his journey to Munster, 'to place a settled government' there. Grey recounts his interventions in local affairs and actions against the rebels, and also sets out his plans for garrisons in Munster. Given that this report – with its evidence of Spenser's attendance on Grey – was filed after the journey, from Dublin, it is not clear from this evidence whether Spenser accompanied Grey to Munster or not; but the fact that no documents in Spenser's hand survive from the period 12 September to 6 November suggests that he may have. Certainly Grey's reflections here on the decayed state of many of the garrison towns in Leinster and Munster, with his careful reasonings on strategy and supply routes, bespeaks the same experience of the service that informed Spenser's recommendations for the army in *A view of the present state of Ireland* (see especially ll. 4101-4286); and it is probable that Spenser's judgments on these matters was informed by such journeys. Grey's record of the military engagements and judicial interventions of this expedition, too – especially his arbitration between the Baron of Upper Ossory, the Earl of Ormond, and Viscount Mountgarrett over their respective borders, and his dealings with the Earl of Clanricard's sons – provides a fascinating context for reading the allegory of justice (e.g. the arbitration between the sons of Miliesio, or the reconstitution of Radegone) in Book V of *The Faerie Queene*.

The letter is written in a small, compact secretary hand (not Spenser's). This hand occasionally uses terminal 'e' followed by 'es' brevisgraph, which we have throughout recorded simply as '-es'. The subscription and signature are Grey's, while the address is in Spenser's characteristic secretary hand. There is extensive underscoring, and annotation in the left-hand margins; this annotation is in at least two distinct hands, the latter of which is probably that of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (accounting for three of the marginal notes: 'a cedula', 'Decayes of Maryborough Dongarun Phillipstown', and the final annotation, 'vC vC vC').

Address and Endorsements

To the right Honorable
my very good Lords and
otheres of her Maiesties most
Honorable privie Councill./

Lords
6 Nouember 1581
From the Lord Deputye.

Entred.

Text

After the receipt of soche letters, as came from your Lordships

The generall^s charge of the Pale in his absence admitted to the Lord Chancellor and Councillor. {T}he direction of martial causes to Sir Henry Wallop.

{He} hath compounded the difference between the Earl of Ormond lord of vpperossery.

necessary that vpperossery should be made shire ground.

Protection granted to Iames Meaghe.

in September last, aboute the setling of a gouvernement in Mounster, whiche you then wished to be comytted to the cariage of Sir Warham Seintleger, I was advertised of his passage into Englande, whereby I founde the necessitie of mine owne repaire into Mounster, And therefore according my former advertisementes, I prepared for yt, And set forewarde from hence with some companies of horssemen and footemen, the xvijth of the same monethe. The chardg of the pale in myne absence I lefte generally, to the Lord Chauncellour, and counsell, But specially the martiall causes I comytted to Sir Henry Wallopp, and perticulerly Sir Lucas Dillon to haue the care of Meathe, and Westmeathe, and did settle garrisons, aswell vppon the ootoles, and Cavenaughes, as vppon the omoores, and occonnoures, Whereof I haue formerly enfourmed your Lordships: Having thus left the state heere, I founde yt requisyt to take my iourney throughe the Queenes countie, and vpperossery, because vppon the deathe of the late baron, I founde some apparaunce of disorders in those partes { . } The now baron repaired vnto me besides Mariboroughe, and attended me throughe his owne, Countreye, to the countie of Kilkenny, where vppon the meting withe therle of ormonde, and the vicounte Mountgarrett, I made a finall end betweene them, for the infinyte challenges, and contencions, that haue bene, betweene vpperosserye and Kilkenny for thes twenty yeares past. Neuerthelesse I finde that for the preservacion of their quyet heereafter, yt is necessary that vpperossery be lymitted to be sheire grounde, whiche therle, and the vicount desire may be annexed to Kilkenny, The Baron desirous to haue yt of the Queenes countie, The lymitacion whereof, I deferred till I might haue thadvise of the counsell heere:/ At my being in those partes, peticon was made, in the behalf of Iames Meaghe, now called Iames mac Kedaughe omoore, that he might be receaued to pardon, or proteccion, or at lest dispensed withall, till he might do some service wourthie that grace, And for the good behaiour of him self, and those dependauntes vppon him* he would put in pledges, and deale dewtifully as he should be directed, by enny assigned from me, vppon which offerrs knowing hir maiesties dispotition to Clemencye, I appointed him to repaire vnto me to Waterford, To which place he came (according my direccion) and made, an humble submission, acknowleging him self to be one, of the Cheif Instrumentes, in thes sturres about the vicount Baltinglas, whome he Long served before the rebellion, but when I entered into the error of his adoption, to be an omore, wissing him to renounce the same, and to be accompted Iames Meaghe as he had bene all his Lief, till this yeare past, I found, that the liberty of his loose lief, had settled him in that follye, as he would not acknowledg his owne name, But imputed this exchaung to the ordinaunce god* & laied the synne of his birthe vppon his parentes, neyther did I finde him willing, to redeame his

James meagh sent for by
the* councill for
conferement
Thomas Meagh in the
Towre.

500 persons protected
by the last pardon not 60
resorted to him vpon
proclamacion.

Carbery appointed to
beare the Charges of
Capten Apsley and 100
footmen

aduse taken with the
Capteyns for the seruice
in Monster.

faultes, with enny action thankewourthie from the state, In
thende I referred him vpon my letter to Humfrey mac Worthe,
who tooke pledges vpon him: Since which time I heere not,
but that he hathe contayned him self, within soche bandes, as
the Capten hathe assigned, and is now vpon the councelles
Letter, repaired hether for conferrence with mr Secretary
Fenton, touching Thomas Meaghe, prisoner in the Tower./
From Waterford I marched to Dongarvan, Lismore, Youghall,
and Cork, searching all the woodes, and strengthes, about
Dromfinen, and Imokellye, but founde not enny to resist, the
rebelles being then scattered in smale companies into remote
partes: At my coming to Cork, I setled my campe in Barries
countray for vij dayes, ordering the bandes euery day* to
marche abroade, and to visit all the Countray, betweene
Mallow, Youghall, and Cork, where they did some execucion,
but to more purpose distroyed the provision which the rebelles
had hidden in woodes, and secreate places, whereby the
greatest parte of their releif is taken from them: In the meane
season I caused publique proclamacion to be made, that all
protectees, and suche as had taken the benefyt of hir maiesties
pardon, should resorte vnto me to Cork, at a day appointed:
The bookes delyuered me by Iustice Meaghe, conteyned the
names of v^c persons, or therabout, but after longe stay chiefly
for that purpose there appeared not lx. of the whole number,
And those for the most parte, olde men, and freeholders. The
yonger, and looser sorte appeared not, but vehement
presumption, that they weare revolted, or stood in very
doubtfull termes, for they, and their sewerties, were bothe
absent, Neuertheles to make farther tryall of their entencion I
referred them by a secounde proclamacion, to an other day of
apparunce, at the cessions in Cork, And till I be enfourmed
thereof, I will not absolutelie iudge of the men, But in all
apparaunce, I see no likelihoode of good effectes to follow of
their receaving to pardon, when they put in none other
assuraunce, but one Kerne to be bounde for an other, which
Iustice Meaghe affirmethe is all, that could be gotten, For as
they had no pledges to put in so was there no honest, or
answerable man, that (as he saide) would be bound for a
rebell:/ In my stay about Cork I visited Kinsale, tooke order in
all pryvate contrauersies, and setled the countray of Carbery to
beare still the wages of Capten Apsley, and one hundrethe
footemen, notwithstanding that I withdrew him to other place
of garrison neerer the service: And by Example of Carbery,
hope may be conceaved (as soone as eny quyet growethe) to
deall with other partes of Mounster, to beare, Conuenient
numbers at their owne Chardges: Lastely at my being there,
when Sir George Bouchier, and the rest of the Captens in
Mounster weare repaired vnto me, I proponed to them in
Consultacon three thinges, whereof I required their opinions:
First what kind of warre might soonest ouerthrow the rebellion,

1 ether continuall Iourneyes of the gouernour, or garrison warre:
 if garrison warre, what places, and whate numbers weare fytttest
 for those garrisons, And lastely emonges suche equalitie of
 Captens, what person, they would most willingly obaye: To the
 2 first they concluded vppon garrison warre as indeade in all
 probability, there is none other way to bring the rebellion to a
 shorte issue,: To the secounde they agreed, that those garrisons
 should be planted at Glanmire neere Cork, at Mallow vppon the
 passage of the broade water, And at Lismore vppon the same
 ryver, neere the woodes of Lisfinnen: At Kilmallock and
 Asketyn in the County of Lymerick, and at Ardert, Dingle, and
 castle Mange in the county of Kirrye. Thirdely they made
 3 eleccon of Iohn Zowche, to be their cheif Colonell: Their
 reasons being herde for euery point, I allowed of their
 opinions bothe for the manner of the warre, the places of their
 residence, and the person of the Cheif collonell, And vniting the
 Lord Roche, Sir Cormack mac Teige, Sir Donoughe mac
 Cartye, Sir Thomas of Desmound, and Maurice Roche, to their
 asistaunce, espesially for conueyaunce of their victualles,* I
 concluded vppon suche numbers in euery garrison, with the
 captens advises, as ys sett downe in a callender or schedule
 4 heere vnto annexed. Neuertheles the wante of victualls was
 suche, at my being in those partes, as I could not presently,
 plante those garrisons at Glanmire, and Mallow, But ordered
 them to remeyne in Cork, and Kilmallock, and from thence to
 make their roades and Iourneyes, till the victualles weare
 aryved, and from thenceforthe to setle themselues in the places
 before named./ This done I repaired towerdes the county of
 Lymerick, visiting Kilmallock, and Asketyn, and ordering my
 iourneies as I thought might be most conuenient, for the
 annoyng of the Traytors, but founde no resistaunce eny where
 Neuertheles while I was thus employed in the countie of Cork, I
 was enfourmed (3. dayes after thacte done,) that the traytours
 attempting to take a pray from Casshell, weare followed by the
 Inhabitautes at the allurement of the archbisshop, and that the
 Townsamen being nether of corage, or conduite, weare
 ouerthrowne, and slaine to the number of Lx: I offred the towne
 ayde, but that they refused, because they coulde geve no releif
 towerdes the victeling of the Soldiours, nether to the cariage
 of the victelles from Waterford or other places, And therefore I
 ordered the Townes of Fiderte, and Clommell to lende them
 some competente number of men who with victels of their
 owne might remayne for their asistaunce till other order
 might be taken: In Lymerick I made some stay, aswell to holde
 Sessions, as for gevinge suche necessary auctorities, and
 Instruccions to the Colonell, as was conueniente for the
 gouernemente: In whiche Sessions some weare arreygned, and
 executed, namely a notable rebell, nephew to the Bisshop of
Limerick, and foster brother to therle of Desmounde, vppon the
 Bisshoppes accusacion, who likewise Charged the Bisshop to

3 Mr Zouche elected
 coronel of Monster by
 the Captens

a cedula/

The bishop of Limerick
accused to be confederate
with the rebels

haue councelled him, and his father to enter into rebellion with
desmound, thereby to preserve the proffittes of his Bisshoprick,
whiche the Bisshop did not aunswere, because he was visited
then with greate infirmyties, an other being a merchaunte of that
cyttie, that had yelded releif to the Traytours, A thirde one
Warren, that being a victualler in pay, had imbasiled the
victualles, and greatly abused him self in his Charge: And
lastely I caused John Shrief the viceconstable to bee areigned for
thescape of Patrick Fitzmorice, and other pledges, but being
found not giltye, he was neuertheles put to his fine: /

The viceconstable fyned
for the escape of Patrick
Fitzmorice

{He} sendeth for the Erle
of Clanreckards sonnes.

This done I departed towerdes Galleway, sending Letters to
therle of Clanricardes sonnes to repaire vnto me, in my passage
throughe Clanricard, allowing the benefyt of their proteccion,
and willing to heere at their handes suche complayntes as they
had against enny person, Cheif officer, or other, within the
province, And to know the cause, whie they refused the benefitt
of their pardon, They aunswere dilatorily, as though they
weare manie circumstaunces to be vsed, before they would
accepte their pardon, adding that if I would preferre their
sewte to hir maiesty, they would acquayncte me with the
perticulers, And in the meane season, they desired that they
might not appeare before me, I willed them to sende me their
peticions, And if they weare not dishonourable for hir maiesty
or inconvenyente for the state, I would not refuse to deall for
them, But hetherto, I haue not heard of their aunswere to that
point, only this I note in them, That they are men insolente,
and full of malice to the state, and moste inconstaunte, and
vnfaythfull of their promisses. And to expresse their
dispotitions to continew thes troubles, they offred violence to a
Soldior of my companye, whome they Chaced, and hurte, not
farre from the way as I marched: The rest of Connought is
quyet, saving that orwarke entertainethe Scottes, and
makethe shew of Assistaunce of William Nugente in soche
incursions as he makethe vpon the Countye of Longeford:
This is the Substaunce of my late Travell, whereof the purpose
was, to place a settled gouernement in Mounster.

their aunswere.

Decayes of Maryborough
Dongaruon
Phillipstown

It restethe, that I note thus muche to your Lordships that in my
journey by Mariboroughe and Dongarvan, I finde those houses
in very greate Ruin, (as Phillipstowne also is,) And hardly
defensable by the ordinarie garde of the places, And For as
much as they are of importaunce for the Comaunding of the
countreies about them, I do remember your Lordships to be
meanes to hir maiesty, for convenyent reparacions, to be
spedely bestowed vpon those three, whiche I suppose cannot
be lesse in eache place then v^c li sterling: And so being
hastened homeward, aswell by the loose dealing of oreighly, in
restoring Shane oneylls sonne to Turloughe Lennoughe,
contrary to my expresse comaundement, and his owne faythfull

v C
v C
v C

promisse, as by
the Causes of the
late conspiracy
heere in the pale,
wherein the most
of thenglishe
families heere

wilbe apparauntly touched, I cease and referre all other matters
to the generall letter: At Dublyn this vjth of November. 1581

Yowr Lordships most assured
too Commaunde,

Arthur Grey

Textual Notes

* *Marginal note* **generall**] This contracted word inserted above the line.

* *after vppon him*] 'he' deleted.

* **ordinaunce god**] It seems likely that the word 'of' has been omitted before 'god' here.

* *Marginal note after by the*] Single-letter deletion.

* **day**] Inserted above the line.

* **of theirre victualles**] Inserted above the line.

Annotations

lettres ... Seintleger] After the Earl of Ormond's dismissal as Lord General of Munster, Sir Warham Sentleger was appointed Chief Colonel of the Province. Grey wrote on 12 August to approve of the choice, but to argue that it should be only a temporary appointment: 'I do not wisshe, that yt should haue long Continuance, because his aucthoritye there must needes be accompanied withe the disliking of therle of ormond, betweene whome there hath bene some Contraueries in my tyme' (Grey to the Privy Council, 12 August 1581, SP 63/85/13). He also took the opportunity to commend John Zouche's service (suggesting that he was trying to promote Zouche in this position): 'I am very glad in the behalf of the gentleman, that hir maiesty and your Lordships do so well conceaue of Mr Zouche, which opinion may be bettered, by a secound service, done since, wherein he hath had very good Successes'. Sentleger, meanwhile, had been recalled to England, presumably in order that he might be personally instructed (or micro-managed) by the Queen and her councillors there; the Privy Council wrote to Grey on 24 August, informing him that Sentleger was 'nowe repaired hether (as we suppose without your Lordships knowledge' (SP 63/85/25). Ormond, meanwhile, was petitioning Burghley to be reinstated (see SP 63/86/3 and 63/86/3/1; and 63/83/45, *supra*).

cariage] Management, carrying out.

his passage into Englande] In August 1581 (SP 63/85/25 and 63/85/26).

my former advertisementes] Such advertisements do not seem to have survived.

Lord Chauncellour] After the death of William Gerrarde earlier in 1581, this position had passed to Adam Loftus; see biographies.

Meathe, and Westmeathe] These counties may have been especially strategically important for the defence of the Pale, standing between Dublin and Ulster.

otooles ... oconnoures] Irish septs against whom Grey had previously gone on campaign. See SP 63/83/45 above, one of the places where **I haue formerly enfourmed your Lordships**, and which describes the planting of garrisons in Meath and elsewhere.

vppon ... baron] Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory, had died in September 1581.

my journey] Grey journeyed in a south-westerly direction through the Queen's County (Leix) towards Upper Ossory and Kilkenny; see map.

the now baron] Fitzpatrick was succeeded by his brother, Florence Fitzpatrick.

therle of ormounde ... vicounte Mountgarret] Thomas and Edmund Butler.

a finall end] A conclusive agreement.

lymitted to sheire grounde] I.e. no longer a 'liberty', enjoying a privileged exemption from common law governance. The question of whether Upper Ossory should be shired had gone on for some time; see for example SP 63/75/37 (Waterhouse to Walsingham, 13 August 1580).

lymitacion] Determining of the geographical boundaries.

James Meaghe ... omoore] Grey's attention to Meaghe's Irish style is deliberate: as he goes on to explain, he asks Meaghe to rescind his claim to the O'Moore lordship.

dispensed withall] Granted dispensation.

thes sturres ... vicount Baltinglas] I.e. the rebellion of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, which had occupied the English administration throughout 1581 (see, for example, SP 63/81/1 above, on the committal of the Earl of Kildare). Meagh's confession, dated 17 November, was sent to England in a letter from Fenton to the Earl of Leicester, calling for urgency in the prosecution of Kildare (SP 63/87/48 and 63/87/48/2).

imputed this ... ordinaunce god] Claimed that his adoption of this title was by God's order.

referred him ... mac Worthe] handed him over to the custody of Captain Humphrey Macworth (see biographies).

contayned him ... soche bandes] Abided by such restrictions.

Thomas Meaghe] James Meagh's brother, suspected of involvement with Kildare in the Baltinglass rebellion, and imprisoned in the Tower of London since March 1581. See SP 63/93/64 above.

From Waterford ... Cork] Grey's journey, through Waterford, Dungarvan, Lismore, Youghal and Cork, took him westwards along the south coast of Ireland.

Barries country] The lands of David Fitzjames Barry, Viscount Barrymore, around Buttevant (north of Cork).

Mallow, Youghall, and Cork] Mallow lies approximately 30km north of Cork and Youghal approximately 50km east; see map.

they did some execucion] *OED* suggests that the more modern meaning of the word, 'destructive effect, infliction of damage or slaughter', came into being in the late 1580s ('Execution', *n.*, 5); it may have that sense here, or merely mean that the soldiers carried out Grey's plan.

distroyed the provision ... from them] Reminiscent of the now notorious description in *A view of the allegedly strategic starvation of the Munster rebels during the Desmond rebellion*: 'yeat thus beinge kepte from manuraunce and theirre Cattle from Comminge abroad by this harde restrainte

they woulde quicklye Consume themselues and devour one another The profe wheareof I sawe sufficientlye ensampled in Those late warrs of mounster, for notwithstandinge that the same was a moste ritche and plentifull Countrey full of Corne and Cattell that ye woulde haue thoughte they Coulede haue bene able to stande longe yeat ere one yeare and a haulfe they weare broughte to soe wonderfull wretchednes as that anie stone harte woulde haue rewed the same' (ll. 3248-70).

protectees] Those who had accepted the protection of the English government (*OED* gives the first recorded instance of this word as 1602).

Justice Meaghe] John Myagh, Attorney General, Second Justice, and Commisioner of Munster. These **bookes**, apparently containing the names of approximately 500 protectees of Cork, have not survived.

freeholders] Settled yeomen or gentlemen, with estates in land.

but vehement presumption] Although the meaning is clear here (that the failure of these men to appear led to a strong presumption that they were in revolt), the syntax seems odd, and suggests a copying error.

sewerties] Sureties.

the cessions in Corke] The sessions were seasonal sittings of the county courts (here, of Cork), led by magistrates authorized by commission from the Queen or her deputy. For a discussion of the rise of commissions for local justice in the late medieval period, see Baker 2002: 24-26.

but one ... for another] I.e. one rebellious Irish soldier entered as a guarantee of another's good behaviour.

Kinsale] Approximately 25km south-west of Cork (see map): Grey continued his journey in a westerly direction.

took order ... contrauersies] Adjudicated in private quarrels.

settled ... Apsley] Apsley was to take charge of 100 footmen at Glanmire (see the note below). See also a letter from Sir George Bouchier to Wallop of 9 September, describing Apsley's warrant (SP 63/86/14/2).

hope ... Mounster] There is hope that the peace which Apsley's troops have brought to Carbery will provide a model for dealing with the rest of Munster.

George Bouchier] Along with John Zouche (see below), one of the two colonels in Munster.

garrison warre] This is not the only place where Grey advocates the planting of garrisons in Munster: see BL Add. MS 33924, *supra*. Irenius also promotes this method of war in *A view*.

Lord Roche ... Maurice Roche] The Roches (a prominent Munster family, with which Spenser himself would come into conflict over land), Cormac McCarthy McTeig, formerly Sheriff of Cork, Sir Donogh McCarthy, Earl of Clancar, and Thomas Fitzgerald were prominent Munster lords, on whose assistance Grey depended.

a callender ... vnto annexed] SP 63/86/51/1, a note on the 'Garrisons now placed in Mounster'. The numbers of soldiers are as follows. In County Cork: at Glanmire, 100 footmen under Apsley, 100

footmen under Rawley, and 24 horsemen; at Mallow, 100 footmen under Dowdall, and 100 footmen under Peirs (with a note that 'Sir Cormack and Maurice Roche to assist them with horse'). In County Waterford: at Lismore, 150 footmen under Morgan, 50 to defend Youghall, and 50 horsemen. In County Limerick: at Killmallock, 200 footmen under Bouchier, and 25 [horsemen?] under the provost marshal; at Askeaton, 200 footmen under Barkeley, and 12 horsemen. In County Kerry: at Ardert, 300 footmen under Zouche, 50 horsemen under Acham; at Dingle and Castlemaine, 100 footmen under Case 'to guard the fortification there'. In total, 1400 footmen and 161 horsemen were placed in the garrisons.

make ... Journeyes] Make expeditions against the rebels.

This done ... Asketyn] Grey headed northwards, into County Limerick.

Casshell] In Tipperary, east of Kilmallock; see map.

at the allurement of the archbisshop] Encouraged by Meyler (or Miler) Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel.

conduicte] Conduct, military skill.

Fiderte] Probably Fethard (*Fiodh Ard*), 15km east of Cashel. **Clonmell** (Clonmel) is approximately 25km south-south east of Cashel; see map.

competente] Sufficient.

the Colonell] Probably John Zouche, Chief Colonel.

a victualler in pay] In English pay as a victualler.

imbasiled] Embezzled.

John Shrief] John Shereff would continue as Viceconstable of Limerick. In November 1583, though, Sir Henry Wallop was still accusing him of aiding Fitzmaurice's escape, which, he said, had cost Elizabeth twenty thousand pounds (SP 63/105/79). Further accusations of financial corruption were made in 1584 (see SP 63/107/75).

Fitzmorice] Patrick Fitzmaurice and his brother Edmund had escaped from Limerick Castle in August (see SP 63/85/9 and 63/85/14), where they were being held as pledges for the dutiful behaviour of their father Thomas Fitzmaurice, Baron of Lixnaw and Lord of Kerry. Immediately upon their escape (at which their father had certainly connived), the Lord of Kerry abandoned his pretence of support for Zouche and came out in open rebellion with Desmond. Patrick fled to Spain, but returned to Ireland and was recaptured in 1587; he was released in 1591, upon the death of his father, assuming the title of Lord of Kerry.

put to his fine] Fined (*OED*, 'Fine', *n.*¹, 8c).

therle of Clanricardes sonnes] The brothers Burke, Ulick and John, intermittently in rebellion and under the protection of Nicholas Malby and the English administration in Connaught. See, for example, SP 63/81/39, *supra*, and 63/94/15, *infra*. A third son, William, Malby had executed in July (see SP 63/84/6).

Chief officer] Not a specific position; rather, any ranking member of the civil or military administration.

dilatorily] Delayingly.

as though ... be vsed] As though there were many circumstances to be considered.

preferre their sewte] Advance, or promote, their causes.

they offred ... my companye] This incident does not seem to be recorded elsewhere.

orwarke entertainethe Scottes] On O'Rourke and his Scots, see SP 63/83/45, *supra*.

houses in very greate Ruin] In SP 63/88/2 (*infra*), Grey speaks again of the ruinous state of Mariborough and Philipstowen, a consequence (he claims) of the financial burdens placed upon them by the soldiers garrisoned there.

they are of importaunce ... about them] On Spenser's own ideas about the military and civil importance of these stronghold towns, see Woolway Grenfell (1998).