

British Library, Additional MS 33924*Grey to Burghley, 28 November 1580*

Notes on victualling and (increasingly, as Grey's service went on) complaints about the lack of supplies occupied much of Grey's correspondence with Burghley and the Privy Council; but this particular letter specifically illustrates Grey's plans and logistical arrangements for establishing and victualling garrisons in Munster, in the wake of the siege of Smerwick and of the continued threat presented by Desmond's rebellion. The placement of garrisons was a central aspect of late sixteenth-century English military strategy in Ireland, just as plans for a network of garrisons across the entire country acquired 'an orthodoxy of aspiration', in Ciaran Brady's words (1996: 141), among military captains in the 1590s. Grey's report to Burghley of 6 April 1581 (see HH Cecil Papers 11/91, *infra*) acknowledges that the placement of garrisons in Munster required rethinking, due to supply problems, as well as a shift of the the foreign threat from Spanish to Scots invasion. Grey's notice and account to the Privy Council of his journey to Munster in the following year (SP 63/86/51, 6 November 1581) also makes provision for a reinforced set of garrisons in Munster (described in detail in an enclosed 'callender', SP 63/86/51/1). See also *A view of the present state of Ireland*, ll. 4231-4285.

The text and address of this present letter are in Spenser's usual secretary hand, although slightly more upright than usual. The subscription and signature are Grey's. The marginal annotation is in the same hand as the receiver-side endorsement.

Address and Endorsement

To the right Honorable
my very good
Lord the Lord Threasurer
of England yeue
this./

xxvij^{mo} Novembris 1580
The Lorde Deputie
of Irelande his Lettre
vnto my Lord Treasurer
for the payment vnto Alderman
pullisonne CC iiij^{xx} li for
iiij^{cl}l. Barrelles of wheate
and m^l m^l of Newlande
fisse and for other
causes

Text

My very good Lord forasmuch as I stande assured that my former advertizementes of my Kerry iorney and of my successe there (which proceeded not of my travell, but of the providence* and

mighty powre of god) I therefore leave now to trouble your Honour therewith. And having determined a Iorney too Thomond & Connagh to Curbe short the Rebelles there, yett vpon intelligence of some occasion of my present repaire into the pale, Whereof I will wryte to your Lordship when I shall arrive at Dublin I thought good to send force to Sir Nicholas Malbey & to garrison some of the Army in this Province for the better defence thereof, to thend the Traitour Desmond should have but small Comfort of abyding within the same. I have placed in Kerry at Dingle Iohn Zouche Captein Case and otheres in all ^{iiij}^c footmen and I horsemen besides the ward in Castlemaing. I have settled at Asketen, CC footemen besides the ward of the Castle in number ^{iiij}^{xx}. At Kilmallock Sir George Bouchier with his company & xxv horsemen vnder George Thorneton & in the Abbey of Aherloa CC footmen; so as there is no starting Corner lefte in the County of Limerick for the said Traitour, but one or other of the said garrisons shalbee at hand to meete with him. I have appointed to remayne at Corke C, at Youghill C at Lismore CC & at Dongarvan C; and thus doe this day take my iorney toward Dublin. Nowe for to vitle these & for the places apt to staple the vittles which must bee for their provisions I thought good to signifie vnto your Lordship that for the garrisons at Corke Youghill Dongarvan & Lismore, Corke is the place to land their provision for that thence yt may be conveyed safe by water to euery of the said places. And for this County of Limericke & Kerry bycause such ships as come hether must needes passe nere the Coast of Dingle and nothing out of their way to touche in them, yt shall doe well that all such ships as shall come hether with vittle doe first ancre at Dingle & there discharge vittle sufficient for the said number, & the remayne to bring hether vnto this cittie to furnish the said garrisons, which is the onely place to vittle Kilmallock Asketen & Aherloa. But now vnderstanding the small proporcion of the remayne of vittles here with vs, but of wheat C quateres; mele C barrelles, malt xx quateres, biskett ^{iiij}^m; And meeting here with a ship loaden with wheat of Alderman Pullisons goodes, I was driven to buy the same; and for ^{iiij}^c I barrelles of wheat have promised that he should bee paid in England by your Lordship after the rate of ^{xiiij}^s sterling the barrell, CCxlv^{li} sterling; and for ^{ij}^m newland fish at xv^{li} the one thousand & xx^{li} the other xxxv^{li} sterling In all CC ^{iiij}^{xxli} sterling. Which Sum I pray your honour to Cause to be answered and paid vnto him out of the next masse that shalbee made out for this Realme. And thus praying your Lordship to hasten hether more store of vitle with speed, (for this will last no tyme to speake of, and drinck there is none nor other vittle butt bread which I beseech your Honour to consider I take my leave; at Limerick this xxviiijth November 1580

Deliuered at
Lymericke to Iames
Brincklow and Iames
plancke. Victualers
there.

Yowr Lordships most
assured,

Arthur Grey

Textual Notes

* **providence]** The darkly inked 'v' of this word has apparently been written over an initial 'i'; this is probably a case of scribal anticipation, quickly corrected.

Annotations

Address Lord Treasurer of England] William Cecil, Lord Burghley; see biographies.

Endorsement Alderman pullisonne] Thomas Pullison; see biographies.

Endorsement Newlande fisshe] I.e. Newfoundland fish, fish caught off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. Robert Hitchcock's *Pollitique Platt* for the development of fisheries (London, 1580) advocates a more active English involvement in this trade, a trade in which, he claims, the French and Dutch were taking a great share. Presumably the fish would have been preserved and dried through salting. See Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3.239-56.

my former . . . successe there] Smerwick, Co. Kerry, was the scene of Grey's victory over (and massacre of) a fortified garrison of several hundred Papal (mostly Spanish) troops. For Grey's 'advertizement', written 12 November 1580 from the 'campe at Smerwick', see SP 63/78/29, *supra*.

travell] Travail.

a Iorney . . . Connagh] Grey's planned journey against the rebels (perhaps the O'Connors) in the western parts of Ireland may have taken place in February (Maley: 17).

Curbe short] Curb, restrain; this compound verb is not cited in the *OED*.

Sir Nicholas Malbey] Malby; see biographies.

in this Province] Munster (whence Grey was writing this letter). The garrisons that Grey goes on to mention (Dingle, Castlemaine, Askeaton, Killmallock, Aherlow) are all situated in Co. Kerry and Limerick, or western Tipperary. The first three are named as sites for garrisons in 1581 (see SP 63/86/51, and headnote); Aherlow (or Aherlo, Arlo) was a heavily wooded area that enjoyed a reputation for lawlessness during the 1580s, and which, as Arlo Hill, hidden around with 'faire forrests', found its way into *The Faerie Queene* (Burlinson 2006: 176-78; Hadfield 1994: 171).

the Traitour Desmond] Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond; see biographies.

Iohn Zouche] See biographies.

Captein Case] John Case, stationed in Galway from at least 1579 to 1580, and then in Dinglecush (Dingle) in proximity to John Zouche. His and Zouche's bands were badly affected by sickness (Bingham to Walsingham, 9 January 1581, SP 63/80/2). In September 1581, he bore a letter to Walsingham from Zouche, also containing his commendation, and he was paid for his service in late 1581 or early 1582.

the ward in Castlemaingel] Castlemaine, County Kerry, bordering on Desmond lands, was the seat of a permanent garrison; see map.

Sir George Bouchier] Or Bouchier; see biographies.

George Thorneton] See biographies.

the Abbey of Aherloa] Moore [Moor] Abbey, near Galbally, at the western end of the Glen of Aherlow; see map.

starting Corner] Presumably, a place from which to begin rebellious action.

staple the vittles] Receive and store the provisions.

thence yt . . . said places] Youghal and Dungarvan lie to the east of Cork, along the southern coast of Ireland. Lismore lies on the River Blackwater, at the mouth of which Youghal is situated; see map.

and nothing . . . in them] And not go out of their way in landing there. The Dingle peninsula lies to the south of the mouth of the estuary of the River Shannon, on which Limerick lies.

which . . . only place] Limerick lies in the centre of this group of towns: Askeaton to the west, Kilmallock to the south, Aherlow to the southeast; see map.

mele] Grain ground to powder, flour; perhaps specifically oatmeal (OED, *n.*¹, 1).

James Brinklow] Brinklow held positions with responsibility for victualling in Ireland during the 1570s and 1580. On 3 January 1580, though, Sir Henry Wallop informed Walsingham of Brinklow's bad character (SP 63/70/1), and on 23 December, Burghley was told by John Shereff (SP 63/79/34) that Captain John Vaughan was going to declare Brinklow's abuses to Elizabeth. This declaration does not seem to have survived, but it is the last that we hear of Brinklow.

James plancke] No other reference to James Plancke can be found in the Irish State Papers.

newland fish] See note above.

answered . . . masse] Deducted from the next consignment of treasure, and paid to Pullison in England.