

**NA (PRO) SP 63/83/45**  
*Grey to the Privy Council, 10 June 1581*

**Address and Endorsement**

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

1581 **Lordes**  
Iune .10.  
From the **Lord** Deputye  
Entred.\*

**Text**

The Birnes and Cauenaghes  
notwithstandinge **the** garrisons  
planted about them to bridle  
them did still remayne in  
strength to annoy **the** pale.

His iournye against them

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 Cavenaughes, and vpon suche loose people, as they had drawen vnto them, who albeyt: they had bene muche deminished, by the garrison\* planted vpon them, this last winter, namely by those, that weare placed at Wicklowe, and Artlowe, vpon the Este **parte**, and at Fernes, Clonmore, castle Dermote, and Ballemore vpon 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: 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

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leauyeth 300 labourers- in the pale for the seruice at the chardges of the Countrye	to seuer the Cavenaughes, and the Birnes, and to searche their fastenes, and to plante in places of most comoditye, for their annoyence 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 <u>300</u> laborers, I came to	15
Repayreth Castell Comin and Castell Keuan and bestoweth wardes in them to annoy the rebells.	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 countrie 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 mounteines, 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:	20
His employtes against the said rebells	The Substaunce of the men of warre in those mounteines 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 offerr was made, they woulde retire themselues, without shew in manner of enny resistaunce	25
They dare not abide him	The Substaunce of the men of warre in those mounteines 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 offerr was made, they woulde retire themselues, without shew in manner of enny resistaunce	30
Receaueth some smaull losse at their handes which afterwardes is reuenged	Neuerthesse, in my passage throughe a longe paas strongly 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	35

<p>The chardge of <a href="#">the 2. fortes</a> committed vnto <a href="#">Sir Henry Harrington</a> with 400 footmen and 100 horse.</p>	<p>hurte, <a href="#">with</a> a shott in the arme, but <a href="#">with</a> 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 vpon some litle plate of mine, <a href="#">whiche</a> before I slept, was fownde* deare bought, on their <a href="#">partes</a>, if I may beleaue soche of them selues as weare after taken, and executed:</p>	40
<p>Taketh a great pray from Crephin Cauenagh. And burneth <a href="#">mac Vadoes</a> Countrye.</p>	<p>In thes two fortes I left <a href="#">400</a> footemen, and <a href="#">100</a> horsse, vnder the charge of <a href="#">Sir Henry Harrington</a>, because both places, weare <a href="#">within</a> 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 <a href="#">Sir Henry</a> what cours of prosecucion of the rebelles should be taken in mine absence, And so <a href="#">departed</a> towards the Cauenaughes the 28 of the laste.</p>	45
<p>They both excuse their vndu= tyfulnes and desier to be receauid to mercye with a great number of <a href="#">the</a> free= houlders of Kingsheloughe</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 <a href="#">mac Moroughe</a>, and burned some <a href="#">parte</a> of <a href="#">mac Vadockes</a> countrey. because he had lincked himself to the rebelles, and become as yt weare a follower of Chrephin before named: vpon <a href="#">which</a> pray and burning, bothe Crephin, and <a href="#">mac Vadock</a>, and all the freeholders of that <a href="#">parte</a> 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:</p>	50
<p>He receaueth them vpon pledges. Hopeth of <a href="#">the</a> submission of other Cauenaghes.</p>	<p>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 <a href="#">presente</a> him self and all these freeholders at Wexforde <a href="#">within</a> v. daies, and that vpon pledges to bee receaved both of him, and them, I would bestowe hir <a href="#">maiesties</a> grace vpon them, and not otherwise, For accomplismente whereof they are now <a href="#">with</a> mee heere to deliuer their pledges for their good behaiour heereafter. / . It is like that the other Cauenaughes of Simolin, and of Arte Boyes sept will frame them selues to the like Submission, For <a href="#">which</a> 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</p>	55
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Corruption of **the** gentlemen and freeholders of **the** Countye of Wexford.

as may **promisse** their better obedience hereafter.  
The vnduetifull Dealings **whiche** I haue founde many waies in the gentlemenn

Houldeth a session amongst them. there **the** cheefest of them are appeached for fauoring **the** rebells. meaneth to put them to their triall.  
Walter Galto Cauenagh and others executed.

and freeholders of this countye, by deadly hatred amongste them selues, and by secrett supporting of the rebells, 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 confederacies **with** the Traytours, In **whiche** sessions this falleth out, that the best of the countrey are appeached, and cannot excuse them of ouermuche fauour to the rebelles, And therefore I haue imprisoned soche, as are accused meaninge to put them to their tryall, and haue executed other malefactoures, Whereof Walter Gallte Cauenaghe was one, the most infamous of all the rebells 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 hould my cours towerdes Rosse, and so to retorne to the garrisons, I planted amonges the Birnes: /

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

In my marche hether I receaued **lettres** from Dublin by **whiche** I vnderstoode the ariall of the supplies of the 700 men appointed to land there, amonges **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 albeyt I preuented thes wantes, as muche as might be, by sending Capten Sentleger to conduct them, and to make choice of apt men, and conuenient furniture (of whose iudgement, and carefulnes I nothing doubt)\* yet I **perceau**e 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 emportaunce is, that I haue receaued other **lettres**

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Discharge Capten Cecill and Horde, and taketh their brooken bandes to helpe **the**

said new supplye

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: These 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 receaue 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 rebels, and (as yt weare set vpp there ref {...})\* for hir maiesty) vtterly vndoon: For I see the sequeall of this cours cariethe

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The offer of generall pardon daungerous and dishonorable.

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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 ••,\*

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

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 behalf 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 betwene 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 Lordshipes furtherances for my spedy reuocacion, Neuertheles submitting my opinion to your Lordshipes better iudgementes, and obeiang 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 prescribed mee in offringe the pardon to Turloughe Lennoughe, with whome yt had bene to be wisshed, that suche a treatye

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Will publishe the proclamacions for the said pardons with speede / Yt had ben fitter to haue

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reduced Tirlough to suche termes **that** he might haue sued for pardon, then to offer yt him so nakedly

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. /

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

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

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Thearle of •••••\* Ormonds excuses, and meaninge to satisfye her **maiesty** towchinge his seruice

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

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Dammages susteyned by  
{the}\* said earle.

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

The necessity of placinge  
{a} president in mounster

All Connaught quiet  
Orworck only excepted

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: / 150

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 concludion **with** Turloughe, who will  
not mucche respect a pardon, if he haue not also the rest of his demaundes: / 155

Mounster being now **without** a comaunder would haue requiered my **presence**  
there till some setled gouernment, 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 there 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 **assosiates**  
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 160

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authority, they will vndoubtedly depende vppon those now in rebellion, and  
so in shorte time make the secoude **errour** worse then the first: And therefore  
I leaue this principally to **your Lordshipes** consideracions. 170

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,

Sir Nicholas Malby wynneth 300 Scotts from Orworke /	bearing him self very stoute vppon the strengthe of his Scottes, whereof he had* <u>300</u> in pay or neere that number: Thes Scottes haue bene allured by Mr Malbey to leaue Orwark, and to serue hir maiesty, vppon whose <u>perswacion</u> , I heere they haue taken a pray from Orwark, and are repaired to Sir Nicholas, <u>withe</u> the whole company, And because I cannot heere entertaine enny kerne whome	175
He meaneth to enterteyne <u>the</u> 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 /	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 <u>maiesties</u> parte, as to weaken the rebells either orwarke, or enny other <u>withe</u> whome they shoulde happen to be entertained, And if the warre	180
infection amonge <u>the</u> souldiors	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. Their 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, <u>withe</u> a kinde of plauge, or infeccion; that hathe likewise taken away diuers vnder the leading of Sir William Standley, Capten Denny, and capten Scopham while they remained in the garrison at Wicklow.	185
meaneth not to prosecute the warre against the Vlster rebells vntill he see how <u>they</u> frame them selues after <u>the</u> proclamacion Condicion <u>that</u> they shall delyuer pledges.	Lastely I haue not to presse <u>your Lordshipes</u> further <u>withe</u> my requeste solicited by <u>mr</u> Fenton for the <u>1000</u> men requiered for Vlster, for since hir <u>maiestye</u> meaneth to make proof of the conformity, of hir badde Subiectes by the lenitye of hir generall <u>pardon</u> , 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 <u>withe</u> 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 <u>withe</u> that condicion	190
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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 10<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1581

205

Yowr Lordships most assured to  
Commaunde,

Arthur Grey

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### Note on hands

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 the 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.

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

\* **4 garrison]** What is either an inkblot or a single-character deletion appears after this word.

\* **41 fownde]** 'fownde' inserted above the line, with a caret mark. Both the spelling of the word, and the characteristic hand, indicate that this is Grey's own insertion.

\* **87-88 of whose...I nothing doubt]** The phrase 'of whose...I nothing doubt', was originally enclosed by commas; the secretary later changed these commas to parentheses.

\* **101 Subject{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.

\* **102 ref {...}]** Damage to the right margin of the manuscript here has cropped the end of this word, making it illegible.

\* **107 ••]** 'iv' deleted.

\* **110 •••]** 'the' deleted.

\* **122 •• he]** A messy 'he' deleted and the second inserted above the line, with a caret mark.

\* **136 •]** The beginning strokes of 'Sr' have been deleted here.

\* **Annotation •••••]** 'Desmou' deleted.

\* **Annotation {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.

\* **175 had]** 'had' inserted above the line, with a caret mark. The characteristic hand indicates that this is Grey's own insertion.

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