

**NA (PRO) SP 63/85/13**  
*Grey to the Privy Council, 12 August 1581*

**Address and Endorsements**

To the Righte  
Honorable the  
Lords and otheres of  
{h}er Maiesties Privie  
{C}ouncell./

12° Augusti 1581  
From the Lord Deputy of Irelande  
to the Lordes of the Counsel.

Entred

**Text**

It may please your Lordships. I haue of late receaued 2: lettres from yow of the 26. and 30 of the laste, whiche came to my handes after I dispersed my companies in my retorne from my treaty with Turloughe Lennoughe: your Lordships I doubt not do remember what I aduertised in my last letters, touching the occacion of my late Iorneye northward, namely how odonnell had praied aide of hir maiestye, against Turloughe, or els for ever to bee lefte to shifte for him self, and that in our opinions heere, the losses sustained by him, coulde no way be repaired, nor Turloughe staid from the totall overthrowe of him, and his cuntry vnlesse I had presently made hedd into those partes. According to whiche determinacion, I did not only sende Sir Nicholas Malbey, with the forces vnder him in Connoughte, to enter Tierconnell, by the way of Sligo, and prepared victualls, and

5

10

municion, to be sente by sea into Loughfoill, for suche [services](#), as I purposed about Leefer, but martched in [person](#), [with](#) those few Companies, [which](#) I had to the forte vppon the black water, And in my way thether, I sente to Turloughe, to declare that having hearde somewhate of the violente manner of dealing betweene him, and odonnell, I could do no lesse, then deale betweene them, to the stopping of those contrauersies, and to heere and determine the causes, that had moued so greate outrages, and losse of so many hir [maiesties](#) subiectes\* on bothe sides, being sorye that men of their condicion, and so well hable to [serve](#) hir highnes, should so farre exceede them selues as [with](#)out lycense to enter into warre and to disturbe the state, And therefore I appoincted him a place, and a tyme for conferrence and speache to be had in the matter: To this I was aunswered that he woulde repaier to the place, appoincted, at the time I assigned, For the rumour of my coming had caused him, before this, to retorne from the Chace of odonnell, and heering of a preparacion heere for a battry to be sente, into Loughfoill, he gaue order for the rasing of his owne castle of Strabane, vppon that ryuer, and of the castle of Leefer, belonging to Con odonnell, on Tierconnell side: At the day appoincted he came neere vnto the place [with](#) a minde prepared altogether for warre, (so farre, as I could ghesse) not[with](#)standing he sente vnto me to know my [pleasure](#), wherevppon I addressed the Iustice Dowdall, and Mr Briskett to treat [with](#) him vppon certaine articles, [whiche](#) I gaue them by way of Instrvccion, subscribed by me, and by Mr. Threasoror, and Mr Marshall, there [with](#) me, [whiche](#) [articles](#) [with](#) the aunsweres, or conclucions of the peace I send vnto your Lordships [heerewithe](#), to avoyde tediousnes in my letter, only this I will note, that the Comissioners founde soche passions and alteracions in him, as weare straunge, before he Could bee temperede by them to enny conformity, But in the ende he was so handeled, as he sought [with](#) humility, to come to the enterveue, but in soche mistrustfull manner as the riuier

15  
20  
25  
30

---

devided vs, So likewise when wee had concluded, sometyme he put of his hatte, and ioyed that he had peace, And by, and by an other difficulty grew, when he, and his followers should swere, and subscribe to the condicions, by [whiche](#) stormy manner of dealing, I note his vnsteddy nature, and how lytle truste is to bee hadd, ether to his wordes, or wrytinges, and on the Contrary [parte](#)

35

do comend the dealing of those gentlemen, in that they so ouercame his obstinacy, withe  
perswacon, as the dignety of the state was preserved, and he wrought to seeke whatesoever I  
desired, although the most efficient causes indeade were the forces, by whiche he feared  
Invasion on bothe sides: And whereas sondry speaches, had bene geven forthe by the  
rebelles, that he was a principall partie in the rebellion, and had promised ayde, to them  
from tyme, to tyme, after he had subscribed, he protested, that he had neuer made  
ennye soche othe, or promisse to enny rebell, thoughe sondry had sente vnto him for that purpose  
which he offred to advow before enny, that would so charge him. The comissioners had in Charge  
also to deliuer the proclamacion of generall pardon, whiche for all the prouince of Vlster was  
proclaimed without enny exception, But when yt was made knowne in his Campe  
yt moued not enny man there, to take the benefyt of yt, for they saied yt concerned offendoures,  
and offences, whereof there was none in Vlster of that qualety; Turloughes wief seemed  
ernestly to further this pacificacion, being fearefull of the double force, whiche bothe she saw  
with me, and hearde to be Coming with odonnell vnder Sir Nicholas Malbey, by whiche I  
must confesse to your Lordships I might haue taken soche an occacion to haue dishabled Turloughe  
for euer doing hurte to the pale, as hardely Can be founde soche an oportunitye, but  
that I know hir maiesties inclinacion so bente, vppon temporising with a calme, and a  
peceable cours, as I would not enter into a matter of warre, that afterwarde might  
lacke dew prosecution, And therefore having sente the Iustice Dowdall, and other  
comissioners of Turloughes into Tierconnell to attende Sir Nicholas Malbey, for  
composition to be taken betweene him and odonnell, I accepted the peace before  
mencioned nothing pleasing to me, thoughe I assure my self, yt will be better thought  
of at home, then a warre that might haue brought forthe, bothe an honourable and  
a perpetuall assuraunce against the Northe: After this pacifaccion, and my  
retorne from the place, I receaued (as I haue formerly sayed) your Lordships letters, withe  
whiche I finde the articles agreed vppon by hir maiesty, to Turloughes petitions, and  
for sondrye respectes am glad, that they came not sooner to my handes, For although  
the grauntes are very honourable, and more liberall in some thinges, then I Coude  
haue perswaded, if I had bene there, yet the condicions, wherevnto he should be tied be such  
as are verye beneficiall to the state, and suche, as he will neuer accept, For that whiche

---

tendethe to the banishmente of the Scottes, will neuer be yelded vnto by his wief, and  
hir frendes, neither would he haue consented to yeld anny pledges, And then if he had 70  
falne from the condicions, and hir maiesty, not bente to haue maintayned hir purpose by  
force, yt would presently haue geuen an end of all his expectacion from Englande,  
and made him perhappes desperate in the rest, as by all likelihoode he may be, Neuertheles  
if Capten Peirs, his messenger (of whome your Lordships wryte) be not verye circumspect  
how to reveale thes thinges, or to vse warely his message, and soche matter as his master 75  
fantasiethe in his platte of Vlster, And in troathe I finde yt very straunge, that  
enny soche messenger should be sente, without first being directed hether, to acquainte  
me with the Cours he purposethe to take, and to enfourme him self by the state heere,  
what hathe passed, and how farre he may goe in reason, in thes Treaties with Turloughe  
For how muche Capten Peers misconceauethe in thes matters, and is abused in his 80  
opinion may appeare to your Lordships by the aunswere of euery article of his platte, Whereunto  
wee haue postilde, whiche I speake not in disgrace of the man, whome indeade I loue,  
and wishe to be holpen in his particuler, and that he may be vsed in trust in those  
seruices, wherewith he is acquainted, ether in the ardes, or Clandeboy, But that he  
hathe enny Creddyt at all with Turloughe, (but in the way of good fellowship, whiche 85  
lastethe no longer then that humour Continuethe) I haue suff{ic}yent proof, and  
very good cause to iudge, And what golden mountaines soeuer are promised, ether  
by his messages, or my peace now Concluded, I assure your Lordships I accept yt none  
otherwise thankeworthye; then as patched stuffe that Cannot longe houlde. For  
the intollerable pride and insolencye of Turloughe is soche, as Cannot be contynued 90  
within the bondes of duetye to hir maiestye, or good neighbourid to hir highnes subiectes  
This only benifitt I take of the peace now Concluded, and of the time now wonne,  
that I may, as soone as I Canne fornishe me of a conuenient proportion of  
victuall, martche to the mountaines, and breake ether that broode, or retorne  
with the losse, for vppon tryall of goddes will ether in the one, or the other, I am 95  
constauntlye determined. Your Lordships in your letter wisshed my staye from the  
borders, in respecte of the troubles of other partes, But I thought yt most conuenient

to take this oportunitie, by **whiche** I suppose the hope, **whiche** they conceaued in Turloug{he} is cutt of from the confederates in all **partes**, so as now the oconnours, beginne to make meane vnto mee to bee receaued, and so do some of the obirnes, and the base brother of the Baron of Delvin, all **whiche** bothe before and in the time of the treaty withe Turloughe, and till the peace was published, had no regard at all to **the proclamacion of pardon**

100

---

And thus muche I thought meete to say aswell in declaracion of my late Iorney northward, as in aunswere of your **Lordships** lettre of the 30 of Iuly: Your **Lordships** other letter of the xxvj. of Iuly. concernethe the good acceptacion of Iohn Zouches **service**, the opinion of the reuolte of Odonnelles sonne, and the placing of **Sir** Warham Sentleger colonell of the **forces** in Mounster.

105

To the first I am very glad in the behalfe 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 hathe had very good Successe, and hathe slaine, & taken of the erle of Desmoundes followers of good accoumpt, and redused Kerrye in manner to depende wholly vppon him, Neuertheles, I feare that an accidente lately happened, will put his **service** there in some Daunger, for I am enfourmed, that by the negligence of one Sherif viceconstable in the Castle of Limerick, and by the practise (as yt is thought) of some of the Citizens, the **Lord** Fitzmorice two **sonnes**, and two other pledges are escaped, whereby yt is likely that all Fitzmorice his cuntry, willbe distempered, I can geue no remedy to this misadventure, but by seueare punishment of the **partie** to preuente the like negligence, or abuse in men of his sorte heereafter.

110

Secoundly for Odonnells sonne, supposed by Capten Peirs to haue revolted, and to be supported by his fosterfathers, there hathe bene no cause of eny soche Concept, for nether hathe his **sonnes**, (who are of age but Childeren) so fallen from their father, nether hathe eny of the cuntry left him, but mainteyned his quarrells **with** expence of their bloode, sauing a few followers of Con odonnells, his nephew Whose ambicion, & desire to haue the captency, hathe moued this sturre, and diuers other heeretofore depending

115

120

125

euer since the deathe of his father Culloughe odonnell, vpon the Captens of Tirone in the time of Shane oneyll, and euer since vpon Turloughe Lennoughe.

Thirdely for Sir Warham Seintleger, to be Cheif Collonell in Mounster, I like well of your Lordships Choice of the gentleman, to supply the place for a tyme, till hir maiesty shall resolue farther, for as his profession in the beginning of his lief was to follow the warres, and at his entry into service heere was the firste presidente of that prouince, so hathe his behaiour since this rebellion, deserved well of hir maiesty, And therefore I haue good cause to allow of his nominacion, neuertheles I do not wisshe, that yt should haue long Continuance, because his authoritye there must needes be accompanied with the disliking of therle of ormond, betweene whome there hathe bene some Contrauersies in my tyme

130

135

---

And therefore I wishe, that hir maiesty woulde shortely thinke vpon some apt choice of some of hir highnes servauntes in England, and to vse that gentlemans service in some other kinde, And for the present Sir Warham Seintleger, shall haue a comission asoiated with the other of the Colonelles, and Captens, as your Lordships haue well deuised, and his entertainement, assigned with as lytle charg to hir maiesty, as may be, and some smale addicon of horsemen, to his owne retinew already in pay, But that\* they should be defalked from other bandes, I do not think conveyent, because yt wilbe hindaunce\* to the service, and very offensive to the captens, who if they wante in their companies had rather aunswere the checques to hir maiesty, then to be abridged in their numbers for eny private respecte: /

140

145

I am aduertised out of the annalye, that while the Cheife baron, and the attorneye, Were holding a sessions there, Orwark was entered the county of Longford with the number of 1000 of all sortes whereof the most parte Scottes, and begann to burne, and spoile the country, to the rescew whereof the Cheif baron, assembled suche as Could be gotten vpon the soddaine, and Chardged the Scottes, in whiche there was slaine viij. of them, and xx. or thereaboutes hurte, notwithstanding they weare not hable to rescue the pray, but there was taken from them 1000 Cattell, and vij. or viij. villages burnte:

150

It seemethe by the letter, and informacion **whiche** I haue receaued, that there is no grea{t}  
valuer in the offarrolles. or that they did any more then they weare enforced vnto by the 155  
Cheif Baron, and the attorneye, who bothe weare in daunger, and more forward, then  
the rest in the Charge geuen, This your Lordships may see, notwithstanding enny peaces, &  
compotitions, that may be made, how this state is disturbed, withe that nacion of the Scottes,  
whiche swarme euery where to the annoyance of the Subiectes:/

Lastely I haue humbly to thanke your Lordships for your determinacion to sende hether threasure, 160  
municion, and victualls, of **which** kindes, there is not enny of late aryued, but the threasure  
is staied at Chester, by a post dispatched yesterday, because I heere that 2. pirates, well  
appointed with 140 shott, do remaine in the hauen of Beamorice, redye to make a pray  
of yt, or of some honest merchautes: If the handmaide do retorne from Loughfoill she  
shall scowre the coast, and fetche the threasure, But in the meane tyme We liue in want 165

and therefore wishe that yt weare well wafted from Chester.\* So hauing not farther, whereof  
to enfourme your Lordships but that Sir William Standley within thes iij. daies, hathe executed some of the  
rebelles neere Artlow. whose heddes he sendethe me by water, not yet aryued, & that  
capten Deeringes company, haue likewise slaine xiiij. in a glan neere Powerscourte, I  
comytt your Lordships to god. At Dublyn the xij<sup>th</sup> of August 1581. 170

Your Lordships most assured  
to Commaund,

Arthur Grey

---

**Note on hands**

The text of the letter is in a neat and compact secretary (not Spenser's), familiar from many of the letters in this series. Spenser's own secretary hand appears in the address. Grey has penned the subscription and signature himself, in his characteristically awkward italic. A later hand has added substantial underlining throughout the text of the letter, probably in order to emphasise certain points to members of the Privy Council, to whom the letter would have been circulated upon receipt.

\* **17 subjectes**] As often, the secretary has here joined a terminal 'es' brevigraph to a word already ending in 'e', in effect writing 'subjectees'. As the intention is clear enough, we have chosen to represent this ambiguous usage in the normal way.

\* **142 that**] Inserted above the line, with a caret mark.

\* **142-143 But that...hinderance**] This underscored passage has been flagged in the left margin with a hash mark.

\* **166 and therefore...Chester**] This underscored passage has been flagged in the left margin with a hash mark.

The transcription of this text is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial Non-Derivative 3.0 License (see <http://creativecommons.org/>). You are free to download this transcription, but may not use it for commercial purposes, and must attribute the transcription to the authors, Christopher Burlinson and Andrew Zurcher, and to 'Hap Hazard: A Manuscript Resource for Spenser Studies' <<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/eres/haphazard/>>. Permission to reproduce or adapt the manuscript originals, where necessary, should be sought from the manuscript-holder.