Address and Endorsement

To her Maiestry yeue
this. /

12 November 1580.
To hir Maiestry from the lord
Gray.
Entred.

Text

It may please your Maiestry the vijth of this date I planted Campe
before the forte at Smerwick: three causes hindered greatly my marche:
provision of victaile, rysing of waters, which very hardly & with no smal{l}’
daunger we passed, and lastly staying for the fleete, of which for many d{ayes}
space wee could haue no voyce of, & without which the entreprice had bene {in}
vayne, no possibilitie being to drawe any ordinaunce with vs, nether hau{ing}
any shipping for such conveyaunce by sea; at the last worde came, that
Captein Bingham in the Swiftesure was arriued, and had anchored besi{de}
the Forte, I then moved campe and beeing come within viij mile of the forte, {I}
tooke my Horssmen & rode to the Hauen to haue talke with the said Cap{tein}
and learne what was become of the Admirall and the rest: I fownd{e}
by him that storme had parted them, and that after he had neuer heard
of them, but had well hoped to haue mett them there: entring then
into advice for the environing of the place, before the rest came, we fown{d}
our selues altogether vnable, having nether Pioners tooles (a shipp of limb{...}) therewith & victailes laden, not yett come about) nor his shipp altogether hable to supply the munition that the entreprize was lykely to require: soe better I helde yt, to forbeare approching yt, not hauing to goe through with yt, then to make a brauery, & then enforced leaue yt, as I fownd yt. An[d] eight daies I so helde still my Campe in penurie of victells & great doubt of the becoming of our fleet and victells; such stormy & raging wether continually for this space had fallen with contrariety of windes; & nowe almost in despeire the ix Morning newes came vnto me first that thre[e] bandes which I had appointed to followe mee, were coming at hand, I was leaping to horss to meete them, when another Messenger in great hast brought worde that Sir William Winter with the shippes was at the Ven{...} & would next morning yf winde helde, bee at Smerwick. The next {day} therefore I roade thether, where I fownd him newly entered, •• & fow{nd} the cause of his stay to haue bene weather & vncerteyne intelligence of my beeing & the Enemies estate; conference then had & resoluc

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ion for the service, I retourned; & the next day brought forward my Campe & pit{ched} by the Dingle, caused there to stay for the taking in of certein victailes. The day following beeing the foresaid vijth I settled camp here, in which sp{...}

taking Captein Bingham with mee I went to viewe the Forte & grownd for the carriage of my Trench & planting of Ordinaunce. To lett vs in this, and to draw oures within the play of their Counterscarfe and Courteyne, where theyr Musketiers lay, x or xij Shott were putt forth, who were answered •• by 50 or 60 loose shott that I had with mee, to enterteigne them the whilst; the leaders of these were John Zouche & Captein Mackworth, who very gallantly carried themselues. In this skirmish 3 of theire were slayne, none of oures touched, sauing that John Zouche had the graze of a bullet on the knee, but not to bee reckoned of. That doen that wee came for, I retyred: the same after-
noone we landed our Artillerie & munition. In the Evening we fell too
worke, caried our trench within xiii j score of the Piece, & planted 2 Culuerings
with which the next morning anone vpon day we saluted them, & they for an
howre or 2 as freshly requited vs, till twoo of their best pieces at laste
taken away, they had not on that side but Muskett & hackabuse-acroke too
answer vs, which with good heat they pleyd vs with. The day so spent, at night
to spade wee fall agayne & by morning brought our trench within v score
of theyr Dytche: this night they made 4 saylies to haue beaten our laborers
from worke, & gae vs their volleies very gallantly, but were as gallantly
sett in agayne by Ned Denny and his company who had this night the
watch: no sooner day peeped, but they played very hotly vpon vs, yett as
god would, for a good tyme without hurt, till unhappely good Iohn Cheeke
too carelessly advauncing him selfe, to looke ouer the Trenche, stricken on
the head tumbled downe at my feete, dead I tooke him & for so I caused
him to bee carried away, yet yt pleased God to send him spright agayne
& yet doth liue in speache & greatest memory, that euer was seene
with such a wounde, & truly Madam so disposed to God, & made so diuine
a Confession of his faith, as all Diuines in either of your Mauesties realmes could not
haue passed, yf matched, yt; so wrought in him Gods spirite, playnely
declaring him a Childe of his elected, to the no lesse comfort of his good
and godly frenedes, then great instruction & manifest motion of euery
other hearer that stood by, of whom there was a good troupe.
Pardon mee I beseeche your Highnes in case my Digression bee tædious; the
affection I beare the Gentleman causeth the fault, yf there bee anye. I there
fore

fore knitte yt vp thus: if god doe take him, as such is the likelyhode, your Maestie
looseth a servaunt, whose matche for euery good vertue accompanied with {the}
most true, duetifull, & zealous hart to your selfe (as his prayers in this {...}
case notably haue declared) in no great nomber wilbee fownd.
Hee so had away, I stayed in the Trench, and fynding theyr shott mo{re zea}
lessly to beate at vs, & that oures did little or nothing anoye them, for {that}
wee did not discerne ether by spike hole or smoke on the rampier wher{e they}
lay; I endeuored as I might to watche their next volley, & happely did {...} 75
yt to come from vnder a certeyn building of Timber, that at the point of the ca{mpe}
was sett vp, propped outwardly like a houell, & inwardly slanting like {a}
Pentisse. I went streight to the Barricadoase, I willed the Gonners to {...}
their pieces at that place. Sir William Winter himself made that sho{t...} 80
at 2 tyres our gentlemen were displaced & the Trench at great good {...}
and by that 2 other tyres were given, in great hast leapes one of the{...}
to the topp of their Vauntmure with an Ensigne of a sheete & craues a
Parlea: hereof streight was word sent mee by Iohn Zouche, who then had
the warde, I willed him & the Trenchemaster (one Captaine Piers, a very sufficient
& industrious man) to know what they would: yt was retourned vnto mee, that theyr Coronell would send one out to mee, to treate with mee, in case
his Messenger might safely goe & retourne; vpon aduice yt was graunted
there was presently sent vnto mee one Alexandro their CampMaster: he tolde
me that certeyn Spaniards & Italians were there arriued vpon fayre
speaches & great promises, which altogether vayne & false they fownd; & {that}
yt was no part of their entent to molest or take any governem
from y{our}
Maiesty for proof, that they were ready to depart as they cam, & deliuer in{to}
my handes the Forte: myne answere was that for that I perceyved theyr
people to stand of twoo nations Italian & Spanish I would give no answver
vnesse a Spaniard were likewise by: he presently went & retourned with {with}
a Spanish Captein. I then tolde the Spaniard that I knewed their nation {to}
haue an absolute Prince, one that was in good league & amity with your M{aiesty}
which made mee to merveyle that any of his people should bee fownd associates {with}
them, that went about to mayntyne Rebellcs against you & to disturb
any your Highnes gouernements & taking yt that it could not bee his Pri{nces} 95
will, I was to know by whome & for what cause they were sent
his Replye was that the King had not sent them, but that one John Martines de Ricaldi Gouenour for the King at Bilbo had willed him to levie a band & to repaire with yt to St Androes & there to bee directed by this theyr Coronell here, whome he followed as a blind man not knowing whether. The other avouched that they were all sent by the Pope for the defence of the Catholica fede. My answere was that I would not greatly haue merveyled yf men beeing commaunded by Naturall & absolute Princes did sometymes take in hand wrong actions; but that men & that of accoumpt, as some of them made showe of, should be carried into vniust desperate & wicked actions by one, that nether from God nor man could clayme any princely powre or empire, but indeed a detestable shaveling the right Antichriste & generall ambitious Tyrant ouer all right principalities, & patrone of the Diabolica fede, I could not but greatly reste in wonder; theyr fault therefore farre to bee aggrauated by the vilenesse of their Commaunter, & that at my handes no condition of composition they were to expecte, other then that simply they should render me the forte, & yield theyr selues to my will for lyfe or death: with this answere he departed; after which there was one or twoo cou rses two and fro more to haue gotten a certeinty for some of their liues, but fynding that yt would not bee, the Coronell him self about Sunne setting came forth, & requested respitt with surceasse of armes till the nexte morning, & then he would giue a resolute answere; fynding that to bee but a gayne of tyme for them & losse of the same for my self, I definitely answered I would not graunt yt, & therefore presently either that he tooke my offer or elles retourne & I would fall to my busines. He then embraced my knees, simply putting him self to my mercy, onely he prayed that for that might hee might abyde in the Forte, and that in the morning all should be putt into my handes: I asked hostas-ges for the performance; they were giuen. Morning come I presented my com-panies in battaile before the Forte: the Coronell comes forth with x or xij of his chiefe gentlemen, trayling theyr ensignes rolled vp, & presented them vnto mee with theyr
liues & the Forte: I sent streight certein gentlemen in" to see their weapons and armures layed downe & to gard the munition & victaile there lefte for spoile: Then putt I in certeyn bandes, who streight fell to execution. There were 600 slayne; munition & vitteile great store, though much wasted through the disorder of the Souldier, which in the furie could not bee helped. Those that I gaue lyfe vnto, I haue bestowed vpon the Capteines & gentlemen, whose seruice hath well deserued: for though your Maiesty may, & I doubt not shall haue great services donne, yet truly for toyle and misery susteyned in yt, through len{gth} and hardnesse of wayes, extremity of weather, coldnesse of season, contynance of watching, & penury of vittayle, hardly by other Souldiers will the like aga{ine} bee performed. Your Maiesty at this service had here but 800; they haue put out of a Forte well fortefied, better victailed, excellently stored with armure {&} munition, 600 whereof 400 were as gallant & goodly personages, as of any {...} I had in this iourney a great i jewel of Captaine Bingham, whose restlesse trau{uail} & grounded skill hath bene no small cause of shortening the same. I mos[t] humbly therefore commend him to your Highnes favour and good opinion; which (with) creditt I dare gage) shall shewe deservedly to bee bestowed in euery empr{ise} The Coronell at his coming forth shewed to the gentlemen, that I had sent in before, a Coffer of his wherein he told them was all the threasure he had; yt was brought to mee vntouched; I caused yt by the same Gentlemen to be opened & tolde; yt came to 329 li vs all in double oyalls of plate. I caused yt streight to bee distributed emongst the bandes that kept the stand in the' fielde & warde in the Campe that day, & sondry priuate gentlemen, which I learned to haue sought for no spoile, I reliueued therewith so farre as yt would goe: I trust your Maiesty will allowe of yt. Other particularities about this service to the Bearer hereof I
referre; whose forwardnesse I could of right commend to your Highnes but that I fe{ar} you will take yt rather partialitie, then desert: but sure Madam affec{tion} shall neuer draw mee to deliuer vnto you in anyes behalf, what theyr w{orth} shall not beare; I humbly therefore beseeche your Highnes to affoord him your g{ood} countenaunce & fauour: for in this action he hath & will I doubt not m{...}

If tydings of this event stay yt not, there is a great remaynder of this for{ein} force to bee yet looked for. I haue thought good therefore to stay yet for a {...} your Maisties admirall, & then dismissing him, to reteyne for this winter C{aptein} Bingham the Viceadmirall with the Achates & Merlian. For the defence of {...} partes by land, I leaue Iohn Zowtch Coronell of 4000 footmen & 50 hors{s}
The trauailes & toile of the Souldiers hath bene so excessiue, as they are cle{ane} out of clothes, the country & season so coald, as not possible in such plight to {con}

tynewe yt. I most humbly therefore beseech your Maiesty in consideration of your owne service & compassion of the poore, ragged, & naked creatures to afford them a thorough pay; otherwise sure great lacke to your seruice yt will bring & as little gayne to your threasure by the delay.
What is done in the English pale I cannot heare. Connagh is greatly troubled by that the Earle of Clanricardes sonnes. I meane therefore with Gods leaue to take the Prouince in my retourne & leaue with Sir Nicholas Malbey some of my force for the tymely quenching of these sparkes. Surely Madam I cannot fynd but a most hard & stiffenecked people of this Nation and farre from the bent of loving obedience vnto you. I feare I shall doe your Highnes little service amongst them; for certeinly a harde & forcible hand, I too well fynd, must bring them to duety, which I confesse, falles not with my nature. Your Highnes must determyn absolutely with your owne forces to defend & keepe in awe this land; excepte no country ayd, vnlesse you would giue raynes to Poperie, stelth, murdering, & all other insolency of lyfe. This willbee heavy for your Highnes to doe, I know, in this sort that now yt goeth; but in myne opinion the way
might bee fownd, that would make yt light vnto you. What part of Ireland is yt, that beareth not the charge of an idle villanous kind of kerne iij tymes tolde aboue the number of your Soldiers? & the end they serve to, onely to bee instrumentes of revenges in private quarrels, or els the force & strength of publique revolts: now half the charge that this scumme putteth the country vnto, and doth nothing for yt, but maynteigne quarrels, committ murders and stealthes, uphold Rebellions; would, I say, fynd a competent number of English Souldiers, that should roote out this detestable crewe, whereby the Country should be quieted, causes of quarrels & wrongs taken away, justice & redresse onely at your handes sought, factious & rebellious myndes should neuer trouble nor putt to chardg your Maiesty wanting ministers & adherentes to execute, and seeing still forces ready to prevent. Since thus the chardg of the Realme might bee lessened, the quiete and good state greatly advaunced, your Maiesties service and governement furthered & made safer, why should yt not be putt in vre? I leaue yt to your Highnes consideration and good pleasure. Once this I can say, since my coming into this Governement could I not see any man of those that in defence or offence of priuate quarell would haue fownd an hundreth swordes at his devotion, that euer yett without pay in this your service would affoord mee a man; and now in this action (to notch the willes of the good people) they that before my coming had beene contynuall ayders of the Strangers with all necessaries, & to theyr workes had holp{...} them with an Hundreth churles (of which kind I now stood in great need) the same persons came now into mee, & submitted them selues, which I took imposing onely on them to putt mee in sufficient pledges and to furni{sh} me for money with Beofes, and to gette mee an hundreth Churles to labor{.} I was driven of from day to day, and in the end did fynde that this coming in was onely to play on both sydes, till the euent of this action
were knowen; yf one way, a Rebell as before, yf the other, a Subiecte
and yet surely so* but in shoue, and the other in hart; for not one thing with go{od} will, till to threaten I beganne, could I gett of them, nether yet {to} overthrow the Forte, can I amongst 3 or 4 of them gett half{e...}
that the Enemy by one of them was serued with in the building {...}
Thus too taediously perchaunce haue I helde your Maiesty with this discourse but hauing thought yt not vnecessary to acquaint your Maiesty with the dutifulnesse & good mynd, that I fynd the People to carry, did embolden mee to yt. And so submitting all to Your Maiesties iudgment I take m{y} humble leave, beseeching the Almighty god to prolong your lyfe with contynuall health, & to governe you with his spright for your owne avayle & his glory, and mee euer to serve your Maiesty as I desyre. / In campe at Smer{wic}k 225 the xij of November 1580.

Yowr Hygynes most & faythefull*
subiect & seruaunt,

Arthur Grey

Note on hands
The text and address of the letter are in Spenser's formal italic hand, which appears regularly in letters from Grey to the Queen during this period. Grey has added his own subscription and signature. As noted below, the letter has suffered substantial damage to one side. The letter was also annotated at some point, with portions of the text underlined; these emphases were probably added after the letter was received in Westminster.

* 3 no smal[l] The first, third, fifth, and seventh pages of the manuscript have suffered damage to the right side of the page, cutting off many characters, and sometimes words, in the margin. Where the identity of the missing letters (or in rare cases, words) has appeared likely enough, we have supplied them within {}; in more ambiguous cases, we have simply supplied the mark of omission {...}.
* 28 • Indecipherable single character deleted.
* 37 •• w' deleted.
* 60 realms] This word inserted above the line with a caret mark.
130 in] This word inserted above the line with a caret mark.

154 the] This word inserted above the line with a caret mark.

162 m{...}] The words 'more dese{...}' have been inserted here below the line; there is no apparent deletion above, but the sense of the phrase seems to be 'for in this action he hath [well deserved] and will I doubt not more deserve'.

215 yet] Inserted above the line, with a caret mark.

215 so] Inserted above the line, with a caret mark.

227 most & faythefull] Judging from other comparable parting salutations (see, for example, the conclusion of NA/PRO SP 63/82/54), Grey probably intended to write 'most humble & faythefull...'

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