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 Deuty
Entred.*

Text

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 drawn 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
to seuer the Cavenaughes, and the Birnes, and to searche there fastenes, and
to plante in places of most comoditye, for theire annoyance other garrisons, that
should offende the Birnes more neere, then those whiche ware before planted
vppon the Sea, at Wicklowe, and Artelow: According to whiche determinacion, hauing
leuied in the pale at the chardges of the counteyes 300 laborers, I came to
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
countrey people (if they ware well affected) to inhabyt, and liue vnder the protecc
tion 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 dierers in those roades, and burned theire villages, and places of releif
as Clandelouge, and suche like:

The Substanse of the men of warre in those mounteines vnder the leadinge
of Feaghe, and Garret did sometime shew them selues, vpon the Toppes of the
clifes, and in the edges of theire strongest woodes, To whiche as soone as enny offerr
was made, they woulde retire themselues, without shew in manner of enny resistanc
The charge of the 2. fortés committed vnto Sir Henry Harrington with 400 footmen and 100 horse.

Taketh a great pray from Crephin Cauenagh. And burneth mac Vadoces Countrye.

They both excuse their undutifulnes and desier to be receauid to mercye vppon a great number of the free=holders of Kingshelouge

He receaeth them vppon pledges. Hopeth of the submission of other Cauenaghes.

The charge of the 2. fortés committed vnto Sir Henry Harrington with 400 footmen and 100 horse.

Taketh a great pray from Crephin Cauenagh. And burneth mac Vadoces Countrye.

They both excuse their undutifulnes and desier to be receauid to mercye vppon a great number of the free=holders of Kingshelouge

He receaeth them vppon pledges. Hopeth of the submission of other Cauenaghes.

hurte, with a shott in the arme, but with no daunger of Deathe, three other Soldiours weeare slaine, and one of mine owne cariage horses drawen into the woode, and the Basquettes rifled, wherein they did light vppon some litle plate of mine, whiche before I slept, was fownde^ deare bought, on theire partes, if I may beleaue soche of them selues as weeare after taken, and executed:

In thys two fortés I left 400 footemen, and 100 horsse, vnder the charge of Sir Henry Harrington, because both places, weeare within his office and rule of the Birnes countrey, And taking order for theire victualling, and for the retorne of the laborers into the pale, I prescribed to Sir Henry what cours of prosecucion of the rebelles should be taken in mine absence, And so departed towards the Cauenaughes the 28 of the laste.

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 mac Moroughe, and burned some parte of mac Vadockes countrey. because he had lincked himself to the rebelles, and become as yt weeare a follower of Chrephin before named: vppon which pray and burning, bothe Crephin, and mac Vadock, and all the freeholders of that parte of the Kinshelouge made meane to bee receaued to mercy alleaging priuate injuries betweene them and the Seneshall, to be the causes of theire declining from theire duetye:

Wherevpon suffring Chrephen to repaire vnto me I was contented bothe to heere his complainte, and vppon this condicione to accept him, that he should presente him self and all these freeholders at Wexforde within v. daies, and that vppon pledges to bee receaued both of him, and them, I would bestowe hir maiesties grace vppon them, and not otherwise, For accomplishmente whereof they are now with mee heere to deliuer theire pledges for theire good behauioour hereafer. / . It is like that the other Cauenaughes of Simolin, and of Arte Boyes sept will frame them selues to the like Submission, For which I vse the Soldiours as Instrumentes who hath alreadye made a pray vppon those of Simolin and shall vse all violence to the other in my retorne homeward, the rather to bringe them to suche a conclucion
Corruption of the gentlemen and freeholders of the Countye of Wexford.

Houldeth a session amongst them, there the cheefeest of them are appeached for favours ringe the rebells. meaneth to put them to their triall. Walter Galto Cauenagh and others executed.

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

Dischardgeth Capten Cecill and Horde, and taketh their broken bandes to helpe the

as may promisse theire better obedience heereafter. The vnduetifull Dealinges whiche I haue founde many waies in the gentlemen

and freeholders of this countye, by deadly hatred emongste them selues, and by secrett supporting of the rebells, the rather to revenge priuate quarrells one vpon an other, did geue me occacion to leave my campe, And with assistaunce of Mr Threasureour, Mr cheif Baron, and Mr Waterhous, to repaire hether to hould a Sessions, for the discerning of all those differences, and secrett confedracies with the Traytoures, In whiche sessions this falleth out, that the best of the countrey are appeached, and cannot excuse them of ouermuche favour to the rebelles, And therefore I haue imprisoned soche, as are accused meaninge to put them to theire tryall, and haue executed other malefactoures, Whereof Walter Gallte Cauenaughe 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 emonges the Birnes: / In my marche hether I receaued lettres from Dublin by whiche I vnderstoode the ariuall of the supplies of the 700 men appoincted to land there, emonges 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 albayt I preuented thes wantses, as muche as might be, by sending Capten Sentleger to conduct them, and to make choice of apt men, and conuenient furniture (of whose iudgemement, and carefulnes I nothing doubt)* yet I perceauce 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 dischardge, to keep the Supplies: A seconde cause and most of emportaunce is, that I haue receaued other lettres
said new supplye

The offer of generall pardon daungereous and dishonorable.

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.

Will publishe the proclamations for the said pardons with speede / Yt had ben fitter to hauue

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: Thes proclamaciones 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 offered perhappes will not accept yt, whereunto I add this: that I cannot but judge, the honour of the state someway touched, and hir maiesties best Subiect{es} that have opposed them selues to rebells, and (as yt weare set vpp there ref {...}) for hir maiesty) vttlerly vndon: For I see the sequeall of this cours cariethe

evidente perill to the good Subiecte, whiche now vppon this reconsiliacion must liue at the deucion of his outrageous neighbours, who vndoubtedly will take theire 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 ••, in our age yt wilbe hard, for enny gouernour to draw them againe to hazard them selues, and theire posterity, for theire 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 putte the little difference betweene the one, and the other) I finde how vttlerly vnapt I am to bee continued heere, hauing broken with the best sort, in a cace that so muchoe concerneth theire 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 judgementes, and obeing 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 wissched, that suche a treatye
might have been made, as that I might have been able to have shewed force in the field, so prepared to have annoied him if he had been obstinate as he might rather have sued for, and thankefully embraced the pardon, and put in his pledges, then that it should have been sent so nakedly, as by the treaty of commisioners it must needs seeme, for this cause principally I required the 1000 men out of England. But since that course standeth not with her majesties liking, I will frame my self wholly to the direccion geuen mee, and set as good a collocation upon that as I may, Wishing that yt may take success, above mine expectacion, and to fall out to her majesties 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 washe my hands of yt, as a matter, wherein I was oueruled, and not standing with the reasons which I had conceaued for the seruice. 

I have Declared to my Lord of Ormounde, (who is heere now with me) her highnes pleasure, for the ceasing of his aucthority in Mounster, according to the direccion sent from her majesties Secretaries Lettres, wherevnto he seemeth contentedly to submit him self, but very sorye, that he should stand in her highnes disgrace, and desirous to satisfye her majesty touching the causes of her displeasure, wherein he imputeth somewhat to his owne forgetfulness, in not aduertising of suche seruices, as hath bene done, within his charge, A matter (as he saith) 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, whom he thought the only personnes, for whose Deathe he might have deserued thankes; but lest yt might seeme, that little or nothing hath bene done vnder him, within that province he meaneth 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 known to her majesty, before
Dammages susteyned by the said earle.

The brooken state of the realme is suche that dyuers places requier his presence at once.

The necessity of placinge a president in mounster.

All Connaught quiet Orworck only excepted.

whome he saieth he doubteth the 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 muche of his reueneue, 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: / But now I truste your Lordships 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 conclucion with Turloughe, who will not muche respect a pardon, if he haue not also the rest of his demaundes: / Mounster being now without a comaunder would haue requiered my presence there till some setled gourernment, 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 their garrisons till ether I may resorte thether, or els till your Lordships 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 auctorithy, they will vndoubtedly depende vppon those now in rebellion, and so in shorte time make the secounde errour worse then the first: And therefore I leaue this principally to your Lordships consideracions.

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 Scots from Orworke /

He meaneth to enterteyne the 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 /

infection amonge the soldiors

meaneth not to prosecute the warre against the Vlster rebells vntill he see how they frame them selues after the proclamation Condidion that they shall deluyer pledges.

bearing him self very stoute vppon the strengthe of his Scottes, whereof he had" 300 in pay or neere that number: Thes Scottes haue bene allured by Mr Malbey to leaue Orwark, and to serue hir maiesty, vppon whose perswacion, I heere they haue taken a pray from Orwark, and are repaired to Sir Nicholas, withe the whole company. And because I cannot heere entertaine enny kerne whome I may trust, and that in all services yt is necessary, to haue some soche light men, to driue and take cattell, and that the Scottes are more seruiceable, and more feared amongst the irrishe then the kerne are, I am resolued for a while to entertaine them in steade of kerne, thereby aswell to strenghten hir maiesties parte, as to weaken the rebels either orwarke, or enny other withe whome they shoulde happen to be entertained, And if the warre consume them, the losse is tollerable yngouge, for in a matter so indifferentlye made, betwene them, and the Irrish rebells, I care not greatly whether I loose, or winne. Their charges shalbe borne by the pay of the two cashed bandes before named vnder Mr Cicell, and Thomas Owrde, whose companies weare consumed at Fernes, withe a kinde of plague, 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. Lastly I haue not to presse your Lordshipes further with the my requeste solicited by mr Fenton for the 1000 men requiered for Vlster, for since hir maiestye meaneth to make proof of the conformity, of hir badde Subiectes by the lenitye of hir generall pardon, I will not attempt muche warre vntill the proclamations be published, and till I see that they reiect peace, And yet I hope the proclamation is so tempered with assurance of obedience heereafter, as whosoeuer will take benefytt by yt muste putte in pledges by a day for his good behauiour to come, And withe that condicion
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 10th of Iune 1581

Yowr Lordships most assured to Commaunde,

Arthur Grey
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 Subiect[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' brevigrapb.
* 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.