

COIMISIÚN LÁMHSCRÍBHINNÍ na hÉIREANN

**Calendar of State Papers
Ireland
Tudor Period
1509–1547**

Revised Edition

Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

The documents in this calendar span the entire reign of Henry VIII. They begin with a letter from the lords and council of Ireland of 8 June 1509, in which they recommend themselves to the new king, who had succeeded to the throne on 22 April 1509, and bewail the death of his father Henry VII (entry 1); and conclude with a letter addressed to Henry, dated 18 March 1547, which unbeknownst to the writer, O'Reilly, the chief of East Breffny, post-dated the king's death on 28 January 1547 (entry 739). All of the documents in the calendar are in the record class State Papers Ireland Henry VIII, which consists of twelve bound volumes of documents under the custodianship of the National Archives at Kew (TNA, PRO SP 60/1–12), and which comprised the Henrician section of the original calendar edited by Hans Claude Hamilton in 1860.¹

The SP 60 class is a diverse and miscellaneous body of documentation, which includes letters addressed to the king and his officials in England from officials in the Dublin administration, and private individuals based in Ireland; drafts of royal and English privy council letters to crown officials in Ireland; written agreements between the crown and the independent Gaelic Irish lords; various reports and memoranda, including enquiries into the conduct of crown government in Ireland under some of the king's viceroys; proposals and treatises for the reform of Ireland; and a range of documentation pertaining to the financial administration and military organisation of the lordship and, from 1541, kingdom of Ireland. In addition to the records in the SP 60 class, this calendar also includes an appendix (Appendix 1), in tabular form, which provides a brief guide to the published editions and calendar versions of the total number of Henrician documents referenced by Hans Claude Hamilton from other collections in the National Archives, including, most notably, the surveys of crown property — comprising *inter alia* the property of the dissolved monasteries and the forfeited lands of the attainted Geraldine rebels — from record class SP 65, State Papers Ireland, Folios.

Although the calendar covers the entire reign of Henry VIII, the majority of the documents that have survived, and which were subsequently allocated to the SP 60 class, date from the mid-1530s on, and are particularly informative for the viceroalties of Lord Leonard Grey (1536–40) and Sir Anthony St Leger (1540–7).² These records have been and remain an indispensable source for all historians engaged in the study of Henry VIII's rule in Ireland, and provide essential information on key historical problems, such as the outbreak and suppression of the Kildare rebellion; the establishment through statute of Henry VIII's supremacy over the Irish Church and the early implementation of the English Reformation in Ireland; the alteration of Ireland's constitutional relationship with the English crown, which was provided for through the act for the kingly title of 1541; and the efforts of the royal administration, both before and after 1541, to secure the loyalty of the independent Gaelic chiefs and incorporate their lordships within the English polity in Ireland.³

The documents in the SP 60 class have, apart from Hamilton's work, also appeared in calendar form in that great, encyclopaedic collection of documents from the reign of Henry VIII, edited by John Brewer, James Gairdner and Robert Brodie as *Letters and*

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papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII (hereafter *LP*).⁴ While the standard of the calendaring in this work was generally of a high order, *LP* has one notable drawback: it does not provide archival references to the SP 60 documents that are calendared within it, apart from recording the information that they were located in the Public Record Office. In addition, *LP* also published the documents in a chronological sequence that differs significantly, at times, from the archival running order of the twelve volumes of SP 60 employed by Hamilton. While, generally, the dating of documents in *LP* is more accurate than Hamilton's dating, the absence of archival referencing in the former, together with the fact that the SP 60 material is inconveniently scattered throughout what is a vast multi-volume publication, can make it difficult not only to locate the SP 60 material in *LP*, but also, more importantly, to link the calendar entries therein to the original documents in the National Archives. One of the primary aims of this calendar, then, is to reconcile the chronological sequencing employed in *LP* with the archival sequencing used in Hamilton's original calendar.

One other consideration has also influenced the design and arrangement of this calendar. Of the 739 documents referenced within it, 443 or just under 60 per cent of them were also printed, generally in full, in that other great, nineteenth century publication of Henrician documentation, the Record Commissioners' *State papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission: King Henry the Eighth* (hereafter *SP*).⁵ These transcripts of the SP 60 material, which appear in volumes 2 and 3 of *SP* are a valuable resource in themselves, particularly to students unfamiliar with contemporary palaeography, and especially now that they are readily accessible online. They have thus been incorporated fully into the referencing system used in each calendar entry in this volume. In terms of the calendaring process itself, the original *LP* calendar entries were adopted as the baseline for the calendar entries in this volume. In general, the chronological sequence employed in *LP* has also been followed. Each *LP* calendar entry has been checked against the original manuscript in SP 60 and, in many cases, amended or amplified. The published *SP* transcripts have also been checked against the originals and errors and omissions noted, where identified, under the new calendar entry. Overall, then, and where they exist, each entry has been given its published *LP* reference (*LP* followed by volume and item number), and its published *SP* reference (*SP* followed by volume and page numbers), together with a full archival reference. This archival reference consists of the document number within the respective SP 60 volume as per Hamilton's calendar. In addition, the folio numbers of each document are also given, as the document numbers lack sufficient precision in some cases to link the calendar entry to the original. A good example of this is entry 559 in this calendar, a book of depositions against Lord Deputy Grey (SP 60/9, no. 60), which dates from October/November 1540. This document was described succinctly by Hamilton as 'The depositions of the Lord Chancellor Alen and certain of the Council, also of several of the nobility and others, against the Lord Gray'. It is, in fact, a much more substantial document than the original calendar would lead the unsuspecting reader to believe. It comprises 144 leaves, in which — excluding the Irish council's depositions — 27 individuals deposed against the deputy and 27 gentlemen of Kildare answered a questionnaire about his behaviour. These particular depositions are itemised in the calendar, and require a more fine-grained form of

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archival referencing — than simply document number 60 — to locate them in the original manuscript. Apart from the imprecision of the numbering system used in Hamilton's calendar, it is also the case that some of the documents do not have any numbers allocated to them or, in many instances, the numbers themselves are not clearly visible (they are written in pencil) in the originals. Here too the citing of the folio references is necessary, and has the added virtue of providing direct access to the originals in Gale's edition of the *State Papers Online 1509–1714*,⁶ and, indeed, easier access to the microfilm versions, both of which are available in research libraries in Ireland and elsewhere. In conclusion, where they occur, other published versions of the documents in this calendar are noted in the appropriate places, the most substantial being the series of jury presentments of the corporate towns and shires in south eastern Ireland, which were taken before royal commissioners in 1537 and published by H. F. Hore and J. Graves in the nineteenth century as *The social state of the southern and eastern counties of Ireland in the sixteenth century*.⁷

Throughout the calendar, the editors have endeavoured to present the meaning, and retain something of the tone and linguistic flavour of each document, while at the same time reducing them to a third of the original length. To this end, both the contemporary forms of address and manner of signing letters, as well as some of the endorsements, have been added. In addition, certain archaic or obsolete words have also been preserved, with definitions given in the notes at the foot of the calendar entry in which they occur. As well as preserving the contemporary tone of the documents, the forms of address and the manner of signing letters are also useful in that they elucidate the basis on which many of the documents have been dated. It should not be imagined, however, that the calendar will obviate the need for consultation of the original documents. Rather, it is intended to be a guide to researching the original documents, whether that be done physically, or through consultation of the microfilm or online versions of the originals.

In line with the conventions of the new series of calendars, every effort has been made to modernise the names of people and places. With regard to the English forms of Irish forenames and surnames, the most well-established English forms have been employed, for example: Hugh rather than Aodh; Turlough rather than Toirdelbach; Magennis rather than Mac Aonghus; Ó Cahan rather than Ó Catháin; O'Dunne rather than Ó Duinn; Mageoghegan rather than Mac Eoghagáin. The only exceptions to this are those few cases where the contemporary English phonetic rendering of the Irish name closely matches the modern Gaelic form, e.g. 'McIryen Arra' or 'McYbrene Arry' = Mac Uí Briain Arra. In entries where the identifications of places and people are uncertain, or where the modern form diverges significantly from the version in the original, or, indeed, where an individual's name is rendered in a variety of forms e.g. Stephen ap Parry/ap Henry/ap Harry, an original form is sometime included in quotation marks within square brackets, next to the modernised version, for information. Furthermore, in those instances where it has not been possible to make any identification at all, the forms of names and places as they occur in the manuscript are retained in the text of the calendar entry. It is of note, however, that as all of the calendar entries reference the equivalent *LP* calendar entries, those interested in the original forms of the names and places will be able to consult them through the latter or, indeed, by following the reference to the *SP* transcripts.

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The remaining editorial conventions employed in the calendar are largely self-explanatory, with the exception that all marginalia referenced from the original documents are enclosed in angle brackets < >. In addition, each calendar entry indicates the number of pages in the original document, signified with a ‘1p’ (1 page) or ‘2pp’ (2 pages) and so forth. Finally, many of the documents in the calendar make reference to money. From 1460, a separate Irish coinage circulated in Ireland alongside sterling. Where known, the calendar entries distinguish between pounds Irish (IR£) and pounds sterling (£). The Irish pound was generally valued at £13 6s 8d, or two-thirds of a pound sterling. In this calendar, as with the others in the series, the year is treated as beginning on 1 January.

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- 1 Hans Claude Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1509–1573, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London, 1860), pp 1–76.
- 2 Information on many of the principal personalities mentioned in these state papers can be found in the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (9 vols, Cambridge, 2009; online at dib.cambridge.org) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (60 vols, Oxford, 2004; online at www.oxforddnb.com).
- 3 For a representative sample of works that have utilised the Henrician state papers see, for example, Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979); Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors. The rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1603* (Cambridge, 1994); Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland: the incomplete conquest* (Dublin 1994); S. G. Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors, 1447–1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* (London, 1998); David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515–1642* (Dublin 2003); Christopher Maginn, *'Civilizing' Gaelic Leinster: the extension of Tudor rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole lordships* (Dublin, 2004); S. G. Ellis with Christopher Maginn, *The making of the British Isles. The state of Britain and Ireland, 1450–1660* (London, 2007); James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: clerical resistance and political conflict in the diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590* (Cambridge, 2009); C. Maginn and S. G. Ellis, *The Tudor discovery of Ireland* (Dublin, 2015).
- 4 21 vols and addenda, London, 1862–70.
- 5 11 vols, London, 1830–52.
- 6 <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>, accessed 19 May 2016.
- 7 Dublin, 1870.

STATE PAPERS, IRELAND 1509–1547 (SP 60/1–12)
JUNE 1509–DECEMBER 1534, ENTRIES 1–102

1 The lords and Council of Ireland to Henry VIII **8 June 1509**
Recommend themselves to Henry VIII ‘greatly wailing the decease of our late sovereign lord your father’. Kildare, who was his deputy-lieutenant, was preparing to go to him, but they have entreated the earl to remain until the king’s mind is known, given the ‘imminent danger and peril’ that his absence would entail for the land and the king’s true subjects, on account of the ‘great multitude of Irishmen’. As it is necessary to have a governor until the king appoints a lieutenant or deputy, have, according to ancient usage, elected Kildare justice. Beseech the king ‘to be as good and gracious sovereign lord’ unto Kildare as was his father. Dublin. *Signed*: By your most humble and faithful subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal and council of this your land of Ireland. *Addressed*: To the king our sovereign lord. *On parchment. 1p.* [LP, i, 61]

SP 60/1, f. 1rv [no. 1]

2 The earls of Kildare and Desmond **5 June and 10 July 1510**
The letters to the king from the earls of Kildare and Desmond, *Cal. calendared by Hamilton in CSPI 1509–73*, p. 1 under these dates relate to the year 1497. Subsequent to the publication of Hamilton’s calendar, they were transferred to SC 1/51 (no. 2) and SP 66/A (no. 1). [See *L. & P. Ric. III & Hen. VII*, i, 380–2]

SP 60/1, ff 2r–3v [nos 2 and 2(i)]

3 John Topcliffe to Henry VIII **20 Feb 1511**
In your town of Wexford there is an abbey of regular canons [Selsker] that has had free election of a prior since the first foundation. Now, however, a secular priest in secular habit has, by provision and by maintenance and favour of those having the administration of justice within the liberty of Wexford, put out of the same a good blessed religious father and prior chosen by the convent. All the churches within the shire except those in the town are destroyed by provision, and if provision is suffered within your cities and walled towns the service of God may not continue long. Dublin. *Signed*: Your most humble and bounden subject and servant, John Topcliffe, your judge in Ireland. *Addressed*: To the king our sovereign lord. *1p.* [Printed in: Ball, *Judges*, i, 112–3.]

SP 60/1, f. 147rv [no. 71]

4 Archbishop Kite of Armagh to Bishop Wolsey **14 May 1514**
‘Though I be far from your heaven, from sight of our most gracious king and queen (whom God preserve) from the wealth of all joys of England’, yet it pleased God to send me and mine safely to land in Ireland on Passion Eve, in which country, plenteous in corn, cattle, fish and fowl, but scant of wood in all the Englishry, without the king’s help, all shall decay. Puts them in great fear by telling them the king is coming shortly, which God grant above all other things. He is as much bound to reform this land as to maintain order in England, more bound to subdue them than Jews or Saracens. Christ’s faith, obedience to the church, for lack of the temporal sword is scant anywhere. The revenues due to the king are now spent against the church. If he be not assured speedily of the king’s coming, has no doubt he shall die of sorrow or be slain. Implores Wolsey, for religion and Christ’s sake, to help in the redress of ‘this most plenteous country, most profitable to the possessor being once in order’. Will write more when he has more leisure. Is very anxious to see Wolsey’s

handwriting. Master Daunce has written to him how Wolsey helped his promotion, for which the writer also is thankful. Begs him not to forget Sir Maurice Berkeley. Termonfeckin beside Drogheda. *Signed:* Your own, John [Kite, archbishop] of Armagh. *Addressed:* To the right reverend father in God, my lord of Lincoln, give this. *Holograph. 2pp.* [LP, i, 2907]

SP 60/1, ff 4r–5v [no. 3]

5 Archbishop Kite of Armagh to Bishop Wolsey

7 June 1514

Has sent several letters, but the wind is not at will. Has not heard from him since leaving, which grieves him more than all his afflictions in Ireland. Entreats him for the love of God, for his many promises, not to leave him without letters, as a castaway, in this ill-ordered country. Hired at his coming over a ship of Chester with ordnance and men of war, which has kept the Irish coast safe till the present time. They have had a sore fight with two Breton pirates near Dublin. Hearing of this and that four merchant men had joined the pirates, caused the town of Drogheda to man and victual two Spaniards, which took one of the Bretons, a man of war of the best, and one of the merchantmen, laden with salt. ‘These be our news, whereof I assure you I am the doer and cause without loss of man’. Termonfeckin beside Drogheda. *Signed:* By yours, John [Kite, archbishop] of Armagh. *Addressed:* To the right reverend father in God, my lord of Lincoln, give this. *Holograph. 1p.* [LP, i, 2977]

SP 60/1, f. 6rv [no. 4]

6 Complaints of Elizabeth St John, countess of Kildare

[c. 1515]

Articles of complaint to the king and council by Elizabeth St John, second wife of Gerald eighth earl of Kildare against Gerald ninth earl of Kildare, the king’s deputy.

‘Item, all such lands as she hath ... near hand [sic] destroyed with coign and livery ... and [specia]lly upon a parcel of her lands named Cowley, he hath y[oven] ... to the king’s Irish enemy, called the Great O’Neill, which lands [paid] tribute yet to no man, which is a shrewd precedent, that the king’s deputy to grant tributes to the king’s subjects to the king’s Irish enemies’. The complainant’s said son-in-law has suffered the lands belonging to her sons, his brethren, and left with him during their nonage, to be seized since her departing, partly by the wild Irish and partly by one Delahide of Moyclare, his steward: ‘which lands was conquest by my lord my husband, his father, of the wild Irish enemies by great difficulty and to his great cost and charge’. The complainant has the wardship of one Rochford of Kilbride, during his nonage, but his lands are for the most part laid waste with coign and livery. *Ip. Fragment.* [LP, iii, 3050]

SP 60/1, f. 29rv [no. 10]

7 Bishop Inge of Meath to Archbishop Wolsey

12 Sept 1515

Beseeches Wolsey’s favour, without which he has small comfort in this world. Would have showed him this before at some leisure, but for Wolsey’s ‘manifold and great urgent causes suffered it not’. Hopes Wolsey will not see him cast away. Wells. *Signed:* Your true beadsman, Hugh [Inge, bishop] of Meath. *Addressed:* To the most reverend father in God and his singular good lord, my lord of York. *Holograph. 1p.* [LP, ii, 899]

SP 60/1, f. 8rv [no. 6]

8 Plan for the reformation of Ireland

Undated [c. 1515]

There are more than 60 countries, called regions, in Ireland, inhabited by the king’s Irish enemies. They vary in size from less than half a shire to more than a shire. In these regions there are more than 60 chief captains, who live by the sword, have imperial jurisdiction in their countries, and

obey none but those who can subdue them with the sword. Names of the chief Irish countries and chief captains in Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Thomond, Connacht and Meath [listed]. Succession to the captainship is determined by force and not inheritance. The men serve the captain daily at their own cost, and pay certain customs at Christmas and Easter for the land on which they live. The armies never exceed 500 spears, 500 galloglass and 1,000 kerne.

More than 30 captains of the English noble folk follow the Irish order and rule and make war and peace for themselves without the king's licence. Names of the great English rebels in [Munster], Connacht, Ulster and the county of Meath [listed].

Names of counties not subject to the king: Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Kerry, Connacht, Ulster, Carlow, half Uriel, half Meath, half Dublin, half Kildare, half Wexford. Names of counties subject to the king's laws: half Uriel, half Meath, half Dublin, half Kildare and half Wexford. Names of the English counties that pay tributes to the wild Irish [listed]. Five half counties only are subject to English rule, yet the number of judges is as great as when the most part of the land was subject to the law so that freeholders prefer to sell their freeholds than suffer daily the vexation of the courts. Furthermore, by extortion of coign and livery daily, the king's yearly subsidy, the tribute and black rent paid to the king's Irish enemies, they are worse oppressed than any in the whole country. Reasons given why the Irish should have grown so strong: namely, the pestilence, the death of the Earl Marshal and the earl of Ulster without heirs male, the king's carelessness, the abandoning of English weapons by Englishmen and the extortion of coign and livery. Also the lord deputy takes with him Irish guards, and quarters them on the people and exacts for horse and man's meat £36,000 yearly and English noblemen give their children to Irish rebels to foster. Some say the disorder in the land is due to the neglect of preaching for only the poor friars beggars preach the word of God. No learning is cultivated but the study of the canon law.

Remedies proposed: to ordain justices of the peace in the several counties; to provide armour for all the inhabitants; gunners to be sent to instruct the people in shooting; the holding of musters. Every Englishman within the Pale to keep horse and arms; grants to be made of Irish rebels' lands to the earl of Kildare's sons, the earl of Desmond and to all Englishmen who dwell there; one man to be sent from every parish in England to inhabit Ulster and the lands between the city of Dublin and the port towns of Ross and Wexford, which would increase the revenue by 30,000 marks. When all the king's subjects from Carlingford to Waterford are put in order for war, then the deputy should take pledges from all the English lords and noble folk of Munster for their obedience to the king. If the king sends one man from every parish in England, he will expel all the issue of Hugh Boy O'Neill from the lands between Greencastle and the Bann, and allow them to dwell in the Fews. This done the king is to cross over with about 2,000 men, and he would find an army of 100,000 of his own subjects; but if he visits Ireland without first having set the place in order, he will do no good.

All the great Irish landlords and chiefs, who shall spend by the king's grant 1,000 marks yearly, to be made lords of the parliament and great council; those spending 500 marks, knights; bishops and chief landlords to be ordained justices of the peace. Every landlord to send his sons to Dublin or Drogheda to learn reading and writing and English manners and language. 40pp. [SP, ii, 1–31; LP, ii, 1366]

SP 60/1, ff 12r–28v, 30r–35v [no. 9]

9 Description of Ireland

Undated [Uncertain]

Ireland is 400 miles long from Knock Brandon in the south to St Colman's Island (otherwise the Cornaghe) in the north, and 200 miles broad from Dublin to Croagh Patrick or St Patrick's Mount, in Galway, which is proved by diverse cartes, 'whereby ye may know that Ireland is more than

England 80 miles, for as much as Ireland in the south part doth point with St Michael's Mount westerly, in the uttermost of all Cornwall, and in the north-west it bordereth with Dumfries in Scotland'. It is divided into five great portions; namely, Munster, Leinster, Connacht, Meath and Ulster. In Munster are five English shires, namely Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Kerry and Tipperary; and three Irish, Desmond, Ormond and Thomond. In Leinster are five shires; namely, Kilkenny, Wexford, Kildare, Carlow and Dublin. In Ulster and in Connacht are five shires each, 'of which portions above written, in substance, the king is lord by inheritance; beside the title of the crown, he is also by inheritance earl of Ulster, lord of all Meath and all Connacht, and of the fourth part of Leinster and of the fourth part of Munster'. The said five portions contain 180 miles and four cantreds or hundreds or baronies; namely, Leinster, 31 baronies; Munster, 70; Ulster, 35; Meath, 18; Connacht, 28. There are in Ireland 5,530 towns; namely, in Leinster, 930; in Connacht, 900; in Munster, 2,000; in Ulster, 1,060; in Meath, 541. A cantred is a county containing a 100 towns. Every cantred or barony contains 160 ploughlands; every town, eight ploughlands, arable and pasture, for 300 kine, and none of them shall come nigh other. The sum of the arable ploughlands is 53,080. Every ploughland contains 120 acres, each acre four roods or perches in breadth, and forty perches in length; every perch twenty-one foot of poles, and three foot is a yard. In Ireland were under due obedience to the king, like England, the king might have a subsidy of 8d on every ploughland, amounting to £22,026 3s 4d Irish yearly, besides customs of havens and fishings, which were of old time 100,000 marks a year. The rents of Ulster used to be 32,000 marks 8s 6½d; of Connacht, 28,000 marks 10s 6½d; of Munster, Leinster and Meath, which were in the Red Earl's days great, besides advowsons and wardships. There are four archbishops, who had formerly thirty-six bishops under them, but some of the sees are now united. *Ip. Endorsed. Descriptio Hiberniae.*

SP 60/1, f. 7rv [no. 5]

10 The city of Waterford to Henry VIII 14 Jan 1516

Desire his favour in consideration of their constant true service, for which the king, his father, confirmed his charter and enlarged their liberties. Hear that the earl of Kildare, the king's deputy, has laboured for authority to keep a parliament in Ireland. Desire letters of privy seal to the deputy and lords of the parliament not to attempt anything against their charter; and also to the mayor and bailiffs to keep their revenues and grants. Waterford. *Signed:* Your faithful subjects and true liege men the mayor and citizens of your city of Waterford. *Addressed:* To the right high and mighty prince and our most dread sovereign liege lord the king. *Ip. Endorsed.* [Placed by LP, in 1533, but 1516 is suggested by *Stat. Ire., Hen. VII & VIII*, pp 108–13; LP, vi, 39]

SP 60/1, f. 99rv [no. 44]

11 Letters to the mayor and citizens of Waterford 6 Aug 1497–23 Jan 1576

Copies of four letters addressed to the mayor and citizens of Waterford, as follows:

- (1) from Henry VII, touching Perkin Warbeck, Woodstock, 6 Aug [1497], SP 60/2, f. 1r [a version of this letter from an unreferenced source, and exhibiting some variations from the text in this manuscript, including the place of writing (given as Westminster) is printed in Smith, *Waterford*, pp 135–6];
- (2) from Henry VII touching Perkin Warbeck and others, Exeter, 17 Oct [1497], SP 60/2, ff 1r–2r [Printed in: Smith, *Waterford*, pp 136–8, where it is dated 18 Oct];
- (3) from Henry VIII promising continuance of favour to the city of Waterford, Greenwich, 26 Feb [1516], SP 60/2, f. 2r [calendared as entry 12 below];

- (4) from the lords of the English privy council for the honourable receiving of Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, 23 Jan 1576, SP 60/2, f. 2v. Although bound up in SP 60/2, items (1) and (2) were not referenced by Hamilton in *CSPI 1509–73*, presumably because they date from the reign of Henry VII. Item (4) is referenced in *CSPI 1574–85*, p. 88. They are noted here for completeness.

SP 60/2, ff 1r–2v

12 Henry VIII to the mayor and inhabitants of Waterford **26 Feb 1516**

Perceives well their faithful service. Where former kings of England have made grants, since confirmed by us, for the administration of justice and fortification of the city, is contented that they should enjoy these liberties, and will continue to show favour to them as largely as any previous king. Greenwich. *Later copy of a signet letter. See entry 11 above. Half page.* [Not in *CSPI*]

SP 60/2, f. 2r [no. 1]

13 Lord Deputy Kildare to Henry VIII **1 Dec 1516**

Received on 26 September the king's letters missive dated 8 July commanding him to examine the cause between Dames Anne St Leger and Margaret Boleyn on the one side, and Sir Piers Butler, knight, on the other, touching the lands etc left by Thomas late earl of Ormond. Commanded Sir Piers to appear before him and the king's council, the fifteenth day after Michaelmas, but he sent his wife to excuse his non-appearance on the plea of war against O'Carroll and other Irish rebels, and to ask for further respite. It was agreed that Sir Piers, with his counsel, with evidence, as well as the ladies' counsel, should appear at Dublin eight days after Martinmas, and that the rents and profits of certain of the lands should remain in the hands of the farmers. On that day the ladies' counsel showed a livery, under the great seal of England, of all the lands etc belonging to the late earl and an inspeximus under the great seal of Ireland, reciting the creation of the earl, with a gift of £10 yearly to be paid to him and his heirs by the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford, and certain tails by fines levied to the said earl and his heirs general, of his manors etc in Dublin and Meath. To all the residue of the earl's lands the ladies asserted their title as heirs general, and Sir Piers and his counsel would show no evidence, but prayed to be remitted to the common law. Has commanded that all the profits and rent shall remain in the farmer's hands till the king's further pleasure be known. Dublin. *Signed:* Your most humble subject G[erald earl] of Kildare. *Addressed:* To our sovereign lord the king. *Ip. Endorsed:* A petition of the earl of Kildare. [Printed in: Gilbert, *Facs. nat. MSS Ire.*, iii, no. 68. *LP*, ii, 1230]

SP 60/1, ff 9r–10v [no. 7]

14 Archbishop Rokeby of Dublin to Cardinal Wolsey **12 Dec 1516**

Has been much occupied with the lord deputy in Sir Thomas Boleyn's cause. Sir Piers Butler, who calls himself the earl of Ormond, will not come, but has twice sent his wife, who alleges, in his excuse, causes of war and other hindrances. She desired the cause to be remitted to the common law of Ireland, which they thought not meet for Sir Thomas Boleyn for many causes. The deputy would have ordered him to appear before the king and council in England on a certain day, on pain of allegiance, but was dissuaded by the archbishop and others, who urged the danger of rebellion, for he has now made peace and confederation with Desmond and the three greatest Irish lords of his party. Moreover, as he calls himself an earl, he would be loath to lose that name. Nonetheless whatever the king and Wolsey command shall be accomplished to the best of the archbishop's power. Hopes the cause of Theodorici, about which Wolsey has written two letters, will come to

good pass. The pretended prior, accompanied by diverse of the city, kept the place against the archbishop *manu forti* and committed a great riot; but he now has him in prison, with some of his friends, and more will be taken shortly. Supposes he has promised more fees than the place can bear. Hopes the lord deputy will take none of him, but thinks Wolsey had better write to him. Tallaght. *Signed:* By [your] orator and beadsman, William [Rokeby, archbishop] of Dublin. *Addressed:* To my lord cardinal's grace. *1p. Endorsed.* [LP, ii, 1269]

SP 60/1, f. 11rv [no. 8]

15 'A device how Ireland may be well kept in obedience'

[c. Feb. 1520]

'The army for Ireland, besides the deputy's own charge'.

Of the king's guard 400, of the king's gunners 24, of Irish horsemen 100. The king's have, for finding of the said horsemen, all the money to be levied of towns in Ireland by act of assumption at the next parliament as customs and fee-farms. Ordnance to be assigned by the king to send into Ireland. The deputy may arrive in Ireland by Easter next. Councillors to be appointed of the deputy's privy council, without whose advice he shall do nothing. Three of them to be Englishmen now in England to be assigned by the king. That all holding any land in Ireland be resident in Ireland for the defence of their lands. That a parliament be appointed to begin at Dublin on 1 May. That loving letters be written by the king to Desmond, Sir Piers Butler and others as the king's council think convenient, to resort to the deputy at his coming, to know the king's pleasure and to try to ensure that peace be kept in the meantime. That they be conveyed by officers of arms. A promise should be made in Desmond's letter that if he do his duty like his ancestors, the king will give him a general pardon for all offences by him, his ancestors, adherents or kinsmen who are sworn the king's true subjects from henceforth. That Wolsey, being *legate a latere*, send a commissary, with his full power and authority, to Ireland. The commissary should call before him all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors and heads of the church, to notify to the Irish that the king had sent his deputy thither to reduce the land to order, not intending to make war against any who will do their duty, nor to take anything from any man who is lawfully entitled to it, but to make a fair distribution of lands at reasonable rents, seeing that they now 'live without order, not wealthy, ne being assured of any succession to their heirs'. That Wolsey call before him the provincials of the four orders of friars and the ruler of the Observants, bidding them send to all their priors and wardens in Ireland to appear before the commissary, and be sworn to exhort the Irishmen in their sermons according to instructions given them by the deputy and his councillors. All the said clergy, prelates and friars to be sworn to reveal anything prejudicial to the king, his deputy or 'any of the king's true liege people'. The commissary 'before all the said clergy and friars to establish and enact that all moving war against the king's grace or his deputy be accursed, and thereupon to fulminate the censures of cursing after most fearful and terrible manner'. As the Irish bishoprics, being too poor for Englishmen to accept, are filled by Irishmen ready to make war against the king, a bull should be obtained 'from the pope's holiness' allowing Wolsey or his sub-delegates to unite them at their discretion without prejudice to the pope or the incumbents.

'Considerations why coign and livery may not be clearly and suddenly laid down'.

The marchers of Englishmen adjoining the Irish are compelled to keep galloglass and kerne to defend their lands, who cannot be supported without coign and livery. The charge rests upon the lords, not on the tenants; for where the lord should have 16d an acre he has but 2d, and so the charge borne by the tenants is recompensed in their rents. Where it is thought that his subsidy should be doubled, the marchers would refuse to grant the new subsidy, enlarged from 13s 4d to

26s 8d, considering their great charge of galloglass and kerne. If coign and livery were abolished, the lords and gentlemen would not readily come ‘on hosting’ with the deputy, if they could not obtain meat and drink without paying, as they used to do. Those in the heart of the English Pale would be loath to grant a new subsidy to put down coign and livery, with which they are now seldom oppressed. Without galloglass and kerne, the deputy cannot well defend the Englishry, nor annoy Irish enemies, for these reasons; first ‘Irishmen be light and deliver, so that when the Englishmen should follow them, they should labour all in vain’; and if Englishmen followed them into the woods or marshes without knowledge of the country, they would be in great danger: but with galloglass and kerne the deputy would be able to pursue them and skirmish with them, and if any of them were slain it would be little damage, as others can be easily retained in the place. Instead of putting down coign and livery suddenly, at the next parliament it should be seen what the king’s subjects would give to put it down and certify the king. *4pp.* [Placed by *LP* between 8 and 10 Mar but the designation of Surrey as ‘deputy’ would seem to date the document a few weeks earlier; *LP*, iii, 670]

SP 600, ff 70r–73v [no. 28]

16 Henry VIII to Lord Lieutenant Surrey and the Council of Ireland [c. June 1520]

Understands, by their joint and several letters, the time when they arrived in Ireland, the rebellious state in which they found the country, their measures taken to put down the insurgents, and their lack of horse, victuals and assistance from subjects within the Pale; on which account they wish to have 80 horsemen from the north of England and Wales and to be allowed to discharge as many footmen of the guard as may pay their wages, seeing that many of them, being wealthy householders, would be content with 2d or 1d a day to return to England, if they were assured of a groat a day after the war is over. Hopes the difficulties they have encountered at first will be overcome. As the Irish assembled in so many distant places in woods and other strongholds, has authorised Sir William Bulmer to get ready 200 light horse of the north parts to be at Chester on 10 August, under the leading of his son Sir John, who is well known to ‘you our lieutenant’. Has also written to Sir Rhys ap Thomas to get 50 Welsh horsemen in readiness to take passage on the same day. Has advanced money for their costs and conduct, and a month’s wages beforehand at 9d a day each man; the captain 2s 6d and the petty captain 18d. They are at liberty to discharge footmen of the guard as they propose, as the horse cannot live upon their wages they may take coign and livery until the land be reduced to obedience. The investigation touching the earl of Kildare is committed to the chancellor, the cardinal archbishop of York, who has not had leisure hitherto to examine it on account of the interviews with the king of the Romans and the French king. The earl, however, continually attends upon the chancellor, and will be tried according to law. Thanks him for sending the archbishop of Dublin to Waterford to arrange the dispute between the earl of Desmond and Sir Piers Butler. Hopes they will be reconciled, and assist in suppressing the rebellion. Desires them to practise with the leaders, both of the Englishry and of the Irishry, to come to them as obedient subjects. If the king can do any good by writing to them himself, will do so; ‘for now, at the beginning, politic practices may do more good than exploit of war, till such time as the strength of the Irish enemies shall be enfeebled and diminished’. Are to sow divisions amongst them to prevent them joining together. If, by such means, they attain ‘any towardly comfort this year’, next year the king will increase their power. The French king has offered, unasked, to send thither any number of horse or foot Henry may wish. Informs them that after the king of Castile had visited him at Canterbury, he repaired to his dominions, and then he crossed to his castle of Guisnes for the interview with the French king. *Draft, corrected by Thomas Ruthal,*