

THE 1597 CEASEFIRE DOCUMENTS

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This paper presents the principal documents relating to the ceasefire arranged between Hugh O'Neill and the crown at Dundalk shortly before Christmas 1597. These documents show the earl of Tyrone's negotiating stance and his more general political development as the revolt, which had begun in Ulster four years before, assumed nationwide proportions.

In July 1597 the newly-appointed Lord Deputy, Thomas Lord Burgh, had re-established an English garrison on the Blackwater in the heart of O'Neill country. Burgh died suddenly at the Newry on 13 October and with him the already diminishing hopes for a regalanised English war-effort. The isolation of Blackwater fort was intensified by O'Neill and Irish victories were won by James MacSorley MacDonnell near Carrickfergus on 4 November and by Richard Tyrrell and Onie O'More near Daingean on 5 December. Meanwhile the Queen had appointed Archbishop Adam Loftus and Lord Chief Justice Robert Gardiner to head the administration as Lords Justice and had confirmed the emergency appointment of 'Black Tom' Butler, earl of Ormond, as Lord Lieutenant-General of her army.¹ The crown, with the Blackwater garrison cut off and its military position rapidly deteriorating in Leinster, had no option but to treat with O'Neill.

These talks were facilitated by an offers of a submission by O'Neill and of a ceasefire by Ormond. The state agreed to consider O'Neill's submission despite of his former evasions, his desire to represent the interests of others confederated with him and his dating of letters by the Pope's computation. O'Neill agreed to the truce claiming to know that Ormond had 'authority to deal concerning all matters of war and peace'.² Ormond met O'Neill on 8 December in open country outside Dundalk and again the following day. O'Neill asked for time for himself, Hugh Roe O'Donnell and other confederates to draw up their grievances to which Ormond promised to listen and if necessary draw to the Queen's attention.³ After this preliminary meeting, a second more formal set of negotiations took place a mile from Dundalk over four days (20-23 December 1597). For this occasion, Ormond had called upon the assistance of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of the Irish Council and Thomas Jones, Bishop of Meath. Jones's letter to England dated 28 December provides the main account of the parley.⁴

¹ Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, (London, 1950), pp.205-9.

² *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, pp.456-9.

³ *Ibid*, pp.467-9.

⁴ S.P.63/201, no.122. This account is summarised extensively in *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1596-7*, 483-90.

Donough O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, also formed part of the state's negotiating team. O'Donnell was due to attend the talks together with O'Neill but never turned up. At the end of the second day of talks, as the government side returned to Dundalk, one of O'Neill's men overtook them and read a letter from O'Donnell which Miler Magrath interpreted. Red Hugh disliked the peace talks now in progress and was threatening to break with any agreement but nevertheless promised to attend. O'Neill's constantly repeated statements about his ally's imminent appearance were used to draw out the negotiations and to ensure that he got all his complaints across in person. However this also meant that Connacht, which was O'Donnell's sphere of activity, was not treated in any detail. Most of all it seemed to bear out Fenton's a priori fear that some of the confederates would deliberately absent themselves from the Dundalk meeting 'to be Robin Hoods to the end to keep things still in garboil'.⁵

The main documents produced by these negotiations are enclosed with this article. The first pre-requisite for the normalisation of relations between O'Neill and the state was a condign submission on the part of the Ulsterman. On 21 December the crown negotiators showed O'Neill the submission they wanted him to make. The document composed by Fenton only acknowledged O'Neill's offence without any qualification about how he had been provoked. He refused to sign. The document (enclosure 1) which he eventually signed at the end of the following day was remarkable as far as submissions go. Not only was O'Neill allowed to claim provocation for his heinous actions of the past, he was also permitted to do so on behalf of his confederates. Most extraordinarily, in what purported to be a submission, this mere subject proceeded to discuss the ceasefire which he was entering into with his sovereign. This submission reveals the weakness of the state's position. O'Neill also quibbled with the terms of the ceasefire (enclosure 2) which the state prescribed to him at the same time and again he refused to sign at first asking. The following day O'Neill produced a list of modifications (enclosure 3) to these articles 'which answers of his' wrote Jones, 'were so crooked and untoward, as we were forced to enter into a particular debating of every article, and of his answer thereunto, and by reasoning we procured him to alter some of his answers in some few points; but notwithstanding such correction, as we procured from him of those answers, they still remain very unseemly and undutiful to proceed from a subject'⁶. O'Neill further enraged the government side when in the afternoon of 22 December he submitted a 'humble petition' (enclosure 4) containing general demands. Fenton said that O'Neill's petition contained things of such arrogance that it was 'neither meet for a rebel to prefer to his Prince nor fit for any good servitor to receive'.⁷ Ormond told O'Neill that not only would the Queen not countenance his article touching religion but that it also was very dangerous for him to make any such demand. Ormond refused to take the demands. Eventually O'Neill pressed Jones to take them to look over them that night. Significantly it was only when Jones had agreed to do this that O'Neill finally put

⁵ Ibid, 1596-7, p.474.

⁶ S.P.63/201, no.122.

⁷ Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7, p.478.

his hand to the submission and ceasefire articles. On the last day Ormond sent Jones to O'Neill to return 'his unseemly demands for religion.' O'Neill insisted on an answer and in person brought them back to the Lord Lieutenant-General who swore to throw them into the first fire he came to on his way back into Dundalk. Finally O'Neill submitted a book of grievances (enclosure 5). He was required to do this under the terms of the ceasefire though 'not to pester his book of complaint with matters frivolous or unnecessary but to insert such causes as are meet for a Prince's view and such as he can substantially prove'. In doing so the earl claimed that he had submitted such lists before but that they had been suppressed and not shown to the Queen.⁸

The tension at these December negotiations, as at earlier encounters, was heightened by O'Neill's alleged fears of government treachery leading to his arrest, imprisonment and execution. On no grounds would he negotiate in a potentially confined space such as inside Dundalk. The preliminary meeting on 8 December was only agreed after Black Tom had given his word assuring the safety of O'Neill and his party. Even then O'Neill at first stood off from Ormond and only after further encouragement did he dismount and come forward in person to speak to Ormond across a small river. O'Neill immediately complained about Marshal Sir Henry Bagenal and other enemies who had sought his life.⁹ At start of the substantive talks O'Neill rehearsed his complaints against Bagenal and his allegations about directions sent out of England which had caused him to fear for his life and to take an undutiful course against the state. The negotiators tried their best to assuage these fears but O'Neill refused to be convinced.¹⁰ In his book of grievances he was more explicit claiming that at proceedings in Dundalk in June 1593 Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, bribed by Bagenal, have tried to get him condemned to death like Hugh Roe MacMahon and that Burghley, the Lord Treasurer of England, a great friend of both his enemies, had wanted him 'cut off'.¹¹ Amongst the same grievances, O'Neill also highlighted the recent persecution and death of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne (May 1597) 'which breach of promise hath bred a wonderful fear and discontentment in all the Irishry'. On 21 December O'Neill was 'more ticklish and fearful than he was on the first day' alleging an attack on the Magennises during the truce as the reason (detailed in the grievances as twenty-four killed by Bagenal's men whilst they were asleep). At first he only wanted to negotiate in Irish through intermediaries. After some toing and froing he was once more persuaded into face to face talks.¹²

⁸ S.P. 63.201, no.122

⁹ Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7, pp.467-9. The calendar of fiants (appendix to PROI Deputy Keeper's reports, 16-17, no.6187) shows that before Ormond left Dublin on 3 December he had a protection made out to O'Neill and any others in Ulster not exceeding fifty in all. However this only covered those coming to Ormond at Drogheda, Dundalk or elsewhere to make their submissions. It did not specify any other purpose such as negotiation.

¹⁰ S.P.63/201, no.122.

¹¹ See Hiram Morgan, Tyrone's rebellion (Woodbridge, 1993), ch. 7.

¹² S.P.63/201, no.122

For their part the state's negotiators had to maintain the Queen's honour and their own official dignity. Ideally they would have liked to have seen O'Neill making a public submission at the market cross in Dundalk. They did get a submission of sorts and they did avoid, or at least their communications did not mention, the type of civilities towards the rebel which had landed Commissioners Wallop and Gardiner in the Queen's bad books in early 1596.¹³ Instead they recorded themselves frequently upbraiding O'Neill and reminding him of his duty. For instance when at the preliminary meeting O'Neill complained about threats to his life, Ormond retorted that, whatever the cause, there were no grounds for rebelling against a natural sovereign who had shown him so much favour.¹⁴ Most importantly the government side had gone to great trouble to avoid receiving, or to be seen not to receive, O'Neill's demands about religion.

O'Neill would have liked Ormond to have had plenipotenary power. The great southern earl was a former political associate who would have probably benefited from a settlement in O'Neill's favour and he was a firm favourite of the Queen's who might have possessed leverage which former negotiators lacked¹⁵. When at the end of November O'Neill claimed to know that Ormond had such authorisation, he doubtless knew otherwise and was rather expressing the hope that he would be afforded such plenipotenary power. At the time the state made no attempt to gainsay O'Neill's statement fearing a delay in establishing an initial ceasefire. However O'Neill's expressed desire was sufficient to cause both Ormond and Fenton to write into England that the lack of such authority on the part of the Lord Lieutenant-General was likely to impede negotiations.¹⁶ On 21 December Tyrone demanded whether Ormond had authority to conclude a firm peace. He said that he had been previously been close to a conclusion with Lord General Norris only to see it altered by the arrival of Burgh as Lord Deputy. He would be disappointed but not wholly surprised when the state's negotiators answered that they were sent to ascertain his terms and the extent of his loyalty which they were to report back to the Queen. In his book of grievances O'Neill reiterated the belief that he expected 'a measure of justice' from the fully-empowered Ormond as well as his doubt that any new settlement could be thwarted by the current Lords Justice. Why should O'Neill continue to maintain a belief in Ormond's authority when he had already been told the contrary on the 21st. Perhaps the bulk of this book, handed in on 23rd, was written before the 21st and left unaltered or more likely O'Neill deliberately continued to misconstrue Ormond's position so as to facilitate possible future claims of government treachery.

The state for its part wanted hostages known as 'pledges' as security for any agreement which might be reached. On the first day of substantive talks O'Neill told the

¹³ Morgan, p.201.

¹⁴ Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7, 467-9.

¹⁵ Morgan, pp.51, 97, 172

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.461-3; 473-4.

government negotiators that they already had his pledges from the time of Sir John Norris. If you care to look at enclosure 5, you will see that O'Neill subsequently gave details about these earlier arrangements. He had handed over pledges when he had first agreed a truce with Norris who were exchanged every three months. When a more formal conclusion was reached in 1596 he had handed over his brothers' sons as pledges. However not only were the earlier pledges withheld but no further three monthly exchanges had taken place. Norris's subsequent promise to return the pledges had not been performed for which breach O'Neill blamed Russell, Burgh's predecessor as Lord Deputy. When on 20 December the earl was told that these old pledges were now deemed insufficient, he replied that under no condition would he hand over any of his sons. He said that he would rather see them dead than held hostage and even if his sons had been so held for his good behavior he would still have entered into action against the crown. He asserted 'My country will never esteem them, if they be absent; and if they be not here, they will even be dealt with, as I myself was handled by Sir Henry Sidney when my father died'. The negotiators reminded him of the Queen's protection and advancement of his interests in the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s. 'Hereunto he answered most ungratefully, that Her Majesty had given him nothing but what belonged unto him, and he ascribed the things which he had gotten to his own scratching in the world than Her Majesty's goodness'.¹⁷ This discussion with the government negotiators rings somewhat hollow in hindsight because in 1600 O'Neill was prepared to send his eldest son Henry to Spain as a pledge.¹⁸ In 'his humble petition' of the 22nd (enclosure 4) O'Neill demanded the resumption of normal pledge arrangements - the return of his original hostages and the exchange of his nephews for others. When he eventually signed the ceasefire, he delivered over temporarily a pledge (unnamed by Jones' account and so presumably of little consequence) to assure the state that the Blackwater would be safely re-supplied. As for the general security of a ceasefire he would only offer his word and oath.

There were a number of important issues relating to the ceasefire itself. O'Neill requested a cessation for a long a time as Ormond would grant. He was hoping in terms of years thereby dissipating the strength of the queen's forces on the one hand but keeping the possibility of Spanish intervention open on the other. In the end Ormond would offer only two months - long enough to obtain the queen's response to the pre-Christmas talks and long enough to revictual the Blackwater fort. The crown's main priority was the Blackwater fort. It could not put adequate forces into the field to relieve it militarily.¹⁹ On 9 December O'Neill had agreed to the resupply of the fort and had promised to send in forty head of cattle for the soldiers immediate needs. It was only after reiterating this promise at the formal talks that he actually sent the garrison soldiers thirty beeves but they only accepted seventeen of them 'the rest being carrion'. Captain Lister, who filed this report on Christmas Day, said that the 140 men inside the broken

¹⁷ Ibid, pp.483-4.

¹⁸ J.J. Silke, *Kinsale* (Liverpool, 1970), pp.69, 75.

¹⁹ *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, p.8.

down fortifications had now rations to last another month.²⁰ At the talks O'Neill had refused the state the loan of pack-horses for the transport of supplies to the fort and had quibbled over the soldiers cutting wood in vicinity. The earl eventually signed up for the two-months even though it permitted the crown to the resupply of the fort without recourse to arms and prevented himself and his confederates from taking advantage of the long winter nights.²¹

O'Neill was doubtless pleased that he had been allowed to agree the ceasefire on behalf of his confederates as well as himself. This was a concession by the state and O'Neill forced a qualification (see enclosure 4) by demanding that the state refrain from detaching any of his allies by separate deals during the cessation. O'Neill had on 9 December agreed to withdraw Captains Tyrrell, Nugent and the Ulstermen who had gone to fight in Leinster and gave Ormond a copy of the letter he wrote to them. On 21st December he agreed to send a messenger with the same order.²² However when it came to signing the second article of the ceasefire he entered a caveat requesting that any who chose to remain might do so on the peace of his local confederates. O'Neill got amendments made to the complaints and restitution proceedings attendant upon infractions of the ceasefire because it is plain from the book of grievances that his requests for restitution had been ignored in past cessations. During the ceasefire O'Neill also agreed to make no further contacts with foreign rulers and to hand over incoming communications - this was intended to put a brake on not only his dealings with Philip of Spain but also James IV of Scotland.²³

Overall the pre-Christmas talks gave O'Neill the opportunity to reiterate the grievances which had originally brought him into action against the state. These included not only the alleged threats to his life but also the ways in which Marshall Bagenal especially had benefitted from government policy in which O'Neill claimed to have been the main activist. The humble petition (enclosure 4) also included his preferred proposals for righting the situation. As well as wanting the Queen's pardon, O'Neill was also demanding his proclamation as traitor overturned by act of parliament. The calling of such a parliament was highly unlikely. Neither would the crown have been willing to make such public concessions to O'Neill nor would it have tolerated the general airing of grievances which such an assembly might have thrown up. A request was also made for the county of Tyrone to be afforded palatinate status. The earl had made such a proposal before - thereby he would have gained control of the local judicial process, keeping out those he insisted were 'bad officers' by having sheriffs of his own appointing. This was not a revolutionary suggestion because Ormond himself already enjoyed such rights in Tipperary. He demanded the removal of garrisons from Tyrone (i.e. the Blackwater fort) and other Irish parts as they were terrorizing the population.

²⁰ Ibid, 1596-7, pp. 476-7.

²¹ Ibid, 486.

²² Ibid, 467, 485, 494

²³ Ibid, 446-7.

Throughout the talks and in his various submissions to the state negotiators, O'Neill also demanded the right to speak for those who had by oath confederated with him. This had benefit of creating a national platform and putting pressure on the crown and its supporters all round Ireland whilst at the same time strengthening O'Neill's own grip over allies and the course of events. On their part, the state wanted to deal with rebels one by one and by so isolating them, make fewer concessions with a view to destroying them individually later on. On 20 December Tyrone demanded consideration of his new allies O'Mores and O'Connors whose ancestral lands he had promised to get back. His secretary Henry Hovenden demanded that the planters' patents in Laois and Offaly should be reversed as indeed should those recently made in Monaghan. The earl said that McWilliam Bourke of Mayo, Feagh MacHugh's sons in Wicklow as well as Redmond Burke of Galway should be on his peace and have lands. The crown negotiators replied that O'Neill had no rights in these areas and that if patents were to be challenged why not his own of Tyrone and furthermore he had made no such demands for them when he had formerly negotiated with Norris. As for young Burke they poured scorn on his claims to be Lord Leitrim alleging that he 'was, by definite sentence, proved a bastard'. When, at the close of the second day's talks, O'Neill renewed his demands on behalf of his confederates, Ormond asked him 'I pray you if my two traitorous nephews²⁴ were alive, would you look to have them upon your peace'. Tyrone answered in the affirmative. On day three the state negotiators heard complaints from some of O'Neill's Ulster confederates including the Magennises and O'Reillys.²⁵

In his humble petition (enclosure 4) O'Neill insisted that he would make no agreement without the righting of his confederates' grievances, especially as regards their ancestral lands. In particular he reiterated his request for the O'Mores and O'Connors. He wanted a reasonable proportion of their predecessors' lands allotted to them by himself, Ormond and Jones. The approach adopted in O'Neill's book of grievances (enclosure 5) was intended to strengthen this line of argument. Since going to war he claimed 'to have seen into and have heard off others the indirect dealings used against the Irish of Ireland'. On these grounds he claimed good cause to fear for his life and, on a simple reading, the catalogue of treacherous acts, confiscations and judicial murders which he proceeded to give would seem to justify such a claim. He went far beyond merely listing the recent actions which were the backdrop to the Nine Years War such as the unwarranted attack on Maguire, the execution of Hugh MacMahon and the kidnaping of Red Hugh O'Donnell. He listed abuses committed against lords from all parts of Ireland stretching back to the division of Leinster amongst planters in the 1550. He cited the treacherous killing of Sir Brian MacPhelim O'Neill in 1574 and the massacre of the O'Mores and O'Connors at Mullaghmast in 1577. Furthermore he included cases of lords who were not of Gaelic stock such as Desmond and Baltinglass who had been forced into revolt in 1579-80 and had suffered confiscation as a consequence. He even

²⁴ James and Pierce FitzEdmond Butler of Cloghgrenan. Executed by Ormond in 1597 after going out in 1596. I owe this information to my colleague David Edwards.

²⁵ Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7, pp.483-7.

included the Palesmen tyrannically executed by Lord Gray. This signalled an intention to extend his confederation ethnically as well geographically throughout all Ireland. The negotiators were taken aback - Secretary Fenton said that O'Neill had dragged up 'these old sores of the kingdom, to draw a popularity to himself and to give him scope to be the head of all dangerous factions in the realm, and to bind and loose at his pleasure'.²⁶ O'Neill ended by claiming that the country was being destroyed, unbeknownst to Queen Elizabeth, by the rapacious activities of soldiers and captains and was in process of being divided up by officials, lawyers and court clerks. He and the confederates, joined in action for 'care of our lives', wanted a speedy remedy to 'our just and lawful requests'.

O'Neill had already caused consternation by demanding liberty of conscience. When it was read out, the Lord Lieutenant-General said 'My lord, what have you and I to meddle in matters of religion'. Asked why he dared to prefer such articles, O'Neill said that he made the motion not on behalf of himself and O'Donnell 'but for all the Catholics of the land'. Here O'Neill was reiterating at greater length a demand he had first made in January 1596 negotiations - it was a transparent attempt to link himself up with the Catholic cause at home and abroad.²⁷ Asked if the motion emanated from the Pale, O'Neill answered that no gentleman of the Pale had requested the motion but that in fact some of their priests had pressed him to make the petition. And he insisted on submitting his petition because he had heard news from England about a new persecution of Catholics there. The negotiators dismissed this a mere rumour conjured up by the priests to make him and other distrust the Queen's government.²⁸ In fact because of the war the Dublin government had eased back on the persecution of Catholics to avoid giving the inhabitants of the Pale and port towns any reason to make common cause with the confederates. Nevertheless it is interesting that one copy of O'Neill's petition is marked 'suppressed'. The threat of O'Neill playing the religious card was cause enough to make the government jittery. Jones concluded that the demand 'showeth his drift to become popular amongst this idolatrous people'²⁹.

The state's negotiators seem to have come away with a unanimous opinion on the proceedings. Fenton said that they had found O'Neill more insolent and proud than at previous parleys and 'so it was the opinion of us all, that in these alterations he could have no sound meaning, and consequently, that he pretended to do further mischief, when he shall be further fitted for the same'.³⁰ Jones fulminated against O'Neill. 'He is a most dangerous, cunning and crafty traitor, and therefore to be subdued with all possible means; for the longer he is borne with, in hope of amendment, the further assuredly will he gripe, and the greater dependency will he draw unto himself, to the hazard of this kingdom' He then listed nineteen reasons for this opinion 'grounded upon Tyrone's insolent behaviour and carriage in this parley before so honourable a personage as the

²⁶ Ibid, p.478.

²⁷ See Morgan, p.198.

²⁸ Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7, 487-8

²⁹ Ibid, p.490.

³⁰ Ibid, pp.477-8.

lord lieutenant is (who used all things will great honour and gravity) and before us being councillors to her maiesty of this state'³¹.

However Lord Lieutenant-General Ormond, the Lords Justice and the Irish Council came to a different conclusion when they assessed the situation in Dublin at the beginning of January. It was now asserted that, if Ormond had been invested with sufficient authority to offer a longer cessation, O'Neill might have been more amenable. Furthermore Thomond had visited O'Donnell over Christmas and found him more constructive than had been assumed from his communications. The Council, clearly favouring a pacification, wanted to know the Queens' decision for peace or war because 'the state of the realm is like to grow to further dangerous terms, to the hazard of altering things to an Irish Government, which they have long aimed at, and now are very near to prevail, if God and Her Majesty prevent them not the sooner'. The army was in a lamentable state - diminished in numbers, ill-fed, half-clothed, prone to desertion and close to mutiny. Promised supplies, money and reinforcements had not arrived. There were persistent rumours of Spanish preparations to invade Ireland. Jones toed the Council line and Fenton changed his tune counselling a two or three year peace to win the confidence of the confederates and to stablise the government.³² Basically a volte-face was made by the Irish administration having considered the overall situation in the cold light of day.

Thomond proceeded to London with these assessments as well as the details of the December ceasefire talks. The Queen was shown all O'Neill's demands including the demand for liberty of conscience. It were not suppressed from her. She spurned it of course as an infringement of her prerogative. She was willing to offer some concessions and O'Neill his pardon. 'Her Majesty is moved in compassion of the miseries of that realm to extend her mercy and favour in a larger sort than otherwise the offences of her rebels by any kind of submission can deserve'³³ However the treaty talks in March and April failed. The result was a return to war and Marshal Bagenal's disastrous attempt to relieve to relieve Blackwater fort in August 1598.

³¹ S.P.63/201, no.122.

³² Cal. S.P. Ire., 1597-8, pp.1-7.

³³ Ibid, pp.43-4.

ENCLOSURE 1

SP63/201, no.117(i)

The most humble and penitent submission of me hugh Erle of Tyrone presented in myne owne person to the right honourable therle of Ormond and Ossory, Lord Leftenaunt generall of all her maiesties forces and armyes in Ireland hauing for his assistaunce in this accion the lord bushop of Meath and Sir Geffery Fenton knight ii of her maiesties priuie counsell within this Realme.

Where I hugh Erle of Tyrone upon my former submissions made to her maiesties commissioners before, haue thereupon receaued her maiesties most gracious and free pardon to myself and all thinhabitaunts of Tyrone wherein I confess her maiesty bestowed asmuch grace and mercy on me as a Prince cold do upon a subiect that had so highly offended her highnes, notwithstanding hauing of late estsoones fallen into the lyke crymes of disobedience and disloyalty against her sacred maiesty, and thereby haue justly provoked her maiesties uttermost displeasure and indignacion against me: now in your lords presence I do here acknowledge upon the knees of my hart that I am most sorry for this my late relapse and defeccion and do most humbly from the bottome of my hart repent me of the same: beseeching your lord and the rest to be a meane to her maiesty, that I may be once againe receaued to her maiesties mercy and pardon, to contynue in the duty of a faithfull and true subiect so long as I shall liue. And I most humbly besech your lord and the rest, that you wilbe lykewaies a meane to make knowen to her majesty my seuerall greevances, soch as haue bin don to me and myne by some of her maiesties ministers which though yt ought to be no cause to haue drawen me to breake my obedience and duty to hir maiesty yet yt may please her sacred maiesty to see thereby the sondry haynous prouocacions I had and according to her rare and Princely wisdom to vouchsaffe in some measure to quallefie the haynousesnes of my faults with the consideracion of the wrongs and hard dealings that many waies were used to me: And tyll these be booked and sent to her maiesty, and her maiesties gracious pleasure retorned for me I humbly craue a tyme of forbearing of armes for two months next following from the day of the date hereof, which for my parte, I do hereby undre my handwritinge and upon my creditt and honore promise your lord and the rest, to performe faithfully without breach not onely for myself and inhabitaunts of Tyrone but also for all the rest that haue taken parte with me in my disloyalty humbly praying your lord to geue order to all her maiesties garrisons and forces to do the lyke duringe the saide tyme of ii monethes: And for that her maiesty may see, that this proceedeth unfaynedly from my hart, I do also promise to your lord and the rest upon my honour and creditt, that touching the revittling of her maiesties forte of Blackwater there shalbe no impediment geuen therein by me or any of myne but that your lord may send into that forte all soche supplies of vittles and municions, as yt shall please you during the saide tyme without raisinge her maiesties army for the same: And for a poore token of my duty and goodwill therein, I will presentely deliuer into the saide forte xl beoues of myne owne, and suffer the soldiers there, at any tyme during the tyme of the truce to fetch in

wood, and all other necessary prouisions for them, and for the better assuraunce and performance hereof I will presently as I formerly promised to your lord deliuer in a sufficient pledge to your lords hands to remaine upon whose handes yt shall please you tyll the forte be vittled as aforesaid.

Hugh Tyrone

ENCLOSURE 2

SP63/201, no.117(ii)

Articles prescribed to therle of Tyrone by the lord lieftenaunt generall and his assistants the Lord Bushop of Meath and Sir Geffery Fenton knight. The performance of articles the said Erle hath promised upon his honour and creditte to the uttermost of his power, and hath subscribed the articles with his hand, the xxii of December 1597.

That the said Earle both for himself and all others whome he pretendeth to haue taken parte with him in his disloyalty shall faithfully keepe her maiesties peace without any wilful breach, to all her maiesties subiects during the tyme of the abstinence of warr which is viii weeks from the day of the date hereof.

That he shall immediately call out of Leinster all such of Ulster as were sent thether by his direccion aswell captens as soldiers and all others whosoever and shall suffer none of them willingly to his knowledge to remayne in Leinster nor the English Pale during the tyme aforesaid.

That if any person or persons during this tyme of abstinence of warr haue or shall break into accion of rebellion against her maiesty in any parte of the realme, that the said Erle shall not minister any ayde, counsell or assistaunce to them or any of them nor haue any thinge to deale with them but to leaue them to be prosecuted by her maiesties forces in sort as yt shall please the lord lieftenaunt generall.

That yf therle during this tyme of abstinence shall send to buy any prouision of victualls in thenglish Pale for himself or his, that such as he shall employ therein shall bring an attestacion under his hand in writing shewing that they are sent by him, and that yt shalbe lawfull for them to buy vittles upon condicion that any her maiesties subiects may buy vittles or any other comodities in Ulster, And that thulster men shall not come in troopes, or great companies armed, whereby to take meat and drincke of her maiesties subiects by violence.

That upon any supposed wronge or provocacion to be donn upon the said Erle or any of his by any of her maiesties garrisons or any other of her subiects during the abstinence of warr, the Earle nor any of his shall inter into any revenge of the said supposed provocacion either directly or indirectly but shall cause the same to enformed with the

proofs to the Lords Justices and lieftenaunt generall who will take a course for his redresse therein according to the right and equity and the lyke measure to be given to him.

That during this tyme of abstinence of armes he nor none of his shall intertaine any practise contract or other intelligence whatsoever with the king of Spaine or any of his ministers or any other forrein nacion whatsoever and in case he shall receive from Spaine or any other forrein place any letters, messages or direccions or other intelligence that he shall withall possible speed acquaint the state therewith or the Lord Lieftenaunt generall which wilbe interpreted as a good token of his duty and conformity to her maiesty.

That where the said Earle hath now made humble suite unto us as appeareth in his submission that his greavaunces and complaints might be made knowen to her maiesty so sone as he shall booke the same and deliuer them to me the lord lieftenaunt generall, or to any other by my appointment, we will see them faithfully transcribed to her maiesty: And herein we require the said Earle not to pester his booke of complaints with matters frivolous or unnecessary but to insert such causes as are meet for a Princes view and such as he can substancyally proue.

That the Erle according his promise to me the lord livetenaunt generall shall deliver presently into the forte of the Blackwater xl beoves and shall send a saffconduct with her maiesties vittles and municions to be nowe sent unto the said fforte of Blackwater: And that he shall suffer the soldiers of the same to cutt and bring in wood or any other necessary thinge for their provision: The wood to be assigned by therle within a myle of the forte and therle to give saffconduct to the soldiers for cutting and bringing in their wood. And likewaies so often as occasion shalbe to carry any matter from the Newry or any other place to the forte during this truce: that therle shall from tyme to tyme send saffconduct for the saffetiy thereof. They geving warninge before to therle to thend to send a saffconduct as aforesaid.

That any pray or bodragg to be taken out of theenglish Pale to the fues, ferney or other parte of the north the same being trackted thither: Therle of Tyrone promiseth to cause restitution to be made of the said spoyles as soone as the same shall be proved before the commissioners. And the theeves to be delivered to be executed: The lyke course to be held for any spoyles to be taken from thearle of Tyrone or any of his dependaunts by any of the army, or any other of the Pale. Yf any man be stopped from following of his tracte, the partie geving him impediment to aunswere the goods so tracted.

Hugh Tyrone

ENCLOSURE 3

SP 63/201, no.112

The aunswere of the Erle of Tyrone to the articles prescribed unto him by the Lord Lieftenaunt generall and his assistants the lord bushop of Meath and Sir Geffery Fenton knight

To the first he agreeth so as the lyke be obserued by her maiesties subiects towards himself and all those that are in accion with him.

To the iid he agreeth, saving onely, if any do stay with them of Leinster, contrary to his commaundment that they be used no otherwaies, then as they be with whome they remaine: he will send for all, any if any tarry he leaveth them to the lord generalls discrecion.

To the iiid he agreeth so as none now depending on his truce be receaued or intertaind by the lord lieftenaunt generall or the state during the truce without his consent.

To the iiiith he saith that he is contented that hir maiesties subiects shall buy necessaryes in Ulster so as his men and dependaunts may haue the like liberty to buy and sell amongst her highnesses subiects and that none of his side shall take meat or drinke forcibly in the Pale.

To the fifth he agreeth so as he may have redress within tenn daies after complainte made thereof to the lord lieftenaunt generall or the lords justices and the lyke toleracion to be used towards the erle and his dependaunts untill tenn daies after notice geuen hem, that redress be had of either side wheresoeuer any track shalbe left on unmanured or unhabited land.

To the vith he saith he will accomplish the same yf any cause of that waight come to his hands worth the sending during the truce.

To the viith he saith he will do his best endeouour therein as nere as he may in discrecion.

To the viiith he agreeth so as the wood be cutt at this side of the water next Armagh, and for any other thinge, that they first agree with thowners for the things they want and procure a man of therles to go with them when they looke for any necessaryes and not themselues to go into any parte fo the countrey not being accompanied with therles man.

To the ixth he agreeth
Hugh Tyrone

ENCLOSURE 4

SP 63/201 no.114

The humble petition of hugh Erle of Tirone to the lord lievtenaunt generall of her majesties army.

Item first that all the inhabitaunts of Irland may have free libertie of conscience, or at least wise the benefit of her majesties positive lawe, without being combired with the law of reason³⁴.

Item that it may please her maiestie to graunt unto him & unto all that remayne in Tirone, her highnes most gracious pardon, together with satisfying any defect of all former graunts passed to his lordship that hath growen by these late accions; as also that he may be (by act of parliament) restored to his blood & dignity.

Item that it may please her maiestie for that the abuses of her bad officers hath been the beginning of all these troubles and the Irishrye cannot away with the rigour of law, upon everye smale occasion, there bringing up being barberous, to graunt unto his lordship authority that Tirone may be made a countie palintyne, as the like is graunted to the others in Irland.

Item, it may please her highnes to withdraw her garrisons from Tirone and all other parts of the Irishrye, for that they are so terrified as they will not yet accompt them selves in safetie, so long as her maiesties forces are so nere at hand.

Item, that, in asmoch as there past an othe between the Erle and the Irishry that took parte with him in this accion, that he wold take no agreement for himself unles that every of them upon their severall submissions, have her maiesties most gracious pardon and their predecessors lands, they paying unto her highnes all ancient rights & services that were accustomed. Therle most humbly craveth that the same may be graunted unto them, and that the Moores & Connors to have a reasonable porcion of their predecessors lands, as shalbe agreed upon by your lordship, my lord of Meath & by him.

Item that he may have the first pledges that he delivered in, who were not to contynue but for the performance of the first truce taken between the lord generall Norreys & him, and also that the last pledges may be exchanged for other pledges, as at there delivering in was agreed upon.

Endorsed - 'Therle of Tirones requestes. suppressed'.

³⁴ It has been suggested to me that this article would make more sense if the last word of the sentence read 'treason'. However all the extant copies of the petition say the same.

SP63/201, no.117(iii) the same in Fenton's hand, endorsed 'Certaine insolent petitions offered by Tyrone to the Lord Lieftenaunt Generall, 23 Decembris 1597'

SP 63/201, no.122(i) the same signed by Jones marked 'copia vera'

ENCLOSURE 5

Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Laud MS (Miscellaneous) 612, ff.55-9

Tyrone's book of grevances

xxiii to Decembr 1597

Having sondrie tymes heretofore exhibited in wrytinge, aswell to Sir Edward Moore knight, (who was firste appointed to examyne the orygnall of the disorders in Ulster) as also unto severall commissioners sithence authorised, both to heare the same, and to take order for redresse of them, the perticularities, and causes, that enforced me to absent myself from comynge to the State, as I was wonte onlie for the safetie of my lyfe, which was indirectlie sought for by her maiesties badd officers, in suborning and interteigninge false accusacions of treason, that were laied unto my charge by Sir Henry Bagenall and others his confederates, my enemyes, who havinge not longe before ymbrued their handes with the blood of Hugh Roe MacMahon, as to all sortes is knowne (whereof ensued theis troubles, that are not yet appeased) thought to haue me in like snare. And in asmuche also as my former exhibitinge of complaintes, did nothinge at all prevayle me, but instedd of the redresse, which I expected, I felt allwayes the vehemencie of moste violent prosecucion, which enduced me to conceave no hope, of being ever hereafter, receaved into her maiesties favour, as through dispere, I loste all the copies that I had of the severall most iniurious practises used against me, yet nowe understandinge, that her maiesty hath aucthorised your lordship to be lord lieutenaunte generall of all her maiesties fforces within this realme, and hathe with all geven you full power for hearinge and determynynge, all the disorders of Ulster, and other partes of Irelande; I have therefore, and upon confidence, to receive at your lordships handes, that measure of justice (which heatherto I founde not) thought good soe farre forthe as my memory may serve me) to call to mynde a colleccion of the particularities of my greffes, aswell againste the marshall, as also declaring the not performance of promyses, made unto me, in the late lord generall Norreys his time, as hereafter ensueth. By which it will plainelie appeare, howe hardelie I was delte withall and howe untruly I was accused, with combynynge with any forriner protesting before God, that untill, after I was proclaymed, and after speaches had, with Capten St Leger, Capten Stafford, and Capten Warren, when her highnes army made their firste invasion againste me, and that I was then refused of any favor, I never receaved any message, or ought else, either by worde or wrytinge from the kinge of Spayne. Neither did I in like sorte (before that tyme) ever sende unto him. And for the more manyfestacion hereof, the first letter which

I received from the kinge of Spaine, and delivered the same to Capten Warren upon his faithfull promyse, that (soe soone as the lord general Norreys had a view thereof, the letter should be returned unto me, without taking somuche as a copie thereof which was not performed for that the letter is sithence detayned and no mencion of any former dealinges betwene his maiestie and me.

Moreover, albeit, that in my submission I have acknowledged myself to have falne from my duetie towards her maiestie, without incerting in the same, the causes that forced me thereunto. Yet I proteste before God, that I never opposed myselfe againste her highness of any wilful intende to offend her. But the course helde againste Maguyre, as in the articles against the Marshall is mencioned and the brybes that the Marshall gave to Sir William Fitzwilliam, beinge then Lord Deputie, did so worke againste me, and interested hym, so deepe in his lordships favour, as betwene them bothe (with their false accusinge of me with articles of treason, and other treacherous meanes) they had dispatched me, as they did Hugh Roe MacMahon. Had I not absented my selfe for safetie of my onelie lyfe. Sithence which tyme I have seene into, and have harde of others the indirect dealinges, used, againste the Irish of Ireland heretofore, which geveth me no lesse cause, to looke to my safetie. The which I will (which in convenient tyme, amonge other matters sett downe at large unto your lordship. And therefore I beseeche your honour to beleve of me, that the said causes and matters which shalbe rehearsed hereafter, did dryve me by degree to absente my selfe, whereof all theis troubles have growne and not any willfull entente to offende her maiesty.

Item before the earle of Tyrone was proclamed, he wrote to the lord deputie and councell, desyringe that the causes which were received against hym myght be examyned and tryed, before he weore putt into the uttermost degree of disloyaltie. And the marshall to prevent therle of all favor did intercept the messenger, by the way and stayed his letters, untill the Earle was proclamed. He did not enlargde the messenger, untill he gave xii li sterling, for his enlardgement, whereas, yf he had suffred his letters then to have paste to the lord deputy, therle assureth himself, he had not byne proclamed.

Item, the Lord Thresorer of Englande being a greate friend to the said Sir William Fitzwilliams and the Marshall, did, as therle is crediblie enformed, suppress and counceale from her maiesty, suche articles of greffe, as sondrie tymes he exhibited to severall commissioners, which could not have byne knowne to her highnes, if by his meanes the contrary had not byne wrought. And also as therle understandeth, the lord Thresorer wrote letters over to cutt therle of, by eny meanes.

Hugh Tirone

Item firste, havinge brought to her maiesties obedience, without any great charges to her

highnes, all the Clandeboyes, McCartans countrey, Kilyltagh³⁵, Kilvarlin³⁶, Ohanlons country, and all the McMahownes countrey. The same was no sooner don; but the rule of them was taken from me, and geven to myne Enemye the marshall, who beinge not contented to enioye the sweete of my services; was the onelie undermyner of me, from tyme to tyme by all the meanes he could.

Item in the tyme of the government of Sir William Fitzwilliams after the moste shamefull executinge of Hugh Roe McMahan, the Marshall havinge bribed the said Sir William, by gevinge him certen plate; of what value, I doe not nowe remember, though in former wrytinges, I have laied downe the same, did either enterteigne others, or did him selfe, accuse me at Dondalke, when the saide Lord Deputie and Councill weare there, of sondrie articles of treason, and procured base men, of none accompt from Carrickfergus, the fforte of Blackewater, and the Nury to prove the same. And also the constable of the Blackewater did apprehende a prieste of myne inhabitance to make matter, against me, which prieste beinge rescued from him by a nephewe of myne, who then slewe some, of the lord deputies men, I caused to be sente to Dondalke where I was myself, without eny assurance, or proteccion, to justefye myself against those accusacions.

Item upon thentringe into accion of Maguyre, by reason of the soddaine sendinge into his countrey of 3 or 4 hundreth souldiers, under couller of a sheryf, the now Lord Chancellor came to Ardee³⁷ to joyne the marshall and me together, to serve against Maguyre. Whereupon I was contented to forgett all old matters, betwene hym and me, and to joyne with him onlie, for that Maguyre brake with me, in not comynge to the state, as he promised me, he wold: And to that ende, did enterteigne upon my owne charges, oone thowsand ffootemen, besides horsemen and wente againste Maguyre, not knowinge whether the commission was absolutelie, for the marshall, or whether I was named therein or not, but (as I hard) I was named in the commission, till the marshall putt me out. And beinge in campe a certen distance from the others, the marshall, devising some myschief againste me, cawsed a false larowne to be rayseed in his campe, to take me at some advantage, which I answered more readilie, that that were with hym. And afterwards I, with my company did set foreward, to overtake some prayes, for the victualinge of the Armye, and desyred the Marshall, to sende parte of the Armye with me, and that he with the reste of them, wolde within two nights after, mete me at a certen place, then prefixed betwene us for the reliefe of my company, who were not hable, through overmuche travayle to be watchefull. He sente with me, but a smale number of men, of the refuse of his companies, exceptinge a feawe officers, and came not hymselfe till the third night after, to the metinge place, soe as by this, he lefte us open to the enemy, and by thother he sought matter to accuse me.

Item in the overthrowe against Maguyre at Bellycke³⁸, which had not byne done, as yt

³⁵ Kilultagh in county Antrim.

³⁶ Kilwarlin in county Down.

³⁷ Ardee

³⁸ Beleek

was, but by my meanes, wherein I was myself hurte, I shewed to the Marshall, the letters which I wrote to the lord deputie and councell touchinge the same to thende, that as we accorded in the service, soe their might be a correspondency in our wrytinge, concernyng the declaracion of the manner, and circumstances thereof. And in my letters I commended him as havinge slayne some of Thenemyes with his owne handes, though not as manye as he wold have me to name, who promised, to write favourable of me in his letters. Which he did not, but without makinge mencion of me, or of any of myne, he did seeke the credit of the service to himselfe, in asmuche as I had no thanks for the same, neither since that tyme, did the councell vouchsafe to wryte to me to serve against Maguyre, but rather the Lord Deputie called me in open audience at his owne table a connyng traytor.

Item, whereas I brought direccion out of England, to the Lord Deputy and Councell that I shold be satisfied of the some of 88 li sterling, which I lent unto Sir Rosse MacMahon knight, and that also my daughter, who was his wife, shold have her marriage goods, out of his countrey, or ells the third parte thereof in liewe of her dowerye. Notwithstandinge that I made sute for the same, sondrie tymes, yet I could never obtaine the same, or so muche justice at their handes.

As for many causes of grefe which have bene geven me by Sir William Fitzwilliams, and the Marshall, with their associates, whereof I do not nowe remember, I referre myself to suche articles, as heretofore I have exhibited unto former commysioners. Most humble besechinge your lord to cause searche to be made for them, and to have regard of me, whoe am distessed, by occasion of theis forehearsed practises, of my mallicious enemyes, as justice may be executed and myselfe to be received into her maiesties former good likinge, in all which I beseche your lord to be a humble suter for mee.

Item, nowe in this laste truce, concluded betwene the right honorable Lord lievetenante Generall and me, the Marshalls men by his owne direccion, murdered xxiiii of Magenys his men whoe were founde asleepe within a house, and cutt of all their heades: havinge in tyme of warres, done no harme, not the killing of one man and hath 3 or 4 bodrages of myne upon this truce. Wherin I assure my self the Lord Leivetenant Generall will take sufficient order.

Hugh Tirone

The matters and causes, wherin Therle of Tyrone was broken withall, in such proceedinges as paste betwene the Lord Generall Norreys and hym

First of all, at my first treatie with the Lord Generall Norreys I was promysed, that the truce then made should be iustelie and truelie observed. Whereupon I delyvered in my pledges for the contynuacion thereof on my side: yet not withstandinge I was broken withall, and thruste into a disloyall course agayne.

Secondlie upon my next treatie with Capten St Leger and Capten Warren, whoe were those that paste betwene the Lord Generall and me, I was likewise promysed, that the truce sholde be better observed and that comyssioners shold be appointed, for hearing and determyninge eny wronges, that weare comytted againste me in the tyme of truce. And when upon due examinacion thereof taken by the commissioners. Yt was apparantlied founde that I was wronged, and annoyed many wayes, and that under their handes writinge, they ordered me to have present restituccion, yet the same was not onelie deteyned from mee; But, I was forced out againe, to be upon my keepinge, and to live in that degree of disgrace which I detested.

Thirdlie, whereas for performance of theies former truces on my side, I putt in my pledges, at the expyracion of every three monthes, and that course to be contynued, untill the Lord Gennerall myght obtaine their particular names, and then a thorough peace to be concluded, yet contrary to all my pledges, are, as yet deteyned in the castle of Dublin.

Fowrthie upon a further conclusion made with the Lord Generall wherin I was more throughlie dealt withall, I was to putt in other pledges of greater waight for my loyaltie, which I performed accordinglie, and sente in such pledges, as the Lord Generall himself demaunded, as namelie the sonnes of both my brothers and they likewise were promysed, for their more ease to be exchanged, every three monethes, for other pledges, who nevertheless are likewise deteyned in the Castle of Dublin, contrary to all promises, And yt appeareth by the Lord Generalls letter of the xix of September 1596 that the pledges, were to be exchanged, for that he promysed to send my pledges, which he had at Dondalke by Capten Warren, to be exchanged for other pledges.

Fyftlie I was promysed that Feagh Mac Hugh should be receaved into her Maiesties favour, as I was my selfe, yet nevertheless he hath byne prosecuted ever since, untill he was slayne, which breach of promise hath bred a wonderfull feare, and discontentment in all the Irishrie.

Sixtelie, when upon the laste conclusion made with his lordship and the commissioners, I assured myself that there wold be a good, and through truce, observed, like as it was then faithfully promysed, yet nevertheless I was daylie, and contynuallie, spoyled. And though I estsones complayned, thereof to the Lord Generall, yet I had no restitution, as was well knowne to his lord and the captens that alwayes passed betwene his lord and me, insomuche as he fyndinge himself somewhat touched in honor, in that my pledges laye in, and that I had no satisfaccion for the harmes I susteyned, wrate to me with in a fortnight after, I sholde have all my pledges, which was neither performed. And albeit I am of opinion, that the Lord Generall (yf he were not overruled by the Lord Deputie) wold have taken better order, yet in whomsoever the fault was, I have occasion to saye, that no regarde was had, of the performance of her maiesties worde, which her officers paste to me, from tyme to tyme, or of the equitie of my causes. By reason of which breaches, I stande in greate doubtte, of the not performyng of what shalbe nowe

concluded upon, betwene the Lord Lievetenante Generall and me, through the overthwartnes of the Lords Justices, both the said Lords Generalls aucthorytie, being (as I thincke) alike.

Hugh Tirone

Whereas, I, Hugh Erle of Tyrone, have exhibited before the right honorable, Therle of Ormonde, and Ossorye Lord Lievetenante Generall of her maiesties forces, asysted with the lord bushop of Meath and Sir Geffrey Fenton knight, two of her highnes prive councill, certen articles of greefe aswell towching myselfe as other joyned with me, of sondry abuses don againste us. Now calling to remembrance, more to like effecte, which partelie I understood, since I was proclamed, have thought good to joine the same to the firste, leavinge out therein (which are sett downe in Odonells booke) many abuses don againste Conaght men by Sir Richard Byngham.

The harde and indirecte dealinge, againste Maguyre in placinge extorcious sheryfs upon him, proclayminge hym traytor, wastinge his countrey, without just cause.

Item my manifold good services don her maestie not regarded or made knowne to her highnes: and my reward, at the handes of Sir William Fitzwilliams, for my service, againste Maguyre was that he called me a Connyng Traytor, at his owne table openlie.

The indirecte attainder and execucion of Hugh Roe MacMahon by Sir William Fitzwilliams, grounded upon mallice, and not upon eny just cause, his landes and countrey devided, some geven the merchaunts and some to souldiers.

Item, the murderinge of Sir Brian Mac Phelym and Rowry Oge Mc Quyllyn.

Item OReylie, his countrey devided, extortious shreyffes and other officers therein placed.

Item the late ORowrke wrongfully banyshed and executed with like banyshment of McWilliam and his countrey devided.

Item ODowdie shamefully murdered without eny punishment thereof.

Item O Connor Sligoe his landes indirectlie kept from hym.

Item the nowe Odonnell, in the tyme of peace, indirectlie and treacherouslie taken and kept of longe tyme in pryson his countrey ruynated and wasted.

Item the most shamefull murder of John Bourke, his landes geven to the murtherer and his sonne nowe begginge.

Item the wrongfull banyshment of Ever Mc Cowlie out of the Ferney³⁹ by John Talbott.

Item therle of Clancartie made a mere begger.

Item the late Erle of Desmond (his sonne beinge in for pledge) was wrongefully urged to rebellion and pursued to death, his said sonne disinheryted being her maiesties godson, and all his landes and livinge bestowed uppon Englishmen with like banyshment of many good gentlemen of that countrey, together with the Moores and Conners extyrped and their landes devided amonge others.

Item, all Leinster devided on others.

Item, the viscounte Baltinglass urged for his conscience to rebellion, banyshed the countrey and his landes bestowed on others.

Item, the feaue that lived of the Moores and Conners, having pardon and then quiet subiects, were one daye moste shamefully murdered at a place called Molloughmaste.

Item, divers good gentlemen of the Englishe Pale, in Lord Grayes government, attainted and executed, for supposed treason, upon the wites of a raskall horseboy and protested traytor, their landes and goods taken for forefeiture.

Fynally, all countreys wasted by thextorcions, exaccions and badd usadge of soildiors, and officers, havinge to helpe the same, ymposicions and composicons. And not unlike shortely to be depopulated and ruynated and devided betwene councellors, lawyers and hungrie clarkes of courtes. All which with many more like abuses and villanies hath urged me, witch suche as joyned with me to feare the like measure, to be don against us, and therefore, to have a care of our lives. Most humblie prayinge your lordship to acquainte her maiestie herewith for wee assure ourselves, all theis abuses were committed without her maiesties privitie consent or auctoritie. And in your soe doinge wee hope her highnes will use speedie remedie in grauntinge us our juste and lawfull requestes.

Posted by *HIRAM MORGAN IRCHSS SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW, February 2009*

³⁹ Farney in Monaghan