

XV. *Sir Henry Sydney\* to Arthur lord Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland; how to proceed in his Government of that kingdom.*

(Sydney State Papers, by Collins, 1746, vol. i. p. 279.)

I doe remember, my very good lord, that I wrought unto you I would by Auditor Jenison wright more at large, whose comminge hether to me put me in remembraunce of the same. And now, my lord, in satisfaction of your requests, and easyng of my desirous mynde of your happie success in that unhappie countrie, in the lovingest manner that I canne, I sende unto your lordship theis notes followinge; which if I shold laye downe as principles of government to your lordshippe I might well be likened to the puttock that taught the faulcon to flie; or, if I shold wright unto you any instructions for martiall dessines or actions, I might well be scorned with that scholler that offred to reade to Hanibale *de arte militari*.

But nowe to beginne, and that with Godde Almightye. As I knowe you are reldigious, so I wishe your lordshippe to frequent sermons and praier in publike places; it would comforte the fewe protestants you have there, and abashe the papistes, whereof you have many.

Have speciall regarde to the helthe of your bodie; be not withoute a phisitian of your owne, and he of this land's birthe; and as you have ben alwaies delighted in vertuous and noble exercises, so what busines soever you have, use wekely some daies, or rather dailie some howers, to continewe the same; otherwise ye shall bothe dull your sprights, and make your bodie unable to serve.

Provide carfull and bowlde officirs for your howshold; and put on a determinacion to live within the compass of your allowance, wherin I wishe you to make a patterne of other men rather than of me; who by spending there (and yet in truthe not prodigalie) am forced to spoile my patrimonie heere, with what reward or thank I knowe your lordship cannot be ignorant; and lett one of the princepall officers of your howshold have a care for the collection of your cesse for the same. And now, *ut uno verbo dicam*, never agree withowte cesse, for if you take money, it wilbe made a greate matter heere, and yet not serve your torne their. Trust me, o my lord, this one perticuler was the thinge that chefely brack my backe, which I only released to bringe the people more wiling to advaunce the revenewe of the crowne; and so I did,

\* Four times lord justice and three times lord deputy.

as hereafter your lordship shall perceiue in this lettre. This officer I termed my clarke controwler ; and albeit I had bothe thesorer and controwler, his precedents in ranke, yet had I never a one that I trusted better. If your lordship or your officers have neede of any formiler of my howshold held there, if you wright unto me for it, I will sende it you, so sone as I can gette it ; for here I have none for that countrie. Be suer of a iuste and painfull man to be gentleman of your horse, who shall have neede to have a yoman under him ; in theis two officers resteth much, importinge bothe honnor and profitte. There liveth yet an owld man, Powle Greene by name, unto whome, by the waie, I beseeche your lordship to be good lord : he can instructe, and I am suer will, for so have I written to him, who soever he be, that your lordship will putte in that office.

Your beinge in actuall warres, I neede not to advise your lordship to make none, withowte the consente of the councell ; but for any charge that may be for the same warres layde upon the countrie, doe it not withowte calling them to it, and others of the nobilitie, as hath been accustomed ; for although you have not all to consente with you, yet I dowte not but you shall have so strong a partie, as alwaies shalbe sufficient for your discharge. One greate matter you shall have to deale in at the councell borde, which is the cesse for the armie and your howshold ; and, my lord, as this advised, compownde not for any moneye they will offer you. I did, and, as I writ before, undid myself by the same ; for, upon their grevous complaintes affirminge that some one ploughe-land was chardged with twelve pounds, and I think might prove they were chardged with eight, I compounded with them for five marks *sterlinge* ; which five marks *sterlinge* upon everie ploughe-land amownted to two thowsand and fower hundred pownds *sterlinge* for one yeare, and the same received within one hundred pownds, little more or lesse, by the above named clerke controwler ; and the same might have ben fixed to the crowne imperiall for ever, yf it had ben well stode to here. The limites and counties chardged to this I thinke will apere in the councell booke ; if not, I knowe none so able to informe you as the secrtery Chalinor ; my opinion is, your lordship shold be resolute in this, that you cesse them accordinge to th'estate of your howshold, and number of your garison. The man laste named I ever fownde painful, skilfulle, and faithfull ; and prairie your lordship to be good lord to him, and lette him knowe that I forgette him not. My deere

lord, in consultacion of this matter, and of all other matters that must be treated of at councell borde, suppressse passion ; you shalbe tempted *in summo gradu*. I had forgotten one late thinge, and yet materiall, and that is, the choise of cessers for the garison, and raters for your howshold ; for albeit I fownde some more honeste than other, yet amongst them all never a perfect honest man.

For the warres now in action, I wotte not what to wright, for that not long agoe my lord of Lecester wright unto me of your lordship's safe arrivall there, of the deathe of sir Jeames of Desmond, and of th'overthrowe of sir John his brother, and howe everie thinge wente well ther : but since I have harde of a shrewde conflicte in Goulranell, and divers principall men slaine in the same, and that the Desmonds are of such force as they be able to kepe two armyes ; and to whether of theis factions I shold advise your lordship to adresse your self, consideringe the nereness of the one to Dublin, th'opinion and possibilitie of the landinge of forren force to th'aide of th'other ; towards which if this yeare you doe advaunce, leave a stronge garde uppon the Pale behinde you ; for a cottage burnt there will be made more here then a towne burnt in Mounster. If you will this yeare goe about th'extirpinge of those caniballs of Goulranell and their neigbrowres, or when you will, if your lordship lette me knowe it, I think I will laye you downe a better plotte then ever any yet of your predecessors for these two hundred yeares ever followed ; and lette it not trouble you that your people tokesome blowe there, for I doe not remember that ever any attempte was made there nor yet ever harde by my elders, but that we had more losse then gaine. Those vermin have lived there offensivelie to Englishe men and Irish government above iiijc. yeares : and yet I thinke it verry possible, and verry feycible to subdue or expulse them ; and dowteless an acre wonne there is more honorable and profitable for the state, then a myle in any other remote place. Once again, my lord, if you goe into Mownster, leave a stronger garde uppon the Pale, and spare not to burden them of the countrie to doe it ; it is for themselves ; and what masse of threasure this crowne exhausteth, besides that they yerelye doe, they cannot be ignorant of. I wishe your lordship should in person be in either action.

If you go into Mownster I cannot perceive that there is any maner or proceedinge yet, but marcially ; this I had forgotten, that you leave all of that countrie birthe behinde you, that are men to make any defence, and

truste to your soldiers. Some counsellors of the countrie you shall neede to have with you ; the potentates of that province truste not till you have tried them, yet happely you muste use them, but lette them comme imbrued [*qu.* unarmed] before you greatelie allowe them.

And since it is marciallie that you must proceede, and considering your experience and judgmente, I seasse to treate any more of that, lest, as I wright in the begininge of my lettre, I might power more follie out of my self then put wisdome into you ; only this, that you spare for no coste to gette spies. Knaves will be bought for money ; and for helpinge of you to suche I knowe none so apte men as Thomas Masterson, Robert Pipno, and Robert Harpole, all which I fownde honeste, servisable, and faithfull ; all which I doe recomend unto your good Lordship's favoure.

Me thinks it is nowe owte of season to make any treatise or discorse of a generall reformation, for that were like as if a man seinge his howse on fire wold sette downe and drawe a plotte for a newe, before he wold put his helpinge hande to quenche the owlde. Neither yet doe I knowe what course you shalbe directed, or of yourself are inclined to howld ; for if your course be either by direction or inclinacion to temporise, then must you proceede in different maner from that course which you muste howld, if you aspire to a perfecte reformation of that acursed countrie. Here will come in question whether provinciall counsells and forces be to be mainteined or not, and as theis courses be different, so muste you use difference of action, councellers, and ministers ; and herin, whensoever you will make me privy, you shall have the beste advice that I shalbe able to geve you ; protestinge that if Philip Sidney were in your place, who most earnestlie and often hath spoken and writen to doe this lovinge office, he, I saie, shold have no more of me then I moste willinglie will wright to you from tyme to tyme. But it wilbe beste that you oppose me by questions : I will answer them as well as I can.

And nowe, my good lord and beloved companion, I will sease to wright of any matter, and to treate a little of men. The moste sufficient, moste faithfull, kinde, that ever I fownde there, were the barron of Uper Ossery, sir Lucas Dillon, and sir Nicholas Malbie ; these for principall men both for counsell and action, and who ever moste dilligentlie and faithfullie discharged that which I comitted to them, and trulie they be men of greate sufficiencie. Make much of this bringer, for he may, and I am suer will,

stand your lordship in stede: I have alwaies fownde him a juste, sownde, frende. If he be alive, there is an honest gentleman called Thomas le Strange; he was some tymes henchman to kings, and at the laste servaunte to me, and nowe to the queene, planted there by me: yf it please you to call him to you at tymes, and give him good countenance, he will well informe you of that tracte of the countrie where he dwelleth. I recomend to your lordship also Launcelot Alforde, the survaioir. All theis I have fownde sownde and faste frends to me. I had almoste forgotten my nerest and derest frend and kinsman, and knight of myne owne makinge, nephew and godson, sir Henry Harrington: I besече your lordship bestowe on him your favourable and lovinge cowntenance; you shall find in him nobiletie of mynde, and that he is not voide of good counsell throughe experience. It is not for lack of love that I place not aright your martiall there, sir Nicholas Bagnall, whom I have ever fownde a faithfull constant frend, and servisable and moste faste and assured to that famelie wherwith I am matched, and with which your lordship is allied; his sonne, my godson and knight, I recomende unto your lordship. I desier your lordship to geve your good countenance to my owld cossen Jaques Wingfeld; I truste he will deserve it. And nowe laste, thoughte not least in likinge, the bishop of Methe, whom I ever fownde a good councillor for the state, a good countrieman for the comon wealthe, a good howsekeeper, and alwaies my faste and sownde frend. These that I have thus written of, I pray you lette them knowe that I have not forgotten them to your lordship. I might wright of many other, but I will wright evell of none; yet evell have I fownde of some whome you must use, for hapelie God ordeined them to be scourges for my sinnes: and yet they may be good and fruitfull instruments to farther your service, (which if you finde) use them thereafter, and like them never the lesse for any thinge don to me; but if benefit wold have bownde, I shold have fownde fast where I fownde lose.

As I finde your lordship liketh this I will supplie you with more, and nowe desire you to comend me to the newcomes of Ireland, videlicet, my cossen John Cheke, who, withowte challenge be it spoken, passed by Chester and sawe me not, albeit he tarried there daies enoughe; and to my good allie John Zouche, whom I thanke for comminge to me to this towne, and to my governer and deere frend mr. Edward Denny, unto all which I wishe from my harte all good and happynes.

My lord, I had forgotten three kinsmen of myne, sir Edward More, Owen More, and Thomas More; one of them was my man and nowe the quenes, th'other my lord of Warwick's, and nowe a knight, the third my man still; I pray your lordship lette them knowe that I forgette them not. The beste worthy of captens that I lefte behinde me was Humfrie Mackworth; he was a boye of myne owne breedinge: I prairie your lordship favower him the rather for my sake. I knowe I shall have many other that in respecte of me will desire grace at your hands; and according to the goodnes of the cawse I beseche you to extend the same unto them. I wold that they for whome I have written might knowe that I have not forgotten them, and that you would kepe this lettre secret, least others not named might take occasion to deme themselves of me condemned.

My lord, I did omitte to wright this lettre myself only for the shaking of my hande, which is such as with difficultie I wright myne owne name, but also for that my lettres written are to any reader, yea almoste to my self, illegible; and so I praye you accept it, though sette downe by the pen of my man, yet delivered by the tonge of my self. Finalie I comend myselfe, my sonne Phillip (who is not here), and the frendship and service of us bothe, to your good lordship, whom you shall finde your faste and sounde frends. From Denbighe the xvijth of September 1580.

Your lordship's ancient allie, lovinge companion, and faithfull frend,

H. SYDNEY.

POSTSCRIPT.

My lord,—There is a debte due unto me by Oreilie, for the recoveringe whereof I have put Launcelot Alforde in trust; but for that men of his sorte, who are not commonlie to be delte withall by ordinarie auctoritie, become slowe paiers of there debtt excepte they be verrie earnestlie solicited, I prairie your lordship therfore (if neede be) to asiste Alforde by your countenance and commission, the rather to quicken him to procure me paymente. My good lord, I had almoste forgotten, by reason of the diversitie of other matter, to recomende unto you, amongst other of my frends, sir Henry Cowley, a knight of myne owne makinge, who whilst he was yonge, and the habilitie and strengthe of his bodie served, was valliant, fortunate, and a good servante, and havinge by my appointment the charge of the King's Countie, kept the countrie well ordred and in good

obedience. He is as good a borderer as ever I fownde any there. I lefte him at my cominge thence a counsellor, and tried him for his experience and judgment, verry sufficient for the rome he was called unto. He was a sownde and faste frend to me, and so I dowte not but your lordship shall finde when you have occasion to imploye him. And once more, my lord, I praye you to be good to Thomas Masterson ; he is one of the ancienteste followers I had there, and one that hathe ben of longest acquaintance with me : you shall finde him valliant, of greate experience, and a verry good borderer, and fitte to be used when you shall have any occasion to trie his service. Finally, my lord, take this for my laste precepte : make not many ministers for the layinge owte of your money, and to deale with your purse. What losse I susteined that waie no man can better informe your lordship then this bearer, who knewe my estate, and by what meanes and degrees I toke the moste harme.

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XVI.—*Her Majesties Instructions to the lord Grey of Wilton, when he wente Lord Deputy into Ireland in anno 1580.*

(Lambeth MSS. 600, p. 236.)

Instructions for the Lord Grey in Julie, 1580.

ELIZABETH.

Wheras, at the late humble request of our servant Pelham, servinge presentlie in that our realme of Irland as Justice, we are moved to disburden him of that goverment committed unto him, and to send thether another to supplie his place. In respect of the good opinion we have conceived not only of your wisdom and judgment, aswell in marshall as civile affayres, but also of your integritie, we have made choise of you to take that charge uppon you, not doubtinge but the good effects of your goverment there will fullie answeere our expectation and hope ; and though he it shall not be verie needfull to give longe instructions for the managinge of the affaires of that realme to one of your sufficiencie, yet we have thought it good to deliver unto you (before you repayre over) a short memoriall of these points followinge :—

First, for the better direction of yourself in that goverment, you shall duellie observe such instructions as are containyd in the late orders an-