

L.O.

956

THE REBELLION OF JAMES EUSTACE,
VISCOUNT BALTINGLASS III, 1580-81:

A study of the causes, course and consequences
of the response of an Anglo-Irish Catholic
layman to Elizabethan religious repression

Elizabeth Ann O'Connor
B.A. H.dip. in Ed.

Submitted to the Department of History,
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth
in fulfilment of the requirements for
the M.A. Degree

July 1989

SUMMARY

This study is divided into an introduction, six chapters and a conclusion. The introduction presents and examines the interpretation afforded by historians to the Baltinglass revolt. Chapter one portrays the history of the Eustace family who settled in Ireland in the 13th century. It traces their growth of political power, the expansion of their lands and their close ties of loyalty with the crown and with the Catholic religion. The salient points of the career of Roland Eustace, baron of Portlester, are described. His political ability and his adherence to principle are portrayed. The marriage links which he formed with powerful Anglo-Irish families are demonstrated. The close links fostered with the Gaelic community and members of the Eustace family; the proximity of family lands to the marcher areas, thus strengthening these bonds, are developed.

The career of Roland Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass II, is also described. His long loyal service to the queen as a member of the élitist Pale community is presented alongside his leading role in the cess campaign that spanned almost three decades. The alienation of the family from the Dublin administration is demonstrated in Roland's son and heir James's stance before the ecclesiastical commission in 1578 and in Roland's reaction to Nicholas Bagenal's levying of men and horses in Kilcullen, contrary to the cess agreement.

Chapter two traces the family life enjoyed by the Eustace children in the marcher area, the early education gained

through the expertise of Sir Norman Eustace and later the education which James Eustace received as a young man at the Inns of Court. The Catholicism of this education is represented. The developing official policy towards Catholicism and its effects on Archbishop Creagh and the lay reaction of some students to this is introduced. The careers of priests like Fr Robert Rochford and Dr Tanner, whose lives and idealism served to form and influence the Eustace family, are examined. James Eustace's sojourn in the Rome of Pope Gregory XIII becomes the catalyst that forms his opposition to government religious policy. The chapter concludes with a description of this episode.

Chapter three describes the effect of James Fitzmaurice's campaign on James Eustace. It explores the anti-violent attitude of Gerald, earl of Kildare to political and religious allegiance. The meetings and letters pertaining to a Pale rebellion are discussed. The groundwork laid by the priests for the rebellion throughout the Pale is described. The alliances with important families in the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish communities, in conjunction with the activities of these priests, is represented. The links with the Nugents, Sedgraves and Fitzsimons are traced through contemporary statements and eye-witness accounts.

Chapter four describes the outbreak of the rebellion on 15 July 1580, precipitated by Archbishop Adam Loftus's determination to apprehend James Eustace. It develops further the measure of involvement (Gerald) Kildare was prepared to offer.

The battles, burnings of towns and villages, the pillaging of cattle, the destruction of castles, houses and farms are enumerated. The links with the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, also in revolt and with Dr Sanders are manifested. Reactions of the various New English and Anglo-Irish government officials are examined. The arrival of Lord Grey de Wilton and the reaction of Lord Justice Pelham are interlaced with the events in the Pale, Ulster, Munster and Connacht. The eventual imprisonment of Kildare and the baron of Delvin for complicity in the revolt is outlined and examined.

Chapter five describes the flight of Eustace and Fr Rochford and the co-operation afforded them by the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish peoples. Their efforts in Spain and in Rome to revitalise continental interest to send a fleet to aid the Catholics in Ireland, are delineated. The outbreak of the Nugent revolt and the execution of young men of the Pale is recorded. The land disputes and the jealousy caused by Grey's land grants to favourites are portrayed. The continental perceptions to the rebellion are presented and examined.

Chapter six details the plight of James Eustace on the continent; the situation in the Pale in the aftermath; the involvement of wealthy members of the patriciate community and of Archbishop Dermot O'Hurley with Eustace's attempt to lead a religious revolt. The chapter concludes with the demise of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass II.

The conclusion describes Sir John Perrot's parliament of

1585 and the impetus afforded to historical trends, particularly to the lay religious response, in the decade following the Baltinglass revolt.

- o -

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance, guidance and encouragement always afforded to me by the director of this thesis, Dr Colm Lennon. Without his expertise and patience, this work would not have been completed.

I wish to thank Rev Monsignor P.J. Corish for his consideration and belief in my ability to pursue this study, for the many Latin, Spanish and Italian documents which he translated for me and for the confidence he inspired through his lectures and seminars.

My thanks also to Professor R.V. Comerford who so readily helped to pave my way to following this study, and to the members of the History Department of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the tolerance and affection shown by my husband Aidan and my children Eileen, Isobel, Gillian and Aidan to me in the course of this work. I wish to express also my deepest appreciation and gratitude to my father, Mr Timothy O'Connor, and to my mother, the late Mrs. Eileen O'Connor, who sadly did not see the completion of this work which is dedicated to their love, encouragement and example. I am also grateful to my brothers and sisters, especially Stephanie and Claire for their frequent offers of help.

My thanks to the staff of John Paul II Library, Maynooth and to the National Library for their assistance, to Catherine Heslin for her typing, and to the many friends, old and new, maintained and gained during the course of this work.

To my parents,

Mr. Timothy O'Connor and
the late Mrs. Eileen O'Connor.

NOTE

In accordance with current practice spelling in quotations has been modernised with the exception of a few archaic words. Punctuation has followed the sense of the quotation. The abbreviations used in footnotes are as recommended in Rules for Contributors to Irish Historical Studies (rev. ed., January 1980).

CONTENTS

	page
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter I: THE EUSTACE FAMILY IN THE 13th, 14th and 15th CENTURIES	10
Chapter II: THE DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION OF THE CATHOLIC SCION OF AN ANGLO-IRISH FAMILY	35
Chapter III: THE LAYING OF THE GROUNDWORK FOR REBELLION	68
Chapter IV: THE COURSE OF THE BALTINGLASS REBELLION	106
Chapter V: REACTIONS, EXAMINATIONS AND EXECUTIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE REBELLION	167
Chapter VI: THE FINAL CONTINENTAL SOJOURN AND SUPPLICATIONS OF A CATHOLIC ADVOCATE ...	220
CONCLUSION	243
FOOTNOTES	252
APPENDICES	313
BIBLIOGRAPHY	329

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally the Baltinglass rebellion was seen as a Catholic crusade led by a zealous but misguided idealist. This was based on the view that James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass III, was motivated by religious fervour and was prepared to risk his position as a privileged member of the Pale elite in pursuit of his goal - the restoration of the lawful practice of Catholicism in Ireland.

More recently the reason for Eustace's uprising has been subjected to scrutiny in the light of developments in Irish Tudor historiography, resulting in the modification of the view of the accepted interpretation that the viscount was solely impelled by credal conviction. The possibility of his representing the economic and social grievances of his social order has been posited. As a prelude to this study of the background, course and results of the Baltinglass rebellion, it may be appropriate to survey briefly the historiographical tradition relating to the rebellion in some detail and also to comment briefly on the nature of the source-material which is available for such an investigation.

The contemporary and near-contemporary Catholic view of the Baltinglass revolt is to be found in the writings of David Rothe, Philip O'Sullivan Beare and John Howlin.¹ For them Eustace was the illustrious champion who took up arms in defence of the Catholic faith professed by their ancestors against the unjust persecutions of Queen Elizabeth. Many

noble Catholics were hanged in Dublin on 26 May 1581. They were regarded as martyrs for the Catholic faith. The list of martyrs included priests and laymen, of whom four were from Wexford. Maurice Eustace's sentiments as he was taken to his execution in November 1581, embody this interpretation. Maurice Eustace declared to Archbishop Loftus, who had offered his daughter, with an ample dowry in marriage, should he adopt Protestantism

For Jesus Christ's sake, I have come here ready to suffer ignominy and pain, and to shed my blood. Great is my joy. I will not abandon Christ for a heretical wife, for an uncertain life, and for my liberty; and as He died for me on the cross, I desire and hope to die for Him on the scaffold.

2

All those who were executed in the furore of the aftermath of the revolt were regarded as Catholic idealists who made the final sacrifice and although James Eustace escaped the martyr's fate, he is regarded as a great and committed Catholic advocate.

The tradition of thus being viewed as dying in the Catholic cause despite the futility of the rebellion was carried on to the modern period to R. Bagwell's³ and to M.V. Ronan's writings. The perception of Eustace as the champion of the Catholic cause persisted to the present century. The classic account of R. Bagwell depicted Eustace as a Catholic champion who had experienced the Counter-Reformation in the Rome of Pope Gregory XIII.⁴ James openly flouted the religious strictures imposed on people in Ireland in 1578. The repressive

policy engaged in by the ecclesiastical commission towards his disobedience, coupled with the economic discontent aroused by the active campaign against the cess led by Roland Eustace and the commonwealthmen, pushed Eustace towards rebellion. The Munster rebellion, the disturbances caused by John and Ulick Burke in Connacht and the turbulence of Turlough Luineach in Ulster created a climate of dissent which infiltrated the Pale and gave Eustace the impetus to begin his holy war.

M.V. Ronan traced the development and imposition of the Protestant religion by Elizabeth and her administrators, and the impact on them of the New English as a background to the events of 1558-80.⁵ He also developed the importance of the continental powers for the progression of religious activity in Ireland. He gave history a fresh interpretation based on the examination of documents stored in continental repositories. R.D. Edwards continued this new approach and prepared the ground for a more scientific investigation based also on national and continental sources.⁶ He offered a European perspective of the Catholic position in Ireland. In the 1920s and 1930s the traditional Catholic view of the Baltinglass revolt held good but the groundwork was laid for a more scientific and analytic approach. Edwards argued that the absolution of subjects from their allegiance to Elizabeth in the papal bull 'Regnans in excelsis' changed the whole issue for Catholics. A war against Elizabeth became a crusade. This new view fuelled by the repressive policy begun by Lord Deputy Sidney, continued by Lord Justice Drury and implemented through the ecclesiastical commission drove James Eustace to rebel. The cess, the

injustices of the Anglo-Irish officials and the very real fear of an exterminatory war increased the general discontent and malaise. James Eustace in the name of Counter-Reformation Catholicism called on the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish people to join him in his rebellion.

For the Protestant and Church of Ireland perspective in the early twentieth century of the Baltinglass revolt, G.V. Jourdan is most beneficial.⁷ He traced the rise of recusancy in the 1570s and 1580s. In the wake of Pope Gregory XIII's brief to the bishops, chiefs, lords and people of Ireland, inciting them to rise against the queen in a holy crusade that offered plenary indulgence, James Eustace rose in rebellion. Eustace when in Rome had made up his mind on a vital issue. G.V. Jourdan wrote, 'As usual in such cases he had not only formed a judgement for himself on the vital point at issue, but had become insolently contemptuous of any differing judgement'. Baltinglass took the sword, commanded by the highest power on earth, and totally rejected Elizabeth as head of the church. The possibility of general revolt spreading throughout Ireland was prevented by the propitious arrival of Lord Grey de Wilton.

As Baltinglass attracted only meagre forces to his cause, Lord Grey soon succeeded in driving him into exile in Spain. In summation Jourdan lays much of the blame for the rebellion of Baltinglass and Desmond and Nugent at the Vatican door. He wrote, 'the ceaseless energy of the Vatican, its plots, its manifestoes, its hosts of emissaries everywhere; the recent

insurrections of the south and midlands of Ireland which had resulted in the almost complete destruction of a great Anglo-Irish house, events that caused the rest of the lords to fear lest their own powers might be curbed or reduced ... ' These factors in addition to the influence of an Anglo-Irish youth educated in foreign seminaries and universities, thus acquiring a Roman outlook and anti-Elizabethan bias conjoined to foster a preception of the need for a government policy that was prudent, tactful and just, on the part of some officials.

The epitome of the portrayal of the revolt as a crusade for Catholicism is to be found in Woulfe's brief review.³ He differentiated between the political outlook of the Palesmen and the Gaelic people but found them at one in upholding the supremacy of the Holy See and the integrity of Catholic teaching.

A new phase of historiography was ushered in when historians began to use a novel scientific approach in the wake of R.D. Edwards. Historians such as B. Bradshaw, C. Brady, N.P. Canny, P.J. Corish, S.G. Ellis, C. Lennon and M. MacCurtain have revised the traditional interpretation of the Tudor period. They have brought to light new facts in the presentation of political, social and ecclesiastical history of that era. In general the post-Vatical II writers do not deviate too much from the accepted view that the Baltinglass rebellion was motivated by religion but they offer a wide scope for other concerns. B. Bradshaw saw the year 1567 as vital when the newly-created Archbishop Loftus of Dublin initiated an era of penal legislation.⁹ The sword was the precursor of the word. This new

policy allied to the decline in the political significance of the Anglo-Irish community helped to pave the way for such a development as the Baltinglass revolt. For C. Brady the rebellion was an outspoken protest, led by Eustace, a religious zealot whose followers were spokesmen for opposition to government policy, frustrated by failed constitutional politics particularly in the wake of a strong anti-cess campaign.¹⁰ They displayed the first overt signs of resentment towards the government in the late 1550s when serious allegations were made against Sussex's administration. The social, economic and political frustration of the Pale community manifested itself in the revolt.

N.P. Canny examined in detail the economic and political considerations in the lives of the Anglo-Irish community. It was pressurised by the government policies of the 1560s and 1570s and to escape this, some of them entered into revolt. Families like the Eustaces of Baltinglass and the Nugents of Devlin always gravitated towards a lineage culture and maintained a distance from members of the reformed church.¹¹ The reformers were too closely identified with the political and military programmes and this alliance served to alienate in the 1580s and 1590s a hitherto compliant populace. The postponement of the missionary drive of the reformed church and the worldly concern of its clergy in comparison with the zeal and enthusiasm of the Counter-Reformation clergy widened the political and social division between such families as the Eustaces and the Nugents and the English administration.

P.J. Corish interpreted the religious conflicts of the

seventeenth century as part of a wider pattern of cultural change where national monarchies were trying to control hitherto unruly nobilities and independent burghers; and everywhere, in one measure or another, this change was resisted.¹² The discontent of the mid-1570s was with a political programme that threatened traditional local liberties but the new religion also appeared as an element in that programme. Counter-Reformation Catholicism was active enough by then to make its challenge for the allegiance of a population to whom Elizabeth's religion was a social and political threat. The Pale reached its crisis in 1580, not merely a crisis of faith, fatherland or taxation but a very complex one - the crisis of a conservative society under pressure to change its ways. James Eustace's main motive was religious while that of his Anglo-Irish adherents was secular as well as religious.

S.G. Ellis developed the view that the rebellion was a new sign of the ideology of Catholic nationalism to be established in its purest form in this episode.¹³ He compares the ideology of the revolt with that of the Dutch revolt against King Philip II of Spain - both communities were loyal but pressurised by a high-handed religious power. He synthesises the view of Baltinglass as a religious idealist and recognises Canny and Brady's view but sees the rebellion as important in making a new departure and setting the scene for the impact and development of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland in the decade that followed.

C. Lennon has evaluated the important influence of

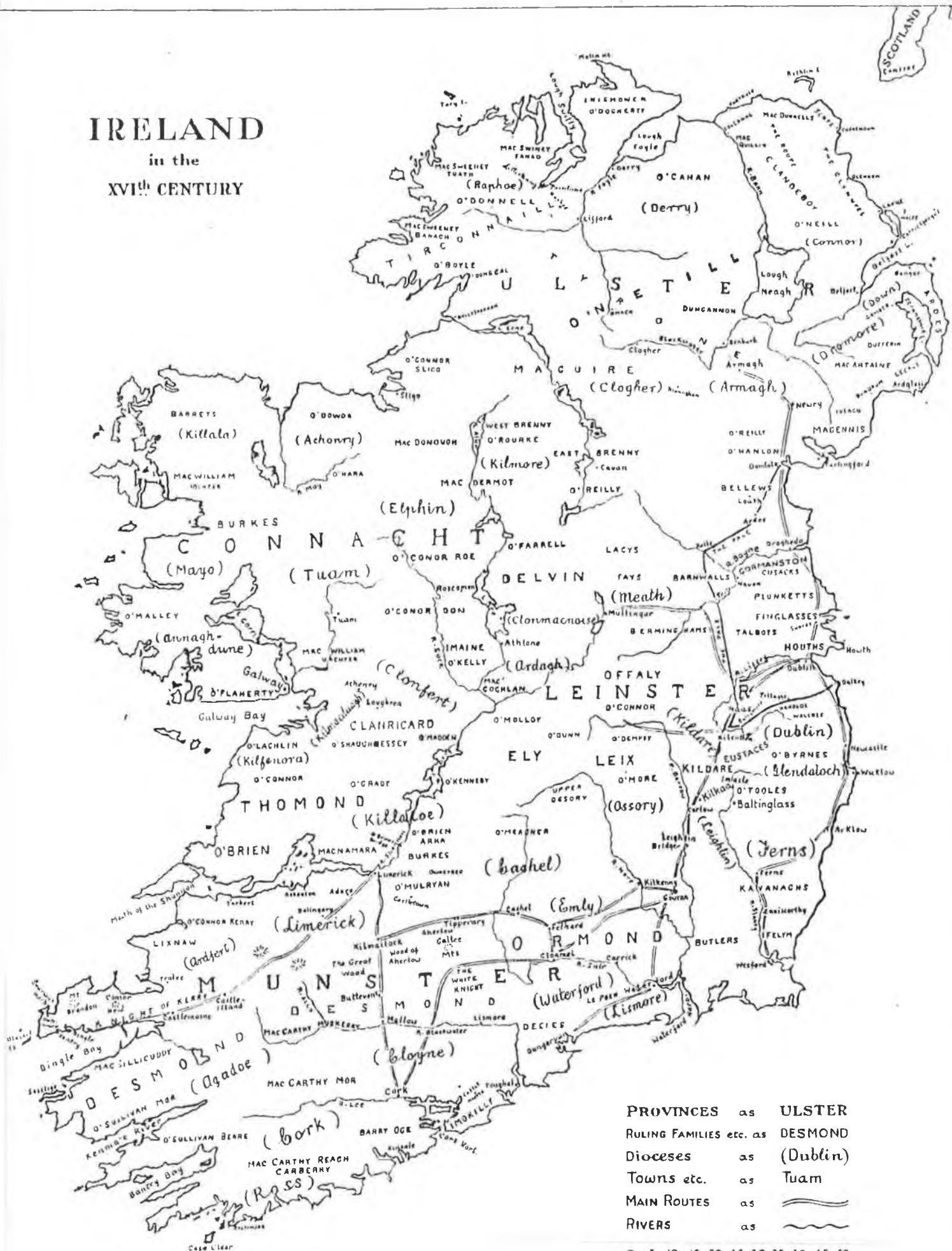
religion on lay people and clergy.¹⁴ He has surveyed the literature for popular response to the religious controversy including the records of administrative and military leaders and has used national and continental sources from the Catholic side to create a stimulating and balanced picture. Examining the response of the Pale patriciate community to the revolt, he concluded that 'the effect of the political side of the European Catholic resurgence upon events in Ireland helped to cause the slow transformation in the religious disposition of the patrician majority from the later 1570s onward'. James Eustace rose in rebellion for the restoration of Catholicism and found support among members of the community. M. MacCurtain saw the rebellion as a response by Eustace to the plea made by the earl of Desmond, who was relying on substantial reinforcements from both Spain and the pope.¹⁵ His appeal was 'to join in the defence of our Catholic faith against Englishmen which have overrun our country'.



The sources for this study are chiefly to be found in the microfilmed documents of the State Papers Elizabeth, stored in John Paul II Library, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth and in the National Library. These documents are numerous and contain fascinating and detailed information on the causes, course and outcome of the Baltinglass revolt and on the responses and interpretation of contemporaries. The letters in the State Papers of Spain and Venice offer a continental perspective. The Irish annals give a colourful account of the rebellion.

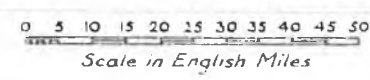
When the broad range of documents is examined, and James Eustace is placed in the context of his time, it is to be hoped that the fullest possible understanding of the nature of his rebellion may be established.

IRELAND

in the
XVIth CENTURY

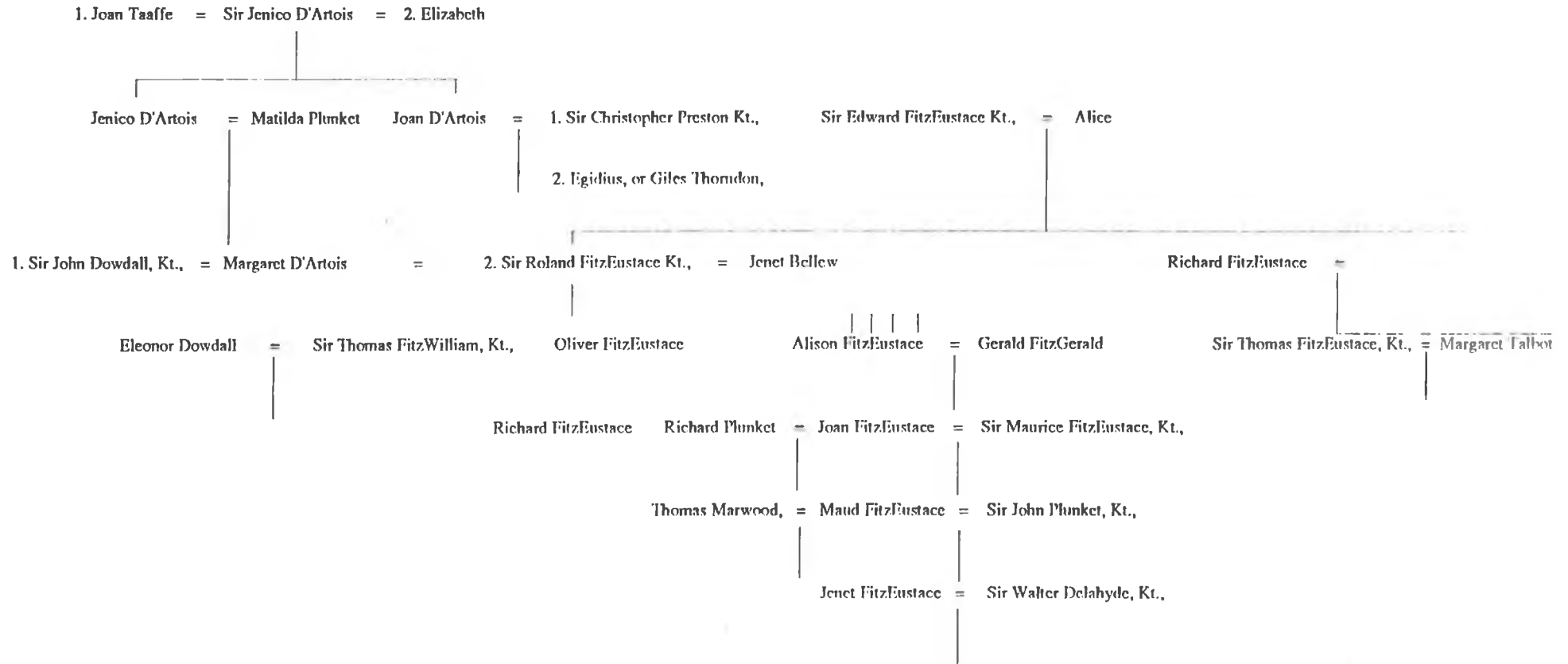


PROVINCES as ULSTER
 RULING FAMILIES etc. as DESMOND
 Dioceses as (Dublin)
 Towns etc. as Tuam
 MAIN ROUTES as 
 RIVERS as 

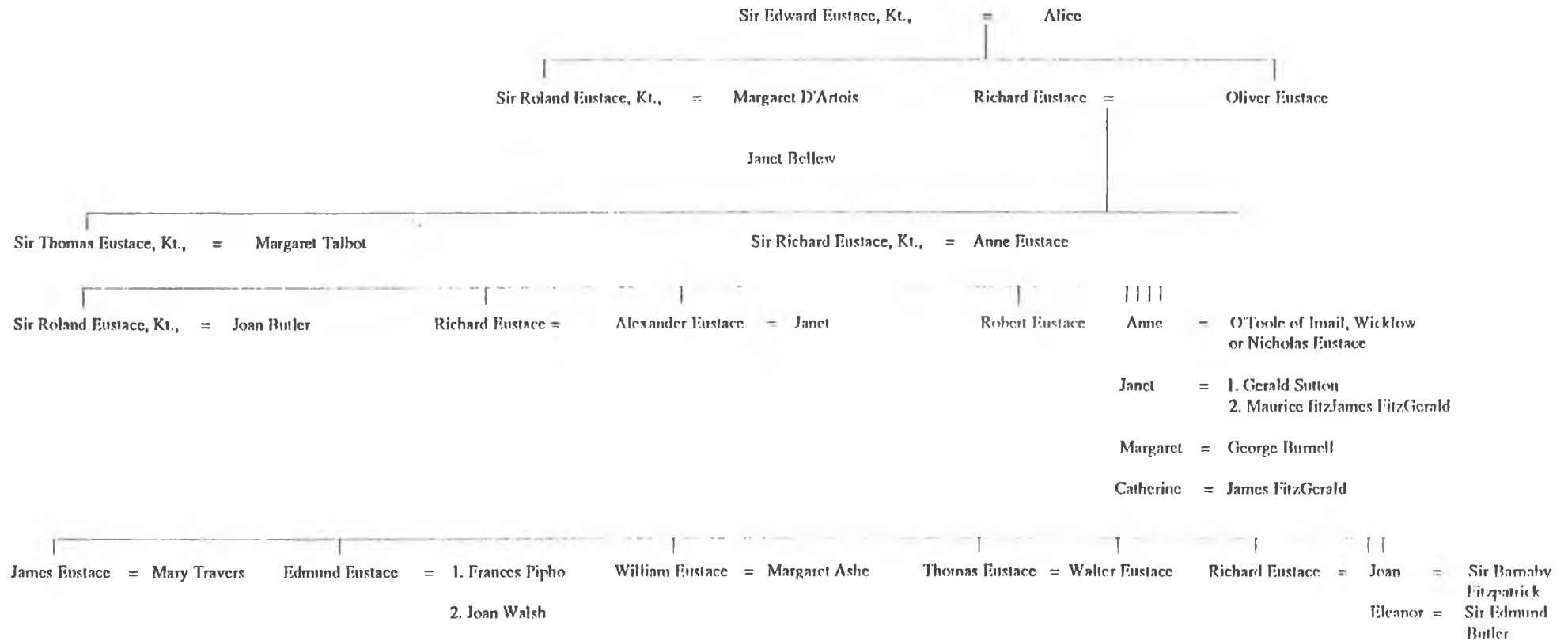


Made by
 M.V. RONAN

PEDIGREE OF SIR ROLAND FITZEUSTACE, BARON OF PORTLESTER

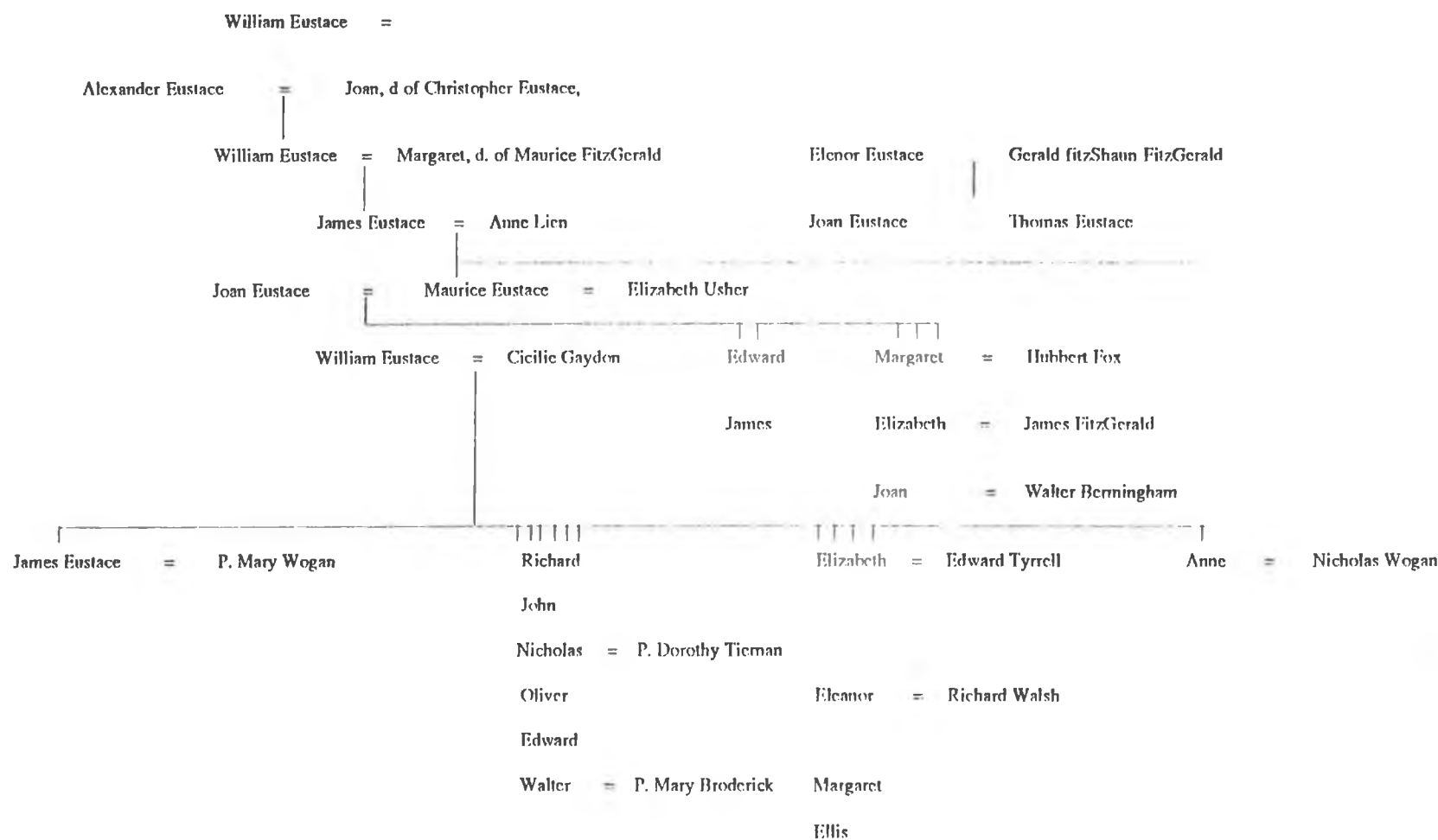


THE EUSTACES, BARONS OF PORTLESTER AND OF KILCULLEN, AND VISCOUNTS BALTINGLASS

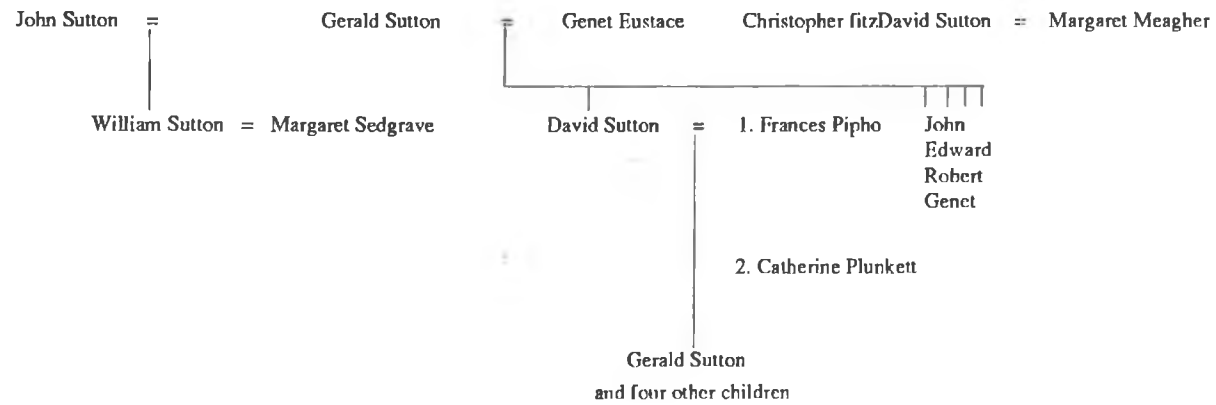


THE EUSTACES OF CLONGOWES WOOD

According to a County Kildare Exchequer inquisition, taken in Naas in February, 1604, the Eustaces were found to hold Clongowes Wood, Danielstown, and Mainham, by deed granted by Edward Eustace, son of Oliver Eustace, on the 26th October, 1493.



PEDIGREE OF DAVID SUTTON



Chapter I

THE EUSTACE FAMILY IN THE 13th, 14th and 15th CENTURIES

On 15 July 1580 James Eustace, third Viscount Baltinglass, rose in revolt against the Tudor monarch, Elizabeth I.¹ His family of Anglo-Norman descent had settled in Ireland in the thirteenth century and owned vast tracts of land in counties Kildare, Wicklow, Meath and Dublin.² The option of revolt was one which the family had used infrequently in the past when espousing a cause to which it gave total commitment.

The extraordinary position of the Eustace family in sixteenth-century Ireland helped to open this option of revolt for James Eustace. The Eustace family's land incorporated the outer regions of the Pale and this brought them into constant contact and social exchanges with their Gaelic neighbours. This contact, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, made the family a bridge between the two cultures, the settled, orderly world of the Anglo-Irish and the ancient and often bellicose world of the Gaelic community. The Eustace family fared well for over three hundred years in these two cultures. Its members forged strong links through marriage with powerful Gaelic and Anglo-Irish families. The Eustaces came to Ireland as Norman conquerors and, whereas some of the other Norman families settled down to the relative peace of the inner Pale, and became immersed in the social, economic and political life of Dublin, the Eustaces, because of their border position, had to be constantly on the alert for raids from the Gaelic clanspeople. The Eustaces had frequent recourse to the option of

fighting should disagreements occur.

The unique balance of the family was upset, however, in the late Henrician period, the 1540s, when a new element - the recently arrived English-born officials - began to fill government offices and cast speculative eyes on the rich lands of the Pale.³ Roland, the second Viscount Baltinglass and his son James and their colleagues among the Pale gentry, faced them squarely in the cess campaign.⁴ But the newcomers' slow, steady progress could not be halted. A family, that had come to Ireland as invaders three hundred years previously, had itself to face modern invaders, English-born civil servants for whom Ireland could be a land of great opportunities or of lost promise. The Eustace family was unable to maintain the delicate balance essential to its strategic, geographical location. James espoused the cause of the restoration of rights of the Catholic church. This choice paved his path to revolt in July 1580.

The first Eustaces to arrive in Ireland came in 1280.⁵ By 1317 they had established their chief residence at Castle-martin, near Kilcullen, County Kildare.⁶ For almost three centuries they played an increasingly important rôle in the government of the colony. In local government family members held office as constables and sheriffs and in colonial government, they held the offices of chancellor and lord treasurer.⁷ During their first three hundred years in Ireland, the Eustaces consolidated their positions, set down roots and amassed large estates in counties Kildare, Wicklow and Meath.⁸ The

geographical location of their estates was important and relevant because it involved them in the administration of the Pale and it also brought them into close contact with the Gaelic community, particularly with the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles of Wicklow. This contact offered them a threshold - which they showed themselves to be very capable and willing to cross - into Gaelic society.

Members of the Eustace family filled important government posts in the administration of the lordship. In 1327, Robert Eustace became lord treasurer of Ireland.⁹ In 1355 Geoffrey Fitzeustace was appointed to oversee the garrisons of Killeel, Rathmore, Ballymore and Granly.¹⁰ They built castles around Ballymore-Eustace - an important manor of the archbishop of Dublin, situated on the very edge of the Pale. The Eustaces became constables of Ballymore-Eustace.¹¹ These constablerships increased their links with the Gaelic community from whom this town often had to be protected. The constablership also involved the organising of fairs and markets during which the Eustaces experienced at first hand the Gaelic language and culture including its music and songs. A statute of 1474, aimed against 'the Irish rhymers and hermits' who settled on lands in County Kildare without the consent of the local lords, is interesting in that it expressly exempts those who settled within three miles of Ballymore-Eustace, (Old) Kilcullen, or Kilgowan which were frontier lordships of the Eustace family.¹² The Mac Eochadha family of poets who had intermarried with the Eustaces lived within these limits.¹³ Only one third of Roland Eustace,

Lord Portlester's tenants in Ballymore-Eustace in 1479 were English: the rest were Gaelic.¹⁴ Their knowledge of and reaction to the Gaelic community was not a sudden affair but a slow, gradual build-up of a relationship that succeeded in spanning two cultures. This close contact was further developed through the appointment of Sir Thomas Fitzeustace in 1386 as collector of the smoke silver, a tax levied on the number of hearths in each household, for County Kildare.¹⁵ This appointment brought him, directly and indirectly through his agents, into familiar communication with his Gaelic neighbours.

The family's political fortunes in the Pale continued to flourish in the late middle ages. Sir Richard Fitzeustace of Ballycotelan served as lord chancellor in 1436. In 1452 and 1454 Sir Edward Fitzeustace of Castlemartin became lord deputy to the duke of York. Edward had three sons - Roland, Richard and Oliver. The individuality and total commitment to a principle which later caused James Eustace to espouse rebellion were present in his forbear Roland, who was born in 1430.¹⁶ Roland lived in Harristown, County Kildare. He trained as a lawyer and became chief clerk to the king's bench and keeper of the rolls.¹⁷ He was lord treasurer for thirty-eight years.¹⁸ On 16 May 1462 Roland was appointed lord deputy to George, duke of Clarence, the brother of the minor, King Edward IV.¹⁹ Also in 1462 he was given the title of baron of Portlester. In 1472 the guild of Saint George was revitalised by parliament to defend the Pale.²⁰ Roland served as chancellor from 1472-8 and again in 1486. In 1482 his son, Oliver became a baron of

the exchequer. Roland's political fortunes changed when he espoused the Yorkist cause.²¹ He was accused of treason but was powerful enough to escape trial. Nearing the end of his life he was dismissed as lord chancellor on alleged charges of peculation but undeterred, he refused to surrender the seal. He was dismissed from the office of treasurer on a charge of peculation. Prior to his death in 1496 he spent some time as a prisoner in Dublin Castle.²²

Religion played an important rôle in the lives of the Eustaces. Roland founded and endowed New Abbey for Franciscans of Strict Observance.²³ Its foundation was recorded thus - 'The Age of Christ 1486. The Monastery of Kilcullen, for Friars Minor de Observantio was commenced on the banks of the Liffey, by Roland, son of Sir Edward Eustace.' He had a chantry, Portlester chapel, built in Saint Audoen's in Dublin in honour of Our Lady.²⁴ Roland also had chantries built in Piercetown, Laundy and Greenogue.²⁵ The Eustace family seemed to have particular devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Roland's descendant, James Eustace, held the Virgin in high esteem and invoked her blessing on many occasions. Roland's three marriages laid the network of alliances which James exploited in his rebellion. Roland married successively Elizabeth, daughter of John Brine, he married Joanna in about 1463, widow of Christopher Plunkett, first lord of Killeen, and finally in 1467 he married Margaret, widow of John Dowdall and of Thomas Barnewall, and daughter and co-heiress of Jenico d'Artois.²⁶ Roland had two sons who predeceased him and four daughters.

His eldest daughter, Alison, married Garret More Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare and was mother of Garret Óg.²⁷ This marriage alliance had many reverberations for the Eustace family. Roland and Garret More espoused the Yorkist cause even when the wars of the Roses were over. They accepted Lambert Simnel as the son of the duke of Clarence and Roland accompanied Simnel to Stoke-on-Trent where their armies were defeated in 1487. However, Roland was given the royal pardon by the astute Henry VII.

Roland's daughter Maud married Thomas Mareward, baron of Skreen.²⁸ James's friend William Nugent married Janet Marwood, further strengthening the ties between the Eustaces and the Nugents.²⁹ James's uncle Alexander married Dorothy O'Moore in 1542.³⁰ Following this marriage Dorothy and her children were granted the concession of English liberty. Thomas Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass I, married Margaret Talbot, daughter of Sir Peter Talbot of Malahide. Thomas's niece Margaret married George, son of Christopher Barnewall of Crickstown, County Meath. These alliances all laid the bedrock of support for James.

The Eustace-Fitzgerald marriage alliance affected the following generations. Roland's great-grandson Silken Thomas Fitzgerald also took up arms against his sovereign, Henry VIII, and invoked the cause of religion.³¹ But for him and his five uncles, there was no royal pardon but execution. Fighting on the side of the crown however was Roland's nephew and heir - Sir Thomas Eustace of Harristown, who for his distinguished

fighting at the battle of Allen in 1535 was made baron of Kilcullen.³² On 10 October 1535 Thomas was made a baron of parliament.³³ In 1541 he was created the first viscount of Baltinglass and was given the recently-dissolved Baltinglass Abbey.³⁴ It is ironic that Thomas - so loyal to his royal lord - was the nephew of a pardoned traitor, cousin of an executed traitor and was to be grandfather of a future traitor - James Eustace.

Thomas Eustace, first Viscount Baltinglass, died on 27 June 1549.³⁵ His eldest son, Roland, became the second Viscount Baltinglass, and he and his family moved to the chief family home of New Abbey near Kilcullen. New Abbey had been dissolved and granted to Thomas for his loyalty in the Silken Thomas revolt.³⁶ Roland was then forty-five years old. In New Abbey he was surrounded by reminders of his family's past history. He proved to be a formidable opponent and a keen champion of the causes he espoused. He had detailed knowledge of the Reformation parliament in which his father sat and also the 1541 parliament which passed the kingship of Ireland act.³⁷

The Eustaces were also granted Baltinglass Abbey.³⁸ It was a fine building consisting of a castle, a hall, a dormitory, cellars, vaults, kitchen, barn, garden and orchard. It offered the Eustace family another home but this one was situated in the heart of Gaelic territory. The O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes were its close neighbours. The family could move from the edges of marchland inhabited by the Anglo-Irish to the Gaelic area. Marriage alliances were arranged between

the Gaelic families and the Eustaces. These alliances helped to foster an attitude of acceptance and of equality on the Eustaces' part towards the Gaelic community. The Eustaces embraced Gaelic culture and the offspring of the mixed marriage alliances cemented bonds of friendship and understanding between them and their circle of relations and friends. They were reared in and became accustomed to an outward, open attitude not an élitist one.

Roland married Joan Butler, daughter of James, eighth baron of Dunboyne.³⁹ Until 1549 they had lived in Calverstown, County Kildare. They had six sons and two daughters, James, Edmund, William, Thomas, Walter, Richard, Joan and Eleanor. Their children's marriages were to establish the pattern of allies for James's rebellion. James married Mary, daughter of Jenet Preston and of Sir John Travers, master of the ordnance, of Monkstown, County Dublin.⁴⁰ Sir John was a connection of the earl of Kildare. He had served as a groom of the chambers and on many government commissions.⁴¹ Between 1545 and 1551 he was given many grants of land including Rathmore and Haynestown, east of Naas and bordering the extensive Eustace lands. James, because he was then a student, had to seek special permission to marry Mary.⁴³ They had no children. Edmund married Frances Piphó, daughter of Robert Piphó. Robert Piphó later married Mary Travers's widowed mother, Jenet Preston.⁴⁴ This alliance further cemented bonds of loyalty and family ties between James Eustace and Robert Piphó for a length of time. William married Margaret Ashe of Naas. Roland's remaining three sons - Walter,

Thomas and Richard - did not marry. Richard joined the Society of Jesus in Paris.⁴⁵ Roland's daughter Joan married Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, second baron of Upper Ossory, both of whom became deeply implicated in the revolt.⁴⁶ Eleanor married Edmund Butler of Roscrea and Cloghgrenan, County Carlow, the second son of James, ninth earl of Ormond.⁴⁷ The spouses and children of three of James's aunts were implicated in the revolt. They were Anne who married O'Toole of Imail, County Wicklow; Janet who married Gerald Sutton of Castletown, County Kildare and Catherine who married James Fitzgerald of Ballyshannon, County Kildare.⁴⁸ There is no evidence that Margaret who married George Burnell or her family were involved. The Eustace family practised very strong ties of kinship.

As an active agent in local government, Roland was second to Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare. On 27 January 1552, Lord Deputy James Croft and some Pale gentlemen, including Roland, requested the Privy Council to bring the value, weight and fineness of Irish currency into line with English currency.⁴⁹ They hoped that this might ease the economic burden created by the scarcity of so many goods and help to reintroduce a vibrancy into the Pale economy which was just operating at subsistence level.⁵⁰ On 17 February 1559, Roland, Sir Francis Cosby - who was to be killed at James's great victory at Glenmalur - and other commissioners administered the oath of supremacy to all justices of the peace, all clerks and ministers and all town officers in County Kildare.⁵¹ In 1561 Roland was

granted a twenty-one year lease on 'the site of the late house of friars called New Abbey', in accordance with Elizabeth's policy of reviewing lapsed crown lands.⁵² Roland and James Eustace, Gerald and Oliver Sutton and Sir Francis Cosby were commissioned 'to take the muster and array of County Kildare and its crosses and marches, to call before them the subjects of each baronry and assess them in warlike furniture of weapons, arms, horses, horsemen and footmen' for 1560.⁵³

At central government level Roland was commissioned on 29 June 1561 to maintain peace, law and order while Lord Deputy Sussex was in Ulster, embroiled with Shane O'Neill.⁵⁴ This commission was to treat with enemies and rebels. Roland witnessed an agreement between the earl of Kildare, on Lord Deputy Sussex's behalf, and Shane O'Neill in 1561.⁵⁵ During 1563 Roland served on three more commissions while the lord lieutenant was treating with Shane O'Neill who would not agree to the appointment of Loftus as archbishop of Armagh.⁵⁶

Elizabeth, hoping to consolidate what little royal influence may have been gained from Shane O'Neill's visit to London, was pursuing a policy which Myles Ronan described as 'a beneficent influence of the royal presence to heal the many wounds in the body politic of Ireland'.⁵⁷ Elizabeth called the earls of Desmond and of Ormond to London and sent Sir Thomas Wrothe to Ireland with these instructions: 'and because the services which we mean to be done by you may be extended into sundry places of that our realm and especially into that of our counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth', she named

Roland as a 'person of credit and nobility' to whom she entrusted this commission.⁵⁸ Elizabeth and her advisors respected and trusted Roland. Elizabeth's commissions to Roland continued throughout the 1560s and 1570s. During 1566 and 1567 Roland had to execute martial law in counties Dublin, Kildare and Carlow.⁵⁹

Undoubtedly Roland Eustace's most important undertaking was his extended struggle in the cess campaign. Always involved in the mainstream of public affairs, he participated keenly in this campaign for the alleviation of the burden of cess. The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the gradual alienation of members of the social order to which Roland Eustace belonged from royal administration. By contrast the 1530s and 1540s had been a time of optimism for them. It had seemed that their ambition to revive and administer English government in Ireland might be realised. They hoped to extend and direct the policy of extension and consolidation of English rule throughout all Ireland. Yet the last fifty years of the sixteenth century, which encompassed the careers of Roland and James Eustace, witnessed the gradual disillusionment of these hopes and the loss of confidence in the English government.

During the 1560s and 1570s the growing economic burden of the cess began to take its toll on the allegiance of the subjects of the Pale. The first overt signs of tension between the government and the Palesmen appeared in the 1550s when Archbishop George Dowdall made serious allegations against the government of the earl of Sussex. Sussex's administration was

brought down in 1564 by a systematic campaign against his policies. In 1561 the Palesmen including Roland requested Elizabeth to send independent commissioners to Ireland to study the precise extent of the burden of cess on them and to submit an unbiased report of their findings to Elizabeth.⁶⁰ During this time Sussex was levying increasing cess demands to supplement the cost of his northern campaigns against Shane O'Neill. Roland Eustace served on commissions to ensure the maintenance of law and order while Sussex was engaged in his northern campaigns.⁶¹ Roland took particular responsibility for County Kildare at these times, frequently serving alongside him was James's future father-in-law, Sir John Travers.

Sussex, despite his practice of delegating authority to men like Roland at particular times, aimed at restoring the strong reputation of the crown by minimising its dependence on local élites. He intended to achieve this by revitalising the Henrician policy of extending English rule and control over the Irish lordships. This policy required an increase in the army presence in Ireland and also an increase in the number of English administrative personnel. The cost of supporting the army was chiefly drawn from the imposition of the cess on the Palesmen to top up the shortfall of Elizabeth's meagre budget for army expenses.⁶² Increasingly in keeping with Sussex's belief in his fellow-countrymen or conversely his lack of confidence in the loyalty or ability of the Palesmen, the administrative personnel were drawn from the New English. The Palesmen were paying for the extra burden of this policy but were not reaping any increased benefits: in fact it was

becoming more difficult for them to maintain their status. As the government's demands increased through the 1560s and 1570s, the strength of the Palesmen's opposition gained momentum. Roland showed himself to be a loyal subject but also a capable leader of opposition during this period.

The viceroys also exploited the general hostings for their increased economic demands. These demands were high between 1556 and 1563 and again between 1566 and 1569. Roland served at many of these hostings and also on commissions. In the background, however, were the burdens of the royal economic policy being borne by him and his peers, which left them discontented and disconcerted. Increasing their feelings of aggravation was the knowledge that the abuses, extortion, fraud and theft that accompanied these demands were numerous. In 1561 the revenue from the cess was £2,000. Some attempts at reform were made, giving a measure of recognition to the efforts of Roland Eustace and his counterparts.⁶³ In 1562 advocates of the cess campaign which included Plunkett, Cheevers and other Palesmen appealed directly to Elizabeth.⁶⁴ This appeal was forced by the lack of any positive response to the deteriorating economic condition of the Pale which functioned at subsistence level. Their ploy of working through the Irish law students had not attained the required results.⁶⁵ They requested that 'indifferent commissioners from England' be sent over and in co-operation with Roland and John Parker, the master of the rolls, they would make 'an inquisition of their state'.⁶⁶

Sussex, who had raised the billeting rate in order to achieve a more disciplined army, attempted to lighten the burden by some attempts at reform, such as the lessening of large crown properties. But like his immediate successors, he was too dependent on cess to achieve any effective reforms. The early 1560s were crisis years for the campaign for the alleviation of cess.⁶⁷ Kildare and Ormond individually supported various cess campaigns but no major overall co-operation between all the higher aristocrats and gentry of the Anglo-Irish community was achieved. The exactions of cess resulted in a strategy of constitutional resistance when the Palesmen sought to bypass the viceroy completely and take their grievances directly to the court in London where they sought to exploit factions and manipulate politics. This strategy led to Sussex's recall in 1564. The strategy was constitutionally sound, based on the theory that to complain did not mean or amount to disobedience.

Roland Eustace and his fellow-campaigners enjoyed a measure of success in 1564 when Sir Nicholas Arnold replaced Sussex as lord justice.⁶⁸ Roland, keeper of the great seal since 1562, and regarded by Elizabeth as a 'person of credit and nobility' was directed by her to co-operate in all ways with Arnold and his co-worker, Wrothe.⁶⁹ Roland was pleased with and confident of Arnold's and Wrothe's government. In a communication to Elizabeth, he praised the quiet and profitable state of the realm and requested Arnold's continuance as an able and fair governor.⁷⁰ Arnold was responsive to the Palesmen's needs but

within twelve months his government had collapsed. On 20 January 1566 Sir Henry Sidney was sworn in as lord deputy.⁷¹ In 1567 Sidney requested permission of Elizabeth to try Roland and his colleagues in the Star Chamber and then to imprison them.⁷² Elizabeth acceded but warned that 'the matter where-with they are charged, be diligently inquired at first'.⁷³ Roland avoided imprisonment on this occasion.

Lord Deputy Sidney had a new plan for the reformation of cess.⁷⁴ This new taxation system, suggested by Lord Burghley, gave rise to fresh economic discontent. Sidney's plan was to convert the occasional subsidy into a regular and permanent revenue. The rate was to be struck by the principal inhabitants of each district at a meeting attended by the deputy and council. A composition was to be substituted in place of the assessment and was to be exacted from all subjects. The first step in this new policy was to dissolve the liberties that claimed an exemption from the ancient charge of purveyance. The next step was to proceed to the general imposition of the new tax based on the council's authority by virtue of the queen's prerogative. This caused widespread opposition, to which initially Sidney was indifferent.

Roland and the barons and gentlemen of the Pale complained directly to Elizabeth of the intolerable burden of cess. They felt the lord deputy had failed their expectations. They sent Barnaby Scurlock, Richard Netterville and Henry Burnell to disclose their discontentment to Elizabeth.⁷⁵ The campaign quickly gathered momentum and at different times had the

support of Ormond and Kildare but they were careful to avoid the issue that developed concerning the queen's prerogative.⁷⁶ Roland and the members of the Pale gentry were eventually imprisoned in Dublin Castle for their part in the cess agitation.⁷⁷ In their submission letter they wrote that:

to appease Her Majesty's ill opinion of them, they humbly submit themselves to her in such sort and ample manner as their agents there have done, beseeching your honours to be mean to her highness for recovering her favour, and to be petitioners with them for relief of this poor country, now brought into great decay.

78

Elizabeth sympathised with the campaign, but she maintained her prerogative and the three envoys were confined in the Fleet Prison and their sympathisers threatened with imprisonment if they continued to impugn the royal prerogative.⁷⁹ The lords of the Pale continued to press the legality of their plea. Elizabeth was greatly offended at the questioning of her royal prerogative as she wrote to Sidney:

We cannot but be greatly offended with the presumptions and undutiful manner of proceeding and therefore must let you know that you and the rest of our council there, did very much fail in your duties in suffering our royal prerogative to be impugned by them in open speeches and arguments and in not committing such as appeared to be principals.

80

By 15 September 1577 Sidney's patience had worn thin and he sent Chancellor Gerrard to England to clarify his position to Elizabeth.⁸¹ He reiterated his belief that 'for the reformation of this realm, there is nothing so necessary as the planting of presidents and councils ...' by which implementation

'that the delivery of justice universally is the only means to reform this disjointed state and barbarous country, and how glad the common and poorer sort are to embrace it and none but the great ones under hand repine at it'.⁸² Sidney was thoroughly disapproving of Roland and his peers. He urged that they ought to be sent to England to 'declare how wilfully many of the noblemen of the Pale, as namely the viscount of Baltinglass, the barons of Delvin, Trimleston and Howth oppose the state and how loth they are to make any submission'.⁸³

On 20 June 1577 Sidney summoned Roland and the Palesmen before the council to state their case. He asked them if they were still of the opinion that they were 'oppressed and impoverished by the intolerable cesses, laid on them by the lord deputy and council contrary to the laws'.⁸⁴ Roland and his campaigners persisted in their definition of cess saying it was always taken to be the equal distribution of the subsidy granted by parliament to the prince upon the ploughlands and was not the taking up of corn and victuals, used by the lord deputy and council's warrants.⁸⁵ To confirm this they showed a copy of a commission of Henry II to Lord Howth and others. Gerrard had to admit there was no express law but declared the queen's prerogative was sufficient against which no argument was to be brooked. The lord deputy and council then determined to commit the Palesmen to the castle.⁸⁶ Sidney said he would make his cess exaction method an act in the council Book. In February 1578 the gentlemen of the Pale submitted declaring, 'We protest our meaning was not to impugn her royal prerogative'

and concluding, 'We allow that her majesty may take cess in this manner, viz., necessary victuals for her highness's army at reasonable prices, agreeing with her highness's prerogative'.⁸⁷ The details of the cess were carefully worked out regarding the cost of provisions, soldiers' pay and the levying of the soldiers on the counties.⁸⁸ Elizabeth was to repair old stores but was not requested to build new ones. Thus for many years of his life, Roland fought a very capable battle for political justice for his social order. Having reached a compromise with Sidney, he was more determined than ever to keep a watchful eye on and review what frequently proved to be a continuing process. Roland had done verbal battle and had suffered imprisonment for the rights of the Palesmen and although of advancing years, he continued to watch the situation closely.

The rôle of Roland Eustace and of men like him in the changing political arena was equivocal, nuanced, politic and diplomatic. An example of this duality is to be found in Roland's campaign, on behalf of the crown, against Edmund, Piers and Edward Butler. From one point of view Roland could be seen to support the land titles claimed by New English like Sir Peter Carew. Carew was attempting to annex Idrone, part of the Butler patrinomy, the original title deeds to which could not be proved. From another point of view by executing the commissions as directed, Roland was cast in the rôle of loyal subject to Elizabeth, but also as traitor to his own class, even to his own immediate family as his daughter had married

Edmund Butler and Joan, his own wife, was also a Butler. In 1569 Roland, John Eustace and Robert Hartpool were commissioned to suppress Piers Butler's outbreak.⁸⁹ They had difficulty in flushing the rebels out from the depths of the woods of Dullagh and Slievemargny and had to seek help from the Palesmen.⁹⁰ They had little success against Piers. Edmund burned Little Noroth in County Kildare and took Tully.⁹¹ Roland and his troops were forced to fall back on Carlow for its defence but the kerne appointed there deserted to the rebels. Sidney's harsh treatment of Edmund Butler, coupled with the censure he allowed Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick to exercise over him, added fuel to this insurrection. Edmund's castle at Cloghgrenan and its lands formed part of Idrone. Initially Roland and Richard Shee were sent to dissuade Edmund from his proposed rebellion.⁹² But he mistrusted their overtures and blamed Carew and Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, in co-operation with Sidney, for all his land-title problems. Edmund refused their overtures. He declared he would not even be amenable to ones from his own brother, the earl of Ormond. He stated that if Sidney invaded the south, Turlough Luineach would invade the Pale. To prove his statement, he produced letters from O'Neill and from James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald purporting to execute this. In an attempt to restore peace Elizabeth sent the earl of Ormond back to Ireland. Before his arrival, however, his brothers had already joined with James Fitzmaurice. They devastated the eastern part of Laois and Waterford. Sidney sent Carew and Gilbert to Kilkenny and they inflicted a severe defeat on Edmund. They captured the castle at Cloghgrenan. Ormond blamed rash attacks on landed property

for his brothers' insurrection saying 'a wiser man than he might be brought beside himself thus'.⁹³ At length the brothers surrendered. Roland was heavily involved in this campaign against the Butlers despite his family ties with them. The whole question of loyalty to the monarch, with its attendant rights and duties, was becoming very complicated. It was obvious that lack of legal knowledge combined with lack of legal documents of ownership could easily endanger one's patrimony. This realisation loomed large in James Eustace's commitment to legal training. The Butlers were also his relations. Legal knowledge would help to clarify his problems and protect the land rights that his family had enjoyed since the Norman conquest.

Roland's active political life continued. He served on commissions and hostings throughout the 1560s and 1570s.⁹⁴ He served with such men as Henry Davells, Robert Hartpool and Adam Loftus, with whom he later contended. On 28 July 1574, Roland was commissioned to work with Adam Loftus and others to keep the peace during the lord deputy's absence in Munster and 'doing all other things necessary for good government, to treat with enemies and rebels ... to punish enemies with fire and sword'.⁹⁵

During the summer of 1578 Roland was again at odds with the council. The disagreement, exacerbated by James's trial by Archbishop Loftus for attendance at Mass, gathered momentum until the 24 August 1578.⁹⁶ Then a commission summoned for its second sitting by the lord deputy and council issued its

final decision. The disagreement was between Roland and the knight marshall, Sir Nicholas Bagenal. It was centred on the precise demands of the cess as previously agreed between Sir Henry Sidney, Roland and the other leading Palesmen. Roland charged that Bagenal had contravened the agreement on a night some six months previously when he and his soldiers had spent one night in Roland's house in Kilcullen.⁹⁷ Roland sought justice and redress for Bagenal's abuse of the cess agreement.

Bagenal was Sidney's lieutenant in Meath and Leinster 'to take the charge of the service' against the midland rebels where he was 'to meet with the insolency of the rebels, the O'Mores and O'Connors'.⁹⁸ Sidney had found them 'so increased in strength and pride as they were not any longer to be endured'.⁹⁹ Bagenal led several expeditions, particularly against Rory Óg O'Connor who was in regular receipt of victuals and aid from Hugh MacShane, his father-in-law.¹⁰⁰ On one such expedition against Rory Óg, Bagenal managed to capture his prey of cattle which he and his soldiers attempted to drive back to the Pale.¹⁰¹ Their progress was impeded and eventually delayed by extreme weather conditions. Temperatures dropped quickly and a sudden, heavy fall of snow forced the party to seek shelter and a night's lodgings at Roland's home in Kilcullen. Roland was away from home on that night but his chief man coped with the large party. Bagenal reported that 'his chief man who kept the house as we thought, so thankfully bid me welcome'.¹⁰² In fact Bagenal was very pleased with the reception and 'misliked not with anything saving want wherewithall to entertain me'.¹⁰³

The knight marshall settled in his troops for the night, and claimed he received friendly co-operation from Roland's chief man. Some of the captured prey were slaughtered and cooked for the party's supper that night and for breakfast on the following morning. Bagenal traded four cattle with the chief man for meat and drink for himself and his colleague, the sheriff and for meal for the horses. Bagenal claimed he took meticulous care to ensure the correct behaviour of his seven hundred soldiers ... 'who were dispersed in the town to use themselves orderly, without spoil or taking of anything without present payment'.¹⁰⁴ He stated that he issued a stern proclamation to ensure all agreements concluded about the levying of the cess would not be broken ... 'I made proclamation upon pain of death and gave special warning to every captain that they should have due regard to their soldiers that no such thing should be committed'.¹⁰⁵ Bagenal claimed that his instructions were meticulously issued and were stringently adhered to by himself in all his dealings.

That cold night of his sojourn he heard complaints that the kerne who were driving the cattle had taken cattle belonging to the inhabitants of Kilcullen. He immediately began an inspection of the barn where the cattle were enclosed for the night and he dealt with each complainant. He stated, 'I restored 73 cows which were proved to be none of the prey taken from Hugh MacShane and Caragh, that known rebel'.¹⁰⁶ The misdemeanours were dealt with on the spot and all cattle wrongfully taken, he claimed, were restored to the viscount's men.

The following morning Bagenal sent his servants and Roland's into Kilcullen to double check on the events of the night and to ... 'understand if there were any who found them grieved with any disorder of the soldiers, with money to make payment to such as claimed any'.¹⁰⁷ Bagenal then stayed one hour after his soldiers and their prey had moved on from Kilcullen 'to see all complaints satisfied'.¹⁰⁸ This was Bagenal's account of the events of that stay in Kilcullen where he later ascertained, 'I found great want there'.¹⁰⁹

Roland, however, took a different view of the sojourn altogether. Bagenal wrote in his letter to the earl of Leicester:

The viscount has since accused me of many and great outrages. The parties have been re-examined and six of them perjured manifestly, for the which one of them was publicly punished on a market day. His chief man has denied the spoils.

110

Roland accused Bagenal of having levied one thousand soldiers in Kilcullen, while the latter stressed the number was 700.¹¹¹ Roland said Bagenal had taken a considerable number of cattle, forty sheep, two swine and household goods valued at six livres.¹¹² Bagenal stated that he had examined the grievances of several of the viscount's men including Edmund Lalor, Richard Tallon, Phillip Enash, Patrick Browne, Shane McDavie and William McShane.¹¹³ He claimed that upon the re-examination which the council called for, in view of the serious charges put forward against the agreed levying of the cess, these men quickly contradicted themselves, grew confused as to the precise

allegations they were making and under cross-examination showed themselves to be unreliable witnesses 'of the many and great outrages' of which he was accused.¹¹⁴ Bagenal intimated that even Roland's chief man was doubtful about the allegations. In an effort to clear his name, Bagenal appealed to the privy council, and accused Roland of falsehood and complicity: 'I leave to your honour's judgement how small account he may make to procure a number of simple persons with like untruths, to fortify his untrue surmises ...'.¹¹⁵ Bagenal concluded his version of that night's events with an appeal for his good name and reputation to be maintained before Elizabeth: 'If this slander of me have been by any means brought to Her Majesty's understanding, I humbly beseech your honour in saving of my poor credit with her highness'.¹¹⁶

The official reaction and response to Roland's allegations were issued on 24 August 1578.¹¹⁷ Both sides of the case had been heard. There is copious correspondence from Bagenal on the matter but none from Roland, only the examinations of his servants. The lord deputy and council certified that up to three months after that night's lodgings, they received no complaints from Roland or his people, 'at what time they say they told the lord of Baltinglass thereof, therefore we can hardly be persuaded to think they were speaking truly'.¹¹⁸ By the 24 August the commissioners, who had previously examined Roland's men and Bagenal and his captains, had again decided in favour of Bagenal.¹¹⁹ The official view on Roland was 'the oft complaining without countenance to have the cause heard

or hope of redress no trust reposed in their meaning as may be gathered in him and the rest of the nobility'.¹²⁰ The accounts of that night as given by Henry Davells, John Parker, Robert Hartpool and Piers Fitzgerald, who were Bagenal's captains on the campaign, were compared with Roland's witnesses. The council and lord deputy decided in favour of Bagenal, extolling 'his upright dealings'.¹²¹ Drury wrote to Walsingham that Roland's complaints had been considered and because he himself knew the case so intimately, he felt he was in a position to state unequivocally that 'I also know both the untruth of the surmise and of the truth of Sir Nicholas Bagenal and his dealings'.¹²² Drury extolled Bagenal's capabilities as an active campaigner against the rebel, Rory Og, and also his virtues as governor, saying his 'true government' was well liked in Ulster.¹²³ Drury was unreservedly convinced of Bagenal's veracity and of Roland's falsehoods in the charges.

The commission cleared Bagenal of the charges. On 11 February 1579 he informed Walsingham that

there were divers complaints exhibited to her majesty and lords against me by the Viscount Baltinglass for the pass of which matter there was direction to the lord deputy and council for to consult of the cause and return it thether to be ended. 124

Bagenal was relieved to note that 'accordingly there was certificate made which being conferred unto her majesty and council so expressed my opinion in the matter that they thought well of my purgation'.¹²⁵ In all 1578 witnessed two confrontations between the Eustaces and the Dublin government. These

confrontations had no overtones of physical force being considered as an option by a family which was falling out of step with the government. Both father and son conducted their individual campaigns in a legal and orderly fashion. These experiences served to accelerate the alienation process which had begun between the Eustace family and the Dublin government. Roland's long and fruitful life was drawing to a close and the Bagenal episode was his final legal clash with the government. After his death in 1579, James succeeded to the title and became the third Viscount Baltinglass.

Chapter II

THE DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION OF THE CATHOLIC SCION OF AN ANGLO-IRISH FAMILY

James Eustace was twenty-eight years old when he succeeded to the title of third Viscount Baltinglass. He had enjoyed a carefree childhood spent in Kilcullen and also in Baltinglass. He had played with the children from both the Gaelic and English communities among whom he had close relatives. James, his five brothers and two sisters were educated by their cousin, Sir Norman Eustace. This education informed by Catholic values exerted a lasting influence on the young Eustace children. Sir Norman Eustace had experienced the vicissitudes associated with the practice of the Catholic religion. The dissolution of New Abbey in Kilcullen, founded for the Observantine Franciscans in 1486 by Roland Eustace, Lord Portlester, was one such obstacle to the practice of Catholicism. The lands reverted to the Eustace family, however, and Roland maintained chaplains and priest-tutors for his family. James received a sound classical education from Sir Norman Eustace. As eldest son of an important family, James was imbued with a keen awareness of the responsibilities attached to this position. He was told he must speak his mind when a situation demanded it and if confronted with an issue that was contrary to his beliefs, he must oppose it regardless of loss of personal prestige, wealth or political power.

Sir Norman's was a formative influence on the young heir to the Eustace patrimony. The family was a closely-knit one and the Eustace children shared the daily routine of duties, school and play with each other. They also shared a fellowship and

unity that stayed with them all their lives. In common with James, they later manifested a remarkably deep sense of devotion to the Catholic religion. This was particularly true of the boys. Sir Norman, in full co-operation with Roland and Joan Eustace, imparted to the children a Catholic education which inspired in them strong religious ideals. Later in life as mature men and women, they were unhesitatingly committed to the Catholic cause which they espoused even at the ultimate price.

Their education was not in religion alone however. Sir Norman was a proficient linguist and he taught his young pupils Latin, Italian, French and Spanish. James was an apt student of languages. Both his Latin and English were impeccable, and this ability to communicate both orally and in written form was to prove of immense importance to him in his later career. His youngest brother Richard also had a marked propensity for languages and was fluent in Latin, French and Italian.¹ As a priest who had been trained before the religious upheavals of the mid-century, Sir Norman Eustace was aware of the major doctrinal upheavals during the reigns of Edward VI and of Elizabeth I, and was keenly conscious of the future religious insecurity that these changes could breed. Sir Norman could be seen as a prototype of an Irish Marian priest who chose to express his vocation through the medium of education of the children of a gentry household. This was one of the options for a priest after the Elizabethan Settlement of 1560. By education and example, his aim was to preserve Catholicism for the next generation through the personal and religious development of a responsible lay leader who would have the conviction, the learning, and the

sense of responsibility required for championing the cause of the older religion.

Religious awareness on the part of the laity was an element in the surprising resilience of Catholicism in Ireland in the late sixteenth century. The eventual religious choice of the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic-Irish was made in response to a wider cultural crisis, different in each case. A pattern of religious conservatism was evident initially. Old religious practices were sustained by a combination of agents and factors, especially by the friars, and later by the vitality of Counter-Reformation clergy. The Anglo-Irish displayed a genuine concern for spiritual values. In the earlier decades of the century a reform movement among members of the gentry was directed at general improvement of the body politic and religious reform was incorporated therein.

The continuity in religious practice with the pre-Reformation period has been attributed to the activity of the friars, particularly the Franciscan friars. The Franciscan foundation of New Abbey functioned in its religious capacity until its dissolution in 1539.² A decade later the building was in ruins except for a few rooms. Some of the Franciscans who had occupied it settled in that area of County Kildare and maintained close contact with Roland Eustace, his family and the priest-tutor Norman. The Franciscans were then displaced religious, but they were men of great stamina, determination and foresight. Wherever possible they continued to live among the people in the areas where previously they had maintained monasteries. Their contacts with the Anglo-Irish families were in many cases strong,

especially where such a family had previously endowed their monasteries as the Eustaces had. The friars' displacement and loss of security, their lack of a community and dwelling-place, the dangers attached to their proscribed vocation and especially their commitment to their vocation, made them look beyond their own resources. They began to place more reliance on the potential of lay people to provide religious leadership. The clergy needed the facilities of the gentry houses, not for their spaciousness, comfort or easy life, but for the co-operation, security and protection which they and their owners offered. The political influence of these families was also important for the preservation of the personal safety of the priests and friars. The friars' concern was with the Catholic religion and its preservation for future generations. Roland was a very busy politician but his eldest son, James was a promising candidate for lay religious leadership in the eyes of these men.

James's education continued under Sir Norman's tutelage in the circumstances of a changing emphasis on, and approach to, the rôle of the layman in religious affairs. The layman was viewed as a temporal protector and provider and this represented a change from the traditional pattern of relations between clergy and laity. Whereas in the period up to the disestablishment of the older ecclesiastical régime, spiritual leadership in the English areas of Ireland was in the hands of the parochial and religious clerical orders, in the new situation after 1560 lay initiative in the organising of the ministry of the remaining priests was increasingly significant.

James's religious outlook was formed during these years of his early education by his cousin, Sir Norman Eustace. From his early boyhood on, James was in constant communication with parochial and other clergy and later with seminary-trained secular and religious clergy. This link was initially very important to his own development as an individual and later provided him with allies and collaborators. The rôle of the priests, known to current historians as Marian priests, and of those who returned to Ireland from the seminaries abroad, is very important for the development of what later culminated in the Baltinglass revolt. Recent studies on the English Marian priests have shown that they were covertly very active agents for the preservation of Catholicism in the early decades of Elizabeth I's reign in England and this may have been the case in Ireland also.³ The question is worthy of brief investigation, given the influence which these clerical figures exerted over the young James Eustace.

Marian priests are defined as those who were ordained up to and during the end of the reign of Mary Tudor. Marian priests contributed positively to the preservation of the older religion. They displayed opposition to the religious settlement in a number of different forms. Some Marian priests, early on in Elizabeth I's reign, refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, some resigned from their livings, some went into exile and some even took quite a long time to make up their minds exactly where they stood. These did not make the final decision until the 1571 act required them to accept the Thirty-Nine Articles. Catholicism was nurtured by these priests, some of whom even anticipated the underground activities usually associated with the seminary

and Jesuit priests. Some of these Marian priests conformed outwardly. They retained their livings and attempted to keep in the new settlement something of the old religion. Dr William Allen, founder of the English College in Douai, said of the calibre of Marian priests,

We understand that not only our own priests, of whom we had but few in the beginning, but others also who were ordained in England formerly in the Catholic times, had by their secret administration of the sacraments and by their exhortations confirmed many and brought back some who had gone wrong. 4

James Eustace formed close bonds of friendship with Irish and English Marian priests and later in his life a shared missionary sense with them. The most important of the English Marian clergy was Dr Nicholas Sanders⁵. In his early career he had participated in Archbishop Pole's reforms of Oxford university. He had left England in 1559, attending the Council of Trent as a theologian and later acting as papal legate to mid-European countries. In 1565 he became professor of theology at Louvain university and he was regarded as a leader of the English Catholic community that attended there. In 1572 he was summoned to Rome and became adviser on English affairs to Pope Gregory XIII. His mission became inextricably linked with James Eustace's in the late 1570s and especially in 1580. Dr Sanders was the first to declare openly that it was unlawful for Catholics to attend services at the established church. He took a firm stand to deter people from the prevalent dual worship of the 1550s and 1560s.

In England after 1558 the Marian priests had sixteen years

of active service before any seminary priests arrived and twenty years before they were present in any significant numbers. The courage of these Marian priests may have been underestimated because they did not produce martyrs on the same scale as the seminary priests did. Some statistics may be useful to show the calibre of these Marian priests and what they were prepared to undergo for the preservation of Catholicism. In England some one hundred and ten Marian priests underwent terms of imprisonment, where at least thirty-three died, some having spent several years incarcerated.⁶ A considerable number had to live out their lives confined to specific areas. Three Marian priests were hanged in 1570, 1573 and 1584 respectively.⁷

There are occasional indications of Marian priests working together and anticipating to some degree the later underground activities of seminary and Jesuit priests. But the activities of the Marian priests are not nearly as well documented as the seminary and Jesuit priests. They left no autobiographies or collected volumes of letters. This clerical co-operation was a salient feature of the Irish Marian clergy who played a formative influence on James which later caused him to collaborate with the Irish Catholic clergy to attempt to preserve and revitalise Catholicism in Ireland. While knowledge of the English Marian clergy is limited, yet what is there clearly shows that they were much more determined and active than is often realised and they made a major contribution to the continuity of Catholicism in England.

James Eustace became a committed leader of the Catholic

cause in 1580. It is essential therefore to study Catholicism and its clergy in the decades leading up to that time. The period of the 1560s and 1570s was one of transition. Marian Catholicism is linked to recusant Catholicism by what is termed 'survivalism' in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign. This is not to be seen as an unfortunate gap in the history of Catholicism in England and Ireland but as a period during which later recusants were formed. The Marian priests held their flock as survivalist Catholics, preserving as much loyalty as possible to Catholicism until the combination of official pressure, personal frustration and clarification of issues made some laymen more willing to move to recusancy. Thus the conservative parish clergy fulfilled an essential bridging rôle between the Marian church and separated English Catholicism. Survivalism was an essential step to recusancy.⁸

The part played by the Marian clergy in preserving Catholicism through the 'survivalist era' was as vital as the contribution of the continental missionaries when they returned to England and Ireland and fostered recusant Catholicism. By the time the seminary missionaries, and later the Jesuit missionaries, had made an impact, there already existed the essential concept of a separate Catholic church and there was a recusant priesthood providing sacraments for lay people who regarded themselves as Catholics. The rôle of the recusant clergy in the creation of networks of Catholic households and circles was of great importance. It was the Marian clergy who initiated lay recusant Catholicism which was already well established before the mission

from the continent had any real effect. The rise of recusancy in the 1560s is difficult to chart because Elizabeth I tried to avoid provoking conservative resistance and very little serious effort was made to enforce church attendance except during times of political crises. One such effort was made against James Eustace in 1578.⁹

The Marian priests in England played a crucial part in sustaining Catholicism throughout the Elizabethan period. They were pioneers in the work of sustaining the officially proscribed creed. They were the first to convey themselves secretly from one Catholic house to another. They also set up as chaplains and tutors in gentry houses. Some kept to the highways going from one Mass centre to the next living the lives of itinerants and fugitives. They worked closely with the new clergy on the continent. The Marian priests were familiar with their surroundings and because they had been lawfully ordained in England, they could solemnise marriages recognised by the Established church. Sir Norman Eustace displayed many of the characteristics found in the English Marian priests. He was not alone in this and as the early decades of Elizabeth I's reign progressed a bond was established of friendship, co-operation and shared religious idealism between the Irish Marian clergy and lay Catholics who retained older practices. Irish clergy such as Archbishop Dermot O'Hurley, Fr Rochford, Dr Tanner, Fathers Norman and Nicholas Eustace, Fr Comerford, Fr Tadhg Newman and many more whose lives became inextricably linked to James Eustace's, shared one or many of the experiences of the English priests in their attempts to preserve Catholicism.

When James had completed his early education, he served on commissions and at hostings with his father. By 1567 he had married Mary, daughter of Sir John Travers.¹⁰ Sir John Travers had come to Ireland in the closing years of Henry VIII's reign and had been Master of the Ordnance and of the Rolls.¹¹ He was a cousin of the earl of Kildare and had acquired lands in counties Kildare, Dublin and Carlow which bordered on the extensive Eustace lands in those areas.¹² The Eustace marriage was propitious for the joining of neighbouring properties.¹³ John Travers's main residence was in Monkstown and this later became the home of Mary and James. It was in many respects an ideally-located residence. It was within easy reach of the central administrative offices in Dublin Castle and was later much sought after by newly-arrived English officials. Monkstown was also within relatively easy reach of the outlying regions of the Pale extending towards the Dublin Mountains and Wicklow where James's aunts lived. At the time of her marriage Mary was nineteen years old. As the events of nearly two decades unfolded, she was to show herself to be a woman of unusual independence for her time. She shared many of her husband's ideals and worked in close co-operation and harmony with him towards the realisation of his aims. She was self-reliant and used her initiative and was reasonably independent of the strictures that bound the women of her day.

After his marriage James enrolled in Gray's Inn in 1567, the most prestigious of the Inns of Court and the one most frequented by Catholics.¹⁴ While the primary function of the

Inns of Court was to train lawyers, not all students entered it specifically for that purpose. The Inns were looked on not only as schools of law but also as the third university of the realm where sons of gentry received a liberal education and learned the social graces of manners, music and dancing. Four young men of Anglo-Irish lineage enrolled with him: they were Robert Dormer, James Hussy, Henry Blake and John Barnewall.¹⁵ Thomas Nugent enrolled in Lincoln's Inn while Peter Walsh, John Netterville and Nicholas Roche enrolled in the Inner Temple. The destiny of some members of the Barnewall, Netterville and Nugent families was closely linked with that of James and his family in the 1580s. The King's Inn had been established in Dublin in the reign of Henry VIII and the Irish statute confirming the patent for the Inns specifically requested Irish law students to reside and study in one of the English Inns of Court. It is unlikely that Mary joined James at the Inns of Court.

James stated that he had 'come to London to bestow a portion of his time in acquiring some knowledge or learning, the want whereof in men of calling have produced many inconveniences'.¹⁶ He had not come to Gray's Inn specifically to acquire a legal education. His intention was to prepare himself through the liberal education of the Inns of Court for what he clearly considered to be an important leadership rôle. As heir to a landed noble family James was being trained for the administrative and proprietorial duties appropriate to his rank. James's fellow-students from Ireland came from a fairly homogenous group -

they were the sons of landed proprietors with a legal tradition, Palesmen from Dublin and County Meath and a small number from the southeast towns. Families such as the Bathes, Barnewalls, Burnells, Luttrells and Sedgraves all belonged to the same social ascendancy, intermarried, and shared legal, landed and political ties. The links between the Sedgraves and the Eustaces, for example, included John Sedgrave's marriage to Janet Eustace, and Walter Sedgrave's co-operation with James in 1580.

Throughout the reign of Elizabeth there was a persistent belief that the students at the Inns of Court were greatly affected by Catholic sentiments. The 1559 acts of supremacy and uniformity had laid the statutory foundations for the state religion. Barristers and students, however, were not required to take the oath of supremacy. Despite several judicial changes during Elizabeth's reign, the council never succeeded in securing a predominantly Protestant bench in England. Indeed several of the judges were lethargic about implementing the Elizabethan religious settlement. James Eustace lived communally to a great extent in his college, taking meals with his fellow-students and celebrating holydays with them. During term they lived in the chambers of their Inn. James was part of a tightly-bonded community which shared common interests that bred tolerance and forbearance among its members. This tended to mitigate the religious and political animosities that occasionally arose inside or outside the Inns.¹⁷

In 1567, the year of James's enrolment at Gray's Inn, a

change occurred in the government's attitude to the Inns of Court, caused by a series of events on the continent and in England. These events convinced the government that England was facing grave dangers from Catholics. Anglo-Spanish relationships were deteriorating rapidly. Another religious war between the Catholics and Huguenots had begun in France. A revolt erupted in the Netherlands against Spanish authority. Refugees fled to England and brought with them an urgent sense of approaching conflict with Catholic powers. In May 1568 Mary, Queen of Scots fled to England and became the figurehead for Catholic plots and intrigues. In that atmosphere of gathering crises, the government began taking stronger measures against Catholics and also began to make greater efforts to secure attendance at Sunday service in the parish churches.

James Eustace was still a student of the Inns of Court when the government made its first direct move against recusants for matters of religion in early 1569. The Inns were suspected of harbouring 'papists' and as a consequence members were required to take the oath of supremacy imposed by the 1563 statute, in order to be called to the bench or bar. This was followed by an attempt to impose religious conformity in all the Inns. In May 1569, twenty-two members of the Inns were called before a commission for ecclesiastical causes and were examined with regard to their attendance at church and their reception of Holy Communion. This was followed by instructions from the privy council that no one was to be called to the bench or the bar of his Inn if he had been connected with or was suspected of 'popery'.

Such was the developing trend of official policy to Catholicism during the early adult years of James. The hardening of the official attitude to religious dissent fostered and strengthened James's resolve and convinced him of the essentially active approach the responsible layman ought to manifest in religious matters. The government viewed Catholics with increased alarm, this perception being sharpened by the activities of the Catholic exiles in Spain and in the Low Countries, the Northern Rebellion of 1569, and the papal bull of 1570 which released Catholic subjects from allegiance to Elizabeth. The privy council was concerned enough to send letters and instructions to the Inns of Court in May 1569 'for reformation of a sort of persons about that time detected to be in the same houses of disordered misdemeanour and perverse disposition especially against the laws and orders ecclesiastical of the Church'.¹⁸

These years of James's legal studies also coincided with the establishment of Dr Allen's seminary at Douai. This academy for priests made the government realise that Catholic priests would not simply die out with the Marian priests. The first seminary priests began to arrive in England in 1574 and one, a Fr Lewis Barlow had been admitted to the Inner Temple the same year as James was admitted to Gray's Inn.¹⁹ Fr Barlow had gone into exile by 1571. The missionary priests found the Inns of Court to be receptive to them. The facilities prepared before and during James's student days for their safe reception in England were completed by 1574. The physical situation and

layout of the Inns of Court, with their spacious gardens and walks outside the city of Westminster, were an attractive, welcoming prospect to anyone who wished to escape official attention. They offered convenient meeting-places, well secluded and approachable through the fields if necessary. This welcoming, safe atmosphere was possible because the Inns contained many men who were in sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the seminary priests. The Inns were situated in a suburban area that had an unusual concentration of Catholics which provided a focus of attraction and even of refuge for Catholic priests. This was the challenging, bustling atmosphere into which James settled in the closing years of the 1560s.

The help given by Irish law students to Archbishop Creagh during his imprisonment provides an example of the sympathy extended to a Catholic clergyman.²⁰ Richard Creagh was the son of a Limerick merchant. A frightening shipping experience in his youth reinforced his decision to become a priest. Having studied at Louvain, he planned to join the Theatine Fathers. Pope Pius IV appointed him to the see of Cashel, however. This appointment was then amended to that of the see of Armagh which had also become vacant. In July 1564 Archbishop Creagh left Rome for Ireland. He visited Augsburg, Antwerp and Louvain as he journeyed home. He arrived in Ireland but was captured just after landing. He was sent to the Tower in London. He escaped after a few weeks and travelled once again to Ireland. He exercised wide visitational and legatine powers, granted to him by Pope Pius IV. In 1567 he was rearrested and sent back to the Tower. But Elizabeth had him tried in Dublin where he

remained a prisoner for several years. No jury would convict him. In February 1575 the primate was sent to the Tower where he remained until his death in 1586. He spent a total of nineteen years incarcerated.

Archbishop Creagh managed to correspond with the Spanish ambassador. After the promulgation of the papal bull 'Regnans in Excelsis', he believed that Philip II should conquer Ireland and then preserve the Catholic faith. He believed that the only hope for the preservation of Catholicism lay in resorting to force. In common with Rev David Wolf S.J. he had come to Ireland to exercise a spiritual mission but had to recognise that physical support was imperative for the preservation of this mission. The archbishop's ordeal appears to have excited the sympathy of many of his co-religionists, including the Irish students at the Inns of Court. William Bermingham of Gray's Inn heard from his fellow-student, Edward Nugent, that Archbishop Creagh was imprisoned in the Gatehouse.²¹ He visited him there on 27 February 1574 and offered him assistance. He later brought the archbishop books and clothes. Another student, a member of the Sedgrave family, attempted to visit and console the archbishop but was prevented by the guards. William Bermingham, upon examination, admitted that he visited the imprisoned cleric about three times but prior to that he did not know the archbishop except through hearsay. He admitted that one Sunday, he and his fellow-students Edward Nugent and one of the Nettervilles dined in the hall with Archbishop Creagh and the other prisoners. William Bermingham gave Archbishop

Creagh, who was troubled with a flux, two gowns, one of Sedgrave's and one of his own, some shirts and other items of clothing. He was given ten shillings to get a copy of Eusebius's History, Promptuarium Latinum, Precationes Bibliae which he procured and delivered to Creagh. The penalty for these charitable works was imprisonment.²² Bermingham, particularly because of his law studies, knew how he risked his professional aspirations. Yet this knowledge did not prevent him and his fellow-students from becoming actively involved in the archbishop's predicament. This sympathy of these students for the plight of the imprisoned churchman and their efforts to alleviate his distress indicate the charity and sense of commitment James's contemporaries displayed to the imprisoned primate.

The Inns of Court were close to several recusant centres in Holborn, Covent Garden, Drury Lane, St. Giles in the Field and Lincoln Inn Field. Gray's Inn figures frequently in the State Papers relating to Catholic activity in and around the Inns of Court. Gray's Inn, the largest and most secluded had many members from Lancashire - noted for its resistance to the Reformation - and from Ireland. It was also noted for being a favourite haunt of priests. During his career as a student, James was aware of the tradition there of acceptance of non-conformity by the college authorities which made the life of a Catholic recusant less burdensome than in the outside world. Despite his initial financial setback, caused by Sir John Travers not having had official permission to settle his lands on Mary and James at the time of their marriage, he pursued his studies seriously.²³ He wished to prepare himself fully for the

time when he would accede to the title with its relevant duties and privileges. In a letter of 27 July 1568 James alluded to the financial difficulties he was experiencing in London.²⁴ These were probably caused by lack of legal knowledge on his father-in-law's part. When James married Mary Travers, Sir John transferred the use of certain of his lands to them but he neglected to acquire the crown licence to do so. This negligence resulted in the profits of the land being seized by the crown. James sought redress for this alienation of profits in which if he were unsuccessful he would have had to terminate his studies. This would have been 'a matter of deep regret to him' and would have produced 'many inconveniences'.²⁵ James was probably anxious to acquire expertise in legal matters in the face of challenges by individual English officials to the constitutional and economic position of his order.

When James completed his studies at the Inns of Court, he returned to Ireland and settled into Gallmorestown and Monkstown with Mary. The legal difficulties pertaining to their inheritance had been resolved. He helped his father run the many estates of the Eustace family in Kildare, Carlow and Dublin. Family bonds of marriage and friendship were renewed with the O'Byrnes, the O'Tooles, the Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory, the Butlers and also with the Pale families the Suttons, Nettervilles and Barnewalls. James had come under the influence of more active Catholicism during his absence from Ireland. His main interest for the remainder of his life after his sojourn at the Inns of Court was to be the restoration of the Catholic religion in Ireland. He committed himself to this cause. Two priests

in particular steeled this commitment. They were Fr Robert Rochford and Dr Edmund Tanner.

Fr Robert Rochford was from Wexford. He joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1564.²⁶ In 1567 he studied at the university of Dillengen with Dr Tanner. He returned to Ireland and taught in a school in Youghal and in the surrounding areas. He was a gifted linguist. A contemporary described him as 'a proper divine, an exact philosopher and a very good antiquary'.²⁷ He became a personal friend of the Fitzgerald family of Kildare who maintained a room for him in Rathangan. Fr Rochford also became a friend of the Eustaces, and of James in particular, acting as tutor to his brothers for a time, along with Dr Tanner.

A brief résumé of Dr Tanner's career may serve to explain the influence which he had over James Eustace. On 14 June 1565 at the age of thirty-nine he joined the Society of Jesus.²⁸ He suffered consistently from bad health which finally forced him to leave the Jesuit house in Rome. On 26 October 1571 he wrote to Cardinal Moroni, stating that he was an exile from Ireland for religion's sake for twelve years.²⁹ He had lived as fortune dictated among Spanish, Italians and Germans and now wished to return to Ireland to serve in the active ministry. He claimed that 'grave men' had assured him that during his absence of twelve years, not one hundred men had been infected with heresy, although a sizeable number, for fear of confiscation of goods, had attended the ceremonies of the Established Church.³⁰ But, he stated, the people had become so demoralised that a 'pious Catholic was scarcely to be found and the clergy were depraved'.³¹

He continued by claiming that religious instruction had become so rare that few were able to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith or the Commandments and still fewer understood them. He elaborated that sermons had become so uncommon as to be rarely heard, sacraments were seldom administered and hardly understood, that the ignorant people knew not whether they were appointed by God or by man. Their ignorance was so gross that many spent their lives in sin and had grown so accustomed to it that they dared to say that it was just and lawful for them to live by theft and rapine as for 'him that worthily served the altar to live by the altar'.³² But, he continued, they were so well inclined or rather prompted by the Holy Spirit to a good life that all that was needed was the admonition or reproof of a good man and 'forthwith they would be dissolved in tears, lamenting that they knew not such things were sins or contrary to the commandments of God'. Edmund Tanner concluded that touched by their woeful plight, he had come from Louvain to Rome to offer his services, for what they were worth, in that deserted field. Some similar points were made by Sir Henry Wallop some eleven years later. He wrote,

The great affection they commonly bear to the popish religion ... agreeth with their humour, that having committed murder, incest, thefts, with other execrable offences, by hearing a Mass, confessing themselves to a priest, or obtaining the pope's pardon, they persuade themselves they are forgiven. And hearing Mass on Sunday or holyday they think that all the week after they may do what heinous offence soever, and it is dispensed withal.

33

From their divergent perspectives, Tanner and Wallop were rather extreme in their analysis of the state of religion among the Irish.

Despite his eloquent request for a transfer to follow missionary work in Ireland, Dr Tanner had to wait for five years before he finally started his mission. On 6 January 1573 he again wrote to Cardinal Moroni from Milan where he was canon with Charles Borromeo, saying he longed to return to Ireland to minister to the souls there who 'sit in darkness and the shadow of death'.³⁴ But his transfer was not to be hurried and Dr Tanner was still in Milan during November 1574. Finally his call came and he was made bishop of Cork and Cloyne. In a Brief and Papal Commissary to Ireland he is described as Master of Theology, priest in his fiftieth year ... and as having made profession of the Catholic Faith in accordance with articles recently drawn up by the Holy See. The Brief described him as having all the usual virtues required in a bishop. The clergy and faithful were requested to accept him as their pastor and father and to obey his instructions and commands. The Brief stated,

We desire all occasion and reason of wandering outside the cities and dioceses of Cork and Cloyne from you and that you do not exercise the pontifical office (outside these dioceses) even with the permission of the Ordinaries of the dioceses, as in those cases we decree such functions to be null and void.

35

Later this clause was modified. In St. Peter's basilica on 6 February 1575 Edmund Tanner was consecrated bishop of Cork and Cloyne.³⁶ On 10 April 1575 he was granted special facilities which empowered him to exercise his duties not only in Cork and Cloyne, but also 'throughout the whole province of Dublin, of which he was a native, as well as throughout the whole province of Munster, so long as the various bishops and archbishops were

obliged by the fury of their persecution to be absent from their respective sees'.³⁷ On 12 May 1575 Pope Gregory XIII gave him his recommendation to all bishops and priests in Ireland. Dr Tanner left Rome and made his way to Madrid where he met with further delays on his journey home. Ill-health detained him. But finally his perseverance and patience were rewarded and with the help of the Portuguese Nuncio, he got a passage on a Venetian ship bound for England. The Portuguese Nuncio noted that 'I cannot but bear good testimony to his virtue and zeal for the service of God'.³⁸

Edmund Tanner landed in Galway 21 June 1576 and spent a few months there. On 17 October the Commissary in Portugal wrote,

Yesterday I received letters from Edmund, bishop of Cork to the effect that after infinite perils he arrived at the port of Galway in Ireland on Corpus Christi day, and he found that country is full of heretics and robbers.

39

Edmund Tanner's troubles had begun in earnest. On his journey to Munster he and his chaplain were taken prisoner in Clonmel. In his letter to the General of the Jesuits he wrote that in the midst of persecutions from heretics, he was taken a prisoner but by the grace of God and the help of a nobleman he escaped, eluding twelve warders.⁴⁰ He reported that his mission was meeting with considerable success, he 'reconciled many of the nobles of the kingdom'.⁴¹ He also won back from the cesspool of Schism 'a considerable number' of citizens of the towns and cities.⁴² He stated that his mission enjoyed daily success being hindered not by any lack of enthusiasm on the people's part but by the persecution and deprivation that

awaited him should he fail to elude the spies. Dr Edmund Tanner claimed that political and economic constraints were holding a good number back from reconversion. Also involved in his missionary endeavours was his friend from his Louvain days, Robert Rochford. The two priests set up a school in Youghal; together they -

spread everywhere the good odour of their Society of Jesus ... The pupils are every day instructed in the Christian doctrine, and in the frequentation of the sacraments and good morals, as far as time will permit, not indeed without molestation: yet the Lord gives them perseverance and their hearers abundant fruit.

43

Dr Tanner and Fr Rochford befriended noble Pale families which included the Fitzgeralds of Kildare and the Eustaces. They stayed in their houses and discussed the progress of the Catholic mission with them. Fr Nicholas Eustace, a cousin of James, and other unnamed priests joined with the two priests. They formulated a policy. Their aim was to restore the free practice of Catholicism throughout Ireland. To achieve this they pledged themselves to the cause of placing a Catholic monarch on the throne of England and Ireland. Elizabeth, a heretic in their eyes, was to be deposed. This was no treason as they did not recognise her rights to the throne because she was non-Catholic. These three priests and their anonymous colleagues made a lasting impact on James and his brothers and sisters. They remained in their house for some time and taught the younger members of the family. The priests laid the groundwork for the conspiracy. They moved from one gentry home to another, instructing, preaching, and pointing the way forward towards a movement for

the restoration of the free practice of Catholicism in Ireland. They moved up and down the country finding safe refuge wherever they travelled. Dr Tanner stayed with Joan, James's sister in Upper Ossory.⁴⁴ He exerted a strong influence on the Eustace brothers. William Eustace stated in 1583 that he had learned all of his religious beliefs from Dr Tanner, Fr Rochford, Sir Nicholas Eustace and others.⁴⁵ He persevered in these beliefs. Richard Eustace, the youngest member of the family, joined the Jesuits in Paris. The Eustaces espoused the cause of Catholicism, as directed by their priests, in the mid-1570s and remained steadfast to it for the remainder of their lives. James, on Dr Tanner's advice, travelled to Rome and he returned in 1578.⁴⁶ James was already known for his personal commitment to Catholicism. Adam Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Dublin said James was 'noted for extreme obstinacy in religion'.⁴⁷ In 1577 Dr Tanner was captured and imprisoned. He attempted to convert his custodian Patrick Walshe, Protestant bishop of Waterford.⁴⁸

James espoused the cause of religion whereas Roland followed a political career aimed at preserving the traditional position of the Anglo-Irish in Pale politics. During the 1570s many Irish priests and students travelled to Louvain, Paris, Madrid and Rome from Ireland. The failure of the Northern Rebellion in 1569 in England led to the development of an influential English Catholic community on the continent. Dr Nicholas Sanders, a leading member of this community, was in Louvain and was in constant communication with Rome, keeping Pope Gregory XIII informed on the condition of English Catholics. The papal bull for Elizabeth's excommunication clarified the position for

many Catholics both in England and Ireland that their allegiance was to Rome in religious matters.

The period of the 1570s in Rome was a time of great missionary endeavour on the Catholic church's behalf. James was affected by the enthusiasm engendered during his visit to the city. Pope Gregory XIII entertained hopes that Don John of Austria would become king of Ireland, marry Mary, Queen of Scots and oust Elizabeth from the throne of England. Dr Sanders was in sympathy with this plan. The Irish contacts on the continent were quite numerous. The earl of Desmond had contacts in Spain and with Maurice MacBrien, bishop of Emlly, Fr Patrick O'Healy, Dr Sanders and Fr Wolf. Thomas Stucley, the self-styled duke of Leinster, who had fought at the battle of Lepanto with Don John, ingratiated himself with the English Catholic exiles in Rome. Archbishop MacGibbon of Cashel sought aid for Ireland in Spain. In March 1575 James Fitzmaurice, his wife and his family (except for one son, who remained with the Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory) and the seneschal of Imokelly left Ireland for France.⁴⁹ David Wolfe reporting on the situation in Ireland wrote,

... all the Old English, except for Viscount Gormanstown are under the Lady Elizabeth for want of a Christian prince ... and are always crying to God to send them some Catholic prince to whom they may yield obedience.

50

In Rome the counsel of the Franciscans was sought to organise a mission backed by papal help to Ireland. O'Healy made some steady progress. James Eustace may have been privy to the course of these negotiations. In 1575 a meeting was held in Rome to discuss the Irish question. The aim was to plan to

send an expedition against Elizabeth. Through some misunderstanding James Fitzmaurice remained in St. M^alo. The meeting was attended by Pope Gregory XIII, the Cardinal of Como, Maurice MacBrien, bishop of Emly, Fr O'Healy and Fr Wolfe. The English Catholic party also aimed at Elizabeth's deposition. Its members, including Dr Allen and Sir Francis Englefield and even Thomas Stucley, received more attention than the Irish party did. The plans to depose Elizabeth and to restore Catholicism in England and Ireland held Pope Gregory XIII's attention in the mid-1570s. Relations between the Irish and English parties were friendly enough but each pressed singly for the achievement of the betterment of conditions for Catholicism in its respective country. In April 1575 Pope Gregory XIII wrote to Turlough Luineach, Shane Óg O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone, the earl of Desmond, the Burkes of Clanricard and O'Donnell of Tyrconnell encouraging their loyalty to Catholicism.⁵¹

Gerald, earl of Kildare, had definite links with the Irish party also. He fell under the suspicion of the Dublin government for his involvement with Stucley. Stucley had spent some years in Ireland before leaving it for the continent. Prior to his departure in 1575 Stucley visited Kildare in his castle of Kilkea, outside Athy.⁵² The government accused Kildare of sending letters with Stucley to Rome. Stucley left Kildare's most secluded and distant castle from the centre of government in the company of a wanted man, Phelim O'Connor. Phelim, accused of treason, remained at liberty working with Kildare. He and another accompanied Stucley with two of Gerald's best

saddle-horses to the boat at Wexford.⁵³ The contents of Kildare's messages were secret but they were important enough to warrant the protection of good security supplied by Gerald.

A new phase in relations between the Catholic church in Ireland and the state authorities began in 1578. Sidney was convinced that reform of the numerous abuses was imperative. In May 1577 he issued a new commission for the court of ecclesiastical commission. A more active religious policy was pursued particularly by Sir William Drury, who was appointed lord president of Munster in 1576 and who acted as lord justice in Sidney's absence.⁵⁴ Lord Justice Drury was a firm believer in severe methods of repression. This was the political and religious climate in which James Eustace was judged in 1578. James Fitzmaurice was busy seeking aid for his intended invasion of Ireland. Primate Creagh, from his prison in London, was rumoured to be in frequent communication with the continent about the invasion.

James returned from Rome in 1578.⁵⁵ During that summer he clashed openly with the Dublin government and particularly with Archbishop Adam Loftus. Loftus said that James 'and other renegades, persuaded by Tanner, fled Ireland, and went to Rome'.⁵⁶ James returned and openly attended Mass. He was now noted for extreme obstinacy in religion. He had made the decision to practice his Catholicism openly. Influenced by and imbued with a missionary zeal, he made his first public declaration for freedom of religious practice. Due to the new religious policy, James was summoned to appear before the

ecclesiastical commission. He confessed to having attended a Mass and was fined one hundred marks or six month's imprisonment.⁵⁷ Loftus said of James, 'because I found him simple, I sought to win him by persuasion dealing in truth, with our utmost lenity towards him'.⁵⁸ But on the 26 June, Sidney instructed Loftus to proceed against James according to the precepts of the statute of uniformity.⁵⁹ He told Loftus to take a bond and security with good surety to pay the 100 marks within the ensuing six weeks or else to imprison James for six months. Sidney wanted a strong stand to be taken against James's public flaunting of the law. He ordered that if James refused to enter into a bond of recognisance -

and for that it may be suspected upon his former travel to Rome notoriously known and the sequel since of his affection for papistry and abolished religion, he will either shun the realm or so absent himself otherwise, as yet not having security of him, for his forthcoming the Queen may be defrauded of the said fine. 60

He reiterated that should James refuse to enter into a bond, he was to be imprisoned for six months.

Sidney's peremptory tone indicated that he would brook no delay in taking immediate action against James. He would not tolerate an open display of 'papistry', especially from the son and heir of a prominent member of the Pale community who had associated himself so closely with the cess campaign and caused much bother for Sidney. Sidney was distrustful of James because of his having been recently in Rome. The danger of a combined Stucley-Fitzmaurice invasion under the auspices

of King Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII was feared to be imminent. On 3 January 1578 Stucley had a large ship, six hundred soldiers and ample supplies and munitions granted by the pope. Some of the Irish clergy including Dr Comerford were with Stucley. James's sojourn in Rome indicated to Sidney suggested collusion with conspirators against Elizabeth. The fact that this journey was widely known indicates Sidney's distrust of James as one who would seek to publicise such an event. Sidney's instructions implied that one attendance at Mass was not the sole reason for James being called up before the ecclesiastical commission: 'his former travel to Rome notoriously known and the sequel since of his affection for papistry and abolished religion' suggested that this was not an isolated incident but one of many of his outward displays of loyalty and adherence to Catholicism since his return from Rome.⁶¹

Sidney was wary of James. Loftus adopted the view that he was 'simple' and claimed to treat him thus but Sidney saw it as essential that James ought to be punished precisely according to the dictates of the law. James should be made an example of and Sidney was determined on this point. If James were to flee the country, which Sidney suggested might happen, that would have solved Loftus's dilemma. Loftus served frequently on commissions with Roland and faced a dilemma about proceeding against his son. But Sidney had determined that an example should be made of James who must face the consequence of his action.

On 18 July 1578 Sidney again instructed Loftus because as yet James had not been fined or imprisoned.⁶² James had appeared before the commission on the last court day and was again ordered to lodge sufficient sureties for the payment of the fine or to go to jail. Sidney reminded Loftus that he was to act according to his previous instructions without further delay. Obviously there was great reluctance and hesitation on Loftus's part to institute either of these options commanded by the lord deputy. These efforts raise the question as to why he did not act as commanded by Sidney on 26 June and again on 18 July. Was Loftus genuinely looking for a conversion to conformity from 'a notoriously known papist' recently returned from the missionary atmosphere of Counter-Reformation Rome?⁶³ Loftus did not usually exhibit such highminded sentiments and it is far more likely that more practical considerations tempered his approach to James Eustace.

Loftus, by virtue of being archbishop of Dublin, held the ancient right to the archiepiscopal manor of Ballymore-Eustace whose lands and appurtenances there bordered on the lands of the Eustaces in the marches. The lands were near the territories of Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne and the O'Tooles. The Eustaces enjoyed cordial relationships strengthened by marriage bonds with these two Gaelic families. Loftus enjoyed no such immunities. He was always keenly aware of his personal danger when in the outlying regions. Although he and Roland Eustace frequently served on government commissions together, he could never be assured of any guarantee of personal safety or even

of reaping profits from the border areas. Loftus had many commitments and looked for profits where at all possible but the yields from his Ballymore-Eustace estates he claimed were nil. Indeed Loftus said that he was often frightened for personal safety and spent a sizeable portion of his income trying to maintain security. Quite likely he was attempting to settle the problem over James's non-conformist behaviour as quietly and as satisfactorily to all sides as possible, without giving undue cause to the Eustaces or their Gaelic-Irish relations and neighbours to plunder his estates or even, as he later claimed, to do him personal injury. Loftus therefore let the case drag on for as long as he could manage but Sidney intervened.

There was economic unrest and disenchantment caused by Sidney's new exactions. Sidney faced a dilemma. He was trying to maintain a balance between Elizabeth's orders and the Palesmen's demands. Elizabeth told Sidney he was not to alienate the Palesmen further, and yet they were calling her prerogative into question which was very offensive to her. Religious unrest at a time of such discontent and at a time of an expected papal and Spanish invasion was more than Sidney could tolerate. Loftus was ordered to execute and terminate proceedings against James immediately as the law required. Loftus vacillated from 26 June 1578 to 18 July when on Sidney's repeated instructions, James was committed to Dublin Castle where he spent twenty-four hours. Loftus asserted, 'he submitted himself and subscribed with being informed by me to the

Lord Deputy; he did not only honourably remit but granted him his pardon, whereby he was freely set at liberty without payment of one penny'.⁶⁴ And so quite suddenly and contrary to the expected outcome, ended James's legal clash with the ecclesiastical commission and the Dublin government and his neighbour, Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin.

Chapter III

THE LAYING OF THE GROUNDWORK FOR REBELLION

James's trial by the ecclesiastical commission led to a hardening of his resolve on behalf of Catholicism. The feelings of resentment and alienation experienced during the cess campaign by the long-established colonial community were broadened to include a religious dimension. To the campaign for the attainment of social, political and economic justice was added another contentious issue where government policy was making public inroads on the personal religious beliefs of one of its members. This conjunction of social, political and economic justice with religious beliefs increased the alienation of the Anglo-Irish community. James's growing awareness of his religious position coupled with his knowledge of Roland's contribution to the cess campaign and his treatment at the Bagenal enquiry all combined to convince him that the only solution lay in open defiance of Elizabeth. Fr Rochford, Dr Tanner, Sir Nicholas Eustace and many more clergy had previously arrived at this conclusion. They had then their lay leader from the influential Pale community. James's rebellion had solid clerical support. It was not the spontaneous reaction of a simple man, but a carefully planned revolt. It had a network of support that extended from the Pale to areas of Gaelic Ireland, to Paris, Madrid, Lisbon and Rome. The Baltinglass revolt was part of the wider resistance organised and supported by the Irish Catholic clergy in conjunction with Pope Gregory XIII. The revolt was the continuation of the struggle started

by James Fitzmaurice in 1579. The upheaval in the Pale was the specific response of Eustace, chosen lay Anglo-Irish leader of the clerical conspiracy that aimed at the restoration of Catholicism and the long-accepted and traditional values of the Catholic colonial community. Catholics of the calibre and conviction of James prepared to become militants. Dr David Wolfe, the papal envoy, had also adopted the stance since the promulgation of the papal bull 'Regnans in Excelsis'.

James Eustace publicly declared the Catholicism he wished to espouse by his attendance at Mass and by his subsequent trial before the ecclesiastical commission. In the summer of 1579 militant Catholicism in Ireland received a major boost by the return of its herald to the pope - James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald. Fitzmaurice, Dr Nicholas Sanders, the papal legate, and a small group of followers landed at Smerwick on 17 July 1579.¹ Fitzmaurice was a fascinating person, described in 1574 by David Wolfe, the papal nuncio as 'a good Catholic, and a brave captain'.² He was the figurehead for the Catholic crusade which he launched with great enthusiasm but little practical support. Fitzmaurice initiated a religious revolt which, despite his early demise a month after his landing, touched leading Irish Catholics and inspired them to tolerate if not join in his crusade for the restoration of Catholicism and the deposition of Elizabeth. This development in Munster gave hope and encouragement to James, Fr Rochford, Sir Nicholas Eustace and other members of the clergy and Anglo-Irish community who began to organise the conspiracy in Leinster. This conspiracy was linked to the Fitzmaurice one.

Its proponents shared the same religious sentiments and aspirations. Fitzmaurice and Dr Sanders sent out letters to the Palesmen and the Gaelic people encouraging them to join in their papal crusade and exhorting them to depose Elizabeth from the English throne.³ Eustace's development parallels Fitzmaurice's in several instances. Both men were motivated by religion. In Fitzmaurice's case the motivation possibly came from the displacement of his class in the changing society of the troubled Desmond palatinate where his rôle as swordsman was becoming obsolete. The conjunction of this with the course of events in Munster culminated in Fitzmaurice's becoming a committed Counter-Reformation Catholic. Eustace and Fitzmaurice had both visited Rome. Each had pledged himself to the restoration of Catholicism in Ireland and to the removal of Elizabeth from the throne. Both were ready to take up arms to ensure the success of their cause which for them was a religious crusade. Eustace may even have met with Fitzmaurice during his visit to Rome. They shared a common hope as events of 1579 unfolded. It has been said of Fitzmaurice 'that his own personal bitterness, the threat that hung over men of his type in the new social order and the current misfortunes of the Geraldine interest as a whole fused in Fitzmaurice's mind into one single grievance' - religious discontent.⁴ The old ecclesiastical order and his way of life shared a common danger - both were under threat, their days were numbered.

This threat to a traditional mode of life had also been experienced by Eustace. His stance before the ecclesiastical commission, the infringements made on his father's rights and

obligations to the cess by Bagenal were pointers to the fact that an accepted way of life or standard of behaviour was passing. This realisation of a changing mode of values, of the threat posed against the former stability of the Anglo-Irish lifestyle fused with the religious enthusiasm which James was already displaying, pointed the way forward for him. The time was quickly approaching when his commitment to Catholicism combined with the growing realisation that the power wielded by the Anglo-Irish community was declining, would cause James to take a firm and public stand.

This almost became imperative in July 1579 when Lord Justice Drury called on the leading Palesmen to become part of his entourage that headed south to combat Fitzmaurice and his followers.⁵ James, in common with Kildare and many others, formed part of this army. Eustace was saved from openly displaying his loyalty by Kildare's duplicity. As Drury's party marched south, Eustace began to have severe misgivings about his attendance on the lord justice. When they reached Kilkenny Eustace confided to Kildare that in conscience he could not oppose Fitzmaurice, explaining that Fitzmaurice had come under the direction of the pope 'to maintain the Rome religion'.⁶ Eustace asked for Kildare's help to break away from Drury. Kildare arranged this and so Eustace managed to avoid an open confrontation for the time being. By July 1579 he was not fully prepared to openly defy the government. This ease of communication with Kildare and the promptness and ease of his release from Drury's retinue indicate the measure of the power and influence which Kildare wielded. The fact also that

Kildare did not disclose Eustace's religious empathy with Fitzmaurice places the earl in an unusual light. Kildare was able to march against Fitzmaurice, the defender of the Catholic faith, and was able to arrange for Eustace, a Fitzmaurice sympathiser, to leave the party without any repercussions or without any crisis of conscience for himself. If he saw an anomaly in the situation he did not let it bother him. Kildare's ability to be involved in any camp and to manoeuvre with consummate skill was to become an important contributory factor to Eustace's campaign once it got under way.

Edmund Eustace, James's brother was also a member of the Drury party.⁷ James and Edmund were close and were frequently together on important occasions. When James broke away from Drury's followers he visited his sister Joan's house. She was married to the baron of Upper Ossory. They had sheltered and cared for Dr Edmund Tanner in the closing months of his life.⁸ He died while in their care. Dr Tanner had had a profound effect on the religious development of the young Eustaces. This influence, which William and Edmund Eustace, and government officials such as Loftus described, was wielded in the days when he and Fr Rochford taught school in Munster and travelled to gentry houses in Munster and Leinster. The Fitzpatricks also gave refuge and provided a home for Fitzmaurice's second son until he was placed in a school in Spain.⁹

James concluded his visit with Joan and Barnaby Fitzpatrick and returned to his home in Baltinglass. There he received

letters from Dr Sanders and Fitzmaurice brought to him by Fr Rochford.¹⁰ Fr Rochford was the vital link between the Munster rebels and Eustace. James Eustace had a part to play in Fitzmaurice's plan for the restoration of Catholicism and the deposition of Elizabeth. James articulated the depth of his dedication to Catholicism before July 1579. He was an integral part of the masterplan of Dr Sanders and Fitzmaurice to spread the Catholic rebellion from Munster to the loyalist Pale and beyond to the northern and western areas of Ireland. Fitzmaurice, as Pope Gregory's herald in Ireland, commanded Eustace to prepare forces and to join with him as 'his principles dictated'.¹¹ The shadowy figure of Kildare again obtrudes: Fr Rochford carried letters from Fitzmaurice and Sanders to Kildare.¹² These letters contained instructions for the earl to prepare his men and join in the holy cause. Another letter was written in Latin and was stamped with the papal insignia. A third letter, also for Kildare, seemed to be a letter of excommunication. James and his servant Christopher Barnewall rode to Kilkea, Kildare's home in the extreme south of County Kildare, and the one farthest from the heart of the Pale. Kilkea was the most southerly outpost of the earl's and bordered on the O'Mores' lands. Eustace told Kildare of the letters. Kildare's reaction was not to pass the two men over to the authorities for conspiracy but rather to arrange another meeting where he could read the letters. Obviously he was intrigued, sympathetic and open to suggestions. He was involved.

The meeting was arranged for Rathangan quite soon afterwards.¹³ Rathangan was another of the earl's big, rambling houses but was more interesting from the point of view that here Kildare and his wife, Mabel, kept 'open passage' for Fr Rochford whose books were stored there and Fr Compton who lived there and was tutor to their son.¹⁴ These two priests often met there. Mabel Fitzgerald was an ardent Catholic, and was in frequent communication with her brother Charles Brown in Santander.¹⁵ Brown was long regarded by the government as being a plotter and intriguer for Catholic plans to invade Ireland and England with Spanish forces. The atmosphere and company in Rathangan was surely conducive to the perusal and discussion of such letters.

Kildare and Eustace read the letters and discussed their import. The possibility of Kildare and Eustace joining at that stage with Fitzmaurice was pondered on. Kildare, however, advised James that 'he would neither stir himself and advised the viscount that he should not stir until the arrival of the aid promised'.¹⁶ Therefore the two men had considered in joining in the rebellion. Eustace appeared to be anxious to join at once but was restrained by Kildare's counsel to await more foreign aid. This counsel may have been Kildare's customary procrastination but it also was a sure indication that he shared a certain sympathy for the Catholic cause and was keeping his options open about whether he would become part of it or remain outside it. Whatever his personal meanderings may have been, he did not inform the authorities of his quite extensive knowledge at this stage of a planned-for Pale

rebellion. Kildare was postponing his final decision but was still deep in the confidence of the dissident viscount. However with paternal concern he dissuaded him from outright action. By July 1579 the viscount's commitment to a Pale rebellion was made. Kildare maintained an open mind. He kept his own counsel and persuaded Eustace to do likewise for the present.

The three priests, Fr Nicholas Eustace, Fr Robert Rochford and Fr Compton, played an important rôle in linking Eustace and Kildare. Fr Nicholas Eustace, a relative of James, was chaplain to Mabel Fitzgerald.¹⁷ He was an excellent mediator. He worked with consummate ease in this rôle for the earl, the viscount, the government and for the Gaelic community. Fr Eustace lived mainly in Rathangan and served as chaplain. He also had an income from lands in County Carlow, the dowry of Mary Travers, leased to him by James.¹⁸ Fr Nicholas Eustace was an enthusiastic person and travelled widely to set the plans for the religious rebellion in motion.

Fr Robert Rochford was born in County Wexford in 1525.¹⁹ He joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1564 where he studied with Dr Edmund Tanner.²⁰ In 1567 the two Irishmen continued their studies at the University of Dillingen.²¹ They returned to Ireland in 1575. They taught in a school in Youghal and in the surrounding areas. They established strong links of friendship and religious empathy with the Desmonds at this time. James Fitzmaurice was on the continent during this period but the Irish continental circle was small enough for them either to have made his acquaintance or to have accurate knowledge of him and his aspirations and efforts for the Catholic faith.

The links of friendship between these two priest-schoolmasters and the earl of Desmond and his brothers, James and John, also extended to the houses of the Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory and continued on to Kildare and his household.²² Fr Rochford was firmly established as a valued member of the Kildare ménage by 1579.²³ During his years of teaching in Munster Fr Rochford became familiar with that province, its roads and passes and this accurate local knowledge was to serve him well when his keenness to start the religious revolt drove him to travel extensively, delivering messages and canvassing support. Fr. Rochford was a gifted linguist of whom it was said, 'he was a proper divine, an exact philosopher and a very good antiquary'.²⁴ Fr Rochford was very impatient to start the rebellion. He was naturally aware of the benefits of its coinciding with James Fitzmaurice's stand in Munster. He pressed very hard to persuade Eustace to join in in 1579. He hoped also to encourage Kildare to openly declare himself in favour of the rebellion. When Eustace returned to Baltinglass from Rathangan after he had deliberated on the letters with Kildare, he called Fr Rochford into his chambers and told him of the earl's advice to refrain from joining the rebellion until more foreign aid had arrived. Fr Rochford grew very angry at this decision and said 'if they tarried so long they should lose their thanks and besides said they shall never have any more aid if they break promise now'.²⁵

His reaction shows how deeply and urgently Fr Rochford was committed to persuading and directing the viscount and the earl to the rebellion. It indicates that the priest was at the very

nerve-centre of the plans to gain the Palesmen's support for Fitzmaurice's war. He was the strong, vital link, the counsellor between Fitzmaurice, Dr Sanders and Eustace and Kildare. His influence was strong as he had achieved the co-operation of the two Palesmen, swearing them to secrecy and not to betray him to what would have definitely been certain death for treason against Elizabeth. In July 1579 he was unable to acquire their open, active support for the Munster rebellion because they both reasoned the time was not yet opportune, and that they needed more numerous foreign reinforcements before their final act of support could be pledged. While the tardiness of action angered the priest, it suggests wisdom on their part and a definite inclination to join in the war when the practicalities of such a major and final step would be more obvious and auspicious. There was a collusion towards conspiracy in 1579 between these Palesmen and the Munster rebels.

The third priest who was also closely linked in these plans was Fr Compton. He was tutor to Kildare's youngest son.²⁶ He lived in Rathangan where, like Fr Rochford, he enjoyed the patronage of Mabel and Gerald and the protection that this patronage afforded. Fr Compton was in frequent contact with both Fr Rochford and Fr Eustace. These men had solid information about the administrative concerns in Dublin Castle because of the important rôle that Gerald played there. They were both fortunate and privileged in the amount of valuable information available at Rathangan.

Fr Rochford and Dr Tanner brought a continental dimension

to Irish religious affairs. They brought an enriched interpretation of Counter-Reformation Catholicism to their ministry in Ireland. Their personal conviction was totally channelled towards the restoration of freedom of practice of Catholicism. By 1579 this missionary zeal, shared by many of their colleagues, was expressing itself in their support of Fitzmaurice's campaign in Munster. Their overall aim had become enmeshed in the Fitzmaurices' conquest of Munster, aided by papal and Spanish forces. This aim had developed to encompass the control of the Pale through military victory. This victory they hoped to achieve by the unification of Gaelic families in this area - the very centre of Elizabeth's power in Ireland. This was an extremely innovative proposition considering the traditional loyalty of the Anglo-Irish Pale families and also the lack of cohesiveness that had generally persisted between them and the Gaelic families.

The sudden death of Fitzmaurice within one month of his landing was a major blow to Fr Rochford, James Eustace and their collaborators.²⁷ It was another deterrent to a simultaneous Munster-Pale revolt. But their planning continued undaunted by the momentous loss of Fitzmaurice. Fr Rochford, aided by his core of religious helpers, continued to take endless care to proceed with the groundwork for the rebellion in the Pale. The rebellion was set to begin at a future date despite the failure of James Eustace or other laymen to support openly the Desmond rebellion. This inner core of religious directors all resided full-time or part-time in Rathangan.²⁸

Thus, Kildare was either on the fringe of their activities or else closely involved in them. They needed his consent if not his participation to achieve what they set out to do.

From the winter of 1579 to the Easter of 1580 Fathers Rochford, Eustace and Compton formed a network that sought to infiltrate and win over the loyalty of the Leinster Anglo-Irish.²⁹ During this period the three priests travelled separately to all the 'gentlemen's houses in County Kildare'.³⁰ They sought support for a religious rebellion within the Pale. Their pattern for canvassing this support was always the same. The priest arrived at the designated house and celebrated Mass. During Mass he administered an oath to those present who promised either to participate actively in the rebellion or to do nothing to mar it. The priest stayed only a very short time in the house before moving on. During these months the three priests succeeded in gaining the active or passive allegiance of all but four Kildare gentlemen.³¹ Rest, succour and a safe refuge always awaited them in Rathangan where Countess Mabel ensured they had 'open passage' to and from the Kildare household.³²

These preparations and the fact that not one of the priests was apprehended for treason for this blatant disloyalty to Elizabeth are a good indication of the measure of support which the Catholic church commanded in County Kildare.³³ They also indicate the loyalty its ministers inspired and the traditional fidelity the Kildare family enjoyed. They indicate too the careful planning and groundwork that preceded this rebellion.

The rebellion was not a mere whim of a discontented noble but rather a carefully-planned conspiracy that became identified with James Eustace and which had many important people at its core. The aura of religious dedication, the religious ceremony, the oath of allegiance to Catholicism administered at Mass by priests who had been in the Rome of Pope Gregory XIII, firmly linked the rebellion with the Catholic revivalism of the Counter Reformation.³⁴ Henry Wallop later became very incensed against these three priests and described them as 'the most apparent rebels such at their Masses have sworn many rebels'.³⁵

The next stage in the planning for the rebellion was in James's house in Monkstown during the early part of Easter week of 1580.³⁶ This meeting lasted for three days and was attended by James Eustace, Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin, Fiach MacHugh, chief of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow and Fr Rochford.³⁷ Oliver Eustace, 'a civilian learned and wise', a cousin of James's and described by a state official as 'one of the chief workers of the conspiracy' was also present intermittently at the meeting.³⁸ Several old priests opened the meeting with a celebration of the Mass. The exact location of the meeting was a loft or a vault in the Monkstown house, carefully secreted away from the usual haunts of people.³⁹

Fr Rochford was impatient for the rebellion to begin. During the meeting he reproved Christopher Nugent for his tardiness of action. This reproof indicates that negotiations, plans and a real undertaking to a rebellion had been concluded between the priest and the baron. Nugent brought a letter to

the meeting from his father-in-law, the earl of Kildare.⁴⁰ Its contents stated unequivocally the earl's position and explained his proposed stance in relation to the conspiracy. Nugent destroyed the letter after he had disclosed and discussed its contents with his colleagues. Fr Rochford conferred in detail about the plans for the Pale rebellion which, with the help of the Palesmen and Gaelic community, he hoped would develop into a national insurrection linking in with the Desmond revolt in Munster and aided by Turlough Luineach, O'Rourke, O'Reilly, the O'Mores and O'Connors and Kavanaghs whose promises of help he was eliciting. The ultimate aim of the rebellion was the official restoration of the Catholic church in Ireland and the deposition of Elizabeth as queen from the throne and her replacement by a Catholic monarch, probably Mary, queen of Scots. The Irishmen who would help to achieve this would be granted suitable titles by Pope Gregory XIII.⁴¹

There was a strong clerical presence in Monkstown. There were many old priests ordained in the Marian period and later 'who said unto them great store of Masses'.⁴² Oliver Eustace later affirmed that the clergy played a positive rôle in the conspiracy. They encouraged the people through Masses and other ceremonies to persevere in their plan and urged them to dedicate themselves to this religious battle. Oliver Eustace said that at Monkstown 'was the presence of old priests and the celebration of Masses which with conspirators hath been usual ceremony to perfect the treason by knitting and combining the minds of the traitors'.⁴³ The laymen were 'sworn to win in the

rebellion' and their oath was solemnised by Fr Rochford and the 'sundry old priests'.⁴⁴

The belief that aid from Spain was imminent was reaffirmed at the meeting. This proposed Pale rebellion was to be a continuation of the war that had been nurtured in France, Spain and Rome by the dedication and perseverance of James Fitz-Maurice. The Irish situation had been discussed at length by the Irish party in Rome under the auspices of Dr Allen and the patronage of Pope Gregory XIII. These hopes had almost been thwarted by the abortive efforts of Stucley who, with the encouragement and co-operation of the king of Portugal, rerouted the papal expedition bound for Ireland to Africa, where he suffered defeat and death. Nevertheless the hopes lived on and were being discussed at Monkstown. The plans and dreams of so many Irish clergy like Dr Tanner, Fr Compton, Sir Nicholas Eustace, Fr Richard Eustace, Fr Maurice Kenraghty, Friar James O'Haie, Conor Mulryan, bishop of Killaloe and many others were being brought nearer to fruition in Leinster by the men at the Monkstown conference.

James, Christopher Nugent, Fiach MacHugh and Fr Rochford withdrew from the general company in the house and secluded themselves in a loft or vault.⁴⁵ Oliver Eustace was called in at various stages of the conference. Oliver was a key member of the conspiracy and worked closely with James until his eventual capture.⁴⁶ Oliver said of the conference, 'what other thing could they consult upon than upon the rebellion, the assembly being compounded of the principal persons and

conspirators of the same'.⁴⁷ Under interrogation later, Oliver stated that Fr Rochford was 'the principal plotlayer'.⁴⁸ But there can be no doubt that Fr Rochford depended on James Eustace for the execution of the plans. Fr Rochford supplied the foundation and framework for the rebellion from his wide circle of clerical colleagues and from the important social contacts he had formed with the Anglo-Irish families. He had the backing and the encouragement of the Irish party in Rome, the Irish clerical group in Spain and the Irish lay exiles on the continent. Charles Brown of Santander was a keen activist on behalf of the movement for the freedom of Catholicism in Ireland. Fr Rochford had also the encouraging knowledge that the Desmond revolt, despite many misfortunes, was still continuing. Fr Rochford and his colleagues could be seen as being in the tradition that caused the first Jesuit mission to come to Ireland in 1541-2. He was a member of a network that comprised dedicated people, lay and clergy alike, whose aim was to restore Catholicism as the official religion in Ireland. Fr Rochford was fortunate that among this network was a person of Eustace's calibre, a person of religious dedication, from an influential, wealthy family, enjoying marriage ties with Gaelic and Anglo-Irish alike who was prepared to go unreservedly along with these plans. Fr Rochford brought great expertise to the rebellion but Eustace brought a wealth of invaluable connections.

Oliver Eustace's later confessions describe Christopher Nugent as 'the chief procurer of the rebellion', as he had

brought in Kildare as a conspirator and was Kildare's messenger to the Monkstown meeting.⁴⁹ Nugent read out Kildare's letter to his colleagues. Its contents were that he gave his oath that 'he would take their part and join with them ... yet for a time he would give the looking on and that always he would be for them - in all things that were pretended against them'.⁵⁰ This letter 'when they had considered it thoroughly, tore it'.⁵¹ Kyle O'Toole, Fiach's wife, later testified that that was how her husband also described the meeting, its participants and its outcome to her.⁵² She reiterated that the stance of Kildare as stated in the letter was precisely the one Fiach understood the earl to take, and that if the conspirators had not been joined, albeit passively by Kildare, that Fiach would never have been party to such a conspiracy. The confidence which Kildare's approval lent to the conspiracy was sufficient to ensure Fiach's good faith and his trust in its outcome. The old appeal of the house of Kildare was again asserting itself as a powerful and confident influence to gain support for another rebellion. The fact that Gerald was a passive, almost inactive member did not dampen the enthusiasm of those committed to its outcome but rather served to lend an air of bold righteousness and confidence to the endeavour.

Oliver Eustace also later deposed that Fr Rochford was growing impatient with Nugent because of his lack of overt action. He 'reprehended him that he had all that time raised no stir'.⁵³ Maurice Eustace later supported this statement.⁵⁴ When later, during the course of the rebellion, Kildare and

Delvin were committed to Dublin Castle for their alleged involvement in the rebellion, both denied having had anything to do with it.⁵⁵ The groups from whom support was sought - the Palesmen, the Gaelic community, the Catholic clergy and the border lords, indicate how broadly-based the rebellion was intended to be. It was to span Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, Palesmen and marchermen, and religion was its common binding force. The encouraging tone of Kildare's letter 'that he would always be for them' but 'for a time he would give the looking on' was undoubtedly a boost to their confidence and also to their plans which were so long being formulated.⁵⁶ This declaration increased the cohesiveness of those involved and gave an air of respectability, and more importantly, of credibility to the proposed rebellion.

After the Monkstown meeting events began to move quickly. Growing rumours were reaching the Dublin Government that something serious was afoot.⁵⁷ James Eustace had been an object of suspicion since his appearance before the ecclesiastical commission. The priests' travelling around to the gentry's houses in County Kildare increased this suspicion.⁵⁸ The reports, arriving daily in Dublin by late May and early June, warned of an impending crisis. One such report came from James's old antagonist, Nicholas Bagenal.⁵⁹ Bagenal's spy in Turlough Luineach's camp reported to him that Eustace's chaplain, Fr Manus, had visited the camp in the opening days of June. His purpose, the spy reported, was to synchronise plans for the Gaelic and Pale rebellion. Fr Manus had persuaded Turlough to

join in. The priest and the northern chief discussed plans to form a coalition of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish forces. The O'Connors, O'Mores and O'Reillys had also promised their support. A tentative meeting for all groups was arranged in County Meath. Fr Manus returned to Eustace with promises of active co-operation from Turlough Luineach.

Strategically Turlough was an important ally to procure.⁶⁰ By June 1580 the allies for the religious revolt could in theory effectively blockade the Pale. Turlough Luineach and O'Reilly from the north and north-west, O'Connor and O'More from the south midlands, linking in with Fiach MacHugh in Wicklow, and all reinforced by the Desmonds and their allies from the south-west would all form a formidable semi-circle around the seat of English government in Dublin. The prospect certainly looked frightening and menacing and had it become a reality with all the prospective allies rising simultaneously, the Pale would have been accessible only by sea to English aid. Such was the prospect reported by Bagenal to the government.

During June 1580 the rumours of an impending rebellion continued to grow.⁶¹ While James's name was mentioned always in these rumours as the one who would lead the rebellion, Kildare's part was still secret. Government spies watched James and reported that 'it was bruited among the common sort that Viscount Baltinglass would rebel'.⁶² In June, John of Desmond visited James and his fellow-conspirator, Fiach MacHugh. He assured them and all people 'he knew affected the Romish religion that force was coming for the maintenance of their cause'.⁶³

There was a feeling of security, even of complacency, among the rebels inspired by Kildare's knowledge of their plans and his secret passive support for them. Fr Tadhg Newman, who during the 1560s was Fr Wolfe's representative in the Pale and who had later moved to County Wicklow, said that he and the rebels were promised by the earl 'that no hurt would be done to them before Mayday'.⁶⁴ This statement was also supported by many others including one named Hugh MacOwen.⁶⁵ Kildare's knowledge lent an air of confidence and respectability to the planning. The continuing rumours of a rebellion and then the rumours that a foreign invasion force from the pope and from Spain was expected to succour these rebels spurred on the government to prepare for action to combat these threats. Loftus called for a muster of all eligible males at Tara on July 4.⁶⁶ At this muster Kildare came very close to being exposed as being central to these plans.

James Eustace in common with many other scions of leading Anglo-Irish families was summoned by the sheriff to the muster. He travelled to Maynooth on Sunday, 3 July.⁶⁷ Thomas Eustace of Eadestown, a cousin of James's, Thomas Meagh, brother of James Meagh, and Edmund Reagh, a servant of Kildare, all testified that James and Kildare had a secret meeting in an arbour in Maynooth on that day.⁶⁸ Fr Rochford stood 'somewhat aloof in a serving-man's apparel'.⁶⁹ The two noblemen had secret conference together while the priest watched, forbidding anyone to approach them. The three witnesses later testified that Kildare and Eustace talked about the plans for the rebellion.

Kildare again promised that he would 'favour and help them what he could' but he himself would not join in and fight against Elizabeth'.⁷⁰ The three witnesses said that James had reported this conversation to them. By 3 July Fr Rochford and James were still making strong, concerted efforts to entice Kildare to declare himself openly on their side. The rebellion would naturally be guaranteed a far greater measure of support by his overt involvement. Meagh's, Reagh's and Thomas Eustace's evidence about the meeting on 3 July and its purpose demonstrates that even at that late date Kildare was undecided.

The sequence of events at the musters at Tara on 4 July 1580 demonstrates the ambiguity of Kildare's participation. He was the loyal servant of Elizabeth and the faithful adviser, even protector, of his cousin James who was at this stage on the verge of his rebellion. A narrative of the events will help clarify the measure of Kildare's involvement, the duality of his allegiance and the lengths to which he was prepared to go to ensure the conspirators' safety.

On Monday, 4 July, Fr Rochford, James and his brother Edmund accompanied by fifteen horsemen met Kildare at Calmallon.⁷¹ They talked there for a time. Then they rode together as far as Killeen. Kildare continued on to Tara but James remained there. Fr Rochford asked James why he had stopped. James dismounted from his horse, sent Christopher Barnewall for his cloakbag and lay down in a meadow, using the bag as a pillow. Fr Rochford knelt beside him and in Barnewall's hearing, James

replied, 'I go not to the hill because the earl hath willed me not to go thither'.⁷² James continued: 'Our purpose is discovered, that if we go to the hill, we shall be apprehended by the Council'.⁷³ Fr Rochford then advised James to take immediate action saying, 'It is time for you to go forward in your enterprise, therefore do it quickly and look to your spies'.⁷⁴

Kildare, on leaving James, continued on to the musters at Tara where he met with Loftus.⁷⁵ The earl and archbishop talked together for a time. Kildare enquired about news from the north and the west. Loftus replied that 'he had heard by flying tales that the viscount had bought horses and powder at Dublin at his last being there'.⁷⁶ Loftus answered, 'You have preempted me', continuing that he had heard of the examination of John Bath that the viscount had sent messengers to Turlough Luineach's camp 'seeking his aid and cooperation'.⁷⁷ Loftus said Kildare's reaction to this was to say 'he was credibly informed by one that loved him and knew all their secrets, whom he was sworn not to betray that the viscount and many Papists intended presently to rebel'.⁷⁸ Loftus then urged the apprehension of Eustace, and willed Kildare to take Henry Harrington and his horsemen with him to do this. But Kildare was reluctant declaring 'that he knew not whom to trust for all were Papists. More, he durst not trust the baron of Delvin his son-in law in that matter, because he was such a Papist'.⁷⁹

The archbishop and the earl completed the business of the muster. Kildare, whatever he may have confided in Loftus, did

not inform him that Eustace was just four miles away at Killeen, protected by fifteen of Kildare's horsemen. The two men parted company, promising to meet soon again to arrange for the viscount's apprehension. Kildare then rejoined Eustace and they rode together towards Maynooth. Kildare's double-dealings with both the archbishop and the viscount show that he was still steering a very tricky middle-course. There was controversy over his evidence and the archbishop's with regard to their exact conversation at Tara. There are extant several pages of both men's evidence, even their actual dialogue as reported by each of them in the State Papers.⁸⁰ It is likely that the two men did in fact discuss the projected rebellion of Eustace that day as such was the purpose of the muster being called. The rumours of rebellion had been rife for over a month, and each one contributed or withheld information as best suited his own purpose. The picture which emerges is that Kildare was still on the outside officially but was unofficially directly involved and wielding influence and power at the centre of the conspiracy.

Kildare's outward co-operation with both Eustace and Loftus demonstrates that he was protecting and abetting the rebellious viscount but was also co-operating in theory at least for this man's capture by the archbishop. Kildare hoped for the success of the enterprise, so he played his rôle as double agent while seeming to betray Eustace. Undoubtedly recalling the anguish, loss and betrayal suffered by the Geraldine family in the aftermath of his half-brother, Silken

Thomas's rebellion, he was unprepared to sacrifice the family's safety. He was involved in an impossible situation but yet was able to hide true intentions and manoeuvres and conceal for some time his very obvious support for James's campaign.

His presence with James acted as an enticement to the other powerful Anglo-Irish families of the Pale. His son-in-law, the baron of Delvin, was as closely involved in the planning stages as was Eustace himself.⁸¹ Yet enigmatically Kildare succeeded in remaining aloof from open commitment while yet acting as such an attracting force on the Anglo-Irish of the Pale. He made an impossible concept seem possible. Perhaps Kildare's individual personality was the limiting factor in his measure of dedication. However even this, secret and convoluted as it was, gave Eustace hope, encouragement and even actual protection. Kildare's involvement enabled Eustace to go about his plans more openly. Kildare acted as a shield for Eustace's rebellious activities. His paternalism towards James certainly protected him from early apprehension before the rebellion got under way. It allowed James easy access to the other members of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, smoothing his way and lending an air of credibility and possibility to his aims.

The baron of Delvin was a major participant in the Monkstown meeting.⁸² He too was present at the Tara muster.⁸³ He was in Kildare's company at Tara and had witnessed Kildare and Eustace's conference at Killeen nearby. He, too, was aware of plans to capture Eustace but also failed to inform Loftus that Eustace was at Killeen. He joined with Kildare in

maintaining a strict silence about the viscount's proximity. Delvin maintained frequent contact with Eustace in July. He met James at the hill of Bolton soon after the Tara muster.⁸⁴ Ostensibly the meeting was 'to reprehend him (the viscount) for suffering the O'Mores to spoil him'.⁸⁵ Delvin said it was an opportune meeting arranged at the last minute by Edmund Reagh. But Reagh, when examined, stated the viscount sent for the baron to meet him at Bolton Hill. Their meeting lasted for two hours. Thomas Meagh corroborated that Delvin 'was the chief procurer of the earl to this conspiracy and that the common rumour was the viscount should rise in one place and the baron in another'.⁸⁶ This affirmation gives an interesting slant. The baron is presented as the one who brought in Kildare and persevered in procuring his support.⁸⁷ He manipulated his contacts and arranged the location and sought the leaders for the rebellion. The Baltinglass and the Nugent conspiracies were therefore initially envisaged as one combined effort with shared responsibility of leadership. But as events unfolded James Eustace was first to be suspected. The rumour of his conspiracy reached the administration and because of his anti-establishment stand in 1579, he was a very likely suspect. His movements, and not Delvin's, were closely watched. The reports came in about his involvements with Turlough Luineach. He became the prime suspect. Inevitably the old antagonism between Eustace and Loftus resurfaced and made the archbishop watch him most carefully.

James and Delvin again met at Monkstown just prior to July 1580.⁸⁸ The baron's brother, William Nugent, was also

present. The three men spent the morning in secret conference in the house. In the afternoon the two Nugents went to 'the seaside and there for their pleasure to have in a boat'.⁸⁹ Later they returned to Monkstown and continued their talks closeted with James. Christopher Barnewall witnessed these talks but was not privy to any of the conversations. The morning parley and then the separation and private conversation of the two brothers in a boat suggest that the topic had very little to do with the O'Mores pillaging land. It was a very secret matter and the withdrawal and later the continued discussion of the Nugents suggests that a proposition, proffered by James, was debated on and considered by them and then deliberated on with James that evening in very secret surroundings. Immediately after the meeting, Eustace went into rebellion, expedited by a chain of events set in motion by Loftus. It is likely that the Nugents cancelled the original plan of a simultaneous rising.⁹⁰ James, however, had no choice but to pursue his immediate plans as Loftus was preparing for his apprehension. The loss of the Nugents's immediate support was a considerable blow.

Eustace was left with two choices: to enter into rebellion at once or to await certain capture. He chose the former. The Nugents were not yet ready to become rebels openly against Elizabeth. Their withdrawal was a major blow for Eustace. The evidence for strong active and open support from the Delvin family is convincing and Eustace had positive grounds for accepting this support as genuine. Alexander Brine testified that Delvin had written letters of assurance to

Eustace that he would join in rebellion.⁹¹ The baron spent several hours of July 4 at the musters in Eustace's company and all of the next day's. Fr Rochford was likewise convinced of Delvin's aid underpinning the rebellion. He grew very angry at the brothers' decision to withdraw from the plans of July. He sent letters - read by Maurice and Oliver Eustace - blaming the baron for breaking his word.⁹² On 7 July Oliver Eustace went to Delvin, sent by James to warn him to hurry and join in.⁹³ James had confided to Oliver that he 'would do all possible to get the baron of Delvin to join with him'.⁹⁴ There was a confident certainty so close to the rebellion that Delvin would support James. But the time for planning was drawing to a close. Silent and secret promises were no longer enough. Action was essential. Delvin had to choose. The rumours of his involvement were growing. Philip Nash said that Edward Seix, Kildare's servant, and others told him that the Nugents and 'divers others, whom he nameth were of confederacy with Viscount Baltinglass in his rebellion'.⁹⁵ Thomas Eustace said 'it was commonly bruted amongst the rebels that Baron Delvin had promised to take their part'.⁹⁶

The Nugents' contact with Eustace at Monkstown, Tara and Bolton indicates strong and close links between them. Their support was a key factor in the planning stages of the conspiracy but, as in Kildare's case, James failed to elicit from them an immediate decision to join in. Their support underpinned the conspiracy, but was withdrawn at the active stage. This was a major setback to James and to Fr Rochford. The

Nugents were a vital link in the chain of allies but like Kildare they too stayed in the shadows until other events, too late for James's conspiracy, pushed them into the open.

The circle of James's accomplices also included important members of the Pale mercantile community. They had landed estates as well as commercial interests. In common with the Pale gentry, they too had their fears caused by their gradual loss of privilege, questioning of their property titles, the heavy burden of cess borne by them and the delicacy of their position because so many of them were confirmed adherents to Catholicism. These factors combined with an increasing loss of confidence in their identity undermined their confidence. The power they had wielded as a reasonably affluent community was threatened by the increasing activity and influence of the New English. Their political and economic advancement and security was also under threat because of their adherence to Catholicism.

The blending of these factors with the personal dedication to Catholicism tended to direct the attention of the Pale community towards the possibility of resistance. The busy mercantile community was accustomed to regulating its financial and political destinies with a fair amount of autonomy. But by 1580 these enterprising men saw that influence lessening as the New English continued on their path of assertiveness. James acquired ready and willing allies among the mercantile communities in Dublin and also in the key ports of continental trade - Waterford and Wexford. Foremost among these allies

were members of the Sedgrave and Fitzsimon families. Their support was vital to him in July 1580 when he had failed to convince Delvin and his brother to be open allies: where he failed with his own gentry class, he succeeded with these merchants. A series of meetings in the weeks immediately prior to the rebellion indicates the increasing urgency for Eustace of gaining the material support of these merchants.

In contrast to Delvin's dilatory approach, speed of decision was to be a major contributing factor in the merchants' support of Eustace's cause. They had much more decisiveness acquired from their busy life than had Delvin or Kildare. Walter Sedgrave was a leading merchant and an alderman of the city of Dublin.⁹⁷ He was extremely rich. His father, Alderman Christopher Sedgrave, had long been established in trade and was a financier of the government. The Sedgraves were a long established municipal family. They manifested strong Catholic sympathies. At least one member had joined the Jesuit order.⁹⁸

Fr Rochford stayed one night in mid-June at Walter Sedgrave's house in Roebuck where they conferred.⁹⁹ The following morning James sent Teig Roe, his servant, to fetch the priest in a hackney to Monkstown but Fr Rochford had already left. The familiarity between the men demonstrates that they knew each other for some time. They made more plans for the rebellion that night with James's knowledge. On 14 June Walter Sedgrave visited Monkstown where he had dinner with Fr Rochford and James.¹⁰⁰ After dinner the three men went into

private conference. In the aftermath of this meeting Eustace gave orders to his followers that Sedgrave's lands were not to be touched, 'should not be hurt or meddled with'.¹⁰¹ Some of his men disagreed and sought licence to spoil these lands. James's reply was, 'It is not for us to spoil him that is a good Catholic and that hath promised to help us to his abilities and one to whom we have made promise to do no hurt'.¹⁰² James's respect for Sedgrave and his orders to his men were explicit enough to demonstrate that Sedgrave had impressed himself upon him as a true follower.

James's servant, Christopher Barnewall, brought letters back and forth constantly between the viscount and the merchant. On an occasion Barnewall asked James about Walter, 'My Lord, is he privy to your enterprise?'.¹⁰³ James's reply was 'Yes and his father also (Alderman Christopher Sedgrave) and William Fitzsimons and are sworn to persuade as many in Dublin as they can to aid this matter'.¹⁰⁴ The merchants acted as agents for James, helping to persuade as many citizens as they could to join in. This loyalty to James and his cause considering its likely threat to their material wealth, security and livelihood, was impressive. James had gained their trust and confidence. This judgement, exercised daily in commercial transactions, certainly belied Loftus's summation of James as 'a simple man and one of poor ability', one who was easily led into action.¹⁰⁵ This trust and confidence is rather a measure of the hope Eustace inspired. Their espousal of his cause is indicative of the frustration that was building up

among the Catholics of the gentry and merchant classes. It demonstrates the limits to which they were prepared to go to try to establish the type of religious, civic and political freedom they desired.

On 7 July 1580 James sent a letter with Christopher Barnewall to Walter Sedgrave.¹⁰⁶ On receipt of this letter Sedgrave left his home in Roebuck to collect gunpowder for Eustace. Barnewall returned to Roebuck that afternoon. Sedgrave gave him a firkin of powder and three calivers. Barnewall paid for them and Sedgrave said that 'if he could do my lord any further pleasure he would'.¹⁰⁷ Patrick Lynan, who later joined the Jesuit order, and a churl then brought the goods in a car and a further sixty pounds of powder, given to Barnewall from a merchant in Bridge Street, and transported the lot to James's house in Gallmorestown in County Kildare.¹⁰⁸ This co-operation among the merchants with Eustace and his servant demonstrates the help and silent co-operation among sections of the mercantile community for James. They were prepared to keep these large and dangerous transactions secret. Certainly money passed hands yet the danger involved in such treasonable transactions was great.

The background of increased tension and suspicion for James by this time dictated that great precautions and loyalty were essential if he were to avoid losing all by being apprehended by Loftus. The store of arms and gunpowder was extensive in Gallmorestown. Yet such was the esteem in which Eustace was held that Patrick Lynan was successful in driving

the car, loaded with powder, from Bridge St. to Gallmorestown without its being captured by Loftus's men who had Eustace and his followers under constant surveillance. Walter Sedgrave and James met again in Monkstown on 8 July despite Loftus's determination to apprehend him, which had increased considerably since the evasion at Tara.¹⁰⁹ These frequent meetings between the wanted viscount and the alderman show that events were moving fast. The time to declare the rebellion was drawing ever nearer. The merchant involvement in its planning stages demonstrates they were actively seeking a solution for their social, economic and religious problems. Their support, though tentative and limited, was there. The involvement of these merchants is a measure of the depth of their commitment to Catholicism. They were men of considerable affluence and they stood to lose materially if the conspiracy failed. It was a measure of the confidence that James inspired as a leader that he could attract such men to this cause.

In the background, but nevertheless lending credence and confidence to the conspiracy, was the shadowy yet powerfully influential figure of Kildare. His covert support and encouragement were vital to the netting of such followers as these merchants. William Fitzsimon supplied the powder and, when unable to meet James's order, he successfully searched elsewhere, while the chain of confidence among the merchants was maintained. When Barnewall called on Sedgrave and Fitzsimon for powder, they always charged him 'not to acquaint any man with the matter lest it be disclosed'.¹¹⁰ This active support

from these merchants backed by a vow of secrecy extended from Sedgrave and Fitzsimon to Barnewall and Teig Roe, James's trusted servants. The former stated that he 'would never let Teig Roe know of anything that he had received of William or Walter, for so (he saith) they both charged him not to acquaint any man with the matter lest it be disclosed'.¹¹¹ James was able to rely on his merchant connection for supplies, support and secrecy.

James's network of allies extended south to include the Fitzgeralds of Desmond who since the outbreak of James Fitzmaurice's rebellion were embroiled in open warfare. Eustace's plan was to link his conspiracy with the Munster one. This would create an area of active disobedience stretching from the heart of the government's administration in the Pale to include Leinster and Munster. The Desmonds had proclaimed their war to be for the liberation of Catholicism. James was assured of their co-operation and support. When Fitzmaurice was killed, John of Desmond was then conferred with the title of General and Furtherer of the holy cause by Pope Gregory XIII.¹¹²

In February 1580, a Fr Hiffernan brought a letter to the earl of Desmond and to his brothers John and James from Eustace and Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne.¹¹³ The letter declared 'that they intended to join with them in the pope's cause'.¹¹⁴ They sought the Desmond family's assurance that when the papal forces came and conquered, that their respective lands would remain intact. This request 'was granted in every point' by John of Desmond.¹¹⁵ This foresight in requesting and arranging

for the stability and preservation of the land titles is an indication of the practical side of Eustace. He did not carelessly disregard his family's inheritance for the attempted realisation of his principles. He wished to and was prepared to fight for Catholicism but he also wanted to maintain the inheritance that had been in his family since the thirteenth century. He was an idealist but he also had a practical side to his nature.

This concern for the stabilisation of land titles, which was shared by many of his neighbours spurred by the rapacity of the New English, was manifested again by Eustace in July 1580. Prior to the time when he had taken the ultimate step into rebellion, he entrusted his house and lands at Monkstown and its farm produce to the care of Kildare.¹¹⁶ By 5 July he had moved out property and livestock for fear of government seizure. He transferred land titles, particularly those relating to Mary Travers's inheritance in Carlow, to Sir Nicholas Eustace who paid a nominal yearly rent for them.¹¹⁷ James was preparing in as many practical ways as possible for the outbreak of the revolt.

In May 1580 Robert Fitzmorris Fitzjames of Osbertstown delivered a letter from James to the earl of Desmond which promised 'his ready joining with them'.¹¹⁸ Then the earl sent a messenger to O'Neill, O'Donnell, Sorleyboy MacDonnell and other gentlemen of the north, 'requiring them to move war in those parts'.¹¹⁹ The earl's messenger returned with the tidings that those and O'Rourke had promised to do so. The

Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory maintained close ties of friendship with the Fitzgeralds and had been particularly close to Fitzmaurice, acting as a foster family to his young son and arranging for his safe despatch from Ireland after Fitzmaurice's death. The Desmond allies also included the long-time rebel Piers Grace, of whom John of Desmond said 'he was joined unto him with great assurance'.¹²⁰ Desmond and Eustace shared these allies. They also had frequent communication with their Spanish contacts. James of Desmond said 'messengers were frequently arriving from Spain'.¹²¹ One such Christopher Lombard brought the welcomed intelligence that 'present aid' from Spain was promised.¹²² James's plan was nearing fruition. He had the co-operation of a number of important merchants, the affirmative passivity of the earl of Kildare and the baron of Delvin, the sworn oaths of practically all of the gentlemen of County Kildare and with this link-up with the Desmonds, his rebellion was set on course.

James's circle of allies also included many of the Gaelic families. Fiach MacHugh was a constant colleague at important meetings. James had also made contact with Turlough Luineach. In June 1580 Bagenal, the knight marshall sent a spy into Turlough Luineach's camp.¹²³ The spy witnessed Eustace's chaplain, Sir Manus delivering a secret message to Turlough. Its contents were that Turlough's forces, Fiach MacHugh's, the Munster rebels' and the O'Mores', O'Connors' and O'Rourkes' were all to meet in County Meath. Sir Manus arranged the details of the confederation and returned to Eustace 'with

contented answer'.¹²⁴ Bagenal passed on this information to Loftus who received it just prior to the Tara muster of 4 July. Loftus was by this stage aware of the alarming implication of such alliance. The conspiracy was growing and could form a horse-shoe shaped blockade of the Dublin government. It had gained the support of Turlough Luineach and the Gaelic people of Connacht and of Leinster and of Munster. Potentially it was an extremely dangerous conspiracy composed of many malcontented and disenchanting groups. The leanings of the Anglo-Irish whom it attracted were shifting from the traditional positions of legal allegiance towards displays of actual hostility and even developing towards the irrevocable consideration of rebellion. James was given assurances of support from a strong and varied cross section of the populace of Ireland. This appeal had a wide basis. It was underpinned by the strengthening dedication to Catholicism of its adherents and their growing awareness that allegiance to the state and allegiance to their religion were no longer in harmony.

Turlough Luineach was an important ally for James. Loftus feared such a participant in this conspiracy. He voiced his fears of this combination to Kildare at the Tara muster. 'I have heard the like by intelligence out of the north where the viscount's agents have long been soliciting Turlough Luineach to be of the combination and to rise out at one time'.¹²⁵ Eustace saw the value of such an ally, even though double dealings were a constant feature of his promises, and James had persisted over a long period in persuading the

northern chieftain to join in the combination with him. The viscount was slowly and methodically building up a strong and unusual band of confederates for his enterprise which he hoped would all combine under the papal flag. The protracted negotiations with so many sectors of the Irish community and the fact that Eustace gained their support, belie the image which Loftus and also Kildare were seeking to create of the viscount. Loftus alleged that Kildare said at Tara that 'the viscount is a very simple man without wisdom, manhood or any other quality mete to embrace such an enterprise'.¹²⁶ Therefore Kildare 'willed the bishop not to be so afraid'.¹²⁷ This image of Eustace as a simple person without much organisational ability and unable to inspire any degree of confidence was a mantle woven and fabricated by Kildare to protect the conspiracy by making it appear as improbable considering the ineptitude of its creator. It suited Kildare to project this image both for his own protection and for Eustace's for whom he had a deep friendship. Loftus, for reasons relating back to the episode of Eustace before the ecclesiastical commission, was willing to accept such an image. Loftus's summation of Eustace and the rebellion was the following:

Though the viscount for his own qualities may be holden no dangerous man, yet he hath ill-brethern and others ill affected of the Irishrie within the Pale, who covering themselves with his title, may be instruments to work some dangerous act to the state and no doubt all the Papists (if the viscount break out) will join with him.

128

It suited Loftus to view Eustace as a harmless individual, an umbrella figure for discontented Irishmen who sought the

redress of their own grievances sheltering under his title, his wealth and his family connections.

James's Gaelic allies included also the O'Connors of Offaly and the O'Mores of Laois. They were 'joined with the rebels by oath'.¹²⁹ Interestingly many of them were in Kildare's pay. Their proximity to the Pale and their linking in with the Desmonds, their geographical situation in the midlands and their constant aggression since their dispossession in Queen Mary's plantation, made them keen allies. Their friendship and their network of alliances contributed to the ease with which James and Fr Rochford were able to move about Leinster once the rebellion got under way.

James's closest Gaelic ally was Fiach MacHugh. He was his neighbour and was a close friend of Kildare's. Fiach's wife Kyle, daughter of Lucas O'Toole said Fiach's commitment to Eustace was assured because of his knowledge that Kildare was a party to the conspiracy. Eustace's conspiracy had adherents in Ulster, Connacht, Leinster and Munster. These adherents were sworn in by the tireless efforts of the many priests associated with the intrigue.

By 7 July 1580 these priests had completed the groundwork for the revolt.¹³⁰ Sir Manus had negotiated with and received positive assurances from Turlough Luineach and his northern allies and also O'Rourke. Fr Nicholas Eustace, Fr Rochford and Fr Compton had travelled tirelessly through Munster and Leinster securing active allies or silent, passive supporters in the revolt. The priests passed on messages, won support

and contributed in whatever way they could to laying the ground-work for the conspiracy. Lady Delvin's chaplain claimed the conspiracy was strong, efficient and embraced all Ireland.¹³¹ These men were a key factor of the revolt, they spearheaded its operation and worked tirelessly for its ultimate aim which was the official restoration of Catholicism in Ireland. James was their temporal leader. They worked practically for the revolt but also contributed to it spiritually. They celebrated Masses, administered oaths of loyalty, offered remission and contrition to laymen to enable them to be part of the intrigue. They were totally committed to the ideals of Baltinglass's revolt.

Chapter IV

THE COURSE OF THE BALTINGLASS REBELLION

Adam Loftus met with Kildare several times between the 4 and 14 July 1580. The archbishop was determined to capture James Eustace. He attempted to plan the viscount's apprehension with the earl but received only token co-operation. On the evening of 14 July Loftus called on Kildare.¹ He found Kildare and Mary Travers in private consultation in the earl's chamber. Mary Travers left the earl's house that night and, accompanied by her sister-in-law Joan Fitzpatrick and a boy, rode to her house in Monkstown. James had arrived there a couple of hours previously. Mary warned him of Loftus's intention to apprehend him. Eustace left the house immediately. He rode to the Wicklow mountains and joined with his ally Fiach MacHugh. The following day 15 July 1580 he declared himself to be in open revolt.²

This was not viewed by everyone as an irrevocable decision. Sir Nicholas Eustace, prompted by the Dublin council, attempted to coax the wayward viscount back into the loyal fold.³ Sir Nicholas, complete with terms of reconciliation, rode out to Wicklow. He discussed peace terms with his cousin but found him quite definitely committed to his rebellion. James had a deep conviction that there was then no alternative to the restoration of the freedom of Catholicism than by taking this ultimate step. This personal conviction was manifest in his letters to Kildare, to Ormond and to the Waterford merchant,

Robert Walshe.⁴ James divulged his religious beliefs to those three diverse characters and informed them of his plans and of the lengths to which he was prepared to go to realise his ambition for Catholicism in Ireland.

A second reconciliation attempt, again with the co-operation of the Dublin council, was arranged for Saturday, 23 July.⁵ Kildare was sent to dissuade James. The meeting took place at twelve o'clock on Kilbolen Bridge, Ballymore Eustace.⁶ Eustace declared that his intention was 'to do that which shall be most and principally awarding His divine and holy will and not to do anything contrary to the same'.⁷ James was definite about his calling and feared for Kildare's soul should he be too taken up with the goods of this world. This demonstrated an aspect of James's religious outlook. He advised Kildare to avoid doing that

whereby your honour might bring himself in evident danger of everlasting pain and also in preserving His wrath to put your Lordship's land and inheritance in great hazard to be taken forever from your posterity. 8

James feared far more for the spiritual consequences of not following the dictates of his conscience. He counselled his cousin that he ought not to 'fear them that may kill the body and that have no power over the soul'.⁹ James feared eternal damnation more than any earthly catastrophe. He felt he should do all in his power to further the freedom of Catholic worship in Ireland.

Lord Justice Pelham, Chancellor Gerrard and the council

expected a successful outcome from this parley.¹⁰ Pelham was busy in Munster but felt he had events in Leinster well under control. He affirmed that 'in Leinster there has not been one string out of tune'.¹¹ Gerrard had a narrow escape from capture by Eustace and his men but Pelham felt that the viscount would not really present any great problem. On Gerrard's escape his conclusions were that -

being compared with the rest of the Viscount Baltinglass's doings, doth argue that both he and his followers be the most foolish traitors that ere I heard of, for out of such pledges he might have made his own peace as he had listed.

12

He too did not take Eustace's commitment seriously but viewed him as slightly wayward. Despite the positive expectations the parley was a failure. Eustace remained determined on his course of rebellion.

Ormond also tried to dissuade James from rebellion. James was equally emphatic in relaying his religious convictions and the justification of his actions to Ormond.¹³ He prayed for Ormond's conversion, wishing 'Almighty God to make you his friend and servant and give you the grace to know His will and follow the same'.¹⁴ Ormond believed James was at the head of a large army. James admitted he was not. He was committed to follow the path of truth. He elaborated that his convictions did not spring from feelings of disloyalty to Elizabeth, being moved by a higher power. He warned his cousin that 'he that resisteth the higher power, doth resist God'.¹⁵ He was moved to his action by the command of the highest power on earth;

his mission was to defend the Church against traitors and rebels who only sought 'the murdering of souls'.¹⁶ James continued, 'he is no Christian man that will not obey'.¹⁷ He attempted to convert Ormond. He argued against Elizabeth's position as head of the Church, saying that for 'a woman uncapax of all holy order' to claim to be the supreme governor of Christ's church was unthinkable.¹⁸ He wrote,

questionless it is great want of knowledge and more of grace to think and believe that a woman uncapax of all holy order should be the supreme governor of Christ's church, a thing that Christ did not grant unto His own mother.

19

James reminded Ormond of the advice he had given him. 'You counsel me to remain quiet and you will be occupied in persecuting the poor members of Christ'.²⁰ James was concerned for the restoration of social, political and religious liberties. James also did not view Elizabeth as a just ruler. He reiterated that 'in the past twenty years of her reign we have seen more damnable doctrine maintained, more oppression of poor subjects under pretence of justice within this land',²¹ than had ever been experienced in all the history of Christian England.

Ormond, sharing Gerrard's conviction, had counselled James to seek to be viewed again as a loyal subject. James refused this advice. He regretted that Ormond had such false advisors, 'that it was hard to strive against God' and reminded him that 'et sapientia huius mundi, stultitia est apud'.²² Like Kildare's overt effort anyway, Ormond too failed to reconcile

James to the queen's service. James declared himself to be Ormond's 'loving cousin to command in any lawful matter'.²³

Ormond remained concerned at James's disobedience. He reassured Walsingham that James was a most unlikely candidate for revolt, describing him as 'an arrant papist' who sheltered Dr Tanner in his house.²⁴ He sent a copy of James's letter to Walsingham, describing it as 'a more foolish, traitorous popish letter'.²⁵ Ormond was concerned by James's open lapse from civil duty and disobedience, remarking to Walsingham, 'You may perceive how far the devil leads him astray from his duty'.²⁶ Ormond confided his regret at being unable to dissuade Eustace from 'his folly and treason'.²⁷ He feared more people would be attracted to this revolt, and hoped that Elizabeth would emerge supreme, praying that 'God confound all her unnatural subjects and give her victory over all her enemies'.²⁸ Ormond had been busy campaigning against the Desmonds in Munster. He was out of touch with recent events in the Pale and was unaware of the several meetings that had taken place between James and Kildare. Ormond assured Kildare of his own loyalty to Elizabeth, stressing, 'Poor Lucas will remain constant in the true faith, whomsoever follow the pope and do the contrary, but neither Beckett nor Canterbury shall alter him'.²⁹ Ormond heard of James's final step into rebellion from Owen O'Gormigan who told him that James had joined with Fiach MacHugh.³⁰ Ormond then informed Pelham, the lord justice who was amazed at such an alliance. Pelham declared that it was 'very strange that a nobleman of the Pale should be so forgetful of himself, and

be so united to a man of base condition'.³¹ However Patrick Gough, a messenger, confirmed the veracity of this report for Pelham.

James had also communicated his religious convictions to Robert Walshe, a Waterford merchant, and an old acquaintance of the Eustace family.³² He arranged practical details for his rebellion with Walshe, requesting him to send a large store of wine, powder and provisions. He cautioned Walshe only to use a 'very trusty, good and Catholic messenger'.³³ James wanted his brother Richard, a priest in Paris, to be financially secure should anything happen to him. He entrusted Walshe with this and thanked him for the many letters he had delivered to Richard. James shared his religious outlook with Walshe, declaring 'I do mean in the name of God to take this holy enterprise in hand which every good Catholic should endeavour in his power to further'.³⁴ Unfortunately for James, this friendship was over. Walshe immediately sent the letter to the Waterford mayor, Patrick Doben.³⁵ James had misjudged the merchant. Many officials became concerned about the possible consequence of these developments. Meanwhile Lord Justice Pelham was observing the development of Eustace's disobedience. Pelham was confident that Kildare was capable of keeping the situation under control.³⁶ Pelham was more concerned about the sympathetic allies the revolt might attract. He feared a confederacy between Turlough Luineach, Fiach MacHugh and Eustace. He was awaiting release from his official position. Lord Grey was expected within a few days.³⁷ Pelham was

anxious about a foreign invasion, Walsingham having informed him that 'certain intelligence is brought unto them out of Spain, that the pope hath an intention to land some numbers of men in this realm'.³⁸

An individual perspective of Eustace's activities was offered by Zouche, the seasoned, hardy campaigner. He was possibly the first to recognise and analyse correctly the true reasons for Eustace's disobedience. He stated that religion was at its core. 'The viscount', he wrote to Walsingham, 'is gone out for religion's sake and hath gathered a great strength of men to him'.³⁹ Zouche warned that the rebellion was potentially a dangerous one because it represented the vision of a man 'coloureth with religion'.⁴⁰ Zouche considered that great damage could be done as the heart of the rebellion was centred in the Pale of which 'the most part is indicted in religion' as was Eustace himself.⁴¹ The viscount's religious motives had found practical sympathisers, he believed, and he was on strong, familiar ground in the Pale. Lord Grey's arrival was essential and, he warned, it needed to be followed quickly by strong measures of curbing this revolt, otherwise 'the whole part of this country will be spoiled'.⁴² He cautioned that as yet the full measure of support in the Pale was not apparent as many awaited Grey's arrival before deciding which side they would take. Zouche viewed the Pale as the troubled spot; of Munster he wrote 'the wars are not so sharp as they have been'.⁴³ The Pale was the key area of control for English power and events there needed to be taken most seriously.

Pelham too shared this feeling of threat to the established order. While his dearest desire was 'to be disburdened of this place', yet he cautioned Elizabeth to be most careful of preserving her control in Ireland.⁴⁴ The expectation of the arrival of foreign aid was rife. There was a general malaise spreading throughout the country. O'Donnell and O'Rourke invaded Connacht. Turlough Luineach moved his forces closer to the Pale which was 'in open hostility under the Viscount Baltinglass who has associated himself with the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, Kavanaghs and Mores'.⁴⁵ Like Zouche, Pelham felt this was indeed a very menacing situation and he counselled Elizabeth to prepare for it 'with force, money and victuals and to take advantage of all the lands of the revolters and plant your own nation'.⁴⁶ Pelham, like Loftus, Fenton and others later, advised 'the creation of a new English nation' in those prime areas within or close to the Pale.⁴⁷

Geoffrey Fenton, the newly-sworn secretary, shared these fears also.⁴⁸ He warned that the influence of Baltinglass was spreading rapidly in 'the ill-affected parts of this realm'.⁴⁹ The confederates of the revolt were drawing together and expected foreign aid. The 'inconstant and loose minds of the people' attracted trouble and time would reveal 'and make ripe their conspiracies and treasons'.⁵⁰ Fenton also viewed the Pale conspiracy as a decoy to take the pressure away from the Munster rebels. He felt that he and his colleagues needed a freer hand 'to intercept and punish, lest the diseases of this land will go on festering'.⁵¹

Chancellor Gerrard described the extent of the support accorded to Eustace.⁵² It was broadbased - ranging from Turlough Luineach and O'Donnell in the north to O'Connor and O'Rourke in Connacht to several adherents in the supposedly loyal Pale and encompassing O'Byrne, O'Toole, Kavanagh, O'More and O'Connor in Leinster and many others besides. Gerrard warned that immediate action was essential. Viscount Gormanston also shared this view. He wrote that 'this conspiracy is great and this infection further widespread than can be well judged of'.⁵³

The first active engagement by Eustace took place on 28 July.⁵⁴ The town of Newcastle, over which Sir Henry Harrington had been given military command, was burned by 'the pope's men whose banner they displayed'.⁵⁵ Kildare and William Stanley's band, 'red, raw and unfurnished', marched to Harrington's aid.⁵⁶ Eustace and his men withdrew, driving before them a large prey, taken from Newcastle and the areas north and south of it and from divers towns upon the mountainside', into Colranan and 'thence to their fastness'.⁵⁷ On Monday 1 August, the rebels struck again. They left their fastness and preyed on a number of towns, taking cows and doing extensive damage.

Arthur Grey de Wilton arrived in Ireland on 7 August to become Queen Elizabeth's lord deputy.⁵⁸ Grey, a Puritan, a chosen one, an élitist, took immediate action against the rebellion. It was not important to him that a member of one of the leading families was dissatisfied and had taken the

extraordinary step of raising a rebellion against his monarch. Grey did not need to wonder and pause about this viscount and the course he had taken to redress his grievances. Grey did not have any qualms about family status. He did not share Pelham's approach to bring Eustace back into the loyal fold through official parleys and offers of longterm protection. Such an approach was not facing up to the issue. To rebel was serious but to do so in the name of the Catholic religion; to contemplate the papacy as a revered institution; to turn one's back on one's family name and inheritance; to raise a banner for such a cause and such a man was treasonable.

The only way Grey saw to deal with such a situation was to take immediate decisive action. Whereas Pelham had difficulty taking James Eustace's revolt seriously, Grey took it very seriously and decided that prompt, heavyhanded action was to be enforced to quell it at its outset. Did the Puritan Grey recognise a religious element which would brook no obstacle, that was in a strange, inverted way akin to the extremes of his own creed? The feeling of being chosen to undertake a great religious mission; to win back misguided souls; to restore a golden era of religion; the experience of being convinced that one's beliefs are the only true ones; and the obligatory sense to impel all others to share these beliefs, rang bells in the Puritan mind. The Puritan mind knew the dangers of the extremities people could go to when on a crusading mission of principle. Within less than a fortnight after his landing in Dublin and familiarising himself with his new

duties as lord deputy, Grey took decisive action against James Eustace. He did not delay by making any of the expected social calls on the Pale's élite or spend time getting his new home prepared for his family or take a neutral, steering course and let time direct him. Instead, before he was invested with the sword of state, Grey moved against the rebellious viscount and his Irish allies.

Grey saw the rising out not as an isolated incident sparked off by a misguided nobleman, but he saw it in terms of all Ireland, part of a general conspiracy that involved Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht. He put the rebellion into a national context and he saw James Eustace as the core leader of this pro-Catholic conspiracy. The fact that James Eustace, Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne and the rebels were based so near the central administration and yet could be nearly inaccessible to government troops, was a matter of urgent concern to him. He realised the full implications of the dangers when it was reported to him that James Eustace and his troops had approached Dublin in early August and would have captured the castle except that a woman raised the alarm and foiled the surprise attack.

The real danger in that manoeuvre for Grey was that the insurgents were able to pass without any hindrance or molestation through the most loyal area of Ireland and come right up to the stronghold of Elizabeth's government, followed by their troops in broad daylight and, at a time when it was general knowledge that James Eustace was heading a rebellion.

The ease with which they passed through the Pale was indicative of potential danger - the contemplation of which decided Grey on immediate action. This rebellion must get his initial concentration. If James Eustace had a mission, so too had Arthur Grey. Ireland must be put on an even political and religious keel for Elizabeth. Grey did not shy from the perennial problem of Irish lord deputies - lack of finance and lack of soldiers. Grey reckoned that morals could also be improved and he counselled that good Puritan preachers should follow in his path, carved by the sword, for Elizabeth.

Grey received a message from Baltinglass and Fiach MacHugh requesting a six week's truce but such were the conditions attached to this request that Grey at once decided 'it was more than high time by speedy persecution to have their pride danted'.⁵⁹ Grey determined to wipe out these rebels. The patent of his appointment as lord deputy allowed Grey to govern in absolute authority as he best judged. He directed Pelham to send the treasurer with the sword of state to Dublin whilst Pelham was to continue his campaign against the Desmonds.⁶⁰ The Leinster rebels became Grey's first concern. Grey then 'laid down a plot here and with what number to lay guard to several places'.⁶¹ On 18 August he marched to Naas and assembled his forces.⁶² He laid a guard of 500 under Gormanston in Naas.⁶³ Thence he intended 'in person forthwith to march towards Colranan'.⁶⁴ He requested a speedy supply of munitions. Elizabeth's forces were many months behind in pay and Grey counselled that this be rectified at once for 'if no payments

be made of the arrears before the account be taken ... the soldiers will hardly be drawn with such contented mind as be wished to any service'.⁶⁵ A paid soldier represented to the determined Grey an efficient soldier. Despite this determination to succeed against the Leinster rebels, he felt the burden of the responsibility to be great. 'The calling upon me the deputy in all places whither I shall resort will be continual, and my grief the more, not able to satisfy them'.⁶⁶ At Oatlands, where Elizabeth rested, there was a feeling of confidence that Grey would deal satisfactorily and speedily with this latest rebellion. Leicester reported to her that Grey 'had immediately put himself to the field to order the English Pale, ere he go further'.⁶⁷

The English captains responded to Grey's orders for mobilisation of soldiers for the Pale. Malby sent the bands of Furrer, Carew and Stanley to the Pale 'which was like to be spoiled and the state to be in great peril'.⁶⁸ Eustace and Fiach MacHugh withdrew their forces from Ballymore Eustace to Glenmalur. The geographical location of the glen afforded the rebels all the tactical advantages. The glen was four miles long, being densely wooded. On 25 August Grey led his forces into a trap.⁶⁹ Colonel George Moore led half of the army. Grey determined on immediate attack. He wanted to drive the rebels from the seclusion and refuge of the hillside out into the open and then dispose of them with all possible speed. Experienced soldiers like Francis Cosby tried to warn Grey of the danger of such open attack but the lord deputy

remained adamant.⁷⁰ Colonel Moore, Peter Carew, Captain Audley and Lieutenant Parker led the contingents in front. Henry Bagenal and William Stanley brought up the rear. Stanley wrote a very graphic description of the glen. He described the difficulty of progressing through it 'full of stones, rocks, bogs and wood; in the bottom a river full of loose stones, which we were driven to cross divers times'.⁷¹ The soldiers advanced sometimes on their hands and knees. Stanley said 'it was the hottest piece of service for the time that I ever saw in any place'.⁷² Audley and Carew had a disagreement before entering the glen.⁷³ This increased the feeling of confusion experienced by many of the soldiers. Several of these soldiers were raw recruits and some were newly-arrived from England. These were easily distinguishable by their remarkable red or blue coats. Malby who was with Grey remarked how amazed many of them were. 'Their coats stand them in no stead, neither in fashion nor in giving them any succour to their bodies'.⁷⁴ The battle raged but the rebels were easily in the superior position. The new recruits were confused and confounded and the kerne deserted to the rebels. The officers suffered heavy losses; Mr George Moore, Sir Peter Carew and Captains Cosby and Audley were killed.⁷⁵ Eight of Stanley's band of twenty-eight were killed, ten were hurt. He lamented the loss of several dear friends who were 'laid all along the wood as we should pass behind trees, rocks, crags, bogs and in covert'.⁷⁶ He said they were safe while they kept to the bottom of the glen but when they were led up the hill by the

leaders, they were standing targets for the rebels. Stories of the losses suffered by Grey grew. There was exaggeration on both sides. It was, however, an important victory for Eustace and his followers. It carried prestige as Grey and his army were impressive opponents and it spurred the rebels on to other skirmishes and gave new impetus to the rebellion. More adherents joined with Eustace. In the aftermath of this defeat Grey conceded that the rebellion 'would not be a simple matter to quench'.⁷⁷ He acknowledged that he could not 'give any good advertisements of the likelihood of those troubles appease'.⁷⁸ He found the conspiracy so general that a main force was essential to stamp it out.

Gerrard was very disappointed by the failure of Grey's initiative at Glenmalure. He attributed the defeat to 'the cowardish yielding of the late soldiers put in the rearwards' and also to 'the running away of the kern'.⁷⁹ Gerrard believed that Grey was an excellent governor, describing him as being 'full fraught with all virtuous gifts necessary to the government'.⁸⁰ He hoped Grey would receive 'sound counsels and faithful assistance'.⁸¹ Gerrard recommended the seasoned campaigner Malby as a sound confidant for Grey. Gerrard himself was unable to participate in any physical action as he was 'lame in both feet and can do Her Majesty no service'.⁸²

Three important defectors joined Eustace. Captain Garret 'one who belonged to the late Lord Garret' and his band of fifty men and shot were conducted by Edmund Reagh from Naas

where the earl of Kildare and his men were.⁸³ Captain Garret and his bands defected to the rebels. Sir Edmund Butler's son and one hundred swordsmen also joined in with Eustace.⁸⁴ Edward Butler, a brother of the earl of Ormond and brother-in-law of Eustace, was thought to be a vital link in the overall plan of revolt. Eustace's advice to him had been 'he should break out presently lest by defraying of time, he should not be so well accepted hereafter'.⁸⁵ These three, one a close confidant and relation of Kildare and the others from the house of Ormond, were valuable additions to James's cause. Captain Garret had contributed to the defeat in the glen by his knowledge of government matters acquired by his service in Kildare's household.

Eustace's activities were not confined solely to Leinster. He joined with the Desmonds who were also in revolt, on several occasions. The Desmond dimension to the Baltinglass revolt does not follow a chronological pattern but rather displays links of frequent contact and communication between Eustace and John of Desmond particularly. John, brother of the earl of Desmond, travelled to Leinster in the first week of August 1580.⁸⁶ He was accompanied by Dr Sanders. They travelled through Aherlow wood. They were pursued by the Kilmallock garrison who killed thirty of their men. Pelham said, 'they are so terrified to tarry in Munster as they have adventured to pass for their refuge to Baltinglass'.⁸⁷ On 5 August John of Desmond and Dr Sanders and their followers were attacked by Stanley. John and Sanders escaped but their followers were all killed or

captured and their baggage taken. They met Eustace at Monealy in Laois on Saturday 6 August.⁸⁸ In mid-August John of Desmond set up camp with Piers Grace in Laois. They burned and spoiled Abbeyleix and many other march towns between 25 and 28 August, while Eustace was fighting the battle of Glenmalure.⁸⁹ The earl of Desmond was in poor straits, he was being abandoned daily by his followers. The Desmond rebellion was in its death throes as the Leinster rebellion gained momentum.

The Leinster rebels planned to capture Maryborough in County Laois.⁹⁰ It was poorly equipped for defence. Its captain, George Hervy, relied on the locked gates and sixteen captains to keep the rebels out.⁹¹ Captain Walker had sixty of his company guarding the fort. Maryborough was surrounded by four hundred rebels. Hervy hoped for relief; he said 'I will not complain although the discredit will be mine if any evil has come to the fort. I will discharge duty of a gentleman's trusting'.⁹² James Eustace and his reinforcements were expected on 4-5 September.⁹³ Grey was advised by Barnes, the constable of Disart, that the utmost expedition was essential if the fort was to be saved from the rebels.⁹⁴ The rebels laid siege to the fort and Hervy was unable to send out any communications. Barnes feared the rebels would soon move to besiege him in his castle.⁹⁵ Grey sent one band of footmen to their defence. The rebels were making a forceful impact in the midlands.

Ormond was keenly aware of the dangers of this Desmond-Eustace alliance. Ormond, while returning from Sir Cormac

McTeigne's house, where he had been arranging for the trial of James of Desmond, passed through Aherlow.⁹⁶ He was warned that John of Desmond and Piers Grace were hiding in the woods where they had concealed their cattle. John, Piers Grace and one hundred followers that included 'a few Spaniards and others' attacked a village of Ormond's in Aherlow.⁹⁷ There they 'took spoil, slew some kern and husbandmen of mine that ploughed'.⁹⁸ They passed through Ossory without any hindrance from Eustace's brother-in-law Fitzpatrick.⁹⁹ They attacked and burned Ormond's brother, Piers's town of Abbeyleix.¹⁰⁰ They took all his cattle. They then attacked Ormond's village of Calliosker. They passed through Ossory once again, moving freely. Ormond finally arrived in Kilkenny at ten o'clock on the night of the 27 August 1580. Despite the fatigue of his troops he determined to follow the rebels. But because of lack of sufficient numbers he had to postpone his march.¹⁰¹

Ormond who was in command of the Munster forces reported that the rebels' policy was not 'to stand and fight with us in any place but fly to the mountains and woods'.¹⁰² His brother Piers had inflicted a defeat on them while he was victualling Aherlow Castle, killing eight but wounding many others.¹⁰³ On 8 August Ormond had been to Limerick to confer with Pelham 'touching the new start of rebels beneath the Barrow'.¹⁰⁴ Ormond felt he was encircled 'round about with traitors and bad neighbours, the smart of which I daily feel'.¹⁰⁵ Ormond was harassed all the time by Eustace's allies - Upper Ossory and Piers Grace.

Pelham played an active rôle in destroying the resistance of the Munster rebels. He hounded them from place to place, burned their crops and took their cattle.¹⁰⁶ The Munster people were far from being keen allies in yet another rebellion. They were desperate for any peace settlement. They so abhorred the hardships of war that they 'offer themselves with their wives and children rather to be slain by the army than to suffer the famine that now in extremity beginneth to pinch them'.¹⁰⁷ Pelham said these hardships had caused disagreement in the Desmond camp and had caused John of Desmond and Dr Sanders to seek 'for relief to fall into the company and fellowship of the viscount of Baltinglass'.¹⁰⁸ The earl himself was by no means able to offer any aid to the Leinster rebels, 'he flieth from place to place' and had his wife attempt to negotiate peace terms.¹⁰⁹

Fenton reported 'the wars of Munster draw to their end, the principal members being cut off and others dispersed'.¹¹⁰ Fenton saw the imposition of the cess as being at the heart of the Pale rebellion and advised that Malby should be sent there where 'his name and presence would be to especial purpose for the quenching of that little fire there'.¹¹¹ On 15 August Baltinglass again contacted the earl of Desmond, asking him to join 'with him in the cause which he had begun for the Catholic faith'.¹¹² Desmond's followers reacted against this immediately - 'most of his people came and cried out in one voice they were starved and undone and therefore would forsake him in it as not able to endure the war any longer'.¹¹³

By September the government officials were less concerned about Munster.¹¹⁴ Sir George Bouchier was colonel of the forces there. Wallop thought that it might have been stamped out sooner had not the Pale rebellion prolonged it.¹¹⁵ The officials began to withdraw men from Munster which was, they felt, the most assured part of all the realm of Ireland.¹¹⁶ The Pale rebels advanced through Leinster through early September. By 4 September they had captured all the holds and castles in the barony except Disart.¹¹⁷ They had succeeded in capturing a prey that included the constable Barnes's horses from Disart and had killed four soldiers.¹¹⁸

The fear unleashed by Eustace's rebellion and the extensive support it acquired was further fuelled by the murder of Ross McGeoghegan 'an honest gentleman and an assured subject'.¹¹⁹ Ross was murdered by his brother Brian, whose mother was an O'Connor. Malby warned that the loss of this loyal subject, who was the sole person that could be relied upon to 'talk against the revolt' among the O'Connor clan, was a major blow.¹²⁰ Malby asserted 'all is in an uproar and force only must appease it'.¹²¹ 'The pope', he continued, 'is a strong man in Ireland' and if Elizabeth did not quickly rectify matters 'the honest man shall truly be under-foot'.¹²²

The Pale rebels continued their laying waste policy and on 10 September they burned a small town one and a half miles from Dublin.¹²³ Fenton was aggrieved because 'they would not have been so insolent but that they knew our wants of horsemen to

answer them'.¹²⁴ Fiach McHugh and James Eustace, five hundred followers, eighty shot and thirty horses entered the Pale through the mountains in early September.¹²⁵ Kildare because of his illness failed to stop them. They burned Tassagard. They were overtaken by Captain Atchannes and his band of thirty-nine horsemen on 15 September.¹²⁶ On the 16 September, despite his illness, Kildare left his bed, and he and Harrington positioned their men at strategic points to prevent the Pale rebels making any further progress. That night Kildare returned to Dublin, leaving George Fitzgarret with his men. The following morning, 17 September, at six o'clock, Fitzgarret, Harrington and about forty horsemen - the remainder were seeing to the victualling - heard the din of the kern and saw the town of Rathmore burning.¹²⁷ It was being fired by eighty of the rebels. They hastened to the town and they pursued the rebels for seven miles, finally overtaking them. Six of Harrington's men charged at them but failed to break the ranks. The rebels abandoned the captured prey and prepared for battle. Fitzgarret led the charge of his fifty-strong company while Harrington's lieutenant kept to the rear. They crossed a ford towards the rebels and killed a number of them. They reassembled. Fitzgarret charged again but was run through and slain by a staff. Kildare claimed that fifty to sixty of the rebels lay dead, including two brothers and a son of Fiach MacHugh.¹²⁸ On 20 September Robert Fitzgerald, John of Desmond and 500 followers attacked the town of Saggart and burned forty houses. They were aided by Maurice and Oliver Eustace at Blackhall.¹²⁹

The open antagonism continued throughout the autumn and winter months of 1580. The preying and counter-attacks proceeded. Harrington took four hundred cows from the rebels and brought them to his house in Newcastle on November 8.¹³⁰ The following day he wounded Brian McCallow O'Byrne in a skirmish.¹³¹ On the night of All Hallows the earl of Kildare and his forces that guarded the Pale travelled sixteen miles of 'evil ways and cold both the night wet and dark'.¹³² At daybreak they entered O'Byrne's country and captured a prey. Fiach challenged them having had word of their intent. The prey scattered. Kildare recaptured three hundred cattle, one hundred plough horses and one thousand sheep and goats and decided to return with them to the Pale as victuals were scarce.¹³³

Harrington gathered his men and rounded up five hundred cows which he brought to Newcastle. Fiach followed him and found the prey in 'a good enclosure under the castle wall'.¹³⁴ Fiach and his men hid near the town that Saturday night. On the following morning they advanced to the castle. Harrington and three hundred horse and twenty shot issued out and, in the ensuing skirmish, an O'Byrne termed 'one of the best' and also 'a man in best estimation amongst them saving Fiach MacHugh himself', was killed.¹³⁵

Bodenstown was raided by the rebels. They attacked the occupants, fired the buildings and drove away livestock. They also attacked and burned Wicklow.¹³⁶ They captured an ancient, small castle of Elizabeth's which had a small force under Sir Thomas Fitzwilliams. Wallop lamented that no decisive action

was taken against these rebels. Kildare declared he was going to terminate this rebellion and was given five hundred footmen of the English bands, six hundred of the Irish bands, the usage of two hundred men and the wages of four hundred at 10d sterling a day. This money was to be taken from the wages of the English soldiers not yet arrived.¹³⁷

On 19 October Fiach MacHugh burned Rathcoole and Coolmine, six to seven miles from Dublin, and a great part of the surrounding countryside, described by Wallop as 'the best villages in this part of the Pale'.¹³⁸ Kildare had retired by this stage to his house in Kilberry, Athy, that bordered on the O'More country. There was a general feeling of fear and impending crisis. Wallop revealed that 'all the country hereabout standeth in fear of like spoil'.¹³⁹ The council summoned Kildare to place his men in those towns and areas most at risk from the rebels.¹⁴⁰

At this point it was being suggested even in Spain that Kildare's loyalty and his behaviour were becoming suspect.¹⁴¹ There were real fears that he might join the rebels. Sir Nicholas White had spent some time in Rathcoole and attempted to save it from burning. He reported that Kildare had recently crossed the mountains against the Leinster rebels and was 'honourably bent to serve Her Majesty'.¹⁴²

By 7 October Eustace had crossed into Munster with John of Desmond.¹⁴³ Gerrard believed Eustace was under the sway and influence of unknown 'men of power'.¹⁴⁴ The viscount, with

John of Desmond, thirty horse and 100 footmen, travelled through Ossory into Tipperary where they found safe refuge.¹⁴⁵ They had left Fiach MacHugh and the rest of the forces at Baltinglass on the night of 1 October. The forces left numbered 600 footmen and eighty horse. Desmond and Eustace proceeded to Smerwick. There the recently-arrived papal soldiers were building their fortification.¹⁴⁶ Bingham advised that a large army should be sent out to capture Baltinglass and his company before they could unite with the foreign enemy.¹⁴⁷ Bingham warned, 'It may be that the strangers are in belief that they have purchased freedom and liberty'.¹⁴⁸ Bingham realised that all was not yet destroyed in the Munster revolt and even in its decaying condition it might yet muster up fatal support for the Leinster and foreign enemies.

Ormond assembled his company at Cork on 2 October and marched towards Sleelougher where he had heard the Munster, Leinster and foreign enemies had combined.¹⁴⁹ They were camped on a strong ground - Bongonder, six miles from Tralee. There were the earl and John of Desmond, Eustace, Piers Grace, their forces and 500 of the foreign forces that had landed at Smerwick. These fled, however, before Ormond reached Bongonder. Ormond chased them into Kilvalilaghye Wood where some were slain.¹⁵⁰ Night fell and Ormond set up camp to await the encounter of the following day. But Baltinglass, the Desmonds, Dr Sanders and most of the forces stole away during the night towards Smerwick. Ormond again followed them but succeeded only in capturing a few Spanish and Italian soldiers on the way.¹⁵¹

On 15 October Ormond and eighty shot of his company viewed Smerwick.¹⁵² 120 Italians came out of the fort and a battle ensued during which the constable of Castlemain, Andrew Martin was killed. However lack of sufficient munitions forced Ormond to withdraw and head for Limerick where Grey was. En route to Limerick, Ormond's spies informed him that Desmond and 500 followers were camped at Killeenturny. Ormond surprised them and they were forced to flee leaving 'remains of their stuff as painted tables, altarcloths, chalices, books and other such furniture said to be the Nuncio's'.¹⁵³

Eustace travelled throughout southern Ireland. His progress was unhindered.¹⁵⁴ He was very well received in Ormond, Ossory, Leix, even in Dublin where he was never accosted by any. He enjoyed a good measure of support and popularity to ensure this easy and safe passage. By 24 October Eustace returned home 'this same way without any man touching him' and Malby claimed 'had done much mischief'.¹⁵⁵ Malby felt the danger of Eustace's revolt was growing all the time and was reaching a climax as 1580 drew to its close.

In November Baltinglass and John of Desmond passed through Aherlow. They preyed in the bordering areas and captured cattle from Youghal which was poorly fortified.¹⁵⁶ New Ross, likewise poorly fortified, requested 100 soldiers 'during our fear' as it awaited daily to be attacked.¹⁵⁷ The viscount's numbers through warfare or natural causes had decreased quite remarkably by mid-November. Wadding, one of Ormond's justices

in Tipperary wrote that Baltinglass and the Desmonds 'have but a company of rascals with them including four Spaniards' and were using drum beats to simulate the sounds of a large army.¹⁵⁸ After the massacre of Smerwick there was no hope of any further help from Spain.¹⁵⁹ The government began to send out troops for the protection of the southern towns. 100 men were sent to Ross; 200 to Youghal, 400 to Cork. Captain Barkley and his company were in Waterford where the Desmonds and Baltinglass, joined by the Seneschall of Imokelly, were reported to be preying in the vicinity.¹⁶⁰ Waterford, it was felt, would give the example that 'might be requested of good people and dutiful subjects'.¹⁶¹ Sherlock, Waterford's mayor, trusted God would soon bring about the defeat of Baltinglass, Desmond and all their 'supporters, favourers and adherents'.¹⁶²

The Munster connection was an encumbrance to James but it was not his sole area of support outside of the Pale. Turlough Luineach proved to be an unusual ally with different tactics. His overall policy was one of ongoing conciliatory gestures to Grey interspersed with offensive action aimed at distracting the lord deputy from the forays and attacks made by Eustace and his southern allies. Turlough publicly proclaimed in his camp at Toome that neither he nor his followers would break her majesty's peace nor harm her subjects.¹⁶³ Dowdall and Pers, present at this declaration, reported that there were 'divers messengers from sundry places of the realm' who attempted to persuade Turlough to join with them in their conspiracy.¹⁶⁴ Both Dowdall and Pers advised that the public recognition of

peace with Turlough should be maintained so as no unity of southern and northern conspirators could be achieved.

Turlough's neutral stance was reported to Philip II but Elizabeth refused to be convinced by it, becoming even more suspicious of him.¹⁶⁵ Turlough sent comforting messages to Grey on his arrival, promising that he would, with Grey's aid, even rid Ireland of Scots. He would force the Desmonds to submit and was happy to 'hear of the coming of so noble a man to be here governor'.¹⁶⁶ These messages of goodwill were sent at the same time as Turlough entertained messengers from Baltinglass, the Desmonds and O'Rourke, who was also a sympathiser with Eustace. By the end of August Turlough openly declared the price of his loyalty to Elizabeth. He wanted the kingship of Ulster and if given, he promised he would not be party to any of the rebellion activities then rampant in Ireland.¹⁶⁷ Grey went along with this ploy, although the demands were impossible considering the necessity of the loyalty of the baron of Dungannon. The lord deputy hoped that a conciliatory O'Neill would prove easier to manipulate than would an active ally of the Leinster and Desmond rebels. Turlough's mercurial character displayed itself when after these promises, and in the aftermath of Grey's defeat at Glenmalure, he began to move to the borders with a large army to invade the Pale intent on his 'evil pleasure' despite the recent promises of peace he had made.¹⁶⁸ Employing what was to be the hallmark of his assistance to Eustace, Turlough with an army of 6,000 men marched to Dundalk.¹⁶⁹ This display of power and arrogance succeeded and drew Grey away from the Pale rebels.

Religion was proving to be a powerful unifying force in this rebellion. O'Rourke also was in arms in Connacht. Malby remonstrated that 'if Her Majesty do not use her sword more sharply, she will lose both sword and realm'.¹⁷⁰ His view was that the entire 'realm was in uproar'.¹⁷¹ Turlough's men in alliance with O'Donnell and O'Rourke invaded and spoiled Roscommon.¹⁷² Turlough declared 'he would stand in defence of religion while life doth last him'.¹⁷³ Despite the ongoing pillaging of the Pale, Grey, Pelham and the baron of Dungannon travelled to Drogheda on 9 September to negotiate with Turlough.¹⁷⁴ A parley was arranged at a place twelve miles from Dundalk.¹⁷⁵ Fenton and Gerrard had no faith in Turlough. They viewed the parley as a pretence to divert Grey from Eustace.¹⁷⁶ Turlough's demands were preposterous, the parley a sham and to the seasoned councillors it was a foregone conclusion that Turlough would not obey government agreements. Gerrard affirmed that Turlough was set to invade the Pale to draw Grey's forces towards him and then after conference to leave bands at specific places near the Pale, thus lessening the threat to Eustace.¹⁷⁷

Gerrard gave a personal view of Eustace in his missive to Burghley.¹⁷⁸ He was convinced that a rebellion such as that which had broken out in the Pale in its unique complexities, could not have been the brainchild of Eustace whom he viewed as the puppet of others. He was 'in daily examination of some one or other to try out if I can the procurers of this simple fool the viscount to break out'.¹⁷⁹ Gerrard saw Munster as the powerhouse of the rebellion and Leinster and Ulster as its

feeders. He stated that Eustace 'wanted the will to enter into any such action'.¹⁸⁰ The chancellor felt in fact that he was on the verge of discovering the true initiators of this rebellion. He promised Burghley that he 'shall hear after what I find'.¹⁸¹ Turlough continued with his ruse of drawing near the Pale, arranging conferences with Grey and then diverting him from his Pale campaign and from his Munster campaigns where he was busy with the newly-arrived foreign enemy at Smerwick.¹⁸² Thus, while not physically joining forces with the Pale rebels on the battlefield, Turlough maintained his diversionary war of nerves against their enemy - Grey.

Kildare had been commissioned to lead the army of the Pale against Eustace and Fiach MacHugh.¹⁸³ He was joined by his nephew Robert Piphó who pledged to fight against the rebels in their enemies' countries and fastness.¹⁸⁴ The anomaly of Kildare, supported by a family member, leading an army against Eustace deserves exploration. Loftus was deeply suspicious of Kildare's true intent and as the rebellion progressed through the first six months an examination of Kildare's activities may indeed clarify and justify the archbishop's suspicions. Kildare followed a most unusual path in this period which culminated in his imprisonment with his son-in-law, the baron of Delvin in December 1580.¹⁸⁵

After Captain Garret's defection to the Pale rebels in August 1580, Kildare fell dangerously sick in the camp.¹⁸⁶ Grey had to cut short his expedition and return to Dublin. Kildare's illness was to last until the end of Autumn. It allowed him

to be absent from the growing hub of government campaigns aimed at quelling the Pale rebels. Some officials including Fenton were sceptical of Kildare. Fenton divulged to Leicester that

the rebellion has a deep root and is incorporated into a great part of the principal members of this land. The suspicions arise daily which would ensure to the manifest detection of many, if some particulars were apprehended.

187

Fenton was not prepared to name the 'principal members' openly but he certainly inferred that the support was extremely strong among the leading members of society.¹⁸⁸ Kildare remained out of the limelight and by mid-September Grey was showing concern for the earl's health.¹⁸⁹ On 16 September Kildare informed Walsingham that because of the incursion made into the Pale by Eustace and Fiach MacHugh, he was forced to leave his sick bed and prepare for the defence of the Pale.¹⁹⁰ By this time he had already arranged to have the custody of Eustace's lands and particularly of Monkstown House and its estate which was being sought by others. Kildare expressed his satisfaction that he was pleased to be in Elizabeth's good grace. This must have given him a measure of confidence to pursue his double interests.¹⁹¹

Chancellor Gerrard became suspicious of Kildare and his rôle against the rebels.¹⁹² He was extremely concerned by the lack of continuous and concerted action and the ease with which the rebels remained at large. He warned that if positive action were not taken quickly all would be lost. He was

suspicious of the key leaders and warned 'daily by examination of someone or other, I find more and more cause to suspect the bees in our bosom who yet make show of loyalty'.¹⁹³ However Gerrard was not prepared to name anyone, perhaps because of the power wielded by those he suspected. The lord deputy continued to display confidence in Kildare and his loyalty to Elizabeth. Grey wrote, 'The hardest part of the work still is in these quarters (the Pale) for the government whereof and guard I leave my very good lord of Kildare with a competent number of foot and horsemen'.¹⁹⁴ Grey found in Kildare 'a show of great intelligence to serve at this time'.¹⁹⁵ Despite this confidence in Kildare by Grey, the witch-hunt among the Dublin council continued. Gerrard proved particularly tenacious. By 7 October he felt confident enough to unmask the viscount's backers to the lord deputy, not publicly as yet, but he felt he was soon approaching this stage.¹⁹⁶ He informed Walsingham 'I have still dragged into that pit which by Zouche I sent your lordship words of'.¹⁹⁷ Progress was being made at last. Gerrard elaborated, 'I think I am at the root though I know not all because I may not so much think of this for a time therefore much less write'.¹⁹⁸ Gerrard had reached this point of information by careful, daily questioning of many people. Yet he was perhaps too unsure of his position or of the strengths of his council members to openly name the main backer of the rebellion as Kildare. The power, strength and confidence generated by the house of Kildare in the past may have prompted this caution. Kildare remained unnamed as yet. Gerrard confided in Burghley that his discoveries would be

communicated to the latter by Pelham with whom he had shared his information orally.¹⁹⁹

Kildare, surely aware of these growing suspicions, avowed that as general of the Pale he, with the aid of six English bands of footmen and his own horsemen, was determined to 'burn out the Leinster rebels before Christmas'.²⁰⁰ Kildare's manipulation of these soldiers was another source of concern and doubt as to his true loyalties. Wallop divulged that Kildare was never satisfied with the number of his troops. He was forever seeking to increase their number, particularly those which he had at the queen's expense. Wallop claimed that Kildare was appropriating for himself the allowance granted to these soldiers.²⁰¹

Wallop examined several people about the activities of Kildare, Delvin and William Nugent.²⁰² From the information collated in these examinations, he revealed that 'with time this temporising with this traitorous-minded people to Her Majesty must be otherwise dealt with or Ireland will be lost'.²⁰³ Wallop felt swift and immediate measures should be taken against a conspiracy fronted by three such men. The antagonism and opposition felt against Kildare by the council was gaining momentum and the link between the earl and the Leinster rebels was being openly talked about. This increasing pressure to display loyalty to one side or the other forced Kildare to give absolute assurance publicly that he was going to terminate the rebellion.²⁰⁴

He had been granted an increase in his forces - 500 footmen of the English bands and 600 Irish kerne - to be maintained at the treasury's expense.²⁰⁵ This grant was later changed to an increase to 200 Irish kerne and the wages of the other 400 at 10d sterling per day was converted to the pay of the expected English soldiers.²⁰⁶ Waterhouse claimed Kildare misused this money to pay the kerne whom he claimed he had hired. Gerrard likewise also claimed that Kildare was diverting treasury money for his own use.²⁰⁷ If such was the case, then Kildare was increasing the number of his army at the queen's expense, at a time when other generals had let their soldiers' wages fall drastically behind due to lack of funding from the treasury. The extra soldiers granted to Kildare were appropriately put guarding his own property and lands, particularly in the Athy area. On 19 October when Coolmine and Rathcoole were burned and the surrounding areas pillaged, Kildare and his entire troops were at Kilberry, Athy, safely distanced from any ambivalent or ambiguous participation in the fighting.²⁰⁸ The council summoned him to place his troops at the disposal of the people most endangered by the Leinster rebels.²⁰⁹ Kildare had also placed garrisons in Kilmeyll, Ballymore, the Moone, Athy and Kilkea; these were not wards kept for Elizabeth but rather villages that had quick access to O'Byrne's country.²¹⁰ The troops placed there served little or no purpose, they made no marches against the Pale rebels and defended instead of offended. Their positioning and maintenance increased the antipathy directed against Kildare.²¹¹

In the growing atmosphere of suspicion Gerrard felt he could confront Kildare with these proofs. He arranged a meeting on 27 November 1580 with Kildare and Delvin under false pretences.²¹² He intended to confront them with 'the procuring and comforting of this rebellion' but the two men failed to attend the meeting.²¹³ With these perceptions also came a climate of sympathy for Baltinglass whom many felt was actually pushed into the rebellion by Kildare and Delvin; their aims were selfish as one or other aspired to become viceroy should the pope's enterprise succeed.²¹⁴ Pipho attempted to counteract this increasing lack of confidence in Kildare's loyalty and service. He described him as a most worthy and faithful subject and cited Kildare's foray of November against Fiach MacHugh as proof of his fidelity 'within the hell pit of Ireland'.²¹⁵ Kildare attempted to exonerate himself by claiming that he was unable to achieve what was expected due to underprovisioning of his men.²¹⁶ He had to make 'bellum defensui', guarding parts of the Pale rather than invading the enemy.²¹⁷ Fenton, however, pointed out that this had been insufficient as in the Pale towns were burned, 'good subjects harried and the offenders allowed to live with impunity'.²¹⁸ Grey was sufficiently alarmed by these accusations to divert from his campaign in Connacht and head for the Pale.²¹⁹

Kildare, in order to prove his loyalty, left Dublin on 11 December with his forces and promised to return the following Thursday with John of Desmond and Baltinglass for whose capture he was offering a reward.²²⁰ Pipho followed him on 12

December with a further company of soldiers.²²¹ John of Desmond was, however, with his brother, the earl, besieging Dingle.²²² Kildare's expedition was fruitless, being merely an external gesture by the earl to display his loyalty; his efforts 'turned into smoke'.²²³ Kildare realised time was running out for the part he had attempted to play. Grey no longer trusted Kildare, yet he was loathe to condemn him outright. Desmond was the one he blamed for Kildare's corruption. He was 'the carrier of the earl into this mischief'. Desmond displayed an 'obstinate affection to popery'; he was 'unsafe to himself, unsound to friends, disloyal to prince and false to God'.²²⁴ Grey had truly harsh words to say of the Desmonds -

Such is the yield of such seed which would
to God were not so plenty in this land,
Your Majesty must be careful therefore to
root it out, otherwise without heaps of
care, men and treasure and continued wars,
never account to sway this government. 225

Grey viewed their religion in an equally asperic fashion. Religion, he elaborated, was 'a canker never receiving cure without corrosive medicines'.²²⁶ Grey decided in the face of all the evidence gathered by the Dublin officials that no matter who had lured Kildare to support the rebels, he would have to take decisive action against him.²²⁷ Kildare was publicly charged by Gerrard of conspiracy at the council table whereupon he and the baron of Delvin were committed to Dublin Castle.²²⁸ This was a most controversial step and certainly diverted attention from the Leinster rebels. Grey had been unable to lead any campaign against them despite his rapid

return from the west. Due to the arrest of Kildare and Delvin and undoubtedly also because of the approaching feast of Christmas, Grey postponed any action against the rebels for fifteen days.²²⁹

The charges brought against Kildare and Delvin were numerous and several confessions were taken from others implicating the earl and the baron in the Pale conspiracy. Both men pleaded their innocence to all charges. Loftus proved to be a very vocal accuser and was able to present numerous confessions centred on the muster of 4 July 1580 at Tara. They indicated clearly, despite perhaps petty jealousies and personal greed among the officials for the lands and properties of those accused, that Kildare and Delvin were involved in Baltinglass's plans and in aiding and abetting him whenever it was possible for either of them.²³⁰ For many, particularly the member of the council, the arrest and charging of Kildare and Delvin were a source of relief. Through the first half year of the Pale rebellion there had been many fears expressed at the widespread support the revolt enjoyed and at the possibility of massacre particularly seen by Loftus and Wallop and the constant awareness on the part of these officials that although Grey was a person of high rank and importance, yet the handling, funding and maintenance of the army left much to be desired. On 7 September Pelham personally delivered the sword of state to Grey declaring himself to be 'most willing to be discharged of it'.²³¹ Yet confidence in Grey's ability was at a low ebb. Wallop viewed the Pale rebellion with great alarm and feared

for the very stability of the state, commenting 'how dangerously the state standeth here'.²³² Wallop traced the causes of the rebellion which some claimed, he divulged, did not spring from 'any evil inclinations' in the people or 'corruptions of religion' but from the hard dealings of the English towards the Irish.²³³ He elaborated that the rebellion began in Munster, the brainchild of the earl of Desmond, it was fostered by James Fitzmaurice and the Leinster revolt was its offspring.²³⁴ The best manifestation of Baltinglass's revolt he found was in the viscount's letters which declared 'that matter of conscience in religion moveth him thereunto' and also in his advocacy 'to submit to the higher powers'.²³⁵ Wallop identified these powers as the pope of whom Baltinglass was the champion. Wallop feared the powerful strength of religious motive and prayed Elizabeth might realise the peril to the realm; 'such danger was never in this realm since it was first conquered, the hearts of the multitude being bent against her majesty and English government'.²³⁶ The relief that some six months later, a positive move was made against Kildare and Delvin by their imprisonment must surely have consoled Wallop.

The fear engendered by the revolt rapidly made its impact. Fenton remarked that 'the fire burneth in so many places, and there was such suspicion of treason in some of good sorts'.²³⁷ This fear of the power of a revolt inspired by religion, secretly supported by dissemblers in high places, was likewise shared by Sir Warham St Leger. He found Ireland so infected with 'Romish principles' that if precipitate action was not

taken the 'queen's estate would be in great hazard'.²³⁹ This anxiety combined with the conditions under which the English bands laboured provided a source of constant concern to the officials. Ormond reported that the pay and supplies essential to maintain his army were completely lacking. He found the soldiers 'so disfurnished as I shall hardly draw them to the service, for want of many victuals and munitions'.²⁴⁰ Ormond continued his campaign against the Desmonds and also against his brother Edmund, Eustace's ally, who had spoiled his lands.²⁴¹ By September Elizabeth was supporting a total of 8,892 men at a monthly charge of 12,700 pounds to maintain her stance against the rebels in Munster, Leinster and other parts of Ireland.²⁴² Whilst soldiers and supplies continued to be sent to Ireland at a slow, steady pace, the initiative attempted by Grey at Glenmalure was not followed by any major political or military event aimed at quelling the Leinster revolt until the arrest and charging of Kildare and Delvin in December 1580. Grey did of course take a major initiative against the Spaniards and their Desmond allies at Smerwick but this was viewed as an important offensive action against the Munster rebellion and not specifically against the Leinster one. This study follows Eustace's career through the remainder of his revolt and its aftermath and his exile in Spain and Italy. Kildare remained a prisoner for most of this period, as did Delvin.

As early as 19 August the bishop of Waterford and Lismore advocated that the Pale rebels should be dealt with 'fire and sword than any way received to mercy' particularly as all

Ireland was inclined to that 'superstition and Papistry which they make the formal cause of that their unnatural rebellion'.²⁴³ He claimed that Baltinglass's influence on the people was so strong that they daily expected to have Mass publicly celebrated instead of 'as now they have it in an outhouse in secret all things are here nearly against the gospel of Jesus Christ'.²⁴⁴ 'The whole realm was bent in superstition', he continued.²⁴⁵ Baltinglass was held in such esteem that he was termed the pope of Ireland 'by that he saith he will have Mass'.²⁴⁶ The bishop said his own flock were 'altogether affectionate that way'.²⁴⁷ The power of the influence of Catholicism also manifested itself in England where there was a growing possibility of invasion - an attempted invasion by Philip II of Spain. Elizabeth suspected the earls of Northumberland, Montague, Worcester and Southampton, five barons and three gentlemen - all considered to be Catholics - of collusion with King Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII. She had them imprisoned in various castles.²⁴⁸ These developments combined with Grey's description of the pro-religious rebellion in Ireland caused stricter measures against its adherents to be adopted. Catholics were summoned before the council for non-attendance at prayer service. Their usual response was that attendance at such ceremonies was against their conscience.²⁴⁹ They shared Baltinglass's attitude. This response when a Catholic continental invasion of England was feared, gave an increased importance to the entire issue of religion and the diverse possibilities to which the viscount's revolt might lead.

Lord Deputy Grey drew his conclusion about the impact of Catholicism on Ireland. In the aftermath of his defeat at Glenmalure, Grey noted that religion was the motive for the rebellion.²⁵⁰ I find it desperate', he wrote, 'to think of quenching the effect by which the causes be slaked'.²⁵¹ He wished he had ministers to propagate God's word. He recommended that 'amongst our other supplies, not last nor least to afford me the help and lay on me the blame if whomsoever you send be not well provided for'.²⁵² Grey hoped in a short time by fire and sword and by God's word to destroy the enemy. Malby was in agreement with Grey, apt and willing ministers 'were essential'.²⁵³ Malby realised that the country could be lost on account of this devotion to religion. He warned, 'Her Majesty is like to lose both friend and realm, it is now a quarrel of religion and the expectation of foreign forces doth further it'.²⁵⁴ Malby saw the rebellion was becoming general. He admonished that 'no man can hold it for a pastime, neither will any man of discretion desire to govern by fighting if it may be done by honest policy'.²⁵⁵ He warned if Elizabeth and her advisors did not take a more serious view of the revolt, the country could be lost because of the strength of the religious ideals which propelled its instigators. The Catholic lay people were becoming more assertive and open in their religious practises. The mayor of Waterford, James Sherlock noted that 'all the men, except for three or four', were attending Mass each Sunday.²⁵⁶ This willingness to declare openly one's religious allegiance also manifested itself when the Lancashire soldiers declared they would not fight against fellow-Catholics in Ireland.²⁵⁷

The religious campaign found adherents in Connacht. There was unrest in the province particularly in O'Rourke's territory where Scots and Irish had combined.²⁵⁸ On 13 October Malby and two bands invaded Conor Roe's country.²⁵⁹ The arrival of a messenger in Connacht from England, under supposition of seeking relief from the earl of Clanrickard, led many more to rebel in that province.²⁶⁰ Malby reported that William and John Burke also declared themselves to be the pope's men, Mass would be openly celebrated and all Englishmen would be driven from the province within three months.²⁶¹ The anti-English pro-Catholic feeling was taking the place of individual, personal upsets.

As the year 1580 drew to its close Lord Deputy Grey was no nearer an actual solution to these increasing problems. Kildare and Delvin were imprisoned. The government was busy during the Christmas period preparing an extensive case against them for their part in the revolt. The information collected by the officials, particularly by Wallop, retrospectively describes their alleged activities during 1580.²⁶² Grey had formed a poor opinion of the Irish people whom he had described as 'a hard, stiff-necked people'.²⁶³ He felt he could only do limited service among them. He recommended that 'a hard and forcible hand ... must bring them to duty'.²⁶⁴ In Ireland he found 'popery, stealth, murder and all insolencies rampant'.²⁶⁵ Added to this his bands were scourged by sickness and death.²⁶⁶

The imprisonment of Kildare and Delvin was to usher in a new approach by Grey to wipe out the Baltinglass revolt as

quickly as possible. He had not anticipated that it would even last for this length and therefore the coming of 1581 saw Grey doing all he could, despite financial shortages, to quell it. He committed members of the Eustace family to Dublin Castle, planned counter-attacks on Baltinglass and his supporters, minutely examined every shred of information on this revolt, and had several examinations taken from collaborators and conspirators. Yet almost another year was to pass before Baltinglass finally left the country and even then memories of his struggle lingered on and strong hopes remained for at least one more year that he and a powerful papal and Spanish force would return and liberate Catholicism and depose Elizabeth.

Despite the harshness of the winter months, the rebellion continued. On 10 January 1581 Sir William Stanley, who was based at Wicklow, went into the glen.²⁶⁷ During the night he was suddenly attacked by the rebels but 'such was the government of that gent that although the odds were too much, yet he stood well to it' and put the enemy to flight'.²⁶⁸ A brother of Fiach MacHugh was killed and many others 'being so hurt that they might easily be traced by the blood'.²⁶⁹ Stanley's losses were two soldiers slain and his lieutenant and two others hurt. Grey was hopeful that the English success in this skirmish might end the resistance. By 14 February Grey concluded that Baltinglass 'no longer able to be supported or followed by the conspirators of this rebellion, is fled from Leinster, purporting secretly to embark'.²⁷⁰ Grey ordered a

careful watch on all ports of exit particularly on Dungarvan and Youghal. He was most anxious for Baltinglass's apprehension, and elaborated 'I wish all unknown or suspected persons pretending passage to foreign parts to be examined and stayed until my pleasure be known in that behalf whereof I pray you be most careful'.²⁷¹ The report of Eustace's escape was false and the rebellion continued. The Kavanaghs rose in rebellion and Grey had to busy himself with this new threat. He marched to Wexford and en route visited Baltinglass Abbey, hoping to parley with Fiach MacHugh but failed therein.²⁷² Grey met with open hostility; 'the trustless peace' he had hoped to establish with Turlough Luineach was over, the latter was instigating the O'Connors and Delvin's families to rebel and in early March they 'made assemblies and shows of open rebellion'.²⁷³ Grey was also attempting to have Kildare's case tried by parliament. He was losing adherents and sympathisers in Ireland because the charisma of the house of Kildare lived on and many Old English resented the trial of Kildare and of his son-in-law Delvin.²⁷⁴ Meanwhile Eustace and Fiach MacHugh continued in revolt despite 'some discontented sort'.²⁷⁵ One of their captains - Captain Garret who defected to them the previous summer - was seeking a pardon from Carew who was based at Leighlin.²⁷⁶ Garret sought to have charge of one hundred men and with them promised to defeat the rebels very quickly. The council had hopes that the rebellion might soon finish. Wallop hoped in that event that he might receive Mary Travers's property in Monkstown. In his request he noted that Mary 'is above 30 years of age and never had child'.²⁷⁷ Wallop, like many of his co-administrators,

looked to the speedy conclusion of the rebellion and the spacing out of the spoils where there was no heir to protest or contest.

Grey's worries increased by reports from the continent that Spain intended to avenge the massacre at Smerwick by sending an army of ten thousand against him,²⁷⁸ and these were compounded by the state of his army: 'the imperfections of the bands due to the evil choice of men sent, and to a pestilent ague prevalent during the whole winter'.²⁷⁹ He hoped fresh men might soon arrive from England to meet and conclude the challenges of the island. Grey summed up his policy to achieve this desired end -

To force the rebel from the seaside we need not, for the inward country is his own seeking, finding there all his relief and sustenance, and all our travel is to drive him to the coasts where neither fastness for himself nor succour for his create (sic), but seldom is found.

280

Grey also viewed his military efforts in a missionary light. He complained 'that God's cause is made a second or nothing at all'.²⁸¹ Grey felt that the wrong approach was being taken:

For the many challenges and instructions that I have received for the civil and political government and care taking to the husbandry of worldly treasure, where is there one article that concerns the looking to God's due service - seeing of His church fed with true food - and repressing of superstition and idolatory, wherewith the groves of Canaan were surely no more filled nor infested than this lamentable Ireland is.

282

Grey felt he had little power to change these affairs and concluded: 'Help me away again for God's sake'.²⁸³

By April 1581 Grey's doggedness in dealing with the Leinster rebels produced two important captures for him - those of Thomas and William Eustace. The garrisons had been placed in and around County Wicklow. Fiach MacHugh, Garret O'Toole and their followers had numerous skirmishes with the garrisons and during one Garret O'Toole was killed and 'some of their best men slain'.²⁸⁴ Grey's continued initiative led to hopes that with 'the service being followed now they begin to drop this away'.²⁸⁵ It was expected that Baltinglass himself might soon be caught 'or driven to fly this their fastness'.²⁸⁶ The mood was optimistic from Grey's viewpoint. By the end of April the threatened general uprisings had been averted:

The Pale with the borders thereof are now in reasonable good quiet, the O'Mores having been for the most part dispatched and like occasion watched to rid the O'Connors who as yet have done no hurt but taking of meat and drink violently yet they flock in great companies and give manifest signs that they would burst out if they durst but they are so observed by Captain Mackworth that they shall not be able to do any act of hostility.

287

At this point, undoubtedly spurred on by the continued imprisonment of the baron of Delvin, the Nugents openly defied the government. Despite their involvement in the planning stages of the Baltinglass revolt their non-participation until then demonstrates that open displays of hostility on their part were for the release of the baron. They were not caused by their commitment to the furtherance of this religious revolt. The strands of the Baltinglass-Nugent revolts shared a common conception, yet it is possible to separate them and view each

revolt becoming dedicated to different aims. The Nugent revolt is extremely well documented in the State Papers.²⁸⁸ Suffice it to note at this point that William Nugent, his illegitimate brother and Brian McGeoghegan fled to the borders of Westmeath and thence to Turlough Luineach's camp where they were afforded refuge.²⁸⁹ Turlough Luineach continued to play the rôle which he had played in Baltinglass's revolt: 'he still maketh great shows and brags without any open act of hostility while nevertheless he only nourisheth and relieveth the flame that burneth over all the whole realm'.²⁹⁰ So effective was Turlough Luineach at stirring up trouble without actually being in the centre of it that a report said of him: 'he ceaseth not continually by his messengers to animate the rebels in every province to receive and cherish such as fly to him when they can no longer hold out'.²⁹¹ This report even termed him as 'the very root or seedman of all the rebellion of Ireland'.²⁹²

For Grey the capture of Thomas Eustace was one step towards the ending of the revolt. Piers JitzJames, 'a gentleman of the Geraldines ... a man well known to Sir William Fitzwilliam' accompanied by some of the English captains and soldiers, entered one of the haunts of Baltinglass.²⁹³ Ironically one of these captains was Thomas Lee, the husband of Eustace's sister, Elizabeth.²⁹⁴ He captured Thomas Eustace and a near kinsman and 'slew divers of their company'.²⁹⁵ Lawrence Sutton was also captured. Baltinglass's brother William was captured on 22 April 1581.²⁹⁶ William who was said to be the 'mischievous man of all the rest' had actively

contributed to the revolt.²⁹⁷ White reported that 'as misery of these stirs be the constant of the poor soldiers, so the country is generally wasted atwixt the violence of the rebels and the excessive zeal of such as persecute them'.²⁹⁸ The sergeant-major and the captains arrived in Dublin with Thomas Eustace, his cousin and the head of William Eustace and of two other 'notable villains his followers, whom they lighted upon this morning in their way, having had intelligence as they came, where he had been spoiling the night before on the borders of County Kildare'.²⁹⁹ This was a severe blow for Baltinglass; the death of a brother and the imminent death of a second captured for his cause, disturbed him greatly. Yet he continued with his resistance. Another defeat came when Murrough McEdmond O'Byrne, described as being 'in her majesty's pay' encountered some of Fiach MacHugh's horsemen and footmen and 'behaved himself so valiantly as he sent hither four or his best horsemen's heads and killed many of the footmen'.³⁰⁰ These victories, coupled with the news that the O'Mores were hemmed in by Captain North, and that Ormond had killed one hundred of Desmond's followers in a wood, encouraged Grey to continue his Spring offensive.³⁰¹

There was a reward of £500 offered for the capture of Baltinglass and £100 for the capture of each of his brothers.³⁰² Another member of the Eustace family had already been captured in October 1580.³⁰³ He was Christopher Eustace, a cousin of Baltinglass and a student of civil law at the University of Salamanca. He was 'properly learned but a papist of the highest

degree'.³⁰⁴ He was imprisoned in Dublin Castle and examined. He impeached 'many gentlemen of good living in the Pale'. Waterhouse was pleased to note that the principal persons amongst which I assure myself above a thousand pounds land will be gotten to her majesty'.³⁰⁵ He advised Walsingham to use up the profits of the sale of their lands to defray the expense of the rebellion. Christopher's confession is unfortunately not extant. By the end of April 1581 it seemed as if the revolt was dying out. Philip II advised de Mendoza, his ambassador in London that he was to

report everything you hear and especially about Ireland and whether you think there is any probability of the Catholics there coming to terms with the queen, as it is asserted here that some negotiations are going on with the viceroy.

306

Grey entertained hopes that Turlough Luineach would accept a pardon.³⁰⁷ Grey was also aware that like many men of power he had enemies at court who used his absence in Ireland as a means of ingratiating themselves with Elizabeth through his denigration. The marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou were still continuing, but the rebellions in Ireland, as perceived on the continent, were to an extent shaping them. Lord Burghley reported that he was aware of

... the invasion of Ireland by the Pope's means; the determination of the Pope to stir up rebellion in this realm by sending in a number of English Jesuits who have both by public books of challenges and by secret instructions and seductions of a great number of people, procured a great defection of many people to relinquish their obedience to Her Majesty and to acknowledge the Pope as a person able by his power to transfer this crown from Her Majesty to whom he will.

308

Taken in the context of a threat to the safety of Elizabeth's throne it was vital for Grey to expedite his offensive in Ireland to a successful conclusion. Malby continued to hold sway in Connacht having control of all but 'O'Rourke and the earl's sons'.³⁰⁹ The Munster rebels gained two adherents - 'two principal persons of the Decies' who added one hundred and forty swordsmen to the Desmond ranks and this continued to be a major source of worry for Grey.³¹⁰ The O'Mores, James's allies, were well checked having been 'greatly scourged these six weeks and lost near to a hundred of their principal followers and some of their best bands'.³¹¹ The O'Connors continued 'to do much outrage' - 'albeit a sound plan is laid for their correction'.³¹² The Kavanaghs, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles suffered many losses during the winter of 1580-1 at the hands of the garrisons Grey had planted among them. Grey determined to proceed against these clans immediately, provided that Turlough Luineach, who continued to conspire with and encourage William Nugent and his followers in his camp, did not use his usual ploy of luring Grey northwards, away from the Leinster rebels at opportune times. Henry Wallop confided to Burghley that 'I hear Grey like his predecessors is not having his doing interpreted at home in the best sense'.³¹³ Wallop feared the concerted action of all the various bands of rebels 'would undoubtedly consume the country with sword and fire'.³¹⁴ Bagenal warned Walsingham that Turlough Luineach and Sorly Boy MacDonald might yet aid William Nugent and join with Baltinglass. If so he declared 'the flame from this northern fire will hardly be quenched'.³¹⁵

The pardon, offered by Elizabeth, had few takers if any. Grey needed six thousand men if he was to hold sway in Ireland. Elizabeth remained cautious, slowly raising four thousand men in Leicestershire; she hoped a pardon offered to the rebels might yet solve the problem.³¹⁶ Grey, despite mounting difficulties, continued his offensive campaign. He constructed forts about the Pale to prevent raids on it by the rebels. The rebels slaughtered two companies of Irishmen who were helping to construct these forts. The opinion on the rebellions in England was that although the principal families were in revolt, they were not in harmony with each other and thus were not making the expected progress. They remained in their own territories and concerned themselves mainly with the preservation of their lives and with staying clear of capture:

The result is that their forces are of little service, disunited as they are, and unable to withstand separately the attacks of the English, for this reason the Queen is temporising and delaying the despatch of the large force which the viceroy requests.

317

Elizabeth feared the unification of all rebel forces such an arrival might cause and was gaining time with promises and favours. Grey met with increasing difficulties and opposition and mistrust. He suffered a defeat, losing two hundred men in early July 1581 in an encounter with a Desmond supporter. The Spanish ambassador reported that

Lord Grey is said to be so unpopular that the queen thought of recalling him but, Leicester and his party, being as great heretics as he is, have insisted upon his retention, and have persuaded her to send another general pardon.

318

This loss on the deputy's side was, however, balanced out by the slaughter of two hundred Kavanaghs of the sept of Art Boy by Russell's and Stanley's troops which Waterhouse hoped would lead to a conclusion of Baltinglass's revolt, particularly as he noted 'since the proclaiming of the general pardon I hear of none in the Pale that desire the benefit of it'.³¹⁹ Turlough Luineach continued to harass Grey who with Wallop, Bagenal and his army marched northwards to attempt to aid O'Donnell and to 'stay the said Turlough's attempts against the Pale'.³²⁰ After several attempts at parley Grey and Turlough concluded a peace of which Grey 'neither for the surety of it, nor honour can I greatly commend'.³²¹ Grey felt however that peace was more acceptable to Elizabeth than expensive campaigning. He was keenly aware that enemies at court were speaking against him. He could not afford Elizabeth's displeasure. Grey sent a full account of this northern campaign because 'finding hard taking and diversely construing of all my doings here hath willed me to lay before your Highness the whole circumstance of the action, submitting the same to the censure your Highness shall think it to deserve'.³²²

Grey advised Elizabeth that force was essential to the upkeep of the law and order in Ireland. However he resigned himself to the fact that Elizabeth would be most economical with the extent of this force; he wrote

I see it pleaseth not God to give it short success and end to things, as your Majesty expecteth. I see that my service thus becomes altogether condemned and disfavoured the contrary whereof, God I call to record, hath ever been the only project of my gain. 323

Grey attempted to justify his military policy to his monarch by asking

Am I then to be blamed, if I seek to be rid of it, that causes me my greatest grief, which is your disfavour and puts me hopeless of my greatest comfort, which is your Highness's favour and good grace?

324

Grey begged to be released from his position in Ireland. He solicited his monarch, 'Take me from this place which I perceive, do what I can, will be the daily increase of my hell and continuall stay of my lifes'.³²⁵

Grey determined to make one last effort against Baltinglass. Almost a full year had passed since the former's ignominious defeat at Glenmalure where he had hoped to put an expeditious end to the revolt. He resolved, on returning from his northern campaign, to attempt once again to stamp out the smouldering rebellion in the Pale. Grey hoped 'not to depart till I have broken that nest, whereof with God's favour, I make no doubt, though some lives it will cost'.³²⁶ Grey was becoming disheartened by the lack of progress. He still encountered major difficulties with his soldiers who had achieved little against the Leinster rebels while he was in the north because he reported -

... it hath pleased God, so to visit them with a pestilent fever, as more than half the numbers are laid low, many have died, so that rather to defend than offend they have been driven.

327

Grey was driven to such constraints by these misfortunes and also by desertions of the English soldiers that he had to

consider even using Irish soldiers in his bands, 'a thing yet I cannot deny but very perilous'.³²⁸ Grey explained to Elizabeth that although all the various rebel sects had not united, yet some kept together and were difficult to isolate. This he found in particular with Baltinglass, the O'Byrnes, the O'Tooles and the Kavanaghs.³²⁹ He hoped to appoint a governor over the Kavanaghs who had constantly sheltered Baltinglass and his men in their mountain hideouts.

Prior to leaving on the campaign of August 1581, Grey had the encouragement of receiving the submission of Fiach MacHugh which he accepted 'notwithstanding his notable misdemeanours'.³³⁰ Connor McCormack O'Connor also submitted. Grey was cautious about the permanence of these theoretical victories as 'the Irish are so addicted to treachery, and breach of fidelity, as longer than they find the yoke in their neck they respect not either pledge, affinity or duty'.³³¹ In fact Grey suspected it might merely be a ruse to postpone further insurrection until after the harvest. Grey's expedition to intercept Baltinglass failed and once again he was unable to keep after his quarry as events in Munster demanded his attention. He appointed his officials and captains to deal with the problems in Leinster.³³² Baltinglass did not score any notable victory, yet his revolt smouldered on and he continued to elude capture. Fenton reported, however, that Baltinglass 'wandereth in great astonishment'.³³³ His rebellion was reaching a conclusion. Baltinglass had about three hundred followers and stayed in the mountain reaches.³³⁴ He left the relative safety of these haunts in

mid-September and with Captain Garret joined the O'Connors.³³⁵ Their forces burned Clondalkin and part of Kill and three other villages.³³⁶ In these dying moments of his rebellion, the Nugent conspiracy gained ground.³³⁷ But for Eustace it was too late. The Baltinglass revolt, under his personal leadership, was over. Eustace and his friend and adviser Fr Rochford fled Ireland most dramatically and found refuge in the court of King Philip II.

The hopes of a further rebellion lived on, fuelled by letter from Baltinglass in Rome and in Madrid. There were concrete expectations of aid from Philip II but these never materialised. The raid on Clondalkin, Kill and the three villages was the culminating point of Eustace's personal involvement in his fight for the freedom of Catholic practice and worship.

At this point it may be useful to examine how Baltinglass's rebellion was perceived from a continental viewpoint. An examination of how perspectives changed and reports became exaggerated as news of it spread to its continental sympathisers will demonstrate the impact which Baltinglass's revolt had on the continent. Elizabeth was becoming increasingly concerned about the threat of a continental invasion as the summer of 1580 progressed. The Venetian ambassador to France, Lorenzo Privuli, reported that a strict guard was kept on all ports.³³⁸ The queen summoned the nobles together to reassure herself of their loyalty and fidelity but Privuli misleadingly wrote 'that many had fled to Ireland where they have joined the

rebels'.³³⁹ This was totally untrue. The rebels awaited only the arrival of 1,000 soldiers, levied in the pope's name in Biscany, and their artillery. Privuli further elaborated that the rebels had control of the country districts and needed but gunpowder, arms and money to complete their victory. This was an inaccurate summation of the events in Ireland up to September 1580. The official may have hoped to boost the importance of the rebellion and thus gain more support for it and so undermine Elizabeth's authority or perhaps he was just passing on information he believed to be true. These observations boosted the expectation of Catholic exiles abroad. The exiles including the earl of Westmoreland and others in St Germain in France grew confident of returning to England particularly if King Philip II would undertake to send an expeditionary force to Ireland with the ultimate aim of dethroning Elizabeth. Don Pietro was to join in with the expedition and the war was to be fought in 'His Holiness's name to restore the kingdom of England to the true Catholic religion and to give the crown to the person who has the right to possess it'.³⁴⁰ Such were the ideals and expectations envisaged by continental sympathisers and indeed shared by Baltinglass. Yet the reports of his successes were so exaggerated and the expectations so high that these ideals by contrast with the facts were completely unreal, one could say, unattainable.

The arrival of '4 ships and a galley sent from the pope and accompanied by his nuncio' at Dingle proved these reports to be true in a limited respect.³⁴¹ Rumour also had it that

Charles Brown, who had served Philip II in Flanders and in Spain over a long period, had also arrived with the Spaniards. Charles was the illegitimate son of Sir Anthony Brown, the father of the countess of Kildare.³⁴² The rumours of the magnitude of Baltinglass's revolt increased. The Spanish ambassador, de Mendoza reported on 16 October 1580 that 1500 troops, seven large ships and an Aragonese vessel containing sufficient troops to cope with the queen's forces had landed in Ireland.³⁴³ Rebellion was rife: Turlough O'Neill killed three hundred of Grey's men and burned three or four towns whilst the Desmonds inflicted defeats on Pelham. The earl of Kildare was defeated in a skirmish against Baltinglass. These lists of defeats however, the ambassador claimed, were kept a carefully guarded secret in England so as to preserve public morale. This perception for King Philip II and his advisers also painted a very successful united rebellion of the Desmonds, O'Neill and Baltinglass and seemed to suggest that victory with ongoing continental aid was a certainty.³⁴⁴

This optimism was also in the despatch which reported that in Munster the Desmonds were sustaining 'the side of His Holiness whilst in Leinster Viscount Baltinglass, Fiach MacHugh and other influential persons were likewise holding the fort'.³⁴⁵ The viewpoint all the time was one of unity. The rebellion was portrayed as a powerful, sweeping force. The report described how the Desmonds joined with Colonel Sebastian St Joseph and his forces. The Desmonds had sixty horse and 1,000 foot. They were reinforced by Baltinglass who had sixty horse, 400 foot and 100 harquebussiers. The colonel had 400 foot and

munitions. Baltinglass had been in revolt for about three months. His rebellion was not however viewed as an individual's outburst, fuelled by personal commitment, but rather as part of an overall, continental offensive based in Munster, Leinster and Ulster whose aim was to depose Elizabeth and oust Protestantism from Ireland and even in the long-term from England. To the achievement of this aim 'the whole of the population is favourable and if they saw any strength, they would all rise for the cause except the earl of Ormond',³⁴⁶ This optimism was conveyed through Fr Mathew de Oviedo who went from the Desmonds to Pope Gregory XIII and to Philip II to solicit further aid for Ireland so that 'the whole of this country may with the help of God be brought to submit to the Holy Catholic faith',³⁴⁷

By the end of October 1580 de Mendoza became aware of the suspicions against Kildare. He wrote that this 'causes them all to hold all decisions in suspense as they think that if Kildare goes over altogether, it will be necessary to take an entirely different course',³⁴⁸ This is an interesting speculation on the administration's conception of Kildare and his rôle. It opens the possible interpretation that Kildare, although obviously disloyal, was more safely considered as loyal and it also demonstrates the awe the house of Kildare could still inspire. On 13 November de Mendoza divulged that Kildare, in poor health, was under great suspicion.³⁴⁹ Elizabeth had ordered 800 men to leave Bristol to join Grey. The general consensus of the reports reaching the continent

was so exaggerated and so full of false optimism regarding the power and unity of the rebellion that fears grew that Philip II might become too powerful a monarch. This perception of the threat of the rising dominance of the Spanish king 'was becoming hourly greater', so much so that Cardinal Biragnes advised Privuli that the Venetians 'ought to devise some strong defensive league in order to impede the dominion to which the Spaniards aspired'.³⁵⁰ However Privuli wisely confided that he 'burned the conversation'.³⁵¹ The Irish dimension abroad was grossly exaggerated: for example at the battle of Glenmalure, the report was that 6,000 of Grey's forces were killed or taken prisoner and the victory combined with the good news of the arrival of Spanish and Italian soldiers in Smerwick, spurred 'many inhabitants of the country' on to declare themselves Catholics and to join in with the insurgents.³⁵² Such were the interpretations of the Baltinglass and Desmond revolts on the continent.

The continental perception of Baltinglass's planning, negotiating and achievements can better be understood through the confessions of Christopher Barnewall, 'who had served the late viscount of Baltinglass in household before the beginning of his rebellion and was since employed by him in his secret affairs here, and in foreign negotiations'.³⁵³ He was also described as 'being of a good family in the Pale'.³⁵⁴ Barnewall had received a letter from Baltinglass on 21 June 1581 instructing him to go to Fr Richard Eustace in Paris and to ask him to intercede with the pope and the king of Spain that

'according to their promise made to the said viscount and the rest of his confederates, that they should sent unto them aid presently'.³⁵⁵ Teig Roe, Baltinglass's servant, delivered this letter to Barnewall and seven pounds in Spanish gold. He also gave Barnewall another letter from Baltinglass for William Nugent. This letter was given to Lady Delvin's chaplain who delivered it to John Cusack of Ellistonrede and he passed it to William Nugent.³⁵⁶ Baltinglass was still holding out in the Wicklow mountains. Rumours abounded that he would soon be aided by ten thousand men sent from the pope.

Baltinglass had also written letters to his merchant friends in Dublin, William Fitzsimon and Michael Fitzsimon of the Furrows.³⁵⁷ These men arranged for Barnewall's safe passage from the country. Michael Fitzsimon and 'one Richard Travers a scholar', also wanted to travel to Rome, and were unable to because of lack of finance.³⁵⁸ Eustace had ample funds to send Barnewall abroad with a considerable sum. Barnewall travelled with James Maguire, Edmund Eustace's servant who later died in poverty in Italy.³⁵⁹

The rector of the Jesuit house in Paris received assurances from Fr Henry Sedgrave, whom he described as good, loyal and reliable and a student for several years in the Jesuit house, about these two young men who had arrived from Ireland - Christopher Barnewall and James Maguire.³⁶⁰ They left Paris for Rome to importune the pope to aid Baltinglass and his cause. The papal nuncio in Paris agreed to write a letter of recommendation at the rector's request for these two men to

the papal secretary of state; they were unsure of the extent of Fr Richard Eustace's influence in Rome.

Barnewall met with Fr Richard Eustace in Rome and gave him the viscount's letters. The priest was in poor circumstances and had no access to the pope. James Eustace had made monetary provision for his brother before he undertook the rebellion and one can only conclude that dishonest messengers or merchants - such as Robert Walshe of Waterford had proved to be, abounded. Fr Richard Eustace was however able to arrange a meeting for Barnewall with Dr Dermot O'Hurley, later archbishop of Cashel, and described by Wallop as 'a lodger at Rome for a long time, soliciting all matters that hath been there attempted to the prejudice of her majesty's proceedings here in this realm and the disturbing of this state'.³⁶¹ Dr O'Hurley questioned him minutely on events in Ireland, particularly on the involvement of Kildare and Delvin and the reason for their imprisonment.³⁶² Dr O'Hurley concluded his examination and brought Barnewall to the pope's secretary, the cardinal of Como, to whom the matters were related. The cardinal then asked 'Who would trust an Irishman? The earl promised to take our part'.³⁶³ Dr O'Hurley said he thought Kildare had not committed himself to taking up arms. The cardinal went into his study and produced two writings:

the one a great writing whereat the bishop sais the most part of the lords and gentlemen of Ulster, Munster and Connaught had subscribed, the other was a letter from the earl of Kildare alone, which the cardinal showed to the archbishop as rebuking him for not believing him.

Barnewall said these proceedings were translated for him by Fr Richard Eustace and also by Dr O'Hurley. The cardinal of Como asked at the end of the conference: 'Do you think that we would have trusted to James Fitzmaurice or to Stukely or to all these letters (which subscribed the great letter) unless we had received this letter from the earl of Kildare?'³⁶⁵

Barnewall, on the cardinal's admission, clearly implicated Kildare in Baltinglass's revolt. It is interesting again to observe the power, the trust, the confidence which the Kildare name was able to exude and instill on the continent. The conference concluded with the cardinal saying the pope had no money for 'none of their nation', and also that the Irish men in Rome cursed the earl of Kildare for breaking his promise and they prayed 'for the viscount and the earl of Desmond and all their confederates'.³⁶⁶ The actual rebellion - its events and the support it mustered - was represented and perceived much differently on the continent than was its reality in Ireland.

Chapter V

REACTIONS, EXAMINATIONS AND EXECUTIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE REBELLION

James's escape from Ireland was a carefully planned one. Once again he met with co-operation and amity. James, his brother Edmund and Fr Rochford travelled through Laois, lodging one night in the house of Molang Ron O'Kelly.¹ They had a late supper. A boy, claiming to be Kildare's servant, arrived and told Baltinglass 'It is now the time that you depart from here; come with me, with all haste'.² The youthful messenger warned the viscount of the lurking dangers, giving details of the fords on the river Barrow that were well guarded. He guided his charges to Cloughrennan, travelling all night through bogs and passes. The fugitives swam beside their horses. They crossed the river Barrow and travelled to Glenes 'without any annoyance at all'.³ They arrived in Wexford, the native town of Fr Rochford, staying in safe houses. There were close links between the Wexford merchants and the continent. They had acted as couriers to James Fitzmaurice. Baltinglass and Fr Rochford received shelter from a group of sailors and a baker, Matthew Lambert. Rev John Howlin, S.J., of Wexford, describing their incarceration and death, spoke of their deep faith. These men of no property were hanged for their aid to Baltinglass and Fr Rochford. Matthew Lambert, when asked how he reconciled his loyalty to the pope with his loyalty to the queen, replied that he was an unlettered man, unable to discuss such matters: he was a Catholic and held the faith of the Catholic Church.⁴ Edmund Eustace left

his brother and headed for Ulster where Turlough Luineach and William Nugent were conspiring.⁵ Baltinglass and Fr Rochford spent some time in hiding in the remote Mulrankin castle in Wexford.⁶ They remained in Mulrankin castle, home of the Brownes, until a safe passage by ship was obtained for them. Their escape by sea was planned and executed by Gryffon McMurrrough Kavanagh.⁷ Gryffon had been an ally of Baltinglass and had 'stirred up war and rebellion and joining his forces with Baltinglass and Fiach MacHugh burned and spoiled all the queen's subjects'.⁸ He had been pardoned by Grey in the general pardon of 1581. Gryffon succeeded in helping Baltinglass and Fr Rochford escape to Spain but he himself was later captured by Thomas Masterson, brought to Dublin where he was tried and executed for treason for facilitating the escape of these proclaimed traitors.⁹

Baltinglass and Fr Rochford got a safe passage on board a Scottish ship bound for Spain in November 1581. The spy John Danyell, who termed himself 'the earl of Ormond's man' reported to Walsingham that 'I do heartily pray unto the almighty God to confound them and all the rest of their associates and send her majesty continual victories over all her enemies'.¹⁰ Danyell offered to follow Baltinglass overseas. He advised:

It is supposed that they will do what they may to procure foreign aid and to come into this realm. It is likewise thought for their better furtherance they are assured of many in this realm, who seem as yet loyal subjects.

This fear that Baltinglass had support in important families continued to plague officials even though he had fled the country. Baltinglass wrote a letter to his ally, Fiach MacHugh whilst on board the Scottish ship. This letter was intercepted by government officials and Fenton commented:

For my part I cannot imagine this escape to carry other intention than to solicit a new preparation of forces hither from Spain and from other foreign parts whom they may find most inclined to minister to their faction here.

12

Grey thought he had some success with Fiach MacHugh after Baltinglass's flight but Felim O'Toole in alliance with the O'Connors and the remains of the viscount's own forces were wandering 'up and down watching where he may invade and do harm'.¹³ The lord deputy was uneasy because although the Kavanaghs pledged peace and the O'Mores were 'greatly diminished by slaughter and not able to commit such open outrages as they were wont',¹⁴ yet the majority of rebels continued to hold out and refused terms of peace. Throughout the country, Grey found continuing pockets of arrogant rebellion and the Nugent conspiracy, like the Baltinglass one, involved many Pale gentlemen.

On 17 November 1581 the mountain rebels, numbering forty to fifty, at nine o'clock at night stole into the cottages in St. Patrick's Street in Dublin's suburbs, the property of Loftus.¹⁵ They burned twenty to thirty houses, killed the two people who raised the alarm and then 'without any tarrying upon this their enterprise ran away'.¹⁶ One of the stokers was

captured during their flight; he carried all the essentials for the burning of the houses. He was examined but only confessed to be from the Ranelagh area of Fiach MacHugh's lands. Grey despatched Captain Denny to the garrison in Wicklow the following morning. There he met with Garret O'Toole, eldest son of Phelim, 'the only open rebel of these parts',¹⁷ and accompanied by forty swordsmen. Words were exchanged, bickering led to fighting and Garret and ten of his men were beheaded. The council were pleased because 'the firing of our cottages is reasonably requited, God be thanked'.¹⁸

Fenton recommended that a spy ought to be posted in their midst 'not only to observe what draughts these traitors draw there, but also to meet with them and to lay to intercept their plans'.¹⁹ Fenton also remarked that the arraignment and trials of those involved in the Baltinglass conspiracy and the Nugent conspiracy were in progress and judgements were expected within five to six days.²⁰ Fenton gloried in the fact that

those heads and chieftains thus fled and gone will be little encouraged to incense their princes and power when they shall hear of the ruin and most reversal of eighty many principal members whom they left behind.

21

Baltinglass's comrade John of Desmond, surprised in a wood with two followers, was killed on 2 January 1582.²² Desmond regretted he could not live longer to do 'much greater hurt' to Elizabeth.²³ He wore an Agnus Dei, set in turquoise and gold about his neck and his companion reported that the earl of Desmond was in severe distress, 'driven to eat at

night the cows that they get by prey or pillage during the day.²⁴ In the midst of such death, defeat and the execution of the Pale conspirators, word continued to filter from Spain to Ireland that Baltinglass would return with a sizeable army.²⁵ Zouche recommended that such a threat be prepared for by speedily providing gunpowder, lead and match to the castle stores. At the end of January Baltinglass's messenger to County Wexford was apprehended.²⁶ The rumours of a continental invasion persisted; in March the rumour was that Philip II was granted Ireland by the pope and intended to send an invading army of twelve thousand men.²⁷

Grey sent for this spy and hoped 'that very like it is great matter may be gotten out of him'.²⁸ The wary and seasoned soldier Zouche feared the power of the influence of Eustace and expected him to arrive with Spanish aid; he warned that even in England 'the rebels have better friends and advertisement in the court than I have'.²⁹ The earl of Kildare and the baron of Delvin were sent to England in the custody of Sir Nicholas Bagenal.³⁰ Fiach MacHugh's sister married Tadhg McGiolla Patrick O'Connor but instead of receiving a ready ally to continue his rebellion the O'Connors began to withdraw from the fray.³¹ Fiach attempted to unite the Kavanagh sects, assuring them of definite foreign aid led by James Eustace.³² But already too many people had been executed, Kildare and Delvin's trials were taking place in London and Grey persisted, despite ongoing rumours against him, in his campaign against the isolated pockets of rebels.

James Eustace travelled from Spain to Rome where his brother, Fr Richard Eustace, had arrived from Paris.³³ Fr Richard Eustace was an excellent linguist in French, Italian and Latin as well as Irish and English.³⁴ The expectations on the continent of the success of the revolt were as usual over-optimistic and often inaccurate. An Irish captain, John Fleming, who served at the prince of Parma's court, received a letter from one Moore, an 'Irish gent', pensioner to the king of Spain and then serving at Naples, that Baltinglass had 'very good success in the Irish cause he had followed with his Holiness' and he expected to meet with William Nugent, Brian McGeoghegan - then in Naples - and also the earl of Desmond who was daily expected in Madrid.³⁵ Moore wrote of 'a secret and weighty enterprise'.³⁶ He was obviously out of touch with the course the rebellion had taken in Ireland. By contrast with these hopes of glory a report came to Sir Patrick White from a Waterford merchant that an Irish priest, long time resident in Madrid, said Baltinglass was 'in poor estate and comes not much abroad' and that Fr Rochford had joined a house of Jesuits in Madrid.³⁷

In December 1582 Baltinglass wrote from Madrid to Pope Gregory XIII.³⁸ He wished that God might return in abundance grace and satisfaction to the pope for his concern in Ireland. He wrote: 'We will truly undertake for your Holiness whatever affairs you direct us to alleviate our pressing poverty'.³⁹ Baltinglass affirmed that his hope and confidence had been sustained, despite defeat, by his trust in 'the most Catholic and invincible king'⁴⁰ and he believed the work he had

commenced in Ireland would continue. He was encouraged and was optimistic that Philip II would aid his enterprise in Ireland. Baltinglass was working with Bishop Remus of Leinster, who shared his optimism. Baltinglass wrote 'But as far as I am concerned King Philip will truly summon a fleet and have soldiers ready while meantime your Holiness and he are appraising the situation'.⁴¹ Baltinglass had a good grasp of the political situation and the difficulties facing the Spanish monarch; he continued:

Nevertheless it can be seen, without property or wealth, one cannot be in control, and it is true that the royal treasury had great expenses in Flanders and also while wealth is drained from Spain, it is inevitable, Holy Father, in these circumstances, that we approach your Holiness, abjectly calling on you for aid in your mercy and generosity to help us who are shattered by our circumstances and to succour us deeming us worthy. 42

Baltinglass described himself as being 'shattered'. When one considers the immense personal loss of family he had endured and his attainder and loss of his own property and wealth, one can understand the depths of his hurt; yet he never lost hope in his ideal, and continued to see it as an attainable reality could he but induce the papacy and the Spanish monarch to give him and his followers practical aid.⁴³ He had every intention of returning to Ireland to complete his mission. He wrote: 'Thus with the king's co-operation to equip a fleet and to set forth aided by your money, I could return'.⁴⁴ Baltinglass concluded his letter with the prayer 'May He (God) bless, augment and prosper the work'.⁴⁵ The viscount described himself as 'the son who at your feet, it is fitting to pay you

reverence' and Gregory XIII he termed the 'greatest of the popes'.⁴⁶ Fenton claimed the bond of friendship, being maintained by Baltinglass on the continent, continued to reach out to Ireland and its sympathisers. He confided that 'between the earl of Kildare and his friends abroad there cometh as liberal directions and intelligence as when he was at his greatest liberty'.⁴⁷ The continental backing or the promise of it was always present in the government officials' minds. They feared its actuality and they also feared the idealism which religious commitment was manifesting. Wallop divulged to Burghley that

the causes of their rebellion, my good Lord,
as I conceive them are these: the great
affection they generally bear to the popish
religion, which agreeth with their humour. 48

He continued on to say that the Irish people bend religion to their own tastes and satisfaction; receiving a pardon for their sins merely allowed them to commit the same again the following week. They viewed Elizabeth as a usurper and they 'have both Desmond and Baltinglass with their followers denounced openly like most victorious traitors'.⁴⁹

In mid-September 1582, the bishop of Killaloe arrived in Spain, sent by Desmond to hasten the preparations.⁵⁰ He was followed three weeks later by Fr Breggin who was also made a bishop by papal authority.⁵¹ The lord justices reported that their purpose in going to Spain was 'to solicit more forces, upon which hope all the rebels in Ireland do depend and especially Fiach MacHugh'.⁵² 'Fiach MacHugh and the O'Connors

have been these three weeks past accompanied with the two brethern of the Viscount Baltinglass'.⁵³ This sheltering of the Eustaces, the refusal to come to meetings, the 'often parleys with the loose men of Leinster' and the fact that Fiach had 'no manurants or tillage' done on his land convinced the officials that he was merely waiting for aid and the opportune time to continue what he and Baltinglass had begun.⁵⁴ They also feared what the bishop of Killaloe might achieve once he reached Italy and what William Nugent and his accomplices might produce in France whilst Baltinglass and his colleagues worked assiduously in Spain.

Meanwhile Kildare, the one time hope and source of continental confidence in the rebellion, wrote to Burghley: 'Though in mine own confession yesterday as I protested before you, I stand clear in my loyalty and fidelity to her Majesty ... ',⁵⁵ yet he feared, despite his proclaimed innocence, he would be found guilty and so he beseeched Burghley and his colleagues 'with all humbleness to be mediators unto her Majesty to extend her gracious pardon and favour towards me, her poor and most unfortunate subject and servant'.⁵⁶ Kildare begged for Elizabeth's princely clemency to have compassion on him and if her favour was not forthcoming, he had no desire to live. Baltinglass continued to trust and believe that his cause, despite the loss and disappointments and disowning, would yet prosper. This belief was to a measured extent also feared by some government officials in Ireland. Malby informed Burghley that 'it is reported that he (earl of Desmond) doth

expect foreign aid wherefore I have sent a bark from Galway to Spain and so to Lisbon to learn the certainty'.⁵⁷

For one who feared for his life in July 1581, Loftus quickly gained courage after Baltinglass's flight and made several petitions for his lands particularly those in Rathfarnham. Grey was made aware in 1581 that if the lords of the Pale, Kildare and others were to be pardoned and released, Loftus would be murdered.⁵⁸ Loftus declared that he 'lived in quasi imprisonment in my (the deputy's) house, or I would have been a dead man before this'.⁵⁹

The flight of Baltinglass, the discovery of the Nugent conspiracy, the oncoming harshness of winter which prevented or at least made very difficult the type of warfare the rebels engaged in and the extra information being collated all the while from confessions, voluntarily and involuntarily, rendered Loftus and his colleagues much braver men. By November 1581 the trials of the Pale conspirators were well under way. Loftus, Fenton and Malby informed Burghley that 'there have been called to trial sundrie conspirators within the Pale'.⁶⁰ These were executed while those 'residue which remain, being in the same estate of offense, are not unlike to go under the same fate', but the Englishmen pointed out to Burghley that these were 'gents of living and patrimony'.⁶¹ Their forfeited incomes would render 'a round increase of yearly revenue'.⁶² Seven men were convicted for their part in the Nugent conspiracy and three for their part in the Baltinglass revolt.⁶³ These were Thomas Eustace of Cardistown, his son Christopher Eustace,

and David Sutton. Baltinglass, his brother Edmund and Phelim O'Toole were termed 'traitors attainted by outlawry'.⁶⁴ Parts of their lands were also disposed of: Hacknell, steward of the lord deputy was granted lands of David Sutton; Sir William Russell was granted lands of Baltinglass, as was a Mr Edmund Denny who also received grants of Phelim O'Toole's lands.⁶⁵

A list of the executed rebels, given on 9 December 1581, included one Nicholas Cusack of Co. Meath, a farmer; Ferral O'Reilly 'a proper young gentleman of the O'Reillys which hath been from his youth bred and brought up in the Pale and served the viscount of Gormanstown against his own men, having neither land nor living'; also Thomas Eustace of Kerdiffstown and his eldest son (whose lands were leased for twenty one years to the deputy's steward Harknell).⁶⁶ David Sutton of Castletown 'a young gentleman of twenty six years' (a John Dyve, an attendant of Grey's, received part of his lands over a twenty-one year lease); his brother, John Sutton, aged nineteen and 'having neither land nor living' and also Maurice Eustace of Castle Martin - 'a young gentleman of twenty four years old', a Jesuit whose father handed him over to the authorities, having first settled his inheritance on his other son.⁶⁷

The confessions of William and Maurice Clynch, Patrick, Nicholas and Thomas Cusack, Robert, Thomas and John Scurlock, George Netterville, Christopher Bath and Hugh O'Carolan revealed that the Nugent plot was to be expedited with the capture of Malby and the ensuing freedom of Kildare and Delvin.⁶⁸ These confessions implicated James Fitzchristopher

and Oliver Nugent, uncles of William Nugent, as the instigators of this nephew to revolt rather than the Viscount Baltinglass. Like its sister conspiracy, the Nugent revolt was helped greatly in its initial stages by Delvin and his priests who acted as messengers. William Nugent owed his escape from capture in Ireland to Lady Delvin. Turlough Luineach also encouraged the revolt: he promised to assist it and assured them of 'a great number of Spaniards that would come into Ireland before Christmas'.⁶⁹

The confessions of Thomas Eustace revealed his belief in Kildare's innocence, he being convinced the latter would never take up arms against the queen.⁷⁰ Thomas Eustace also confessed that Thomas Meagh had a dispensation, brought to him by his brother James Meagh from the Bishop of Killaloe. Thomas was 'to stay within and yet do his best for them'.⁷¹ He also said Thomas Meagh was twice with James Eustace at Fannicor and from thence travelled to Fiach MacHugh and to Hugh Duff Ui Donaill. He also attested that Fiach MacHugh met Kildare at Yeardestown and afterwards left without attempting to take back the prey Kildare had earlier taken from the former's lands. When James Eustace enquired why Fiach McHugh and Hugh Duff did nothing to rescue this prey, the reply was 'the earl had no other way to keep him from suspicion but by taking the prey, being a matter they regarded not'.⁷²

By knowledge gleaned from the confessions of the Baltinglass and Nugent conspiracies, Fenton concluded that such treasons had a 'deep root' which was 'divided into so

many branches and members'.⁷³ He praised the jurors who

by a secret power of God working in their consciences, proceed in the trials with great uprightness, esteeming it a singular act of piety to their country to weed out such corrupt members and by their extirpation to assure the better their own estates.

74

Fenton praised the expeditious passage of 'justice' because

both the newness of the example (the like not having been seen here this many years) and the terror of a continual security and sharpness of justice to be holden upon them hereinafter according to this beginning. 75

Fenton praised the path of justice which 'cut off so many rotten members by whom the main body of their country was in danger to perish'.⁷⁶ The 'good sort are much comforted and assured', he eulogised.⁷⁷ The trials also had a quietening effect on the malcontents who were 'so stayed and terrified as Phelim O'Toole and William Nugent have made means of late to be taken in'.⁷⁸ Their submission was, however, dependent on too many conditions that were 'very unequal and dishonourable to the state'.⁷⁹ But Phelim, 'being the more stronger and dangerous enemy, offereth a more tolerable submission than the other'.⁸⁰ Fenton especially recommended the acceptance of Phelim's submission and felt confident enough to declare, 'I see not how it may be truly said that in the whole province of Leinster her majesty hath any enemy in the field against her'.⁸¹ Unlike the official consternation caused by the rebellion of Baltinglass, the potential of William Nugent as an insurrectionary was written off thus by Fenton:

For William Nugent, being left to a few horsemen and wandering with them, incertis sedibus, from wood to wood, is not to be reckoned in the light of an enemy able to maintain hostility, but as an outlaw and robber by night, which even in the most peaceable times hath been always usual in this land.

82

Fenton deduced that if O'Toole's submission were accepted and with the O'Mores and O'Connors 'already so curbed as needeth us strong persecution against them',⁷³ that the garrisons in Leinster could be greatly reduced. Fenton emphasised the importance of Phelim's submission and from it he saw would follow 'the full resolution of a peace in Leinster'.⁸⁴

The jurors' verdict on the conspirators of the Baltinglass and Nugent revolts was the ultimate one - high treason - for which the penalty was death. No time was lost in carrying it out. The names of the 'gentlemen of the county Kildare as have been condemned and executed this November last 1581, for the conspiracy with the Viscount Baltinglass in July and August 1580',⁸⁵ were: Maurice Eustace Fitzthomas of Castle-martin, Thomas Eustace and his son Christopher of Cardiston, Thomas Eustace, brother of Baltinglass, David Sutton of Castletown and his brother Thomas and Robert Fitzmorris Gerald, Walter Eustace, Richard Butler, the supposed illegitimate son of Sir Edmond Butler and 'a number of meaner calling which were executed by martial law'.⁸⁶ Baltinglass had to face the anguish and loss of four close relations, his brother Thomas and four friends - all executed for involvement in his cause. There were seven executions of 'gentlemen of county Meath' for their part in the Nugent conspiracy discovered in September

1581.⁸⁷ There were 'many others imprisoned for the same cause which are to be tried the next term'.⁸⁸

There is an eyewitness's account of the executions in the State Papers. Thomas Jones, preacher and later bishop of Meath and archbishop of Dublin, gave a moving account of the executions. He had attempted to dissuade these young men in their final moments from their commitment to Catholicism. He failed but managed to capture the depths of their sentiments. He described how on 18 November Netterville and Scurlock - both conspirators in the Nugent revolt - accompanied by Christopher Eustace joined in hymn and prayer from the castle gate to their place of execution.⁸⁹ Jones interrupted them at the 'Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis' exhorting them to pray only to God. But the reply was 'You lose your labour, Mr Parson, for it is not possible to bring us from our religion'.⁹⁰ Jones's repeated exhortations met with cries of 'Vade Satana, vade Satana'.⁹¹ Christopher Eustace asked, 'Is it not enough for you to have our lives but that you must seek also to draw us from our religion?'⁹² Religion remained the chief motivating factor of the rebellion. Its adherents remained committed to the fatal conclusion. In all nineteen young gentlemen were executed, besides many more of 'meaner calling who were executed by martial law'.⁹³

Fiach MacHugh's wife Kyle, daughter of Lucas O'Toole, was imprisoned for complicity with the rebellion.⁹⁴ Oliver Eustace 'a civilian, learned and wise but one of the chief workers of the conspiracy' was apprehended and in his

confessions 'revealed more than any other'.⁹⁵ Also arrested were Edmund Reagh, a messenger for Kildare and Eustace, Walter Eustace Fitzrichard, 'a base man of mean condition' and Philip Nash, 'a mean man brought in by Edmund Reagh'.⁹⁶

In the midst of the hostile and dangerous atmosphere created by the arrests, interrogations and executions, Robert Pipho felt constrained to have Waterhouse plead his innocence of any involvement with the rebels.⁹⁷ Waterhouse recommended Pipho highly for government service, assuring Walsingham 'that he will show himself (as in times past) a sufficient servant'.⁹⁸ Pipho was the victim of jealousy, Waterhouse continued, because 'in that he was very familiar with the earl of Kildare, and had married his niece who was mother to the wife of Baltinglass'.⁹⁹ This was true as Pipho had accompanied Kildare on many occasions, he was present at the muster on 4 July 1580 at Tara and at various forays and meetings. Pipho was not, however, Mary Travers's father but had married her widowed mother. Waterhouse also found that the location of Pipho's lands caused the rising feelings of discontent against him. He wrote, 'he was a borderer in the mountains and near neighbour to the viscount, it was expected that he should have given warning of the viscount's rebellion'¹⁰⁰ but Waterhouse was pleased that Pipho's explanation for inaction in this matter was adequate.

In May 1580 Pipho had an opportunity to display loyalty to the government. He reported to Walsingham that 'upon a

Thursday last in the night about eight o'clock, certain of the chiefest of the viscount's men to the number of thirty came to the town of Hollywood;¹⁰¹ they spoiled the houses and then entered the parish church and 'fearing nothing broke open a chest',¹⁰² which they knew contained a part of the wealth of the inhabitants. Pipho collected up what men and ammunition he could - twenty-nine men, six shot and six halberd and left seven to guard his own house. He led his men forcibly in through the church door and by his own account

for the space of an hour and a half were at blows but by God's help, my men had the victory and killed of them nine or ten of the best and took the rest away whom I brought with the others here to the lord deputy.

103

He was most anxious that his loyalty and good leadership be advertised among the officials. He promised to go to England as soon as possible where his son, who had broken his arm, was a 'great charge' to Walsingham.¹⁰⁴

The first of the Eustaces to be apprehended was Christopher Eustace, a student of the civil laws at Salamanca University; he was 'properly learned but a papist in the highest degree'.¹⁰⁵ When he was committed to prison in Dublin Castle in October 1580, he imputed all the treasonable accusations to his accuser Bowen. Waterhouse said Eustace charged Bowen that 'the speeches proceeded from Bowen to him and not from him to Bowen but being exceedingly well handled in his examinations by the lord chancellor, he confessed'.¹⁰⁶ By his confession he impeached 'many gentlemen of good livings in the Pale and some principal persons'.¹⁰⁷ Waterhouse

was pleased to comment that £1,000 could be added to the queen's coffers by the value of their lands.

Maurice Eustace was likewise captured and tried for conspiracy with Baltinglass. His father, John Eustace of Castlemartin, described as 'being a man zealously affected to her majesty's obedience and service', became suspicious of him, suspecting him 'to be privy and consenting to the conspiracy and traitorous conduct of the traitor James Eustace', and caused him to be apprehended and handed over to Grey.¹⁰⁸ Maurice was described as 'a youth of great promise', having entered the Jesuit house in Bruges.¹⁰⁹ He was a Master of Arts. His father called him home and had him arrested; at his interrogation he asserted that 'his object was not to incite rebellion, but only to satisfy his parents' request, and return as soon as possible to take his vows'.¹¹⁰ The judge's reply was:

Out of your own mouth I judge you; for as you say you are one of the Jesuits who are born to excite trouble and sedition, anyone must see you are guilty of the crimes you are accused of.

111

He then sentenced Maurice to death. Maurice's family ran into several legal difficulties after his execution. John, after handing up his son, made a new will in favour of another son, William. The officials preferred to view the executed Maurice as the heir because on his and his father's death, which occurred soon after his betrayal of his son, the rich lands would then fall to the crown. A lengthy and expensive legal wrangle ensued before William succeeded.¹¹² This execution

was a particularly sad one as the victim's family was his malefactor.

In February 1583 a Christopher Eustace was captured.¹¹³ He was a 'cousin germaine to the viscount, James Eustace, who had been in rebellion with him and was pardoned, with proviso to put in sureties (for his good behaviour and appaurance)',¹¹⁴ He was given four months to produce them but had failed to do so. Since his pardon, the lord justices complained, he had been 'an evil member, living only by robbing, spoiling and amongst traitors',¹¹⁵ They hoped that at the next sessions 'he is like to have his dessert',¹¹⁶

The execution of suspicious persons with treasonable intent continued after Grey's departure from Ireland on 31 August 1582.¹¹⁷ By the confessions extracted from these unnamed people, the officials concluded that James Eustace left his two brothers Edmond and Walter behind him to hold his followers together 'in continual evil actions and to persuade his confederates of his return with aid to their assistance'.¹¹⁸ This the two brothers succeeded in doing up to the winter of 1582-3. Then their allies began to fall away from them, 'the O'Connors and Kavanaghs were protected, and that the Galloglass inhabiting under the mountain were by policy won to service upon them'.¹¹⁹ Edmund was constrained to admit he could no longer hold out, his life being in perpetual danger, and accordingly he went to Ulster before embarking for Scotland. He eventually made his way to James in Spain. Walter, however, was 'more desperate in his actions and, hoping upon the relief of his

followers and less wise to forecast perils, remained still upon the border'.¹²⁰ Walter held out, a scourge to the law-abiding people and remained

executing not only many mischiefs in his own person but also being a colour to all that were loose and doubtful subjects (especially the O'Byrnes and Kavanaghs) to do injuries to the Pale under his name. 121

Several complaints were made against him.

Finally the officials conferred with 'some of the least affected borderers for the cutting off of such a member'.¹²² Robert Piphó, particularly helped them as his lands bordered on Baltinglass and he was, as has been shown, most conscientious to disprove any collusion on his part with the rebels.¹²³ Piphó and Brian Owre Kavanagh and Owen Onassey conspired for Walter's capture for which they undertook 'to adventure their lives in the same, so as they might be rewarded with pardon and the sum of 100 pounds'.¹²⁴ Secret meetings took place between these three and the government who afforded the secret protection. They succeeded in capturing Walter and five of his principal followers whom they brought on a Thursday to Piphó's house in Hollywood. Then with the assistance of Harrington's horsemen they conveyed them to Dublin on 13 June 1583. Piphó, Kavanagh and Owen Onassey then claimed their reward although the justices pleaded 'we were hardly able to borrow such money in this scarcity of treasure here'.¹²⁵ Still they hoped their actions would be wisely judged and appreciated as 'we doubt not but your lordships will receive of this our doing and like rewards being moderately given

upon good occasion'.¹²⁶ They also took the opportunity to praise Pipho who had felt accused of the shadows of disloyalty. The officials decided to lose no time in expediting Walter's execution and his followers' also - some called Tallons, his foster family and 'natural followers of the late viscount'.¹²⁷

Walter remained totally unco-operative during his interrogation. He was declared to be wilful and resolute and bore 'notable malice against her Majesty, obstinacy towards the state and extreme blindness in religion', in which he adhered to 'the doctrine of the popish Runagate'.¹²⁸ A preacher sought to dissuade Walter from his steadfast beliefs but was unable to make any impact on him. Walter remained firm, bolstered by the unshakeable conviction that James would return with a force and relieve the rebels.

Walter's examination reveals the depth of his religious conviction. He declared the chief reason for revolt was to defend the Catholic religion and 'for other peculiarities he was never made acquainted with any'.¹²⁹ He refused to name any of his brother's confederates and to most questions his answer remained 'obstinately that he knew nothing nor would disclose nothing'.¹³⁰ He defined his faith in the following terms: he believed in the precepts of the Catholic Church; 'that the pope is God's emperor upon earth, that he is the same Christ upon earth; that Christ Himself is in heaven; that all that do not believe in Him are out of the faith'.¹³¹ Walter concluded that he hoped to attain salvation through the intercession of the saints, especially Mary, Peter and Paul for without 'the invocation of them, he would never come to God

nor Christ, neither durst he for his sins. No more than a suitor might come to the deputy of Ireland but by a mediator'.¹³² Walter's faith and his deep commitment to it propelled him, just like James, to sacrifice all for it.

When questioned about Elizabeth's lawfulness as queen, he replied that

if she be of the Catholic faith, she is lawful queen, otherwise she is queen by her power and strength and not by her right. And that none ought to be prince of this land but such as believe as the pope believeth. 133

Walter was very positive that only a Catholic monarch should govern Ireland. When questioned about his offence to the queen through his rebellious actions, murdering her subjects and disturbing the public peace, he affirmed he had not committed any 'offence' against her because she was not a Catholic, rather 'what he had done he had done it for God's cause, and by authority from the pope'.¹³⁴ Walter shared the fanaticism of Grey when it came to disposing of people who did not share his religious beliefs. He explained that

touching the robbing and murdering of her people, God did not forbid it but rather commanded him to kill and rob all such as were out of the Catholic faith and religion of the pope who also had given him the residue authority to do so. 135

Walter then re-emphasised James's sentiments as expressed to Ormond in July 1580 about the unlawfulness of Elizabeth as queen; he declared he had no reason to 'repent him of anything done against her majesty for that he had done nothing against her as a lawful queen, being a Catholic'.¹³⁶ He refused, as

James did, to recognise her as queen.

He learned his unswerving beliefs from Dr Tanner, Fr Rochford and Sir Nicholas Eustace and others.¹³⁷ He stated he would die believing in that faith. His brief from James as he departed Ireland was 'to stand in and to maintain it and go forward in it as he would answer him on the day of Judgment'.¹³⁸ His brother James 'is greatly expected to return with foreign aid to defend the Catholic faith'.¹³⁹ When asked who would join with James should he return, Walter's reply was, 'All those that were of the Catholic faith, which was all Ireland'.¹⁴⁰ He refused to name any in particular other than the O'Byrnes and Kavanaghs 'with other nations of the Irishrie'.¹⁴¹ Walter must have been unaware of the identity of his own captors.

On 8 July 1583 a pardon was granted to Brian Owre mac Brian Kavanagh, termed 'gent of Clonemollyn, Co. Wexford', and to several other people 'in consideration of their good service in apprehending Walter Eustace' and his servants.¹⁴² Loftus, writing to Burghley on 24 August 1583, recommended Robert Pipho's good deed in apprehending Walter.¹⁴³ Loftus explained that he was

not long sithen made acquainted with some good proof we have gave thereof in a draft, which at our procurement he caused to be drawn upon Walter Eustace, which we then signified to be an especial good piece of service and since by proof have found it to be so, by the good quiet which we have had (in those parts of county Kildare where he haunted) ever sithen. 144

Walter had been an able opponent and a very active rebel and

Loftus and his colleagues felt the Baltinglass revolt was slowly but surely winding down with his execution.

The sequel to the reward paid to Owen Onassey had, however, an unusual twist. Brian Kavanagh and Owen Onassey received their reward immediately after delivering the prisoner.¹⁴⁵ They stayed within the city walls and were courteously treated. Then a rumour began to circulate that Onassey publicly said he had played a part in the killing of Sir Peter Carew, at the battle of Glenmalure in August 1580. His brother George, who had long sought the perpetrator, heard the rumour. On the eve of midsummer Kavanagh and Onassey were watching a group of youths 'in some show of arms according to an ancient custom here' in Dublin.¹⁴⁶ Carew accompanied by George Harvey and John Hill - veterans of Glenmalure - and some servants, took Onassey by his garment and asked him to identify himself. The consequences were swift: Carew 'thrust his dagger into his bosom, and presently one of his men shot him with a pistol and two bullets and gave him many wounds, whereof he presently died'.¹⁴⁷ Carew and Harvey fled; Hill remained, was imprisoned, but disclaimed all prior knowledge of the crime.

Kavanagh was completely unharmed. The government officials were horrified particularly as 'it was very foul and heinous in itself, done also in a public place and at a most inconvenient time, even in the view of the mayor and the citizens'.¹⁴⁸ The bad example afforded to the Irish onlookers and the fact that the victim actually had a written protection from the government for his personal safety, led the officials to

bemoan that

we cannot but note that the state is hereby dishonoured and our credit so much impaired, as hardly we shall be able to work the Irish to trust to our words or writings hereafter, much less to attempt any service against the rebels.

149

The main difficulty for the officials was the fact that the murder was so public; had it been executed without witnesses there would have been no necessity for such a public display of outrage. The council had to assemble at once in the Tolsell where a verdict of wilful murder was brought against the three gentlemen and two of Carew's servants. But they bewailed Carew's poor choice of time, place and occasion and while they understood the impetuosity that drove young men to avenge the death of a family member, yet they concluded the action so executed 'was in a shameful violation and abuse and that our nation may greatly be thought faithless whereof may spring many inconveniences in this broken state',¹⁵⁰ For Onassey himself, they were not overly concerned; he was 'base, a mean follower of the Kavanaghs, and in continual rebellion, until now that he was an actor in the tragedy of Walter Eustace',¹⁵¹ They were able to appease Kavanagh's anger by entering into a new agreement with him and assigned him a wage of two shillings Irish and twelve kern 'whereon he departed very well persuaded and not so drowned in sorrow, but that we think he would be content to lose another of his followers at that same price',¹⁵²

Carew had revenged himself for his brother's death at

Glenmalure. He wrote

the loss that I have sustained of this wicked nation is too grievous to remember; if hope of revenge did not bring me comfort, I know thank God for so short a time speed reasonably well, and amongst others it hath been my good hap to kill him that slew my brother, and other I determine to leave my bones by his or else I will be thoroughly satisfied with revenge. 153

The confessions of the many people arrested throw interesting light on the conspiracy. John Plunkett, brother of the lord of Louth, testified that Fr Rochford had visited most of the gentlemen's houses in County Kildare, staying but a little time in each.¹⁵⁴ Kyle O'Toole said Kildare gave his oath to take part in the rebellion.¹⁵⁵ Thomas Meagh, one of Kildare's most trusted men, gave testimony of Kildare and Baltinglass's secret conference in Maynooth.¹⁵⁶ James Meagh said the viscount told him that the best turn Kildare ever did for him was when he did not arrest him at Killeen on 4 July 1580.¹⁵⁷ James Meagh, also known as James McKedagh O'More, had requested pardon from Grey in late 1581. Grey received his submission in Waterford and Meagh acknowledged himself 'to be one of the instruments in this flurry about the Viscount Baltinglass, whom he long served before the rebellion'.¹⁵⁸ Grey attempted to have James renounce his name of 'O'More' and be known as Meagh as he had been all of his life but he found that 'the liberty of his loose life had settled him in that folly and he would not acknowledge his own name. But imputed this exchange to the ordinance of God and laid the sin of his birth upon his parentage'.¹⁵⁹ Grey found Meagh unwilling to redeem his faults. However he agreed to live within the constraints imposed by

the English bands of his lands. His brother Thomas continued to be a heavily-guarded prisoner in the castle. Grey found from the various confessions that the Nugent conspiracy involved many of the Pale families. Thomas Eustace of Cardistown testified that he had attempted to persuade the viscount from rebelling but the latter's response was that 'he had better helpers than he knew of'.¹⁶⁰ Thomas inferred that Kildare would never bear weapons against Elizabeth. Baltinglass replied he was sure of it but perhaps he would not be so vehement against the viscount. Edmund Reagh said the viscount had confided to him that the best in Ireland 'did comfort him in his rebellion and promised him aid'.¹⁶¹ Thomas Eustace also confessed that the rebels had no enemies in all Kildare but four whom he named. He said that three of Kildare's towns paid black rent to Fiach MacHugh who did not burn Newcastle lest Kildare might be suspected. The rebels placed high hopes in Kildare, he continued, and thought that 'if a day of trial should come, he would rather be for them than for the queen'.¹⁶² It was common knowledge in the rebels' camps, affirmed by Edmund Eustace, that Kildare 'would not serve upon them'.¹⁶³

Edmund Reagh gave an account of Captain Garret's departure from Naas to the aid of the rebels in the summer of 1580. Thomas Meagh, 'being of special trust with the earl', told Reagh to conduct Garret to Tubber whence Shane MacWye would guide him to the rebels.¹⁶⁴ Kildare was actually in Naas then. Reagh enquired if Kildare knew of this. Meagh's reply was, 'Art thou not gone yet? Go your ways, and stay upon the safety you have until my return'.¹⁶⁶ Reagh conducted Garret

and his men to the rebels. Meagh confessed that at Naas Garret claimed he had 'made the earl privy to his going out'.¹⁶⁷ Baker and Rodes, who later formed part of the countess of Kildare's train when she went to England, also went with Captain Garret to the rebels 'and tarried there a certain time and after returned and were entertained in service by the earl and that Rodes now attendeth on the countess in England'.¹⁶⁸ Meagh also said that Kildare was told that Owen McNeill, his horseman, had said that he had brought letters from Kildare to the rebels. For this Kildare said he would hang him but did not but rather kept him in wages until his own apprehension. Thomas Eustace said that the intention of the rebels

is to set up the popish religion, to kill all English and such Irish as would take their part; to have the pope for their protector, that the earl of Desmond hath a patent to be his viceroy and that they expect Spaniards yet to come to Ireland, upon whose landing it is looked for that there will be a rebellion in England.

169

Thomas heard this from Baltinglass and Dr Sanders when they were in Munster. These charges aimed mainly at Kildare were met and answered with great dexterity by him. He parried with the questions but was unable to talk his way, nor his son-in-law's, out of custody. The State Papers contain several documents with verbatim accounts of Kildare's, Delvin's and Loftus's accounts of the events of July 1580.¹⁷⁰ Each account is to the enhancement of its speaker's innocence of rebellious intent. Kildare maintained he was never involved in the Baltinglass revolt, any meeting with the viscount, his wife or Joan Fitzpatrick being purely of a social nature. He stated

that the meetings described in July 1580 were mainly accidental meetings and were again purely of a social nature.

Kildare attempted to clear his name on 22 June 1582. He said he met the viscount at Maynooth on 3 July 1580 merely to discuss 'a pledge of garrons taken at Cargan for encroaching on the earl's moor'.¹⁷¹ He made no delay - the meeting lasted for half an hour. Thomas Eustace of Eadestown said Baltinglass told him the conference was about the rebellion and that Kildare 'would favor and help them what he could', though he would not take the field against her majesty'.¹⁷² Kildare denied having any acquaintance with Fr Rochford but 'hath heard he was a notable papist and traitor in the rebellion with the viscount'.¹⁷³ The muster at Tara on 4 July 1580 was a general muster for the Pale, to which Baltinglass should come. Kildare claimed he informed Bagenal at Tara, not vice versa, that 'he had heard by flying tales the viscount had bought horses and powder at Dublin'.¹⁷⁴ Bagenal replied, 'you have pre-empted me for I have understood by the examination of one Booth that he hath sent messages to Turlough Luineach's camp'.¹⁷⁵ But there the conversation ceased because of approaching company. Kildare claimed he left Baltinglass at Killeen on 4 July 1580 because he had heard the O'Mores planned a foray into his lands and thus he left the viscount and other horsemen at that spot. In his defence he claimed that Baltinglass broke out about twelve days after that muster and until Nicholas Eustace returned with an answer from the viscount to the protection offered, he did not know he would

rebel. Kildare claimed Loftus did not really question him about Baltinglass's actions until 12 July 1580, two days before Nicholas Eustace was sent with the protection, and also that Loftus did not recommend the viscount's apprehension until after Nicholas Eustace had returned. Kildare further explained that at Killeen, Baltinglass had but sixteen horses whereas he had fifty and had he really suspected him of treachery he could have apprehended him. Captain Garret was sent out of Naas to provide victuals for Kildare's men and he did not learn of Garret's desertion until two days afterwards, 'that he understood Garret was with the rebels'.¹⁷⁶

Kildare denied he had any private conversations with the lady of Delvin since his imprisonment and said only commendations had passed between him and the baron. He claimed that Oliver Eustace had told him about the powder made and pounded by the viscount but which was to be used against the O'Mores.¹⁷⁷ He denied knowing of Rodes and Baker's intent of siding with the rebels. He denied refusing to take English soldiers; rather because their numbers were insufficient, he had to resort to hiring the O'Mores and O'Connors.¹⁷⁸ The administration was able to collect the principal proofs against Kildare from those in custody and from others questioned.¹⁷⁹ These points emerge as Kildare knew the viscount would rebel and had plotted with others and yet Kildare did not apprehend him. The earl frequently sent messengers to the rebels to comfort them and only forebore during the time of his government. He allowed forces to go with Captain Garrett to aid the rebels. He

relieved and entertained some in his service who had been in actual rebellion.

Further confessions of suspects revealed just how entrenched were the gentry families in rebellion. John Cusack, when examined for his part in the Nugent revolt, impeached the baron of Dunsany, son-in-law to O'Reilly, who had written -

the earl of Desmond, his brother and James Eustace are further in rebellion. I will join myself with O'Reilly and Lord Delvin and the Nugents together and so betwixt us and them we will make the deputy and our adversaries in Ireland have small rest or joy there to abide.

180

He also confessed that William Nugent and his followers in 'this last conspiracy' intended to free Kildare, the baron of Delvin and other prisoners by intercepting and holding Malby as hostage but this plan failed.¹⁸¹ John Cusack said the baron of Delvin, while in prison, wrote letters to William Nugent whom he advised to forsake the plains, go to the fastness and he reminded him of the help and comforts of friends.¹⁸² Doubtless Baltinglass was among these. John Cusack had received a packet of letters from Baltinglass through Lady Delvin's priest. These were to be redirected to William Nugent. Lady Delvin and her serving woman Rose Bermingham knew of these letters.¹⁸³

On 5 February 1582 John Nugent threw more light on the criss-crossing of the conspiracies.¹⁸⁴ He detailed the meeting places between the O'Connors and William Nugent. They decided that William Nugent, Brian McGeoghegan, Sir Nicholas Eustace,

Baltinglass's trusted priest cousin, and a few more should go into the north, whilst more would remain in the Pale and continue to disturb its peace. Sir Nicholas Eustace was still most adept at escaping capture and acting as intermediary. William Nugent told John Nugent that upon the death of James Fitzmaurice, the pope made John of Desmond general and furtherer of the Holy Cause and that John gave him the same authority to be general of the English Pale.¹⁸⁵

On 22 June 1582 the baron of Delvin was examined for his part in the conspiracies.¹⁸⁶ He declared his last meeting with Baltinglass had been at Killeen on 4 July 1580 on his way to the muster at Tara. The previous meeting to that had been at the Hill of Bolton to discuss with Baltinglass the forays made by the Irish on to his lands. He denied trying to make contact with the viscount since his imprisonment by sending out letters or rings or any other tokens. The only letters he wrote to his brother William were ones of dissuasion from rebellion. He denied devising any plans for the capture of Malby, who was 'always his friend'.¹⁸⁷ He denied sending any letters or messages by William's wife, Jenny Skreen, with whom he had two meetings in prison - one in the vice-constable's presence and the other in the presence of the vice-constable's wife.

At the end of these examinations it was concluded that the matters against Delvin were that he was at the viscount's house in Easter 1580, he was in the company of Kildare at the Tara musters during which time the viscount and a company of

horsemen met with the earl and that he met with the viscount of Bolton in July. The baron said he was at Monkstown 'to perfect the viscount's wife's jointure'.¹⁸⁸ Later he said that James had sent for him to talk about the O'Mores ravaging their lands. Loftus and Sir Henry Bagenal claimed Kildare complained at Tara that he could not trust Delvin. Delvin met Eustace at Bolton 'to reprehend him for suffering the O'Mores to spoil him'.¹⁸⁹ Edmund Reagh however said Baltinglass had sent for Delvin and they met for over two hours - this was between 5 and 14 of July 1580. Many people confessed, including Walter Eustace Fitzrichard, Philip Nash, Edward Seix, Kildare's servant, that the baron had promised to join in with Baltinglass, for his tardiness Fr Rochford reprehending him severely in letters, and also so did the 'Baron of Slane, William Nugent and divers others'. Delvin made several petitions to Grey to have access to the queen 'to declare to herself matters importing her honour and profit' but when asked to clarify his aims, said it was a plan to increase the revenue for the country's profit.¹⁹⁰ Delvin during these interrogations and his captivity, continued to smuggle letters to William and to devise means of escaping with Kildare from his prison. It is obvious that the baron was deeply and firmly enmeshed in the planning stages of Baltinglass's rebellion and later through expediency manipulated and machinated the events of the Nugent conspiracy.¹⁹¹

In the midst of the interrogations and executions Wallop advised Burghley that by Baltinglass's outlawry ('which was not until this term and the attaindrie of sundrie others') that

good land and profits should fall to the treasury which he fervently hoped 'may be turned to her majesty's use, whereof I somewhat doubt, for that so many here rather seek their private gain than her majesty's profit'.¹⁹² Other examinations pointed to the complicity of the Nugents with Baltinglass. Philip Nash declared that Edmund Seix and others had told him that they heard that Delvin, William Nugent and 'divers others' were confederates of Baltinglass in his revolt.¹⁹³ That the Nugents were attempting to join with Baltinglass is obvious from Christopher Bath's confession. In early January of 1581, when Baltinglass was continuing with his conspiracy, John Cusack of Ellistonrede persuaded Christopher Bath to join with William Nugent in the proposed rebellion because 'religion and things that are out of order should be reformed affirming that all Irish and some of the English Pale would join'.¹⁹⁴ At Easter Cusack continued to persuade him 'affirming divers of the Pale had offered him to join; their intent was to burn, spoil and put to sword all that would not take their part'.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless the Nugents held back and did not begin their revolt until it was too late for a successful union with the Baltinglass one. The baron of Delvin continued stubbornly with his testament that his meetings at all times with the viscount were about land questions. He denied having any knowledge of the viscount's rebellious intent even at Tara but one Alexander Brine testified that such was impossible as the baron had previously written letters of assured co-operation to the viscount in his rebellion.

Oliver Eustace had travelled to the baron's on 11 July 1580 to prompt him to join with the viscount.¹⁹⁶ Oliver said the viscount 'told him that he would labour the baron of Delvin to join with him'.¹⁹⁷ Fiach MacHugh's wife Kyle remained adamant in her confession that Delvin was as guilty as any in his conspiracy with Baltinglass and he had acted as messenger for Kildare to the Monkstown Easter meeting. She further added that Thomas Meagh was the vital link for information on everyone - 'he can lay open all the earl's conference with the rebels; he was employed in trust between them, having all his directions by mouth for fear of casualty and intercepting of letters'.¹⁹⁸ Meagh was by then also imprisoned. Geoffrey Fenton advised that a close watch should be maintained on him until the arrival of the lord chancellor 'who knew well the natural humour and evasions of these people'.¹⁹⁹

During the summer prior to his capture, Oliver Eustace found safe refuge in various houses, one of these was the house of Wogan of Rathcoffey. Wogan was examined and confessed that he last saw the viscount on 4 July 1580.²⁰⁰ The viscount had supper with him in Rathcoffey on that evening and later met with Kildare. On 28 January 1582 Wallop informed Walsingham that William Wogan was condemned for his conspiracy with the rebels.²⁰¹ Maurice Fitzjames was also found guilty of treason.

The authorities concluded that Kildare was a leading protagonist of Baltinglass's revolt. Eustace spent the night of 3 July at Bayce's house.²⁰² When on the night of 4 July, after the Tara musters, the earl and the viscount rode through the

night 'on a pretended journey against the O'Mores', the authorities concluded the earl was comforting the viscount and encouraging him to rebel. The earl was of one mind with Mary Travers and Joan Fitzpatrick in this encouragement because on 14-15 July 1580

the night being then short came thither in the night and came there in the morning by daylight although they said it was to persuade the viscount to come to the council and not to rebel and that he promised to come after them yet forasmuch as the viscount willingly came to Monkstown after his wife and friend had told him how he was suspected as may be gathered with mind to come in, otherwise he would have doubted to come so near Dublin ...

203

The conclusion was that the earl had sent the two women to warn Eustace to escape imminent apprehension.

It is obvious that Mary Travers was a committed sympathiser in this revolt. She staunchly answered questions of James's whereabouts, just prior to the rebellion, sometimes 'other than in apparent matter, she impudently maketh denial or otherwise answereth that she cannot remember'.²⁰⁴ Mary had established a deep friendship with her cousin, the earl, about which the authorities' conclusions were, 'the familiarity she had with the earl was such and the access she had to the earl was likewise such as they were resolved she did nothing but with the assent of the earl'.²⁰⁵ Mary undoubtedly had foreknowledge of her husband's revolt because she had conveyed his goods to several places before the 15 July 1580 and 'at that time manifesteth she knew her husband's intent and her obstinacy in religion known, manifesteth also her assent'.²⁰⁶

The co-operation between Mary, James and Kildare also displayed itself when, after the rebellion had begun, the earl sent in his men 'to enter and seize Monkstown and all the goods and corn and with his own people to guard the same, the viscountesse well pleased with the same'.²⁰⁷ Mary Travers was an active partaker in and sympathiser with the ideals of the revolt and played an essential part in its initial success, particularly in ensuring her husband's continued liberty in the safeguarding of his goods and property.²⁰⁸

On 23 November 1582 White informed Burghley that they were occupied with the trials of Baltinglass's allies.²⁰⁹ He said that there would be a good deal of land to be had from their attainders. There were many applications for lands grants following Baltinglass's attainder.²¹⁰ Lord Deputy Grey's men and the administrators enjoyed many benefices. Wallop received Monkstown; Ballykeppagh was granted to Sir William Sarsfield; Yearne Hill to Captain John George; Galmores-town to Captain Edmund Denny; Rawlagh to Thomas Fee; lands of David Sutton to John Dybe; Barry's Island to Captain W. Rawley; Keppach to Florence Smith, one of the yeomen ushers to the lord deputy; a tenement in Naas to John Danyell, a servant of Grey's; a farm to Rice ap Hugh, the provost marshal; the lease of a Dublin house of Baltinglass's to Edmund Spenser, Grey's secretary; certain goods to John Carver, a servant of Grey's, and a promise of the lands of James Rochford to Edmund Riagh O'Lalor; a custodian of John Eustace's lands of Newlands to Edmund Spenser; a custodian of Maurice

Fitzjames's land of Osbertstown and the gift of his goods to Richard Mompesson and the wife of Maurice (whose eldest son was slain in service under Captain Mackworth); the custodian of William Wogan's land to the value of £20 of his goods to Thomas Grimstone.²¹¹ Waterhouse was content to list the attainted lands of County Kildare, then accruing to the queen; they were the lands of Baltinglass, Edmund Eustace, David Sutton, Maurice Fitzgerald, Maurice Eustace of Castlemartin and Eustace of Cardiffstown.²¹²

John Ussher had a novel idea for the use of the escheated lands. He recommended that a university be founded from their profits.²¹³ The Irish youth could then be educated at home where they could be safeguarded from rebellious ideas and notions imbibed at Louvain or Douai. Individuals, however, continued to petition attainted lands for their own use. Thomas Chaloner requested a lease for forty years of the lands of 'either Sutton, Eustace, Wogan or Cusack, lately executed'.²¹⁴

The widows of slain English soldiers were also looked after by grants of attainted lands. Alice Fitzgarret of Tecroughan, George's widow and mother of seven children, received land grants valued at £40 per annum

in consideration of the services of her late husband against the rebels and by the sealing thereof with his blood, remaining himself slain on the field in the rebellion of Baltinglass, where a good number of rebels were killed and overthrown; since which time the Connors, Mores and other rebels have destroyed and spoiled Fitzgarret's lands and goods to the undoing of his wife and posterity.

This grant was to enable 'his sons to follow in their father's steps in the duty of faithful subjects, and for a better means of their bringing up and maintenance by their mother, the said Alice'.²¹⁶ In November Wallop was constrained to complain of this lady's acquisitions because the granting of leases was hindering the sale of lands.²¹⁷ Alice, he explained, 'hath already nameth the best things in the heart of the Pale which would be sold for more than twice so much rent, in the county of Kildare, or in the borders where most of Baltinglass his lands lieth'.²¹⁸ He succeeded in obtaining a stay on the granting of leases from 27 September 1582. In December 1582 Wallop advised the grant to Alice was too great in his estimation. He attempted to establish a connection between her and the Pale rebels in order to discredit her claim.²¹⁹

One James Golde petitioned a fee farm of £20 of the estates of Desmond or Baltinglass 'in consideration of his great losses'.²²⁰ A commission headed by Wallop, Fenton, Robert and Lucas Dillon and other administrators was set up to survey the forfeited lands of Eustace and the baron of Delvin in 1582. Rebels' land valued at £20 per annum was leased to James Vaughan for thirty years.²²¹ In May 1582, Kildare and Delvin, in prison in Dublin Castle since December 1581, were sent to England accompanied by Sirs Nicholas Bagenal and William Morgan.²²² Wallop, despite the hefty grants he had received was incensed by the re-allocation of these lands and the money being made by the imprisonment of Kildare in England. 'Mr Marshall (Bagenal),' he complained,

is a most greedy man, for the carrying of the Earl of Kildare, he hath a concordatum of £300; it costeth not him 50 pounds, they bear their own charges, so it was agreed on. If it had not been for his own sins he had not gone over and yet there he expecteth 40 shillings a day while he remaineth at court where if I be not deceiveth he is able to say little to purpose touching the state of things here ... 223

Wallop concluded that Bagenal was seeking to have his son appointed with him, about whom Wallop wrote, (he) 'is most unfit for the same, nothing in him but covetousness'.²²⁴

Nicholas White praised Loftus, recommending his suit for part of Eustace's land. White vouched:

His lordship bringeth up his children well and matched his daughters all as well with the sons and heirs of good English possessors as Sir Harry Cowley, Captain Humphrey Warren, Sir Anthony Cockley and others to the great furtherance of civility in those places where their livings lieth. 225

Loftus obviously felt disencumbered sufficiently of his fears of retaliation from Baltinglass's remaining allies to influence White to continue: 'There resteth no end to all his care, but the getting of some freehold here wherein to plant his eldest son to their comfort'.²²⁶ Loftus reinforced this petition by stressing his respect for his 'poor family', the twenty years of service he had passed in her majesty's service, the 'weak and diseased' state of his body.²²⁷

Loftus enjoyed a measure of success dealing with Hugh Duff McDonnell, a principal follower and councillor of

Fiach MacHugh, 'who came to me upon my word. He doth assure me that Fiach MacHugh, within four days, will likewise, upon my word, come to me, who came not at our governess, since the beginnings of these troubles.'²²⁸ Loftus was also pleased to announce the forthcoming peace with Teig McGillapatrik, a cheiftain under O'Connor's protection, who 'maketh humble suit to be received to grace and offereth assurance for his loyalty as we shall ask or as he endures'.²²⁹ Loftus felt very confident of his ability to deal with any difficult situation, for he wrote, 'If I might understand from thence that a peaceable course would be acceptable, I doubt not within two months to settle and pacify all Leinster'.²³⁰ By December the master of the rolls claimed to have 'successfully managed Fiach MacHugh, the O'Connors and the Kavanaghs'.²³¹

The petitions for lands continued throughout 1582. Morris Fitzjames 'convicted of misprision of treason, hath been imprisoned two years and fined', requested to be restored to his lands.²³² John Eustace likewise imprisoned sought a remission of his fine.²³³ John Cusack of Ellistonrede requested 'the continuance of his portion as given him by the lord deputy for discovery of the conspiracy in Leinster'.²³⁴ Allison Barnewall, John Cusack of Cosington's wife, sought the restitution of his lands, escheated by his conviction and 'a fine only to be set upon him in respect of his youth and some young children'.²³⁵ Christopher Beacham sought a recompense for his service and for 'great spoils committed by Fiach MacHugh to his wife's and children's utter undoing'.²³⁶ Arthur O'Toole petitioned to be

restored to his rightful possessions, unjustly kept from him by Felim O'Toole whom he described as having a 'glym, silent look'.²³⁷

The disputes of the officials for the escheated lands continued.²³⁸ In February 1583 Wallop complained of Nicholas White's greed for a greater interest in Baltinglass's lands.²³⁹ Wallop stated White had been granted too much already and suggested the latter was too well disposed to traitors. White retaliated by submitting a plan for the Eustace lands in Baltinglass; he stated: 'The late lord deputy did leave the said Baltinglass withall the lands along there unto Sir William Russell for the yearly rent of 19 years, before that her majesty was by law entitled to the same'.²⁴⁰

Joan Fitzpatrick, Joan Eustace, Mary Travers and Katherine Sutton suffered hardship and deprivation over the officials' attempts to confiscate and own their lands and properties. On 14 January 1581 Baltinglass's sister Joan and her husband, the baron of Upper Ossory were imprisoned on the strength of information supplied by Ormond.²⁴¹ Ormond claimed the baron's 'bad and undutiful dealings to be most true'; he also implicated Joan for treason - she was 'touched with the same also'.²⁴² He prayed to God 'to amend the wicked minds of all bad subjects and send our dear sovereign victory over all her ill-willers and enemies'.²⁴³

In November 1581, against a background of trials and examinations of Pale conspirators in Baltinglass's revolt,

Geoffrey Fenton felt constrained to write on Joan Fitzpatrick's behalf.²⁴⁴ Her husband had died in prison and Fenton interceded for her, writing: 'She is bold to repose much in your lord, though not for her own merits, yet for the memory of the true duty and love which she knew her said husband bore your lord'.²⁴⁵ Joan sought freedom from her ten-month incarceration, offering 'sufficient bail' for it.²⁴⁶ Fenton's opinion of her receiving it was 'a matter which in my opinion may be deemed both safely and conveniently for that she is not further to be touched with the conspiracy than with bare and naked suspicion ...'.²⁴⁷ Fenton's plea and trust in the viscount's sister was all the more unique when placed in the setting of the trials which were making speedy and terrible judgements on those involved and also in that his plea coincided with the viscount's fleeing from the country. But Fenton was prepared to vouch for Joan Fitzpatrick's ensuing loyalty. He explained that while 'she was known to resort some time to the viscount whilst the treason was in brewing',²⁴⁸ she was loyal. He argued that her inheritance 'cometh to waste and ruin for that by reason of her restraint, it is not looked to with that carefulness as appertaineth'.²⁴⁹ Joan offered very substantial sureties and those who went bail for her were influential and powerful because Fenton was confident that her freedom could be countenanced with an easy mind. He counselled that 'though hereafter she should be found so deep in the treason as may deserve to be holden still a prisoner, yet the peril in letting her go is met withall in her sureties who are either to redeliver her

again or to pay the forfeit of her escape'.²⁵⁰ Fenton advised that this decision be taken because as he logically and humanly concluded, the bail 'will be more available to the queen than the body of a poor woman to be holden always in prison'.²⁵¹

Fenton advised that a strong, decisive lord deputy would be the solution to all ills; his choice was Sir Henry Sidney - 'he is the only apt and fit man to cure the diseases of this country and keep in good terms to her majesty the people thereof'.²⁵² Fenton was eloquent on Sidney's prowess and suggested that if it was known with 'what devotion of all sorts, his name is called there', they would certainly replace Grey with him.²⁵³

Baltinglass's mother, Joan Eustace had to experience the imprisonment of her daughter, the death, exile or desired capture of her sons, the loss of family power, so well-maintained in her husband Roland's time and the physical hardship and deprivation to herself caused by loss of rights and property at a time in her life when such rights and comforts were most essential and justly earned. On 9 December 1581 the lands of Baltinglass were escheated by outlawry.²⁵⁴ In November 1582 Thomas Stokes was granted a lease of forty years on her property - a castle at Sternehill, the villages of Madenstown, Calverstown and Flemingston.²⁵⁵ In September 1585 Joan petitioned for a dwelling house and one third of her late husband's lands.²⁵⁶ Joan was in physical hardship and she had undoubtedly paid the highest price of all for her eldest son's commitment to a cause. In her petition Joan explained that Roland had made provision for her. She lived in the manor in Ernhill and owned Madenstown,

Kilcock, Bohortlevie, Calverstown, Flemingston, Rochestown and divers other land in County Kildare and also lands in County Dublin that included lands in Rathfarnham, Ballycrean, Ballycruke, Abbotstown and other lands.²⁵⁷ She had received the rents and profits from the same from her agents John, George and Thomas Stokes - all brothers.²⁵⁸ This system had operated in Baltinglass's time but on the proclamation of his treason, she was dispossessed. Joan had complained to Drury but was unable to produce the feoffee of her jointure, because Eustace 'had carried it away among other his writings'.²⁵⁹ She then received an endowment from the court of Chauncery and was granted possession, by the sheriffs of Dublin and Kildare, of some of the parcels of land. Sadly she was in difficulties because others saw in her weakness the opportunity to begin or increase their holdings. These included Thomas Stokes particularly and also one John Dongan and the poet Edmund Spenser.²⁶⁰ She had to complain to the lord deputy.

A commission, headed by Sir Nicholas White, master of the rolls and Geoffrey Fenton, examined witnesses on her behalf. These witnesses included Edmund Eustace of Aylwardstown, Christopher Barnewall of Newtown, described as 'gent of credit', John Lenon and Maeve Eustace, a sister of Roland's, and others.²⁶¹ Maeve was the widow of John Stokes so he, George and Thomas were uncles by marriage of Baltinglass. It is difficult to understand therefore how they contributed to the hardships endured by Joan. The commission was satisfied that Joan's claims were in order but yet her position did not improve.

Joan was living 'in most miserable sort, these two or three years without house to dwell in, penny, rent or other commodity to maintain her, but what she hath by devotion of her friends'.²⁶² She was described as a 'poor, aged, bedrife and impotent woman, unable anyway to shift, help or maintain herself'.²⁶³ Joan had expected to live her life out in the comforts willed to her in her husband's will just 'as other women in like case within her majesty's dominions'.²⁶⁴ Joan asked for her lands or even 'some dwelling house fit for her calling with one third part of all the rest of her said husband's inheritance'.²⁶⁵ She was unable to cope with 'the dealings and shifts of the said patentees and others that have any parcels of the lands'.²⁶⁶ She begged to be excused from producing a petition of right; she was unable to deal with all its legalities; she must surely have wished for the legal knowledge James had received in the Inns of Court and hoped that the privy council would view her request as 'the way of equity and for charity's sake'.²⁶⁷

James's wife Mary also experienced a very trying and demanding time during and after the rebellion. She, like her sister-in-law was interrogated in July 1581 for her active part in the revolt.²⁶⁸ She had difficulties in claiming her property and her inheritance. She was granted 'such lands as were of her own inheritance' and of which she had been deprived in February 1582.²⁶⁹ She was in hardship in the interim period. In June 1582 Malby requested that Mary might have some portion of her husband's livings.²⁷⁰ Mary requested permission to travel to England to plead her case for return of her property.²⁷¹

Malby said Mary was much pitied by Grey and the council because her estate 'is but bare'.²⁷² She persisted in her attempts to have her problems solved; she was 'a very earnest suitor' and he recommended that her position be improved and alleviated.²⁷³ This was a brave request as Wallop, Loftus and most of the officials were seeking to carve up the Baltinglass estate between them.²⁷⁴ The soldiers and captains who had and were serving in the campaign against the rebels also petitioned various properties.²⁷⁵ Mary petitioned in October 1582 for an allowance from her husband's lands for her maintenance during her life.²⁷⁶ Wallop, who was very keen to acquire Monkstown, advised against any restoration being made to Mary.²⁷⁷ On 27 April 1583 all the lands which Baltinglass had held the right of or jointly with Mary, were to be returned to her.²⁷⁸ Still difficulties remained for Mary. As late as 1585 she petitioned yet again because to date she had not received any of her dowry or jointure, particularly the lands which John Travers had given her in marriage.²⁷⁹ She requested an annuity of £100 during her life in consideration of the £300 due in equity for her dowry.²⁸⁰ Mary asked for this to be granted as soon as possible 'to maintain her poor estate being decayed and in a manner overthrown by the wilful behaviour of her unfortunate husband'.²⁸¹

Mary had not received any income from the lands left to her by her father for over three years, and asked that if these requests were not granted, she might be allowed some income from James's escheated lands, mortgaged before his rebellion.

It is obvious from the tone of the petition that Mary was in poor straits and was, like her mother-in-law, desperately trying to untangle a legal web of titles and deeds made all the more complicated by the attainder of James. Once again she would have benefited greatly from her husband's legal training. Fortunately for her, however, she received considerable help and advice from one Gerald Aylmer of Donadea Castle - who later was imprisoned for his struggle for the rights for Catholics. He proved to be a future source of strength and help to her.²⁸² It is interesting to note how Mary presented her view of James's actions; she described him as wilful, creating the impression of a hotheaded person not given to deliberation but rather inclined to impulsive action. She also termed him unfortunate - one who was perhaps easily led or was influenced by the wrong company. This was hardly Mary's personal view of James when one considers the very active part she played in the initial stages of the rebellion. It was she who had warned him of Loftus's intentions to capture him in July 1580 and thus she precipitated the rebellion. Had she truly considered him wilful and unfortunate, she would rather have co-operated with Loftus and bargained for a polite clemency for her spouse rather than facing the awful implications which the revolt would have meant for her and for him.

Another point of interest is the fact that James had mortgaged his lands before the rebellion, demonstrating the measure of his commitment to the cause. He transacted many money deals with merchants, for example Robert Walshe of

Waterford and also through his servant, Teig Roe with William Fitzsimon and with Sedgrave. While one may question the wisdom of mortgaging a birthright for a principle, one must admire the person who was prepared to go to those lengths. Mary's own birthright had been considerable. Her marriage entitlements were the demesne lands of Frertown, Kylleigh, Court, Killerhy, Russelstown and the tithes of those towns in addition to those of Ballinralin, Arahow, Bushertown, Waltertown, Cloghcraitaig and Powerstown in County Carlow.²⁸³ The revenue from these lands had been transferred by Baltinglass to Sir Nicholas Eustace for a term of years at a yearly rent of £23 sterling.²⁸⁴

In December 1583 an inquisition was taken at Dublin Castle concerning Baltinglass's lands.²⁸⁵ The jurors seized the lands of Rathfarnham, Tymolog, Abbotstown, Knockbarnes, Ballimore, Whiteleyes and Ballaghsey, all in County Dublin. The site and circuit of Baltinglass were also seized. Baltinglass himself was attainted of high treason on the Tuesday before the feast of St Michael.²⁸⁶ Mary had to endure all this without James's support as he continued to solicit aid abroad.

Another woman who paid a high personal price for this revolt was the widow of one of Baltinglass's accomplices, David Sutton. She was Katherine Plunkett. After the attainder and execution of David she and her five children were left in poor circumstances.²⁸⁷ The lord deputy asked for 'some compassion upon her miserable estate, living only now upon the relief and benevolence of her friends'.²⁸⁸ She was the daughter of the baron of Kileen and was 'well inclined and of honest

disposition from her infancy hitherto'.²⁸⁹ Katherine had obviously made a deep impression on the officials who pleaded her cause; she was 'well known to most of us and now through the misfortune and evil disposition of her late husband brought to extreme poverty'.²⁹⁰ They pleaded that her situation and her children's might be improved; that 'grace and commiseration' be found for her miserable estate.²⁹¹ Lucas Dillon wrote a powerful letter in her defence. He called Katherine his cousin germaine and begged for consideration for her and her fatherless children. He explained, 'I will say nothing of her husband's offence for that it doth appear in the examination sent thither for which he hath suffered and forfeited all he had'.²⁹² Dillon continued in his cousin's defence that he considered David's fate was hard as he and some were made an example of and lost their lives and since many more had been pardoned and returned to grace, 'whose fault in some qualities exceeded him'.²⁹³ He reiterated that Katherine was completely blameless of any involvement in the rebellion. He stressed how desperate the fatherless family was being bereft of father, of inheritance, of possession of land and even sadly of their chattels.²⁹⁴ Katherine had strong support among the administration and it is to be hoped that she and her children did succeed in winning back some or all of their inheritance. However in March 1583 James Vaughan, described as gent, was granted a watermill at Lady's Castle, property of the late David Sutton.²⁹⁵

The land grants of Grey to his favourites had made him most unpopular with several members of the administration.

Fenton reported in November 1581 that 'the general estate of the government grows worse and worse: the deputy feels himself ill-supported at home',²⁹⁶ Fenton reckoned Grey had done all he could despite the 'savage and brutish nature of this people',²⁹⁷ Fenton thought him too severe and stern. Wallop hoped Grey might be retained as deputy for two or three years when he would have had time to make the country pay its way. But of the Irish, Wallop wrote, 'their hearts so alienated from her (Elizabeth) and our nation and so greatly affected to foreign nations and papistry' that he feared the English footholds in Ireland would soon be lost.²⁹⁸

In November 1581 after the escape of Edmund Seix from the castle, Fenton recommended that its constable Jacques Wingfield be removed.²⁹⁹ James and Thomas Meagh - both important conspirators and messengers with Baltinglass and Kildare - were imprisoned also at this time. Fenton felt he was the one who ought to take responsible charge of the important interrogations. Wallop, however, claimed he had taken more pains than anyone else in the examination of the Pale conspirators. The Dillons and the lord chancellor were 'timorous and fearful',³⁰⁰

The letters maligning Grey continued; Waterhouse claimed the governor's 'good service was drowned in the sea of expenses',³⁰¹ Grey had attempted to justify his management of events in December; he warned that economising in Ireland at that stage would have bad consequence for the future.³⁰² He requested the expedition of his recall to England, stressing the necessity of the proper understanding of malicious letters against him, no doubt he

wanted to be at the English court to prevent further damage to his reputation, caused by this stream of uncomplimentary missives. Grey deplored the poor funding allotted to Ireland under his charge; he wrote, 'considering the need wherewith the garrison is pinched, whom how to relieve he sees not unless it be thought that men may feed of air'.³⁰³ In December Elizabeth admonished Grey for his charges and ordered the immediate reduction of the army to three thousand men.³⁰⁴ White continued his tirade against the government which he described as violent and wasteful of the revenue; it was depopulating the Pale, weakening the English nobility and thus helping the 'wild Irish'.³⁰⁵ He recommended a temperate government.

Grey had hoped to redeem himself through information to be gleaned from Captain Garret, the defector to the rebels at the height of their success. In December 1581 Sir William Sarsfield petitioned for clemency and protection for Captain Garret.³⁰⁶ A meeting was duly arranged to grant this request when 'an evil accident or rather an underhand practice defrauded the whole hope and fruit of that action'.³⁰⁷ Fiach MacHugh intercepted Garret on his way to the meeting, and had him conveyed to the mountains. Grey ordered Fiach to hand over Garret to Henry Harrington but before this was concluded, Fiach hanged Garret. The officials were infuriated because of the thwarting of the information they had hoped to receive from Garret. 'The loss of the man is not to be weighed', they wrote, 'but his just deserts alright considered that his end was not worse, is most to be pitied'.³⁰⁸ Fenton advised that

'saving that the present state of this time required rather to dissemble such injuries than to revenge them', Fenton like Grey said 'the loss of the man is nothing but the use and service which might have been drawn from him cannot be repaired with the life of Fiach MacHugh nor his pledges'.³⁰⁹ Wallop warned that the killing of Captain Garret was instigated by Kildare, despite his incarceration, to ensure that no treasonable tales would be told against him.³¹⁰ Grey's hopes of redemption were lessened by this failure. This event, combined with the jealousy and ill-feeling that followed the divisions of the attainted land, ensured Grey's departure on 31 August 1582 under heavy clouds of discontent and distrust.³¹¹

Chapter VI

THE FINAL CONTINENTAL SOJOURN AND SUPPLICATIONS OF A CATHOLIC ADVOCATE

The examinations and executions filled the immediate aftermath of Eustace's and Fr Rochford's flight. This was followed by the granting of confiscated lands and properties to the loyal people which in turn was followed by increased jealousy of the lord deputy among the officials. By April 1582 Fenton reported that 'the Pale standeth firm and is more disposed to embrace peace and quietness'.¹ The government began to grow confident again of maintaining its upper hand in this important area. Yet fears still persisted of the possibility of a foreign invasion, threatened even more than by the presence of Eustace in Spain and sometimes in Rome. The links maintained between Rome and the Munster rebels remained strong and Fenton warned that -

But of Munster I cannot hope or promise so well for that the enemies there are newly encouraged by letters from the Pope to stand firm until the preparations that are now in action may be perfected and sent. 2

The strength of Eustace's negotiating for further aid for Ireland from these two continental sources was displaying itself just some five months after his flight.

A spy, William Arthur under guise of friendship discussed the continental situation with regard to Ireland with Mahoune O'Brien Mc an Asbig.³ Many of the clergy believed, he discovered, that Philip II of Spain was granted the title to Ireland from Pope Pius V and Pope Gregory XIII. Philip in

turn would grant Ireland to one of his father-in-law's - Maximillian - children. They expected twelve thousand soldiers to land at two different places. The spy also had seen a letter, bearing the papal seal, directed to O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Connor and O'Rourke and to all the northern lords exhorting them to remain in rebellion until this help should arrive. The spy commented, 'It would kill any true heart to listen to their speeches'.⁴ Eustace declared his positive expectation of help from Philip II while he remained in Lisbon.⁵ Then he and Bishop Conor O'Ryan were ordered to Madrid. There they awaited the expected aid but it did not materialise.⁶

In June James's constant ally, Fiach MacHugh, arranged for the marriage of his sister to Teig McGill Patrick O'Connor; Grey became very concerned that this marriage alliance would increase opposition to his policy of pacification.⁷ Fiach MacHugh neglected his tillage in June 1582 and continued to foster harmonious relations with the Gaelic community, particularly the Kavanaghs.⁸ Loftus concluded Fiach was definitely preparing for active rebellion once again and 'undoubtedly he looketh for by the coming of foreign power, the expectation whereof assuredly Baltinglass being beyond the seas doth nourish'.⁹ Eustace inspired a deep confidence in his allies and his enemies alike in his ability and his power to attract continental help to Ireland which inspiration belies the image fostered of him as a weak, simple and softwilled person. Kildare, a fosterer of such a fallacy, continued in prison

in England and the Spanish ambassador reported to Philip II, who had given James patronage at his court, that Kildare's 'imprisonment will be prolonged more than was expected'.¹⁰ Kildare was of course ready to admit to or create any illusion that might shatter his connection with the viscount and lead to his liberty.

By July 1582 however James had made little or no progress with his negotiations. A report came from Lisbon that he was 'in poor estate' and his longtime friend Fr Rochford had joined a house of Jesuits in Lisbon.¹¹ King Philip II was preparing for a massive invasion strategy of England and his engineers were devising a new type of ship.¹² In Ireland the lord deputy continued his programme of appeasement but in a growing climate of dissatisfaction among his own men. In a secret advertisement Wallop informed Walsingham that Grey was so generous to his favourites with grants of escheated lands, that very little profit would fall to the crown.¹³ By September the earlier threats of the O'Byrnes and O'Connors had lessened and hopes grew high that Leinster would be pacified within two months.¹⁴ A truce of twenty-eight days was concluded in November between the government and Fiach MacHugh and Teig McGiolla Patrick O'Connor.¹⁵ Fiach MacHugh continued however to offer protection and a place of safe-keeping to two of Eustace's family.¹⁶ The belief in James's ability to return with foreign help persisted; Malby sent spies on a bark from Galway to Lisbon to find out recent developments and report on them.¹⁷ From Madrid in December 1582 Baltinglass wrote to the Vatican; he described

his zeal and fervour for Catholicism which was likewise shared by many Irishmen.¹⁸ He stressed the importance of goodwill and favour bestowed on him by Rome. He pledged his services and those of his brother Richard for as long as he lived. He promised never to desist from the struggle until Catholicism was uppermost in Ireland once again. He reiterated his faith in Jesus Christ and his commitment to returning to Ireland. He pledged his struggle for the betterment of humanity. Despite the drawbacks to his struggle Eustace remained idealistic and optimistic. His faith in his eventual success was unshakeable.

In January 1582 Eustace was in Rome pursuing negotiations with Pope Gregory XIII for aid for the Catholic cause in Ireland.¹⁹ Ormond reported that Philip II had decided to send part of his army, returned from the Terceiros, to Ireland with Eustace.²⁰ Loftus persisted with matters in hand in Ireland. He was still anxious to acquire Eustace's estates. He, Wallop and the Master of the Rolls devised a plan for the inhabiting of Baltinglass and the quietening of Leinster.²¹ Suits for pardon were continued; the bitterness of the anti-Baltinglass purge of 1581-82 was fading. Pardon was sought for Wogan whose father had been executed.²² In April 1582 William Barnewall, a Limerick merchant arrived from Lisbon with further news of Baltinglass.²³ The viscount, he said, was prepared to sail for Ireland. Malby found the Irish borderers continued to spoil and ravage the Pale in preparation for his coming. The interregnum, he warned, 'may breed many inconveniences for the governor'.²⁴ Fenton examined William Barnewall further.²⁵

William confided that during his stay in Lisbon he had cultivated some friends who included Martin Fitzchristopher Lynch, a Galwayman. Lynch was one of the masters of the King's Hospital in Lisbon castle. Lynch was familiar with the young Cardinal Themperours and the governor of Portugal, nephew of Philip II. Lynch also won the friendship of the captain of the castle and garrisons of Lisbon; he enjoyed 'liberal and free access' everywhere.²⁶ Barnewall was told of the great preparation by sea and land for an invasion. There was also an agreement for a force to be sent into Ireland. Barnewall saw 'with his own eyes a letter written from the pope's court to the viscount of Baltinglass that he should have 5,000 men for the wars of Ireland'.²⁷ The dukes of Florence and Venice were to manage the expedition. This information was also confirmed to Barnewall by Alexander Hussey, son of the Meiller Hussey, late steward to Kildare. Alexander had fled Ireland because of his involvement with the Delvin conspiracy.²⁸ Barnewall also spoke with a Father Hayes of Wexford, who was Baltinglass's agent in Lisbon. Fr Hayes had fled Ireland with Baltinglass 'being deeply accused of treason'.²⁹ Fr Hayes informed him that Baltinglass had secured a great army to return to Ireland. Eustace was at this time in Madrid and 'hath there a home provided for him by the king and plentifully furnished for all expenses, both for himself and all others that report unto him'.³⁰

The picture emerging from these confessions portrays the viscount as a man highly regarded by both king and churchmen

alike. He lived in comfortable conditions, was able to provide well for his followers who appeared to form a large, varied and intricate network. He had impressed the king, the pope, cardinals, the castle governor and many people of note with his ability and had succeeded in winning their confidence to the degree that they did all in their power to fulfil his and their shared objective. Lynch also spoke of other letters from O'Donnell, O'Connor Sligo and Morough na Doo, delivered by an Irish priest whom he presented to Philip II.³¹ The letters sought aid for Ireland. Barnewall gave details of the ships and men who were in Lisbon in preparation for the great armada.³² The comfort of Eustace's abode is however contradicted in a declaration made by Nicholas Nangle. He said he saw James Eustace in Lisbon, and he was 'meanly apparalled with four men attending upon him'.³³ He was maintained by the duke of Alva, as were Conor O'Ryan, bishop of Killaloe and Robert Lacy, 'pretended chancellor of Ireland', until the duke's death and afterwards James, Conor and Robert travelled between Lisbon, Madrid and Rome. Eustace had an allowance of 100 ducats per month from the duke of Alva.³⁴ Nangle also said that Conor O'Ryan and Robert Lacy left for Limerick in August 1582 in the merchant, Nicholas Lynch's ship. Obviously Eustace's circumstances, described by Nangle, refer to the summer of 1582.

The issue of religious commitment arose in June 1582 when Wallop wrote, 'I cannot but remember, your honours, of the danger of this state amongst whom there is hardly one sound man to be found that is not in religion and then an apparent

papist or a known hypocrite'.³⁵ He lamented the poor attendance on the Sabbath at the services. One of the reasons for this was 'the loose men of every province have a continual expectation of the return of the fugitive rebels such as the viscount of Baltinglass, the brother of the baron of Delvin, Edmund Eustace and James Fitzmaurice, his son'.³⁶ The expectations were that Edmund Eustace would lead a force from Scotland whilst the rest 'should return with great multitudes out of Spain'.³⁷ Adding to this fear were the reports of returned merchants from Spain who described the great credit these Irishmen enjoyed there and how they had continued access to Philip II; 'they are countenanced by the greatest in the court',³⁸ and that ten thousand soldiers of the Armada were assigned for Ireland. The merchants spoke of the generosity of Philip II who 'expected no gain of subjects but union in the Roman religion'.³⁹ The capture, confession and subsequent execution of Baltinglass's brother Walter led Fenton to declare of Walter's confessions, 'I send them unto you, that you might see how far this cup of Rome hath poisoned the people of this land'.⁴⁰ Fenton was relieved to conclude, however, that by Walter's death one of the most important borders of the Pale could be maintained.

In May 1583, Baltinglass wrote to his brother Richard, seeking extra funding from Pope Gregory XIII. The pope felt, however, that Philip II should maintain the viscount.⁴¹ He allotted him a small sum of money but advised Richard to dissuade his brother from visiting Rome. In June 1583 Baltinglass wrote to the cardinal of Como from Madrid to recommend the

baron of Delvin's brother, William Nugent.⁴² Eustace was lavish in his praise for this 'very notable Irishman' who 'by his industry, extraordinary prudence and wise diligence' had aided the cause of Catholicism in Ireland.⁴³ Nugent he declared had sacrificed so much for Ireland - wealth, land, friends, fatherland and his wife.⁴⁴

In September 1583 a merchant ship which left Lisbon on 27 July arrived in Limerick.⁴⁵ The merchants on examination said that two days before leaving Lisbon a servant of Eustace brought letters to the governor of Portugal. He also arranged accommodation in Lisbon for Eustace and three Irish bishops - Cornelius O'Mulrian, O.F.M., bishop of Killaloe, Conor O'Buil, bishop of Limerick and Philip Fitzthomas, bishop of Ossory.⁴⁶ The merchants were informed by one Anthony Rebere and confirmed by Fr Richard Arthur, a Limerickman, that on the return of Philip II's two hundred soldiers from Terceiros, they would all set out with Eustace and the three bishops for Ireland and conquer the entire land.⁴⁷

Captain William Piers became offended at the increasingly open displays of religious practice within three miles of his home.⁴⁸ The Franciscans 'have begun their superstitions afresh to the great good liking of a number who favour that way'.⁴⁹ He reported a great upsurge of religious pilgrimages everywhere; he said -

It would make a Christian's heart to bleed to see how deeply this nation is drowned in ignorance and to be much bent to superstition and no doubt if this be not speedily looked into I fear me this humour will grow to a marvellous contagious disease.

Piers recommended all such places of worship should be razed to the ground. He was deeply aware of a whole new upsurge of personal religious commitment akin to what had been displayed by Eustace as early as 1578, and so feared the potency of such commitment that total destruction was, in his opinion, the only way to deal with it. Added to this consternation was the increasing rumour that Eustace was 'in readiness beyond the seas with a great navy and a number of men to come again into this realm'.⁵¹ Piers also explained that Eustace was long awaited and greatly looked forward to by many people, so much so he concluded that 'it grieveth my heart not a little to write especially to who lives under the rule and government of so gracious a prince and hath everyway tasteth of her great government'.⁵²

The examinations of Christopher Barnewall, 'sometime servant to the viscount', throw important light on the rebellion.⁵³ Barnewall described the involvement of Walter Sedgrave of Dublin in the initial stages of the revolt. He described how Sedgrave had given him a firkin of powder and three calivers for Eustace about one to two weeks prior to 15 July 1580.⁵⁴ The goods were conveyed by cart by Patrick Lynam and a churl to Eustace's home in Rathfarnham. Barnewall bought a further 60 pounds of powder from a merchant in Bridge Street. All the goods were then stored in Gallmorestown, Co. Kildare. During the rebellion, Barnewall bought eighteen pounds of powder for the viscount from William Fitzsimon, a Dublin merchant, on two occasions. He showed letters from the viscount

to the merchant and paid the price asked for the powder. The merchant and the viscount exchanged greetings through Barnewall. The transactions were kept secret, Barnewall when visiting the merchant's home, always using the back door. Barnewall said he kept William and Michael Fitzsimon informed of Eustace's intentions and these men had arranged for Barnewall's passage from Ireland.⁵⁵ Battisto Vescovo, papal nuncio in Paris had written assurances of intent for Barnewall and for Edmund's servant, James Maguire who accompanied him.⁵⁶ The assurances were vouched for by Fr Henry Sedgrave, known to be a good, reliable and loyal person who had studied in the Jesuit house in Paris.⁵⁷ Barnewall had intended to meet Fr Richard Eustace in Paris but he had previously travelled to Rome. Barnewall's mission was with Richard's compliance to seek papal aid for the cause in Ireland. Barnewall's journeys and adventures have been described already but his confessions demonstrate the strength of purpose of the viscount and his family and the faith he inspired in merchants and churchmen alike. The merchants had a great deal of material wealth to lose and also placed themselves in a dangerous position at a time when the New English were clearly set on a course of establishing themselves as an élite group in Ireland.

Fitzsimon and Sedgrave were 'of good accompt in this city, the one an alderman, the other a merchant of good reckoning'; they were accused of complicity with the viscount.⁵⁸ Loftus and Wallop recommended that 'the example of severity in this case shall do well to terrify the rest'.⁵⁹ These two

were particularly suspect as one was thought to be a Jesuit while the other was a noted papist. The problem for the administrators was that they were unable to arrest both of them at the same time and they feared they might flee the country if either one heard of their intentions.

In August 1583 Barnewall gave further information to the officials.⁶⁰ William Fitzsimon and Sedgrave were imprisoned in the castle and an inventory of their goods taken which convinced the officials they were two of the wealthiest men in the city.⁶¹ The lord mayor and his councillors objected to their imprisonment, quoting an act of Edward IV which allowed citizens to be bailed and tried by twenty of their colleagues before the mayor and a royal judge.⁶² Both men, Barnewall said, were 'sworn to the rebels, to assist them to their powers' but because their trial was to be before their neighbours, the officials had no confidence that they would be charged.⁶³ The fact that these two men of the calibre, background and economic acumen had been so obviously involved in Baltinglass's cause - they had business dealings with him, they had arranged for the safe passage of his servant from Ireland - is an example of the confidence the viscount inspired in people of power and discernment. Sedgrave and Fitzsimon were handed over to their colleagues and later freed.

Teig Roe also testified about this relationship of trust and mutual co-operation that existed between his master Baltinglass and these members of the Dublin merchant community.⁶⁴ Teig described the ease and hospitality that existed between

Alderman Walter Sedgrave in his home in Roebuck and Fr Rochford.⁶⁵ He described the hospitality and camaraderie, the mutual friendship that was extended in Monkstown to Sedgrave. Teig described how Eustace had in the early days of the rebellion ordered his men not to destroy or meddle with Sedgrave's lands. When some of the men demurred Eustace cautioned them, 'It is not for us to spoil him that is a good Catholic and that hath promised to help us to his ability and one to whom we have made promise to do no hurt'.⁶⁶ A secret understanding was made between the viscount and the merchant and it is noteworthy as in the case of Kildare, that Eustace attracted aid from such powerful and wealthy sponsors, but failed to persuade them to take the final step and enter the battlefield openly with him. Nevertheless it demonstrates yet again the fervour, the ability, the responsibility and the capability that the viscount displayed to attract such unique patrons. Some members of the patrician community, long established, enjoying civic power and pomp, regulating the daily details and lifestyles of hundreds of people through their employ and business acumen, were prepared to seek a deeper meaning to their lives. They were aware of the Counter Reformation and under its influence were prepared to abandon church papistry and commit themselves to a more militant kind of Catholicism. Like Eustace, they wished to rejoice in their Catholicism, not hide it away from public display. Thus members of the Sedgrave and Fitzsimon families involved themselves in the Baltinglass conspiracy; they trusted in Eustace's ability who in turn inspired them to hope that Catholics could

obtain liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

Teig described how he acted as messenger several times between Walter Sedgrave, William Fitzsimon and the viscount and Barnewall. He carried letters but was always aware of their contents which in case of apprehension he was told to 'convey away from him into some corner or bush' and deliver the messages verbally.⁶⁷ Teig divulged that he had delivered a letter from the viscount to Barnewall which charged the latter to inform the merchants that 'they should not be dismayed with the overthrow of the Spaniards at the fort for there were but a few slain there'.⁶⁸ Eustace was misinformed of the real facts of the slaughter of Smerwick. But the information demonstrates the keenness of interest on the part of the merchants in the outcome of the Spanish invasion force. Eustace trusted the merchants completely. At one stage when Teig Roe and Barnewall decided they would test their loyalty, they suggested to Eustace that the merchants 'seemed too war weary of their dealings with him and would do no more for him'.⁶⁹ James remained unconvinced, trusting in their sincerity and replied, 'That was not their promises made unto me'.⁷⁰ Barnewall described how on one occasion he had gone to William Fitzsimon for gunpowder. Fitzsimon had none but said he would ask a brother or cousin who was in charge of the storehouse in the town hall for some. Christopher warned him, saying 'Take heed whom you acquaint with this matter' to which William replied, 'Fear not, he is as true and as trusty as myself'.⁷¹ However there was no gunpowder in the storehouse at that time. Yet

the merchant was prepared to arrange to have powder delivered to him from the government supply to aid the rebels. Christopher asked Eustace on the occasion of delivering the first letter to Walter Sedgrave, 'My lord, is he privy of your intent?'.⁷² The reply was, 'Yea and his father also and William Fitzsimon and all sworn to persuade as many in Dublin as they can to aid this matter'.⁷³

Barnewall also described the conversation between Eustace and Fr Rochford at Killeen on 4 July 1580.⁷⁴ Fr Rochford asked why the viscount stayed there. Eustace replied that 'I go not to the hill because the earl hath willed me not to go thether for he said "Our purpose is discovered that if we go to the hill, we shall be apprehended by the council"'.⁷⁵ Rochford advised the viscount to enter into rebellion then. Kildare aided and abetted the rebels secretly. His involvement was also shown in Rome when Barnewall was questioned by Dr Dermot O'Hurley, later executed archbishop of Cashel. Fr Richard Eustace introduced Barnewall to Dr O'Hurley who examined him on all matters, particularly about Kildare and his response to Baltinglass's revolt. Barnewall was then introduced to the papal secretary, the cardinal of Como. The cardinal was unimpressed with Irishmen at that point because he declared Kildare had not 'taken our part'.⁷⁶ Dr O'Hurley attempted to argue that statement and defined the extent of Kildare's promise which did not include taking up arms. The cardinal, however, brought out two documents - one subscribed to by the 'most part of the lords and gentlemen of Ulster, Munster and Connaught'

and the other a letter from Kildare himself which the cardinal showed to Dr O'Hurley, 'as rebuking him for not believing him'.⁷⁷ Fr Richard Eustace translated and explained all this to Barnewall. The cardinal then asked, 'Do you think that we would have trusted to James Fitzmaurice or to Stukeley or to all these earls (which subscribed the great letter) unless we had received this letter from the earl of Kildare?'⁷⁸ Kildare was a very important nobleman, he had forged strong continental links and particularly Italian and papal ones during his years spent abroad. He was the restored head of the greatest house in Ireland. The Kildare name carried power. Barnewall's testimony displays just how valuable was the earl's commitment to the rebellion. This commitment had won the papal support. Not even James Fitzmaurice enjoyed the trust which was given to Kildare. Kildare was the main reason that James had been able to even consider papal help, the support of the earl of Kildare was the greatest and most important factor and impetus possible for the rebellion from the continental viewpoint. The papal curia was dealing with Kildare's allies and thus was prepared to place confidence in them. Baltinglass was the negotiator, the sacrificer, the leader in the open battle but behind him and his allies was the powerful, shadowy figure of the earl of Kildare. Kildare made secret agreements and pacts; he allowed his name and the prestige of his family to be used to attract credibility and aid but he himself failed to take the public step and openly declare himself an active rebel leader. He was a fosterer, a planner, an aider and abettor but for reasons of personality and of inherited caution gained

from what his forebears had endured from the aftermath of rebellion, he failed to take the centre stage. He remained in the wings of the action. The cardinal conveyed his disillusionment with Kildare by telling Dr O'Hurley that 'the pope had no money for more of their nation'.⁷⁹ He also said the Irishmen in Rome cursed Kildare 'for breaking of his promise and prayed for the viscount and the earl of Desmond and all their confederates'.⁸⁰

Barnewall continued his confession in August 1583. He confirmed the officials' view that Fitzsimon and Sedgrave were 'relievers of the rebellion here'.⁸¹ But the officials did not act any further because Elizabeth had 'dispensed with their offenses'.⁸² Barnewall likewise was freed but afterwards travelled to Dundalk to divulge further information 'against such a person as we little expected'.⁸³ Loftus and his colleagues thought the prudent path lay in not openly disclosing who this person was as they had so little success with the merchants, yet they felt obliged to confide this knowledge to Burghley and Walsingham. They were convinced that 'if any of this country's birth had been made acquainted herewith, they would either have been fearful to have dealt in it, or else given some secret intelligence to the party accused'.⁸⁴

In October Michael Fitzsimon left Ireland for France without state permission.⁸⁵ He had sought a general pardon from the officials but refused to negotiate on particular points. Fitzsimon 'is well known unto us to be not only an arrogant papist, impossible to be reformed, but a continual

practiser against the state', wrote Loftus and Wallop.⁸⁶ Barnewall's confession implicated Fitzsimon fully in the Baltinglass conspiracy. Had Fitzsimon been able to afford it, the lord justice claimed he would have delivered the letters soliciting aid for the Catholic cause in Ireland to the pope and to King Philip II. Fitzsimon enjoyed influence: a request came to Dublin from Queen Elizabeth at her country residence in Oatlands that 'Michael Fitzsimon, who has studied the civil laws abroad, be not troubled for having departed without licence'.⁸⁷

These details came to light in the summer of 1583. Eustace had been abroad for some twenty months but the hope persisted on the part of his supporters that he would return with a considerable army and fulfil the hopes of the members of the merchant, Pale and Gaelic communities that supported him and realise and help to create conditions for Catholic religious freedom. Eustace was their spokesman, the lay negotiator abroad. Undoubtedly these disparate communities nurtured other expectations from a foreign invasion based on material wealth, property and power yet they all had a common aim, linked perhaps to material hopes, but nevertheless based on a strong personal desire for freedom of Catholic worship. Eustace was the catalyst that combined, blended, nurtured and gave vision to these expectations. He had sacrificed all and from the depths of this, he succeeded in attracting and maintaining their confidence. Had they been able to take the field so openly as he had done, the conclusions would have been so vastly different.

Richard White reported that Gregory XIII was encouraging Philip II to send ten thousand men under Eustace to Ireland.⁸⁸ Philip stalled, promising to do so later. He continued to entertain James lavishly, however, 'to appease him lest the pope should be angry or offended to delay him this long'.⁸⁹ Philip II's eldest son had died and this loss combined with the continuing preparations for the armada and his natural distaste for action, postponed the possibility of immediate aid being granted to Eustace.⁹⁰ In October 1583 Dr O'Hurley, newly created archbishop of Cashel, and one of the major churchmen involved in Rome in planning for aid to Ireland, was captured soon after his return to Ireland.⁹¹ Wallop wrote of Dr O'Hurley -

It is most certain that he hath been a lodger at Rome for a long time, soliciting all matters that hath been there attempted to the prejudice of her Majesty's proceedings here in this realm, and the perturbing of this state. 92

Dr O'Hurley admitted he, Viscount Baltinglass, Richard Eustace and Barnewall had been with the cardinal of Como but he denied having seen the letters described in Barnewall's confessions or having heard of any important matters.⁹³ He had letters from the cardinal of Como but had left them in France. Dr O'Hurley was tortured. Barnewall's testimony was used against the archbishop. He was tried, found guilty of treason and died an excruciating death.⁹⁴ The repercussions of the Baltinglass revolt stretched out and caused yet another execution.

In December 1583 William Dillon wrote of his correspondence with a Mr Nicholas Eustace who had arrived in Paris in that summer.⁹⁵ Sir Nicholas also had left Ireland and was probably

in the Jesuit house in Paris where Richard had been. The beginning of 1583 saw the attempted enactment of harsh anti-recusant laws by Lord Deputy Perrot.⁹⁶ Like so many of his predecessors Perrot found he was obliged to be most careful with money. The recent rebellions and the executions of 1581-2 left many wards of state and he was obliged to discharge them as soon as possible.⁹⁷ The rumours of foreign invasion continued to circulate, William Nugent and Cornelius O'Mulrian, bishop of Killaloe were reported to be in Ireland, having arrived from Rome. Fenton said their arrival would stir up fresh hope; he wrote, 'They being so newly returned from Rome and Spain will be so much the more apt to confirm in the people their long expected helps from thence ...'.⁹⁸ One Bartholomew White gave an account of a conversation he had with a Limerickman on 14 November 1583.⁹⁹ He told him part of the Spanish army appointed for El-Araish was to be diverted to Ireland. They awaited Eustace's return from Rome. The Limerickman was an attendant of Fitzmaurice's son in Spain and 'privy to all the doings and practises of the Ireland traitors in Spain'.¹⁰⁰ He said the pope had urged King Philip II yet again to help Eustace and the king had promised to send aid when he had concluded his campaigns in Terceiros. Eustace continued to travel between Spain and Rome trying to move the king or the pope to send aid before it was too late. Eustace persevered despite the passage of time and the deep personal tragedies his family had suffered in the aftermath of the revolt and continued to negotiate for a positive response from either of the two powerful leaders.

In February Baltinglass was still in Madrid; he and other Irish fugitives were 'chargeably entertained' but yet the promised aid did not materialise.¹⁰¹ In Ireland Dr O'Hurley's trial, with its legal difficulties, continued. The government was jubilant that it had succeeded in capturing such an eminent churchman, one whom they believed deeply involved with the Baltinglass revolt at its nerve-centre in Rome.¹⁰² Fenton described rumours he had heard from Connacht that a force led by Baltinglass, William Nugent and Fitzmaurice's son was expected to leave Spain for Ireland within thirty days.¹⁰³ Fenton continued:-

For my part, I cannot fear any peril by foreign confederacy so long as there is no notable faction at home, nor any principle nobleman to countenance it. The earl of Kildare and the baron of Delvin now remaining there, should not as yet be returned hither.

104

The baron and the earl were still confined to prison and no major faction existed in Ireland to develop into a rebel party. Baltinglass's hope for resurgence was unreal even to a cautious official.

James continued to live in Spain, on a pension.¹⁰⁵ He was indefatigable in his efforts to try to return to Ireland. He wrote daily letters of comfort and encouragement to his fellow exiles abroad hoping always that the promised aid would be granted and they might return to Ireland.¹⁰⁶ In June 1584 Eustace, Fitzmaurice's son, Cornelius O'Mulrian, bishop of Killaloe and 'young Stukely' were in Madrid.¹⁰⁷ They believed the pope had sent a large treasure to levy men for Ireland

and 'certain Irish priests now in Lisbon ... hoped to be in Ireland and to have all things at their will shortly'.¹⁰⁸ However in Ireland the shift of interest was away from rebels and their expectation. Deputy Perrot was engaged in major political initiatives in Munster and Connacht.

In December 1584 William Nugent submitted to Perrot.¹⁰⁹

Nugent declared:

As often and with two others of my countrymen had conference with the Cardinal of Como he would utter that the expedition for Ireland must come from the King of Spain, that the pope was too far off to take it in hand.

110

Nugent said he had often requested the nuncio in Spain to intercede with Philip II and the reply was always when the opportunity arose, Philip would fulfil his promise. The pope was to be the chief financier of the expedition. Nugent had received letters of assurance whilst in Rome and Paris from Baltinglass that Philip would send the expedition.¹¹¹ The year 1584 ended with Nugent's submission. Eustace must have felt very beaten by this news. No aid had materialised; talks still continued that it would but yet the passage of time and loss of friends were quenching the hopes of resurrecting his rebellion in Ireland.

In January 1585 Eustace still remained at the Spanish court.¹¹² He was 'in more credit than he was for a friend of mine whom I bid put in trust to enquire for that bad sort of this country that be there rather to procure naughtiness than good', wrote Patrick Walshe.¹¹³ Walshe said Eustace and his

sort had impoverished 'the country so as our land is waste and little worth'.¹¹⁴ James's struggle ended however with his untimely death on 24 November 1585 at the Spanish court.¹¹⁵ He had dedicated his life's work to the freedom of Catholic practice in Ireland; he had fought and lost his possessions and property for this cause. He had impoverished his wife and his mother. He had experienced the loss of his brothers' lives in the rebellion. He had lived abroad and worked indefatigably in the courts of Spain and Rome to attempt to persuade the rulers there to aid his return to Ireland with an expedition. He had offered the hope to many exiles in Italy, France and Spain that by his efforts, he could with their help initiate a new religious régime in Ireland. He had heard of the execution of the scholarly Archbishop O'Hurley in 1584. He had heard also of the many executions of fine young men involved in his cause. These dreadful tidings failed to deter him. Only death silenced his desire to return to Ireland and restore its freedom of Catholic worship.

CONCLUSION

The first session of the parliament convened in 1585 by Sir John Perrot, who had been appointed lord deputy in January of the year, passed only two bills, one of them being for the attainder of James Eustace, third Viscount Baltinglass. This bill recognised the treasonable actions of Eustace and members of his family, and provided for the confiscation of their lands and the abolition of their privileged estate. While the parliamentary representatives of the Anglo-Irish community led by Richard Netterville and Henry Burnell were prepared to acquiesce in the suppression of the Eustace rebels, they were reluctant to agree to the passage of bills for a composition of the cess and the imposition of anti-Catholic measures. Drawing back from the extra-constitutional methods of James Eustace, William Nugent and James Fitzmaurice, the members of the commonwealth party, in opposition to the government's agents, used the parliamentary assembly as a vehicle for affirming their conservatism. The antipathy to the innovative taxation system which had been developed since the 1550s was compounded by the stance taken in the cause of liberty of conscience. Although the vast majority disagreed with Eustace's methods, the parliamentary opposition to the government had come to see defence of Catholicism as a vital element in their assertion of traditional rights. One of the clearest manifestations of this trend was the decision taken by many parents in English areas of Ireland to send their offspring to continental seminaries, there to be trained for the Counter-Reformation ministry. It

has been pointed out that the rebellion of Viscount Baltinglass contributed to the formation of this Catholic conservatism in the last decade and a half of the century. By way of concluding this dissertation it may be timely to draw together the individual strands of meaning which run through the background and course of the Baltinglass revolt.

The Eustace family had waxed powerful in the late middle ages, acquiring extensive lands, wielding political influence in top government offices and enjoying social ascendancy in the Pale marches. Members had succeeded in building up a solid tradition of loyalty and respectability over three centuries. Roland Eustace, baron Portlester, had faced a challenge to his loyalty to the new Lancastrian monarchy after 1485, surviving a lapse due to his support for the pretender Lambert Simnel and charges of pecuniary improprieties. Ultimately he succeeded in maintaining and strengthening the political position of his family which marriage links with the powerful Fitzgeralds of Kildare and with other influential Anglo-Irish families served to consolidate and extend. By the mid-sixteenth century the Eustaces extended their marital links into the neighbouring Gaelic class. Social and cultural intercourse with Gaelic families may have brought with it an undermining of the resistance on the part of the Anglo-Irish gentry family to armed demonstrations of opposition to rival power-blocs.

As with his namesake, Roland Eustace, second Viscount Baltinglass encountered severe difficulties during his long and impressive career. The Anglo-Irish community became

increasingly agitated over the imposition of levies and taxes, collectively known as the cess. Feelings of frustration and disillusionment began to fester by the 1560s and 1570s and these were exacerbated by the blatant political and economic ambition of the Anglo-Irish who sought to compete with the members of the long-established, traditionally loyal, community. Roland and his fellow 'countrymen' conducted a well-organised campaign against the imposition of cess. Slow but gradual political alienation of the Anglo-Irish community increased the members' discomfiture however, in a realm in which they had been accustomed to wield almost full power. This alienation strengthened their realisation of loss of trust by the government and of the manipulation of policy to favour newcomers.

The anti-recusancy drive pursued sporadically by the administration, but particularly evident in the late 1570s deepened these feelings of estrangement and of resentment being experienced by this loyal community. While Queen Elizabeth's government was loathe to make religion a divisive issue, selective harassment of certain members of the community made the adherence to the older religion a focus for opposition to innovative government policies, such as the cess. The struggle for justice was taken on by James Eustace, third Viscount Baltinglass and central figure in this study. James was educated by priests who wished to see a restoration of Catholicism as the official state religion in Ireland, and by liberal teachers in the Inns of Court. He was seasoned by continental travel and by his sojourn in Rome where he witnessed

the vigour of the Counter-Reformation church. He became a confirmed advocate of Catholicism. The conjunction of a hankering after economic and political justice, and the zeal for the freedom to practise religion on James's part increased the dilemma of this scion of an influential Anglo-Irish family. His own conviction of the rightness of the Catholic cause subsumed his perception of the denial of justice to subjects of the queen in Ireland. He had personal experience of the anti-recusancy drive on the part of government officials led by Archbishop Loftus in 1578. Political and religious loyalty, perceived by Loftus and the government as complementary and inseparable, clashed in James and found expression in his rebellion.

A combination of three separate yet interlocking issues fuelled the Baltinglass revolt: the struggle of the Anglo-Irish aristocratic gentry to retain their political and economic liberties, the clerically-impelled perception of Catholicism as a heritage to be defended, and the personal commitment of James Eustace to the restoration of the old religious and political order. James became the nodal lay figure in a network of support, created and sustained by the Catholic clergy in Ireland and on the continent for the restoration and preservation of Catholicism in Ireland, even at the cost of the deposition of Queen Elizabeth. The papal bull 'Regnan in excelsis' helped pave the way forward for the deposition. Many members of the Catholic clergy were involved in the planning and execution of this revolt. They laid the bedrock of its foundation.

The priests travelled to the continent also where they cultivated the support of Catholic powers, spiritual and temporal. Priests such as Dr Tanner, Fathers Rochford, Eustace and Campion, Newman, Comerford and Compton helped to foster an educational climate that was receptive to the search for the freedom to practise Catholicism. The priests were frequent visitors to the gentry houses in County Kildare in 1570-80: they encouraged the laity to seek the right to religious freedom through the medium of revolt. They gained steadfast adherents to their cause during a period of transition for the Anglo-Irish community. The dominance of the clergy in the planning stages of the revolt and their links with the Desmond family, the Nugents, members of the prosperous mercantile community and leading Gaelic families, demonstrate the extent to which the agents of the Catholic church in Ireland, with support from abroad, regarded armed protest as valid as part of a crusade. The clergy lent a solid, religious dimension to the events of 1579-82.

The papal attitude to Ireland envisaged just such a sequence of events: a major revolt encompassing the Pale under the earl of Kildare, aided in the outlying border regions by Eustace and Fiach MacHugh; Munster was to rise under Fitzmaruice and Desmonds; Ulster was to come out under Turlough Luineach and Connacht under the Burkes, O'Rorkes and other chieftains. This scenario was painted by the cardinal of Como to Christopher Barnewall. It was also understood in the frequent, secret meetings that took place between James, the

priests, the Anglo-Irish gentry families and members of the urban patrician community. Its reality is further testified to on the part of English government officials in the 1580s by the constant fear of papal attack or Spanish reprisal.

The revolt was viewed for a time as holding out the possibility of bringing about important changes for the future of Catholicism in Ireland and even in England, and not merely an isolated, localised event which suddenly erupted at the end of the haymaking season at the whim of a hotheaded young viscount or the spontaneous reaction of a crusading protagonist to disagreeable circumstances. It was part of a national and even continental plan. The revolt was originally to have coincided with Fitzmaurice's and Dr Sanders's expedition to Munster in 1579 where the Desmond revolt had begun and it was also supposed to have been contemporaneous with the Nugent revolt. The actual chronology was very different, however, with three revolts being consecutive rather than complementing each other. Each episode, although sharing in common planning to some extent, had its own momentum, with few points of inter-relation and overlap.

Reference to the anticipated rôle of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, as orchestrator of a general uprising causes some attention to be devoted to his non-participation. The papal curia and the Irish in Rome looked to Kildare as the true Catholic Irish leader. They awaited his positive response, fully trusting that it would come. Baltinglass was an important member of the group but his revolt was not viewed as a

separate one. Rather it was seen as part of a national enterprise with Kildare as leader. Eustace's contribution was positive, open and active but yet his rôle was subsidiary to the one expected of Kildare. The curial expectation of Kildare leads to the conclusion that Kildare was viewed as the master-mind, instigator and leader of a planned uprising, with the support of a papal and Spanish invasion of Ireland. Kildare was to have been the lynchpin in Ireland. He had long-established links abroad since his own extended sojourn in Italy and France. He had built up a substantial number of contacts for himself in the papal curia. He had dreams of restoring his house to its former glory and perhaps being lord deputy in Ireland, answering to the papacy as much as to the English monarch. James Fitzmaurice, the earl of Desmond and his brothers, James Eustace, the Nugents and the Gaelic allies all formed an integral part of this planned resistance in Ireland. Each one had individual aspirations and ambitions but the common factor binding them was the desire for freedom for Catholicism.

From this perspective, the Baltinglass revolt, led so overtly and with total self-sacrifice by Eustace was part of a major covert rebellion, the brainchild of the earl of Kildare. While Eustace gave all for its success, the earl weighed his position most carefully.

He co-operated secretly with James II, at times of great peril, helped the viscount to maintain his liberty. He encouraged the revolt and met with James on numerous occasions to

foster it. He was imprisoned for his alleged involvement and patronage. Yet he steadfastly declared his loyalty to Elizabeth and maintained that he did his utmost to dissuade James from going into rebellion. The earl obviously did all in his power to foster the rebellion but refused to openly partake in it. At bottom his pacifist disposition and the ancestral memory of a disastrous rebellion for the family inclined the earl to a position of benign neutrality.

Women played an active and publicly-acknowledge rôle in the rebellion. Mary, in sympathy with its ideals, offered hospitality and a place of refuge and comfort to the priests and arranged for the celebration of Masses in 1579-80 in conditions of secrecy essential to the priest's safety. They travelled at dangerous times with few companions to deliver important messages. They remained steadfast and loyal at times of harsh interrogation from the government officials. Some suffered imprisonment over an extended period and more experienced want, hardship, loss of property, land and income and harassment in the aftermath of the revolt. There were no recriminations or bitterness in their confessions despite their losses. In their commitment to the cause of the restoration of Catholicism, they proved to be the forerunners of the women who facilitated the establishment of the Counter-Reformation mission. As organisers of domestic affairs, they were responsible for aiding the revival of Catholic worship. The participation of women like Mary Travers, Mabel Fitzgerald, Joan Fitzpatrick, Joan Eustace and many others in recusant

activities encouraged the women in later years of the sixteenth century to give the lead in withdrawal from the status church ceremonies and to make their homes available for Catholic worship and priests' lodgings.

Some leading members of the mercantile communities in the towns gave succour to the revolt. Those who were associated with Eustace were animated by attachment to the Catholic religion in advance of the majority of their fellows. Undoubtedly their fears of loss of commercial and municipal privileges compounded their position of active dissidence. Their espousal of Baltinglass's cause was indicative of the growing concern in mercant and gentry homes for their civil, political and religious freedom. Moreover lay people of humbler station as well as clergy were prepared to die for their faith as was demonstrated by the execution of the Wexford people who sheltered Eustace. They verbalised their belief in Catholicism at their trials. In the aftermath of the revolt the transfer of over 6,000 acres to members of the New English community offered them an important foothold.

The revolt was the carefully planned reaction of a conservative community to a threatened loss of religious, political and economic heritage. In its aftermath the Anglo Irish community continued to experience major transferrals of power and property away from them to the New English. They had undergone a crisis of identity but they were to emerge as a strong force, committed to the championship of Catholicism, just as James Eustace had been before them. It may be judicious to leave

the final words with James Eustace

Being then the highest power on earth
doth command us to take the sword and
(since it can no better be) to fight
and defend ourselves against traitors
and rebels which do seek only the mur-
dering of souls, he is no Christian
man that will not obey.

FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION

- 1 Rothe, Analecta Cath., Hib., Dublin, 1884, pp 274-277:
O'Sullivan Beare, P., Historiae Catholicae Ibernaiae
compendium, Dublin 1850.
Spicelegium Ossoriense, Dublin, 1874-84, i, p.95.
- 2 Spic. Ossoriense, i, p.95.
- 3 Bagwell, R. Ireland under the Tudors, vol. iii, pp 59-90.
Ronan, M.V., Reformation in Ireland, Eliz.,
London, 1930, pp 502-636.
- 4 Bagwell, R. Ireland under the Tudors, vol. iii, pp
- 5 Ronan, M.V., Reformation in Ireland, Eliz.,
London 1930, pp 502-636.
- 6 Edwards, R.D. Church and State in Tudor Ireland,
Dublin 1935, pp 253-261.
- 7 Phillips, W.A. History of the church of Ireland,
vol 2, London 1934, pp 382-427.
- 8 Woulfe, D. 'Some martyrs of the Pale' in Catholic
Emancipation Centenary Record, Dublin 1929, pp 30-5.
- 9 Bradshaw, B. 'Sword, word and strategy' in Hist. Jn.,
xxi, 3 (1978), pp 475-502.
- 10 Brady, C. 'Conservative subversives' in Hist. Studies,
xv, Belfast 1985, pp 11-33.
- 11 Canny, N.P. From Reformation to restoration, Dublin
1987, pp 70-107.
- 12 Corish, P.J. The Irish Catholic Experience,
Dublin 1985, pp 63-95.
- 13 Ellis, S.G. Tudor Ireland, London & N.Y., 1985, pp 278-313.
- 14 Lennon, C. 'The rise of recusancy among the Dublin
Patricians, 1580-1613' in Studies in Church History,
xxv, pp 123-32;
'Civil privilege ... 1548-1613', Ph.D. 1987, Maynooth, Ch.v,
pp 202-72.
- 15 MacCurtain, M. Tudor and Stuart Ireland, Dublin 1972,
pp 78-80.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I

- 1 Sir William Stanley to Sir Francis Walsingham,
31 August 1850 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/83).
- 2 Cal. Doc. Ire., 1302-7, p.287, no. 719.
- 3 John Allen and William Brabazon to the earl of Essex,
8 May 1540 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/9/26).
- 4 Examination of Pale gentlemen on cess,
20 June 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/58/56).
- 5 Cal. Doc. Ire., 1285-92, p. 394, no. 884.
- 6 Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., i (Leinster), (Co. Kildare),
3 Edw. VI.
- 7 N.H.I., ix, 505.
- 8 Cal. Doc. Ire., 1302-7, p. 287., no. 719.
- 9 John Kingston, 'Catholic families of the Pale' in
Reportorium Novum, i-ii, 1955-60.
- 10 E. Tickell, 'The Eustace family and their lands in
Co. Kildare' in Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn., xiii, p. 411.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 K. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy in the
high middle ages' in N.H.I., ii, 414.
- 13 T.C.D., MS 1346 (H.4.4), p.72.
- 14 S.G. Ellis, Reform and Revival: English government in
Ireland 1470-1534 (London 1986) p. 6.
- 15 See op. cit. 10 above, pp 364-413; Liber mun. pub. Hib.,
pt ii, p.203; N.H.I., ix, 505.
- 16 For an account of Roland's career, see E. Tickell, 'The
Eustace family and their lands in Co. Kildare' in
Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn., xiii, pp 364-413.
- 17 N.H.I., ix, 505.
- 18 Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV, pp 591-2, nos. 663, 675, 680.
- 19 N.H.I., vii, 169; Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV, pp 591-2;
N.H.I., ix, 506.
- 20 J. Kingston, 'Catholic families', p. 247.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.

- 23 As footnote 20 above; John O'Donovan (ed.) Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland (Dublin, 1856).
- 24 As in footnote 20 above. I am indebted to Colm Lennon for his article 'The chantries in the Irish Reformation: the case of St. Anne's guild, Dublin, 1550-1630'. As yet unpublished.
- 25 As in footnote 20 above.
- 26 W. Fitzgerald, 'New Abbey of Kilcullen' in Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn., iii, pp 312-3.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 T. Fitzsimon to Thomas Cromwell, 16 March 1535 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/2/38).
- 32 Council of Ireland to the king, 14 February 1536 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/3/10).
- 33 Indenture of John Alen, master of the rolls, 10 October 1535 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/2/68).
- 34 Extent of the possessions of dissolved monasteries, April 1541 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/10/9).
- 35 Kingston, 'Catholic families', p. 248.
- 36 See loc. sit. 34 above.
- 37 G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors, (London 1955), pp 130-3; Lists of Acts proposed for the Irish parliament, 33 Henry viii, May 1541 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/10/15).
- 38 See op. cit. 36 above; For further transactions see 22 March 1560, Pat. and Close Rolls, p.459, no.164; 22 February 1567, p. 509, no. 1567.
- 39 See op. cit. 10 above, pp 364-413.
- 40 Cal. pat. Rolls Ire., Eliz., no. 16, p. 544.
- 41 Ibid, no. 379, p. 430.
- 42 See loc. sit. 34 above.
- 43 Petition of James Eustace to Queen Elizabeth, 27 July 1568, Cal. pat. Rolls Ire., Hen. viii-Eliz., p. 544.

- 44 Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
8 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/13).
- 45 James Eustace to Robert Walshe, 18 July 1580,
Cal. Carew MSS. 1575-88, p. 290, no. 444.
- 46 Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
14 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/5).
- 47 As in footnote 20 above.
- 48 As in footnote 20 above.
- 49 Lord deputy and council to privy council,
27 January 1552 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/9/5).
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 17 February 1559, no. 223.
- 52 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 14 June 1561, no. 309.
- 53 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 7 July 1560, no. 260.
- 54 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 29 June 1561, no. 381; 13 April 1563, 542.
- 55 Lord lieutenant and council to the queen, 26 January
1561 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/3/7).
- 56 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 1563, nos. 652, 551, 581.
- 57 M.V. Ronan, Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth
(Dublin 1930), p.82.
- 58 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Justices Wrothe and Arnold,
20 Oct. 1563, Cal. Carew MSS. 1515-1574, p. 364, no. 240.
- 59 Fiants Ire., Eliz., nos 5, 896, 953.
- 60 Roland Eustace and Pale gentlemen to Elizabeth,
6 July 1561 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/4/17).
- 61 Fiants Ire., Eliz., nos 5, 2345, 2444, 2445, 2870, 3183.
- 62 See Ciaran Brady, 'Conservative Subversives: The Community
of the Pale and the Dublin Administration, 1556-86' in
I.H.S., xv (1984), pp 11-33.
- 63 See loc. cit. 60 above.
- 64 O. Plunkett and Pale gentlemen to Queen Elizabeth,
27 May 1562 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/6/12).
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 See loc. cit. 60 above.

- 67 As in footnote 62 above.
- 68 As in footnote 58 above.
- 69 Instructions from Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Wrothe and Sir Nicholas Arnold, 20 October 1563, Cal. Carew MSS., p. 354, no. 240.
- 70 Certain Irish lords as Baltinglass, Slane, Trimleston, Howth and others to Queen Elizabeth, 18 October 1565 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/15/14).
- 71 N.H.I., viii, 207.
- 72 Memo, the lord deputy desires to understand Elizabeth's pleasures, extracted from his letters, 12 May 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/20/87).
- 73 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Sidney, 11 June 1567 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/21/10).
- 74 As in footnote 62 above.
- 75 Viscount Baltinglass and other barons and gentlemen to Queen Elizabeth, January 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/57/1, li, 2, 3); Viscount Baltinglass and others to privy council, 11 January 1577, Cal. Carew MSS., 1515-74, p.38, no.44.
- 76 Viscount Baltinglass and others to privy council, 11 January 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/57/4); Lord deputy to privy council, 27 January 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/57/5).
- 77 Roland Eustace and others to the lord deputy, 1577, Cal. Carew MSS., 1515-74, pp 60-61, Article no. v.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Questions to be resolved by Scurlock, Netterville and Burnell; The answers of Scurlock, Netterville and Burnell, Cal. Carew. MSS., 1515-74, pp 61-2, Arts vi, vii.
- 80 The queen to the lord deputy and council, 14 May 1577 Cal. Carew MSS., 1515-74, pp 78-9, no. 55.11.
- 81 Instructions given by lord deputy and council to William Gerrard, Esq., 15 September 1577, Cal. Carew MSS., 1515-74, pp 112-4, no. 73.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Examination of Lords Trimleston, Baltinglass and others, 20 June 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/58/56); 1 July 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/58/49i).

- 85 Nicholas White, master of the rolls, to Lord Burghley, 13 June 1577, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, vol. ii, pp 165-5, no. 481.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Submission of the gentlemen of the Pale to the lord deputy and council, 18 February 1577, Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, p 124, no. 81; The lord deputy and council to privy council, 18 February 1577, Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74, p. 125, no. 82.
- 88 Privy council to Lord Deputy Sidney, 1 June 1578, Hogan & O'Farre The Walsingham, Letter-Book (Dublin, 1959), pp 1-3.
- 89 Instructions and articles given by the lord deputy and council to Viscount Baltinglass and Richard Sheth of Kilkenny, 17 June 1569 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/28/34); Depositions of Viscount Baltinglass and Richard Sheth, 19 June 1569 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/28/42); Viscount Baltinglass, John Eustace & Robert Hartpool to the lord chancellor and council, 12 August 1569, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/29/37).
- 90 Viscount Baltinglass, John Eustace & Robert Hartpool to the lord chancellor and council, 12 August 1569 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/29/37).
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Instructions given by the lord deputy and council to Viscount Baltinglass and Richard Sheth, 17 June 1569 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/28/34).
- 93 For detailed information on Edmund Butler see John Curtis, The Butler Revolt of 1569, (M.A. Thesis, 1983, N.U.I. Maynooth).
- 94 In 1562 Roland was made keeper of the great seal for life, Cal. Carew MSS., 1515-74, p. 317, no. 234; Fiants Ire., Eliz., 1560, no. 260; 29 June, 1561, nos. 380, 381; 1563, no. 542; 28 June 1563, no. 551; 8 December 1563, no. 581; 1564, no. 682; 28 June 1566, no. 896; 1566, no. 953; 10 June 1572, no. 2114; 17 June 1572, no. 2117; 1573, no. 2345; July 1574, no. 2444; 28 July 1574, no. 2445; 2 December 1574, no. 2532; 28 June 1576, no. 2870; 26 December 1577, no. 3182.
- 95 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 28 July 1574, no. 2445.
- 96 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to the privy council, 24 August 1578 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/61/55).
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid.

- 100 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to the earl of Leicester,
24 August 1578, Cal. Carew MSS., 1575-88, p.137, no. 101.
- 101 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to Sir Francis Walsingham and
Wilson, 24 August 1578 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/61/56).
- 102 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to the privy council,
24 August 1578 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/61/55).
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 As in footnote 100 above.
- 107 See loc. cit. 102 above.
- 108 See loc. cit. 102 above.
- 109 See loc. cit. 100 above.
- 110 See loc. cit. 100 above.
- 111 See loc. cit. 102 above.
- 112 See loc. cit. 102 above.
- 113 Examination of Lalor, Tallon and others, 24 August 1578
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/61/57i, ii).
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 See loc. cit. 102 above.
- 116 See loc. cit. 102 above.
- 117 Lord deputy and council to the privy council,
24 August 1578 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/61/57).
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Sir William Drury to Secretaries Walsingham and Wilson,
24 August 1578 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/61/58).
- 120 See loc. cit. 117 above.
- 121 See loc. cit. 117 above.
- 122 See loc. cit. 119 above.
- 123 See loc. cit. 119 above.
- 124 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to Sir Francis Walsingham,
11 February 1579 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/65/39).
- 125 Ibid.

CHAPTER II FOOTNOTES

- 1 Examination of Christopher Barnewall, 12 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i).
- 2 Remembrance to Mr Secretary, relative to the suppression of Irish monasteries, 16 July 1559 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/1/42). For an account of New Abbey see Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'New Abbey of Kilcullen' in K.A.J. Vol.III 1899-1902, pp 301-317.
- 3 See C. Hough, 'Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism' in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp 394-406 and 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation' in Past-Present 1981, No. 93, pp 37-69.
- 4 McGrath, Rowe, Joy, 'The Marian priests in Elizabethan England' in Recusant History, Vol. 17.
- 5 For an account of Dr Sanders's life see Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. L, pp 259-261.
- 6 See op. cit. 4 above.
- 7 See op. cit. 4 above.
- 8 For further detailed information on Marian Catholicism see also John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850; P. Hughes, The Reformation in England and Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England.
- 9 Archbishop Loftus to Sir Francis Walsingham, 11 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/26, 26i, ii, iii).
- 10 Petition to the queen by James Eustace, 27 July 1568, no. 16, p.544; Cal. pat. rolls, Ire., Eliz., p.544.
- 11 Lord Deputy Grey to the king, 10 March 1540 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/9/12).
- 12 Order of the lord deputy and Council, 17 June 1543 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/11/19); Lord deputy and Council to the king, 14 January 1543 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/11/30). John Travers was described as 'a right honest man, most willing, forward, and diligent to serve.'
- 13 Lord Deputy St Leger and Council to the king, 11 December 1554 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/11/51).
- 14 Cregan, D.F. 'Irish Catholic admissions to the English Inns of Court, 1558-1625' in Ir. Jurist, N.S., v (1970), 95-114.

- 15 See op. cit. 14 above.
- 16 As footnote 10 above.
- 17 Geoffrey Parmiter, 'Popish Recusancy in the Inns of Court' in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XLIX (1976), Supplement, 1-viii, pp 1-60.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 As footnote 14 above.
- 20 William Bermingham to Lord Burghley, 8 March 1574, in H.M.C. Salisbury, Vol. II, p.94, no. 240.
- 21 Examination of William Bermingham, 7 March 1574 in H.M.C. Salisbury, Vol. II, p.94, no. 239.
- 22 List of prisoners, March 1574, H.M.C. Salisbury, Vol. II, p.95, no. 242.
- 23 As footnote 10 above.
- 24 As footnote 10 above.
- 25 As footnote 10 above.
- 26 For an account of his life see Edmund Hogan, S.J., Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century, (London, 1894), pp 16-25.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Hogan, Ibernia Ignat., p.16.
- 29 Cal. S.P. Rome, 1558-71, no. 845.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 10 June 1582, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/17.
- 34 M.V. Ronan, The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558-1580, p. 542;
Cal. S.P. Rome, 1572-78, no. 139.
- 35 Ronan, Ref. under Elizabeth, 1558-1580, pp 543-4.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid., p.545.

- 39 Commisary in Portugal to the Cardinal of Como, 17th October 1576, Cal. S.P. Rome, 1572-8, no. 451.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Hogan, Ibernia Ignat., p.23.
- 44 Archbishop Adam Loftus to Sir Francis Walsingham, 11 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/26).
- 45 Examination of Walter Eustace, 14 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/79i).
- 46 See loc. cit. 44 above.
- 47 See loc. cit. 44 above.
- 48 Ronan (1930), p.547; and New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. xiii, p.333.
- 49 N.H.I., viii, p.211.
- 50 Fr Wolfe's description of Ireland, Ronan, pp 473-89.
- 51 Ronan (1930), Part iv, pp 502-523.
- 52 Interrogatories for the earl of Kildare, 8 December 1575 in H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii, p.124.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 See op. cit. 48 above.
- 55 See loc. cit. 44 above.
- 56 See loc. cit. 44 above.
- 57 Lord Deputy Sidney to Archbishop Adam Loftus, 26 June 1578 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/26i).
- 58 See loc. cit. 44 above.
- 59 See loc. cit. 57 above.
- 60 See loc. cit. 57 above.
- 61 See loc. cit. 57 above.
- 62 Lord Deputy Sidney to Adam Loftus, 18 July 1578, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/26ii).
- 63 See loc. cit. 44 above.
- 64 See loc. cit. 44 above.

CHAPTER III FOOTNOTES

- 1 The examination and confession of Oliver Eustace, 12 September 1579, The Walsingham Letter Book, pp 175-7.
- 2 P.J. Corish, The Irish Catholic Experience, Dublin 1985, p.76.
- 3 James Fitzmaurice to the earl of Desmond, 1 July 1579 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/68/32); (P.R.O., S.P. 63/68/33, 34, 35 and 36).
- 4 Ciaran Brady, 'Faction and Origins of the Desmond Rebellion of 1579' in I.H.S., vol. XXII, no. 88, September 1981, p.305.
- 5 Christopher Barnewall's confession, 28 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38).
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/64); earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/72).
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 See loc. cit. 5 above.
- 11 See loc. cit. 5 above.
- 12 See loc. cit. 5 above.
- 13 See loc. cit. 5 above.
- 14 Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 February 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/61).
- 15 Sir W. St Leger to Burghley, 24 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/56).
- 16 See loc. cit. 5 above.
- 17 See loc. cit. 14 above.
- 18 Particulars of the lands and tithes of Sir John Travers, 17 September 1585 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/119/30).
- 19 E. Hogan, Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century, (London, 1894), p.17.

- 20 Edmund Hogan, Ibernia Ignat, (1880) p.16.
- 21 Ibid., and Edmund Hogan, Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century, (London, 1894), p.17.
- 22 As footnote 8 above.
- 23 As footnote 14 above.
- 24 As footnote 19 above.
- 25 As footnote 5 above.
- 26 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/1).
- 27 Lord Justice Drury and Council to the Privy Council, 12 September 1579, in The Walsingham Letter Book, pp 172-4.
- 28 As footnote 14 above.
- 29 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/1); (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/85); (P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/15).
- 30 Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 February 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/61) and Wallop to Walsingham, 6 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/11).
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 As footnote 14 above.
- 33 An example of this support is in A long case in 14 pages, stating the principal matters which charge the earl of Kildare with treason (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/85).
- 34 For concise but detailed account of Pope Gregory XIII's aspirations and achievements see The Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol. VII, (New York 1910), pp 1-4.
- 35 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/1).
- 36 Matters against the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86); Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87); Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/78, 80, 81).
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid.

- 41 Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/80).
- 42 As footnote 36 above.
- 43 As footnote 36 above.
- 44 As footnote 36 above.
- 45 As footnote 36 above.
- 46 As footnote 36 above. Oliver Eustace had been a close friend of James Fitzmaurice.
- 47 As footnote 36 above.
- 48 As footnote 36 above.
- 49 As footnote 36 above.
- 50 As footnote 36 above.
- 51 Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/78, 80, 81).
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87).
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 For complete list of charges and replies see:
Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85).
For list of charges against the baron of Delvin see:
Abstract of the matters against the Baron Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86, 87, 88, 89).
- 56 Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare, June 1582, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79, 80, 81).
- 57 The principal matters against the earl of Kildare, 23 December 1580, Cal. Carew MSS, 1575-88, pp 316-19, no.483. and Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/49).
- 58 Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 February 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/61).
- 59 The principal charges against the earl of Kildare, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/27).
- 60 Lord Deputy Grey and Council to the Privy Council, 14 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40).

- 61 Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham,
19 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/49).
- 62 The principal matters which charge the earl of Kildare,
23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/27).
- 63 Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare,
June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79, 80, 81).
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 The confessions of Christopher Barnewall, 12 August 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i).
- 67 Abstract of the earl of Kildare's last confession,
22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/49).
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 The examination of Christopher Barnewall, 28 August 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i); Breviate of the accusations
against Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79, 80, 81).
- 72 The examination of Christopher Barnewall, 28 August 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i).
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Digest of the accusations against earl of Kildare, June
1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/83).
- 76 Abstract of Kildare's last confession, 22 June 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/49) and loc. cit. 74 above.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Material parts of the speeches of the earl of Kildare and
the archbishop of Dublin, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O.,
S.P. 63/79/26i).
- 79 Ibid., and Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin,
June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87).
- 80 See particularly loc. cit. 77 above.
- 81 Note of the matters in the examinations of Nash, Scurlock,
Bath, Cary, Cusack and others, March 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/39).
- 82 Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87).
- 83 Ibid.

- 84 Examination of Baron Delvin, 22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/50); Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87).
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Notes touching the prisoners for the conspiracy in the Pale, February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/56).
- 87 Interrogatories to be ministered to James Fitzchristopher Nugent, 30 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/68); Examination of James Fitzchristopher Nugent, 30 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/69); Examinations of prisoners and witnesses, December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/78).
- 88 Examination of Christopher Barnewall, 28 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/114i).
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 For detailed insights into the Delvin conspiracy see Extract of John Cusack's confession, 13 March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/58ii); Confession of John Cusack of Ellistonrede, 14 March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/24); John Nugent's confession, 5 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/18). John Nugent testified that Sir Nicholas Eustace, William Nugent and Brian McGeoghegan travelled to the north 'that they might draw the Irish lords to come and disturb the English Pale'; Examination of Baron Delvin, 22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/50); Interrogatories to be ministered to Baron Delvin, 19 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/37); Matters against the Baron Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86); Interrogatories to be ministered to the Baroness Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/88 and 89).
- 91 Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87); Matters against the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86); Notes of circumstances touching the earl of Kildare's cause, December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/76, 77).
- 92 Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87); Principal matters which charge the earl of Kildare, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/27).
- 93 Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87).
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid., and Examination of Nash, Scurlock etc. March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/39).
- 96 Examination of Thomas Eustace, 12 August 1582, in Breviate concerning the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/87).

- 97 Examination of Christopher Barnewall, 28 June 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/114i).
- 98 For a detailed account of the Sedgrave family see
Colm Lennon 'Civic privilege, state and the growth of
recusancy: the patriciate of Dublin in the age of Reformation
1458-1613. Ph.D., 1987, N.U.I., Maynooth
- 99 The confessions of Teig Roe, 24 July 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/36iii).
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Archbishop Loftus to Walsingham, 11 September 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/26).
- 106 Examination of Christopher Barnewall, 28 June 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/114(i)).
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 See loc. cit. 99 above.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Notes collected out of Mr Herbert's speeches,
3 August 1579 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/68/5).
- 113 Examination of Sir James Fitzgerald, 25 August 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/25i).
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Earl of Kildare to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 September
1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/48).
- 117 Particulars of lands and tithes of Sir John Travers,
17 September 1585 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/119/30).
- 118 Examination of Sir James Fitzgerald, 25 August 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/25i).
- 119 Ibid.

- 120 See loc. cit. 118 above.
- 121 See loc. cit. 118 above.
- 122 See loc. cit. 118 above.
- 123 The principal charges against the earl of Kildare, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/27).
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Material parts of the speeches of the earl of Kildare and the archbishop of Dublin, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/26i).
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Ibid.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Ibid., for example Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/1).
- 131 Interrogation to be ministered to the baroness of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/89);
Matters against the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86);
Examination of the baron of Delvin, 22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/50) and 19 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/37).

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV

- 1 Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85); Interrogation to be ministered to the Viscountess Baltinglass and the lady of Upper Ossory, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/90).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Viscount Baltinglass to the earl of Kildare, 22 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/62);
Viscount Baltinglass to the earl of Ormond, July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/64i);
Viscount Baltinglass to Robert Walshe, 18 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/68i).
- 5 Viscount Baltinglass to the earl of Kildare, 22 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/62).
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Lord Justice Pelham to Chancellor Gerrard, 30 July 1580 Cal. Carew Mss. 1575-88, pp 290-1, no. 446.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Viscount Baltinglass to the earl of Ormond, 18 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/64i).
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.

- 22 See footnote 13 above.
- 23 See footnote 13 above.
- 24 Earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/72).
- 25 Earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/64).
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid. Lucas was a familiar name Queen Elizabeth termed Ormond.
- 30 Lord Justice Pelham to the earl of Ormond, 20 July 1580, Cal. Carew Mss. 1575-88, p.279, no. 428.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Viscount Baltinglass to Robert Walshe, 18 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/68i).
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Patrick Doben, Mayor to Sir Francis Walsingham, 26 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/68);
Walshe handed over Baltinglass's messenger to Patrick Doben, mayor of Waterford. The messenger confessed he had received this letter from one Philip Nash of Fyderry, Co. Tipperary. The messenger was then committed to chains. Doben sent the letter to Ormond 'willing him to take care of so bad a matter'.
Sir Patrick Doben to the earl of Ormond, 26 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/72i);
Earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/72; Its contents convinced Ormond that James was definitely going to 'proceed with his treason'. He warned that 'their messengers shall escape me hardly if they come where I have to be'.
- 36 Lord Justice Pelham to the earl of Ormond, 20 July 1580 Cal. Carew Mss. 1575-88, p.279, no.427;
Kildare was commander of the Pale forces. Four ensigns of footmen had landed in Dublin. Six ships carrying one thousand men sailed to Ireland. Kildare assured Pelham that he was determined 'to make head' against Eustace.

- 37 Lord Justice Pelham to Sir William Winter, 19 July 1580, Cal. Carew Mss.1575-88, p.279, no. 427;
Winter, the admiral of the fleet, was positioned at the south coast and expected four more ships to arrive.
- 38 Ibid.; Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/49):
Chancellor Gerrard intimated to Walsingham that Eustace and Fiach MacHugh were joined by the O'Mores and O'Connors who were 'ripe for rebellion' and 'ready to do mischief'. Gerrard viewed Eustace as 'so simple and unable to attempt this folly' without backing.'
Sir Nicholas White to the earl of Leicester, 21 July 1580, Cal. Carew Mss. 1575-88, p.280, no. 429.
- 39 Captain John Zouche to Sir Francis Walsingham, 26 July 1580 (P.R.O., S-P. 63/74/66).
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Lord Justice Pelham to Queen Elizabeth, 27 July 1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.282, no. 437.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid. Pelham was busy in the Munster wars. But he warned that the Pale outbreak needed to be handled swiftly. He promised that unless 'this starting out in the Pale received foreign aid, Desmond would soon be overcome'.
- 48 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 29 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/66/78);
Lord Justice Pelham to Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 July 1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.283, no. 439.
Fenton was sworn in in place of 'Mr Challoner being retired in regard of his age and other impotencies'.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 29 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/66/78).
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 29 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/77). Gerrard was so unsure of the amount of help Eustace had in the Pale he wrote 'the promise of how many in the Pale I know not, to join with him'. This suggests he was indeed nervous and anxious about the extents of this conspiracy.

- 53 Viscount Gormanston to Chancellor Gerrard, 28 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/12ii). Gormanston had convened his soldiers at Naas. He said Co. Kildare was the nerve centre of the revolt. He confided that he was unwilling to commit too much information to paper but warned the chancellor that 'religion doth carry men far and how many men are that way disposed is not unknown to your lord'. Gormanston declared he would be a truly zealous subject to Elizabeth 'if my purse were correspondent to good will, I would attempt to appease a great party of these broils'.
- 54 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 3 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/6).
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Lord Deputy Grey and council to the privy council, 14 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40).
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Lord Deputy Grey and council to the privy council, 14 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40);
The lord justice and council to the earl of Ormond, 25 August 1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.307, no.474. Upon receipt of this summons, Pelham delegated authority to Ormond and made Sir George Bouchier colonel of the forces. He instructed Bouchier 'to repair into Kerry and prey, burn, spoil and destroy all that you may of the traitors' goods, cattle and corn'. Pelham reported that the Desmond rebels were so weakened by his two recent expeditions, that the majority had submitted. This was a poor outlook for the Leinster rebels against whom Grey was amassing forces for an immediate counter-attack.
- 61 Lord Deputy Grey and council to the privy council, 14 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40);
- 62 See loc. cit. 58 above.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 The earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley, 21 August 1580, H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii (London 1880), p. 339, no. 881.
- 68 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 17 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/53).
- 69 Sir William Stanley to Sir Francis Walsingham, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/83).

- 70 As in footnote 69 above.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 12 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/28).
Grey had reckoned that the rebels were few in number - about 100 - and were totally unprepared for the onslaught that met them as they left the wooded area. Grey accepted the defeat philosophically, affirming his resignedness in 'Fiat Voluntas', he regretted Elizabeth disapproved of the charge made by his captains.
- 74 Sir Nicholas Malby to Lord Burghley, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/82).
Malby again warned of the power and uniqueness of this revolt; he cautioned that it was 'very perilous and indeed very dangerous and must both speedily and deftly be set upon'. Malby viewed previous rebellions as the 'private quarrels' of 'country people'. But Eustace's cause was 'converted to religion' and thus had become a general cause of almost all the people. Malby remonstrated that it would be the most difficult of all to quench because he said papistry was everywhere and 'in those which we hold for the best that being in company with us cannot be made to do anything against these as much the rebellious papists'. Malby also advised that the remarkable red and blue issue coats of the soldiers be avoided as the newly-arrived English soldiers were easily discernible to the Irish enemy. The desertion of the kern to the Pale rebels also hampered Grey, perceived by Malby as 'a rare and noble man full of worthiness'.
- 75 Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/21).
- 76 As footnote 69 above.
- 77 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/79).
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/80).
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 30 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/77); (ii) 31st August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/758): Gerrard elaborated further that Garret Jones was 'in great trust with the earl' i.e. Kildare; (iii) Four principal points against the earl of Kildare, 18 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/32, 33).

- 83 (Continued) Edmund Reagh questioned Thomas Meagh about Captain Garret and his band going to the rebels. Meagh cautioned Reagh replying, 'what is that to thee, you must go or else it will lie too heavy on thy shoulders all the days of thy life'. Two more of Kildare's men, Baker and Rodes also accompanied Garret. They spent some time with the rebels and later returned to Kildare's service. Rodes then accompanied Mable, countess of Kildare to England. Kildare claimed he thought Garret had left Naas to arrange for the provision of victuals. Garret's calivers and furniture were from Elizabeth's store, acquired by a warrant from Kildare. Kildare stated he was ignorant of Garret's intent and 'doth inwardly grieve at his rebellion'. The majority of the Fowlers in the Pale joined in with the rebels.
- 84 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/21).
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Sir Henry Wallop and council to the chancellor and council, 7 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40i).
Sir James of Desmond had been badly wounded and taken prisoner by Sir Cormac McTeigne on 4 August at Muskerry. 60 of his followers and 'odd persons' were slain at his capture. Events quickly began to go against the Desmonds and their followers. On 5 August the garrison from Kilmallock met John of Desmond and Dr Sanders, accompanied by a small force. The garrison, led by Stanley, set on them as they sat around the campfire. They captured Dr Sander's servant, an Englishman and a friar who had been standard-bearer to James Fitzmaurice. These three were detained at Kilmallock. John of Desmond's baggage was lost, most of his followers slain and thus he left Munster on 5 August to join with the Pale rebels 'being not able to hold his head here'. The earl too was suffering severe hardship. His followers were abandoning him or were slain. The earl 'wandereth from place to place in great astonishment'. The Munster rebels were indeed at a low ebb at the outbreak of the Pale rebellion. John of Desmond sought solace and shelter from Eustace when a strong offensive in Munster would have been much more mutually beneficial.
- 87 Lord Justice Pelham to Sir Francis Walsingham, 12 August 1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, pp 292-3, no. 453; Lord Justice Pelham to Lord Fitzmaurice, 11 August 1580 Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.292, no. 451; Lord Justice Pelham to Queen Elizabeth, 12 August 1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.292, no. 452.
- 88 Sir Henry Wallop and council to the chancellor and council, 7 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40i).
- 89 Earl of Ormond to Lord Deputy Grey, 28 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/73); Mr George Hervy to Lord Deputy Grey, 28 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/74).

- 90 Mr George Hervy to Lord Deputy Grey, 28 August 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/74).
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 See loc. cit. 90 above.
- 95 Mr John Barnes to Lord Deputy Grey, 4 September 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/10).
- 96 Earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 August 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/25; b) Earl of Ormond to Lord Deputy
Grey, 28 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/73).
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 See loc. cit. 96a above.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid. For Upper Ossory's opinion see Baron of Upper Osscry
to the earl of Leicester, 3 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/8).
- 106 Lord Justice Pelham to Queen Elizabeth, 12 August 1580,
Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.292, no. 452.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham,
13 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/35).
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Lord Justice Pelham to Sir William Winter,
16 August 1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, pp 295-6, no.457.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 'The estate wherein the province of Munster was left by Sir
William Pelham, Lord Justice, at his departure from thence
to surrender the sword at Dublin.' 28 August 1580,
Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.302, no. 475.
- 115 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
9 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/21).

- 116 Sir Henry Wallop to Mr Edward Waterhouse and Lord Burghley, 10 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/24); Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 10 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/25).
- 117 Mr John Barnes to Lord Deputy Grey, 4 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/10).
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/16).
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 10 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/25).
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Earl of Kildare to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/48).
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Ibid.
- 128 Ibid. See also William Glascour to Lord Burghley, 22 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/54).
- 129 Fiants Ire., Eliz., 10 August 1583, no. 4193.
- 130 Mr Robert Piphio to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/18).
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Ibid. These events are also described in Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 11 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/23).
- 136 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/40).
- 137 Mr Edward Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 13 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/31).
- 138 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 25 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/56).
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 30 October 1580, Cal. S.P. Spanish 1580-6, p.62, no. 49.

- 142 Sir Nicholas White to Sir Francis Walsingham,
18 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/46).
- 143 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley,
7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/16).
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
9 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/22).
- 146 Sir Warham St Leger to Lord Burghley,
9 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/24).
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 The earl of Ormond to (blank in microfiche)
November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/71).
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Ibid.
- 152 Ibid.
- 153 Ibid.
- 154 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham,
24 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/52).
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 Thomas Copynger to the mayor of Waterford,
15 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/45i).
- 157 Arthur Keating, sovereign and others to the mayor of
Waterford, 17 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/45ii).
- 158 Thomas Wadding to mayor of Waterford,
15 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/45iii);
Thomas Wadding was Ormond's chief justice in Tipperary.
- 159 For accounts of Smerwick see:
Christopher Water to mayor of Waterford, 20 November 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/53i); and Captain Richard Bingham
to earl of Leicester, 18 October 1580.
Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.314, no. 482.
Bingham had arrived in Smerwick on Tuesday, 17 November.
He exchanged shots with the rebels who had two ships and a
galley. In the largest ship was the colonel, an Italian,
the pope's nuncio - also an Italian - the Irish bishop, two
preachers, Jesuits & 3-4 friars with 400 of their own company.
Two of the ships had been lost in a storm. The crew were
ill, discontented and many were boys;
Captain Richard Bingham to Sir Francis Walsingham,
23 October 1589 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/51):
Bingham remarked that the Munster rebels daily expected
further reinforcements, supplies and munitions. On 19 October
John of Desmond and 300 Spaniards who had made a foray out
from Smerwick returned accompanied by James Eustace.

- 160 Captain E. Barkley to Sir Francis Walsingham,
19 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/48).
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 James Sherlock, Mayor to Sir Francis Walsingham,
24 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/53).
- 163 Dowdall and Pers to council in Dublin,
6 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/40ii).
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 7 August 1580,
Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, p.44, no. 37:
The Spanish ambassador in London reported that 500 men from
Winchester were sent to Ireland in addition to those at
Plymouth who were ready to embark. Elizabeth, since Lord
Grey's appointment, was going to take more positive steps
against the rebellion in Ireland. The reports in London
were that Fiach MacHugh and company had marched to the
walls of Dublin and would have captured it had not a woman
raised the alarm and notified the soldiers. De Mendoza
affirmed the rebellion was a source of major anxiety as
the general opinion was 'as the Irish have never undertaken
such an enterprise before, it is thought that they must be
well backed up to attempt it'.
- 166 Captain William Pers the Elder to Sir Francis Walsingham,
18 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/58i).
- 167 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 30 August 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/73/77): Turlough wanted to be king of
Ulster, to be as supreme in government as his predecessors
were; to have all the lands from the confines of the Pale
northwards; to have the keeping of the fort of the Black-
water; to have 100 men in pay at her majesty's charge; to
have Tyrone for him and his heirs. For all these he would
serve Elizabeth loyally and dutifully.
- 168 Baron of Dungannon to Lord Deputy Grey, 31 August 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/84).
- 169 Sir Nicholas Malby to the earl of Leicester, 7 September
1580, Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.314, no. 481:
Turlough's army of 6,000 men included 2,600 Scots. Malby
cautioned that 'the expectation of foreign aid is not
out of their heads'.
- 170 Ibid.
- 171 Ibid.
- 172 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham,
7 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/15).
- 173 Viscount Gormanston to Lord Deputy Grey, 4 September 1580
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/9):
Turlough then declared himself to be 'the O'Neill'.
Gormanston feared an imminent invasion of the Pale by

Turlough who the previous Saturday went to a place called Muckno to arrange with a subordinate for 14 days victualling of his forces to be placed at Carrick Bradrighe.

- 174 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/21):
Wallop noted that Magennis had joined with Turlough, although the council had been hopeful of his non-participation. Turlough acknowledged he was encountering dissension among his allies naming O'Rourke as one such dissenter but Gerrard reported this too was a strategem as O'Rourke and 500 Scots were at that point burning Thomond. See also Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 28 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/65).
- 175 Lord Deputy Grey to Lord Burghley, 12 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/27).
Turlough, accompanied by 4,000 footmen and 600 horse, requested that Justice Dowdall and Captain Pers be initially sent to him for conference. Grey felt the lack of horse was a major hindrance to his success in this campaign.
- 176 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 28 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/65).
Gerrard saw Turlough's moving his army south as a means of drawing closer to Eustace and his men under cover of a so-called parley. The demands were exorbitant to ensure they could not be met. Fenton reported that Turlough and the baron of Dungannon settled their quarrels. See also Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 30 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/77); Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/16).
- 177 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/16).
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 Ibid.
- 181 Ibid. By 7 October Gerrard was sure he would soon be able to pinpoint important people involved in the Pale rebellion.
- 182 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 18 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/37); Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/53).
Turlough continued to distract Grey away from Baltinglass and his men and then temporise with him.
- 183 Sir Nicholas Malby to Lord Burghley, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/82).
- 184 Robert Pipho and R. Colman to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/28).
- 185 Matters against Kildare, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/27, 28, 29);

- Matters against Delvin, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/30); Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/31); Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/33).
- 186 As in footnote 93 above.
- 187 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester, 8 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/19).
- 188 Ibid.
- 189 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 12 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/28).
- 190 Earl of Kildare to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/48).
- 191 Ibid.
- 192 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 28 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/65).
- 193 Ibid.
- 194 Lord Deputy Grey to Queen Elizabeth, 5 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/12).
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/17).
- 197 Ibid.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 Ibid.
- 200 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/18).
- 201 Treasurer Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/1, 2; and also 9 October 1580, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/22, 23).
- 202 Ibid.
- 203 Ibid.
- 204 Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 13 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/31).
- 205 Ibid.
- 206 Ibid.
- 207 Ibid.
- 208 Earl of Kildare to Sir Francis Walsingham, 10 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/9); Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 25 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/56).
- 209 As in footnote 208 above (63/77/56).

- 210 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 20 November 1580, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/56).
- 211 Ibid.
- 212 Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 27 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/60).
- 213 Ibid.
- 214 Sir Henry Wallop and Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 4 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/6).
- 315 Mr Robert Ppho to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/18).
- 216 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester, 8 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/3).
- 217 Ibid.
- 218 Ibid.
- 219 Ibid.
- 220 Mr Robert Pipho to Sir Nicholas Malby, 11 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/11).
- 221 Ibid.
- 222 Mr Richard Bingham to Sir Nicholas Malby, 12 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/12).
- 223 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 22 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/24).
- 224 Lord Deputy Grey to Queen Elizabeth, 22 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/25).
- 225 Ibid.
- 226 Ibid.
- 227 As in footnote 185 above.
- 228 Sir Henry Wallop and Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Lord Burghley, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/32):
 These councillors claimed that Kildare and Delvin were equally culpable in Baltinglass's revolt. Wallop elaborated on the slackness of Kildare's service since Grey's departure south during which Kildare 'lay idle' against the rebels and absolutely forbade his captain to do any service without his direction which he never gave but 'protected and entertained all the bad disposed that be bordered on the Pale'.
 And Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/33):
 Waterhouse claimed Kildare brought Balinglass, Devlin and others into the conspiracy, he was its originator. He favoured the rebels and always countermanded the captains to do any exploit on them.

- 229 As in footnote 224 above. Grey's captains were enjoying a measure of success against the Desmond rebels at this time. Malby, Captain Russell and Stanley with 200 footmen and 80 horsemen captured 1,000 cattle and killed 12 to 20 kerne and one Galloglass. John of Desmond and 300 swordsmen were skulking in the woods but were reported to be heading for Leinster.
- 230 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/31):
The livings of Kildare, Baltinglass and David Sutton, who lived in Barberstown Castle and was involved with Baltinglass's revolt, were worth 6,000 livres per annum.
- 231 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/21).
- 232 Ibid.
- 233 Ibid.
- 234 Ibid. Sir Henry Wallop traced the rebellion to Munster where scarcely three Englishmen of note dwelt but Henry Davells, constable of Dungarvan whom Wallop felt was well liked by both English and Irish alike. The Desmonds were implicated in the murder of Davells - 'It is and was their full purpose to have none of our nation inhabit there if by any means they can shun it'. The rebellion was planned in Spain by James Fitzmaurice for the earl who 'openly said that James was but his solicitor there to the pope and the king of Spain and that none attempt was made of James thither in France or Spain but in respect of him'.
- 235 Ibid.
- 236 Ibid.
- 237 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 10 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/25):
The suspicion of treason is most likely a reference to Kildare's lack of punitive action against Baltinglass.
- 238 Ibid.
- 239 Sir Warham St Leger to Lord Burghley, 24 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/56).
- 240 The earl of Ormond to Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/67).
- 241 Ibid.
- 242 Estimate of Owen Moore, Clerk of the Check of the monthly charge of the garrisons in pay enclosed in Treasurer Wallop to Lord Burghley, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/19ii); and 4 and 9 October 1580 (P.R.O. S.P. 63/77/25). These documents contain note of monies paid and to be paid. The army in Ireland numbered 6,437 men and on the seas in Elizabeth's ships, 1,344 men. See also Mr Thomas Might to Lord Burghley, 5 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/7);

In November 2,000 soldiers were victualled in the English Pale.

See also Auditor Jenyson to Lord Burghley, 6 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/9); He estimated the queen's charge was 10,000 livres per month;

See also Thomas Slocumbe, mayor of Bristol and others to Lord Burghley, 6 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/73/12): He reported that further reinforcements of four ships with six captains and 700 soldiers were headed for Cork;

Sir Francis Walsingham to the earl of Shrewsbury, 27 November 1580, H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii, (London 1888) p.353, no. 905: Elizabeth was spending £10,000 a month on Ireland;

Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 16 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/18): 600 men cessed to supply the decayed bands.

- 243 Bishop of Waterford and Lismore to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/59).
- 244 Ibid.
- 245 Ibid.
- 246 Ibid.
- 247 Ibid.
- 248 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 21 August 1580, Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, pp 49-50, no. 41.
- 249 Ibid.
- 250 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/73/79).
- 251 Ibid.
- 252 Ibid.
- 253 Sir Nicholas Malby to Lord Burghley, 31 August 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/75/82).
- 254 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 7 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/15).
- 255 Ibid.
- 256 James Sherlock, mayor of Waterford to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/45).
- 257 William Glaseour to Lord Burghley, 9 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/6).
- 258 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/18).
- 259 Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 13 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/31).

- 260 Chancellor Gerrard to Lord Burghley, 18 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/37).
- 261 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/53).
- 262 Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/31);
Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/33);
Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 30 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/37);
Remembrance to Mr Brokes, December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/38)
- 263 Lord Deputy Grey to Queen Elizabeth, 12 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/29).
- 264 Ibid.
- 265 Ibid.
- 266 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 December 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/5).
- 267 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 15 January 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/10).
- 268 Ibid.
- 269 Ibid.
- 270 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir William Morgan, 14 February 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/76i).
- 271 Ibid.
- 272 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/2).
- 273 Lord Deputy Grey to the earl of Leicester, 13 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/25).
- 274 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 2 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/4).
- 275 Lord Deputy Grey to Lord Burghley, 14 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/27).
- 276 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 14 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/28).
- 277 Ibid. Wallop hoped to obtain the house and manor of Monkstown 'given by Henry VIII to Sir John Travers and the heirs of his body'. As he made out his petition, he wrote in the margin that although Mary Travers had no children, she had a surviving sister. Wallop was likely confusing her with Joan Fitzpatrick - Eustace's sister - who frequently accompanied Mary, an only child.
Captain Garret he calls 'a discontented rascal'.

- 278 Lord Deputy Grey to the earl of Leicester,
20 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/36):
(enclosed) Examinations of Christopher Lombard Fitzjasper of
Waterford, Robert Strange and William Lincolll Fitzandrew.
16 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/36ii).
- 279 Lord Deputy Grey to Lord Burghley, 6 April 1581
H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii, no. 970, pp 384-5.
- 280 Ibid.
- 281 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham,
24 April 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/48).
- 282 Ibid.
- 283 Ibid.
- 284 Lodowick Briskett to Sir Francis Walsingham,
21 April 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/45).
- 285 Ibid.
- 286 Ibid.
- 287 Ibid.
- 288 See Helen Coburn-Walse, 'Responses to the Protestant
Reformation in Sixteenth Century Meath' in Riocht na
Midhe, 1978-88, pp 97-109.
- 289 See loc. cit. 284 above.
Grey had to organise bands in Westmeath to deal with this
newly-threatened revolt. He travelled to Mullingar and there
'executed 12 notable malefactors among which was a priest
taken and condemned for a spy and a messenger between the
rebels'. This priest is not named in any of the documents
relating to the Nugent revolt. As in the case of the
Baltinglass revolt, priests played a major part as advisers
and messengers, particularly Lady Delvin's own chaplain.
The execution of the unknown priest demonstrates the fear
the Dublin council had of the clergy and the awful extremi-
ties to which they were prepared to go to eliminate them
from the chain of command.
- 290 Ibid.
- 291 Ibid.
- 292 Ibid.
- 293 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 22 April 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/46).
- 294 Ibid. See also Thomas Lee to Sir Francis Walsingham,
16 June 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/110/68);
Thomas Lee was in the company that captured Thomas Eustace.
Thomas and his captured cousin 'were the best men amongst
them all and did the most mischief ... those men were hanged,
drawn and quartered at Dublin by me'.;
See also 'Instructions for further examinations to be taken
of the prisoners and witnesses', December 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/78);

- Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
25 April 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/51).
- 295 As in footnote 293 above.
- 296 As in footnote 293 above.
- 297 As in footnote 293 above.
- 298 As in footnote 293 above.
- 299 As in footnote 284 above.
- 300 As in footnote 293 above.
- 301 As in footnote 293 above.
- 302 Thomas Lee to Sir Francis Walsingham, 16 June 1584
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/110/68).
- 303 Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
13 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/31).
- 304 Ibid.
- 305 Ibid.
- 306 King Philip II to Bernardino de Mendoza, 24 April 1581
Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, p.102, no. 84.
- 307 Privy council to the lord deputy, 19 April 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/41): Turlough continued to keep Grey
on tenterhoods about his actual intentions. See The lord
deputy of Ireland to Lord Burghley, 22 April 1581,
H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii, p.387, no. 976:
Grey solicited further aid as his reconciliatory attempts
met with rebuttal from Turlough Luineach. See footnote
221 above and also Sir Nicholas Bagenal to Sir Francis
Walsingham, 25 April 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/52).
- 308 'A discourse concerning the queen's marriage', 25 April
1580, H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. II, p.387, no. 977.
- 309 Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 13 May 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/83/12).
- 310 Ibid. See also Sir William St Leger to Lord Burghley,
3 June 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/83/38):
It was rumoured that John of Desmond, Baltinglass's close
friend, was dead but this was untrue. He was wounded by a
James Lee - 'for on Friday was sevenight last he took a
convoy of 40 garrans laded with wine, corn, and other pro-
visions, that came from Limerick to Kilmallock, he was hurt
but it was a slight hurt'. However Dr Sanders was dead. Sir
Thomas of Desmond affirmed he was dead for the past two
months or more. 'He was informed thereof by one of the
women that closed him in his winding shirt and was at his
burying. He lieth interred in a church in the great wood.
His death hath been marvellously secreted. They give out
that he is gone into Spain to procure a new supply of forces'.

- 311 See loc. cit. 310 above.
- 312 See loc. cit. 310 above.
- 313 See loc. cit. 310 above.
- 314 See loc. cit. 310 above.
- 315 Sir Nicholas Bagenal to Sir Francis Walsingham,
25 April 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/82/52).
- 316 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 4 May 1581
Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, p.106, no.86;
Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
17 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/24).
- 317 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip, 2 June 1581,
Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, pp 121-2, no. 97.
- 318 Ibid., 4 July 1581, pp 130140, no. 109.
- 319 Mr Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
17 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/24).
- 320 Lord Deputy Grey to Queen Elizabeth, 10 August 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/85/5).
- 321 Ibid.
- 322 Ibid.
- 323 Ibid.
- 324 Ibid.
- 325 Ibid.
- 326 Ibid.
- 327 Ibid.
- 328 Ibid.
- 329 Ibid., P.R.O., S.P. 63/85/6);
Lord Deputy Grey to Lord Burghley, 26 August 1581,
H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii, p.419, no. 1026; p.419, no.1027:
Grey reiterated his need for money and supplies for 'without
ready coin, I put not one bit of meat into my mouth, nor
feed my horses' and of the actual position in Dublin he
wrote 'Dublin, too must not be forgotten where there is
'but' a small remain owing to the store only having been
used, through the extreme scarcity in the country'.
- 330 Lord Deputy Grey to the privy council, 30 August 1581,
H.M.C. Salisbury, vol. ii, p.421, no. 1030;
Andrew Trollope to Sir Francis Walsingham,
12 September 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/85/12):
Trollope reported that 'Phelim McToole and his brother-in-
law Fiach MacHugh spoil the country to the gates of Dublin'.
Sir Wm. Stanley on the 10th August sent 3 of their heads to
Dublin. Phelim McToole's brother was in the deputy's hands as
his pledge, Phelim was told if he did not submit, his brother

should be hanged. He said he did not care and his brother was hanged. Afterwards Fiach MacHugh and others pretended to submit and took out pardons. But all men of experience believe that these pardons will only lead to a worse war bye and bye. They only desire now to get in their corn and will break out again.'

- 331 Ibid.
- 332 Ibid. Grey advised that a president ought to be appointed to Munster at once. He left the lord keeper, the treasurer and Mr Marshall in charge of Ulster and Leinster; Sir Lucas Dillon in Westmeath; Captain Mackworth was appointed over the O'Mores and the rebel sept of the O'Connors; Sir William Stanley and the seneschal of Wexford were to 'look after the Kavanaghs'.
- 333 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester, 1 September 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/85/32): Fenton also reported that he suspected there was a plot afoot to free the earl of Kildare from his captivity. Fenton suggested that Kildare's supposed treason was planned by the Irish so as to encourage support for the rebellion as the Kildare name exerted such an attractive quality for support.
- 334 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 7 September 1581 Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, p.167, no. 133.
- 335 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 14 September 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/85/41): Eustace's lands were being distributed at this point to loyal officials. William Russell Esq., son to former earl of Bedford was granted the lease of a considerable parcel of the attainted viscount's lands. See Fiants Eliz., 4 September 1581, no. 3745.
- 336 Chancellor Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop to the privy council, 6 October 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/10).
- 337 Chancellor Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 October 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/30;i;ii); Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 October 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/31); Lord deputy and council to privy council, 6 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/52); Lord deputy to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/53).
- 338 Lorenzo Privuli to the Signory, 8 Sept. 1580, Cal. S.P. Venice, 1558-80, pp 645-6, no. 817.
- 339 Ibid.
- 340 Ibid.

- 341 Garret Trant of Dingle, 15 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/37i); Baron of Lixnaw to the commissioner of Munster at Askeaton, 15 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/31). The religious aspect of the expedition was emphasised by the report of 'old bishops and friars who were chief leaders' accompanying the soldiers. See Captain Thomas Clinton to the attorney of Munster, 26 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/76i); James Fenton to Sir Warham St Leger, 7 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/20).
- 342 Sir William St. Leger to Lord Burghley, 24 September 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/76/56).
- 343 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 16 October 1580, Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, pp 52-4, no. 43.
- 344 Ibid.
- 345 'Reply to the Instructions brought by Diego de Cuera of Santander', 19 October 1580, Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, p.57, no. 46.
- 346 Ibid.
- 347 Ibid.: This document had very interesting signatories. They were : J. Geraldine; Viscount Baltinglass; Bastian de San Joseph; Alexander Bertoni; Cornelius Laonensus, Episcopus; Fr Mateo de Oviedo; Nicolaus Sanderus.
- 348 Bernardino de Mendoza to King Philip II, 30 October 1580, Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1580-6, p.63, no.51.
- 349 Ibid., 13 November 1580, pp 63-5, no.52.
- 350 Lorenzo Priuli, Venetian ambassador in France, to the Signory, 8 September 1580 as in footnote 338 above.
- 351 Ibid.
- 352 Ibid., 20 October 1580, p.647, no.821.
- 353 Archbishop Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop to the privy council, 30 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/114i).
- 354 Ibid.
- 355 Ibid.
- 356 Ibid.
- 357 Ibid.
- 358 Ibid.
- 359 The confession of Christopher Barnewall at Dundalk, 28 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i, 39).

- 360 Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 8 October 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/106/8);
Sir Henry Wallop to lord justices and Robert Beale,
8 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/10);
Privy council to the lord justices, 10 September 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/29i).
- 361 Ibid.
- 362 As in footnote 359 above.
- 363 As in footnote 359 above.
- 364 As in footnote 359 above.
- 365 As in footnote 359 above.
- 366 As in footnote 359 above.

CHAPTER V FOOTNOTES

- 1 The confession of Christopher Barnewall at Dundalk, 28 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/39).
The unsafe places which the trio were advised to avoid were all the fords along the Barrow from Beart near Rebane to Casshinogan near Catulog.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 See P.J. Corish, The Irish Catholic Experience, Dublin 1985. The chapter titled 'King or Pope' is extremely useful for a complete understanding of the Irish perception of Catholicism. It also offers the testimony of John Howlin which is most beneficial as a contemporary account. See pp 63-95 and particularly pp 86-7. For more information see p.88 - Fr Howlin notes another Catholic of humble estate who died in Dublin refusing to accept the queen's supremacy and declaring that he was a Catholic. His name, as given by Howlin, was Walter 'Lakinns' and he was servant to Maurice Eustace, one of several gentry who executed in Dublin in 1581 and 1582.
- 5 See loc. cit. 1 above.
- 6 See P.H. Hore, History of the Town and County of Wexford, London 1910. p.391. Hore places Baltinglass's flight in May 1582 but see footnotes in this chapter for proof he was in Spain by November 1581.
- 7 Petition of Thomas Masterson to Sir Francis Walsingham, undated (P.R.O., S.P. 63/106/70;71).
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 John Danyell to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/77).
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 12 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/64).
- 13 Lord Deputy Grey and Council to the Privy Council, 6 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/52).
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 17 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/51).

- 16 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham,
17 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/51).
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 12 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/64).
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid. See also Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis
Walsingham, 12 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/65);
Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester,
12 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/66).
- 22 William Wendover to Secretary Fenton, 6 January 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/14i).
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 John Zouche to Sir Francis Walsingham, 5 January 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/8).
- 26 Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 January
1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/46); Treasurer Wallop to Sir
Francis Walsingham, 29 January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/51).
- 27 Thomas Arthur to Sir Lucas Dillon, 9 March 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/15).
- 28 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 29 January
1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/50).
- 29 John Zouche to Sir Francis Walsingham, 5 January 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/8).
- 30 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 22 May 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/52).
- 31 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 7 June 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/12).
- 32 Chancellor Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis
Walsingham, 7 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/14).
- 33 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 2 July 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/94/4i).
- 34 For information on Fr Richard Eustace see The Confession
of Christopher Barnewall, 30 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P.
63/102/1114i). Barnewall said that 'he went to Rome to
seek Richard Eustace, the viscount's brother, to whom he
delivered his message, but albeit he said Richard had the

Latin and Italian tongues, yet he was so poor as he had no access to the pope so far as he thinketh'.

- 35 As foctnote 33 above.
- 36 As footnote 33 above.
- 37 Sir Patrick Walshe to Sir Francis Walsingham, 12 July 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/94/22).
- 38 The viscount of Baltinglass to Pope Gregory XIII, 6 December 1582, from Madrid. Archiv. Hib., Vol. VII p.308. vol. 24. f.229.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 14 January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/22).
- 48 Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 10 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/97/17).
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Sir Warham St. Leger to Lord Burghley, 22 September 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/59).
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Lord Justices and Council to Privy Council, 12 October 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/96/10).
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Earl of Kildare to Lord Burghley and others, 23 December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/52, 53, 54).
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Sir Nicholas Malby to Lord Burghley, 3 December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/9).

- 58 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham,
3 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/1).
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Archbishop Adam Loftus, Sir Nicholas Malby and Sir
Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 20 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/71; 72i).
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Names of those apprehended and executed. 23 November
1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/79).
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Note of convicted traitors, 20 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/72i).
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Schedule of the rebels executed, ages, dwelling places
and haviour, 9 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/82i).
- 68 A note of certain confessions which especially do
concern these matters following, 1 December 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/li).
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Confession of Thomas Eustace of Cardistown,
17 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/44i).
- 71 Confession of James Meagh, 20 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/44ii).
- 72 Breviate of the accusations against the earl of Kildare,
June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79; 80; 81).
- 73 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham,
23 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/80).
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid.

- 80 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham,
23 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/80).
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Names of those apprehended for revolt, 23 November 1581
P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/79); 3 December 1581 (P.R.O.,
S.P. 63/87/lii).
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 A true report by Thomas Jones, preacher, 18 November
1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/69; 70).
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 For further information on trials and executions see Sir
Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 23 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/76); (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/79);
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/80); (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/871, li, lii)
- 94 Notes of prisoners of the Pale conspiracy, February
1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/56).
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 For the part played by Piphio in the summer of 1580, see
Digest of the accusations against Kildare, June 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/83).
- 98 Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
8 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/13).
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Robert Piphio to Sir Francis Walsingham,
15 May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/49).

- 102 Robert Pipho to Sir Francis Walsingham,
16 May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/49).
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
13 October 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/77/31).
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 The Lords of the Council in England to the Archbishop
of Dublin and Sir Henry Wallop, 23 May 1582
Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz., no. 4, p.87.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Frances Walsingham,
26 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/49);
Ed. Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham,
27 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/53).
- 113 Lord Justices to Walsingham, 6 February 1583,
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/50).
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 N.H.I., IX, 213.
- 118 Lord Justices to the Privy Council, 14 June 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/79).
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 As footnotes 97 and 101 above.
- 124 See loc. cit. 118 above.
- 125 See loc. cit. 118 above.

- 126 As footnote 118 above.
- 127 As footnote 118 above
- 128 As footnote 118 above
- 129 Examination of Walter Eustace, 14 June 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/79i).
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Ibid.
- 142 8 July XXV, 1583 no. 4174 (3622).
- 143 Lord Justice Loftus to Lord Burghley, 24 August 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/30).
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 Lord Justices to the Privy Council, 25 June 1583
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/108).
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 Ibid.
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Ibid.
- 152 Ibid.

- 153 Mr George Carew to Sir Francis Walsingham,
19 November 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/78/50).
- 154 Extract of all the examinations taken touching the
earl of Kildare, 30 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/48i, 42).
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 The confessions of Thomas Meagh, Sir Geoffrey Fenton
to the earl of Leicester, 20 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/44ii).
- 157 Ibid.
- 158 Lord Deputy Grey to the Privy Council, 6 November 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/51).
- 159 Ibid.
- 160 The confession of Thomas Eustace of Cardistown before
Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Geoffrey Fenton,
in: Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester,
11 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/44i).
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Confession of James Meagh, 20 November 1581 in
Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham,
11 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/44ii).
- 165 Ibid.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 See loc. cit. 160 above.
- 170 Interrogations of the earl of Kildare, 19 July 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/34); Breviate of the accusations
against Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79,
80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85).
For the viewpoint of Archbishop Loftus see especially
Four principal points against the earl of Kildare,
18 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/31, 32, 33).
- 171 Breviate of the accusations against Kildare,
June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/79).

- 172 As footnote 160 above.
- 173 As footnote 171 above.
- 174 As footnote 170 above.
- 175 As footnote 170 above.
- 176 As footnote 170 above.
- 177 Abstract of Kildare's last confession, 22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/49).
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 The principal points to be collected out of the proofs against Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/32; 33). For an extremely detailed account see The principal matters which charge the earl of Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/85); Extract of the charges against Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/82).
- 180 Extract of John Cusack's confession, 13 March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/58ii).
- 181 Ibid.
- 182 Confession of John Cusack of Ellistonrede, 14 March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/24).
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 John Nugent's confession, 5 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/18).
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 Examination of the baron of Delvin, 22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/50, 87); Examination of the baron of Delvin, 19 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/37).
- 187 Ibid.
- 188 Ibid.
- 189 Ibid.
- 190 Ibid.
- 191 For detailed confessions relating to the Nugent conspiracy see: Matters against the baron of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86; 87); Interrogatories to be ministered to the baroness of Delvin, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/88, 89); Interrogation to be ministered to James Fitzchristopher Nugent, 30 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/68, 69);

- Material points of the confessions of William Clynch, Patrick Cusack, George Netterville and others, 8 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/16, 17); Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 3 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/1); The confession of John Cusack of Ellistonrede, 14 March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/24); John Nugent's confession, 5 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/18); The examination of Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin, 22 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/50); Interrogations to be ministered to Baron Delvin, 19 July 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/84/37, 38).
- 192 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/21).
- 193 Matters found in the examinations to touch Lady Delvin, William Nugent and Nicholas Nugent, March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/39).
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 7 March 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/81/10).
- 197 Ibid.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 Ibid.
- 200 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 27 January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/46).
- 201 Ibid.
- 202 Digest of the accusations against Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/83).
- 203 Ibid.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 Ibid.
- 206 Ibid.
- 207 The accusations against Kildare, June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/83). Kildare claims: 'the viscount to be a very simple man for such an enterprise'. When asked by Loftus to denounce the viscount, he replied, 'He is my kinsman. If I shall do so, my country would hate me and it would be a perpetual reproof to my house'.

- 208 For information on Sir John Travers and his property see D. Matthew, Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe, London 1933, p.497. 'Sir John Travers was generally reputed as a very honest man.' He was Master of the Ordnance as early as 10 March 1540 and died 25 May 1562.
- 209 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 23 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/76).
- 210 Mr John Dyve to Sir Francis Walsingham, 27 January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/41);
Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 29 January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/51): 22 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/44).
Wallop requested the lands of Castletown, Rathfarnham and Monkstown.
- 211 Note of the lands and goods of the rebels given by the lord deputy since his coming to Ireland, January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/88/40iii).
- 212 Mr Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 27 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/53). These lands are also listed in Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 24 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/48);
Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 26 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/49);
Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 26 February 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/89/50).
- 213 John Ussher to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 March 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/14).
- 214 Thomas Chaloner to Sir Francis Walsingham, 29 May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/107); Petition of Thomas Chaloner to the queen, 20 May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/108);
Petition of same to the Privy Council, 20 May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/110).
- 215 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Grey, 24 June 1582
Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz., no. 9, p.32;
Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Grey, 30 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/70, 72).
- 216 Ibid.
- 217 Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley,
5 November 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/97/17).
- 218 Ibid.
- 219 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
27 December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/62).
- 220 Petition of Mr Golde, 6 January 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/6, 7, 8).

- 221 Lord Deputy Grey to Lord Burghley, 30 April 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/52, 53); Petition of James Vaughan to the privy council, 30 April 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/91/54).
- 222 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 22 May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/92/52).
- 223 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1 August 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/94/85).
- 224 Ibid.
- 225 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 14 September 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/43).
- 226 Ibid.
- 227 Archbishop Loftus to the privy council, 15 September 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/46, 46i).
- 228 Archbishop Loftus to Lord Burghley, 15 September 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/47, 47i).
- 229 Ibid.
- 230 Ibid.
- 231 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 23 December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/51). For further information on submissions see Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 16 September 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/54).
- 232 Note of Irish suits, 18 October 1582, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/96/23).
- 233 Ibid.
- 234 Ibid.
- 235 Ibid.
- 236 Ibid.
- 237 Petition of Arthur O'Toole to the privy council, December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/92).
- 238 For information on goods and lands escheated see Note of lands within the English Pale of persons attainted, December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/86, 87); Note of persons condemned, executed or pardoned for the rebellion of Baltinglass and Nugent, December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/85); Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/56); For officials' advice on the land see Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 28 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/60); Archbishop Loftus and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 28 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/61).

- 239 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
7 February 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/56).
- 240 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley,
9 February 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/57).
- 241 The earl of Ormond to Secretary Wilson, 15 January
1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/80/11).
- 242 Ibid.
- 243 Ibid.
- 244 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester,
25 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/82).
- 245 Ibid.
- 246 Ibid.
- 247 Ibid.
- 248 Ibid.
- 249 Ibid.
- 250 Ibid.
- 251 Ibid.
- 252 Ibid.
- 253 Ibid.
- 254 Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 9 December 1581
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/21).
- 255 Queen Elizabeth to the archbishop of Dublin and Sir
Henry Wallop, 20 November 1582, Cal. pat. Rolls Ire., Eliz.,
p.37, no. 30; Petition of Thomas Stokes of Maddenstown,
Co. Kildare to the privy council, 10 September 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/33): Stokes described himself as
'living in the remote borders of the country towards the
rebels, malefactors and evil-disposed persons in the defence
whereof one, John Stokes, brother of the supplicant, was
slain by the said rebels and all his goods spoiled and taken
away. He and his two brothers had served as agents for Joan,
Roland's widow and Thomas Stokes was a soldier of Sir
William Russell. John Stokes had married Maeve, sister of
Roland, Viscount Baltinglass II.
- 256 Petition of Joan Butler, 17 September 1585
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/119/28).
- 257 Ibid.
- 258 Ibid.

- 259 Petition of Joan Butler, 17 September 1585
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/119/28).
- 260 Ibid.
- 261 Ibid.
- 262 Ibid.
- 263 Ibid.
- 264 Ibid.
- 265 Ibid.
- 266 Ibid.
- 267 Ibid.
- 268 A good summary is to be found in *The Accusation*,
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/83; S.P. 63/93/89).
- 269 Queen Elizabeth to the archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor
and Sir Henry Wallop, 11 February 1582.
Cal. pat. Rolls Ire., Eliz., p.36, no. 23.
- 270 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham,
28 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/63).
- 271 Ibid.
- 272 Ibid.
- 273 Ibid.
- 274 There are several such petitions:
Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 14 September 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/43);
Adam Loftus to privy council, 15 September 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/46);
Note of Irish suits, 18 October 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/96/22);
Sir Henry Wallop to Lord Burghley, 5 November 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/97/17);
Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
27 December 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/62);
Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 24 August 1583
(P.R.O. S.P. 63/104/31);
Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 7 February
1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/45, 57).
- 275 Ibid.
- 276 Note of Irish suits, 18 October 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/96/22).

- 277 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 March 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/100/5)
- 278 Captain Thomas Lee to Lord Burghley, April 1583, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/101/47, 47i).
The list is substantial and reads:
'the lands of Monkstown (of Carrickbrennan) Newtown, Cornelscourt, Boiestown, Humfreston, Resselston, Tullaghferries Co. Dublin, Great Grange, Co. Kildare and all the lands vis. held in right of or jointly with Mary.
- 279 Petition of Lady Baltinglass to the privy council, 17 September 1585 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/119/29).
- 280 Ibid.
- 281 Ibid.
- 282 Note of Irish suits, May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/124); Ironically at this point Gerald Aylmer was petitioning to have a further stake in the lands of Baltinglass's ally, David Sutton, attainted. These lands were already in Aylmer's possession.
- 283 Particulars of such lands and tithes as Sir John Travers gave in marriage with his daughter to the late Viscount Baltinglass, 17 September 1585 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/119/30); Note of Irish suits, May 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/124).
- 284 Ibid.
- 285 Inquisition taken at Dublin Castle, 14 December 1583 Cal. pat. Rolls Ire., Eliz., p.65, no. 24.
- 286 Ibid.
- 287 Lord deputy and council to privy council, 27 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/62).
- 288 Ibid.
- 289 Ibid.
- 290 Ibid.
- 291 Ibid.
- 292 Sir Lucas Dillon to Sir Francis Walsingham, 23 July 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/94/42).
- 293 Ibid.
- 294 Ibid.

- 295 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Walter Mildmay, 27 March 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/100/53, i);
Lease to James Vaughan: he was also granted a lease to Baltinglass's lands of Abbotstown, the castle and lands of Ernhill and Johnstown and a lease of 1/6 of all cattle sold on the Green in Naas - once the right of Eustace.
- 296 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 5 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/49).
- 297 Ibid.
- 298 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 6 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/56).
- 299 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 5 November 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/86/49); and also 27 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/59).
- 300 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 3 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/1).
- 301 Mr Waterhouse to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/14).
- 302 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/18, 18i).
- 303 Lord Deputy Grey to Lord Burghley, 10 December 1581 H.M.C. Salisbury, Vol. ii, no. 1081, p.447.
- 304 Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Grey, 12 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/45).
- 305 Sir Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, 23 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/55).
- 306 Lord Deputy Grey and council to privy council, 18 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/52).
- 307 Ibid.
- 308 Ibid.
- 309 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 17 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/51).
- 310 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 December 1581 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/87/53).
- 311 Auditor Jenyson to Lord Burghley, 4 September 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/10).

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VI

- 1 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham,
12 April 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/91/23).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Thomas Arthur to Sir Lucas Dillon, 9 March 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/90/15).
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Viscount Baltinglass to Pope Gregory XIII, 6 December
1582, (S.Vol.24, f.229.) pp 390-9;
Viscount Baltinglass to the cardinal of Como,
6 December 1582, (S.Vol. 24, f.230.) pp 390-10.
in Archiv. Hib., Vol. vii (Dublin, 1918-21).
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham,
7 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/12).
- 8 Chancellor Loftus and Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham,
7 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/14).
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II, 29 June 1582
Cal. S.P. Spain, p.381, no.273.
- 11 Sir Patrick Walshe to Sir Francis Walsingham,
12 July 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/94/22).
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Secret advertisement out of Ireland. Sir Henry Wallop
to Sir Francis Walsingham, July 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/94/64).
- 14 Adam Loftus to Lord Burghley, 15 September 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/95/47).
- 15 Lord justices and council to privy council, 5 November
1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/97/15).
- 16 Lord Justices and council to privy council, 12 October
1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/96/10).
- 17 Sir Nicholas Malby to Lord Burghley, 3 December 1582
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/98/9).

- 18 Viscount Baltinglass to Pope Gregory XIII, 6 December 1582 (S. Vol. 24, f. 230.) pp 390-10, Archiv. Hib., Vol. vii (Dublin 1918-21).
- 19 The earl of Desmond to the queen, 20 January 1583 H.M.C. Salisbury, Vol. II, p.25, no. 59.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Adam Loftus to Lord Burghley, 12 February 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/60, 60i).
- 22 The earl of Ormond to Lord Burghley, 28 February 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/99/78).
Ormond was eloquent in his priase for Loftus's attempts at pacification; he praised his 'upright dealing in causes of justice and the care he hath of the quiet governing and well doing of the poor oppressed of this realm'.
- 23 Sir Nicholas Malby to Sir Francis Walsingham, 16 April 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/101/29).
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Declaration of William Barnewall, merchant to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, 15 April 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/101/30,30i).
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Declaration by William Nangle, 20 April 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/101/39i).
- 34 Ibid. These reports are also confirmed in the earl of Ormond to the queen, 24 April 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/101/40); Sir Francis Walsingham to the lord justice, 21 May 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/38); The earl of Ormond to the privy council, 28 May 1583, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/43). Ormond wrote that 'there were also slain in Aherlow by some of my men, the 16th of this month a gentleman called Cornelius O'Mulrian, one of accompt among the traitors'. This was most likely Cornelius O'Mulrian, the bishop of Killaloe.

- 35 Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 16 and 18 June 1582 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/85).
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Francis Walsingham, 19 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/93).
- 41 Papal nuncio in Spain, 27 May 1583 (S. Vol. 30, f.316) in Archiv. Hib., Vol. vii, pp 312-3.
- 42 Viscount Baltinglass to the cardinal of Como, 19 June 1583, (S. Vol. 24, f.247) in Archiv. Hib., Vol. vii, pp 316-7.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Mayor and recorder of Limerick to the earl of Ormond, 1 September 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/68iii); Same to lord justices, 12 September 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/69i).
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Captain William Pers the younger to Lord Burghley, 15 September 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/78).
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 There are many examinations. See Examination of Christopher Barnewall, 28 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/102/114i).
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Battisto Vescovo di Rimini, nuncio in Paris, to F. Sercis, cardinal of Como, 26 July 1581 (Archiv. Hib., Vol. vii, pp 295-6.
- 57 Ibid. (F. Vol. 15, f.246.) Dublin 1918-21).

- 58 See footnote 53 above.
- 59 Lord Justices Loftus and Walop, and Edmund Waterhouse to Lord Burghley and Secretary Walsingham, 28 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38).
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Lord justices and council to privy council, 24 July 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/36).
- 62 An act of parliament made the XVth year of the reign of King Edward VI at Dublin (P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/36i); Petition of the mayor and citizens of Dublin for the delivery of Sedgrave and Fitzsimon from the castle (P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/36ii).
- 63 See op. cit. 61 above.
- 64 The confession of Teig Roe, 24 July 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/36iii).
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 The confession of Christopher Barnewall at Dundalk, 12 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i, 39).
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Ibid.

- 81 The lord justices and Waterhouse to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, 28 August 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38).
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Adam Loftus to Sir Francis Walsingham, 20 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/29).
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Privy council to lord justices, 10 September 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/29i); Extract of letters, 24 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/43).
- 88 Richard White to the lord justices, 27 June 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/103/7i).
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 The lord justices to the queen's secretary, 8 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/10); Extract of letters, 24 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/43).
- 92 Lord justices to Sir Robert Beale, Esq., 8 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/10).
- 93 Lord justices to Sir Francis Walsingham, 20 October 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/105/29).
- 94 See Barnewall's confessions (P.R.O., S.P. 63/104/38i, 39); The lord justices to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 March 1584, (P.R.O., S.P. 63/108/10); Treasurer Wallop to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 July 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/111/13); Lord justices to Sir Francis Walsingham, 14 April 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/109/35).
- 95 William Dillon to Sir Lucas Dillon, 2 December 1583 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/106/1).
- 96 Debts to the crown, 17 January 1584, Cal. Carew Mss. 1575-88, p.373, no. 517.
- 97 Lord Deputy Perrot, January 1584 Cal. Carew Mss., 1575-88, p.371, no. 514.
- 98 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Lord Burghley, 21 January 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/107/42); See also the earl of Ormond to the lord justices, 15 January 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/107/27).

- 99 Examination of Bartholomew White, 23 January 1584
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/107/44i).
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Lord justices to privy council, 8 February 1584
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/107/82).
- 102 Lord justices to Sir Francis Walsingham,
7 March 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/108/8).
- 103 Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the earl of Leicester, 7 May
1584 Cal. Carew Mss. 1575-88, p.375, no. 523.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Advertisement to Sir Francis Walsingham, 27 May 1584
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/110/54).
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 The declaration of Gerald Hay of Wexford, 21 August
1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/111/70i).
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Submission of William Nugent to Lord Deputy Perrot,
4 December 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/113/12).
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Sir Patrick Walshe to Sir Francis Walsingham,
22 January 1584 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/114/45).
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Petition of Lady Baltinglass to the privy council,
23 September 1589 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/146/50);
Report of Mr Solicitor Thomas Egerton, 23 September
1589 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/146/51);
Warrant from Queen Elizabeth to the lord deputy,
23 September 1589 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/146/49).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The material parts of the speeches between the earl of Kildare and the archbishop on the Hill of Tara, 4 July 1580.

APPENDIX II

Letter from James Eustace to the earl of Kildare,
22 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/62).

APPENDIX III

Letter from James Eustace to the earl of Ormond,
24 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/64i).

APPENDIX IV

The principle matters which charge the earl of Kildare
(P.R.O., S.P. 63/93/85).

APPENDIX I

Material parts of speeches between the earl
of Kildare and the archbishop, 4 July 1580

23 Dec., 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/79/26i)

The material parts of the speeches - earl and archbishop
The Hill of Tara - 4th July 1580 musters about 12 days before
the Viscount Baltinglass break out into rebellion. Eustace
confessed that the Viscount told him that he meant to have
the archbishop's head. My Lord I can tell you news, the
Viscount Baltinglass with many other papists have conspired
together intend presently to rebel. The first exploit they
will do is to kill you and me. You for the envy they bear
to your religion, and me for that I being taken away they
think here is more to make head against them. This is cred-
ibly informed to me by one that knoweth all their intentions,
and boweth me as he doth his life. Mary I am sworn not to
betray him nor to utter his name: he persuaded with me to
join.

As the earl and the archbishop rode together from the
muster the archbishop asked the earl who were those he saw
grazing their horses. The earl answered: they be my band of
horsemen whom I left here in the forenoon to baite their horses.
Not naming once the viscount of whom they had talked so much
before and whom the earl had left there guarded by his horse-
men and in his own company had brought him to that place.

Archbishop: I have heard the like by intelligence out of the
north where the viscount's agents have long been solicit-
ing Turlough Luineach to be of the combination and to
rise out at one time so that being now satisfied by your
lord report that there is such a damage pretended. I
pray your lord, proceed to the apprehending of the vis-
count presently and for your better assistance to ex-
ecute his apprehension, your lord may take the band of
horsemen of Sir Henry Harrington now on the Hill.

Earl: I know not what to do nor whom to trust they are all
such arrant papists and at this time and in this case I
dare not trust my son-in-law, the Baron of Delvin, he is
so infested with papistrie. But upon Wednesday next I
will come to Dublin so there you and I will conferr
what is best to be done.

Archbishop: Upon Wednesday the archbishop renewed the matter
of the apprehension with alleging reasons to induce the
earl. But the earl, making smaller account that (blot)
so great a matter required, answered.

Earl: The viscount is a very simple man without wisdom,
manhood or any other quality mete to embrace such an
enterprise, and so he willed the Bishop not to be so
afraid, the bishop answered.

Archbishop: Tho' the viscount for his own qualities may be holden no dangerous man, yet he hath ill brethern and others ill-affected of the Irishrie within the pale, who, covering themselves with his title, may be instruments to work some dangerous act to the state and no doubt all the papists (if the viscount break out) will join with him.

Earl: Your lordship needeth to make no care of that for I know who are sworn to him and the manner of their oath. Some are sworn to enter with him and to join in person, others are sworn that though they appear not openly yet they would not resist him nor serve against him. I know also who is his chief council namely one Rocheford a priest, and the viscount, one day delivered unto me a book which he said Rocheford had sent me containing contrition, remission and satisfaction.

Archbishop: This oath of consolation makes the conspiracy so much the more apparent and is to be looked unto carefully and stopped at the head presently, namely - the viscount to be intercepted. Your lordship had need to confide how far it toucheth you in honour and Her Majesty's service to have him presently apprehended. Therefore, I pray your lordship to frame yourself to do that office which so weightily concerneth Her Majesty's security. The earl being thusfar pressed answereth.

Earl: The viscount is a noble man and my kinsman and if I should apprehend him and be the cause of his trouble, I should reap to myself universally the hatred and ill will of my country and pull upon my house and posterity forever perpetual reproach and infamy. Nevertheless, if your lordship will take upon you the blame, I will undertake your will, have him apprehended for that I can have him when I lief.

Archbishop: I am contented to bear the blame and all other burthen that may follow this action, praising your lordship once again that for your honour and service sake the apprehension may be presently accomplished.

Earl: Then said the earl. This shall be the course I will take. I will ride this night to Maynooth and will send to the viscount to meet me tomorrow in the morning as I know he will come to me. Let your messenger be there with a letter commanding me upon my allegiance to apprehend the viscount and to bring him to Dublin, for that you have matter to charge him concerning Her Majesty. If you will do this and take the whole blame upon yourself, you shall have him before tomorrow at night.

Archbishop: When the archbishop heard thus much he thought himself assured of the viscount's apprehension. He maketh ready the letters to be sent according to promise, but hearing the earl was not ridden to Maynooth, the archbishop went to him the next morning to know his lot, finding with him in his chamber the viscount's wife. And demanding the cause of his alteration the earl said

Earl: My lordship, you are too much afraid, you need not be so careful for all things shall be done.

Archbishop: The Bishop, grieved with this delay, pressed the earl with new reason to understand what he would do touching the apprehension of the viscount, to whom the earl answered.

Monktown - a home of the viscount, 6 miles from Dublin.

Earl: I am promised that the viscount will meet upon my word within these two days at Monktown and then I will bring him hither to you and all shall be well.

Archbishop: The archbishop, seeing these alterations and deferrings and noting will all the resort of the viscount's wife to the earl and the familiarity he had with the wife could not but think himself to be abused; he departed in that grief from the earl and returned not to him again in two days, at what time the archbishop understood that the viscount's wife with her sister, the lady of Upper Ossory, were ridden to Monktown and had talked with the viscount and was returned with answer to the earl and that the viscount was ridden from thence to the mountain with three or four of his company. The archbishop being there in the earl's chamber and finding there the viscount's wife. The earl said nothing.

Earl: The thing is come to pass that you feared so much. The viscount, was this last night, at Monktown and hath refused to come to me. He is departed this morning with two or three in his company. Surely he will now play the rebel, what is now left for us to do.

Archbishop: The archbishop charged the earl that the matter had been too carefully handled. That many fair opportunities had been omitted and lastly that thru' his fault the realm was likely to suffer peril and Her Majesty be put to intolerable charges. Nevertheless, he advised the earl, with the forces he had and in his own person to pursue the viscount hoathie (blot) before he could get his confederates together. The earl answered.

Earl: I am sick and have had an ill night and am not able to ride myself. But if you think it good we will send my nephew Pipho and my lieutenant with the forces. They can make, giving the commission to bring him by fair means or by foul.

Archbishop: The commission was made accordingly and the Bishop thought that the last promise would have been kept and that the same day they would have been gone by ten of the clock. But the next day, after at eight of the clock, the said Pipho and lieutenant came to the archbishop's house saying that the earl had altered his determination to send them with forces but would send out the lieutenant alone, with a protection to the viscount to come to him, wherewith the lieutenant went to him and found the viscount and Fiach MacHugh with all the forces in actual rebellion.

APPENDIX II

JAMES EUSTACE TO THE EARL OF KILDARE

22 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/62)

Right honourable I have received your lordship's letter appointing me to meet your honour at the bridge of Kilbolen of Ballymore about xii of the clock of a Saturday next. I will God willing be toward the place appointed tomorrow about the time appointed to expect your lordship's pleasure and also to relieve my self of the things laid to my charge, and praying God grants to give your lordship the grace to do that which shall be most and principally awarding His divine and holy will and not to do anything contrary to the same, whereby your honour might bring your self in evident danger of everlasting pain and also in preserving His wrath to put your lordship's lands and inheritance in great hasard to be taken for ever from your posterity. My good lord there is no way to be compared anything at all, either for the safe and steadfast stablishing of any man's state of what danger (cal. unclear) end (cal. unclear) so he be, as to enquire and learn chiefly what the will of God is, and that once being known to follow the same. If any man will purpose and fully determine, our maker and redeemer as will being plainly known, to follow less his own evil diseased will and pleasure for fear to lose his lands or any other worldly goods, honour or dignities, or yet his fear to lose the favour of his superiors if then more , what dont he is unexcusable, and except he turn and be concerned and be reconciled to God, in forsaking his determined and will enter he shall most certainly outgrow himself entirely and lose all the false and worldly pleasures that he loved so unreasonably, more than he loved his maker who gave the same to himself. We might not my good lord to fear them that may kill the body and that have no power over the soul, but we ought to fear him that may kill the body and soul and cast both together into hell to receive everlasting pain among the damned, if we will not believe Christ our Saviour, who I pray with all my heart to grant your honour the good return unto his favour with all speed possible, considering specially your end to be not very far off, and deeply also ----ing your lordship's lies/life past, moved this persons Friday being the 22 1580.

Your honours to command in
any just or reasonable matter
and ready to put my life in
hazard to do your good.

James Baltinglass

APPENDIX III

JAMES EUSTACE TO THE EARL OF ORMOND

24 July 1580 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/74/64i)

My lord I have received your letter wherein you protest good will and friendship towards me. For it I thank your honour and before Almighty God to make you his friend and servant and give you the grace to know his will and follow the same. Whereas you hear that I assembled great company of men to go there, you know I am not of such power but what soever I can make it shall be to maintain truth and not for any undutifullness towards my prince. Injuries though I have received I have reasoned and that very great, yet I forget them, for any conceit I have of myself as to trust unto mine and streuth (cal. unclear) I leave that to men that know not God. As for counsellors I have, the one is he which said, fear not them that kill the body only and have no power over the soul. Another, he that leads us, obeys the higher power for he that resisteth the higher power doth resist God, the which although he does for a time, yet at length he shall be confounded and brought low. Being then the highest power on earth doth command us to take the sword and (since it can no better be) to fight and defend ourselves against traitors and rebels which do seek only the murdering of souls, he is no Christian man that will not obey. Questionless, it is great want of knowledge and more of grace to think and believe that a woman uncapax of all holy order should be the Supreme Governor of Christ's church, a thing that Christ did not grant unto his own mother. If the queen's pleasure be as you allege to minister justice, it were time to begin for in twenty years past of her reign we have seen more damnable doctrine maintained, more oppression of poor subjects under pretense of justice within this land, than ever we read or heard since England first received the faith, done by Christian princes. You counsell me to remain quiet and you will be occupied in persecuting the poor members of Christ. I would you should learn and consider by what means your predecessors came up to be earls of Ormond. Truly you should find that if Thomas Beckett, Bishop of Cantebury had never suffered death in defense of the church, Thomas Butler alias Beckett had never been earl of Ormond. I know not what counsell you have but I dare boldly affirme that amongst them and Mr Geres you counsell to maintain heresy there is none but loves himself more than God, the earth more than heaven, the pleasure of the body more than the health of the soul, I would be very loth you should lose through maintaining of false doctrine that your ancestors wane by maintenance of the truth. (Answer) in time for it is hard to strive against God.

et sapientia Luius mundi, stultia est apud -
 your honourable loving cousin to command
 in any matter.

James Baltinglass.

THE PRINCIPLE MATTERS WHICH CHARGE THE EARL

Before the Earl's offences can appear as they are and were it is necessary to understand such circumstances as first bred the earl to be suspect and then the manner and order used for trial of the truth of the same suspicion and lastly, what hath fallen out upon trial and so leave this offence to judgement.

First Tis well known that a month before the Viscount broke out, it was briefed among the common sort that the Viscount would rebel.

The Knight Marshall had an espiall in Turlough Luineach's camp who seeing one Sir Manus, a chaplain to the Viscount sent in message to Turlough Luineach by secret designs attained the understanding of the message which was to have Turlough Luineach and his force to join with him, Feagh and the Munster Rebels who should have all the O'Mores and O'Connors to join with them and O'Rourke and others in Connaught appointing a time of their meeting in the county of Meath which messenger returned with contented answer.

The Earl was appointed by commission, joined with the Archbishop then Keeper of the Seal, to be general in the absence of Sir William Pelham, the Lord Justice for preservation of the Pale. The Earl and the Lord Archbishop appointed at the Hill of Tara upon Monday the 4 of July a general muster to view the forces. The Knight Marshall sent to the Lord Archbishop the examination of his espiall of the news of the breaking out of the Viscount and the consent of Turlough Luineach to join.

The Archbishop and Earl met at Tara the same day according to appointment. Upon their meeting before they entered to view the forces, the Earl took the Archbishop apart and as the Archbishop affirmeth, used this or the like speeches unto him.

'My Lord I can tell you news I am credibly advertised that a cousin of mine will begin a rebel, meaning the viscount, and that their meaning is to take your Lord and my head for they know if I were out of the way, there were none to withstand them.'

To whom the Bishop answered (as he saith), 'My Lord, you have prevented me for that is the news I should have unto Your Lord and unto the Earl of the advertisement he had kept from the North and the examination.

The Bishop sayeth he used great persuasion to the Earl to devise means to apprehend the Viscount and that the Earl answered he knew not whom to trust for all were papist. More he durst not trust the Baron of Delvin, his son in law in that matter, because he was such a papist.

The Bishop sayeth that the Earl concluded to be at Dublin shortly after and then would confer further about the matter.

The Bishop sayeth that the Earl came not until towards Saturday after being the 9 of the same month and after his coming that he the Bishop continually solicited in all the earnest sort he could the Earl to devise means to apprehend the Viscount and so to prevent the rebellion.

He sayeth that at some times the Earl would answer that the Viscount was his cousin and then he should stain his home in discredit from then on, should he apprehend him and undo the Viscount being a poor man by casting him into folon.

At some other times the Earl was pleased with the apprehension of the Viscount and devised that he would send for the Viscount to come to him to Maynooth and there the Bishop should send commandment to the Earl to apprehend him because he should bear the blame.

This after the Earl altered and then told the Bishop the Viscount's wife being in his chamber that the Viscount would be at Monkstown and there he should have him apprehended.

Within a day or two after the Earl said to the Bishop the Viscount broken out, the Viscount's wife at the same time in his chamber.

This protract of the Earl and slow travell to apprehend the Viscount bred suspicion in the Lord Archbishop and the like in the Lord Chancellor. Upon the hearing of the Bishop's declaration that the Earl had no willing mind to have the Viscount apprehended and upon what cause that will proceeded, whether of favour to the Viscount and the cause or upon what other matter, and agreed therefore the Lord Chancellor ought after to have the more careful eye to the manner of the Earl's proceedings in his service.

C

The Council agreed the Earl should parley with the Viscount and so persuaded according to the Earl's desire as both of the nobility and V C (500) footmen and 200 horsemen, a far greater number than were the rebels, should meet with him.

What speech or conference the Earl should use with the Viscount was by the Lord Chancellor and Council laid down in articles according to the Earl's request. In which articles were contained what offer the Earl should make to the Viscount and other rebels.

There was one article that if the Viscount refused these offers then the Earl to prosecute them with those forces according to his discretion.

Because after parley and after the Viscount's refusal of the offers and his open protestation to rebel, the Earl returned to Dublin with part of the nobility, suffered the forces to scatter themselves and the most part to return home, excusing the cause of his return to be only to conferr upon a minor horse to prosecute the rebels, by which return of the Earl the rebels had free passage without resistance to enter into the Byrnes country and there preyed and burned the New Castle, a town of Sir H. Harrington. This greatly increased the suspicion that the Earl would not willingly have the rebels harmed, for had the Earl then followed them and writ for victuals to us to Dublin, they had not preyed nor burnt as they did.

By one examination or two some of the rebels and namely one Jupp have warning that they should burn New Castle and by the Earl's direction, which not only increases the suspicion but also made the Lord Chancellor and Lord Archbishop ever after to be doubtful of some mischief the Earl would work them.

There came upon the landing of the Lord Deputy a messenger from the rebels to the Earl very presumptuous and arrogant. The messenger was conducted by the Earl's men without any protection

at all and fell out upon examination. The Lord Deputy and Council agreed to hang the messenger who confessed he was a rebel and had been at the burning of Newcastle. Great storm and passion that the Earl fell into thereat saying he should not be able to serve the Queen if his word were broken with the crush, and that he could never serve her if his word were cracked greatly by the suspicion.

D

Before the Lord Deputy journeyed into Munster the Earl was put in trust to prosecute openly, send and at sundry times let me have such a number of soldiers (which was agreed unto) and I will undertake to make a short end of this war.

A week after the departure of the Lord Deputy, the Earl returned to Dublin, assembling the council laid down his plot how he would be sworn these numbers were appointed to serve under him for the prosecution of the rebels.

When his plot was considered the suspicion we had that he would never harm the enemies increased and that he coveted nothing else but to make gain by the service.

Firstly, where he had his horsemen in pay he moved to have Lord Deputy (plot) and had them; he had also a band of footmen: he had the allowance of 1^s per diem towards his diet. The country agreed to hand 10^l sterling per diem to any of VI^c (600) soldiers, which the Earl should appoint. And our agreement was the Earl should appoint 400 of the English band then known to be at the Waterside ready to come over and so save H.M. pay and have the surplus for the service. The Earl upon his return said he would have but 200 of the country soldiers to serve and be laid at the Naase and Rathdowney and that he would with the wage the country should give to the 400 (which he willed presentlie to be gathered) enterteigne 400 kerne for without kerne he would not serve.

When we saw that the kerne for the most part especially such as he entertained seldom have pay and if they have any, 4d per day the most, and saw the gain the Earl should make by them and his other allowance to draw were 20 per day, our suspicion (that he would without harm to the enemy protract the service to further his gain) increased.

We considered the unrisor of his plot how he laid his garrisons first at his own home at Kilberry, he laid himself and his 100 horse north the meeting to see who his horsemen were, the most part gent of the country and their horsemen followers who of themselves were before ready to serve the Queen and the country without entertainment and had their horses ready. Those and himself he laid at Kilberry to guard his house being in the county of Kildare and miles from the rebels.

E

Contree he laid in Athy his own town a band of 100 footmen within the same county, and miles from the rebels' country.

And as those his horsemen and that band were victualled at the Queen's charges from the Naase, so had he 1^d per diem towards his diet of the Queen. A victual for 100 men at the Queen's charge besides where he kept not the 400th men continually together - this increased our suspicion wherefore he served.

All the O'Connors and the O'Mores who were known before to be joined with the rebels by oath, he entertained as kern for the service, amongst which company it is to be noted that he

entertained Conor McCormack McGeoghan (one who not long before was at the murdering of Rosse), the chief noble prince of the (blot) O'Connor, the great rebel who with all the O'Connors still kept with the late rebel. He had only McGeoghans who procured the murdering of his own son Rosse, he entertained Brian McGeoghan who in person murdered his said brother Rosse within the month before he entertained Teig McGillpatrick, the notorious spoiler of the Pale.

The Earl lying at Kilberry, those kerne preyed in the Pale and the borders to the value of 4 or 5 thousand pounds and drove their spoils to Ossory and other countries without resistance.

When complaint was made to the Earl of these spoils and the parties present he refused to call them in to answer, saying he would not hinder his service.

This increased our suspicion not only that the Earl never meant to harm the rebels being assured none of those kerne would fight against them with whom they were joined, but also brought over doubtful that some further mischief was meant by keeping them together.

The show the Earl made to journey one day and a night into the rebels country and there taking cc. 200 cows rather increased our suspicion and turned us to be of other mind than he meant to serve against them.

F

After the Earl was returned from this day's journey and also that he hath lyen at Kilberry by the space of five or six weeks, he wrote to the Council that he had formed by experience that he must take another course to lay the garrisons nearer the rebels to prosecute them. This increased our suspicion for he knew before, he had laid them where they could never harm the enemy. The morning of the running away of Capt. Garret; the sate the Earl made to bail McGeogheghan; the sates he secretly made for some belonging to him and known rebels. The often lies he wrote to have the council meet him at the Naas; the scender or rather no occasion at all to move him thereunto; his refusal to come to Dublin of six weeks whether ever before he was accustomed to travel for consultation; his passionate speeches when the council refused to come to him sometimes, braying and with oaths and saying this were enough to make a man to break out; his sudden alterations of mind where at the first before all the council he refused the services of the country people, saying he durst not trust them, yea, and the service of his own horsemen, saying some of them were now run to the rebels, now he disdained the service of the English soldiers, calling them English beggars and openly commended the service of the kerne as those who he would for his life trust unto, brought us to doubt that he would break out and to devise means to have him to Dublin upon and under some pretence of consultation to have restrained him.

In this suspicion of the Earl we imagined (somewhat daily happening which I remember not) daily increasing the same which suspicion caused us only to have the more new eye and regard to him and his dealing, and to make the search we could to try out all his secret intent. In which triall what matters apparent fell out confirming our former suspicion and proving the Earl the very finest comforter and chief procurer of the Viscount to break out - followeth:

First Oliver Eustace, a civilian, one swore to the rebels by his own confession after his apprehension, being asked of the places where he had lurked all that summer suspecting such as had succoured him not to be sound said

Amongst all those who Eustace ^g confessed he had been entertained with there was one Wogan of Rathcoffey towards the law who being examined when he last saw the Viscount Baltinglass, confesseth that he saw the Viscount the day the muster was at Tara, viz. the 4 of July. As he rode thether he confessed that the Earl and the Viscount rode together in company towards the muster in familiar talk until they came to Killene 2 miles from the hill. He confessed that the Viscount there did alight of his horse and his own horsemen about six or seven, he confessed that the Earl called his horsemen to him and saving a few he took with him, willed them to tarry with the Viscount until his return from the hill who so did.

He confessed that after they were returned from the hill the Viscount and the Earl rode in company until towards evening, he confessed that the Viscount supped with Wogan and the Earl rode to Maynooth. He confessed that after supper the Earl and the Viscount met again and that night (as he heard) rode together until far in the night.

When we called to remembrance the speeches which the Earl had delivered to the Bishop at the muster touching his knowledge of the Viscount's determination to rebel and his pretence and how the Bishop confirmed the same with the advertisement out of the North, with earnest request the Earl would apprehend him and considered how secret the Earl kept the Viscount's being so near from the Bishop and how the Earl left his horsemen rather to guard him than otherwise, and how familiarly they too rode all that day and night together in a pretended journey against the O'Mores and considered that it was very likely that the Earl had had some speeches with the Viscount touching the report of his breaking out and if he had, and the Viscount confessed the same then the Earl comforting most apparent and, if he denied the same, then his disloyalty as appoint who would not then apprehend him and bring him to answer and called to remembrance not only that.

In all the eight or ten ^h days after that the Bishop of Dublin and he were conferring together touching the Viscount's apprehension, he never once told the Bishop how they had been together that day, but wayed also the delay the Earl used in those days to put off his apprehension-sometime alleging he would not apprehend him - he was his cousin, if he should apprehend him he should discredit his house forever. Consenting at other times that a warrant should be issued from the Bishop to apprehend him and he would send for the Viscount, who he was assured would come to him to Maynooth and then apprehend him, and yet altered that determination and called to remembrance that he was so privy and assured of the Viscount's breaking out as he knew who were chief counsellors with him, who were sworn to him, who were sworn against him. And that the Earl himself was assured to be persuaded to join and that Rocheford had sent him a book then were we fully resolved with ourselves (considering the great friendship

between the Earl and the Viscount and that he would not tell the name of him who uttered this matter to the Earl, we concluded with ourselves in our own opinions that the Earl had all this understanding from the Viscount himself and so a principal comforter and counsellor. But from whom soever he had the same or whether he ever reasoned the cause with the Viscount or not, yet we noted that his unwillingness to apprehend him manifested his willingness and consent that the Viscount should break out and so a principal traitor by his consenting.

When we considered how after he had once denied the apprehension of the Viscount for the causes afore recited, and after he refused to execute the Bishop's warrant which he once perused, and how after the Bishop came to his chamber and there found the Viscount's wife and that the Earl said to the Bishop in person of her that the Viscount would be at his house at Monkstown, four miles from Dublin shortly and that he should be apprehended, we resolved the Earl had that knowledge from the Viscount's wife and that as she made his privie, the Viscount would be there. So she told him of the time, so as if the Earl had been willing of the Viscount's

i

coming to Monkstown not passing i four miles from Dublin he might easily have apprehended him. But because he did not and that the Viscount's wife and the Lady of Upper Ossory the Viscount's sister, rode the same night to Monkstown after she had been with the Earl in his chamber and took but one man with them as they say being about the 15 or 16 of July, the night being short came thither in the night and came thence in the morning by daylight although they say it was to persuade the Viscount to the Council and not rebell and that he promised to come after them Yet for as much as the Viscount willingly came to Monkstown after his wife and friends had told him how he was suspected (as may be gathered) with mind to come in otherwise he would have doubted to come so near to Dublin, we were resolved that the Viscount's wife and the Lady of Upper Ossory the Viscount's sister posted to and from in the night by the Earl's direction rather to hasten the Viscount away for fear of apprehension than to persuade him to come in. Divers causes moved us to be of that mind.

First, the Viscount's wife sayeth the Viscount did not tell her that he would break away, but that a boy whose name she cannot remember came to Dublin and told her. She sayeth she knew not by the Viscount that he was coming to Monkstown but by a boy that told her and his name she could not remember.

In all the part of her examination being examined upon any point which should argue that she told the Earl the Viscount would be at Monkstown other than in appoint either she impudently maketh denial or otherwise answereth that she cannot remember.

She saith that she told the Earl that she looked for the Viscount to be at Monkstown that night as she looked for him other night before but not directly that he would be there. The familiarity that she had with the Earl was such the access they had to the Earl likewise such as we were resolved she did nothing but with the assent of the Earl.

Her conveying away of her husband good to several places before that

k

time at that time manifesteth she knew her husband's intent and her obstinance in religion known, manifesteth likewise her assent. The Earl (after the Viscount break out and without warrant or consent of the Council) caused his folk to enter and seize Monkton and all the goods and corn and with his own people to guard the same. The Viscountess well pleased with the same.

Let the examination of the Viscount's wife, Piphoe and the Earl's be compared and how all that they differ then from the other being examined upon their knowledge of the Viscount being at Monkton and his departure, and it shall plainly appear they say devises to shadow the Earl's knowledge of their being there and of his departure and shall bring the indifferent to be of that mind we were of, that they the ladies were sent by the Earl in post to hasten the Viscount away that night lest the Bishop, upon understanding of his being at Monkton, should the day after procure his apprehension, for so were we fully resolved upon hearing their answers and examinations.

That the Earl himself thrust out the Viscount who otherwise had come in, it falleth out by the messenger's examination and the Earl's own servant that the Earl himself sent to the Viscount and Feagh to will them to seek for a protection for six weeks, which had been granted by the Earl (as is seemed) if the Lord Deputy had not then been landed, for the messenger and message were sent to the Earl and not to the Deputy.

His cloaking from the Deputy the manner how the message came from the rebels making him believe the said came simply from them, his story that the messenger was restrained, resolved us to think that there was some other secret ill mischief meant to us in those six weeks time of peace that we could perceive.

This also resolved us that he was of consent with the Viscount whose will by message to demand a protection for six weeks was to the Viscount a direction to send a messenger to demand the same.

The Viscount at the parly answered him that he would never come in and the Earl being assured thereof what was meant by this six weeks peace which the Earl more than to rebel

(Demand what nowd Homlin to will to will then to this) Unclea
 (and when he told not the - it was he devise for what) and
 (end and the Earl can never will answer it) Small

l

He was moved by the Chancellor and Archbishop for apprehension of Compton, one who kept at the Earl's home at Rathangan, the Chancellor affirming he was an arrant traitor and joined in that action.

The Earl desired to have their warrant and he would apprehend him which they granted, but he never executed the same although until the day the Earl was committed Compton continually lay in the Earl's home and taught his boy.

The Chancellor also made known to him in great secret that one Sir Nicholas Eustace priest who also kept at Rathangan was sworn to the rebels and had given the like oath to many in the country, telling him (as most truly) what notable service it were to have him apprehended and by letters and speech to his servant

Hussey the Chancellor requested the Earl to apprehend him adding if he made the same known to any the party would flee.

Although he was put in remembrance of this by letters yet he never so much as once sent to seek for him, but a month after being earnestly writ unto by the Chancellor to apprehend him, in a general letter to the Council containing other matters and written by a secretary he answered that he knew no such Eustace, nor could tell where to seek for him. This also resolved us to think that he could no more endure to have the partakers with the rebels brought in than to have the rebels themselves touched.

Wogan, who declared of the Earl and of the Viscount being together the day muster was and where the Earl left the Viscount and how guarded, maintained after the Chancellor examined him, told the Earl what he had been examined of and what he had confessed.

The Earl grew angry and grieved that their being together was known, and ever after doubted he should be charged. On three days end the Earl came to the Chancellor and as it should seem to make the Chancellor understand of the cause of the Viscount and him being together at that time to remove such suspicion as the Chancellor had or might conceive thereat.

m

Compare those speeches of the Earl and his answer together upon his commitment and such contrary causes are alleged as may cause any to think both the one and the other excuses to contain no matter of truth.

The Earl after he had made the day's journey into the rebels country for cows as is aforesaid, he lodged on his return the first night at one Gangan, his house in a town belonging to the Earl of Ormond. A pamphlet was found and delivered to the Chancellor. Among other things contained in the pamphlet this was one - that the Earl the same night sent a cousin of his named - blank -, son to -blank-, a bastard Geraldine and the Earl's horseman to Fiach MacHugh with a message willing Fiach MacHugh that he would not prey and spoil the Earl's country in respect of the journey he had made into Asbaghes, for he must make some show of service in the absence of the Deputy but bade him tell Fiach the pact he had made he would observe.

The truth or untruth of this being uncertain we sent to have the same - charged and brought before us to be examined. But so soon as he and his father heard of the Earl's commitment they both fled to the rebels which argueth greatly they hath of the note contained in the pamphlet.

Finally when the Earl was charged with the speeches the Bishop used to him at Tara and he to the Bishop touching the Viscount's breaking out and his apprehension, the Earl said if this be true I am a traitor to H.M. in person I confess it.

Then resteth it to prove the truth of the Bishop's speeches. The chief part whereof and denied by the Earl consisteth in that the Earl should tell the Bishop that he assuredly knew that the Viscount would break out and would have their head before, and that the Bishop confirmed the same with the advertisement he had from the North and then persuaded the Earl to apprehend him.

The calling and place of the Bishop is to be considered and how far from any suspicious nature it differeth to devise such a false declaration to touch the overthrow of an Earl (biot) no cause of malice known between them.

n

Archbishop a great likelihood of the truth when the Bishop maintained upon the landing of the Chancellor told the self same manner of speech as he now sayeth. He told also the like to the Lord Deputy upon his landing. The Earl confesseth he took the Bishop apart and told him that he heard the Viscount would be disorderous. So much of the Archbishop's speech by his own confession is true.

He sayeth the Bishop told him of some advertisement that he heard out of the North but denieth that he told to him or read to him the declaration of the Marshall his espiall. Let the indifferent may well the likelihood of the speech the Bishop had with him.

The Earl confesseth the Bishop talked with him of the news he received from the North, what other news could the Bishop tell than that which was written to him by the Marshall, and how could he deliver his knowledge but he must tell what he was advertised - blots - to as at follows, that having conference together the Bishop confirming by the advertisement the speeches the Earl had of the Viscount declaration to break out he must tell the Earl what it was which was advertised. And then that part of the Bishop's declaration also true denied by the Earl.

Let the indifferent think what it could be that the Bishop coveted when the Earl told him the rebels meant first to have his head. Could he desire anything above his apprehension, could he move to have his apprehension better to any than to the Earl the general. Can any indifferent think but that any loyal subject hearing of such a conference and practice against the Queen and the state would desire the apprehension of the rebels and could their talk in conference tend to any better than to have the Viscount apprehended. And so it followeth most apparently in all indifferent judgement that the Bishop as he could not but wish, so he desired the Earl to apprehend him. This the Bishop's desire to apprehend him the Earl vehemently denied, saying if I had known, you would have had him

o

apprehended why I then could have apprehended him. The Earl confesseth they agreed to meet again at Dublin to confer in the matter. What conference could there be amongst them who were assured the Viscount break out than to seek his apprehension and so to prevent the same. All which argueth the truth of the Bishop's request at the first to apprehend him. The Bishop told these matters of the Earl and his speeches before he knew that the Earl and the Viscount had been together and as then this notion touched not the Earl. So could it not proceed at that time of any malice upon the Earl's answer which once he had made to the Bishop's declarations and after denied to subscribe and for lest to be reexamined. And his answer to the interrogations could undoubtedly to further the both of the Bishop's declarations. And then is the Earl a traitor by his own confession and so I leave him.

BIBLIOGRAPHYA: PRIMARY

i Manuscript Sources

(a) Guides

(b) Manuscripts

ii Printed Sources

(a) Record Publications

(b) Parliamentary Records

(c) Sources containing Ecclesiastical Records

(d) Family and Personal Letters and Papers

(e) Miscellaneous sources

(f) 1. Genealogical References

2. Theses

B: CONTEMPORARY AND NEAR CONTEMPORARY WORKS

i Contemporary histories and descriptions

ii Contemporary Maps

C: SECONDARY WORKS

A: PRIMARY

i Manuscript Sources

(a) Guides

Calendar of the manuscripts of the ... marquess of Salisbury ... (H.M.C., London, 1833-) with special reference to Vol. ii, pp 154-421; Vol. iii, pp 190, 260; Vol. iv, pp 193-4, 564.

Corish, P.J., 'Two reports on the Catholic church in Ireland in the early seventeenth century' in Archiv. Hib., xxii (1959), pp 140-62.

Fifty-fifth (etc.) report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland (Dublin, 1928 -).

Hayes, R.J., Manuscript sources of Irish civilisation (11 vols, Boston, Mass., 1965).

MacCurtain, Sr M. Benvenuta, 'Irish material in Fondo Santa Gede, Madrid' in Archiv. Hib., xxvi (1963), pp 40-9.

McNeill, Charles, 'Report on recent acquisitions in the Bodleian Library, Oxford' in Anal. Hib., no. 1 (1930), pp 1-78; no. 2 (1931), pp 1-291.

Mooney, Canice, 'Franciscan Library, Killiney: a short guide' in Archiv. Hib., xviii (1955), pp 150-56.

Silke, J.J., 'Spanish intervention in Ireland: Spanish bibliography' in Studia Hib., iii (1963), pp 179-90.

Wood, Herbert, A guide to the records deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland (Dublin, 1919).

i (b) Manuscripts

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth:

Salamanca Papers. Perbreve compendium in quo continentur nonnullorum nomina, qui in Hybernia regnante impia Regina Elizabetha, vincula martirium et exilium perpressi sunt. Compiled by the Rev John Howlin, S.J., c 1590.

The National Library:

London: Lambeth Palace Library: Ms 607: (Extract). Letter from Sir N. Malby to the earl of Leicester on the state of Ireland, 1580. n. 2796 p. 1698.

1580: May:

London: (Extract) Letter of the earl of Leicester to the earl of Kildare, assuring him of the friendship of the Lord Chancellor. May 23, 1580. n. 1175 p. 1376.

1580: Oct.:

London: British Museum; Cotton Titus B XIII.: (Extract). Letter of N. Bagenall to the earl of Leicester, reporting a peace having been made with Turlough Luineach and proceedings against Baltinglass and other traitors. Dublin, Oct. 3, 1580. n. 1175 p. 1376.

1580-89: Ms 11,965:

The history of Sir John Perrott's government of Ireland, 1584-8 (translated from a Carew Ms).

Ms 8099 (Contd.)

Fitzpatrick papers. Barnaby Fitzpatrick's instructions to his brothers, c. 1580.

London, Public Record Office:

S.P. 60-3: State Papers, Ireland, 1509-1600 (consulted on microfilm in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, and National Library of Ireland).

ii Printed Sources

(a) Record Publications

Carew. Calendar of the Carew manuscripts prepared in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1515-1624. 6 vols. London, 1867-73.

Fiants. 'Calendar of fiants, Henry VIII to Elizabeth'. in P.R.I. rep. D.K.7-22. Dublin, 1875 - 90.

Gerrard papers. 'Lord Chancellor Gerrard's notes of his report on Ireland, 1577-8'. Ed. Charles McNeill. In Anal Hib., no. 2 (1931), pp 93-291.

Monastic Possessions. 'Accounts of sums realised by sales of chattels of some suppressed Irish monasteries'. Ed. Charles McNeill. In R.S.A.I. Jn., lii (1922), pp 11-37.

Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London. Ed. N.B. White. I.M.C., Dublin, 1943.

Patent Rolls. Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland. Ed. James Morrin. Vol. i (1514-75); Vol. ii (1576-1603); Vol. iii (1625-33). Dublin, 1861-3.

The government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot, 1584-8. By E.C.S. London, 1626.

Acts of the privy council in Ireland, 1556-71. Ed. J.T. Gilbert. In H.M.C. rep. 15, app. iii (1897), pp 1-256.

Acts of the privy council of England, 42 vols. London, 1890-1974.

'Calendar of the Irish council book, 1 March 1581 to 1 July 1586, made by John P. Prendergast between 1867 and 1869'. Ed. D.B. Quinn. In Anal. Hib., no. 24 (1967), pp 91-180.

ii (a) continued

Calendar of the manuscripts of the ... marquess of Salisbury ... , preserved at Hatfield House. 23 vols. H.M.C., London, 1883-1973.

Sidney state papers, 1565-70. Ed. Tomas O Laidhin. I.M.C., Dublin, 1962.

Additional Sidney state papers, 1566-70. Ed. D.B. Quinn. In Anal. Hib., no. 26 (1970), pp 89-102.

Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland, 1509-1670. 24 vols. London, 1860-1912.

State papers, Henry VIII. 11 vols. London, 1830-52.

Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII. 21 vols. London, 1862-1932.

Calendar of state papers preserved in the Public Record Office, domestic series, 1547-1695. London, 1836-1900.

Calendar of state papers preserved in the Public Record Office, foreign series, 1547-89. 23 vols. London, 1861-1950.

Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs, preserved principally at Rome, in the Vatican archives and library, 1558-78. 2 vols. London, 1917, 1926.

Calendar of letters, despatches, and state papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Simancas and elsewhere, 1485-1558. 13 vols. London, 1862-1954.

Calendar of letters and state papers relating to English preserved principally in the archives of Simancas: 1558-1603. 4 vols. London, 1892-9.

ii (a) continued

Calendar of state papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy, 1534-1674, vols. v-xxviii. London, 1873-1947.

List and analysis of state papers, foreign. 2 vols. 1964, 1969.

Calendar of state papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-63 (etc.) Edinburgh, 1898 -

The Walsingham letter-book or register of Ireland, May 1578 to December 1579. Ed. James Hogan and N. McNeill O'Farrell. I.M.C., Dublin, 1959.

ii Printed Sources

(b) Parliamentary records

1. Statutes

The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland ... Vols i-iii (1310-1698). Dublin, 1786.

The bills and statutes of the Irish parliaments of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Ed. D.B. Quinn. In Anal. Hib., no. 10 (1941), pp 71-169.

2. Journals

John Hooker's journal of the Irish parliament, 17 Jan. - 23 Feb. 1569. Ed. C.L. Falkiner. In R.I.A. Proc., xxv, sect. C (1904-5), pp 563-6.

Journal of the Irish house of lords in Sir James Perrot's parliament (1585-6). Ed. F.J. Routledge. In E.H.R., xxix (1914), pp 104-17.

(c) Sources containing Ecclesiastical Records

Brady, W.M. (ed.), State papers concerning the Irish Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth (London, 1868).

Ibernia Ignatiana: seu Ibernorum Societatis Jesu patrum monumenta collecta ... Ed. Edmund Hogan. Dublin, 1880. Vol. i (1540-1607). No further volume published.

Students of the Irish College, Salamanca. Ed. D.J. O'Doherty. In Archiv. Hib., ii (1913), pp 1-36; iii (1914), pp 87-112.

Shirley, E.P. (ed.), Original letters and papers in illustration of the history of the church in Ireland during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. London, 1851.

ii (c) continued

Spicilegium Ossoriense, being a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church from the Reformation to the year 1800.

Ed. P.F. Moran. 3 vols. Dublin, 1874-84.

Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica. Ed. John Hagan.

In Archiv. Hib., iii (1914), pp 227-365; iv (1915), pp 215-318; v (1916), pp 74-185; vi (1917), pp 94-155; vii (1918-21), pp 67-356.

(d) Family and Personal Letters and Papers

Ball, J.T., The Reformed Church of Ireland (1537-1886). London and Dublin, 1886.

Poems on the Butlers. Ed. James Carney. Dublin, 1945.

The Red Book of the earls of Kildare. Ed. Gearoid Mac Niocaill. I.M.C., Dublin, 1964.

Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. 66 vols. London, 1885-1601. Reprinted with corrections, 22 vols. London, 1908-9.

MacLysaght, Edward. Irish families: their names, arms and origins. Dublin, 1957.

Walsh, Micheline. 'Notes towards a biographical dictionary of the Irish in Spain: some O'Neills' in Ir. Sword, iv (1959-60), pp 5-15.

Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle. 11 vols. H.M.C., London, 1895-1920.

Calendar of Ormond deeds, vols iii-vi (1413-1603). Ed. Edmund Curtis, I.M.C., Dublin, 1935-43.

ii Printed Sources

(e) Miscellaneous sources containing printed primary material

Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714. Ed. J. Foster. Oxford.

Analecta Hibernica, including the reports of the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin, 1930 -

Ancient Irish histories: the works of Spencer, Campion, Hanmer, and Marleburrough. Ed. James Ware. Dublin, 1633; reprint, 2 vols, Dublin, 1809.

Archivium Hibernicum: or Irish historical records. Catholic Record Society, Maynooth 1912 -.

Brady, John (ed.) 'The Irish Colleges in the Low Countries' in Archiv. Hib., xiv (1949), pp 66-91.

Calendar of the Charter rolls, 1226-57 (etc.) (6 vols, London, 1903-27).

Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251 (etc.) (5 vols, London, 1875-86).

Collectanea Hibernica: Sources for Irish History Dublin, 1958.

Fascimiles of the national manuscripts of Ireland. Ed. J.T. Gilbert. 4 vols. Dublin, 1874-84.

Falkiner, C.L. Illustrations of Irish history and topography, mainly of the seventeenth century.

Maxwell, Constantia. Irish history from contemporary sources, 1509-1610. London, 1923.

Morley, Henry (ed.). Ireland under Elizabeth and James I. London, 1890.

'Some documents on Irish law and custom in the sixteenth century'. Ed. K.W. Nicholls. In Anal. Hib., no. 26 (1970), pp 105-29.

ii (e) continued

Ronan, M.V. The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1668: from original sources. London, 1925.

- The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558-80: from original sources. London, 1930.

The Tanner Letters. Ed. Charles McNeill.
I.M.C., Dublin, 1943.

The social state of the southern and eastern counties of Ireland in the sixteenth century ... Ed. H.F. Hore and James Graves. Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, Dublin, 1870.

(f) 1. Genealogical References

Burke. Extinct and Dormant Perrages. 23 vols.
London, 1883.

Cambridge Modern History. Vols ii-v. Cambridge, 1903-8.

G.E.C. Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, London, 1910.

Lodge, J. Peerage of Ireland. Revised edition by Mervyn Archdall, Dublin, 1789.

New Cambridge Modern History. Vols ii-vi. Cambridge, 1958-70.

New Catholic Encyclopaedia. 17 vols.
New York, 1966-78.

The Catholic Encyclopaedia. 15 vols.
New York, 1907-12.

ii(f) continued

(f) 2. Theses

Carey, V.P. Gaelic reaction to plantation: the case of the O'More and O'Connor lordships of Laois and Offaly, 1570-1603. M.A., 1985, N.U.I. Maynooth.

Curtis, John. The Butler revolt of 1569. M.A., 1983, N.U.I., Maynooth.

Henry, A.G. Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders. The Irish military community in Flanders, 1586-1610 - an emerging identity. M.A., 1986, N.U.I., Maynooth.

Lennon, C. Civic privilege, state and the growth of recusancy: the patriciate of Dublin in the age of Reformation 1548-1613. Ph.D., 1987, N.U.I., Maynooth.

Moore, E. English action; Irish reaction: The McMurrough Kavanaghs' government policy and changes in landownersip 1530s-1630s. M.A., 1985, N.U.I., Maynooth.

Walshe, H. The life and career of Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath 1563-84; ecclesiastical and secular roles in the life of an Irish Elizabethan bishop. M.A., 1985, N.U.I., Maynooth.

B: CONTEMPORARY AND NEAR CONTEMPORARY WORKSi Contemporary histories and descriptions

Annala Uladh, Annals of Ulster . . : a chronicle of Irish Affairs, 431-1131, 1155-1541. Ed. W.M. Hennessy and Bartholomew MacCarthy. 4 vols. Dublin, 1887-1901.

The Annals of Lough Ce: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 1014-1590. Ed. W.M. Hennessy. 2 vols. London, 1871; reflex fascimile, I.M.C., Dublin, 1939.

Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616. Ed. and trans. John O'Donovan. Vols v-vii (1501-1616). Dublin 1851; reprint, New York, 1966.

Foras Feasa ar Eirinn: The history of Ireland from earliest times to the English invasion. Geoffrey Keating. Trans. by John O'Mahony. New York, 1866.

Two biographies of William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore. Ed. E.S. Shuckburgh. Cambridge, 1902.

Campion, Edmund. Campion's historie of Ireland (1571). In the historie of Ireland collected by three learned authors, viz Meredith Hanmer . . , Edmund Campion . . , and Edmund Spenser . . , ed. James Ware (Dublin, 1633); reprinted as Ancient Irish Histories: the works of Spencer, Campion, Hanmer, and Marleburrough (2 vols, Dublin, 1809).

Davies, John. A discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued ... until ... his majesty's happy reign. London, 1612; fascimile reprint, Shannon, 1969.

Derricke, John. The image of Irelande. London, 1581; another edition, with the notes of Walter Scott, ed. John Small, Edinburgh, 1883.

The description of Ireland ... in anno 1598.

Ed. Edmund Hogan. London, 1878.

Holinshed, Raphael. The ... chronicles of England, Scotlande and Ireland... . London, 1577; ed. John Hooker and others. 3 vols, 1587; ed. Henry Ellis, 6 vols, 1807-8.

Moryson, Fynes. An itinerary ... 3 pts. London, 1617; new ed. in 4 vols, Glasgow, 1907-8; extracts from 4th pt, published from Moryson's MS, in Shakespeare's Europe (ed. Charles Hughes, London, 1903), include 'Of the commonwealth of Ireland' (pp 185-260) and 'Of Ireland, touching nature, manners etc.' (pp 481-6).

Falkiner, Illustrations; Morley, Ireland under Elizabeth and James I (London, 1890).

Hogan, E. Distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century, London, 1894.

O'Sullivan Beare, Philip. Historiae Catholicae Iberniae compendium. Lisbon, 1621; ed. Matthew Kelly, Dublin, 1850.

- Selections from the Zoilomastix of O'Sullivan Beare.
Ed. T.J. O'Donnell. I.M.C., Dublin, 1960.

O'Sullivan Beare, Philip. Ireland under Elizabeth ... being a portion of The history of Catholic Ireland by Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare. Trans. M.J. Byrne. Dublin, 1903.

Perrot, James. The chronicle of Ireland, 1584-1608.

Ed. Herbert Wood. I.M.C., Dublin, 1933.

Rothe, David. Analecta sacra, nova, et mira de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia ... gestis ... (N.P.) 1616. 2nd ed., 2 vols, Cologne, 1617, 1619; ed. P.F. Moran. Dublin, 1884.

Stanihurst, Richard. A treatise containing a plain and perfect description of Ireland ... In Raphael Holinshed, Chronicles (1577 ed.).

Ware, Sir James. The Writers of Ireland. Dublin, 1746.

- The Antiquities and History of Ireland. Dublin, 1705.

- The Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland.

Revised and Improved. Vol. I. Dublin, 1739.

- The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland.

Dublin, 1739.

ii Contemporary Maps

Ulster and other Irish maps, c. 1600. Ed. G.A. Hayes-McCoy.

I.M.C., Dublin, 1964.

C: SECONDARY WORKS

Andrews, K.R., Canny, N.P. and Hair (ed.)

The Westward Enterprise: English activities in Ireland, The Atlantic and America 1480-1650, Liverpool, 1978.

Bagwell, Richard. Ireland under the Stuarts and during the interrugnum. 3 vols. London 1909-16; reprint, 1963.

- Ireland under the Tudors: with a succinct account of the earlier history. 3 vols. London, 1885-90; reprint, 1963.

Beckett, J.C. The making of modern Ireland, 1603-1923. London, 1966; reprint, 1969.

Begley, D.F. Handbook on Irish Genealogy, Dublin 1970.

Beier, A.L. The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England. London and New York, 1983.

Binchy, D.A. 'An Irish ambassador at the Spanish court, 1569-74' in Studies, X (1921), pp 353-74, 573-84.

Bindoff, S.T. Tudor England, Middlesex, 1950.

Black, J.B. The reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603. Oxford, 1936; 2nd ed., 1959.

Bossy, John. 'Revisionism, the Reformation and the history of English Catholicism' in Jn. of Eccles. Hist., Vol. 36, no. 3, pp 394 - 406.

Bossy, John. 'The character of Elizabethan Catholicism' in Past and present, xxi (1962), pp 39-59.

- 'The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Ireland, 1596-1641' in Hist. Studies, viii (1971), pp 155-69.

- 'The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Europe' in Past and Present, iiii (1970), pp 51-70.

- The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, London, 1975.

Bottingheimer, K. 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posee' in Jn. of Eccles. Hist., Vol. 36, no. 2 (April 1985), pp 196-207.

Boxer, C.R. The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825, London, 1969.

Bradshaw, B. 'George Browne, first Reformation archbishop of Dublin, 1536-54' in Jn. Ecc. Hist., xxi (197), pp 301-26.

- 'Sword, word and strategy in the Reformation in Ireland' in the Historical Journal, xxi, 3 (1978), pp 475-502.

- The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII. Cambridge, 1974.

- 'The Edwardian Reformation in Ireland' in Archiv. Hib., xxvi (1976-7), pp 83-99.

- The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century. Cambridge, 1979.

Bradshaw, B. 'The opposition to the ecclesiastical legislation in the Irish Reformation parliament' in I.H.S., xvi, no. 63 (March 1969), pp 285-303.

Brady, C. 'Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin administration, 1556-1586' in Radicals, rebels and establishments: Historical Studies, xv, ed. P.J. Corish (Belfast, 1985), pp 11-33.

- 'Factions and origins of the Desmond rebellion of 1579' in I.H.S., vol. xxii, no. 88 (Sept. 1981), pp 289-312.

Brady, C. and Gillespie, R. (ed.), Natives and Newcomers, essays on the makings of Irish colonial society, 1534-1641, Dublin, 1986.

Brady, J. 'Archdeacon Luke Rochford and his circle' in Reportorium Novum, iii, no. 1 (1962), pp 108-20.

Brady, W.H. The Episcopal Succession of England, Scotland and Ireland, 2 vols., Rome, 1876.

Butler, W.F.T. Gleanings from Irish history. London, 1925.

Canny, N.P. 'Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and the changing face of Gaelic Ulster' in Studia Hib., X (1970), pp 7-35.

- 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature, 1580-1750' in Past and Present, no. 95 (1982), pp 91-116.

- From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland 1534-1660, Dublin, 1987.

Canny, N.P. The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: a pattern established, 1565-76, Sussex, 1976.

- 'The flight of the earls, 1607' in I.H.S., xvii (1971), pp 380-99.
- The formation of the Old English Elite in Ireland, Dublin 1975.
- 'The treaty of Mellifont and the reorganisation of Ulster, 1603' in Ir. Sword, ix (1969-70), pp 249-62.
- 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: une question mal posee' in Jn. Ecc. Hist., xxx (1979), pp 1-27.
- Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-88, ed. N. Canny and A. Pagden, Princeton, 1987.

Cipolla, C.M. (ed.) The Fontana Economic History of Europe. The Middle Ages, Glasgow, 1972.

- The Fontana Economic History of Europe. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Glasgow, 1974.

Clarke, Aidan. The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42. London, 1966.

- 'The policies of the Old English in parliament, 1640-41' in Hist. Studies, v, (1965), pp 85-102.
- 'The history of Poyning's law, 1615-41' in I.H.S., xviii, no. 70 (Sept. 1972), pp 207-22.

Clarke, A. with Edwards, R.D. 'Pacification, Plantation and the Catholic question, 1603-23' in N.H.I., vol. iii, pp 187-232.

Coburn-Walshe, H. 'Responses to the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth century Meath' in Riocht na Midhe 1987-88, pp 97-109.

Collins, M.E. Ireland 1475-1610, Dublin, 1980.

Corcoran, T. 'Early Irish Jesuit Educators' in Studies, pp 545-60.

Corish, P.J. 'The crisis in Ireland in 1648: the nuncio and the supreme council: conclusions' in Ir. Theol. Quart., xxii, no. 3 (July, 1955), pp 231-57.

- 'The origins of Catholic nationalism' in Corish, Ir. Catholicism, iii, ch. 8 (1968).
- 'Bishop Nicholas French and the Second Ormond peace, 1648-9' in I.H.S., VI, no. 22 (Sept. 1948), pp 83-100.
- 'An Irish Counter-Reformation bishop: John Roche' in Ir. Theol. Quart., xxvi (1959), pp 101-16, 313-30.
- 'Rinuccim's censure of 27 May 1648' in Ir. Theol. Quart., xviii, no. 4 (Oct. 1951), pp 322-37.
- 'The beginnings of the Irish College Rome' (offprint from Fr Luke Wadding, 1957, pp 284-94), History Pamphlet no. xiii, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

Corish, P.J. Bishop Caulfield 'Relatio Status', History Pamphlet, no. 11, also in Archiv. Hib., xxviii (1966).

- 'Two contemporary historians of the confederation of Kilkenny: John Lynch and Richard O'Ferrall' in I.H.S., viii, no. 31 (Mar. 1953), pp 217-36.
- The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dublin, 1981.
- The Irish Martyrs, Dublin, 1989.
- 'Ireland's First Papal Nuncio', read at tercentenary celebrations in Dublin, 18 Dec. 1953.

Corish, P.J. (ed.) 'History in perspective' in A History of Irish Catholicism, pp 327-33.

- 'Trent in retrospect' in History Pamphlets 6-10, pp 217-33, delivered at public lectures of Jesuit Theological Faculty, Milltown Park, Winter session, 1963.
- Radicals, Rebels and Establishments: Historical Studies, XV, Belfast, 1985.
- The Irish Catholic Experience, Dublin 1985.

Corish, P.J. and Ryan, J. The Christian Mission
(A history of Irish Catholicism, vol. 1, pts 2-3) Dublin, 1972.

Cregan, D.F. 'Irish Catholic admissions to the English inns of court, 1558-1625' in Ir. Jurist, N.S., v (1970), pp 95-114.

Curtis, E. History of Ireland (London 1936; 6th ed., 1950).

- A history of medieval Ireland (London, 1923; 2nd ed., 1938; Reprint, 1968).

Dawson, G.E. and Kennedy-Skipton, L. Elizabethan handwriting, 1500-1650, Sussex 1968 and 1981.

Devitt, M. 'Clongowes Wood' in Jn. Kild. Arch. Soc., III, (1899-1902), pp 207-45.

Dickens, A.G. The English Reformation, London, 1964.

Dolley, M. Anglo-Norman Ireland, c 1100-1318, Dublin, 1972.

Dunlop, Robert. Ireland to the settlement of Ulster in Camb. mod. hist., iii (1905), ch. xviii, pp 579-616.

Edwards, R. Dudley 'The Irish Reformation parliament of Henry VIII, 1536-7' in Hist. Studies, vi (1968), pp 59-84.

- Church and state in Tudor Ireland, Dublin, 1935.
- 'Ireland, Elizabeth I, and the Counter-Reformation' in Elizabethan government and society, ed. S.T. Bindoff, Joel Hurstfield, and C.H. Williams (London, 1961), pp 315-39.
- Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, London, 1977.

Edwards, R. Dudley, and Moody, T.W. 'The history of Poyning's law: part 1, 1494-1615' in I.H.S., ii, no. 8 (Sept. 1941), pp 415-24.

Edwards, R. Dudley and O'Dowd, M. Sources for Early Modern Irish History 1534-1641, Cambridge, 1985.

- Edwards, R. Dudley, and Quinn, D.B. 'Sixteenth century Ireland, 1485-1603' in T.W. Moody (ed.), Irish historiography, 1936-70 (Dublin, 1971), pp 23-42.
- Edwards, Ruth D. An atlas of Irish history, London, 1973.
- Elton, G.R. England under the Tudors, London, 1955, Reprinted, 1974.
- Elton, G.R. The Tudor revolution in government, Cambridge, 1953.
- Elliott, J.H. 'Revolution and continuity in early modern Europe' in The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century (ed.) Parker & Smith, London, 1978.
- Ellis, S.G. 'Parliaments and Great Councils, 1483-99: addenda et corrigenda' in Anal. Hib., no. 29, 1980, pp 98-111.
- Tudor Ireland. Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470-1603, London and New York, 1985.
- Fitzgerald, W. 'New Abbey of Kilcullen' in Jn. Kild. Arch. Soc., iii, (1899-1902), pp 301-17.
- 'Baltinglass Abbey, its possessions, and their post-Reformation proprietors' in Jn. Kild. Arch. Soc., pp 379-412.
- Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P. The Queen's Lineage from A.D. 495 to the Silver Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, London 1977.

Gilmore, M.P. The World of Humanism, 1453-1517, New York, 1952.

Grant, A.J. Outlines of European History, London, New York and Toronto, 1947.

Green, V.H.H. Renaissance and Reformation. A survey of European History between 1450 and 1660, London, 1952.

Haigh, C. 'The recent historiography of the English Reformation' in Historical Journal, xxv, 1982 (3-4), pp 995-1007.

- 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation' in Historical Journal, Vol. 68, no. 224, Oct. 1983, pp 391-407.

- 'The continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation' in Past and Present, no. 93, 1981, pp 37-69.

- 'From monopoly to minority: Catholicism in early modern Ireland' in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, xxxi, (1981), pp 129-47.

- 'Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism' in Jn.Ecc. Hist., vol 36, no.3, pp 394-406.

Hale, J.R. Renaissance Europe 1480-1520, London, 1971.

Hammerstein, Helga. 'Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I' in Hist. Studies, viii (1971), pp 137-54.

Hayes-McCoy, G.A. 'The making of an O'Neill' in U.J.A., series 3, xxxiii (1970), pp 89-94.

- 'The Tudor Conquest (1534-1603)' in Moody and Martin, Ir. Hist., Cork, 1967, pp 174-88.

- 'The completion of the Tudor Conquest and the advance of the Counter-Reformation, 1571-1603', N.H.I., iii, pp94-141.

Hogan, E. Description of Ireland, 1598, Dublin, 1878.

- Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century, London, 1894.

Holmes, G. Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt 1320-1450, Glasgow, 1975.

Hore, P.H. History of the town and county of Wexford. 6 vols. London, 1900-11.

Hughes, P. The Reformation in England, London, 1954.

- Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England, London, 1944.

Iske, B. The Green Cockatrice, Dublin, 1978.

Jennings, Brendan. 'Irish swordsmen in Flanders, 1586-1610' in Studies, xxxvi (1947), pp 402-10; xxxvii (1948), pp 189-202.

Kamen, H. The Rise of Toleration, London, 1967.

Kingston, J. 'Catholic Families of the Pale' in Repertorium Novum, pp 236-56.

Lennon, C. 'Civic Life and religion in early seventeenth-century Dublin' in Archiv. Hib., vol. 38, 1983, pp 14-25.

- 'Recusancy and the Dublin Stanihursts' in Archiv. Hib., xxxiii, 1975, pp 101-110.
- Richard Stanihurst, the Dubliner 1574-1618, A biography with a Stanihurst text on Ireland's past, Dublin, 1981.
- 'The Counter-Reformation in Ireland, 1542-1641' in Natives and Newcomers (ed.) Brady and Gillespie, Dublin, 1986, pp 75-92.
- 'The rise of recusancy among the Dublin patricians, 1580-1613' from Sheils, W.J. and (not yet known) ed., Studies in Church History, xxv: The church, Ireland and the Irish. York, 1989, pp 123-32.

Lovett, A. Europe 1453-1610, Dublin, 1979.

MacCurtain, Margaret. Tudor and Stuart Ireland, Dublin and London, 1972.

- 'An Irish agent of the Counter-Reformation: Dominic O'Daly' in I.H.S., xv, no. 60 (Sept. 1967), pp 391-406.
- 'The Geraldine War - Rebellion or crusade' in Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee, 1967, no.17.
- 'The Fall of the House of Desmond' in Jn. Kerry Arch. & Hist. Soc., no. 8 (1975), pp 28-44.

McGrath, P., Rowe and Joy. 'The Marian Priests in Elizabethan England' in Recusant History, vol. xvii, no. 2, (Oct. 1984), pp 103-20.

McNeill, C. The Tanner Letters, Dublin, 1943.

Mathew, D. The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe, London, 1933.

Moody, T.W. and Martin, F.X. (ed.) The course of Irish History Cork, 1967.

Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. and Byrne, F.J. (ed.)
A new history of Ireland III. Early modern Ireland 1534-1691, Oxford, 1976.

- A new history of Ireland, IX. Maps, Genealogies, Lists, Oxford, 1984.

- A new history of Ireland, II. Medieval Ireland 1169-1534, Oxford, 1987.

- A new history of Ireland, VIII. A chronology of Irish history to 1976, Oxford, 1982.

Moody, T.W., Williams, T.D., Beckett, J.C., Martin, F.X. (ed.)
A New History of Ireland, under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1968 - .

Myers, A.R. England in the Late Middle Ages, Middlesex, 1952.

Neale, J. Elizabethan government and society: essays presented to Sir John Neal. Ed. S.T. Bindoff, Joel Hurstfield and C.H. Williams. London, 1961.

- Nicholls, K.W. Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the middle ages. Dublin and London, 1972.
- 'The Fitzmaurices of Kerry' in Kerry Arch. Soc. Jn.,
iii (1970), pp 23-42.
- Nolan, W.P. Sources for Local Studies, Dublin, no date.
- O'Connor, G.B. Elizabethan Ireland. Native and English,
Dublin (no date of publication).
- O'Hanlon, J. and O'Leary, E. History of the Queen's County,
vol. ii, Dublin, 1914.
- O'Reilly, M. Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic
Faith in Ireland in the sixteenth, seventeenth and
eighteenth centuries, London, 1868.
- O'Toole, P.L. History of the Clan O'Toole and other Leinster
Septs, Dublin, 1890.
- Otway-Ruthven, A.J. A history of medieval Ireland
London and New York, 1968.
- Parker, G. Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648, Glasgow, 1979.
- Parmiter, G. de C., 'Elizabethan Popish Recusancy in the
Inns of Court' in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical
Research, xlix (1976), Supplement 1-viii, pp 1-60.
- Parry, J.H. Europe and a wider world, 1415-1715, London, 1949.
- Petrie, Charles. 'The Hispano-papal landing at Smerwick' in
Ir. Sword, ix (1969-70), pp 82-94.

- Phillips, W.A. History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day, vol. 2, London, 1934.
- Power, E. Medieval People, London and New York, 1924.
- Price, L. 'Notes on Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne' in Jn. Kild. Arch. Soc., xi, 1930-3, pp 134-75.
- Quinn, D.B. The Elizabethans and the Irish, Ithaca, N.Y., 1966.
- 'Anglo-Irish local government, 1485-1534' in I.H.S., i, no. 4 (Sept. 1939), pp 354-81.
 - 'Henry VIII and Ireland 1509-34' in I.H.S., xii (1961), pp 318-44.
- Sacrisbrick, J.J. The Reformation and the English People, Oxford, 1984.
- Henry VIII, London, 1968.
- Silke, J.J. 'Irish scholarship and the renaissance, 1580-1673' in Studies in the Renaissance, xx (1973) pp 160-206.
- Southern, R.W. The Making of the Middle Ages, London, 1953.
- Tickell, E. 'The Eustace family and their lands in Co. Kildare' in Jn. Kild. Arch. Soc., xiii, pp 270-87, 307-71, 364-413.
- Treadwell, V. 'Sir John Perrot and the Irish parliament of 1585-6' in R.I.A. Proc. 85 (1985), pp 249-308.

Valkenburg, A. 'A study in diplomacy, Gerald, earl of Kildare, 1525-185' in Jn. Kild. Arch. Soc., xv, pp 293-315.

Whaley, D. Later Medieval Europe, From St. Louis to Luther London and New York, 1964, reprinted 1974.

Williams, P. The Tudor Regime, Oxford, 1979.

Woulfe, P. 'Some martyrs of the Pale' in Catholic Emancipation Centenary Record (June 1929), Ronan M.V. (ed.), pp 30-5.