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Three Tracts on Ireland, c. 1613

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THREE TRACTS ON IRELAND, *c.* 1613

Presented by

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## INTRODUCTION

The three tracts edited here are taken from British Library Additional Manuscript 39853, which was compiled in the late seventeenth century by Charles Cornwallis from papers of his father, Sir Charles Cornwallis.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript has 163 folios, is all in the one hand, and was written at one time. It is clearly written and well preserved. However when the manuscript was rebound at an unknown date some folios were misplaced so that in the case of tract one it continues from folio 2v to folio 6 the intervening material having no relevance to Ireland. Also in the trimming of the manuscript during rebinding the edges of some of the folios of tract one have been lost. The lost word or words can usually be restored and these have been included in the transcript in square brackets.

Cornwallis's involvement with Irish affairs was slight. For the main part of his official career he was English ambassador to Spain, between 1605 and 1609, and as such had some dealings with the earl of Tyrone after the flight of the earls. After 1610 he served as treasurer to Prince Henry, the prince of Wales.<sup>2</sup> In August 1613 he was appointed as one of the commissioners to investigate the abuses in the Irish parliament alleged by the Recusant opposition in the first session of James's first Irish parliament.<sup>3</sup> He was the only one of the five commissioners who had no experience of Ireland. Sir Humphry Winch had been a commissioner of the Irish court of wards and chief justice of king's bench in Dublin. Roger Wilbraham had been solicitor general for Ireland between 1586 and 1603 and George Calvert was clerk of the crown and peace in Connacht. The fifth commissioner was Sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy. Cornwallis's role was to be the representative of his patron, the earl of Northampton, the principal secretary of state in England, who had established the commission, and Cornwallis was to report to Northampton directly.<sup>4</sup> The commissioners arrived in Dublin on 11 September 1613. They issued an interim report in October and a final report on 12 November 1613.<sup>5</sup> Cornwallis had returned to England by 30

November and does not seem to have visited Ireland again.

At least two of the tracts edited here can definitely be ascribed to Cornwallis. The first tract is probably not by Cornwallis and is discussed in detail below. Tract two survives in at least two other copies and is ascribed to Cornwallis in both.<sup>6</sup> The tract is undated but internal evidence, such as the references to the fortification of Cork and Waterford, would suggest a date of late 1613. Certainly at this time Cornwallis appears to have regarded himself as knowledgeable in Irish affairs and according to the Spanish ambassador writing in January 1614 was 'very well informed' on Irish matters.<sup>7</sup>

The third tract, also probably by Cornwallis, though undated seems to have been written at about the same time. The author clearly had a knowledge of economic conditions in Spain, which Cornwallis had since much of his Spanish embassy had been devoted to resolving problems between English and Spanish merchants.<sup>8</sup> The numerous references to the Newfoundland fishing may point to it having been written for the earl of Northampton since Northampton was a subscriber to the Newfoundland Company in 1610 and had an interest in promoting the development of fishing in England.<sup>9</sup> Northampton was a well-known collector of tracts on Ireland and he himself had written on the economic potential of Ireland. As an administrator who placed great reliance on the expert views of others he would certainly have welcomed a report on the economic condition of Ireland.<sup>10</sup>

The first tract edited here does not seem to have been written by Cornwallis although his name appears at the end of it. The references to the plantation of Wexford (f.8v), the settlement of Longford (f.8v) and the 'nine years of peace' (f.7) would suggest a date of late 1611 or early 1612, before Cornwallis became involved in Ireland. Moreover, the author is clearly well informed of the details of Irish administration although not always in agreement with the administration's policy. The tract was written in Ireland and the author seems to have been part of Irish society. His approach is that of a lawyer and the reference to having seen the power of the law through the assizes (f.6v) might suggest that he was a senior legal official. The problem remains as to how the tract got into Cornwallis's hands. He probably signed his name to it as proof of ownership leading the compiler of the manuscript to believe that it was Cornwallis's own work. The most likely explanation of these events is that the tract is by Sir Robert Jacob, the Irish solicitor general at the time of the commission. Like Cornwallis, Jacob's patron was the earl of Northampton and it seems that Cornwallis met him in Ireland. Certainly

in November 1613 Jacob wrote to Northampton about Irish affairs and advising him that Cornwallis, now in England, could substantiate Jacob's statements.<sup>11</sup> How the tract came into Cornwallis's hands is unclear. One possibility is that Jacob may have given it to him. Jacob is known to have written at least two other tracts on the state of Ireland for Northampton and this tract may also have been written for him and given to Cornwallis by Jacob when he departed for Ireland.<sup>12</sup> However he obtained it, Cornwallis certainly seems to have read tract one before he composed his own report on Ireland in tract two since a number of themes dealt with in tract one, such as the need to disarm the native Irish and to favour those Irish who were loyal to the state, recur in tract two.

The three tracts printed here provide an important insight not only into the mind of one of the 1613 commissioners but also present a survey of the political, economic and social state of Ireland in a relatively little studied decade of the seventeenth century. For that reason they are of prime importance for the student of early seventeenth-century Ireland. Spelling has been modernised, capitalisation standardised and obvious contractions silently expanded. I am grateful to the Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the British Library for permission to reprint these documents.

British Library, Additional Manuscript 39853

I

[f.2v] **A view or survey of some reasons why Ireland hath always been so full of troubles and subject to so many insurrections and rebellions.**

*Concerning the Lord Deputy's sole authority and Commission.*

1. His lordship hath the sole gift of all the offices of the kingdom either martial or civil that are in the king's gift, except the offices especially named and excepted in his lord general commission of government.

His lordship hath the gift of all custodiams of escheated lands, attainted lands and lands concealed and of archbishops' lands and other ecclesiastical lands during the vacation of the bishoprics and benefices and of wards' lands until the same be granted by patent.

His lordship hath the sole gift of all fee farms and leases in reversion as they shall be directed out of England.

His lordship hath the sole gift of all presentation of deaneries, prebends, parsonages, vicarages and other spiritual dignitaries and livings, bishoprics only excepted.

His lordship hath sole granting of protections if he please.

His lordship hath the sole authority if he please to punish and imprison offenders and to set them at liberty in such cases where they be notailable by law.

His lordship hath sole authority to grant martial law and to give licences to parley with traitors and enemies.

His lordship hath sole authority to direct the issuing of the king's treasure, victual and munitions except there be some instructions from the king to the contrary.

*Questions somewhat doubtful to be resolved upon.*<sup>13</sup>

There is an article in his lordship's patent of government that his lordship shall do any other thing belonging to the office of lord deputy by right, use or custom; whether hereby his lordship may grant any new pensions or receive any dead pensions or grant any new pension out of his Majesty's revenue is some question except the same be explained by some instruction. There is several clauses in his lordship's general commission and not see particularly that pardon should be granted by his lordship per advisamentum concilii [4 words illegible here] pardons having been under some of the council's hands beneath the fiant and the lord deputies hand above the fiant until the earl of Essex his government.<sup>14</sup>

There are also two several clauses in his lordships said commission general authorising him alone to pardon treasons, murders and other great offences by special name (treason to his Majesty's person only excepted).

And there is another clause formerly in that commission and not so particularly. That pardons should be granted by his lordship per advisamentum Concilii. But the use of all late pardons have been under one of the Council's hands beneath their fiant, and their lord deputy's hand above their fiant until the earl of Essex's his government.

Concerning his lordship's joint commission.

1. Granting of wardships.
2. Granting of liveries.
3. Making of leases for 21 years in possession.
4. Stalling of debts.

## By instructions

To make grant of offices within this clause quondam bene gesserit where the general patent is but durante bene placito.

To do some things more than by the General Commission and some things less.

## By Act of parliament

To receive surrender from the Irishry.

By private council

To give by Concordation

By grand council

To proclaim the general hostings

If it should be demanded of me what general cause of discontentment or what just occasion hath been given to the Irish from time to time to lift up their hands against their sovereign, I think I might truly answer that there hath been none at all. For if we look back into the proceedings of former times and consider of the pretences made by the rebels for their taking arms against their Prince we shall find their suggestions false and clamorous and to be but shadows and mists to cover their treacheries. And that the kings of England have not governed them by cruelty or tyranny nor wrested from them their lands or goods by violence nor taken away their lives without due trial or law nor extorted from them their rights or liberties nor overburdened them with unreasonable exactions or impositions nor imprisoned them without justice nor otherwise have given them any just offence or cause of grievance. But it hath been the wickedness of their own natures, the pride of the lords (who pretending that they were never fully [conque]red have always attempted to shake off the yoke and subjection and to make themselves kings of their own territories) and the practices and conspiracies of malicious traitors at home, begotten by the corruption and [ins]tigation of foreign princes for their own private ends that have been the true causes of all rebellions within [this] kingdom. For it is most certain that there hath always been too much leniency and favour used towards [that] nation which hath made them become like a stubborn and unruly horse, who finding an easy hand to be [set] over him will never leave flinging or bounding until he hath cast his rider. So as it will be but lost valour to seek for a reason out of some misgovernment of the state or to search for a ground in ourselves which hath enforced this people so often to run into rebellion seeing it is most manifest that the original cause thereof hath risen from themselves and merely out of their own wills and wicked inclinations.

But the matter we have now in hand is to find out the true reason how a few handfuls of naked barbarous ker[ne] have been able to hold out and maintain a war so long as they have done against so great a pow[er] as the kings of England and when they have been scattered and to our seeming broken in pieces [that] they could so soon recover their strength and begin



a new rebellion as they have continually done at their pleasure. [f.6] And purely for the prolonging of their wars I think one prin[cipal cause] thereof hath proceeded from the garrison commanders themselves who (whether they were unwilling to [one word missing] that warned them or for what other [reason] I know not) have used in the course of their wars (saving in the declination of Tyrone's last rebellion) to compact divers [truces] with the rebels and to make cessations from war for certain seasons. During which time of truce or cessation the rebels [one word missing] they would interparley and capitulate for their pardons and so visit each others army without danger and if in the meantime they could not patch upon an ill jointed peace that at the end of those days of truce they betook themselves to their weapons again and every man stood upon his guard as he did before. By which means the enemy (who would never offer a parley until he was brought to an extremity) got a breathing time to recover his losses, to cure his hurt men, to rejoin his dispersed forces, to furnish himself with money, munition, and victual, to labour and procure more to be of his party, to have new supplies from his complices beyond the seas, to fortify his holds and places of strength and make himself the more able to withstand the king's power than when he first declared himself a rebel and so did spin out and protract the war until at length we (having many other irons in the fire) were feign to take him in upon his own conditions. Whereas if contrarywise we had given them no time to rest but had continually hunted them from place to place and had fortified and maintained those places which we had gained from them we should [in a] short space have driven them to the distress that they should have rendered themselves or else have enforced them to forsake the kingdom. In this manner did Sir Arthur Chichester prosecute Tyrone in Ulster and kept him in perpe[tual] action, preyed upon him every day, followed him into his strongest fortresses, sat down by him in the midst of Clancomcaine, took his cows, killed his men, never gave him rest and so weakened him by degrees that he brought him to that extremity that if he had not made great means to the lord deputy to be taken in he had not been able to have held out one month longer, whereas if he might have had his old cessations when he would have demanded them he would not have been conquered to this day.

2. Whereas the principal end whereof kings do extend their power against their subjects when they do make insurrections against their sovereign is the cutting off and expiration of the rebels as well as to satisfy the justice of the law which they have offended as also to take away such

members as disturb the peace of the commonwealth and therefore that war ought never to be compounded nor given over until all the rebels be fully conquered. Yet nevertheless such has been [the] error of the governors of this kingdom in former times that they never went through with their wars to the end with constancy nor made themselves fully conquerors. But after the expense of a mass of treasure and the loss of many thousand lives when the traitors were brought to so low an ebb that they were ready even to yield themselves to their prince's mercy, then have we failed to composition with them as if we distrusted the king's power and pa[r]doned them and restored them to their lands and goods as if when we had the wolf by the ears we were afraid to hold him [and] let him go. By means whereof the justice of the law remained unsatisfied and those wicked rebels survived for the greater mischief and within two or three years after were as ready for a new rebellion as before.

This was a great oversight in the state for the example of it made the people think that the prince's power was not able to suppress them nor to protect his subjects from their fury and so they were encouraged to rebel again whensoever they listed. Whereas on the other side if they had been once mainly prosecuted until they had been all put to execution the fear thereof would have stricken such terror into the hearts of others as would have utterly discouraged them from entering into any more actions of rebellion.

3. And as we have always been inconsiderate in the unseasonable compounding of our<sup>15</sup> wars so we have eve[r been] too careless in using the means to establish a perpetual peace and to hold and contain them in cont[inual] subjection. For as soon as ever we had made an end of any war we straight forgot the old verse Non [one word missing] virtus, quam quaerere parta tueri. We never considered that as traitors are to be subdued by force so by [force] they are to be kept in subjection. But we presently discharged the army to save charges, dismissed our garr[isons] and threw away our weapons as if there were no more use of them and so made ourselves unable to rule them being subjects or to suppress them if again they should become rebels which they perceiving grew the more insolent and would not be governed by us longer than it suited with their own ends. Wherein we overslipped an opportunity of great advantage for when the enemy was weakened by the miseries of war and had not present means to make resistance then should we have had a standing army to have courted them and kept them under and having compelled them to the obedience of the laws which then might have been done with

no great difficulty for then was the time to have taught them obedience whilst they felt the smart of their rebellion. It is not enough for a ki[ng to] compound or end a present war but he must take a course to preserve his people in a continual peace and [save] them from further trouble which cannot be done in this kingdom without a puissant army always in sight, w[hich] may be able to master them if ever they shall grow mutinous and to conquer and reduce them whensoever they shall advance themselves against their sovereign. The presence of a good army here will [keep] all Ireland in peace and keep all his Majesty's neighbour princes in awe and if the garrisons be planted in the most dangerous and barbarous parts of this country those parts will in time become the most civil and secure places in the kingdom. This is a matter of great consequence and it is as needful to be put in practice at this present as ever it hath been in former times and his Majesty hath now a convenient time to make experiment of it and wanteth no necessary means to perform it. But if he neglect this peaceable time and do not establish a competent army here to master them and to enforce them to civility and obedience to h[is] laws before their boys are grown up to be men and their country be replenished with corn and cattle, well we may have a pieced Commonwealth which may hang together for a season but it will ever be subject to revolution and to be broken in pieces upon every light occasion. For it is most certain that this nation will never be subject any longer than they must needs and that they see the king's power to be too mighty for them.

[f.6v][4. Two words missing] as we should have been car[eful to keep] ourselves strong so we should have neglected no [me]ans to have weakened our adversary. And therefore in time of peace we should have disarmed them and taken from them all manner of weapons whereby they might have been disabled either to make any open insurrection or to execute any secret stratagem upon us. But we never took that course with them but suffered them always to wear their weapons, to keep them in their houses and hide them in bogs and places of security where they might have them upon all occasions. Whereby whensoever they listed to enter into rebellion they wanted nothing to make themselves masters of the field. There was a great neglect in those that had the government of this kingdom for if we had kept them always without arms then they would never have been able to rebel but if they had a small power would have served to suppress them again. It is (without question) a policy of great importance not to suffer such disloyal and uncertain subjects to have any manner of weapons. The Philistines would not permit the

Israelites to have a smith in all their land. Ne forte Hebrai facerent gladium aut lanceam sayeth the text.<sup>16</sup> And the king of Spain at this day will not allow any of his Moriscoes to wear a knife about them unless the point be broken off. And we had lately a good example of it here for if Sir Neale Garvie could have gotten arms for his followers the rebellion of O Doghertie would have cost the king five hundred thousand pounds before the fire thereof would have utterly been extinguished. And O Doghertie himself would have done little hurt if he had not by chance lighted upon the king's store at the Derry for he had not arms (of his own) to have furnished twenty men. This course of disarming them is often talked of and hath been put in execution in some places but it must be observed inviolably throughout all Ireland if ever we expect to contain this people in obedience to the crown of England.

[5.] Furthermore when we had made ourselves strong, and had weakened our enemies and had reduced the rebels to a peaceable government we should then have endeavoured to have broken the Irishry from their barbarous customs and compelled them to change their habit and language (which are the true marks of a perfect conquest) and to conform themselves in speech and apparel to the English according to a notable law to that purpose made in 28 Hen. 8. But contrarywise we always permitted them to retain and use their Irish tongue and their old barbarous fashions clean different from the English which by the eye deceived the multitude and persuaded unto them that they should be (as it were) of sundry sorts or rather of sundry countries. By means whereof they never took themselves to be the king's natural subjects but as a people obliged in duty and allegiance to the lords of their own countries but by force constrained and kept under a king to whom in right they were not to be subject. But if they had all been compelled to use the English language, habit and apparel the society and familiarities of civil men might have brought those rude and savage people in love with our fashions and would have made them in one age think themselves all Englishmen and so might have drawn them [from] their dependency upon their lords (to whom they lived as slaves) and have made them fly to the [pr]otection of their lawful king. Whereas retaining still their own language, habit and customs they [were] strangers to the English, hated them as enemies, condemned their government as merely tyrannical, made choice [of th]eir own chieftains and governors and made wars and peace at their pleasure and so retained still the true marks of sovereignty amongst themselves. It is not a matter of very great difficulty utterly to

abolish the Irish tongue for within those 40 years there was scarce a word of Irish to be heard within the Irish pale but now the priests and seditious traitors have so prevailed with the rude multitude that there is scarce a word of English spoken amongst them within 3 miles of Dublin. If that law of 28 Hen 8 had been duly and carefully put in execution according to the wise intentions of the founders thereof the whole kingdom had been long since one entire people of one language, under one ordinance and one king, the neglect whereof hath been the cause of most of the factions, seditions and insurrections that have happened here these many years.

[6.] In like manner our governors in time of peace neglected to send the justices of assize into the provinces of Ulster, Connaught and Munster and into the farthest parts of Leinster whereby the Irish might have been informed and instructed in the law of the land and might have understood the happiness of living under the government of such wise and just laws. By reason of which not coming of the justices the rude and ignorant people to whom the law was not communicated were in a sort debarred the use and benefit thereof and knew not whether to appeal for justice but when they were wronged by their neighbours they were driven to resort to the lords of their countries and adjudged by their absurd, unjust and unreasonable brehon law and when they were oppressed by their lords themselves they were feign to make them their judges against whom they were to complain for injustice which made such a tie and obligation betwixt the great men and the common people that they would follow their lords into all desperate actions and run with them into it whensoever they should be called to it. We have a notable experiment since his Majesty came to the crown of the benefit that commonwealth received by the judges riding in circuit throughout the realm wherein we have seen how joyfully the poor people even in the most remote parts of the kingdom do embrace justice and how glad they are that they can be countenanced and maintained by the law against the tyranny and oppressions [of] their landlords. And if that course should be interrupted (as of late it was like to have been by the labouring of s[ome] provincial governors) within few years you would have those remote parts become as wild as any part of the West Indies.

[f.7] 7. It is most certain that the idleness of the mere Irish in general and their scorn to apply themselves to mechanical sciences hath ever been the

bane of this kingdom. And therefore the governors of this realm were much to be condemned in that they did not compel the common sort of people to serve and to put their children to trades and crafts whereby they might have been able to get their own living without the help or assistance of others but suffered them evermore to live idly, feeding upon milk and grass without any apparel more than a mantle and never gave themselves to learning or any sciences nor so much as to till the ground but only did live and grow up like a plant (or to speak more truly) lead the life of a beast. In so much as being grown to man's estate they were driven [by] want of other means either to become woodkerne, and live upon robbing and stealing, or else to hang upon some [of] their Irish lords or gentlemen for their meat, for which they did nothing but flatter them with the rehearsal of the [great] defeats done upon the English by their ancestors and fill their heads with treason. And when they could perceive in them any discontentment then would they thrust them out into open rebellion. These idle men are the one [great] bellows that continually blow the coals of sedition, these are the contrivers and procurers of all insurrections and these are the actors without whom none of their treasonable plots could be put in execution. And as long as the[se] dissolute people are suffered to live thus loosely and idly and are not compelled to labour and betake themselves to some honest occupation, this land will never want fire nor fuel to set the whole kingdom in combustion. There are above 3,000 of this quality in every province which do nothing but expect the good hour when they might see but one blow struck in earnest that they might then unmask themselves and discover the affections of their hearts. This hath been neglected in all this 9 years of peace.

8. There is nothing that so much causeth the Irish lords to rebel as the consideration of their own greatness and not[hing] that makes them great but the dependency of the common people upon them and nothing that doth so much make [the] multitude rely and depend upon great men as that they have no certain estates in their own lands but do h[old at] will and pleasure of their landlords. It was therefore a great negligence in the state not to compel the lords to make leases for lives or for years to their tenants but to suffer the poor people to live (as it were) upon the [will] or devotion of their lords without possessing any thing wherein they could claim interest or property. Inso much for want of certain estates in their livings they must either make choice to turn rebel with their landlords or else be turned out of their lands and lose all they have in the world.

This dilemma caused many thousands in times past to join with them in rebellion which if they had had any certain estates in their tenements would have willingly drawn their swords against them to maintain their own positions. And we find by experience in our circuits if a poor man hath any thing which he call his own if his landlord will take it from him he will sue and contest with him as boldly as he would do against a[ny] other person without any respect of duty or obligation betwixt them.

9. There was another main matter that drew the dependency of the common people upon the great men and that was the extortion and oppression of the Irish lords upon their tenants as captains [of t]heir countries under colour [words missing] the people and their own possessions arrogating to themselves royal [aut]hority within their precincts and territories. By reason whereof they drew the inferior states to be one of their factions and thereby the fea[lty] and attendance of the kings subjects which ought by law to be yielded to the imperial crown was wholly con[ceded to] them. And besides by colour of these captainships they extorted divers fees by themselves and their [followers] they went up and down assessing the country with their wives and families and with their horsemen, kernes and gallowglasses, with other followers and did not only devour all the provisions of their tenants, wasting th[eir] corn and substance, but also took away their money from them at their pleasure and held such a [strong] hand over them that the poor vassals (which for want of the free passage of justice amongst them could not [have] righted) were glad to please them, even by running into all the desperate actions in the world. And not w[ithstanding] the king's deputies from time to time saw their abuses and often felt the dangerous effects that followed ther[unto] they either through corruption winked at it or through timorousness and fear of the success durst not punish it or out of a negligence of the good of the commonwealth cared not for it. But if (according [to their] duties) they had used the king's authority with severity and set the sword of justice against fac[tious and] tyrannical captains and had indicted and attainted them for their oppressions (which by your statute [this] is made high treason) and had countenanced the people against their usurped authorities they would in time [have] so weakened their power and extorted greatness that they should not have been able to have drawn [any man] to be of their party in any attempt or insurrection against their sovereign but they would have fled all from them and left them naked in the open fields. The connivance of the state at these abuses and the neglect of protecting and defending the poor

people from these tyrannies and oppressions which drew the forsaken renegades from their duty and allegiance to their true and natural prince and made them yield all subjection and obedience to their lawless chieftains who had power enough to command them [and] would defend them against all others but themselves but now (thanks be to God) this fault is more amended and yet the kingdom is not altogether free from it.

[10.] The only means to make savage people become civil is to draw them into cities and towns and to make them live together in societies and companies where they may be overlooked by some officer or magistrate that would have the government of them and whereby conversing amongst men of civil education they might learn civility of manners and have the use of trades and occupations. [f. 7v.] This policy in former times has been much neglected for they suffered the Irish to struggle and live solitary, every man by himself in the woods with his creaghts without any house or habitation but a cave or a cabin where lying alone in obscurity and unthought on by the governor they grew wild and hated all manner of civil fashions and besides had opportunity in those remote places to relieve the woodkerne and bordering traitors and then spent their time in plotting and contriving of treason and in conspiracies of rebellion. By reason whereof having no house nor certain estates in any lands which they might leave to their posterities nor any thing to lose but their cows which they might drive with them, they were the more easily induced to relieve their friends, being rebels and traitors and when opportunity was offered, to join with them against their lawful prince. But if they were all enjoined to live together in towns and villages, a woodkerne nor a rebel could not be relieved but we should know the place where and the parties which relieved him. And then by prosecuting the relievers we should enforce them to take the traitor or compel him to fly the kingdom. This is not yet reformed although it hath been much spoken of and resolved to be amended in the late consultations touching these affairs.

[11.] The most part of the governors of this kingdom have been utterly mistaken in the nature of the Irishry for they ever thought [of] clemency and connivancy to make them in [love] with our government but indeed that brought forth a contrary effect and made them to contemne and despise it. For they are a stubborn generation which are not to be won by mild means and kind usage but by a hard and correcting hand to be always held over them for the justice of the law hath not been severely put



in execution here within the time of any man's memory but ever more lenience and favour hath been extended to the Irish were their contempts never so exorbitant. In the Castle Chamber (which should be the school house to abate the pride of the great men and to teach them obedience and subjection) there hath been few censured these many years and those few have had their fines for the most part remitted for matters of no value. At the Council table the Irish have been used with extraordinary favour. They have been seldom punished for any contempts but have been cockered and flattered as if the state were to give them contentment. In the [co]urts of the common law the pardons and protections (which have ever been the poison of this kingdom) have been too cheap and [fam]iliar amongst them. All manner of offences be they never so capital have been pardoned too commonly and if a traitor [can] get into the woods to have a breathing time he is sure to have his pardon upon any conditions. The priests [live in] Dublin and in all the good towns in the kingdom and say mass in every house without controlment, no man goeth [to pun]ish them and therefore they are grown so insolent that it is to be feared they will not be banished without great [dif]ficulty and peril of the state. This remiss and connivancy of the magistrates hath engrafted such a presumptuous boldness [upon] the Irishry that they dare do any wickedness at noon day and care not what villainies they commit and indeed it hath undone the kingdom. Therefore it must needs follow as a consequent that there is no course so direct nor so safe for the reformation or extirpation of these audacious offenders as to banish all manner of pardons and hope of favour and to let them feel the justice and severity of the law until by their obedience they shall make demonstration that they fear the king and subject themselves to his Majesty's laws. I was ever of opinion that it was not convenient that the Deputy should have power to pardon a man but those which by the law ought to have their pardon of course.

[12.] Besides there hath been a strange kind of policy used by the governors here which was to reprieve and pardon notable traitors (which were condemned to die for some heinous offences) under colour of doing service upon some others that were out of action which course (although sometimes it took the intended effect) yet the practice thereof was very dangerous, for the service which the party [word missing] could do, cannot be so beneficial to the commonwealth as the example of pardoning such notorious malefactors is perilous. [So] by that means the justice of the law was [not] satisfied, the heinous offender survived and was

enlarged and many times proved a [worse] traitor afterwards than he was before and did much more harm than the others which he got could have done. This was a weak [policy and] gave encouragement to many to be traitors, knowing that if they were apprehended they could procure their pardon by [setting] a trap to catch others, or by discovering some treason to which themselves were parties and by that trick would save their necks, whereas that service might have been better done by other means.

[13.] When any notable malefactor hath committed a murder or any other heinous crime it is not the fashion here to fly the kingdom but if he can get into the woods he hath as much as he would desire, for there he is sure he is among all his friends where he shall never be prosecuted but shall continually be relieved by them and so he will live there secure until he can get more companions of his own condition and then they grow up from one to twenty and from twenty to a hundred and from a hundred to an army. Whereas if one or two of these desperate rebels were forced to starve in the woods for want of [succ]our the example of his hard fortune would make the rest to be more chary how they put their trust is so weak a harbour [so] they are like a bird in a cage and get no more meat than is given them from others. And it is a principal piece of [just]ice to punish the relievers of those kerne with all severity and strictness as the root of all rebellions. For they are all begun [small] that fly into the woods and continue there until they increase into a multitude and if their friends were punished for relieving them the rebels would not be so confident to fly into the woods but live at home like honest [men].

[14. Speak]ing and conferring with rebels upon a word is one of the silliest and poorest policies that ever was invented. It may do the rebel good [but in] no way advantage the state for thereby the traitor gets opportunity to bargain and contract with the governor or captain for [a] pardon and if he like of the conditions he may accept of them and if he do not we must not touch him but must restore him to the place where we found him because we must keep the king's word although it be with a faithless rebel. And therefore it was a great oversight and a common error (although peradventure beneficial to some) to commit the power of the king's word unto mean, indigent or indiscrete persons who perverted the bounty of his Majesty's favour to their own private benefit and to the prejudice of state and kingdom. For every captain or lieutenant that had but a ward of twelve men had power to confer with any rebel under colour of doing

service and to give him the king's word that he should safely come and go to the place from whence he came and by that means under pretence of some paltry piece of service the word given for a bribe would procure the traitors pardon. This was and yet is too common a fault and by this means most of the rich traitors that had means of their own or by their friends have gotten their pardons to the great animating of other wicked traitors to continue in the villainies and to the intolerable hurt and overthrow of the commonwealth.

[15.] It hath been an ancient policy and much practiced in this kingdom that when any great lord is out in rebellion we [have] ever used the service and assistance of another lord which would offer his service to the state pretending to do somewhat upon the rebel for some private malice which he bore unto him. [f. 8] This was not the right way to end the war nor to uphold the king's honour for although they could be contented (to make a show of their loyalty) to cut in pieces a company of the inferior rascals yet the capital rebel was seldom or never taken by that means. For those which were of our side did (for the most part) but serve their own turns and maintain themselves at the prince's charge until they had gotten strength and had a fit opportunity to go out. And while they were in did evermore give secret intelligence of our councils and purposes to the adverse party but when they had gotten arms and found themselves able to make their party good then they would revolt and join with the enemy. So did Tyrone dissemble for a year or more before he went out himself in the beginning of his last wars and when he was prepared for it then he put off his vizard and became a perfect traitor and so did Neale Garvie now in O Doherties rebellion offer his services to us on purpose to arm his followers and discover the secrets of our army and sent messages to the adversary by means whereof they had like to have escaped and if we had armed his followers as he desired he would have turned our own weapons to have cut our throats.

It were much better to neglect them in those services and to make them know that the king hath power enough to bring in the rebels whensoever he listeth and to subdue them without their help or assistance.

16. In all the wars in times past we have used to have divers Irish captains and divers companies of Irish in our army against their countrymen which was a charge to the prince and for the most part did little or no

service. For when they came to fight if the number of the adversaries was equal with ours it did hurt and distract us to have them in our company and divided our armies into two fears whereas otherwise there should only have been one. For it compelled our captains to have as wary and as vigilant an eye upon those Irish in their own companies as of the enemies with whom they were to encounter, for if they should have placed their Irish soldiers in the vanguard it was possible they might join with their countrymen and make head against us and if they should have set them in the rear they were in as great danger to be assaulted both before and behind. And therefore I hold it much better for us never to employ any of the Irish in any of our wars but to make them all become ploughmen and shepherds still and to take away all their weapons and let them never know hereafter what a sword means.

17. Besides our English captains and governors by reason that they had not occasion of intercourse with the Irish were not careful and industrious until now of late to inform themselves of the ways, straights, passages and other places of advantage of the Irish countries whereby they durst not make those attempts upon the Irish nor assault them so many ways nor prosecute them in such convenient manner as they might have done if they had been skilful in all the corners and starting holes where the rebels lurked and shifted themselves which was a cause that the traitors had means to fly into fastnesses when they were driven to distress and when they were gotten betwixt a bog and a wood we thought them inaccessible and grew desperate to make any attempt upon them because we knew no way but one to follow after them. And so out of an opinion of their strength having no means to discover their weakness we were commonly feign to give up the game when it was even quite warm and to compound the wars with the rebels upon all terms when they were ready to yield themselves upon any conditions. But now this fault is very much amended for now we have a great many captains, soldiers and other sufficient gentlemen that are as skilful in all the paths of this kingdom as the Irish themselves so as we shall need to use no more the help of Irish guides which so many times would lead us amiss and (to the advantage of their countrymen) give us contrary directions.

18. In like manner we have always been too careless to compel the country people in time of peace to cut their passes and passages through the woods and to repair their bridges and causeways which were broken

down in times of rebellion which was the only advantage the Irish had against the English. For by that means the passes being overgrown became too narrow and difficult to pass that the Irish might lie close on both sides of them and kill our men at their pleasure and we could never know who hurt us. And likewise the bridges over the rivers and the causeways being broken they would lock themselves safe within a large country by making good a few passages where we could not come or approach unto them but by great disadvantage either by swimming of rivers or coming through the bogs. The neglect of this service made us ignorant of the ways and straights of the country so as we knew not the length, breadth or depth of their woods nor durst not lead our army [out] in the common roadway. But now this point is somewhat amended for the passes are cut in divers places whereby we daily discover the fastnesses and sec[rets] of the country but yet all the passages are not cut, neither are those that are cut down in such manner as they ought to [be]. They should be cut 200 foot broad on either side of the way and the wood should be rooted up that so an army might pass through them with ease and much good service might be performed by it. This is no difficult matter to be performed by the country people in time of peace for the passes are not many and for the most part are not long nor such wonderful things as they have been reported to be to them that knew them not. If the gentlemen throughout the kingdom were enjoined to do it they would compel their churls and husbandmen to perform it in one summer. This service is of special importance and must of necessity be performed and if once well done and carefully looked unto it would break the neck of all the wars that should ever happen in Ireland.

19. It hath been a common fault in the government of this kingdom (when any great lord or principal gentleman hath been attained) to grant all their lands to the parties themselves or to some other chief of their sept which pretended title unto them. By reason whereof those lords and gentlemen, their friends [and] followers still enjoyed the same countries and territories never took themselves to be conquered but pretended to hold them by their ancient title, claimed great royalties and privileges in the same and flattered themselves with the title of free princes and thought they ought not to be subject to the English government. And therefore to recover their ancient liberties (as soon as they found themselves able) they always entered into action of rebellion. But if those lands had been disposed of to English servitors as often as they fell to the crown this kingdom had been all planted with Englishmen long before

this time. But if they had doubted to bestow those lands upon the English yet they should have transplanted those septs attained and have placed in some other country afar off and have changed one sept for another. So as being thus transplanted they could not pretend any regal authority by prescription in these new territories neither could they be sure and certain of their new neighbours and so their old leagues would have been dissolved and those to whom the better lot was granted would always be ready to draw their swords in defence of their new possessions and not leave it for their old being worse. The undertakers in Munster committed the like error and paid dearly for it for they (because they [w]ould not have their lands lie waste or because the Irish would give them a greater rent than the English) made leases to [di]vers of the Irishry which pretended title to those lands. By reason whereof they growing rich in stocks of cattle and being [possessed] of those lands whereunto they pretended title, had the greater desire and longing to be wholly masters of them [and] upon a sudden (with a general consent) when they found their opportunity cut the throats of as many of their landlords [as] they could find and drove the rest out of the kingdom which they would never have had such a ready desire to have [f. 8v.] surprised nor so convenient a means to have performed if they had been compelled to make their habitation in some other remote country farther of. And in my opinion it is against all policy of state to suffer many of one sect to dwell together in any country, no although it be in a strange country whereunto they can pretend no title for if all the MacMahons in Monaghan should be transplanted and changed for O'Cahans and all the rest of the sects in Coleraine and if all the O'Neales in Tyrone should be transplanted for the Mac Damones in Darcyes and all the rest of the sects in the country of Wexford, and should be placed together by tribes and families in the new countries in the same manner as they were before in their old without any English or other nations mingled amongst them they would never become civil to the world's end, but would still retain their old barbarous customs and being all the same people would still live in the same fashion they did before. And therefore it were very convenient that some part of every sect should be transplanted and changed one for another and that they should be so mingled that there might be three or four sects planted and dispersed in every country to break their old leagues and combinations and to weaken their forces when the multitudes of their friends and kindred shall be dispersed into divers countries so as if ever they should go about any conspiracy (which they could then hardly do) yet they might easily be interrupted or suppressed before they could make any strong party or incite their scattered forces together.

The purpose to regrant all the attained lands in Longford Countie to the O'Farrolls is not the true way to settle that country considering the greatness of the sect (for all the country are of that name) and in regard they were almost all traitors in the last rebellion and considering the fastness of that country into which it is not possible to pass but in a very few places and that with great difficulty. It were much better to transplant a part of them and to bestow those lands upon some English servitors which might inhabit amongst the rest of them and so might bring in good husbandry, trades and civility amongst them. Also there are divers sects of Irish in the county of Wexford which do hold great territories of lands whereunto the king is entitled apparently by plain matter of record, those lands they intend to surrender and to take estates thereof from his Majesty upon the Commission of Surrenders. It were much better that those lands were bestowed upon some worthy Englishman which might draw over a great many of English tenants to people it and make it civil and that some of those natives might live under them as tenants and the rest might be transplanted unto the North where they want inhabitants. The English will do well enough to be mingled amongst the Irish if there be such garrisons near them to back them upon all occasions otherwise their throats will be in danger every day.

[20.] Considering how small the number of those which were never touched with treason and rebellion is in comparison of the multitude of them which have been traitors and rebels it had been good policy that those good men should have been cherished and graced by the state ever afterwards [to] encourage others to continue in their loyalty in hope to receive the like reward for their well doing. But the state here have dealt quite contrary, they make no difference betwixt those that have been capital and famous rebels and those which have been always faithful and loyal subjects. As soon as ever they have gotten pardon (how unjustly soever they came by them) they are as insolent and audacious as if they had never been false. They come to the lord deputy's presence and sit at his table as boldly as if it were their own. They contest and face with the king's council and in truth many of them have had more graces and countenances than honest men which hath made many of those that have served faithfully to hate our government because they see themselves neglected, and notable traitors countenanced and regarded. Howsoever they stand now in the state of good subjects yet there should ever be made a difference betwixt such as have always been true and others which have been false and traitors to their prince. Such men

though they be received to mercy should never presume to come into the deputy's presence but upon their knees with a petition to be righted when they are wronged to put them in mind what they have been heretofore, they should be so favoured being graced as that they should know they have sufficient favour to be suffered to live. All judges should show them the sour and severe face of justice and in a word they should ever be branded [with the] mark [of] Caine, and should be distinguished from honest men during their lives. So likewise there should [be] a difference held betwixt contemptuous and obstinate recusants and those obedient subjects which submit themselves [to] his Majesty's laws. But here the recusants come as boldly to the deputy's and councillor's tables as others, they are as much graced as other men and more, the contest and stand upon points with the judges and king's council and divers of them are known to be mere Spaniards and Romanists and maintain Jesuits and seminary priests which are the harbourers of traitors and sow the seed of rebellion and seek to raise them up against their sovereign under a blind colour of religion. These I say are countenanced by the state had have had letters written in their favour to the council in England for fee farms in regard of their zeal to the state. This favour and countenancing of them hath made all the priests in general so bold as they say masses under the very noses of the state, they contempt the present government, they forbid praying for the king, they give out they shall have toleration of their religion and think the king dares not call them in question for their insolency and disobedience. There must be a contrary course held with those men in time otherwise we shall not only be in despair to regain those which are already lost but we shall be in danger to lose divers others by their examples.

[21.] The taking of the oath of supremacy by noblemen, officers and gentlemen of quality is a matter of principal consequence in this kingdom and the neglect of performing it duly since the making of that law hath left such an impression of the pope's authority in the minds of the Irish in general as they are fully persuaded that the pope hath more right and lawful power over their souls than the king's majesty hath over their bodies. And with this opinion they are so bewitched by reason of the continual instigation of the priests that they think it is a matter of damnation to hold the contrary. This cause concerns the king as much as his title to the crown of Ireland for until that point be decided he shall never have any security of the Irish. And therefore they should all above the age of fourteen years be compelled to take that oath the law and



reason thereof should be continually preached unto them and beaten into their ears and the king should prepare as good an army to maintain his supremacy as he would if his title to the crown were in question. For his Majesty will never be truly obeyed as king until they are fully persuaded that he is their only supreme governor under God and that the Pope hath no manner of authority to bind or loose, to curse or bless, to excommunicate or to receive into the church nor to pa[rdon] or absolve any of the king's subjects in any of his dominions whatsoever for by this means the treacherous have colour to rebel and the simple are persuaded to disobedience. And this is most certain (and many of their priests [if they] are put to it will hardly deny it) that if the Pope should send an army into this kingdom which should be countenanced or shadow [of] religion they would take part with the Pope and his confederates against the king, their true lawful and undoubted sovereign. [f.9] All the pale are of opinion that the pope is their supreme governor and do seek to maintain it openly and those of the wildest Irish which have no manner of religion are so possessed with it as they will rather starve than eat a morsel of flesh upon a Friday which is the only badge and difference which is left unto them to distinguish them to be of the Roman church. The current of this stream must [be] interrupted in time or else it will grow so violent as it will require a great deal of strength to stop it.

22. The maintainers of that doctrine of the pope's supremacy which sow the seed of sedition amongst us and are the only firebrands of dissent and rebellion in this kingdom are the Jesuits and seminary priests which through the connivance of the bishops and other magistrates ever since Pope Pius quintus excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and especially of later times are grown to such a multitude that it is credible there are more spiritual men which usurp to themselves ecclesiastical authority derived from the bishop of Rome within this realm than there are others of that profession which are lawfully instituted and allowed by authority derived from the king's Majesty. The pope hath his archbishops, bishops and deans in every archbishopric, bishopric and deanery in this kingdom besides his vicars general in every province. These have large stipends and allowances given them underhand by obstinate recusants and simple idiots of this land whereof some of them do lurk and are maintained in the houses of the principal papists where they make divers general assemblys in which they publish the pope's pardons and possess the people with hopes of aid from beyond the seas and get from them great sums of money in offerings and benevolences. The rest live beyond the

seas upon their pensions which they receive here by their agents and substitutes. They send over priests and Jesuits every day which do swarm in abundance in this kingdom, every principal gentleman hath always one or two in his house. They say masses in divers places in Dublin and all the rest of the principal cities and towns and do continually infect the people with sedition and rebellion persuading them to take arms against their prince for the cause of religion. And if they be not cut off the sooner they will never leave until they have made the recusants to commit some notable sudden stratagem upon us or else to stand upon their guard hoping thereby to get a toleration of their blind and superstitious religion which God forbid. And therefore there must be some straight course taken to banish them all out of his Majesty's dominions and if they will not depart by a day prefixed then let the provost marshal hunt them and hang them up by the martial law and so when they are gone it is likely we may be able to persuade the people to be good subjects and to live in obedience of his Majesty's laws. But first his Majesty must have a good army here which may keep them in awe, otherwise it were dangerous to provoke them, now they are so exasperated by the instigation of the priests and by the wicked inclination of their own natures.

23. The cause of religion hath been too much neglected not only in the time of the late Queen but also since his Majesty came unto the crown. For if there had been sufficient care taken to have banished the popish priests and if we had heretofore sent over a competent company of ministers which had been industrious to instruct the people in the true religion and had made them know our church is the true church and that the pope hath no authority in this kingdom the people had not [been] so provoked and encouraged to rebel as they have been these many years. For they would never have taken arms against their prince but that they were confident they fought for religion and that they should do God good service to cut our throats so as they might [set] up the Romish religion amongst themselves. To have swept the kingdom of the sowers of sedition and to have placed true religion there would have been a matter of no great difficulty if we had taken out fit opportunities for it. I was ever of the opinion that it was the greatest point of valour to know when to strike, for it falls out many times that one blow stricken in his due time is better than twenty stricken out of season. Upon the miraculous discovery of the notable and abominable gunpowder treason (wherein all the papists in both kingdoms had their share in their prayers and well wishes of the success) the king had so just cause to be enraged and to have given them

a full measure of his wrath that he might with justice and without impeachment of his mercy have executed the extremity of his indignation upon them. And if his Majesty had taken the advantage of that opportunity when their own guilt made them all to tremble for fear they should all be put to the sword or banished [out of the] king's dominions they would have been glad for the salvation of their lives and estates to have purchased his Majesty's favour with conformity and obedience and then (before they would have gotten a settled resolution) it would have been a matter of no difficulty to have brought all the recusants to church. Nay if the state here had but proceeded seriously and confidently in the course they began here five years since in matters of religion they had by this time brought the recusants to a very small number and had banished the Roman priests out of this kingdom. But now the matter hath lain too long dead and they have had so large a time to consider and the priests have not neglected continually to confirm them in their doctrine and to distaste them w[ith] the present government and to possess them with hope of foreign assistance if they should enter into rebellion for the cause of their consciences. That it will be now a matter of much more difficulty to reform them and will hardly be performed without an extraordinary charge and the presence of a good army to strike a terror into them. The bishops were principally in fault of this apostacy in matters of religion for they were not careful to plant a competent number of ministers amongst the people [to] teach and instruct them in the points of faith and doctrine, they would not have above one preacher in their diocese, the Irish priests are better milch cows and therefore for want of instruction of our side to teach them true religion and obedience the Romish agents took advantage of their weakness and infected them with superstition, treason and rebellion. It had been much better that we had never gone about to reform them than to have attempted it with such earnestness at the first and afterwards to prosecute it so godily<sup>17</sup> and at the last utterly to give it over as if we were afraid to try their patience or that we distrusted the goodness of the cause or the possibility of bringing it to good effect. And therefore if we ever make the second attempt (as the[y] are persuaded we dare not) it must be undertaken with resolution and performed with constancy otherwise the cause may take another foil and then it will receive such a maime as in all appearance it will never be recovered. But in truth it is believed amongst us that there was directions sent from England to stay the proceedings here in matters of religion for fear of discontenting the Irish, otherwise we had brought them all to church long ago.

Charles Cornwaleys

## II

**[f.11v] Observations concerning the estate and government of Ireland collected by my father Sir Charles Cornwallis in the time of his being there a commissioner.**

[1.] Your Majesty having already had the honour to shut up the doors of Janus temple and to have peace with all your neighbours, princes and countries and we your subjects thus living under so peaceable and just a king to enjoy the privilege of so great a blessing. For mine own particular I do but desire that your Majesty should also (to your perpetual fame and the eternising of your glorious memory) effect that which so wisely and fortunately you have begun. Namely the perfect reducing of your kingdom of Ireland to religion, civility and obedience, which honour none of your predecessors (although many of them in their own persons martial and valorous and divers of them wise and politic) could ever yet attain unto. And therefore out of mine ever enduring desire to do you service I do humbly present unto your Majesty some few observations and meditations of mine own concerning the estate and government which in time of the service wherein your Majesty employed me in that kingdom I collected.

Laws of ancient times in Ireland prohibited all great officers and judges of your Majesties courts in that kingdom to purchase lands or estate themselves there. The wisdom of those times thought that the making of estates unto themselves in that country was cause of many temptations. Your Majesty in your great wisdom well knoweth that men placed in chairs of supreme government or seats of justice in kingdoms and provinces remote are to be transitory. That long continuance breeds peril, either of too much presuming or too little restricting their charge. The farther remote that those governments are from your Majesty's most judicious and discerning eyes the more care is to be taken upon whom they are conferred.

If your Majesty shall be pleased to make Ireland the stage whereupon those that shall be sent from hence (either for ecclesiastical or civil

government) shall play their prize and give proof of their abilities, diligence and integrities, to the end they may at their return receive the reward of them in preferment to places of honour and authority here, you shall be assured that during those years they shall remain there they will employ the uttermost of their skills and diligence to do you service in that kingdom and every one will emulate and strive to exceed the other in well performing the charge committed unto them. Your Majesty's courts of justice in that kingdom would be strengthened by men of more learning, courage and ability than some of those are that now possess them. The removed to have pensions which shall be saved unto your Majesty either out of retrenchments of other charges or increase of your profits arising out of those your courts.

Your Majesty's force in that kingdom is of exceeding great charge but of little use or utility were there either by foreign invasion or intestine insurrection occasion to use forces. To assure the obedience of that wavering people and secure your proceeding in your parliament intended and not to draw any thing from your treasure, your Majesty may be pleased before the time of your parliament (and so every year thereafter) there be in the shires of England and Wales confining upon Ireland mustered, trained and in readiness 4,000 foot prepared upon a day's warning to be transported into Ireland if upon any tumult or other general act of disobedience by the Irish it shall be thought requisite. And those countries to hold them coated, armed and ready to pass into that kingdom. The like also to be done in the confining parts of Scotland to the end the same may be known to the Irish and also that those forces are intended to be continued wholly at the charge of that kingdom if their disloyalty and disobedience shall give unto your Majesty any just occasion of their passing thither. Also that in the several countries all the British inhabitants, as also the Irish that either by conformity in religion or by other firm engagements are judged to be faithful and assured to the state, be twice in the year mustered by appointment of some commissioners for the musters within every several shire to be named by your Majesty's deputy or the president of the provinces to whom it shall appertain, to the end that both the deputy and the state may know what number of able men are upon any sudden occasion to be had in readiness within every county, as also that they be trained and armed and that all their principal armour and military munitions be laid up in some sure and strong place or fort within that country or the shire confining. To that end the Irish by no sudden insurrection may prevail themselves of them as

heretofore in like case they have done. And this being done by the English it will not be evil taken by the Irish if they also within those several counties become enjoined to do the like and that all their arms and military weapons be delivered to be laid up by your Majesties officers in places of surety and not to be permitted to wear any weapon other than sword or rapier by their sides when the ride or travel from home and that only to gentlemen of birth and men of good quality and ability.

For your Majesty's assurance of the cities of Cork and Waterford which are the towns of most doubt within that kingdom as those that are most apt for sending of foreign forces and most popish and Spanish in their religion and affection and for the better guarding and surety of keeping your Majesty's munition and provisions of war already there and such other as shall be delivered up by the citizens of those cities, whom it will be as fit to disarm as those of the countrys abroad, the charge of 1,000<sup>li</sup> or little more (which shall be drawn out of some increase of profit that may be raised to your Majesty in that kingdom) will at your castle of Skyddies in Cork make a barbican before the door of a platform whereupon to place some ordnance upon the gate of the city adjoining unto it and at Waterford likewise make up a fortification already begun near unto a port there. And these for the present adding unto them the readiness of an 100 English families inhabiting within Cork consisting of many old soldiers, may be put in upon all occasions to make a party with such garrisons as may be drawn out of the foot companies of the lord president and vice president of Munster and out of those of the earl of Thomond and Sir Thomas Roper will sufficiently secure those cities.

In the city of Limerick there is already a castle and ward, at Kinsale a fort, at Dungarvan a castle and a ward and Youghal is well replenished with English and the college there now made a house of strength. So as (the cities of Cork and Waterford provided for) of all the rest of the maritime towns of that kingdom there will be do doubt at all. The greatest impediments to the observance of your Majesty's laws for religion and to the encivilising of that people are two. The authority and example of the noblemen and gentlemen of that kingdom who nourish Romish priests, animate and encourage their tenants in their disobedience and keep many idle swordsmen being the younger sons and bastards of gentlemen for their dependants.

[f.12] 2. The want of breeding and employing the meaner sort in good arts and manual trades that might keep them from idlen[ess] and give them a taste of thrift and profit and a proof and experience how much comeliness and cleanliness in appar[el] and in their houses exceeds their now barbarous and sordid clothing and living. For remedy of the first in conform[ity] of what hath been done in England in like case all the noblemen and gentlemen that are of greater power being recusant[ts] and whose loyalties are most doubted of may be confined to several cities of most surety within that kingdom there to make their habitations to the end that your Majesty's ministers may continually be known, as well the resorters to their houses, as the behaviour of themselves. For by that means will the continual repair that Jesuits, seminaries, friars and other Romish priests have to their houses be either prevented or remedied. Neither shall themselves dwelling in places remote from their own countries have that command and power of their tenants to raise tumults or gather assemblies as now they have. And much more facility it will be in the absence of them to reduce their tenants to conforming in going to church. That in every of those towns by proclamation, penalty and imprisonment be denounced against every householder that shall suffer any man or woman coming from any other part or town of Ireland to lodge by space of one day or night in his or their houses unless that party so lodged shall show himself to some alderman or officers authorised for that purpose<sup>18</sup> within that town giving him an account from whence he comes, what he is, for what business or occasion he cometh, and how long he proposeth to remain within that town. And that like penalty for the party himself that contrary to that order presumeth to lodge himself either in the house of another or in any house hired, bought or let unto him. And that in every city, borough or town corporate within the kingdom the like order be established.

For the employing the meaner sort in good arts and manual trades it will be necessary that the situation of every city, town corporate and village within the kingdom be well viewed and considered by persons of fidelity, judgement and experience. The people in every of these to be numbered and by their special families to be seen and discerned what profession, mystery or other exercise or trade, such as have not lands, rents or offices to live upon, do use or how and by what manner or by what means they sustain and maintain themselves. That in the cities and towns corporate all such be enforced to some art or trade or occupation whereby to get their own living and become profitable to the commonwealth. And that a

stock be provided for the erecting of such occupations or trades as shall best agree with the situation of the said cities and towns corporate. And the like be done in villages for setting on work the people to the end that none may live idly to their own perdition, the detriment and impoverishment of the commonwealth. And if any younger sons or bastards of gentlemen, not having whereupon to live, shall not apply themselves to some honest course of life or trade whereby to sustain themselves or follow the war in some foreign countries, where by direction from your Majesty they shall be sent or licensed to serve, but will remain in that kingdom as dependants upon any nobleman or gentleman from whose house they claim to be descended th[at] then all such as shall maintain them in so idle and unprofitable a course of life shall give good security for their good behaviour and for their forthcoming at all times to be answerable to the state for any felicts or brea[ch] of your Majesty's peace by them committed. For correction and enforcement of the observance hereof it will be fit that in every great city or shire town there be erected a house of correction for the punishment of idle, lewd and incorrigible vagrants or persons disobedient to their parents, masters or your Majesty's officers in executing those profitable orders. And this charge as also that of the stock for the setting of your people on work to be raised upon the forfeitures imposed by the statute for not repairing to church upon the Sundays and holy days. For the better effecting hereof, every county might be divided into certain limits and every justice and justices of the peace be charged with some particular limit that they are especially to govern and take care of besides their general charge and regard to the observance of your Majesty's laws and to the peace and quiet of the whole country and that they give every quarter of the year at least unto the lord deputy or unto the president of the province and the president to the lord deputy an account or relation in writing how they find the gentlemen and people within that their said limit disposed to good order and observance of his Majesty's laws and obedience both to the civil and ecclesiastical government who by the well disposed and observers of good order to the end from your lord deputy and the state they may receive commendation and encouragement and who by the delinquents and perverse to the end immediate order may be taken either for their amendment or punishment. And also what every of the said justices have or shall do in their own particular for reformation of barbarism, idleness and disorder or for drawing them to conformity themselves to the English in apparel, in their houses, in their language, and other civil courses. That the said justices of the peace use the like



order within their several limits by taking a quarterly account, or oftener if they shall think fit, of the chief constables within every barony and they in like manner of the petty constables of every parish to the end that by this distributive order no man within the whole kingdom may escape unknown or else remain unrestrained that either is, or is likely to be, a disorderly or unruly person apt to raise tumult or be a disturber of the peace.<sup>19</sup>

[f.12v] [In] former times it hath been held a fit policy of state in that kingdom to hold disunity and divide men of power suspected in [the]ir loyalty and affection to the government and I make no doubt but your Majesty in your incomparable wisdom will hold it necessary that your deputy observe that rule and have an attentive eye upon the combinations and alliances and conjunctions of men of that quality and give by all good means impediment unto them, endeavouring their marriages with English and those of the religion whereunto were your Majesty's wards in the kingdom well regarded and brought up in the English college and their persons and marriages committed to those of sound religion and not be of Romish profession, would be a very great help and furtherance. By an ancient statute it was provided that none of the English race should marry with the mere Irish yet contrary to the same hath the Lord Barry married the daughter of Cormak Mac Dermey Carthy, Lord Muskerry. And there have of late passed many marriages and strong alliances among the great ones of that religion.

I will not trouble your Majesty with a longer discourse but do most humbly end with this conclusion, that I make no doubt but within [a] short time your Majesty's revenues there may be much increased, your yearly charge as much abated, your kingdom enriched, your subjects there encivilised and brought to perfect obedience and with more facilities and assurance if your pleasure shall be to prohibit transportation of the commodities of that kingdom unwrought which to the great utility of your Majesty and your profit may be wrought within that country and give occupations unto them which will be the greatest and most necessary assured means to bring them to order and take away idleness which hath ever been the occasion of all evil and unsettledness among them.

## III

**[f.12v] Motives for employment of people, advancement of trades and increase of treasure in the kingdom of Ireland.**

Forasmuch as that kingdom of Ireland is now reduced to a complete conquest first by the sword, famine and pestilence, next by abolishing their brutish and savage manner of living and rendering the whole nation obedient to receive the laws and civil government of England which in the attempts of 400 years before never could be accomplished, the honour whereof (by divine providence) being cast down upon his Majesty and by his princely wisdom having now laid an honourable foundation in stabilising the English laws with ministers of justice and peace throughout all parts of the kingdom. The next work of grace towards that nation should be to reclaim them from idleness which by long custom and habit being innated may form a conquest more difficult but more glorious than the former. The way whereunto must be to procure good means for their employments and to crown their endeavours with riches and plenteousness which shall redound to his Majesty's honour and safety for a rich people make obedient subjects and fills the prince's coffers with treasures.

But the kingdom is yet poor, their treasure exhausted and hath no supplies of money but out of England which ill may spare treasure. And though it be not much, yet the greater part thereof sent by the king either cometh not thither or is reverted hither again for commodities and other means of expenses. Moreover such monies as have been imported from Spain are gathered up by strangers and exported again. By all which means the kingdom is kept bare of money that unless better course may be taken in time there will be no money either to pay the king his rent or to maintain mutual commerce and traffic. In which state so long as the country remaineth it can never recover any form of a well governed commonwealth for moneys are the sinews of war, the blessings of peace, the life of trades and the primum mobile of all motions and actions in a weal public.

Therefore to increase monies 4 means are conceived viz:

1. Employments of the people.
2. Trade to vent their commodities and import treasure.

3. A mint.
4. An exchange.

### 1. Section of employments

By employments of the people commodities must be raised for maintenance of trade which is the means to bring bullion into the kingdom. Then for the better employments and producing of commodities merchandisable 2 things are required viz. materials manufactures.

#### [1.] *Materials* <sup>20</sup>

For increase of materials these means in general are to be used. That no simples serving for manufacture shall be exported before the same are first wrought within the kingdom to the best perfection that may be particularly these:

#### *Yarn* <sup>21</sup>

No yarn shall be carried out of the kingdom unwrought nor underhand embezzled for transportation but brought into the markets there openly to be sold. For considering that victuals are good cheap in most places of Ireland the merchants who carry yarn to be wrought in another country shall find less charges and greater profit to work the same in Ireland.

#### *Flax, hemp* <sup>22</sup>

And for further increase of yarn: that hemp and flax may be sowed in abundance which being the materials to make linen cloth, dyapers, damaskers, canvas for sails, ropes and all sort of cordage will set infinite people on work and greatly enrich the kingdom. As by the like employments the Low Countries, Normandy, Brittany and all the western coasts of France have been advanced to incredible wealth. For which also the soil of Ireland is most apt and lyeth more convenient for vent of those commodities into Spain, the Straights and Barbary.

#### *Wool, skins and fells* <sup>23</sup>

Item, for further increase of materials. That no wools nor sheepskins with the wool upon them shall be transported neither any sort of fells before the same are dressed and cured.

Item, no raw hides to be carried away. That the barks of trees for tanning of leather may be preserved and the trees to be felled in season.

[f.13] 2. *Manufacture*.<sup>24</sup>

The second means to advance employments is manufactures. For which must be procured skilful artists and craftsmasters to instruct the people of Ireland (yet ignorant of many mysteries) to work their native things and all manner of simp[les] to perfection. But herein appeareth the difficulty. That the natives of Ireland have neither skill nor ability to compass these matters which will require great purses. For answer: they must then have assistances unto whom these will be great inducements. Namely

Plenty of victuals and good cheap.

Plenty of materials.

Privileges.

1. For the first victuals are in Ireland so plentiful and cheap that men shall find 20 workmen at an easier rate and charge than 4 in England.

2. For the second. The staying of all material and simples within the kingdom shall make the same plentiful whereby tradesmen shall never want means incident to their occupations and professions which will encourage many to resort into the kingdom as heretofore many have been discouraged and driven to leave the country for want of yarn and other materials which have been engrossed and transported into other countries. Then casting the plenty of victuals and of materials and also the convenient situation of Ireland for venting their commodities into Spain and other southern regions and on the other side the charge of transporting yarn and other materials, the dearth of victuals, great wages for men and every circumstance for working and venting commodities brought out of Ireland into England the difference will soon appear to men of understanding and be an inducement to draw men of skill and ability into Ireland the rather if they may obtain privilege there.

3. Privilege therefore will be a main motive to merchants and other tradesmen who do require to be made free within the corporate towns of Ireland notwithstanding their charters and customs. Trinity Guild,<sup>25</sup> which excludeth all but natives from free trading, which hath been and is a main opposition to their present and future prosperities.

Because they themselves are neither of skill nor ability to erect trades nor to advance commodities merchandable nor to provide shipping nor mariners. Nevertheless if the towns (for some private respects) will not

give way to the enfranchising of aliens being his Majesty's subjects, neither his Majesty will be pleased to urge them (though in a cause so reasonable and necessary) yet should they be drawn to form better terms as shall be profitable to the whole kingdom and an encouragement to others that willingly would assist them for bringing the people to industry and skilfullness who else shall evermore remain in ignorance and barbarism. Wherein this or some such course may be taken viz:

That all sorts of commodities when the same are manufactured by aliens may be brought to a common hall (as Blackwell Hall in London) within any corporate town where the townsmen shall have the preemption and first offer of sales by great one day prefixed every week. What the townsmen shall not buy the owners may have liberty to sell in the same town to their most advantage to whomsoever will buy either by gross sale or by retail. Or else, paying the k[ing's] customs to transport beyond the seas (without other taxations) out of any port in the kingdom being not within the liberties of the Londoners planted in the north who are able every way to manage their own affairs.

*Commons are not much needed in Ireland.*<sup>26</sup>

Item, for better encouragement to worthy commonwealthsmen, advancement of the king's revenues and public good of the kingdom his Majesty would be pleased to grant liberties (to such as will sow hemp, flax, or all manner of rape and other seeds for making of oils as also any kind of grain, corn or pulse) to enclose with sufficient fences and trenches and to build tenements in any of the king's wastes of what nature soever in which no plough hath gone within memory or since the wars, paying unto the king such rent yearly as to the lord deputy, chancellor, treasurer or other commissioners shall be judged reasonable.

*A fit proviso upon enclosing the king's wastes.*<sup>27</sup>

The said wastes to be passed in fee farm with proviso upon every alienation to pay a fine certain unto the king. Provided also that it may be lawful (paying the king's customs) to transport any commodity or increase whatsoever arising or growing from the said wastes without let or interruption, any law or prohibition to the contrary notwithstanding. So as the commodities so manufactured be such as may serve for manufacture. And whereas many lords hold masses of grounds waste in Ireland the sa[me] course might also be taken, more profitable to the lords and public good of the kingdom which would nourish many 1,000

families and strengthen the country by enclosures against incursions etc.

**2[nd] section. Of the trade for importation of treasure.**

By trade not only their homemade things shall be well vented but all foreign commodities serving for necessary or delight shall be imported. And above all gold and silver to be procured.

Then for procurement of bullion these motives ensuing shall much import viz:

That from Ireland the trade may especially be addressed into the Spanish dominions which are well heads of treasure and for whom Ireland may afford many sorts of commodities, for which monies may be procured. As in former times Spanish monies have been seen more usually stirring in the west parts of Ireland than English monies.

Such means thereof are fit to be used as may most readily purchase gold and silver.

Namely

*Transportation of corn and other victuals upon conditions. The like in Ed 3 upon every sack of wool carried out of England.*<sup>28</sup> Forasmuch as corn and victuals are so plentiful in many parts of Ireland that for want of vent the same yields no encouragement to manurance. It may be lawful for any man to transport over seas corn, grain or pulse or any other victual (paying the king's customs) upon condition. To bring one third part at least of the value of the said commodities (rated as the next market goeth) in gold or silver bullion or plate or in any foreign coins of gold or silver whatsoever for it be not Irish coin. For which bullion they shall receive a good and lawful exchange in the current monies of Ireland.

*Commodities ready made before they [are] imported.*<sup>29</sup>

Item. That upon foreign commodities imported as wines, spices, silks, and such as shall be ready wrought whereby the people can have no employment but rather shall hinder the utterance of their home made things to the damage of their artisans. May be brought also some portion of gold and silver for which shall be given a good exchange.

*Arrival of passengers.*<sup>30</sup>

Item. That all persons coming from foreign countries and arriving in

Ireland shall bring with them in foreign monies of gold or silver (so the same be not Irish coin) or in bullion, ten shillings at least in value for which they shall have current monies of Ireland to spend or bestow, for it is to be supposed no man will come with less in his purse.

[f.13v] Therefore as every master of the ship knows what company is to pass the seas with him so may he give everyone warning before he set sail and shall suffer no passenger to depart out of the ship at his arrival in Ireland before he taketh order for the same money for which he shall be accountable unto the officer of his Majesty's exchange in the same port to whom also the master, officers or chief mariners shall deliver a true certificate of all their names that came in the ship.

*Inducements for settling in Ireland, the trade to Newfoundland.*<sup>31</sup>

Item. Forasmuch as there is no voyage so feasible and of easy charges for the kingdom of Ireland nor more to increase navigation nor to procure more readily Spanish moneys than by the trade of Newfoundland. This motive shall require consideration. Namely Newfoundland fish a ready commodity for moneys in Spain.<sup>32</sup>

The dry fish of Newfoundland called Baccaleau, and with us commonly Poor John, is and ever will be in great request within the Straights and all the Spanish dominions, serving both for their long voyages by sea and their ordinary expence upon land for which moneys have been permitted to be carried away.

For further proof of the vendibleness of that commodity divers merchants do usually send their ships out of the river Thames here without other freight than victuals into Newfoundland where by precontracts they buy this dry fish of our western men and from hence do carry the same into the Straights etc. by a long and tedious voyage and yet do make a profitable return in Spanish commodities home again into the Thames.

Moreover these reasons may be added to induce a stablishment of this Newfoundland trade in Ireland:

1. Ireland lyeth nearest and in the fairest course to Newfoundland of any part of Europe. So most convenient to vent their fish into Spain therefore a trade most commodious for Ireland above any country whatsoever.
2. The western parts and coasts both of France and England have been much enriched and increased also in navigation by the trade to Newfoundland which maketh perfect mariners and requireth ships of good bulk and burden.

3. That voyage is to be performed with small charges from Ireland where victuals are cheap. For commonly the victuallers, owners and company go all upon the thirds of the fish without other freight or wages, the lading home being purchased by men's labours only.

For these and many other considerations it may be ordained

Every good port [in] Ireland to set forth [a sh]ip to Newfoundland [and] the means how.<sup>33</sup>

That every chief port or haven town of Ireland viz: Waterford, Cork, Kinsale, Limerick, Galway etc. shall set forth yearly and severally one ship or more (according to the ability of each town) unto Newfoundland upon the fishing trade in manner hereafter expressed in the answer to an objection at this mark (\*).

*Staples for fish and salt.*<sup>34</sup>

That also the said towns may be made staples or places of store both for fish and salt as well for Newfoundland as other fishing trades for which staples these reasons ensuing may be inducements viz.

1. Where now the merchants of England send ships here without merchandise to Newfoundland<sup>35</sup> where are no inhabitants to truck with all then they may carry commodities out with them for Ireland and truck with them for the same fish whereby their voyage shall be amended in their outward bound which could not be done to Newfoundland.

2. Item. Newfoundland lyeth west 600 leagues at least beyond Ireland which is in the very trade way thither. So is Ireland also near neighbour unto Spain whereby our men shall save 600 leagues outward and as many back again by taking their dry fish in Ireland, and may make divers returns for one to one from Spain by the way of Ireland.

3. Item. Our western men which go yearly to fish at Newfoundland will take in their victuals in Ireland (the same being there good, cheap and lying so fit in their course) and also salt under one voyage rather than to victual in England where the same are dear or to fetch salt in France which is another voyage. Whereby the towns of Ireland shall have great utterance both of their victuals, salt and other necessaries which will be ever more wanting in ships.

4. Item. Our traders generally from England to Newfoundland upon their return may conveniently discharge their wet fish in Ireland and thence without loss of time carry their dry fish into Spain. As for their wet fish the same is a commodity for England ready at all times to be transported



from Ireland. And so serve both turns to the great ease and commodity of both kingdoms.

(\* *Objection*

The towns of Ireland before mentioned have not shipping nor men fit for such a trade nor ability to undertake it.

*Answer.*

[M]eans that every [ha]ven may set [for]th a ship.<sup>36</sup>

If they are not able of themselves let every town make free but one or two aliens which are not natives or more, according to the capacity of each town, under these conditions, viz.

That every such alien enfranchised (which will not be many in a town) shall either build in any convenient place in the kingdom one ship of 60 tons at least or two partners together to build one of a 100 tons or upwards or else shall procure the like ships ready made and every year to trade unto Newfoundland from the same port whereof they are free. Provided that the townsmen (if they shall require it) may bear the adventure of victualling which will be one third part of the fish in the return.

Item. For encouragement to the building of ships in Ireland his Majesty would graciously be pleased that for every ton which shall exceed 50 may be allowed one ton of timber to be taken standing in any of his Majesty's woods in Ireland lying convenient for the place where the ship shall be built. So as the same ships shall be employed from Ireland to Newfoundland for fish every year.

### **3. Section for a mint.**

By the 2 former sections are delivered means for importation of bullion viz, by employments to raise commodities and by trade to vent the same, the conveniency of a mint to make use of the bullion imported followeth next.

1. First therefore by a mint as the bullion is imported it shall be converted into the current monies of Ireland which then will not be so apt nor profitable to be exported again when it was in Spanish coin, whereby also monies shall be made plentiful which are the very spirits and life of trades and all endeavours.

[f.14] 2. Item. The same will be a great encouragement for merchants to import bullion when it may be minted amongst themselves more for the honour of their kingdom and their profits than to let it be gathered up by

strangers and exported to the impoverishing of their country.

3. Item. It will be a great preserving of our moneys and plate in England which should not be exhausted to furnish Ireland who to their proportion are or may be able to purchase gold and silver by their industry and trade and to maintain a Royal Mint as well as England were there no gold nor silver growing more than in Ireland.

4. Item. The officers of the mint in Ireland shall be able to examine and inform the abuses of goldsmiths in making plate and other works of base comixture without controlment to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects who then shall not be defrauded in buying or selling gold and silver but according to the true valuation. And indented pieces to be kept between the mint and the goldsmiths.

5. Finally, a mint is a regal ornament without which a kingdom is defective, an honour to his Majesty to possess a kingdom able to maintain a royal mint, an increase to his Majesty's revenues, it shall be no innovation for both records and Irish monies are yet extant of mints in Ireland and some officers living of the Irish mint in the late time of Edward 6. And now that his Majesty is invested of the whole kingdom the same is expected and would be received for a most gracious respect towards his Majesty's subjects to have it there again.

#### **4. Section for an exchange**

As a mint shall be requisite to convert the bullion imported into Irish monies so an exchange will be the means to keep the same within the kingdom.

Touching an exchange between England and Ireland the laws of both realms do inhibit the intercourses and passages of moneys or any treasure in specie between them by way of transportation. An act was made an<sup>o</sup> 19 Hen 7 that no monies, plate, bullion, gold or silver should be carried out of England into Ireland, nor Irish coin of gold or silver should be brought into England. And an<sup>o</sup> 17 Ed 4 that no Irish money should be current in England.

All which imply that there have been both mints in Ireland and interchanges by bills to answer monies on both sides or else such laws had not been made. But the wisdom of the state both here and there farseeing that there was an ability in Ireland to furnish themselves with money without the help from England and that the feeding of them with money from hence exhausted the treasure of England and bred negligence and sloth amongst them, who by their good endeavours might purchase gold

and silver as well as the inhabitants of England, did therefore in true judgement ordain such laws and by one same measure of equity forbid the carrying and recarrying of money or any treasure unto either side. That so they might trust to themselves and acquire riches by their own endeavours and preserve the same by means of Exchanges from carrying away.

*Objection.*

An exchange cannot now be held between England and Ireland, for it is to be considered that by two means moneys are drawn out of Ireland hither.

1. One is for expences of many which come from England and all the time they tarry here which draw on no small expences.
2. The other is for their apparel and wearing and other things necessary as cloths, velvets with other sorts of silks and stuffs which they shall need in greater quantity now that the people generally must fashion themselves to the English attire.

Importation doth far exceed exportation.<sup>37</sup>

Then inasmuch as Ireland affordeth not many commodities for England (setting yarn aside which should not be exported) that are of value sufficient to balance these charges in England the want and inequality must be supplied by monies in specie which overthroweth the intention of an exchange to keep their moneys at home.

*Solutions.*

First for expences. They which come for England must deliver their monies into the bank of Dublin. In like sort they which go for Ireland must bank their money at London. So one shall answer the other.

Note. Moneys which be banked in Ireland for England and which is there mart. Also in England for supply of the plantations in Ireland.<sup>38</sup>

Second for commodities. Albeit Ireland is not yet replenished with commodities to counterpoise the importation out of England yet by the precedent advices for employments to the increasing of commodities and especially for the trade to the Newfound-land to serve English merchants with dry fish for Spain and wet fish for England it is more than probable that Ireland shall be able to balance with commodities the commodities which needfully must be carried out of England thither. And so far as the trade shall be equally balanced both kingdoms shall reap good thereby with little use of each others money in specie to be transported to either side.

The mean while Ireland affordeth many things present which if they fit not well for England may better serve for Spain and other countries where English merchants have a certain trade and factory. Unto whom may be consigned by the Irish merchants either wares or monies out of Spain etc to answer the exchange in London. For instance AB an Irish merchant hath taken up one 100<sup>li</sup> at Dublin upon the Exchange to answer CD one 100<sup>li</sup> in London. AB employeth the same 100<sup>li</sup> (and much more upon other credit or howsoever besides) in Irish commodities to carry into Spain where having sold he delivereth an 100<sup>li</sup> to the English factors by consignment to answer CD in London. And the rest he returneth to Ireland. A course feasible.

Moreover it is very considerable that whereas Ireland hath expended much treasure for mercery wares of all sort out of England the same be foreign as well to England as to Ireland who may be provided at a better hand in commutation of their wares in other countries than in England where Irish commodities serve not but their moneys.

*An error of the Irish.*<sup>39</sup>

Wherein is betrayed great weakness and remissness in that kingdom. To buy at dear rates with their monies those things which be also foreign in England which they might procure originally from the countries where the same be native better cheap and in commutation of their wares. And in so doing they might exonerate the king's charges in sending them supplies of treasure out of England which is needlessly consumed in buying commodities with their money where their wares might serve better and keep their monies at home. But this way both the king's coffers and the kingdom of Ireland are exhausted of monies which cannot be avoided so long as monies may be exported out of Ireland in specie or one manner of coin is current in both kingdoms.

Now whereas these advices may seem prejudicial to the tradesmen of England who have now in a manner the whole custom of the Irish and all the money which the king employeth upon that kingdom these ensuing may be taken for sufficient answers vizt:

[f.14v] That if England should receive no other benefit by Ireland than to disburthen us of poor people wherewith this realm is over charged; to feed and maintain them; to be a nursery for our men of action, and as an aiding sister to contribute in the support of the crown and state in times of peace and war the same were to be accepted for great blessings though through the prosperity of Ireland (enabled of itself to subsist) we should

lose the advantage we now have by their trading so much hither.

Nevertheless by increase of commodities in Ireland mutual traffic between us and them must be increased the rather albeit after a better manner than by exhausting the treasure both of his Majesty and that poor kingdom for it can neither be honourable nor profitable for the king nor his kingdom for one kingdom to be enriched by the impoverishing of the other. But rather that both kingdoms should flourish and stand by the trades which shall be most advantageous to them both, seeing his Majesty is interested in them both and both are inhabited by his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain. Whereby also the burdens of state maintenance during peace or wars shall be mutual and cheerfully undergone, both kingdoms being enabled thereunto, whereas hitherto Ireland hath been a gulphe to swallow up the treasure and blood of England being evermore apt to rebellions as people which commonly have lived in wants and distress and are evermore desirous of changes until the nation be settled and have tasted the sweetness of peace, plenty and riches which are main ties to hold people in obedience.

These considerations may give a stop to all conceits against the civilizing and reinforcing the kingdom of Ireland. And conclude that it shall be more honourable and safe for his Majesty to bear rule over men than beasts. Whereunto the scope of this brief discourse hath aimed to reduce that kingdom of Ireland to a civil and prosperous state vizt:

*[Re]capitulation*<sup>40</sup>

1. By employments to keep the people from idleness, making them skilful to work their native commodities to perfection, not suffering materials simples to be carried away unwrought and by all means increasing commodities in plenty and variety.
2. By trade to vent their own in exchange of foreign commodities for necessity and delight. And above all to import gold and silver.
3. By a mint to turn their bullion imported into current monies of Ireland, less apt and profitable to be exported again, than when the same are in Spanish coin, whereby also monies shall be made plentiful by the life and spirits of endeavours.
4. By an exchange. To keep their monies at home yet to answer every occasion and use of money in England or whensoever and thereby ease the charges and dangers of transportation.

**A brief of the cunages and exchanges** wherein the proportion between

silver and gold ought to be 12 of silver to 1 of gold vizt 1 oz gold set against 12 ozs of silver.

To coin the silver monies in Ireland at x ozs fine to make upon the pound xij or lx<sup>s</sup>.

*The several prices of bullion.*<sup>41</sup>

Item. For every oz of silver xi oz ij dwt fine brought into the mint shall be given v<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup> and for a pound w[eigh]t lxiiij<sup>s</sup> Irish all charges defrayed.

Item. For an oz of xi oz fine shall be given v<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup> qu[arta] and for a li w[eigh]t lxij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

Item. For an oz of x oz fine shall be given xiiij groats j<sup>d</sup> etc.

Upon every pound weight coined in silver the king shall have de claro (cunages defrayed) xx<sup>d</sup>.

*Exchanges.*

xxj<sup>s</sup> Irish shall hold parity with xx<sup>s</sup> English both containing a like quantity of silver. And so may be by exchange vizt.

for every xxj<sup>s</sup> delivered in Dublin upon the Exchange - xx<sup>s</sup> in London etc.

For xx<sup>s</sup> delivered in London xxj<sup>s</sup> in Dublin which will be an exchange of par - silver for silver.

If more be given upon the exchange on either side the same must be in consideration of usance.

By means of these exchanges the king may deliver his money upon the banks in London to receive the same in Dublin and save thereby charges of portage and hazards by sea.

These cunages and exchanges shall be undertaken by merchants and men of good sufficiency.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Formerly Phillips MS 6469.
2. His background is set out in *Dictionary of National Biography* sub, Sir Charles Cornwallis.
3. For the context John Mc Cavitt, *Sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy of Ireland 1605-16* (Belfast, 1998), pp 186-93.
4. Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: patronage and politics at the court of James I* (London, 1982), pp 92-3.
5. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, pp 426-8, 436-55. The report was also enrolled on the patent rolls, *Cal pat. rolls, Ire., Jas I*, pp 396-401.

6. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Third report* (London, 1872), appendix, pp 184, 212.
7. Micheline Kerney Walsh, *Destruction by peace: Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale* (Armagh, 1996), p. 322.
8. Peck, *Northampton*, pp 124, 192-8.
9. Peck, *Northampton*, pp 73, 140-4.
10. Peck, *Northampton*, p. 91.
11. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, p. 457.
12. Henry E. Huntington Library, California, Hastings MSS 15058, 15059, calendared in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the manuscripts of R.R. Hastings* (4 vols, London, 1928-47), iv, pp 7-14; Peck, *Northampton*, pp 149-51.
13. 'Questions somewhat ... resolved upon' is in margin in manuscript.
14. 'There is several clauses ... his government' is struck through.
15. 'their' struck through and replaced with 'our'.
16. I Samuel 13.19.
17. 'godily' is struck through.
18. At this point in the manuscript a passage belonging to a later part of the text has been inserted in error by the copyist and later struck through. See note 19.
19. 'For correction and enforcement of the observance ... your Majesty's peace'. This passage was inserted in error above, see n. 18.
20. 'Materials' marginal note
21. 'Yarn' marginal note.
22. 'Flax, hemp' marginal note.
23. 'Wools, skins and fells' marginal note.
24. 'Manufacture' marginal note.
25. The Dublin merchants' guild.
26. 'Commons ... Ireland' is a marginal note.
27. 'A fit ... kings's waste' - marginal note.
28. 'Transportation of corn ... out of England' - marginal note.
29. 'Commodities ... imported' - marginal note.
30. 'Arrival of passengers' - marginal note.
31. 'Inducements ... Newfoundland' - marginal note.
32. 'Newfoundland fish ... in Spain' - marginal note.
33. 'Every good port ... the means how' - marginal note.
34. 'Staples for fish and salt' - marginal note.
35. 'as other fishing trades' is struck through here.
36. 'Means ... ship' - marginal note.
37. 'Importation doth far exceed exportation' - marginal note.
38. 'Note. Moneys which be banked ... in Ireland' - marginal note.
39. 'An error of the Irish' - marginal note.
40. 'Recapitulation' - marginal note.
41. 'The several prices of bullion' - marginal note.