

Borders, Bordering Practices and Mobility  
in Early Modern Europe



**The Formation of Europe**  
**Historische Formationen Europas**  
**Band 15**

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## A Tudor Viceroy

Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton,  
1588–1594, a lord deputy bridled

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appointments in Ireland of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Vellum roll, in three detached pieces.  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AFM</b>	<i>Annála rioghachta Éireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616</i> , John O'Donovan (ed.), 7 vols (Dublin, 1856)
<b>ALC</b>	<i>The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, A.D. 1014–A.D. 1590</i> , William M. Hennessy, (ed), (2 vols., London, Longman & Company, 1871)
<b>AO</b>	Records of the Auditors of the Imprest, Commissioners of Audit, Exchequer and Audit Department, National Audit Office and related bodies
<b>APC</b>	Acts of the Privy Council of England
<b>APC, Ireland</b>	Acts of the Privy Council of Ireland
<b>BL</b>	British Library
<b>Cal. Cecil Papers</b>	Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House
<b>Cal. Pat. Rolls</b>	Calendar of the Patent Rolls
<b>Cal. Patent Rolls Ireland</b>	<i>Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth</i> , James Morrin, (ed.) 2 vols (Dublin: Printed by A. Thom & Sons, for H.M. Stationery Office, 1861–2)
<b>CSPI</b>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Ireland</i>
<b>CSPI 1566–67</b>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1566–1567</i> Bernadette Cunningham, (ed.) (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2009)

<b>CSPI 1568–71</b>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1568–1571</i> Bernadette Cunningham, (ed.) (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2010)
<b>CSPI 1571–75</b>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1571–1575</i> Mary O’Dowd (ed.) (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2000)
<b>Cal. Carew MSS</b>	<i>Calendar of the Carew manuscripts, preserved in the Archbishop’s Library at Lambeth, 1515–1624</i> , J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (eds.), 6 vols (London: 1867–73)
<b>Carte</b>	Carte manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford
<b>DIB</b>	Dictionary of Irish Biography
<b>EEBO</b>	Early English Books Online
<b>Fiants</b>	<i>The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns, during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary and Elizabeth I</i> , ed. Kenneth Nicholls, (4 vols, Dublin, 1994)
<b>IMC</b>	Irish Manuscripts Commission
<b>IR</b>	Irish currency
<b>NAHS</b>	Northamptonshire Archives and Heritage Service
<b>ODNB</b>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.) (Oxford, 2004)
<b>PA</b>	Parliamentary Archives, United Kingdom
<b>PC</b>	Privy Council Registers
<b>PRO</b>	Public Records Office, United Kingdom

<b>Sidney Papers</b>	<i>Sidney State Papers, 1565–1570</i> , Tomás Ó Laidhin, (ed.) (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1962)
<b>SP</b>	State Papers
<b>Statutes Ireland</b>	<i>Statutes at large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland, Vol. I, containing from the third year of Edward II AD 1310, to the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years of James I, AD 1612 inclusive</i> , (Dublin: 1786).
<b>Statutes England</b>	<i>Statutes of the Realm, printed by command of his Majesty King George the Third, Vol. III, 1817</i> (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1963)
<b>Stg</b>	Sterling
<b>TNA</b>	The National Archives, Kew
<b>TRHS</b>	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society



## Introduction

Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton received the sword as Lord Deputy of Ireland on the last day of June 1588. <sup>1</sup> In May of that year his predecessor Sir John Perrot had written to Sir Francis Walsingham with a blunt warning that were the Spanish to arrive into Ireland in force then the realm could be lost. <sup>2</sup> Yet the man sent to replace Perrot was described by one contemporary as so advanced in years that he doted in all of his actions. <sup>3</sup> Another described Fitzwilliam as an utterly corrupt governor who had but one simple aim in life. He 'sought onlie to fill his owne bagges daylie and howrelie [hourly]'. <sup>4</sup>

Informed by these contemporary perspectives this study therefore examines two questions. First, was Fitzwilliam in any sense at all a competent Lord Deputy? Second, is it accurate to claim that Fitzwilliam was utterly corrupt in his dealings? In order to explore these questions, four issues that Perrot raised in May 1588 will be examined. The first was the question of the Spanish threat and how to deal with it. This appeared imminent in 1588 and would seem so again in 1590, and also in 1596 after Fitzwilliam's departure. Another issue identified by Perrot was the growing problem of how to contain the ambitious Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. Perrot had benefitted from a defeat

- 1 *Cal. Patent Rolls Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 157; Fitzwilliam's second term as Lord Deputy ended on 11 August 1594, see Sir William Fitzwilliam to Burghley, 11 August 1594, TNA SP 63/175/43, f. 203, 'He [Lord Deputy Sir William Russell] receaved the sworde this daie'. For Fitzwilliam's close family links with Burghley and an account of his first term as Lord Deputy of Ireland see Deirdre Fennell, *A Tudor Viceroy: Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton, 1560–1575, the reluctant Lord Deputy* (Wehrhahn Verlag, 2020); See also Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam to Burghley, 15 April 1572, TNA SP 63/36/4, f. 11, 'I am yo' wiefes cousin jerman, you shall never take dishonor by me, honest I wil be though but a poore man'.
- 2 Lord Deputy Perrot to Walsingham, May 1588, TNA SP 63/135/22, f. 47. For Perrot, see Roger Turvey, 'Perrot, Sir John (1528–1592)', *ODNB*.
- 3 Speeches uttered by one Jonson, 17 October 1596, TNA SP 63/197/60 (i), f. 217. Jonson worked as an attorney under 'Garret Dyllon' the chief chirographer of the Queens's Bench, see Sir William Fitzwilliam to Burghley, 31 January 1597, TNA SP 63/197/60, f. 215. Fitzwilliam served into his late sixties, see Lord Deputy to Burghley, 30 January 1594, TNA SP 63/173/9, f. 34v 'I am upon the pitche of lxx [69] yeres olde'.
- 4 A long book of accusations against Sir William Fitzwilliam the Lord Deputy, drawn by Robert Legge, 5 April 1593, TNA SP 63/169/3, f. 52.

inflicted on Tyrone at Carriclea by Turlough Luineach O'Neill.<sup>5</sup> No such event would occur for Fitzwilliam. A third matter raised by Perrot was the delicate question of how to find pay for the army and victual for the troops when money was in short supply. This issue would be addressed in Fitzwilliam's time through accepting payment in kind for crown debt and redirecting subventions to victualling. And the fourth issue touched on by Perrot was the difficult task of assessing and addressing corrupt practices in government. Accusations of corruption were sometimes well-founded, but such matters also took time to investigate. As Knights notes, such allegations could be used to damage reputations and destroy rivals, and both Chancellor Archbishop Loftus and Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam would find their reputations damaged as a result of such accusations.<sup>6</sup>

In order to establish a context for the present study, the following section will briefly explore these four points from Perrot's letter in a little more detail.

### The four themes of the study

The Spanish threat identified in May 1588 had not appeared out of nowhere. The 1580s had produced profound changes in Europe. In 1580 Spanish troops entered Portugal (transporting more than fifteen thousand troops across one hundred and twenty-five miles of water in the Tagus estuary).<sup>7</sup> In the Azores, Philip II's forces succeeded in what Parker terms 'the first ever attempt to dislodge an enemy protected by the Atlantic Ocean'. Spanish forces defeated the adventurer Strozzi there in a naval battle on St. Anne's day in 1582.<sup>8</sup> In 1583, admiral Santa Cruz with an amphibious force of over fifteen thousand men

5 Sir John Perrot to Walsingham, 12 May 1588, TNA SP 63/135/22, ff. 47–8v; *AFM*, Vol. 5, pp. 1867–9. Turlough Luineach had succeeded as the O'Neill after Shane O'Neill's death in 1567; for Shane O'Neill see Christopher Maginn, 'O'Neill, Shane [Sean O'Neill] (c. 1530–1567)', *ODNB* and Ciaran Brady, *Shane O'Neill* (University College Dublin Press, 2015). For Turlough see Henry A. Jefferies, 'O'Neill, Sir Turlough Luineach, (c. 1530–1595)', *ODNB*; see also Proinsias Ó Conluain, 'Dutiful Old Knight and Formidable Foe', *Dúiche Néill*, No. 13, 2000, pp. 9–48.

6 Mark Knights, *Trust and Distrust, Corruption in Office in Britain and Its Empire, 1600–1850* (Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 6–7; For Loftus, see Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Loftus, Adam (1533/4–1605)', *ODNB*.

7 Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King, A New Life of Philip II of Spain* (Yale, 2014), p. 270.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

and one hundred ships captured the archipelago for Spain.<sup>9</sup> In 1584 William of Orange was assassinated with a pistol. This event had a profound impact on Courts around Europe.<sup>10</sup> The English Bond of Association and the subsequent Act for the Queen's Safety in 1584–5, were intended to deal with attempts on Elizabeth's life.<sup>11</sup> The Treaty of Nonsuch committed England to a forward defence, providing troops for the Low Countries, with the right for England to garrison the ports of Flushing and Brill and also the fortress of Rammekens.<sup>12</sup> The treaty of Berwick in 1586 provided a framework of understanding between England and Scotland. Arrangements were made for a subsidy for James VI of Scotland in 1585–6 (the amount of this 'annuity' or 'gratuity' varied).<sup>13</sup>

Lord Deputy Perrot claimed in his letter in May 1588 that Ireland was thoroughly unprepared for any Spanish incursion. Reflecting these concerns, a great emphasis was placed in Fitzwilliam's instructions on preparations for any invasion.<sup>14</sup> Fitzwilliam was to enter into conference with Perrot and the Irish Privy Council about the state of the realm, and to decide what forces could be raised in Ireland to join with reinforcements from England on any such attempt by Spain being undertaken.<sup>15</sup> Towns in Munster were to be strengthened. Intelligence was to be gathered from merchants and other sources.<sup>16</sup> Fitzwilliam's instructions also contemplated that on invasion Fitzwilliam should round up disaffected elements. In a section glossed 'to cull of the ill affected', he was told to round up such people and hold them in a suitable place. In this matter, it would be necessary to act with secrecy.<sup>17</sup> His instructions also stated that were the Spanish to land in the

9 Ibid, p. 276.

10 For a short discussion of this assassination and its implications, see Christopher Andrew, *The Secret World, a History of Intelligence* (Penguin, 2018), pp. 169–70; For William of Orange see K.W. Swart, R. P. Fagel, M. E. H. N. Mout, Henk F. K. van Nierop, (eds.), *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572–84* (Routledge, 2016).

11 Tunstall, Elizabeth, *The Succession Debate and Contested Authority in Elizabethan England, 1558–1603* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2024), p. 55.

12 Anton Poot, *Crucial Years in Anglo-Dutch Relations, The Political and Diplomatic Contacts* (Hilversum Verloren, 2013), p. 15.

13 For the subsidy, see Julian Goodare, 'James VI's English Subsidy', in Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 110–25. See also Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (eds), *Doubtful and Dangerous, the Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester University Press, 2014), for an overview of the later period of Elizabeth's reign.

14 Instructions for Sir William Fitzwilliam, 8 March 1588, TNA SP 63/134/11, f. 63.

15 Ibid, f. 63.

16 Ibid, f. 64v.

17 Ibid, ff. 63–4v.

south of Ireland Fitzwilliam should proceed to Munster, leaving Treasurer-at-War Sir Henry Wallop or some other in charge, and that Fitzwilliam should bring with him agitators from the Pale.<sup>18</sup> This was very unwise as funding was often sought by the crown from the same Pale community. This was the reality that operated in Ireland as crown treasure was slow to be sent into Ireland from England, and it was often the Pale community that afforded credit terms to the crown.

Spain was a constant focus in late Elizabethan times and the Spanish were often presented in a poor light. For example, *The Complaint of England*, a pamphlet from 1587, claimed that the Spanish had committed atrocities in the Americas ‘Within the space of forty yeres, they as in a comon butchery slaughtered of innocent lambs, aboue twelue millions, men, women, & children’.<sup>19</sup> As with all such propaganda, there were elements of truth. Parker noted how Viceroy Mendoza of New Spain dealt with native Americans by firing artillery at them, setting the dogs on them, or passing them to slaves to be killed. Viceroy Mendoza apparently defended this by citing precedents in the reconquest of Granada.<sup>20</sup> And in 1576 in Europe, mutinous Spanish troops went on the rampage in Antwerp in the ‘Spanish Fury’ destroying over one thousand houses and killing more than eight thousand citizens.<sup>21</sup>

Fitzwilliam had little time for Spanish troops and expressed the view in 1588 that none of the Spanish that had landed in Ireland should live.<sup>22</sup> He was happy to facilitate anything that might weaken Spain. In 1593, for example, Antonio Pérez, the former Secretary of Philip II, stayed in Fitzwilliam’s house at Gaynes Park in Essex. Pérez was in disgrace with Philip II and was visiting Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex.<sup>23</sup> Pérez was awaiting the French

18 Ibid, f. 64.

19 *The Complaint of England, Wherein it is clearely prooued that the practises of Traitorous Papists against the state of this Realme, and the person of her Maiestie, are in Diuinitie unlawfull, odious in Nature, and ridiculous in pollicie* (London, 1587), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ebo2/A05463.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

20 Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor, A New Life of Charles V* (Yale, 2019), p. 358.

21 Parker, *Imprudent King*, p. 238.

22 Lord Deputy to Burghley, 1 October 1588, TNA SP 63/137/1, f. 2.

23 Paul E. J. Hammer, ‘Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex’, *ODNB*. In 1610 Gaynes Park was settled by John, Fitzwilliam’s second son, on his first cousin Sir Richard Wingfield, then Marshal of Ireland (and later first Viscount Powerscourt). Gaynes Park later reverted to the Fitzwilliam family. See Finch, Mary E., *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540–1640* (Oxford for Northamptonshire Record Society, 1956), pp. 126–7. See also will of John Fitzwilliam, 9 June 1612, PROB 11–119–624.



Ambassador who was currently with Essex. A letter noted that ‘Antonio Perez stayeth here the Embassadors returne’.<sup>24</sup> Fitzwilliam’s first cousin, Lady Anne Bacon née Cooke (Lady Mildred Burghley’s sister) was the mother of Anthony and Francis Bacon. Both were associated with Essex, which may explain why Gaynes Park was selected.<sup>25</sup>

Irish sources for information about Spain were frequently members of the merchant community. William Herbert, a Dublin merchant, asked Fitzwilliam to consider unleashing a force of kerne (unarmoured Gaelic footmen equipped with bow or javelin) on Spain. Herbert was apparently sympathetic to the crown position and not to Spain. His proposal was written in December 1588 and received by Fitzwilliam in March 1589, before the Portugal voyage.<sup>26</sup> Herbert offered himself as a pilot for ships to ‘the Groyne [Coruña]’. He recommended the use of 300 kerne (though Fitzwilliam indicated 200 in his covering note). Herbert highlighted that the topography of Galicia was similar to Ireland with marshes and woods. He suggested that employing such a force would create a rift between the Irish and Spanish

the sending of kerne thether myght brede suche p[er]petuall hattred and enmetye betwixt the Spanardes and Irland men as they shuld never be in the like ffavo<sup>r</sup> as hetherunto they have bene nor exspect ther ayde [aid] as hetherunto they have ben assured by such Trayto<sup>rs</sup> and hopelostes [hopelosts] as are fled hence and maketh ther abode in those fforren contries.<sup>27</sup>

Fitzwilliam was so impressed by Herbert’s report that he suggested (in a post-script written in his own hand on Herbert’s letter) that Burghley should talk

24 Letter of Thomas Phelippes to William Sterrell (Extract), Letter No. 134, Ch. 4, ‘Correspondence of Englishmen in the service of the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon (Nos. 134–146)’, in *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the correspondence of Antonio Pérez exile*, Vol. 1 (Tamesis Books, London: 1974), p. 247; For Phelippes and Sterrell see Stephen Alford, *The Watchers, A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Penguin, 2012), pp. 285–297.

25 For Fitzwilliam’s family see Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families*, Pedigree IV, Fitzwilliam of Milton; Deirdre Fennell, *A Tudor Viceroy*, pp. 36–41, 188, 218–9. See also Alan Stewart, ‘Bacon, Anthony, (1558–1601), spy’, *ODNB*; Markku, Peltonen, ‘Bacon, Francis, Viscount St. Alban (1561–1626), lord chancellor, politician, and philosopher’, *ODNB*.

26 Advertisements by William Herbert [merchant] to the Lord Deputy [Fitzwilliam] 10 December 1588, TNA SP 63/142/6 (ii), ff. 15–16v. This William Herbert, merchant, is not to be confused with Sir William Herbert, author of *Croftus sive de Hibernia*. See Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447–1603, English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (Longman, 1998), p. 361, for ‘kerne’.

27 Advertisements, TNA SP 63/142/6 (ii), f. 16v.

directly with Herbert himself about this proposal. Whether this happened or not is unknown.

On the other hand, an Irish merchant named ‘Thomas Mak Karroll’ expressed the opinion in 1590 that crown forces in Anglesea would never stop a Spanish incursion. He had travelled in Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire selling hides, tallow and yarn and now had viewed defensive trenches in Anglesea. He critiqued the scorched earth policy Sir Richard Bulkeley of Beaumarais advocated on any Spanish landing, claiming that the burning of corn and the driving away of cattle was against Christianity. He lectured Bulkeley on the history of Ireland as he recounted that in former days the realm of Ireland had been divided into three and ‘three Sonnes to the Kinge of Spaine, were the three kinges thereof’. <sup>28</sup> This assertion drew on links between Ireland and Spain that were to be found in versions of the *Lebor Gabála* [Book of Invasions] and Welsh texts such as the *History of the Britons*. <sup>29</sup> This might seem unlikely for a merchant, but Brady notes that Lord Deputy Sidney previously discussed Irish origins, relying on a dubious account in Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas whereby invaders from Spain passed into Ireland by permission from their king, who was also the king of the Britons. Sidney then claimed that the Irish were always subject to the English crown in a parliamentary bill in Ireland to attain Shane O’Neill. <sup>30</sup> Bulkeley found it prudent to detain the Irishman as he was a good pilot for the coasts, had recently travelled extensively in England, and spoke well of the Spanish. In June 1592, the English Privy Council sent Bulkeley a note about ‘Thomas Mak Karroll’ who they heard had been detained in Beaumaris castle for lewd speeches concerning the queen. As ‘Mak Karroll’ could not bear the charges of his detention any further, bonds should be taken and then he should be freed. <sup>31</sup>

28 Sir Richard Bulkeley to Sir William Cecil, Baron Burghley, 24 June 1590, *Harley MS 7004*, f. 236; The trenches were at ‘Redde Warthe’ probably Red Wharf Bay (Traeth Coch) in Wales.

29 For an introductory account including a consideration of the ‘three sons’, see John Carey ‘Did the Irish come from Spain?’, *History Ireland*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2001; See also John Carey, ‘Lebor Gabála and the legendary history of Ireland’, in Helen Fulton (ed.) *Medieval Celtic literature and society* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 32–48.

30 Ciaran Brady ‘Politics, Policy and Power 1550–1603’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Vol. 2, 1550–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 41.

31 Privy Council to Sir Richard Bulkeley, 23 July 1592, *PC 2/19*, f. 486.

Apart from merchants Fitzwilliam also received reports from time to time concerning ships on the coast. For example, in June 1594 Fitzwilliam wrote to Burghley, enclosing a series of letters which indicated that a Spanish pinnace was interdicting shipping between Wexford and Dungarvan (west Waterford) off the south-east of Ireland.<sup>32</sup> One enclosure claimed that eighteen or twenty Spaniards had actually landed ‘at Balletrig in this countie’ the evening before, at about eight in the evening. The Spaniards had taken one ‘Richard Whitie [Whitty] the gent of that house’ who had, unfortunately for him, been walking near the sea. A fisherman, one ‘Walter Devoraxe of Ballehalie’ had also been questioned by the Spanish the day before. The Spanish had specifically asked ‘whith’ O’Neale made warr in the Northe’.<sup>33</sup> This was a topic that interested the Spanish, and about which another ship would enquire in Ulster, asking whether ‘therle of Tiroven was in warr’.<sup>34</sup>

Perrot’s second point had to do with Hugh O’Neill the earl of Tyrone. Tyrone was one of the most able Irish leaders to emerge in early modern times, and has received a great deal of attention over the years in the literature.<sup>35</sup> Many recent commentators have considered aspects of his life and career in great detail.<sup>36</sup> He was brought to court by Sir Henry Sidney (Fitzwilliam’s brother-in-law) to be invested as baron of Dungannon in the 1560s. Fitzwilliam was required to support O’Neill when he came back ‘untill the returne of o’ said deputy [Sir

32 Lord Deputy to Burghley, 12 June 1594, TNA SP 63/175/5, ix–xi, xiii, xvi, xviii, xx, ff. 45–8, 50, 53, 55, 57.

33 Christopher Chevers to the Lord Deputy [Fitzwilliam] and Council, 31 May 1594, TNA SP 63/175/5 (xiii), f. 50; ‘Ballehalie’ might be Ballyhack on the Waterford estuary, see <https://www.logainm.ie/en/1165456>. ‘Balletrig’ is possibly near Kilmore Quay, Co. Wexford, see <https://www.logainm.ie/en/54068>.

34 A Relation, by Dr. Robert Browne, to the Lord Deputy [Russell] [28 January] 1595, TNA SP 63/178/24, ff. 50–1v. The ship off Waterford may have been tasked with discovering the fate of one carrying the Archbishop of Tuam and others to Ireland. The unfortunate Whitie [Whitty] was apparently set at liberty in Spain.

35 For a recent survey, see Nicholas Canny, ‘Hugh O’Neill in Irish historical discourse, c.1550–2021’, *Irish Historical Studies* (2022), 46 (169), pp. 25–51.

36 See for example Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion, the outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Gill & Macmillan, 1993); James O’Neill, *The Nine Years War, 1593–1603*, O’Neill, *Mountjoy and the military revolution* (Four Courts Press, 2017) and *The Nine Years War 1593–1603, Part 1, The ascendancy of Irish arms and the road to Yellow Ford, 1593–1598* (Helion & Co. Limited, 2024); Ruth A. Canning, *The Old English in Early Modern Ireland: The Palesmen and the Nine Years’ War, 1594–1603* (Boydell and Brewer, 2019).

Henry Sidney]'.<sup>37</sup> In 1574 the first earl of Essex informed the queen that 'none of the Irishery' apart from Dungannon had gone with him in a campaign. In 1580 Lord Deputy Grey told Walsingham that Dungannon was the 'one-ly Irishe noble man y<sup>t</sup> hathe doonne a[n]y servyce & drawen blood since my coomyng'.<sup>38</sup> Tyrone negotiated a favourable settlement with the crown regarding his estates as earl in 1587, partially due, as Morgan notes, to crown fears of Spanish invasion.<sup>39</sup> Fitzwilliam's instructions hoped Tyrone would keep things quiet in the North 'in respect of the great benefitts he hath latelie received from us'.<sup>40</sup> This would be aided by the continued imprisonment of Hugh O'Donnell in Dublin, who had been seized during Perrot's government.<sup>41</sup> (O'Donnell would however escape during Fitzwilliam's term of office.<sup>42</sup>) Tyrone always cultivated contacts in England. In 1589 he wrote to Walsingham noting that he was friendless at Court 'by the deathe of my honorable patron the Earle of Leicester: whose Lo: from my youthe ev<sup>r</sup> hadd a speciall care of my bringeing upp and well doinge'.<sup>43</sup> Later during Fitzwilliam's term of office Tyrone cultivated the rising star the second earl of Essex.<sup>44</sup> But this was in the future.

37 Queen to the Lords Justices, 1 March 1568, TNA SP 63/23/63, f. 173; Sir Henry Sidney was married to Mary Dudley, a sister of Robert Dudley the earl of Leicester. Fitzwilliam's wife was Ann Sidney, a sister of Sir Henry Sidney.

38 The earl of Essex to the Queen, 13 May 1574, TNA SP 63/46/10, f. 21v; Lord Deputy Grey to Sir Francis Walsingham, 9 December 1580, TNA SP 63/79/5, f. 10v.

39 Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, p. 51; Charter to Hugh O'Neill, *Cal. Patent Rolls Ireland*, Vol. 2, p. 123, Turlough Luineach was, as Morgan notes, simply made Captain of Tyrone for life, *Cal. Patent Rolls Ireland*, Vol. 2, pp. 126–7.

40 Instructions for Sir William Fitzwilliam, 8 March 1588, TNA SP 63/134/11, f. 64v.

41 A note of sundry oppressions, Nov. 1594, TNA SP 63/177/12 (ii), f. 43, '[Perrot] comittid him [O'Donnell] to the castell of Dublin, where he endured great and greavous Impoverishm<sup>tes</sup>'.

42 Concerning this escape, Fitzwilliam said he would refer 'my purgacon even to odonell himself' and especially to an intercepted letter [no longer extant] written by O'Donnell in Irish to Tyrone the day after his escape. Fitzwilliam also said that he had even asked Tyrone to help him recapture O'Donnell 'so much I knewe it could steed me, and soe well I then thought of him'. Fitzwilliam said that the constable's servant was in fact responsible, acting when the constable was ill, 'an oportunity watched, and taken by that traytor the constable s<sup>v</sup>ant that went awaye w<sup>th</sup> him and the rest that then escaped'. See To the Queenes most excelent Ma<sup>tie</sup>, BL ADD MS 12,503 (Papers of Sir Julius Caesar), f. 393v. For a discussion on this document see the epilogue.

43 Hugh, earl of Tyrone to Secretary Walsingham, 5 February 1589, TNA SP 63/141/10, f. 25; Leicester had died in 1588. See Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester 1532/3–1588', *ODNB*.

44 Hugh, earl of Tyrone, to the earl of Essex, 25 June 1593, TNA SP 63/170/16, ff. 43–4v, Tyrone mentions in this letter 'the sundry favores w<sup>ch</sup> I received att your fateres handes, together w<sup>th</sup> the frindshipp your Lp: hathe shewed mee from tyme to tyme'.