Introduction
Debating Tudor policy in Ireland:
The 'reform' treatises

In the late 1580s the Elizabethan secretary of state, Francis Walsingham, no doubt had many guests to his study at his house at Seething Lane in the shadow of Tower Hill in London. As one of the most powerful ministers in the Tudor government and as head of the Elizabethan intelligence services these visitors would have ranged from high-ranking noblemen to agents in Walsingham's spy network, often living on the fringes of society. Whatever the station of those who entered Walsingham's study in these years they might well have glimpsed a small volume of papers lying on the secretary's desk entitled 'A Note of all the written bookes in the Chests or abroad'. This was a catalogue prepared by Walsingham's private secretary, Thomas Lake, in 1588. In it were lists of documents along with reference numbers to the locations of these documents in much larger volumes, many of which would have been stored in 'Chests' elsewhere in the study or at court. This index was organised thematically, with separate sections listing, for example, documents relating to Scotland, to the war in the Low Countries, and to Ireland. The latter section was particularly long, occupying some twenty folios.[1] Much of this listed documents relating to the revenues of Ireland, while the catalogue also indicated that Walsingham had large portfolios of papers in his study on the establishment of a presidential council in Munster and the recent 'cess' controversy. But the most striking aspect of the Irish section of this index was the number of references to policy papers or treatises on the political state of Ireland and how to 'reform' the second Tudor kingdom.[2]

By the time this index, now termed Walsingham's 'Table Book' and housed in the British Library as Stowe MS 162, was drawn up in the 1580s a great many treatises had been written on the thorny question of Ireland. From the reign of Henry VII officials in Ireland had begun preparing policy papers and submitting them to the metropolitan government in England. These anatomised the

political state of Ireland and offered proposals for how to reform the country or overthrow the Gaelic lordships there which threatened English control of the island. At first these treatises were written sporadically, with one appearing every few years during the reign of Henry VII and the first half of the reign of his son, Henry VIII. When the Tudors began taking a sustained interest in Ireland again from the mid-1530s onwards there was a sharp increase in the number of papers being produced. By the time of the long reign of Elizabeth I in the second half of the sixteenth-century treatises were so ubiquitous to the governance of Ireland for senior ministers in London that they had portfolios of them prepared just like Walsingham, with papers bearing a multitude of titles such as a 'Discourse', 'Survey', 'View', 'Discovery', 'Description', 'State', 'Dialogue', 'Narration', 'Relation', 'Device', 'Notes', 'Report', 'Information', 'Articles', 'Boke', 'Book', 'Opinion', 'Plot', 'Plat', 'Brief' or 'Breviat'. By the end of the century at least six hundred such treatises, that we know of, had been written on Ireland and what should be done there.[3]

Any assessment of what proportion of the 'reform' treatises written during the sixteenth century this represents is, of course, speculative, but some assertions can be made. Evidently, some treatises written at the time have not survived. Thomas Bathe and Edmund Sexton composed treatises around 1528 and 1535 respectively which are not extant.[4] Other evidence is simply more suggestive. For instance, among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Library is a treatise by Captain John Dowdall which he sent to James I early in his reign. However, this was a duplicate of a paper he had originally written for Elizabeth I in 1599 and which would now be entirely lost to us if Dowdall had not re-submitted it several years later to the new monarch.[5]

Despite these lost treatises there is substantial evidence to reassure the historian of Tudor Ireland that a great deal of the 'reform' treatises written at the time do in fact survive. The clearest example is provided in 'A Treatise of Irlande' written in 1586. This long tract contains a section entitled 'The effecte of the seueral plottes for the reformation of Ireland', which provides a listing of treatises for the 'reform' of Ireland that the author was aware of. Of those listed, the first earl of Essex's plot for 'Ulster', Nicholas Malby's plot to govern Ireland with an army of 2,000 men, William Gerrard's proposals and those by Edmund Tremayne, Patrick Sherlock, Anthony Power, John Perrot and William Russell are all extant.[6] There are no references here to any lost treatises. Furthermore, when writers such as Edward Walshe and Nicholas Dawtrey referred to other treatises in their own papers there is a reassuring absence of references to tracts which are lost.[7]

For a majority of the extant treatises only one copy has survived. There are a sizeable number of treatises for which two copies are extant, often in cases where George Carew collected a copy of a paper which is also found amongst the State Papers, or where a paper in Walsingham's archive was copied for his

sometime understudy as secretary of state, Robert Beale. Beyond this there are very few treatises for which three or more copies are extant. Generally, these were written by prominent officials such as William Pelham's 'Discourse' on Ireland written in 1580 for which there are four extant copies.[8] These papers often profoundly influenced policy formation at the time and the importance of a treatise often correlates with the number of survivals. For instance, there are four surviving copies of Edmund Tremayne's influential treatise proposing the policy known as 'composition' in 1573.[9]

There are a handful of tracts which exceed these numbers. Six copies of the lord chancellor, Thomas Cusack's 'Book' on Ireland which he sent to the duke of Northumberland in 1553 are extant.[10] There are also a remarkable number of copies of John Perrot's 'Discourse' written in 1581 as he began his campaign for appointment as chief governor of Ireland. At least ten copies of this text survive, one of which significantly was copied into Mountjoy's commonplace book.[11] However, two treatises stand alone in terms of number of extant copies. These are the Henrician chief baron of the exchequer, Patrick Finglas's 'Breviat' and Spenser's 'View', for each of which there are approximately twenty-five copies extant.[12]

The treatises were composed in almost every year after 1534. But some periods witnessed a much greater output than others depending on the political conditions prevailing in Ireland at any one time (see Figure 1 for an impression of the scale of treatise composition across the century). For instance, a significant number of tracts were written in the second half of the 1530s as individuals made proposals for how to govern Ireland in the aftermath of the Kildare Rebellion. This tapered off in the 1540s, and for much of that decade, and the 1550s, there are very few extant treatises, as little as one or two per year. However, from the 1560s onwards there was a steady increase in the number of treatises – usually as many as ten a year – being produced. This peaked at the end of the century as the Nine Years War witnessed an unprecedented level of consultation between the metropolitan government and officials in Ireland, manifest in the survival of dozens of tracts for 1598, 1599 and 1600, at the height of the conflict.

Who wrote these policy papers and what motivated them to do so? What were they about and where were the authors getting their information from? There are no absolute answers to these questions when dealing with such a large body of documents produced over such a broad expanse of time, yet there are patterns. Those who had taken up their pens to advise Henry VII and Henry VIII were more often than not members of the Anglo-Irish or Old English communities, generally of the Pale or more anglicised regions of Leinster and Munster. Prominent here were figures such as the chief baron of the exchequer, Patrick Finglas, or Sir William Darcy of Platten. These early writers were at pains to highlight the encroachment of Irish customs into the
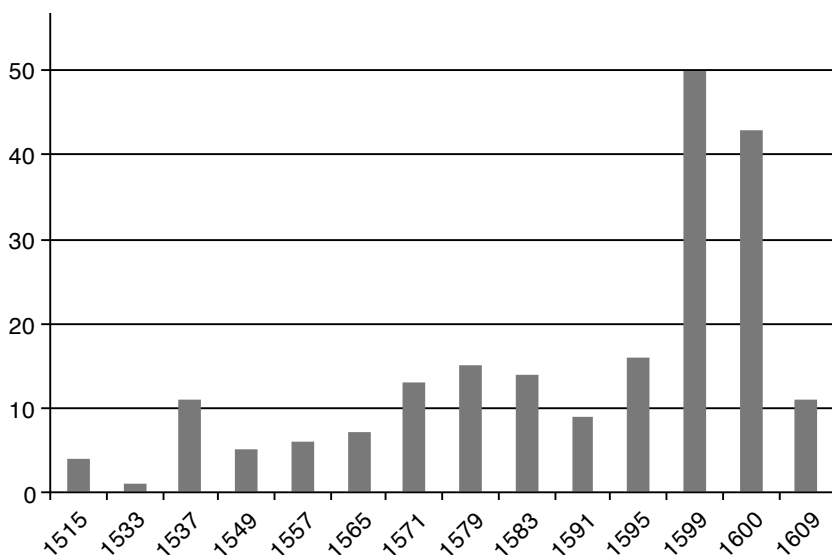
1 Number of extant treatises for select years, 1515–1609

Source: Heffernan, 'Tudor "Reform" Treatises', II, pp. 238–78

English lordship and urge a rejuvenation of crown power in Ireland. They were soon joined by New English officials such as the sometime master of the rolls and lord chancellor, John Alen, and the under-treasurer, William Brabazon. Indeed, while at this early stage there was a parity between Old English and New English in terms of the volume of treatises produced, from mid-century onwards the number of treatises written by New Englishmen began to substantially eclipse those composed by the Old English.[13] Yet treatise writing was not confined to Old Englishmen and New Englishmen. A small number of papers were written by Welshmen.[14] Examples include tracts by the Munster undertaker, William Herbert, and the long-serving Elizabethan army captain, William Mostyn.[15] There are also over a dozen treatises written by Gaelic Irishmen. The mayor of Limerick and one of the sewers of the king's chamber, Edmund Sexton, composed a number of tracts in the 1530s, the notorious archbishop of Cashel, Miler McGrath, wrote several treatises in the 1590s, while Francis Shane, an anglicised O'Farrell, prepared papers on military strategy during the Nine Years War.[16] Other than these there are a handful of Gaelic Irish writers, notably Cormac MacBrian O'Connor and Turlough O'Brien.[17]

This, broadly speaking, was how the authorship of the 'reform' treatises broke down along ethnic lines. A more complicated issue is the station of the authors and the role they might have played in the governance of Ireland. For

a small number of authors little more than their name is evident. But generally we know something of their background. From this we can say that the writers of 'reform' treatises fall into a number of broad categories. The most conspicuous were viceroys and senior ministers; however, it should not be assumed that all senior figures composed policy papers. Sussex, Henry Sidney and John Perrot produced roughly a dozen papers each, but the longest-serving chief governor between 1534 and 1603, William Fitzwilliam, on the basis of the extant evidence, does not appear to have ever composed a formal treatise. Similarly, the Elizabethan lord chancellor, William Gerrard, wrote numerous papers on Ireland in the late 1570s, but other high-ranking ministers such as Gerrard's near contemporaries, the secretary of state, Geoffrey Fenton, and the under-treasurer, Henry Wallop, generally did not.[18] The composition of treatises, though, was not limited to senior political figures. Numerous officials occupying less prominent offices offered counsel. These included the mid-Tudor muster official and later first clerk of the Court of Castle Chamber, Thomas Walshe, the comptroller of the wine customs in Waterford, Henry Ackworth, the late Elizabethan exchequer officer, Robert Legge, and the chief justice of Munster, William Saxey.[19]

The expansion of the military establishment as the century progressed led to an increase in the number of army officers writing treatises. By the 1580s and 1590s they were writing as frequently as civil officials. For instance, George Carew, who held a number of military offices in Ireland in the 1580s and 1590s including the position of master of the ordnance, wrote several papers on Irish policy, as did army captains such as Thomas Lee and the muster master, Ralph Lane.[20] Less numerous, though still substantial, were the number of treatise writers who held religious office, particularly archbishops and bishops such as the Henrician and Edwardian archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, and the Elizabethan pluralist bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, William Lyon.[21] Finally, a large number of 'reform' treatise authors were would-be colonists or latterly undertakers in the Munster Plantation such as Nicholas Bagenal, Warham St Leger, Jerome Brett, Humphrey Gilbert, William Herbert and Edmund Spenser.[22] Outside of officials, army captains, bishops, archbishops, aspiring colonists and plantation undertakers, a number of treatises were composed by individuals who did not hold any official position in Ireland. For example, John Denton, a merchant active in Ireland in the late 1560s and early 1570s, wrote a considerable treatise at the end of this period which was part memoir, part policy paper.[23]

The station of these individuals did not necessarily influence their views on the 'reform' of Ireland. For example, while army captains such as John Merbury and John Dowdall advocated a brutal policy of scorched earth and inducement of famine conditions to reduce Gaelic Ireland, other military officers such as Thomas Lee and William Piers were far more accommodating

of the Irish polity.[24] Equally, Spenser's views were much more coercive than his fellow Munster undertaker, William Herbert. What station did affect was the focus of a writer's paper. Archbishops and bishops tended to concentrate on religious reform, while army officers dealt with military strategy. Senior ministers, though, addressed a wide range of topics, but even here there was often a tendency to give greater coverage to issues of official and judicial reform. An individual's station also influenced whether their writings garnered any attention. Clearly, the practicality of a writer's proposals and the effectiveness with which he argued them played a role here, but unquestionably a proposal made by Sussex received far greater consideration than one by, for example, Henry Ackworth. The regularity with which these individuals wrote treatises obeyed no pattern. Among the viceroys the most prolific writers were Sussex, Sidney and Perrot, each having composed over a dozen papers, while further down the ranks of officialdom William Piers (11), William Herbert (11), William Saxey (10), Robert Legge (9), John Alen (8), Nicholas Dawtrey (8), William Gerrard (7) and Robert Cowley (7) surpassed all others in their composition of policy papers.[25]

The array of extant documents which collectively constitute this political discourse are not a homogenous group of formal treatises. Indeed, it is difficult to define with precision what actually constitutes a 'reform' treatise. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a treatise as 'A book or writing which treats of some particular subject; commonly, one containing a formal or methodical discussion or exposition of the principles of the subject'.[26] Clearly, texts such as Sussex's 'Opinion' and 'Relation' written in the early 1560s, Spenser's *View* and Richard Beacon's *Solon his follie* fit this definition.[27] But beyond their formal and systematic nature the substance of such treatises can vary greatly. However, there are other documents which must be, and will be, considered as 'reform' treatises even though they were not written as formal treatises. For example, there are a very large number of letters extant, written to senior ministers in England, which dealt extensively with the state of Ireland and offered proposals for how to extend government control over the country. These merit just as much consideration as formal treatises. However, there is a need to disambiguate between these various forms.[28]

The most common form of treatise was the formal treatise. These were formally structured papers with a title such as a 'Discourse' or 'Plot', often arranged into numbered or itemed sections.[29] Within this particular form there developed a number of sub-genres. The dialogue became increasingly popular towards the end of the century, perhaps as Willy Maley has suggested in response to New English fears of cultural degeneracy.[30] As such, the holding of conversations between English-born speakers in the *View* or the 'Dialogue of Silvyne and Peregrine' was intended to reinforce the belief that only through cultural insulation could the New English avoid contagion.[31]

A somewhat similar sub-genre was the question-and-answer tract employed by Nicholas Dawtrey and William Piers.[32] Here, though, the intention was to reinforce the knowledge gap between the experienced man on the ground and the metropolitan government. One further sub-genre was the rhetorical essay, a studied exercise in persuading monarch and senior ministers alike of the feasibility of a proposal, good examples of which are seen in the writings of Edmund Tremayne from the early 1570s on the 'composition' scheme.[33]

Less numerous were informal treatises. These were essentially the same as formal treatises; however, they lacked many of the structural characteristics such as a title and sub-headings. Rather, they appeared as extended discussions on policy issues without any delineation of points. Examples include a tract prepared on the O'Rourke lordship by John Merbury in the late 1580s, while numerous tracts lacking a title or clear structure are found among Walsingham's papers in Cotton MS Titus B XII.[34] However, generally speaking these papers were far less plentiful than formal treatises.

Next to formal treatises the most numerous form in which 'reform' treatises appeared were as pieces of correspondence or what can be termed 'letter-tracts'.[35] Initially, these appear to be routine letters. But when such letters offered extended analyses of the political state of the country and made recommendations for how to extend Tudor rule in Ireland they have to be considered as part of the treatise literature. For instance, Anthony Trollope addressed a number of letters to Burghley in the 1580s which made extended reports on the political state of the country.[36] In terms of their form these do not initially seem to be treatises but letters. Nevertheless, in light of their content, these letters must, and indeed previously have been, considered as 'reform' treatises.[37] Such correspondence, while clearly not formal and systematic treatises, merit consideration as 'reform' literature.

A fourth popular form of document was the report or journal.[38] Composed by high-ranking officials, such writings were often conceived both to inform certain parties in London of their activities and, in many instances, to defend those same actions. There was a sharp increase in the number of justificatory accounts of service being produced in the closing decades of the century as complaints about the corrupt dealings of Irish officials became rife. Thus, a number of viceroys, including Sussex and Sidney, composed journals and memoirs.[39] Many of these such as Russell's diary or Arthur Grey's declaration of service are simply straightforward records of past events and, as such, do not necessitate consideration as 'reform' treatises.[40] However, a significant percentage of these journals were also suffused with ideas about the 'reform' of Ireland.[41] Such is the case with Thomas Cusack's 'Book' (1553). This, while ostensibly a report on his progress around the country, also contains substantial 'reform' proposals.[42] Documents of this kind cannot but be considered as part of the 'reform' treatises.

A fifth form of treatise is almost indistinguishable from the formal treatise. These were internal government memoranda which were, for instance, composed during the course of negotiations with Gaelic lords. In this regard we might consider treatises composed by figures such as Geoffrey Fenton, Henry Wallop and Robert Gardener in 1590 as internal memoranda, as they were the product of the crown's negotiations with the second earl of Tyrone at the time.[43] These working documents often followed from the composition of a formal treatise as the author was required to produce a subsequent paper to clarify or expand on certain points. For instance, following the submission of a 'Discourse' in 1598 by Nicholas Dawtrey the Privy Council sought further details from Dawtrey which led to the composition of a second paper.[44]

Finally, a number of works published in England during the sixteenth century must be considered as part of the 'reform' debate. Many of these were straightforward treatises, notably Richard Beacon's *Solon his follie*. Others are less strictly treatises but merit consideration. The promotional pieces which appeared on Thomas Smith's project to colonise the Ards peninsula in 1572 and Robert Payne's *Briefe description of Irlande*, a pamphlet promoting settlement in the Munster Plantation, were published to encourage emigration from England to Ireland, yet they merit consideration given their depiction of Ireland and use for colonisation thereof.[45] Equally, while John Derricke's *The Image of Irelande* published in 1581 has long been focused on solely for the woodcuts which accompanied the text, a number of recent studies have firmly established the importance of the text itself to the 'reform' debate.[46]

Thus, when the many individuals who wrote treatises on Ireland during the sixteenth century set down their thoughts they did not always compose their works as formal treatises. Equally, they were not all concerned with the same issues in Ireland. Some were focused on the political state of the country, some with religious affairs, some with colonisation, and some with a wide range of different policy concerns. Inevitably, given the lack of knowledge of Ireland which pertained in England at the outset of the period under study, many of the earliest treatises, and a great many later ones too, were concerned with the geography of the country. These geographical treatises generally divided Ireland into four, five or six provinces; four if one adhered to modern divisions, though most included Meath as a fifth, while a number elected to give Munster as two entries, specifically Desmond (*Deasmhumhain* or South Munster) and Thomond (*Tuathmhumhain* or North Munster). These were often subdivided into counties, baronies, cantreds and ploughlands with concurrent information on geographical features such as havens and large settlements.[47] The earliest of these was a pamphlet entitled the 'Description of Ireland' which appeared around 1515, features of which were incorporated into numerous subsequent treatises.[48] These strictly geographical descriptions were often accompanied by a political anatomisation of the country which identified the principal Gaelic

and English lords. This format was established in the earliest treatises, notably a 'Description of the Power of Irishmen' (*c*.1496) and 'The State of Ireland' (*c*.1515) and appeared regularly down to the century's end.[49]

The purpose of these works of geographical description and political anatomisation seems relatively clear. In the first half of the century the Tudors were resoundingly ignorant of the geography of the remoter parts of Ireland. For instance, when writing to Anthony St Leger in 1540 Henry VIII made note that the earl of Ormond's lands were geographically located in a region where he could be of benefit in reducing the Irish lordships of Carlow and Wicklow, but the king's general ignorance of even one of the foremost lordships of the country and the periphery of the Pale was confirmed by the statement that he had determined this only by consulting 'the platt [i.e. map] of the lande'.[50] Consequently, as the effective reach of the government gradually extended beyond the Pale in the mid-Tudor period and into Connacht and Ulster during Elizabeth's reign, information on the geography of those regions became a necessity in order to implement administrative rule therein.[51] The shiring of Clare in the early 1570s provides an illuminating example of this process accompanied as it was by the composition of a number of such descriptions of the county.[52]

In tandem with this discovery of the political and geographical landscape of Ireland Tudor commentators were equally interested in their treatises to describe the political, social and cultural practices prevailing there. The earliest such writings were found in texts such as the 'State' (*c*.1515) and William Darcy's 'Articles'. Central to these was the concern over the apparent degeneracy of the English of Ireland and the ubiquity of practices such as 'coign and livery', succession by tanistry and adoption of Irish apparel.[53] These concerns resonated until the end of the century in treatises written by figures such as Sussex, Warham St Leger and John Perrot.[54] Clearly, though, there was an overarching political consideration to these writings. Such social and cultural practices were anatomised to demonstrate their perfidy as a prelude to proposing their eradication. This colonial ethnography was to alter somewhat in the ensuing period as writers such as Fynes Moryson, Luke Gernons and Hugh Collier began writing expositions of Gaelic society from what would now be deemed a more socio-anthropological perspective.[55]

These discussions of Gaelic society inevitably led to considerations of how to extend English rule outwards from the Pale. Recent studies of sixteenth-century Ireland posit that both conciliatory and coercive measures to achieve this were given equal consideration by Tudor commentators.[56] However, this was certainly not the case early in the century when the overwhelming concern was to revitalise the lordship through military intervention in those parts of Gaelic Ireland adjoining the Pale.[57] The concern for legal, judicial and administrative reform, and the extension of the common law came later, but crucially

when it did it was largely in response to problems identified within officialdom and the military executive in Ireland, rather than in an effort to subdue the Gaelic lordships. Such criticism of the manner in which Ireland was being governed abounded in the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth I in the writings of figures such as William Gerrard, Robert Legge and Nicholas White.[58]

The approach which was overwhelmingly favoured from quite early in the century for advancing English rule in Ireland was military intervention, leading cogently to the composition of military tracts. This coercive streak was displayed in the very earliest extant Tudor treatise, the 'Description of the Power of Irishmen' (c.1496) which exaggeratedly listed the forces available to the major lords of Gaelic Ireland. This was not an idle mathematical exercise. Nor was it unique. As Chapter 1 shows, the desire for military intervention and regional conquest was openly expressed throughout most of the treatises written during the reign of Henry VIII. Moreover, the establishment of a garrison system throughout much of Leinster and Ulster from 1546 onwards led to the regular composition of military tracts providing details in respect of garrison locations and troop allocations for these. Sussex's most extensive composition on Ireland, his 'Opinion' of 1562, covers a great many issues, one of the principal being the need for military action in certain regions and the establishment of garrisons at locations such as Armagh.[59] Henry Sidney's demands as put forward by him in a number of treatises during the negotiations surrounding his reappointment as lord deputy in 1575 largely concerned the size of his forces, their pay and victualling.[60]

A further distinctive type of treatise was the colonial treatise.[61] Recommendations to this effect were made in the 'State' (c.1515) and Finglas's 'Breviat', and the idea gained increasing adherents from the early 1550s as the first state-sponsored Tudor plantation was undertaken in the midlands. At this time writers such as Edward Walshe and John Alen put forward proposals on how to further the plantation of Laois and Offaly.[62] Efforts to colonise north-east Ulster and the south coast of Munster followed in the late 1560s and early 1570s. For Ulster both those who unsuccessfully sought land grants, such as Thomas Gerrard, and those like Thomas Smith who received extensive allotments, produced a range of tracts outlining their colonisation plans.[63] In the south, Humphrey Gilbert, Warham St Leger and Jerome Brett composed a multitude of treatises outlining their proposals to plant settlements at key havens along the southern coast of Ireland.[64] Some years later the attainder of the earl of Desmond and his allies following the Desmond Rebellion saw various proposals made for colonising these Munster lands by writers such as Richard Spert, John Ussher and William Pelham before a state-sponsored plantation was resolved upon.[65]

Another type of tract dealt with religious reform. Generally, religion was discussed in the treatises in the context of enforcement of the Protestant

Reformation. But even before the Henrician Reformation of the 1530s and during the reign of Mary I the problems which were assayed in the Irish church reflected those identified in the Church of Ireland. They focused on the relative poverty of the established church, the language barrier and, above all, the lack of adequately trained ministers. There was an overwhelming consensus on these, but treatise writers were less agreed on how to confront these problems, with some favouring a coercive approach and others arguing that Protestantism should be fostered through persuasion. Those who argued for forceful methods advocated the enforcement of fines for non-conformity and the establishment of institutions such as that eventually founded, the Ecclesiastical High Commission, to ensure conformity. Advocates of the persuasive approach among other measures favoured the publication of an Irish translation of the Bible and the Articles of Faith. Yet there was generally a considerable overlap. Whether arguing for coercion or persuasion, all were agreed that the lack of a suitably trained ministry and the impoverishment of the physical church were major hindrances to any religious reform. Accordingly, initiatives such as that to establish a university in Ireland both to prepare a domestically trained ministry and inculcate the population to the new faith were universally favoured.[66]

That there were different forms of treatise such as geographical, colonial, military and religious treatises was of course a by-product of the individual motivations of the authors of the treatises to compose papers. In his 'Anothomy' of 1615 Barnaby Rich attested succinctly to the manner in which personal motives, a desire to acquire political favour and patronage, or further vested concerns, and occasionally even to promote policies which might benefit the state, were all factors in the decision to compose a position paper:

> I thynke ther hath byne no one thynge more preiudy-cyall to the servyce of Irelande, then thes numbre of water castynge physytyans, that have taken uppon them to looke into the state of Irelande, to spye out the dysceases & to informe at random, they knowe not what them selves, sometymes for ther owne gayne, sometyme to helpe ther frendes, sometymes to hurt ther foes, sometymes for love, sometymes for haate, and some that would styll be pre-scrybynge of medycyns, that wer utterly ygnorant from whence the sycknes grewe.[67]

Clearly, even contemporaries were aware that treatises were being composed for a multitude of reasons.

First, individuals wrote papers proposing specific policies for Ireland as they believed that these were the best means to expand Tudor control of Ireland. This clearly motivated a substantial number of writers. Thomas Cusack wrote his 'Devise' anatomising the programme of 'surrender and regrant' in 1541 at a time when he was at the centre of efforts to implement that programme.[68] Edmund Tremayne wrote a number of tracts in the early

1570s offering his considered thoughts on how Ireland could be effectively governed.[69] Tremayne seems to have genuinely believed that the recommendations he made were those best suited to reforming Ireland. Equally, William Herbert composed several treatises on Ireland and more specifically Munster in the 1580s, culminating in his canonical work *Croftus Sive in Hibernia Liber*. These offered proposals which Herbert evidently advocated for in the belief that they were the best means to 'reform' Ireland.[70] Whatever else might have influenced figures such as Cusack, Tremayne or Herbert there is little doubt that they keenly believed in the recommendations they made.

But it would be specious to suggest that treatises were written solely out of a concern to counsel the best methods to expand Tudor rule in Ireland. The writers of treatises were motivated by myriad personal and communal political concerns. Cusack, for instance, might have believed firmly in the wisdom of the programme of 'surrender and regrant', but he also had a great personal stake in the success of that programme. However, in a great many instances concern for personal gain was the overwhelming motivation to write a 'reform' treatise. For instance, Henry Bagenal's tracts on Ulster in the 1580s and 1590s were always written with an eye to furthering his family's position in the province from their stronghold at Newry.[71] Scores of similar instances of self-interest could be cited.

Such self-serving motivations were inherently connected with the quest for patronage, which was central to the production of 'reform' treatises. This was most starkly presented in the dedications of the numerous tracts which received print treatment at the time. For instance, Thomas Churchyard variously solicited Drew Drury (brother of lord justice William Drury), Christopher Hatton and Lord Howard of Effingham at the outset of his Irish works, evidently in search of patronage.[72] John Derricke dedicated the *Image of Irelande* to Philip Sidney, the son of its central character Henry, and in doing so cast his text in support of Sidney's reappointment as viceroy.[73]

An explicit reference to the link between the preparation of 'reform' tracts and patronage was made by the author of a brief memorandum sent to Walsingham around 1585, potentially by the clerk of the check, Thomas Williams. This document begins with a preface where the author acknowledges that his 'Device' is composed of 'few particulars as from other sufficient collections', before conceding that his motive was to 'beseech your honour to peruse the same … delivered as the testimonies of my zealous mind towards my prince, my country and your honourable self whom I desire to have the patron of my simple travails'.[74] Thus, what we have here is a very stark acknowledgement by the author of a treatise that his primary motive in composing a political tract on Ireland was to obtain patronage.

Beyond the desire to shape policy and offer proposals which were personally beneficial treatise writers could take up their pen for a third reason:

they were requested to offer counsel. At the end of his significant 'Book' on Munster presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1574, Humphrey Gilbert clearly indicated that the paper was prepared in response to a request by Elizabeth to have the former governor of Munster's thoughts on how to 'reform' Ireland.[75] There are numerous other examples where internal evidence points towards a treatise having been composed in response to a request to do so from the queen, the Privy Council or a senior minister. Interestingly, these requests were made of senior figures such as the lord chancellor, William Gerrard, but also some very marginal characters such as one 'Goring' whose first name is unclear, but who was most likely an army captain, J. Goring; Thomas Knyvett was directed by Robert Cecil to prepare a paper on the reform of the coinage following consultation with the master of the exchange in England; and William Udall, an agent of Cecil's who revealed the second earl of Essex's meeting with Tyrone in 1599 and was rewarded with imprisonment for four years shortly thereafter.[76]

Evidently, individuals wrote treatises for a multitude of reasons. What is less easy to discern though is exactly how writers went about composing a treatise. Personal knowledge and 'on the ground' experience would undoubtedly have shaped what was written. For instance, Nicholas Dawtrey's proposals for the division of Clandeboye in 1594 were primarily a product of his long experience as seneschal of that country.[77] Equally, Edward Baeshe's recommendations for 'reform' of the victualling system in Ireland were informed by over thirty years as a crown victualler.[78] Likewise, William Lyon's proposals for a persuasive approach to spread the established faith in Ireland was the product of his experience as a bishop in Munster throughout the 1580s and 1590s.[79]

But this was often not the case. In general, treatise writers were elaborating on policies proposed by others or on themes which had become widely discussed. One conspicuous example was the universal acceptance of the idea that the Irish lordship had decayed as a result of the cultural degeneracy of the Old English and their adoption of 'coign and livery'. But it is rarely possible to determine if one author who reached such a conclusion did so after encountering such an analysis in another text or because it had entered common discourse, both verbal and written at the time.[80] Similar developments occurred in relation to the depiction of the Irish character. By the end of the period one writer need not have borrowed from any specific source in order to posit that the natives were unreconcilable barbarians outside the parameters of English civility, as this view was commonly expressed. For instance, Andrew Trollope commented acerbically on the barbarity of the inhabitants of the country shortly after his arrival in Ireland, noting that 'at this instante the Irishe men, except [in] the waled townes, are not christyans, cyvell, or humane creators, but heathen, or rather savage, and brute bestes. Ffor many of them, aswell women, as men, goe comonly all naked saveing onely a lose mantle

hangeng aboute them.'[81] Yet by Trollope's time such views were hardly novel, all the more so when it is considered that Andrew Boorde's depiction of the Irishman had been in print throughout England since the 1540s:

> For the people there be slouthfull, not regarding to sow and tille theyr landes, nor caring for ryches. For in many places they care nor for pot, pan, kettyl, nor for mattrys, fether beds, nor such implementes of houshold, wherefore it is presupposed they lak maners and be untaught and rude, the which rudeness which theyr melocoly complexion causeth the[m] to be angry and testy wythout a cause.[82]

Clearly, many ideas had become part of the common lexicon of political discourse in sixteenth-century Ireland.

Often treatise writers were deriving their ideas directly from other papers. Indeed, a number of authors openly attested to their knowledge of the writings of others in their own treatises. Edward Walshe, in his 'Conjectures' on the midlands plantation, also written in 1552, remarked on the surveyor, Walter Cowley's scheme for the plantation of much of Leinster.[83] The most striking attestation by an author of his knowledge and consultation of the treatises of others was made in 'A Treatise of Irlande', almost certainly composed by Edward Waterhouse in 1586. Here knowledge was displayed of the writings of Patrick Sherlock, Anthony Power, John Perrot, Edmund Tremayne, John Ussher, Nicholas Malby, the first earl of Essex, and William Piers, among others.[84] Similarly, a tract most likely written by Nicholas Dawtrey at the height of the Nine Years War contained an extended analysis of the schemes for the 'reform' of Ireland written by Malby and Piers.[85] Given the repetition of ideas in the treatises throughout the century it is safe to assume that many writers were similarly familiar with other treatises and that this doubtlessly influenced their own writings.

In some cases, though, the debt one author owed to another was far greater. Intertextuality is a difficult thing to track. Luckily in the case of the Tudor treatises on Ireland what is today more commonly called plagiarism was rampant, making instances of direct borrowing easy to discern. The earliest extant treatise on Tudor Ireland, 'A Description of the Power of Irishmen', was re-worked in 1556 by John Alen, who curiously felt no need to adjust the numbers detailing the forces of the Gaelic lords from the original despite the passage of sixty years since the composition of the first text.[86] Alen's brother, Thomas, may well have been the mastermind of a paper, 'Matters for the good government of Ireland', composed around 1558, large portions of which were simply a re-worded copy of a 'Memoriall' drawn up by the Irish Council in 1537.[87] A tract which appears to have been written by the future lord deputy, William Russell, in 1579 begins with a political anatomisation of Ireland taken almost verbatim from the opening passages of the 'State of Ireland' (*c*.1515).[88] Many similar examples abound throughout the treatises.

Finally, there is one extraordinary example of intertextuality which requires individual consideration in light of the insight it gives into the utilisation of other texts by treatise writers. This was a gazetteer almost certainly composed by Edward Waterhouse.[89] Work on the text began in the mid-1570s and was still ongoing by 1586 when the most well-known copy of this text 'A Treatise of Irlande' was composed.[90] However, even this latter copy, a large text of over 25,000 words, was not complete and clearly Waterhouse had intended to add further to it.[91] What is unusual about the 'Treatise' is that it attempted to act as a kind of beginner's introduction to the political state of Ireland, detailing the history of the country both prior to and since the English conquest, outlining the geography of the island and then offering a political and anatomical breakdown of the country, county by county. In doing so it drew directly on a range of treatises which Waterhouse evidently possessed copies of. Large sections are copied from the 'Description of the Power of Irishmen', while there is also clear evidence of Waterhouse's reading of a 'Description of Ireland' written around 1515 and Finglas's 'Breviat'.[92] What is most striking about this gazetteer is the manner in which it became a standard reference and, indeed, a template from which to compose treatises. Henry Bagenal's 'Description of Ulster', for instance, was basically a reiteration of the sections on Ulster contained in this gazetteer.[93] John Dymmock's 'Treatice of Ireland' which he began in 1587 and which he continued to adapt up to Essex's term as lord lieutenant in 1599 was also little more than an updated version of Waterhouse's original 'Treatise'.[94] Numerous further examples abound in the 1590s by writers such as Meredith Hanmer.[95]

Treatises were distributed in a number of ways. A significant proportion of the extant treatises stayed within Ireland where they were addressed to various viceroys of the period, particularly Sussex and Sidney.[96] Curiously, the extant evidence indicates that only the chief governors were solicited in this fashion and there was seemingly no practice of sending papers to other senior ministers such as the lord chancellors or under-treasurers. This was also the case for interim chief governors and the treatise that William Lyon sent to Adam Loftus and Henry Wallop during their term as joint lord justices in the early 1580s is exceptional for having been addressed to stand-in governors.[97]

The overwhelming majority of treatises were, however, sent directly to England to the monarch or senior ministers. These were often borne by a message bearer, although there is clear evidence that a substantial number of treatises were delivered personally at court by the author. For instance, the ascent of a monarch could lead to a flood of petitioners to London, many of whom bore policy papers. Indeed, in the case of Walter Raleigh's views on the suppression of the Desmond Rebellion in 1582 we have an instance of a treatise which was not delivered to court but was actually deposed from an individual while there, the paper being in Burghley's hand.[98] Often these direct appeals

proved highly successful. Such was the case with Henry Bagenal who trav-
elled to court in 1586 where he presented his 'Description' and 'Information'
in which he sought a reduction of O'Neill influence in the north and an
expanded role for his own family. His expedition was largely a success and a
number of his requests were granted when he returned to Ireland.[99] Finally,
there are examples of treatise writers offering further counsel than that con-
tained in their papers which they claimed to be wary of setting down on
paper.[100] Unfortunately, this secret counsel is now lost to us.

Whether borne by a message bearer or delivered personally by the author
at court these tracts were destined for a limited range of individuals. During
the reign of Henry VIII the principal recipients of such tracts other than the
king himself were Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell. The following
reign witnessed papers being prepared for Somerset and Northumberland,
while, from his appointment as secretary of state, William Cecil began receiv-
ing papers.[101] Such limited treatises as were prepared under Mary were gen-
erally addressed to the queen herself. Elizabeth's reign is more complex.
Early on the principal recipients were Cecil and, to a much lesser degree,
Leicester. This pattern changed significantly, however, in the 1570s as
Burghley's primacy was challenged by his successor as secretary of state,
Francis Walsingham. Indeed, by the end of that decade the two appear to
have been receiving a roughly even amount of papers offering counsel, a
pattern which continued into the 1580s. Walsingham's death again shifted
the balance back in Burghley's favour. The 1590s saw a growing number of
papers being sent directly to his son and political successor, Robert Cecil.
The factional wrangling between the Cecils and the second earl of Essex
did not greatly influence the flow of treatises and Essex was the recipient of
resoundingly few papers, with the notable exception of the months following
his appointment as lord lieutenant of Ireland. Finally, below these major
recipients a number of minor recipients can be identified, particularly in the
1590s when lower-ranking officials such as the lord keeper of the great seal,
John Puckering, had one or two papers addressed to them.[102]

While Burghley and Walsingham were the chief recipients of such papers
during the Elizabethan period, there is clear evidence of a circulation of copies
of manuscripts among other ministers at court, a subject which remains
remarkably underdeveloped for both England and Ireland.[103] Robert Beale's
Irish papers largely comprise copies of treatises he had made for his use from
copies owned by Walsingham to whom he often acted as understudy in the
office of secretary of state. Similarly, the solicitor general, Thomas Egerton,
was clearly not the recipient of many tracts, yet there are numerous treatises
from the 1580s and 1590s among his papers in the Huntington Library which
were likely copied from originals in the State Records at the time or from the
personal archive of another minister.[104] Walsingham's collection of treatises

on Ireland was loaned to Robert Cecil in 1596, presumably as he sought to develop a greater understanding of the crisis unfolding across the Irish Sea.[105]

Once proposals arrived at Whitehall they might meet with a number of responses. Some such as John Bell's dystopian proposals for planting Ulster were simply ignored, while others such as the petitions for lands to colonise made by Thomas Gerrard and Richard Spert for Ulster and Munster respectively were overlooked in favour of other colonisation schemes.[106] Most merited some degree of consideration. If they were found agreeable they could often be implemented. But there are remarkably few treatises to which a specific policy initiative being implemented can be individually credited. George Browne's scheme for the suppression of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in order to endow a university in Ireland was one such exception.[107]

What was far more usual was for a treatise or a policy proposal to add to a growing swell of support for an initiative. Often officials in Ireland had to write to the metropolitan government for many years or even decades in support of a measure before it gained traction. The campaign to have an expeditionary force sent to Lough Foyle during the Nine Years War is one example which took a markedly long time to materialise. The idea was initially conceived as part of Sidney's campaign against Shane O'Neill in 1566 and was resurrected with the outbreak of hostilities in 1594. But, despite incessant calls for the launching of such an expeditionary force throughout the conflict it was not until May 1599 that a force of around 4,000 troops commanded by Henry Docwra was dispatched to Lough Foyle.[108] Thus, it took nearly six years from the time the expedition was conceived until it was finally carried out. This was due to the perennial problems of Tudor governance: lack of troops and finances, military reverses, procrastination on the part of the monarch and prioritisation of military initiatives on the continent.[109]

To a large extent these delays and failures were the result of the decidedly unspecific nature of much of the 'reform' treatises. In a great many instances writers made proposals without providing any of the necessary details on how to actually implement them as effective policies. For instance, reformers would acknowledge the necessity of dispensing with 'coign and livery' yet fail to proffer any advice on what should be done with the thousands of men-at-arms throughout the country who would be affected or, and perhaps more importantly, how the government could actually force the lords to accept the prohibition.[110] Rather, a majority of treatise writers opted to convince their readers that the policy proposals they enunciated in their writings could be executed speedily and cheaply. This short-sightedness was to plague successive administrations in Tudor Ireland as poorly prepared schemes were implemented only to have them meet with failure owing to various pitfalls such as shortage of funds, a fundamental failure to understand the dynamics prevailing within individual regions or a lack of the resolve needed to carry on

with certain policies. Yet, in spite of these deficiencies, the 'reform' treatises were a major medium for the conveyance of policy ideas in Tudor Ireland. They played a major role in the formation of government policy in each individual period of the Tudor conquest of Ireland. The pages that follow chart the policy ideas argued for in the treatises over the course of the Tudor century.

NOTES

1 'Walsingham's Table Book', BL, Stowe MS 162, fos. 46–65.

2 Ibid., esp. fos. 47r–50r.

3 For full listings, see Heffernan, 'Tudor "Reform" Treatises', II, pp. 238–78.

4 Clodagh Tait, '"A trusty and well beloved servant": The Career and Disinternment of Edmund Sexton of Ireland, d. 1554', in *Arch. Hib.*, 56 (2002), 51–64. See David Heffernan (ed.), 'Robert Cowley's "A Discourse of the Cause of the Evil State of Ireland", *c.*1526', in *Anal. Hib.*, 48 (2017), pp. 1–30 on Bathe's lost text.

5 John Dowdall, 'The naturs and dispositions of the Irishe nation, and with what mild hand they have bin governed or howe rather they ought to bee governed', 1599, BL, Royal MS 18 A LVI.

6 NLI, MS 669, fo. 55r.

7 D.B. Quinn (ed.), 'Edward Walshe's '*Conjectures*' concerning the state of Ireland', in *IHS*, 5:20 (Sep., 1947), 303–22, 315; Hiram Morgan (ed.), 'A Booke of Q + Answars concerning the warres or rebellions of the kingdome of Irelande', 1597, in *Anal. Hib.* 36 (1995), 79–135, 128–9.

8 For copies of Pelham's 'Discourse', see BL, Add. MS 48,017, fos. 79–92; BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 460–474r; *CCM*, 1575–1588, 440 (LPL, MS 597, fos. 384–403); *CCM*, 1575–1588, 570 (LPL, MS 614, fos. 46–62). The copy from LPL, MS 597 is printed in Heffernan (ed.), '*Reform*' *Treatises*, pp. 182–204.

9 BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 357–360; Huntington Library, EL MS 1,701; BL, Add. MS 48,015, fos. 274–277; Cambridge University, Trinity College MS 710. The full text of the Cotton copy is printed in Heffernan (ed.), '*Reform*' *Treatises*, pp. 96–103.

10 BL, Harley MS 35, fos. 180–194; BL, Add. MS 48,015, fos. 266–273; TCD, MS 842, no. 6; TNA, SP 61/4/43; John Rylands University Library, Manchester, English MS 497, fos. 4–73; LPL, Carew MS 611, p. 112.

11 Copies of Perrot's 'Discourse' include *CCM*, 1575–1588, 511, misdated as 1583; BL, Add MS 48,017, fos. 63–71; BL, Sloane MS 2,200; BL, Stowe MS 159, fos. 181–193; BL, Harley MS 3,292, fos. 5–12; NLI, MS 3,314, fos. 45–73; BL, Add. MS 4,763, fos. 176v–184r; Bod. Lib., Carew MS 103, fos. 99r–113r. The text of the 'Discourse' excepting a small section at the end wherein the 'Description' written in 1515 was copied verbatim, was published in 1626. See the preface to E.C.S., *The Government of Ireland under the Honorable, Ivst and Wife Gouernour Sir Iohn Perrot Knight* (London, 1626).

12 Edmund Spenser, *Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, 11 vols (Baltimore, 1932), X, p. 39, lists most of the surviving copies of the *View*. Copies

of Finglas's 'Breviat' include LPL, MS 621, p. 92; LPL, MS 600, p. 204; TCD, MS 581, no. 7; TCD, MS 786; TCD, MS 842, fos. 25–36; TNA, SP 60/2/7; BL, Add. MS 48,015, fos. 243–247; BL, Add. MS 48,017, fos. 172v–177; BL, Harley MS 35, fos. 204v–222; BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 480–481; BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 586–587; NLI, MS 8,071. For a full listing, see David Heffernan, 'Patrick Finglas's *A Breviat of the Conquest of Ireland and of the Decay of the Same* (*c*.1535) and the Tudor Conquest of Ireland', in *SCJ* (forthcoming, 2018).

13 On the use of Old English and Anglo-Irish in the present study, see the Note on Conventions, p. xiv.

14 On the 'New Welsh' in Ireland, see Rhys Morgan, *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland, 1558–1641* (Suffolk, 2014).

15 See, for example, William Herbert, 'Description of Munster', 1588, TNA, SP 63/135/58; William Mostyn, 'A Plot for the cutting off of that "cruell and tironious traytor of Tiron" and of his wicked confederates', 1598, TNA, SP 63/202(iii)/185.

16 Examples of these include, Edmund Sexton, 'A declaration of the havens, etc., of Ireland', 1539, calendared in *L.P.*, XIV(i), 997(i); Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 338–43.

17 David Heffernan, 'An early Elizabethan treatise on Laois and Offaly: Cormac mac Briain Í Chonchubhair's 'A Device for the Government of Ireland (*c*.1565)', in *Ossory, Laois and Leinster*, 6 (2016), 113–28; Turlough O'Brien's 'Discourse' printed in Bernadette Cunningham (ed.), 'A View of Religious Affiliation and Practice in Thomond, 1591', in *Archiv. Hib.*, 48 (1994), 13–24.

18 *DIB*, 'Fenton, Geoffrey'; Judith Barry, 'Sir Geoffrey Fenton and the office of Secretary of State for Ireland', in *IHS*, 35:138 (Nov., 2006), 137–59; *DIB*, 'Wallop, Henry'.

19 See, for example, Robert Legge, 'A Breviat or Sumiarie of the the causes againste the lord deputye', 1593, TNA, SP 63/169/3.

20 See, for example, George Carew, 'A Discourse for Ireland', 1594, *CCM*, 1589–1600, 151.

21 See, for example, William Lyon, 'A view of certain enormities and abuses meet to be considered of', 1596, TNA, SP 63/191/8(i).

22 See, for example, Nicholas Bagenal, 'A Declaration how … the Newrie … May be fortified … by the Trayvell of Sir Nicholas Bagenall', 1577, HMC, De L'Isle and Dudley MSS ii, p. 56. On the Munster planters, see below pp. 175–82.

23 John Denton, 'A statement of the several services performed in Ireland', 1575, BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 3–10.

24 Cf. 'Sir John Dowdall to secretary Cecil', 1600, *CCM*, 1589–1600, 340, with 'Captain Pyers Articles for the North of Ireland', 1578, HMC, De L'Isle and Dudley MSS ii, pp. 87–91.

25 Heffernan, 'Tudor "Reform" Treatises', II, pp. 238–78.

26 *OED*, treatise, *n.*

27 Spenser, *View*; Richard Beacon, *Solon his follie*, eds Clare Carroll and Vincent Carey (Binghamton, 1996).

28 See the introduction to Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises* for more on these forms.

29 Julia Reinhard Lupton, 'Mapping Mutability: or Spenser's Irish Plot', in Brendan
    Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland:
    Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 93–115,
    addresses the variable meanings such titles could have.

30 Willy Maley, 'Dialogue-wise: Some Notes on the Irish Context of Spenser's *View*',
    in *Connotations*, 6:1 (1996/97), 67–77.

31 Spenser, *View*; Hugh Collier?, 'The Dialogue of Peregrynne and Silvynnus', 1599,
    TNA, SP 63/203/119, transcribed at www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E590001–001/
    index.html.

32 Morgan (ed.), 'A Booke of Q + Answars'; Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*,
    pp. 323–5. For another example, see Anonymous, 'Questions and Answers con-
    cerning the State of Ireland', 1604, TNA, SP 63/216/63.

33 Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 96–103.

34 Ibid., pp. 293–8.

35 There are a few examples of private correspondence which merit consideration as
    part of the 'reform' literature. See, for example, Henry Docwra, 'A Letter from a
    Gentleman to his Friend', 1586, *CCM*, 1575–1588, 621. For the attribution, see John
    McGurk, *Sir Henry Docwra, 1564–1631: Derry's Second Founder* (Dublin, 2005),
    pp. 26–37, esp. p. 37.

36 TNA, SP 63/85/39; TNA, SP 63/131/64.

37 See, for example, Brady, 'The Road to the *View*', where Trollope's letter-tracts
    have been considered as part of the evolution of the treatise literature.

38 David Edwards (ed.), *Campaign Journals of the Elizabethan Irish Wars* (Dublin,
    2014).

39 Willy Maley, '"The name of the country I have forgotten": Remembering and
    Dismembering in Sir Henry Sidney's Irish *Memoir*', in Herron and Potterton
    (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540–1660*, pp. 52–73, p. 57, has classified these
    document as 'memory texts', but this elides the practical purpose to which such
    papers were put. Ciaran Brady (ed.), *A Viceroy's Vindication?: Sir Henry Sidney's
    Memoir of Service in Ireland, 1556–78* (Cork, 2002). Alternatively they had them
    composed on their behalf, as Sussex did through Ireland's deputy herald, the
    Athlone Pursuivant, Philip Butler. See, for instance, *CCM*, 1515–1574, 207, 211, 212,
    215, 217, 238. For more on these, see below pp. 195–6.

40 Arthur Grey, 'Lord Grey de Wilton's Declaration of service', 1583, TNA, SP
    63/106/62, printed in Edwards (ed.), *Campaign Journals*, pp. 140–54.

41 Ian Mortimer, 'Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn
    and the Nature of his Manuscript', in *SCJ*, 33:4 (Winter, 2002), 981–98, examines
    the overlap of various textual forms during this period.

42 'The copy of the book sent from Sir Thomas Cusake, Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
    to the Duke of Northumberland's Grace for the present state of Ireland', 1553,
    CCM, 1515–1574, 200, pp. 235–47. The end of the calendar version (pp. 246–7)
    inaccurately conflates the closing passages of a tract by Thomas Walshe written
    in 1552 with the closing sections of Cusack's tract.

43 'Opinions of Robert Gardener and Henry Wallop for the reformation of Ulster',
    1590, TNA, SP 63/152/39; Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 290–2; 'John

Perrot's opinion upon the book agreed upon by the Earl of Tyrone', 1590, TNA, SP 63/153/1.

44 Nicholas Dawtrey, 'Discourse on the rebellion in Ireland', 1598, TNA, SP 63/202(ii)/52; Nicholas Dawtrey, 'The answer to the three notes or postils set down by your Honours upon the margin of certain opinions laid down by me unto the queen's most excellent majesty', 1598, TNA, SP 63/202(ii)/53.

45 *A letter sent by I.B. Gentleman vnto his very frende Maystet [sic] R.C. Esquire vvherein is contemed a large discourse of the peopling and inhabiting the cuntrie called the Ardes* (London, 1572); *The offer and order giuen by Sir Thomas Smyth Knighte, and Smyth his sonne, vnto suche as be willing to accompanie the sayd Thomas Smyth the sonne, in his voyage for the inhabiting some partes of the Northe of Irelande* (London, 1572); Robert Payne, 'A briefe description of Ireland', in IAS, *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, I, no. 2.

46 Carey, 'John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*'; Maryclaire Moroney, 'Apocalypse, Ethnography, and Empire in John Derricke's *Image of Irelande* (1581) and Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596)', in *English Literary Renaissance*, 29:2 (Sep., 1999), 355–74; Barry, 'Derricke and Stanihurst'.

47 Examples include, *CCM*, 1515–1574, 191; 'Notes of Ulster, Connaught, Munster and Leinster', 1560, *CCM*, 1515–1574, 229.

48 Anonymous, 'Description of Ireland', 1515, *L.P.*, II (i), 1367.

49 See, for example, 'Capteines of cuntryes in Irland', BL, Add. MS 48,015, fos. 219–220. See the relevant sections from Humphrey Gilbert's 'The Book for the Reformation of Ireland', printed in Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 116–28.

50 'King Henry VIII to Sentleger', 1540, *SP.Henry.VIII*, iii, 324, p. 245.

51 J.H. Andrews, 'Geography and Government in Elizabethan Ireland', in Nicholas Stephens and Robin Glasscock (eds), *Irish Geographical Studies: Essays in Honour of E. Estyn Evans* (Belfast, 1970), pp. 178–91.

52 Robert Twigge (ed.), 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', in *JNMAS*, 1 (1910), 75–85; Martin Breen (ed.), 'A 1570 list of Castles in County Clare', in *JNMAS*, 36 (1995), 130–8.

53 Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972); Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, esp. pp. 34–57; Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest*, esp. pp. 117–36.

54 Sussex, 'The opinion of th'Earl of Sussex, touching the reformation of Ireland', 1560, *CCM*, 1515–1574, 227; Warham St Leger, 'The nature of Sorowhen lands and other chargeable lands in Ireland', 1589, TNA, SP 63/144/84; John Perrot, 'Reasons to move your Lordships [the Privy Council] to cut away the Captainries and Tanistships used among the mere Irishry', 1590, *CCM*, 1589–1600, 73.

55 Luke Gernons, 'A Discourse of Ireland, anno. 1620', printed in Caesar Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish History* (London, 1904), pp. 348–62; Hugh Collier?, 'Discourse on the mere Irish of Ireland', *c.*1607, Bod. Lib., Exeter College MS 154, fos. 55–74, available on www.ucc.ie/celt.

56 See below, pp. 36–54.

57 David Heffernan, 'The Reduction of Leinster and the Origins of the Tudor Conquest of Ireland, *c.*1534–1546', in *IHS*, 40:157 (May, 2016), 1–21.

58 For examples of these writings, see Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 211–15, 285–6, 316–19.

59 Sussex, 'The opinion of the Earl of Sussex Lieutenat-General, as well for the ordering of Ulster as the government of the whole realm, after Shane O'Nele shall be expulsed', 1562, *CCM*, 1515–1574, 236.

60 'Henry Sidney's notes for Ireland and demands in case he were sent again to be Deputy', 1574, TNA, SP 63/48/40.

61 Some of the principal studies of colonial activity are, White, 'Tudor Plantations'; D.B. Quinn, 'The Munster Plantations: Problems and Opportunities', in *JCHAS*, 71 (1966), 19–41; Robert Dunlop, 'The Plantations of Leix and Offaly, 1556–1622', in *EHR*, 6:24 (Jan., 1891), 61–96; Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest*, esp. pp. 66–92; Canny, *Making Ireland British*; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*; Philip S. Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape, 1600–1670* (Belfast, 1994); Morgan, 'Colonial Venture'.

62 John Alen, 'Instructions touching Ireland', 1556, BL Lansdowne MS 159, fos. 27–29r; Quinn (ed.), 'Edward Walshe's "*Conjectures*"'.

63 See, for example, Thomas Gerrard's 'Humble petition', printed in Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 69–71.

64 See, for example, 'Jerome Brett's notes or offers made to the queen by certain good subjects to plant the islands lying off Munster', 1573, TNA, SP 63/40/21.

65 For treatises by all three individuals, see Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 182–204, 227–30, 236–8.

66 See, pp. 54–9, 153–60.

67 Edward M. Hinton (ed.), 'Rych's *Anothomy of Ireland*, with an Account of the Author', in *PMLA*, 55:1 (Mar., 1940), 73–101, esp. 82.

68 Thomas Cusack, 'Cusackes Devise', 1541, *SP.Henry.VIII*, iii, 347.

69 Examples include, Edmund Tremayne, 'Advice touching the state of Ireland', 1571, TNA, SP 63/32/64; Edmund Tremayne, 'The causes why Ireland is not reformed', 1571, TNA, SP 63/32/65; Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 72–83, 96–103.

70 William Herbert, 'Description of Munster', 1588, TNA, SP 63/135/58; William Herbert, 'That the bands of footmen are at this present rather an offence than a defence to the province of Munster', 1588, TNA, SP 63/135/59; William Herbert, 'A note how that her Majesty shall save £2,600 a year in the Province of Munster and be as well served as at this present', 1588, TNA, SP 63/135/60; William Herbert, 'Notes of Her Majesty to consider of', 1588, TNA, SP 63/135/98; William Herbert, *Croftus Sive in Hibernia Liber*, 1591, eds Arthur Keaveney and John Madden (Dublin, 1992).

71 Herbert F. Hore (ed.), 'Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster, Anno 1586', in *UJA*, 1:2 (1854), 137–60; 'The information of Sir Henry Bagenal touching her Majesty's service in the north of Ireland', 1586, TNA, SP 63/124/66.

72 *ODNB*, 'Churchyard, Thomas'; Thomas Churchyard, *A generall rehearsall of warres* (London, 1579); Thomas Churchyard, *The moste true reporte of Iames Fitz Morrice deathe and others the like offenders; with a brief discourse of rebellion* (London, 1579).

73 John Derricke, *The Image of Irelande* (London, 1581); Carey, 'John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*'.

74 Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 250–2.

75 Ibid., pp. 116–28.

76 Ibid., pp. 355–9; 'Thomas Knyvett to Robert Cecil', 1603, TNA, SP 63/215/107; 'William Udall to the queen', 1599, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 186, fos. 159–162. For Goring, see Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 329–34.

77 Ibid., pp. 320–2.

78 Edward Baeshe, 'Articles touching the victualing in Ireland', 1579, BL, Add. MS 32,323, fos. 188–189.

79 See, for example, William Lyon, 'A view of certain enormities and abuses meet to be considered of', 1596, TNA, SP 63/191/8(i).

80 Heffernan (ed.), 'Six Tracts'.

81 TNA, SP 63/85/39, fo. 97v.

82 Andrew Boorde, *The fyrſt boke of the Introduction of knowledge* (London, 1548), p. 22.

83 Quinn (ed.), 'Edward Walshe's "*Conjectures*"'. The reference is almost certainly to Walter Cowley, 'Device by Walter Cowley for reformation of certain exactions in the country of Cahir McArt Kavanagh', 1549, TNA, SP 61/2/25(i), printed in Hore and Graves (eds), *Social State,* Appendix.

84 NLI, MS 669, fo. 55r.

85 Morgan (ed.), 'A Booke of Q + Answars', pp. 127–30.

86 Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 19–27.

87 Ibid., pp. 28–35; 'A Memoriall, or a note of for the wynnyng of Leynster, too be presented too the Kynges Majestie and his Graces most honorable Counsayle', 1537, *SP.Henry.VIII*, ii, 162.

88 Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 160–72.

89 Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Suffolk, 1993), p. 40, n. 95, has previously noted the similarity of NLI, MS 669 to a number of other tracts and applied the term 'gazetteer' to the work.

90 TNA, SP 63/56/62–63, are early draft copies dating to around 1576, the first of which is in Waterhouse's hand.

91 NLI, MS 669. The text terminates abruptly on f. 62v during a glossary of the various Gaelic exactions. Here 'Blackrentes' and 'Cuddies' have been entered as headings, but no definition is entered and large spaces are left, almost certainly indicating that the text was left unfinished.

92 See ibid., fo. 1r for usage of the 'Description' and ibid., fo. 6r, for passages which mirror the 'Breviat'.

93 Hore (ed.), 'Bagenal's Description'.

94 John Dymmock, 'A Treatice of Ireland *c*.1599', in IAS, *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, II, no. 1.

95 Meredith Hanmer, 'The description of the Realm of Ireland, the circuit and bound of every county, with the names of all the principal towns, gentlemen, castles, rivers and freeholders', 1597, TNA, SP 63/201/157; Morgan Colman?, 'A Perambulation of Leinster, Meath and Louth, of which consist the English Pale

and first of the county of Dublin', 1596, *CCM*, 1589–1600, 260. The document is in Colman's hand, though not signed by him. For the description of Antrim taken from the Dobbs MS, see John Dubourdieu, *Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim with Observations on the means of improvement* (Dublin, 1812), pp. 1–7; Edmund Hogan (ed.), *The Description of Ireland and the state thereof as it is at this present in anno 1598* (Dublin, 1878).

96 See, for example, a tract Edward Walshe wrote to Sussex in BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 207–210; BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fos. 248–249, was a tract by Richard Eustace addressed to Sidney around 1568.

97 Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 222–6.

98 'The opinion of Mr. Rawley upon the means of subduing the rebel in Munster', 1582, TNA, SP 63/96/30.

99 Hore (ed.), 'Bagenal's Description'; TNA, SP 63/124/66. On the Bagenals generally, see P.H. Bagenal, 'Sir Nicholas Bagenal, Knight Marshall', in *JRSAI*, Sixth Series, 6:5 (Mar., 1915), 5–26; P.H. Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish Family, 1530–1800* (London, 1925), esp. pp. 44–50; *DIB*, 'Bagenal, Henry'.

100 See, for example, Anonymous, 'An abstract of the misorders and evil rule within the land of Ireland', 1537, TNA, SP 60/5/24. Patrick Sherlock and Nicholas Taaffe, in treatises they prepared in 1574 and 1585 respectively, also offered to provide further information in secret. See Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 108–15, 253–7.

101 See, for example, 'Thomas Wood to William Cecil', 1551, TNA, SP 61/3/21.

102 'William Saxey to John Puckering about Irish inconveniences', 1595, TNA, SP 63/179/48, printed in Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 326–8.

103 For a study of the creation and circulation of manuscripts, see H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996).

104 'The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery: List from The Ellesmere Collection', in *Anal. Hib.*, 8 (Mar., 1938), 431–41.

105 See, BL, Stowe MS 162, fos. 46–62, the endorsement of which contains a note, possibly in William Davison's hand, reading, 'Sir R. Cecill hathe it of me, 1596'. This has previously been noted in John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London, 2012), p. 239.

106 John Bell, 'How Irish rebels may be taught to be obedient to her Majesty', 1597, TNA, SP 63/201/156; Heffernan (ed.), *'Reform' Treatises*, pp. 69–71, 236–8.

107 'Device of George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, for converting the lately suppressed Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's beside Dublin into a University', 1547, TNA, SP 61/1/10.

108 On the subsequent history of the expedition, see Hiram Morgan, 'Missions Comparable? The Lough Foyle and Kinsale Landings of 1600 and 1601', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *The Battle of Kinsale* (Wicklow, 2004), pp. 73–90; Heffernan, 'Tudor "Reform" Treatises', I, pp. 54–5; Docwra's 'Narration', in O'Donovan (ed.), *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, pp. 233–86; Darren McGettigan, *Red Hugh O'Donnell and the Nine Years War* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 93–100. The definitive study is now McGurk, *Sir Henry Docwra*, pp. 53–203. Also, see a recent republication of O'Donovan's version of Docwra's text in, William Kelly (ed.),

Docwra's Derry: A Narrative of Events in North-west Derry, 1600–1604 (Belfast, 2003).

109 For another example of the slow journey from conception to inception see Jon G. Crawford, 'The Origins of the Court of Castle Chamber: A Star Chamber Jurisdiction in Ireland', in *AJLH*, 24:1 (Jan., 1980), 22–55; Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court*, pp. 173–94.

110 See Heffernan (ed.), 'Six Tracts'.