

A Tudor Viceroy:
Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton,
1560–1575, the reluctant lord deputy



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Begründet von Günther Lottes (†)

Herausgegeben von Joachim Eibach (Bern, CH), Steven Ellis (Galway, IR),
Raingard Esser (Groningen, NL), Agnieszka Pufelska (Lüneburg / Potsdam, D)
und Inken Schmidt-Voges (Marburg, D)

Deirdre Fennell

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I dedicate this work to the memory of my father Sinon.

Abbreviations

AFM	<i>Annála ríoghachta Éireann: annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616</i> , (ed.), John O'Donovan, (7 vols, Dublin 1851)
AO	Records of the Auditors of the Imprest, Commissioners of Audit, Exchequer and Audit Department, National Audit Office and related bodies
APC	Acts of the Privy Council of England
APC, Ireland	Acts of the Privy Council in Ireland
Cal. Pat. Rolls	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Cal. Pat. Ireland	James Morrin, (ed.), <i>Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth</i> , (Dublin: Printed by A. Thom & Sons, for H.M. Stationery Office, 1861)
CSPI 1566–67(IMC)	Bernadette Cunningham, (ed.), <i>Calendar of state papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1566–1567</i> (IMC, Dublin, 2009)
CSPI 1568–71(IMC)	Bernadette Cunningham, (ed.), <i>Calendar of state papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1568–1571</i> (IMC, Dublin, 2010)
CSPI 1571–75(IMC)	Mary O'Dowd (ed.), <i>Calendar of state papers, Ireland, Tudor period, 1571–1575</i> (IMC, Dublin, 2000)
Cal. Carew MSS	<i>Calendar of the Carew manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–1624</i> , eds. J. S. Brewer and William Bullen, (6 vols, London, 1867–73)
Carte	Carte manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford

EEBO	Early English Books Online
Fiants	<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)
IMC	Irish Manuscripts Commission
NA	National Archives, United Kingdom
NRO	Northamptonshire Records Office, United Kingdom
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , (ed.), H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, (60 vols, Oxford, 2004)
PA	Parliamentary Archives, United Kingdom
PRO	Public Records Office, United Kingdom
Sidney Papers	Tomás Ó Laidhin, (ed.) <i>Sidney State Papers, 1565–1570</i> , (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1962)
SP	State Papers
Statutes Ireland	<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).
Statutes England	<i>Statutes of the Realm, printed by command of his Majesty King George the Third, Vol. III</i> , (London: 1817, reprinted 1963)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Introduction

This study presents an account of the early life and career of Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton. A Northamptonshire man, Fitzwilliam held the crown office of Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War of Ireland for many years, and also served five times as Lord Justice or interim governor of Ireland. Fitzwilliam eventually attained the position of Lord Deputy, the usual title of a Tudor viceroy in Ireland. Fitzwilliam served as Lord Deputy from December 1571 until September 1575, when he was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney.

Fitzwilliam was not a very celebrated man or even the monarch's first choice. The same can be said of Don Luis de Requesens, whose service as governor of the Low Countries under Philip II overlapped with Fitzwilliam's in Ireland. The better to contextualise Fitzwilliam, a comparison will be made between the service of the two men later in the chapter. Strikingly, both men were reluctant viceroys, short of money, had problems with troops and rebels, and were unhappy about aspects of the government of their predecessors in office. Fitzwilliam and de Requesens might be seen as examples of a type of viceroy that is to be found even in different regimes in the early modern period.

On the completion of his crown service in 1575, Sir William described himself as one who had 'served her Ma^{tie} near xvij [17] yeres as Thresarar Justice and Deputye of Ireland'.¹ Fitzwilliam was thankful for 'Her higness graciouce acceptacon of me, and favourable allowance of my service' and affirmed that it provided him with 'such singler comfort' that he made 'small accompt of all other worldly cares'.² In fact, cares dominated Fitzwilliam's service. As Treasurer, he dealt with the upheavals of currency reform and his own ever-growing debt. As Lord Deputy, he was required to reduce garrison numbers yet simultaneously deal with unrest; later he had to deal with the prospect of rebellion by the earl of Desmond in Munster. He also faced the threat of foreign intervention in the queen's Tudor realm of Ireland.

Fitzwilliam glumly observed in a letter in April 1572, 'if Spayne do once posses Ireland with 6,000 souldyares I feare England may looke after it as Callie [Calais]'. Such were his own personal fears of a Spanish invasion that in the

1 Sir William Fitzwilliam to Lord Burghley, 26 November 1575, TNA SP 63/53/70 f. 169–170: f. 169

2 Ibid; William Cecil, Baron Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, was the husband of Fitzwilliam's first cousin Mildred Cooke.

same letter he dramatically stated he would not allow his family to travel into Ireland as he confirmed that

they shall tary [in England] till yt be seene what Spayne will do, for thoughe I dye or go to captyvitie, and be by my xiiij yeares sh'vice a very begger yet wold I not have my wief and children fall into miserable captivitie wth me'.³

The Tudor realm of Ireland was an island 'non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirlandia vocata'.⁴ Being an island was good from the perspective of merchants operating out of the port cities. It was bad from the perspective of governors who often worked with very limited garrison numbers and a hostile internal hinterland, and rarely had substantial naval forces at their immediate disposal. It was because of this latter consideration that Tudor governors had of necessity to be informed about events elsewhere.

Evidence of this European awareness can be found in several places and at several times. In the first place, there is 'A Cipher for Ireland' from 22 July 1559.⁵ This is one of the few Irish ciphers from the mid-sixteenth century that is still extant, and the terms that it encodes speaks to what was considered important in the governing of Ireland at that time.

The cipher has specific terms that might be expected for Ireland, such as 'Thinglishe pale' [The English Pale] and 'The ireshery' [The Irishery]. It also takes account of close neighbours, mentioning 'Scotlande' [Scotland] and 'Argwyle' [Argyle]. But it also displays a European dimension. It has codes for 'Thempero' [The Emperor], 'The ffrenche king', 'The King Catholik', 'The king of portugale', 'The king of poole', 'The king of Denmarke', 'The k[ing] of Sweden', 'The dovagier [Dowager]of ffrance', 'Spayne' [Spain] and 'Ffrance' [France].

This awareness was also to be found in Ireland in the 1570's, when information pertaining to contemporary matters in Europe was provided to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam in a letter from Lord Burghley. Writing on 27 April 1572, Burghley noted that the queen had been sick, and that he himself had been continually weak since Christmas, and then passed to government

3 Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam to Burghley, 15 April 1572, TNA SP 63/36/4, f. 10

4 'Hibernia: Insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirlandia vocata'. Map showing place-names, hills in relief, ships, fish, and a sea monster. Title in fretwork cartouche flanked by a harp and the cross of St George, TNA, MPF/1/68

5 Cipher for Ireland, TNA SP 106/3/165, f.35-f.37, 22 July 1559. The earl of Sussex was appointed as Lord Deputy of Ireland on 3 July 1559, and took up the position at the end of August, see Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447–1603*, (London: Longman, 1998), p. 369

business. Burghley observed that he was aware that Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester, had written to Fitzwilliam warning about possible Spanish activity.

Burghley then provided Fitzwilliam with a succinct summary of events in the Low Countries

The Sp[anish] kyng hath his hands full wth [the Turk] and now y^e D. of Alva, by his tyranny, and exacting [of the] xth [tenth], of all thynges from tyme to tyme sold and bought, (an unmesurable exaction) as almost the whole contrie [country] is redy to revolt. [Certain] marytym [maritime] townes do fortify them selves ageynst all Spaniardes.⁶

Therefore, in 1572, a Tudor governor of Ireland was made privy to a very high-level English assessment of the current state of Spanish capabilities. Philip II of Spain 'hath his hands full' and was in no position to pose any maritime threat to Ireland. This was undoubtedly well received by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, who had been charged, as will be seen in the following chapters, with reducing the garrison and crown expenditure in Ireland – all of which meant that Fitzwilliam was ill-prepared to contain a Spanish invasion of Ireland, should the Spanish choose to come to Ireland.⁷

Fortunately for Fitzwilliam, instead of military action between Spain and England, a trading alliance was initiated late in his term as Lord Deputy. In 1574, the treaty of Bristol established normal trading relations between England and Spain, the event being marked by several days of celebration in Bristol that cost £1,000 in August 1574.⁸ A Fellowship of merchants of Spain and Portugal followed this in 1577, headed by the earl of Leicester and Sir James Croft, a former Lord Deputy of Ireland, and consisting of several hundred named merchants.⁹

The heady atmosphere of the time can be seen in the fact that it was possible for people to move from Spanish territory to Tudor territory and attract powerful references while so doing. Don Luis de Requesens, Grand Commenda-

6 Lord Burghley to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, 27 April 1572, *Carte 57*, f.367

7 Spanish planners did seriously entertain such schemes, see Zúñiga's assessment in 1586. Zúñiga also felt that there was no direct gain to Spain from annexing England, due to the cost of defending it, and so it should be bestowed on suitable friendly Catholic rulers such as Mary Stuart after marriage to the prince of Parma. Parker, *Imprudent King*, pp. 309–310

8 Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol in 1574: An Examination of Expenses, Francis Wardell, *Early Theatre*, Vol. 14 No. 1, 2011 pp. 101 - 120

9 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* preserved in the public record office, Elizabeth I, Volume VII, 1575 – 1578, C 66/1158, No. 2256, 8 June 1577, pp 317–320

dor of Castile, and Spanish governor of the Low Countries, granted a passport to Mathias de Monte Hermoso on 5 January 1573/4 going to England.¹⁰

Elizabeth subsequently granted a passport on 8 May 1575 to Matthew de Monte Belle, born in Ireland, allowing him to go to the Low Countries or Ireland.¹¹ The queen writing to all ‘maioures sh^reifz bailiffs constables custumres comptrollers sercheres and all oth^r our officers ministers and subiectz to whom it shall apperteyn and to every of them’, notified them that

we have licenced this bearer Mathew de monte belle our Subiect, born in our Realm of Irland at his liberte to repayer either in to the Lowe countrees beyond the Seas from whence of late he cam, or in to our said realme: Our will and pleas^r is that youe and every of youe suffer him ginetly [gently] to passe by youe out of this our realme

References were provided for Mathias. One was by Chiappino Vitelli [Marquis of Cetona & General in the Spanish army at Flanders] for the earl of Kildare, and four were directed to Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester, his brother, Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, Sir James Croft, a former Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Dr. Thomas Wilson all wrote to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam. Wilson noted that ‘Mattheo de Monte bello, an Irishe man borne hath been out of his cowntrie these 25 yeares and hath served kynge Philippe in the Warres as wel[l] in Napeles as in the warres of the lowe cowntrie’ and observed that ‘wherof I had sufficient understanding at my late beinge in flanders not onelie by the chief lordes of the same cowntrie, but by the Comendator hymself, who hath written letteres to her Ma^{tie} in his favo^r’.¹²

Therefore, in May 1575, near the end of Fitzwilliam’s term as Lord Deputy, a man who had been born in Ireland, and who had subsequently left Ireland and served Philip II for twenty-five years, could obtain a passport from Elizabeth, together with references provided by several key English courtiers to travel from England into Ireland. Matthias (or Manus O’Cane alias Senor Mathias O’Cane) prospered in Ireland for some time after his arrival, ser-

10 Passport granted by the Grand Commendator of Castile, 5 January 1574, TNA SP 63/65/23 (iv)

11 Queen to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs etc., 8 May 1575, TNA SP 63/51/7, f. 15

12 Chiappino Vitelli to the earl of Kildare, 6 March 1575, TNA SP 63/65/23 (v); Earl of Leycester to the Lord Deputy, 16 May 1575, TNA SP 63/65/23 (vi), f.82; Earl of Warwyke to Lord Deputy Fytzwylliam, 20 May 1575, TNA SP 63/65/23 (vii), f.84; Sir James Croft to Lord Deputy Fytzwylliam to the Lord Deputy, 20 May 1575, TNA SP 63/65/23 (vii), f.86; Mr. Dr. Thomas Wylson [Wilson] to Lord Deputy Fytzwylliam, 22 May 1575, TNA SP 63/65/23 (ix), f. 88

ving for three nearly years and being awarded a pension of 2s. per diem in 1578.¹³

In order to contextualise Fitzwilliam in European terms, the work will outline below the service of Don Luis de Requesens, governor of the Low Countries, the man who provided the passport for Mathias de Monte Bello. In chapter three, the contemporaneous service of Francisco Lixalde, paymaster for the Spanish forces will also be outlined. These men occupied positions in the service of Spain that Fitzwilliam occupied in the service of Tudor England. The better to contextualise Fitzwilliam himself, the nature of the crown positions that Fitzwilliam held in Ireland will now be outlined.

Fitzwilliam as Irish Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War

On 26 August 1559, during the first year of Elizabeth's reign, Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, was appointed to the largely ceremonial post of Lord Treasurer of Ireland.¹⁴ Ormond was a cousin to the new queen, related to Elizabeth through her mother, Anne Boleyn,¹⁵ and Elizabeth was well disposed towards Ormond. Ormond outlived most of his contemporaries, not dying until 1614.¹⁶

However, operational financial control in practice was the responsibility of the crown official named as Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-(the)-War(s). The position of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and Treasurer-at-War in Ireland was normally held by the same individual. The Vice-Treasurer accounted for the

13 Warrant from the Lord Deputy Sidney to the Clerk of the Check, 10 July 1578, TNA SP 63/65/23(xi); But things changed in 1579. On 22 January 1579, Lord Chancellor Gerrard of Ireland wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham (Lord Chancellor Gerrard to Sir Francis Walsingham, 10 July 1578, TNA SP 63/65/23) and noted that the 'L. Justice shewed me a lre [letter] frome yo^u with certeine articles of advertisem^t from the Lowe cuntreyes, out of w^{ch} yo^r pleasure were I shuld frame some interrogatories whereupon to examyne one Mathias a Irishe man'. Gerrard examined Mathias and 'comytted him to close prison to the Constable' and would keep him there 'untill yo^r [Walsingham's] further pleasure be knowne, ether to have him sent thither, or here upon some spiall [spying] matter, to be further examined or otherwise dischargd^d'.

14 *Fiants, Elizabeth*, 26 August 1559, No. 133, p. 14; *Cal. Pat. Ireland*, No. 168, 26 August 1559, p. 412

15 Lady Margaret Butler, daughter of the seventh earl of Ormond, married Sir William Boleyn, grandfather of Anne Boleyn, Jonathan Hughes, 'Boleyn, Thomas, earl of Wiltshire and earl of Ormond (1476/7–1539)', *ODNB*

16 David Edwards, 'Butler, Thomas, tenth earl of Ormond and third earl of Ossory, (1531–1614), nobleman', *ODNB*

revenue of Ireland. The Treasurer-at-War accounted for military expenditure in Ireland, a sum which in annual terms far exceeded the revenue of Ireland.¹⁷

The positions as Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War were ones where the officer accounted for monies placed in his charge. Money placed in his charge would in theory be balanced by monies paid out by him under sufficient warrant. Essentially this was a form of stewardship, known as ‘charge/discharge accounting’.¹⁸ Any monies that did not have a sufficient warrant for discharge had to be produced by the officer on his accounts being taken. Thus, a crown accounting officer could easily fall into debt.

The account of the Vice-Treasurer was first taken by commissioners of the Irish Privy Council in Ireland. This account was then included in the ‘view’ taken in Ireland of the Treasurer-at-War account. This view, usually several ‘bookes’ long, was forwarded to England to be examined by a commission of the English Privy Council.¹⁹ Dr. Sheehan indicates that as Treasurer-of-War ‘no one left office a creditor of the crown’.²⁰

On 5 January 1572, Launcelot Alford, Clerk of the Hanaper and deputy to Fitzwilliam, wrote specifically of the operational practices regarding the position of Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War in Ireland. Fitzwilliam had sought to divest himself of the treasurership, and suggested Alford as his successor. However, Alford considered himself as ‘beinge verely unmeate . . . boethe of countenance and state’ for the ‘office of the warress and genrall receiver’.²¹

Alford had considerable experience as deputy to Fitzwilliam, and also ‘ffor my owen knowledge duringe the countynuance of theis twentie yeares the greatele time whereof I have had some dealings therin’, he felt that the dual role as treasurer and Treasurer-at-War was too much for one individual and stated, ‘I muste in dutie open [opine] unto yor L[ord] [Burghley] howe meate and necessarie it were to be devided’.²²

In Alford’s opinion, by separating the offices of Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War it would be possible for the Vice-Treasurer to concentrate entirely

17 Anthony Sheehan, ‘Irish Revenues and English Subventions, 1559–1622, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 90C (1990), pp. 35–65

18 Rowan H. Jones, ‘Accounting in English Local Government from the Middle Ages to c. 1835’, in *Accounting and Business Research*, Summer 1985, pp. 197–209

19 Sheehan, ‘Irish Revenues and English Subventions’, pp. 35–65

20 Ibid, p. 38

21 Lancelot Alford to Burghley, 5 January 1572, TNA SP 63/35/6, f.30

22 Ibid

on collection of Irish revenues, and the Treasurer-at-War could concentrate on the military income and expenditure. Alford noted that

in defaulte of souch an office in thexcher w^{ch} should have boeth creadith and countenance fr the calling in of her ma^{ties} debtes in time: w^{ch} by tolleracion of, the Irishe offices hath growen desperate.

Apart from the dual nature of the position, a second difficulty noted by Alford was that in operational terms the Treasurer-at-War was also occupied in martial service in Ireland, and was often appointed Lord Justice during the Lord Deputy's absence from Ireland. Thus, the gathering in of the queen's arrearages in Ireland fell to the treasurer's clerk of the receipt. This clerical position was seen as being without sufficient authority or 'commission' to carry out the business of the treasurer, and one which could effectively be ignored by those in Ireland when the clerk became de facto Treasurer-at-War

the treasurer heretofore being occupied in mrshall [martial] shrvices and in the roemes of justice in thabsence of the Deputie and never convenyente leashr [leisure] to exercise that office in p[er]sonne but driven to comitte the charge to their clerke of the receipte onelie[only] whoe nethr had any authoritie for calling in of the debtes or commission otherwise.²³

Alford was not appointed Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War. Rather by November 1572 he was appointed to the exchequer position of Chief Remembrancer in Ireland, and by January 1573 became surveyor and estimator of the queen's manors and lands.²⁴

Sir Henry Sidney was appointed as Treasurer-at-War on 27 April 1556, and held the position from 1 May 1556 to 30 July 1559. Fitzwilliam took over the position from Sidney, serving from July 1559 to 31 March 1573. In terms of compensation, Sidney was provided with 40 horsemen at a rate of 9d sterling per day; Fitzwilliam in comparison was later provided with 20 horsemen at 9d sterling per day, and 20 footmen at 8d sterling per day. Both received a salary of £66 13s 4d Irish for the position of Irish Vice-Treasurer, and a per diem payment of 6s 8d sterling for the position of Treasurer-at-War(s).²⁵ Fitzwilliam served as Lord Deputy from late 1571 to 1575, his service as Lord Deputy therefore overlapping with his service as Treasurer-at-War, a unique occurrence in Elizabethan Ireland.

23 Lancelot Alford to Burghley, 5 January 1572, TNA SP 63/35/6, f.30

24 *Fiants, Elizabeth*, 8 November 1572, No. 2165, p.277; *Fiants, Elizabeth*, 16 January 1573, No. 2184, p. 279

25 *CPR Mary & Philip 1555–1557*, 27 April 1556, p.82; Brief of the account of Sir Henry Sydney, Vice-Treasurer, 14 September 1559, TNA SP 63/1/74, f. 181; *CPR Elizabeth 1558–1560*, 24 July 1559, pp.120–1

Fitzwilliam as Lord Deputy

The Lord Deputyship of Ireland should have been the pinnacle of Fitzwilliam's career.

The queen confirmed Fitzwilliam's appointment in a letter to Lord Chancellor Robert Weston, on 11 December 1571. The letter stated that Sir William Fitzwilliam Knight and formerly Lord Justice, was 'appointed and substituted...to be o^r Depute of o^r sayd Realme'. She instructed Weston and her Council to administer to Fitzwilliam the 'othe [oath] accustomed' and required that they confirm Fitzwilliam in office according to 'o^r intention expressed in o^r sayd Ires patente'.²⁶ The English letters patent confirmed Fitzwilliam's appointment 'during pleasure' with the 'usual powers' as had pertained under the patent of appointment for 'Thomas, Earl of Sussex' on 3 July 1559.²⁷

But what was a Lord Deputy and how did Fitzwilliam measure up on first glance? Sir William Herbert's 1591 treatise *Croftus, sive, De Hibernia liber* provides an insight. Herbert set out the qualities required for this office. He wrote as an informed witness, following many conversations with his cousin Sir James Croft, who had in fact served as Lord Deputy of Ireland (1551–1552) and who was, as Prof. Ellis noted, influential on Irish affairs during Elizabeth's monarchy.²⁸

Herbert set out four qualities pertaining to the Lord Deputy and the office. First, with regard to the 'position and station' of the Deputy, it stood to reason that he [the Lord Deputy] should come from a noble and distinguished family, and that he should be resplendent with the most outstanding titles and honours.²⁹

Fitzwilliam however was a knight bachelor.³⁰ In contrast, his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who had also served as Lord Deputy,

26 The Queen to Lord Chancellor Weston, 11 December 1571, TNA SP 63/34/34, f. 101, [Weston had shared the position as Lord Justice with Fitzwilliam from 14 October 1567–28 October 1568]

27 *Cal. Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, Vol. V, 1569–1572*, No. 2706, p. 395 [Fitzwilliam appointed as Deputy General of Ireland 11 December 1571- [Although the date of entry is entered in the calendar as 11 December 1572]: *Cal. Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, Vol. I, 1558–1560*, pp. 113–4 [Sussex appointed as deputy of Ireland 3 July 1559]

28 Herbert, Sir William, *Croftus, sive, De Hibernia liber*, (ed.), A. Keaveney and J. A. Madden, (Dublin, 1992), pp. xvi, xxxvii, and pp. 91–3: Steven G. Ellis, 'Croft, Sir James (c. 1518–1590), lord deputy of Ireland and conspirator', *ODNB*: Christopher Maginn, 'Herbert, Sir William (c. 1553–1593), colonist in Ireland and author', *ODNB*

29 Herbert, *Croftus, sive, De Hibernia liber*, (ed.), pp. xxxvii, and pp. 91–3: Maginn, 'Herbert, Sir William (c. 1553–1593), *ODNB*

30 Shaw, *The Knights of England: Vol. II*, p. 67 [Fitzwilliam was knighted 2 October 1553]

was an earl, knight of the garter, captain of the gentlemen pensioners at arms, and chief justice of the forests in England.³¹ Sir Henry Sidney, his other brother-in-law, who had also served as Lord Deputy, was president of the Council in the Principality and Marches of Wales, and also a knight of the garter.³² Perhaps this is why Fitzwilliam's letter patent highlighted his association with Sidney and Sussex. Fitzwilliam meanwhile had highlighted during his lengthy revocation campaign his own unsuitability for office, and viewed himself as 'the known removable'.³³

Second, with regard to 'expenses granted by the prince', Herbert states that they should correspond in splendor to so great a dignity. The Deputy's private means should be sufficient for all his private wants and in no way should the prince's bounty be diverted to his private use.³⁴

On 30 March 1574 the queen through her Council wrote to Fitzwilliam 'misliking' his government, and enclosed articles for his urgent reply. One article had a complaint pertaining to Fitzwilliam's entertainment. On 18 April 1574 Fitzwilliam replied, and confirmed that he had deducted his 'entertainment' i.e. salary, directly from crown treasure sent into Ireland. He explained that his retaining treasure directly for his entertainment had occurred because his private income had been eroded through paying his debts to the crown (accrued whilst serving as Treasurer-at-War), and also because he was required to pay for visible trappings requisite to signify his position as Lord Deputy. In effect, Fitzwilliam's private means were not up to the crown appointment of Lord Deputy.

Third, Herbert wrote of the military requirements of the Lord Deputy, and he noted that the Deputy should always be equipped with and attended by such numbers of troops as will not only maintain the dignity of his office and the safety of his person but will also suffice to quiet sudden uprisings and suppress disturbances in the neighbourhood, if they should arise.³⁵

31 *Cal. Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, Vol. I, 1558–1560*, pp. 113–4 [Sussex appointed as Deputy General of Ireland 3 July 1559]

32 *Cal. Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, Vol. IV, 1556–1559*, No. 981, p. 156, [Sidney appointed as Deputy General of Ireland, 7 April 1568–Sidney's patent confirmed his being in England when appointed.]: Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry (1529–1586)', *ODNB*. [Sidney was made Knight of the Garter in 1564]

33 Fitzwilliam to Sir Walter Mildmay, 10 August 1571, *Carte* 57, f. 130 verso

34 Herbert, *Croftus, sive, De Hibernia liber*, pp. xxxvii, and 91–3: Maginn, 'Herbert, Sir William (c. 1553–1593)', *ODNB*

35 Herbert, *Croftus, sive, De Hibernia liber*, pp. xxxvii, and 91–3

As will be discussed in chapter four, Fitzwilliam's instructions specifically spoke to his having to reduce garrison numbers in Ireland, which completely undermined his ability to successfully 'suppress disturbances' and 'maintain the dignity of his office'.

Fourth, and finally, Herbert spoke of how the prince should speak well of the Lord Deputy, noting that the 'Prince should perceive and speak of the finest deeds and efforts of the Deputy in an admirable and honourable manner'.³⁶

Yet in a letter of 30 March 1574 Elizabeth's Council set out specific reasons why she 'misliked' Fitzwilliam's government and demanded his response.³⁷ It was highlighted that the queen viewed Fitzwilliam's service in Ireland unfavourably, particularly the relationship between himself and Sir Edward Fitton, Fitzwilliam's replacement as Treasurer-at-War.³⁸ It is therefore fair to say that the queen did not always speak of her Deputy in an 'admirable' manner.

The main body of this work will consider in more detail the early career of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Deputy of Ireland. As seen above, at the same time as Fitzwilliam was in Ireland, Don Luis de Requesens, governor of the Low Countries, provided a passport for Mathias de Monte Bello, an Irishman in the service of Spain for twenty-five years. Fitzwilliam and Requesens served different monarchs, with different religious ideologies, but there are parallels regarding their crown service as governors of Ireland and the Low Countries respectively. The better to contextualise Fitzwilliam, a portrait of Requesens' service will now be considered.

36 Ibid.

37 Lords of the Council to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, 30 March 1574, *Carte 56*, f. 327-f.328 [Signed by Burghley, Sussex, Leicester and Walsingham]

38 Bernadette Cunningham, 'Fitton, Sir Edward (1527–1579)', *ODNB*, [Fitton, a Cheshire man (Welsh borderer), served as JP and MP there and was knighted in 1553. Cecil proposed him as President of Connaught and Thomond, and he was appointed on 1 June 1569. Sidney accompanied Fitton to Connaught in mid-June. Commencing as a civil administrator, he soon fashioned the presidency into a military post. He succeeded Fitzwilliam as Treasurer-at-War on 1 April 1573 and held the position as President concurrently until Sidney's return in 1575 when he continued to serve as Treasurer-at-War until his death in 1579]