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Henry VIII and the Irish Political Nation: An Assessment of Tudor Imperial Kingship
In 16th Century Ireland

By
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Introduction

Ireland in the 16th century was by far the most self-governed domain under the authority of King Henry VIII. Within Ireland there were two distinct groups of people, the Gaelic Irish and the Anglo-Irish, whose cultural differences divided the island into two distinct political nations. The majority of Ireland was dominated by Gaelic Irish lordships. Gaelic Irish lords recognized the English king as their overlord, but followed Gaelic customs and laws within their lordships. The small sphere of English influence in Ireland was reduced even more by the political hegemony of the Anglo-Irish magnates. The most powerful magnate, the 9th earl of Kildare, whose landholding, relationship with England as the king's Lord Deputy, and personal retinue allowed him to retain powerful influence in both in the English Pale and Gaelic Ireland.

The Kildare affinity in Ireland increasingly in the 16th century produced resentment among both the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry of the Pale and the king. Throughout the first two decades of his reign, Henry VIII was developing a strong sense of his authority as king. The development of his sense of kingship led to a political ideology that centered around increasing his authority in his outer lying territories, including Northern England, Wales, territories in France, and Ireland. Even before the Henrician revolution of the 1530s, efforts by the crown to strengthen their authority in Ireland were already evident. However the nature of the political scene in Ireland presented Henry with serious challenges during his endeavor to apply his imperial authority. The complex situation of the Irish political nation, and Henry's efforts to apply his imperial authority in Ireland resulted in instability throughout Ireland in the 1520s.

Chapter 1: The Political State of Ireland From Henry VII Through 1530

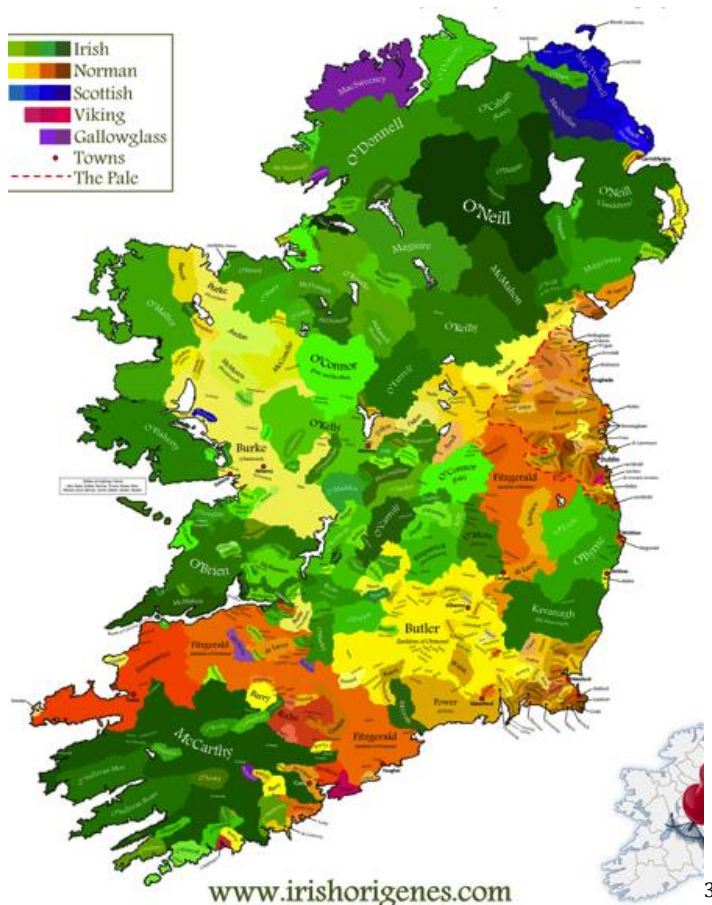
I: The Nature of the Political Scene in 1509

By the end of the 15th century when the Tudors came to the throne of England, long term neglect of Ireland since its initial conquest in 1169 allowed Gaelic chiefs and their clans to reclaim conquered territory. The return of Gaelic law and custom throughout medieval Ireland produced an island of two separate political entities; the *Gaedhil* or the native Irish, and the Anglo-Irish known by the Gaelic as the *Gaill*. The Anglo-Irish were the king's subjects residing in the English Pale, which consisted of its capital in Dublin, and four surrounding shires. The Pale represented the central domain of English power and governance in Ireland. The king's Lord Deputy and the Dublin administration governed the Pale. Outside of the Pale resided the Gaelic Irish in various territories throughout the Island. Approximately 60 different Gaelic Irish Lordships were loosely associated with each other through Gaelic law and customs known as 'Brehon Law'. The bridge between Gaelic Ireland and the English Pale were three Anglo-Irish lords, the earl of Kildare, Sir Piers Butler of Ormond, and the earl of Desmond. Their accumulation of land, title, wealth, and military power since the original Norman conquest of Ireland in 1169 gave them significant influence throughout all of Ireland. Together, the Gaelic Irish lordships, the Anglo-Irish lordships and the Pale made up the Irish political nation. By far the most powerful of the three Anglo-Irish families were the Fitzgerald's of Kildare. The earls of Kildare had since 1496 been the Tudor king's Lord Deputy in Ireland. The combination of Kildare's land-based power outside of the English Pale, and his command of the resources

within the Pale made the earl of Kildare an influential figure throughout Ireland. Each of these three Anglo-Irish magnates along with their land-based power had their network of affinities. These affinities consisted of the members of their extended families and alliances with Gaelic Irish lords. The nature of Kildare's position within the Pale helped him create the largest affinity of the three Anglo-Irish magnates. This contributed to the influence he was able to wield both within the Irish political nation as a whole. The three Anglo-Irish lords, the members of their families, and alliances with Gaelic chiefs formed three major political affinities whose actions dominated the Irish political scene in 16th century Ireland.¹ The nature of each of the political affinities was unstable as alliances between the Anglo-Irish magnates themselves, and their alliances with the Gaelic lords were constantly shifting.

By the time the Tudors inherit the throne of England, Ireland was by far the most complicated domain under English control, which also included Wales and territories in France. While the English crown had held nominal authority over Ireland since its conquest in 1169, the reality that can be clearly seen on the map reproduced below is that by the 16th century the direct sphere of English influence was confined to the Pale. Another complication about Henry's Irish Lordship, as Steven Ellis acutely points out, is that unlike the English Pale in Calais which had fortification that enclosed a precise area of English territory, the Pale in Ireland was more like a frontier with its regions constantly shifting as land was conquered and lost in clashes with the Gaelic Irish lords.² Conflicts and minor clashes between the Gaelic and the Anglo-Irish were commonplace by the 16th century, adding an element to the political instability in Ireland.

²Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*. Longman Press: New York. 1995, 74



Before introducing the Irish political scene under the Tudors, it is important to first clarify the labeling and naming that will be used throughout this thesis. First, the ‘Irish political nation’ within the context of this thesis represents the political and social scene of both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish Ireland as a whole. When I talk about the Irish political scene, I refer to the interactions between the English Pale, Gaelic chiefdoms and the Anglo-Irish lords, all of which affect the political scene of the entirety of the island. Secondly it’s important to talk about the characterization of the people living in Ireland. First we have

³ ‘The Clan Territories of Ireland Map’ Image obtained from irishorigenes.com. Green represents Gaelic Irish lordships, while different shads of Yellow to brown represent the Anglo-Irish, and Hiberno-Norman Lordships.

the Anglo-Irish, the descendants of the original English settlers in Ireland after it was conquered by the Anglo-Normans in 1169. The major Anglo-Irish lords of 16th century Ireland, the Kildares, the Butlers and the Desmonds, are descendent of the original noble settlers in Norman-Ireland. Of all of the Anglo-Norman nobles who settled in Ireland, these three families were the only to retain their loyalty to the English crown as the king's servants in Ireland. These three Anglo-Irish lords and families are often referred to throughout this thesis as 'affinities', a way of describing the sphere of influence over the Irish political scene. Each affinity was formed through the accumulation through the medieval ages of their land, military strength, and the network of alliances built with Gaelic Irish lords. The rest of the original Anglo-Norman nobles who for the most part cut their ties with the English king and adapted to Gaelic customs are referred to as 'Hiberno Normans'. One of the most prominent of the Hiberno-Normans within the Irish political nation was the Burke's, who retain vast lands in Western Ireland. The Gaelic Irish, whose lordships dominated the majority of the territory in Ireland, were descendent of those who resided in Ireland before the Norman conquest of 1169. Gaelic Irish lords for the most part acknowledged the English king as their overlord, however in actuality followed Gaelic law and customs. Many Anglo-Irish lords adapted one such Gaelic custom referred to as 'Coine and Livery'. 'Coine and Livery' refers to a tax imposed upon the Gaelic or Anglo-Irish within a lordship to pay for the lord's private army, as well as the right for an Anglo-Irish lord to impose upon his tenants for hospitality for himself and his private army. 'Coine and Livery' was a way for a lord to have further autonomous control over his tenants, who were dependent on the lord for defense against raiding and clashes between Gaelic and Anglo Irish lords. In the 16th century, the king made serious efforts to abolish 'Coine and Livery' in

English territories in Ireland, seeing it as a Gaelic exaction that should not be imposed on his subjects.

II: Henry VII and Ireland

Upon winning the crown in 1485 from King Richard III, Henry VII main concern lay with securing the loyalty of his subjects throughout his kingdom and outlying territories. Given that Henry VII's claim to the English throne was tenuous and that much of the nobility supported the Yorkist cause, the new king was notorious for being suspicious of the nobility surrounding him. In the early years of his reign, Henry VII set out in Northern England and in Wales to reign in the independence exercised by the English and Welsh nobility in those regions. Gaining the support of the nobility in Northern England and Wales was important for the new king, given the close proximity of both areas to the center of his power. The Welsh nobility for the most supported Henry's claim to the throne because the new king was the son of a Welsh noble, Jasper Tudor, earl of Richmond, and strong Welsh roots. In Northern England however, strong Yorkist sentiments were dominant amongst the nobles, making intervention necessary for Henry VII to secure their loyalty. Henry's interventionist policy took the form of indentures formed between the king and members of the English nobility of the North, Welsh nobility in southern Wales and Anglo-Welsh nobility of Northern Wales. These indentures secured the loyalty of the major families, and set a high cost if that loyalty was ever broken.⁴ The indentures were effective

with the nobility of Wales and Northern England, seeing no other alternative but to support King Henry VII.

Ireland's distance from the center of Henry's authority made it less imperative to secure the loyalty of the Anglo-Irish nobility. Ireland's distance from England also made it more difficult to properly implement indentures between the king and his Anglo-Irish lords. Given the relative unimportance of his Irish Lordship in the context of securing his royal power in England, Henry left the Anglo-Irish nobility alone.⁵ By early 1487 the circumstance in Ireland changed with the arrival of Lambert Simnel, a Yorkist pretender to the throne. The earl of Kildare and many of the other Anglo-Irish lords supported the Yorkist cause, and Simnel's claim to the throne. Simnel was crowned 'King Edward VI' in Dublin in May of 1487. Kildare and the other Anglo-Irish lords also built up an army for Simnel's invasion of England. After Simnel's defeat at Stoke in June of the same year, support for him among the Anglo and Gaelic Irish nobility faltered. While Kildare may have remained sympathetic to the Yorkist cause, he was forced to submit to the king after a papal order recognized Henry VII as the only king of England.⁶ For Henry VII, the Simnel affair served as a reminder of the dangers of neglecting his Irish inheritance, and the very real possibility of Ireland being used a base for an invasion of England by his enemies. Since he could not afford to intervene personally in Ireland, his only option was to issue a general pardon to over thirty Anglo-Irish nobles and clergymen and attempt to promote good relations among his Anglo-Irish subjects.⁷

⁵ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 83 and 86

⁶ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 86

⁷ D.B Quinn, 'Aristocratic Autonomy, 1460-94' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987, 610

Peace in Ireland did not last long. In November 1491, Perkin Warbeck, another pretender to the throne landed at Cork. Warbeck received support from the Thomas Maurice Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond and the Gaelic Irish nobility. Henry VII responded quickly by deploying Thomas Garth and James Ormond, brother of the absentee earl of Ormond to be military governors of Kilkenny and Tipperary temporarily forcing Warbeck to leave Ireland.⁸ Kildare, king's Lord Deputy in Ireland, did not actively support Warbeck, however his lack of response against him caused Henry VII to distrust him. Henry removed Kildare as Lord Deputy in 1492, and further tried to undermine Kildare's influence in the Pale by redistributing prominent administrative positions to members of the Butler affinity.⁹ Following this second incident that once again highlighted the disorder that prevailed in his Irish Lordship and threatened the security of his throne, Henry VII decided it was necessary to assert more direct control in Ireland. In 1494 the king sent Sir Edward Poyning to Ireland to act of Lord Deputy and reform the Dublin administration.

Before examining Poyning's deputyship it is important to briefly review the Dublin administration and the effectiveness of its power in Ireland. First there are the positions within the Dublin administration and their significance to discuss. The head of the Dublin administration was the Lord Deputy, who acted as the king's representative in Ireland. Traditionally the Anglo-Irish magnates dominated the position of Lord Deputy throughout medieval Ireland. Since 1478 the 8th earl of Kildare had held this office. Whoever held the office of Lord Deputy was in command of the English Pale, and had significant influence over the Irish political scene. The key executive offices under the Lord Deputy included the

⁸ D.B Quinn, 'Aristocratic Autonomy, 1460-94', 615 (See for a more information on Perkin Warbeck in Ireland)

⁹ D.B Quinn, 'Aristocratic Autonomy, 1460-94', 616

Chancellor of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer, deputy-treasurer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor of Ireland was the highest judicial office in Ireland, and headed the Irish common law judicial system. The Lord High Treasurer was the chief financial officer in Ireland, responsible for collecting and finding ways to increase Irish revenues for the crown. His deputy-treasurer transacted the business of the Lord High Treasurer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the chancellor of the 'Green Wax' was the head of the Exchequer in Ireland. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was responsible for collecting royal revenue in Ireland, primarily rents for crown owned land. He was also responsible for collecting money owed to the crown if an indenture known as the 'Green Wax' between the king and an Anglo-Irish noble was infringed upon. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was influential, since he made the decision if an indenture had been broken or not. At the beginning of the 16th century many of these positions were filled by members of the Kildare affinity. Members of the minor Anglo-Irish nobility from within the Pale were also involved in Dublin administration. The influence of these positions were furthered by their role as members of the privy council which like its counterpart in England, advised the Lord Deputy on administrative matters.

The next matter of administration in Ireland is the Irish court system and its influence on the daily administration within the English Pale. The court system in Ireland operated very similar to that in England. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland was the head of the common law judicial system, and beneath him were the justices of the King's Bench and the Lord Barons of the Exchequer of Ireland. The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench was the senior judge in the court of common law, which handled criminal and civil cases, and held the second highest position under the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chief Justice of the King's

Bench was an influential position within the Dublin Administration, since he held the power to make important judicial decisions. The significance of the position is highlighted by the fact that traditionally the English King appointed its holder.¹⁰ The lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer was the senior judge in the Court of the Exchequer, another of the senior courts of common Law for handling revenue cases. The Court of the Exchequer came into play if an Anglo-Irish lord failed to pay their rent to the king. The position of Chief Baron of the Exchequer held less significance than the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but was still important to the crown for collecting their royal revenue in Ireland. As with executive positions, important judicial positions were often delegated to members of the influential Anglo-Irish families. The common law system in Ireland saw significant increase in influence in Ireland under the Tudor's. This was partly in an effort to increase its relevance in administering justice and order in Ireland in the hopes of having more Anglo-Irish turn to the legal system rather than violence.¹¹

The final part of the English Pale that is significant to introduce is the Church in Ireland. Under the Tudors members of the clergy within the Church held a significant political role within the Irish Lordship, and idea that will be expanded upon in chapter 3. During the reign of Henry VIII the archbishop of Dublin, the archbishop Armagh, and the bishop of Meath played a secular role as advisors on the privy council. Within the religious aspects of the Church in Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh held the highest position as Primate of all Ireland, which meant his position took highest precedence in the church.

¹⁰ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 165

¹¹ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 167-168. I drew heavily on Ellis for information about the Dublin Administration. See Ellis Chapters 5 and 7 for information about the inner workings of the Dublin Administration and how its role develops in the 1520's. For the purposes of this thesis, it is only important to address the basic form of government in Dublin.

Second to him was the Archbishop of Dublin, who held the title Primate of Ireland, a position of secondary importance within the Church. Outside of the Church however, the Archbishop of Dublin more centrally located in Dublin generally played a more influential political role than the Archbishop of Armagh. While the position of Archbishop did not have quite the influence as executive or judicial positions within the Pale, the role of William Rokeby, the English Archbishop of Dublin under Henry VII and Henry VIII as well as that of John Kite, the English Archbishop of Armagh from 1513 through 1521, demonstrates how these religious positions can have political influence within the Dublin Administration.

While the government in Dublin claimed jurisdiction throughout Ireland, by the 16th century its policies and laws were geared to govern the areas of direct English influence.¹² The Irish parliament was made up of all Anglo-Irish noblemen before 1520, excluding Gaelic Irish Lords. The reality of the Irish parliament was that it did not contain any real powers over the policies being made, especially following the implementation of Poyning's law, which only allowed the Irish parliament to vote on policies introduced by the king. G.R. Elton makes an important assessment that parliament was a point of contact between court and country. In other words, Tudor parliament was a place where the king's most influential subjects from around the country could voice their opinion on royal policies formed by the king and his privy council.¹³ Much like the English parliament, its Irish counterpart was a representative body of men who gathered to decide on bills that have been formed and approved by the king beforehand. The real power of policy making rested with the king and his English and Irish privy councils. Within the Pale itself, the Dublin

¹²Steven Ellis. *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 161

¹³ G.R Elton 'Tudor government: The points of Contact: Parliament' in John Guy's *The Tudor Monarchy*, St. Martin's Press: New York, 1997, 340

administration and the Irish parliament was the center of permanent English governance in Ireland. While many Irish lords acknowledged the English king as lord of Ireland, they still maintained their own distinct laws and customs completely separate from English laws being made within the Pale. English government and administrative structures of the Pale were not recognized in Anglo and Gaelic Irish territories.

By the time the Tudors inherited the throne, the authority of the English administration within the Pale had been severely reduced. The Poyning administration represents the first long term intervention by the Tudors for reform of the Dublin administration. Poyning's administration consisted mostly of Englishmen who now filled the key government positions. The Pale nobility, as well as the Butlers and Kildares supported Poyning's appointment as Lord Deputy. They saw Poyning as more of a temporary solution needed to fix an immediate situation, (the threat of Ireland to the king's throne) rather than a long-term intervention of the English government.¹⁴ Butler and Kildare helped Poyning by supplying men to set out with the Lord Deputy to gain submissions to the king from Gaelic chiefs. The Gaelic chiefs for the most proved willing to submit to the king's authority and pledged good behavior.

By December 1494 the Irish political scene was peaceful enough for Poyning to call a parliament at Drogheda. The Irish parliament of 1494-1495 saw the passage of several acts all meant to increase the English government's control within the Dublin administration. 'Poyning's Law' was among the key acts passed by the parliament. The law established that the Irish Parliament could meet only with the consent of the king and only

¹⁴ D.B Quinn, 'Aristocratic Autonomy, 1460-94', 638

vote on bills approved by his council beforehand.¹⁵ Other acts were passed with the goals of strengthening the crown's authority in the Pale. Firstly, the crown modified chief financial and minstrel officials to now only serve at the 'king's pleasure' rather than being lifetime appointments. Another act banned 'coine and livery' practices by Pale nobility in the Pale.¹⁶ The idea of these reform measures was to give the King command over men filling Irish administrative positions, and eliminate the use of the Irish parliament being used to further private Anglo-Irish matters.¹⁷ Poyning's administration not only reorganized the system of government in the English Pale, but also reformed the relationship between the English crown and its Irish Lordship.¹⁸

Poyning successfully restored the authority of the Dublin administration within the Pale and restored stability. In 1496, Henry thought the Pale was stable enough to recall Poyning, and restore the 8th earl of Kildare to the position of Lord Deputy. The king's decision to restore Kildare was based on the fact that he had the money, land and Gaelic alliances to maintain the stability and protection of the Pale. Many thought given Kildare's previous indiscretions with the Yorkist pretenders made this was a risky move. To counterbalance this sort of threat the king demanded that the earl's son and heir, Gerald Fitzgerald be sent to England as a guarantee of good behavior. Despite their unstable past, the 8th earl of Kildare and Henry VII seemed to strike a good relationship, and the system of government put in place in 1496 seemed to work well throughout the rest of Henry's reign. Kildare was inclined to be cooperative with the king's wishes because the "chain that

¹⁵ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony 1494-1520' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987, 640

¹⁶ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony 1494-1520', 641

¹⁷ The Anglo-Irish lords had used the Irish parliament in 1487 to legitimize Lambert Simnel's claim to the throne. Poyning's law made sure this would not happen again.

¹⁸ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony 1494-1520', 638-641 and Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, chapter 4 for a more complete analysis of the Poyning, and the effects of his administration on Ireland

bound him to Henry was a very light one"¹⁹ In other words, Kildare was free to exercise his authority in Ireland without intervention from the crown. Henry's intervention in Ireland was significant because he showed that direct royal authority in the Pale could be sustained. However, Henry's interests were not with reforming the Irish political nation, and after the necessary reforms were made to pacify the immediate threats to his throne he once again left Ireland in the hands of the Kildare affinity.²⁰

III: 'English' Ireland 1509-1519

When King Henry VIII inherited the throne in 1509, English interests in Ireland lay mainly with maintaining peace and stability in Ireland with minimal cost to the crown. In the first years of his reign, the new king was more concerned with his campaigns in France, and maintaining authority in his French territories. While's Henry's main concerns were focused elsewhere in the first years of his reign, the king did not forget his Irish lordship, and its potential use by his European enemies to target England.²¹ Although Henry had this secondary concern, he continued to allow the 8th earl of Kildare to exercise significant freedom as Lord Deputy. From the 1490s into the first decades of the 16th century, both the 8th and 9th earls of Kildare utilized the influence and resources given to them by the crown to increase their family's affinities and networks outside of the Pale. The clearest exploitation of Kildare's authority within the Pale was his free reign with royal revenue. It was clear from the Treasurer's accounts in Ireland that the majority of royal revenue in

¹⁹ D.B Quinn, "The Kildare Hegemony, 1494-1520", 648

²⁰ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 88

²¹ D.B Quinn, "The Kildare Hegemony, 1494-1520", 657

Ireland was not going through the Exchequer, rather being taken by Kildare. Since Henry VII did not require Kildare to report royal revenue or his spending, the earl had free reign with the crown's revenues in Ireland.²² What made the earls of Kildare so successful in Ireland was the balance they upheld between maintaining a good relationship with the English king and the Gaelic Irish lords. The Kildare affinity had an integrated network of political and personal connections in England and in Ireland. In Ireland, the affinity revolved around the marriages of Kildare's daughters into prominent Gaelic Irish noble families as well as military alliances. In England, the 9th earl of Kildare was raised among the English nobility who served Henry VIII, and maintained those relationships upon his return to Ireland.²³ His marriage to the king's relative Elizabeth Zouche was also another influential factor in the good relationship the Kildares were able to uphold with the English crown.

The influence and prosperity of the Kildare affinity in Ireland benefited the crown in many ways, the most important of which was the protection of the Pale. As previously mentioned, the political entity represented by the administration in Dublin was the model of English governance in Ireland. Only through the protection of the Pale could English law and order continue to exist in Ireland. Henry regarded his Irish Lordship as a reserve sphere of influence that he desired to govern more directly in the future.²⁴ It was therefore important that the Lord Deputy maintained the crown's interest in Ireland. The crown's interest included keeping stability and order, increasing their jurisdiction beyond the Pale, recognition of Henry's kingship by Gaelic Irish lords, and finally to keep foreign powers out

²² D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony, 1494-1520', 652

²³ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony, 1494-1520', 656

²⁴ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony', 1494-1520, 657

of Ireland.²⁵ The Kildares successfully protected these interests, even managing to bring new territory under English control, and raising Irish revenue. Given the usefulness of the Kildare affinity to the crown, with minimal cost to the English government, it is understandable why the crown let their authority in the Pale remained unchallenged. When the 8th earl of Kildare died in 1513 his son Gerald Org, now 9th earl of Kildare succeeded him as Lord Deputy. The new earl of Kildare was officially appointed deputy by the king two months later, on the same conditions as his father.²⁶

The political dynamic and social structure of the Pale made the transition between the 8th and 9th earl as the leaders of the Dublin Administration an obvious choice. Before examining the importance of individual Anglo-Irish noblemen in the Pale and Ireland in chapter 3, it is important to understand the social structure of the nobility in the Pale after 1496. The Kildares unsurprisingly held the highest tier of the social structure within the Pale. The nature of their high status came from their title, land, flourishing personal wealth, military resources and finally the earl of Kildare's position as the King's deputy. While Kildare's leadership role as the King's representative in Ireland positioned their affinity social dominate in the Pale, the other Anglo-Irish magnate the Butler's also held status within the English Pale. As with the Kildares, The Butlers of Ormond, held vast amounts of land South of the Pale, personal wealth, all of which contributed to their social status within the Pale. Members of the Butler affinity worked within the administration in Dublin, and had relationships with the member of the Pale nobility. The other Anglo-Irish lord, the Fitzgeralds of Desmond stayed away from the Pale, and the significance of their social and political status mattered outside of the Pale, which will be examined in chapter 3. Beneath

²⁵ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony 1494-1520', 660

²⁶ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 114

the Anglo-Irish lords, were the marcher lords and Pale nobility. The members of this social class held land within the Pale and small family wealth.²⁷ The nobility of the Pale, were likely to be educated in England, and filled many of the administrative positions in Dublin. For the majority of the minor Pale nobility, their livelihood and land depended on political stability of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords. They also needed protection from Gaelic lords in the North who raided Pale lands. The minor nobility looked to the earl of Kildare for this protection. So long as they were protected from the Gaelic Irish, the Pale nobility supported the authority of the Lord Deputy. Beneath the minor noble class were the landed gentry and merchants, who with respect to their livelihoods were in the same boat as the minor nobility. They too needed political stability to run their businesses. The gentry and merchants held positions within the Dublin administration, serving as clerks or in other minor positions.²⁸ Chapter 3 will cover the significance of some of the minor nobility, gentry and merchants who were significant within the political scene of the Pale throughout the 1510s and 1520s.

From the period 1513 through 1519, royal policy towards Ireland remained the same and apart from Henry VIII increasing the number of English officials working within the Dublin administration, the authority of the Lord Deputy remained relatively undisturbed by the English government.²⁹ The first signs of discontent with the 9th earl of Kildare's deputyship came from within the Pale beginning in 1514. In 1515 Sir William Darcy, recently dismissed as treasurer of Ireland and from the baronial council by Kildare, submitted to the English council his report entitled '*State of Ireland and Plan for its*

²⁷ Refer back to the map on page 3 to see whom Anglo-Irish nobility of the Pale and the lands they held

²⁸ Fiona Fitzsimmons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland' in *Regions and Rulers in Ireland 1100-1650*. Ed. David Edwards. Four Court Press: Portland (2004), 95

²⁹ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 115

reformation'. In his report, Darcy alleges that Kildare was doing wrong by the Anglo-Irish by enforcing Gaelic exactions such as 'coine and livery' and obtaining black rent to pay off the Gaelic of the North to keep them from raiding the Pale.³⁰ The Pale nobility were not alone in their assessment of the state of Ireland, John Kite, the English archbishop of Armagh arrived in Ireland in 1514 and reported back to Cardinal Wolsey about the dire state of disorder that he observed. Coming from London, the center of English civility, Kite saw the autonomous rule of Kildare, as well as the general decay of English order as horrifying. Kite recommended to the king that he was "bound to this land as to maintain good order and justice in England"³¹ These reports to the king resulted in Kildare being summoned to England along with other senior members of the Dublin administration to report on the state of the Pale. Kildare emerged triumphant over those who testified against his rule, and returned to Ireland in September with a new patent as Lord Deputy under the same conditions as he had previously and the authority to hold parliament.³² The discontent of the Pale nobility within the Pale, as well as the actions of the earl of Kildare will be further examined in chapter 3.

The crown first became invested in Irish affairs when Thomas Butler, 7th earl of Ormond died in August 1515. A dispute over who should inherit the earl's Irish lands ensued between Sir Piers Butler, leader of the Butler faction in Ireland and Thomas Boleyn, the earl's grandson and prominent English noble at Henry's court. The king supported Boleyn's mother and aunt's claim to the Ormond land and all its revenues, and ordered that

³⁰ *State Papers King Henry VIII*. Published under the authority of his majesty's commission, 1830. (Referred to as S.P Henry VIII) Volume I, Part III

³¹ S.P Henry VIII Volume I part III

³² *Letters and Paper, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* Edited by Brewer, J.S. Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer: London, 1862. (referred to as L&P Henry VIII) Volume II part I. no.996

the case be heard by the council in Ireland. The Ormond dispute was not resolved until 1528, but the ramifications of the feuding between Kildare and Butler were felt immediately within the Pale. Members of the minor nobility aligned themselves with Butlers or Kildares affinity, and increasingly more clashes and fighting between the affinities brought a new element of instability to the Pale. In addition to this fighting Sir Piers Butler and Kildare began slinging slanderous allegations against the other to England, further creating an instable situation that was hard for the crown for much longer. Further about the nature of the instability in the Pale in the 1520s, and the Butler-Kildare feuding will be discussed in chapter3.

Around 1518, evidence emerges of Henry VIII taking a greater interest in Irish affairs, which culminated with Kildare once again being summoned to England in 1519. At the time Henry VIII is in communication with the earl of Desmond, and with the city of Cork.³³ The king was also seen in 1518, becoming involved in a dispute between Kildare and George Talbot, the English earl of Shrewsbury who held lands in Wexford, south of the English Pale. Friction between the two ensued after Kildare, whose held land nearby, imposed his authority in Shrewsbury's domain.³⁴ Henry VIII and his chief minister in England Cardinal Wolsey also continued to receive complaints from Butler and the gentry of the Pale concerning Kildare's neglect for the defense of the Pale and his dealings with the Gaelic Irish. The king's interest with the Ormond dispute, had also opened the door for Henry to realize that his authority in Ireland was limited, an idea that will be expanded upon later in this thesis. By 1518 however the balance that Kildare had being trying to

³³ L&P Henry VIII Volume II, no 4293.

³⁴ L&P Henry VIII, Volume II no. 3858. In this letter from Kildare to the earl of Shrewsbury, he offers to make amends for his wrongdoing.

maintain over the previous two decades between local and dynastic interests and the English crown was unraveling. Henry VIII and his privy council around 1519, as evidenced by the production of the memoranda for Ireland, were discussing reform options for the Dublin Administration, and how to 'reduce the land to civility and good order'. In January 1519, Kildare was once again summoned to England, and this time the king and Wolsey decided to remove him as Lord Deputy and try a new system of government in the Irish Lordship.³⁵

IV: English Policy in Ireland 1519-1530

Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey was chosen to replace Kildare as the King's representative in Ireland. The culmination of how the king wanted to approach the problem of the disorder of his Irish Lordship was recorded in his 'memoranda for Ireland'.³⁶ The memoranda and his further instructions for the earl of Surrey reveal how Henry envisioned his authority over all matters spiritual and temporal within Ireland, and his goals for achieving this Imperial authority, a subject that will be examined in detail in chapter 4. Surrey spent the summer of 1520 trying to make contact with the Gaelic chiefs, and attempting to pacify territorial disputes that had erupted between Sir Piers Butler, earl of Ormond and James Fitzgerald 10th earl of Desmond.³⁷ Surrey's first year in Ireland and his assessment of the Irish political scene led him to the conclusion that Henry's visions for his authority and increasing the crown's strength in Ireland could only be achieved by fully

³⁵ Steven Ellis. *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 118

³⁶ L&P Henry VIII Volume 3 part 1 no 670.

³⁷ S.P Henry VIII Vol 2 35-48. Letters written from Surrey and the Irish council in the summer 1520, mostly talk about the wars with the Gaelic, and conflict between Desmond and Butler.

conquering the Gaelic Irish. More about the nature of the Irish political scene and why Henry could not apply his authority in Ireland will be examined throughout the rest of this thesis.

At the end of 1520, Surrey reported back to England that a tentative peace had been established between both the residing Anglo-Irish magnates and that many of the Gaelic chiefs had submitted to Henry's authority. Surrey realized however that peace between the Anglo-Irish lords, as well as peace between the Gaelic Irish could not be maintained for long. By June of 1521, Surrey had informed the king that a conquest of Ireland would be the only effective way to deprive the Gaelic Irish chiefs of any means of basis to resist Henry's authority or create instability.³⁸ Surrey requested that the King commit to a full conquest, relieve him of his position in Ireland be able return home to England. By this time, Henry VIII's attention towards Ireland had taken a back seat to continental disputes, and was not ready to commit to a full conquest.³⁹ Surrey was granted his leave of Ireland, and the king took his recommendation to appoint Sir Piers Butler to fill his position, as he had become a valuable asset to him during his Lieutenancy.⁴⁰ Surrey officially departed Ireland in the spring of 1522 after Butler had been sworn into office. Although the earl of Surrey, later Duke of Norfolk, was never directly involved with Irish affairs after his departure from Ireland, he did continue to indirectly counsel the king on matters pertaining to Ireland.

Throughout the rest of the 1520s the crown attempted many times to find a system of government that was cost effective and kept the crown's interests in Ireland protected. Butler's lieutenancy initially seemed to be successful, as he had the support of many of the

³⁸ S.P Henry VIII Vol 2, 73. Surrey to Henry VIII

³⁹ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs, 1520-34', 94' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987, 667

⁴⁰ S.P Henry VIII Vol 2 88-91 Henry VIII to Surrey

Pale nobility and the crown. However it soon became clear that Butler could not divide his personal resources well enough to protect both his lands in the South, which by 1524 were facing raids by the earl of Desmond. Butler requested English reinforcements be sent to Ireland, and even suggested to the king that Kildare be sent home to secure his own lands as well as the Pale which were located very close to one another.⁴¹ Butler's personal lands were located far from the Pale, and the Gaelic Irish surrounding were in alliance with Kildare.⁴² In addition to Butler's personal inability to protect the Anglo-Irish, another problem that faced him was that there was minimal Irish revenue to draw from for the protection of the Pale, as the land was of 'much waste and the people marvelously poor.'⁴³ All of these factors prevented Butler from being able to provide proper protection of the Pale.

Kildare returned to Ireland in January 1523 with a new English wife Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the marquis of Dorset, an influential courtier and relative of the king. Upon his return Kildare resumed his personal campaigns to gain territory, doing so without the permission from the Lord Deputy. By the summer of 1523 the Kildare-Butler feud had been fired up again over Butler's right as Lord Deputy to use 'coine and livery' in Kildare's lands.⁴⁴ The king attempted to bring Kildare and Butler to heel by having the Treasurer, John Rawson, and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Patrick Bermingham mediate an agreement between the two.⁴⁵ Peace between the two Anglo-Irish magnates did not last

⁴¹ L&P Henry VIII Volume IV Part 1 no.81

⁴² D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs 1520-1534', 668

The O'Tooles south of Dublin and the O'Mores on the South-West border are seen around 1522 increasing raids on the Anglo-Irish.

⁴³ S.P Henry VIII Volume II Part I, 95. Letter from John Stiles under-treasurer to Cardinal Wolsey

⁴⁴ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs, 1520-34', 670

⁴⁵ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs, 1520-34', 671

long. Less than a month later James Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare's brother murdered Robert Talbot, sheriff of Co. Dublin, and supporter of the Butlers on his way to spend Christmas with Butler in Kilkenny.⁴⁶ Although this incident was not the main instigator of a reviving full out feuding between Kildare and Butler, it did bring new antagonism towards each other, and complaints were send by both Anglo-Irish lords to the king. Both Kildare and Butler were using their connections at court, to try and appeal to the king and gain his favor.⁴⁷ By 1524, it was clear that Kildare and Butler, both trying to exert their influence over the Pale and undermine the one another, was bringing more instability to the political scene of the Pale.

Another looming threat that the king and Lord Deputy were careful to monitor were the actions of the Desmond affinity. James Fitzgerald officially inherited his lands and title as the 10th earl of Desmond in 1520. Desmond kept away from the politics of the Dublin administration, instead focusing on strengthening his land holdings and position in Munster. While his activities never directly affected the English Pale, they were troubling enough that the crown wanted to keep an eye on him. In 1523, Desmond dabbled in continental affairs, making an alliance with Francis I of France to support the Yorkist Richard de la Pole for the English throne.⁴⁸ However after the French were defeated, the treaty fell through, and the king did not feel the need to intervene. Nevertheless, the king needed Butler and Kildare to work together to keep track of Desmond and his intrigues with the continent. Beginning in 1524, Desmond resumed making trouble for the Butlers by increasing border raids on Butler's territory, which diverted his attention and his resources

⁴⁶ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs, 1520-34', 671

⁴⁷ L&P Henry VIII Volume IV no. 1352. See for list allegations being sent to the king from Butler against Kildare.

⁴⁸ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs, 1520-34', 665

from the Pale.⁴⁹ Desmond's attacks against Butler while he was also feuding with Kildare brought a new element to the instability to the Irish political scene. The king responded to this round of feuding by sending a commission of three Englishmen. The commission consisted of James Denton, dean of Litchfield, Sir Ralph Egerton and Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to Ireland in 1524. The commission decided the best course of actions was to restore Kildare as deputy, and have Butler serve as treasurer.

Kildare was sworn in as deputy in 1524, and given a new indenture that defined his commitment to the king and the limitations of his power as Lord Deputy.⁵⁰ The nature of the indenture will be examined further in chapter 4. The crown's efforts to have Kildare and Butler working together in the Dublin administration did not work, and the two Anglo-Irish lords continued to cause conflict with their feuding. Both Lords continued to bring allegations against each other from 1525 through 1526. Kildare and Butler were summoned to England to face the King's council in August of 1526. Butler departed for England right away so as to arrive before Kildare and begin making connections with English nobles. Kildare put his brother Sir Thomas FitzGerald in charge of the Lordship and arrived in England in late 1526.

At this point the king and Wolsey decided to try another form of government, appointing Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin as deputy in 1527. Lord Delvin was a member of the Meath nobility, and disliked the Kildare affinity. Henry's decision to place a lesser noble as deputy was an attempt to find a system of government that could work independently of the influence of the great Anglo-Irish magnates. Although Delvin's status within the Pale was elevated by his appointment to the position of Lord Deputy, without

⁴⁹ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs 1520-1534', 668

⁵⁰ L&P Henry VIII Volume iv no. 558. See for full indenture of the earl of Kildare.

the territorial or social foundations of power within the Irish political nation, his deputyship proved unsuccessful. Furthermore without the presence of Butler and Kildare in Ireland, Gaelic chiefs increased their raids on the Pale. In a letter to Wolsey, Patrick Bermingham, Chief Justice of the king's Bench and Hugh Inge, Chancellor of Ireland describe the dire state of the Pale and reported on the inability of Delvin to defend the Pale from increasing raids by the Gaelic Lords. The claimed that Kildare's help was necessary and asked that he come back to defend the Pale.⁵¹ Lord Delvin's lieutenancy came effectively to an end when O Conechabhair, a Gaelic Irish chief residing North of the Pale, abducted him at an arrangement peace agreement meeting between the two in May 1528.⁵²

In England the council was having trouble clearing up the different allegations about Kildare and Butler. However, the time in England gave Butler, the king and Thomas Boleyn a chance to clear up the Ormond inheritance dispute. It was decided that all lands east of the River Barrow and the title earl of Ormond were to be past to the English heirs. The lands to the west of the barrow would remain with Butler, and in exchange for the Ormond title, he would receive the title earl of Ossory, allowing Butler to keep his Irish peerage. With the dispute settled Butler was now in the king's favor, and was sent back to Ireland in August of 1528 to serve as deputy. The same issues that Butler had as deputy in 1522 was revealed once again he soon admitted that he could not adequately defend the Pale without English assistance.⁵³ Henry and Wolsey did not want to send Kildare back to Ireland, as the charges against him were still not cleared up. Instead they sent two Englishmen, both named John Alen, to try and strengthen the authority of the Dublin administration in early

⁵¹ S.P. Henry VIII Volume 2, 126-127

⁵²D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs 1520-1534', 675

⁵³ D.B. Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs 1520-1534', 676

1529. One John Alen, served as archbishop of Dublin, and the other served as a clerk of the council. Not long after the arrival of the Englishmen John Alen, archbishop of Dublin, along with John Rawson, Treasurer and Chief Justice Bermingham, formed the 'secret council', which took over for Butler to serve the role of deputy in the Pale. The goal of the 'secret council' was to try and strengthen the authority of the Dublin Administration, and increase the security of the Pale.⁵⁴ The council was successful, until an adequate English Lord Deputy could be found.

The defining feature of the 1520s in Ireland was its political instability. There were many causes for this instability. The first cause of instability was internal, with the consistent fighting and clashes amongst the three Anglo-Irish lords, as well as the Anglo and Gaelic Irish lords. The second major factor of instability in Ireland was external, stemming from Henry's constant change in leadership within the Pale. Henry's attempts to find a new system of government that worked within the context of how he felt his authority should be upheld in Ireland, but unwillingness to financially support these ventures brought instability to the Dublin administration. This combination of the internal and external causes of instability had negative effects within the Pale and with Henry's Anglo-Irish subjects residing within the Pale.

This introduction brings us to the state of the political scene in Ireland in 1530, when Sir William Skeffington's 1st deputyship began. In the 1530s Ireland got swept up into the Henrician revolution of religious and political reform. English policy towards Ireland revolved around the political and religious events happening in England during this time. Another key aspect of this decade is that Henry's true sense of kingship evolved and the

views of his role as Lord of Ireland become full-fledged policy. Henry's sense of kingship and how it developed within his Irish Lordship will be covered in detail in Chapter 4. The Kildare rebellion of 1534 was a defining period for the Irish political history because it once and for all removed the Kildare affinity from the Irish political scene. With the Kildare affinity essentially removed from the Irish political scene, Henry VIII was free to move in and establish direct royal authority. The 1530s in Ireland saw major reform in the Dublin administration as well. The Dublin administration under first Sir William Skeffington and then Sir Anthony Leger was cleared of Anglo-Irishmen and replaced with newly arrived Englishmen. Another instrumental change in Ireland was the introduction of an English standing army in the Pale. English policy and reform within the Pale during the 1530s culminated in 1541, with the declaration by parliament that transformed the Irish Lordship into the Kingdom of Ireland. At this point the newly named King of Ireland focused his attention on bringing the Irish Lords into submission, implementing the policy of 'Surrender and Regrant'. Under 'Surrender and Regrant', Irish Lords were granted status as English Lords and given English titles. They were also for the first time allowed to attend the Irish Parliament, a sign of the king attempting to assimilate the Irish lords into his English Kingdom similar to what was happening in Wales at the same time.

D.B Quinn makes an important distinction between the history of Ireland before and after 1520. He argues that the history of English Pale in Ireland before the Surrey expedition was mainly Irish history that centered on the activities of the Anglo-Irish rulers in and out of the Pale. The history of the Irish Pale after 1520 increasingly centered on the relationships between the Lord Deputy, whether he be Anglo-Irish or English, and Henry

VIII.⁵⁵ Quinn's assessment is a helpful commentary that generalizes the history of Ireland in the 16th century, especially when considering the activities of the Anglo-Irish magnates. Before 1520, the Kildare affinity seems impenetrable, and his influence both in and out of the Pale shapes the activity of the Dublin administration. Throughout the 1520s as the position of the English crown increases, the influence of the Kildare affinity begins to decline. The strength and influence of the Anglo-Irish magnates as well as Henry's increasingly important role in Ireland introduced in this chapter will be further examined throughout the rest of this thesis

King Henry's Deputy's in Ireland 1520-1534

Name	Date	Identity	Significant factors in during their deputyship
Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey	1520-1522	English Noble	'Memoranda for Ireland 1519'
Sir Piers Butler, earl of Ormond	1522-1524, briefly again in 1528	Anglo-Irish Magnate	Henry at war with France.
Gerald Fitzgerald, 9 th earl of Kildare	1524-1527, 1532-1534	Anglo-Irish Magnate	1532, reform policies of centralization begin to be implemented in Ireland, sparking Kildare rebellion
Richard Nugent, 12 th baron of Delvin	1528-1529	Anglo-Irish Lord	Kildare and Butler both recalled to England, instability in the Pale at all time high.

⁵⁵ D.B Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs 1520-1534' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II, 687

'Secret Council' John Alen, John Rawson and Patrick Bermingham	1529-1530	All Englishmen and member of Irish Privy Council	Cardinal Wolsey falls from power, rise of Thomas Cromwell, Reformation parliament in England begins to consider policies of centralization.
Sir William Skeffington,	1530-1532, appointed again in 1534	Englishman	Beginning of 'Henrician Revolution' and break with Rome 1534, post Kildare rebellion

V: Project Agenda

In the next three chapters, I will examine the nature of the Irish political scene in the 16th century, the political ideology of Henry's sense of kingship, and the conflicts and problems that resulted from the interaction of Irish politics and Tudor kingship. In the first section of my thesis, I examine the political and social dynamics at work within the Pale and in Gaelic Ireland, and how they interact with one another in the 16th century. In the second section of my thesis, I examine the nature of Henry's sense of kingship, and how he thought his authority should be upheld in Ireland. To conclude my thesis, I tie the two parts presented in chapters 3 and 4 together, and assess why Henry's sense of kingship does not work within the context of the Irish political nation.

To examine the Irish political nation, I will study the individual figures on the ground in Ireland who influenced the political scene. The figures that I study in Ireland fall

into one of three categories, Anglo-Irish magnates, Anglo-Irish of the Pale, and Englishmen. I also examine the general role of the Gaelic Irish within the Irish political scene. However, I chose to focus on the individuals in these three categories because not only do they influence the political scene in Ireland, but are also affecting Henry's decisions in England about what policies to take in Ireland. For each of the three Anglo-Irish magnates I first assess their familial background, and their relationship with the English crown. Secondly, I look at networks of Gaelic Irish and English alliances that make up each of their affinities. It is important to understand the political networks of these three great Anglo-Irish lords since they are a major influence in the Irish political scene both inside and outside of the Pale. To assess the general influence of the Pale nobility and gentry, I examine influential members of the nobility and gentry classes. For each, I examine their familial background and status in the Pale. I then examine their role within the Dublin administration, and if they align themselves with a particular political faction. Some such figures I examine include Lord Delvin and Sir William Darcy, the growing leaders amongst the Pale nobility and gentry against the great Anglo-Irish magnates. Finally, it is impossible to not take into account the Englishmen being sent to Ireland and placed by Henry VIII within the Dublin administration and the Irish privy council. Many of the Englishmen sent over by the king were placed in high executive or church offices, and their political influence was prevalent in the Pale. In order to gain an understanding of the king's English affinity in Ireland I first examine each individual by looking at their familial background, their education, and their relationship with the king and Wolsey. Finally to understand their influence in the Pale I ask of each of the Englishmen, for what purpose were they placed in their position by Henry, and what role did they actually serve once in Ireland. The biographical information

of the individual figures within the Irish political nation was obtained through my background research with secondary sources, as well as the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and Dictionary of Irish Biography databases.

After examining the Irish political nation, and the importance of the role of the Anglo-Irish lords and their affinities in chapter 3, I then turn my attention in chapter 4 to Tudor Kingship and how it is applied in Ireland. Through the use of secondary sources I establish that Henry felt his authority in all matters temporal, spiritual and territorial within the realm of England was supreme. The realm of England included all of its territorial domains such as Ireland and Wales, and Henry felt that he had authority over all inhabitants of Ireland. In the next section, I use Henry's state papers and his letters and papers, including Henry's instructions, tracts and letters to deputies to get a sense of how he felt his authority should be upheld in Ireland.

The king's memoranda for Ireland produced in 1519 and his instructions for the earl of Surrey in 1520 paint a clear picture that Henry's sense of imperial authority extended to all of Ireland. Both documents make it clear that Henry felt that his authority could be upheld in Ireland through the process of assimilating the Gaelic Lords into English-style governance by forcefully persuading and bribing them, rather than through outright conquest. By the end of the Surrey expedition in Ireland (c. 1521), it was clear to the king that this 'amiable persuasion' was not possible, and the only way to bring Gaelic Irish lords to full submission of Henry's authority would be through greater use of force and coercion. Unwilling to spend the money in the 1520s, Henry instead tried to find a system of government in Ireland that help him impress his political philosophy on the Irish political scene. His 1524 indentures with Sir Piers Butler and the earl of Kildare show the king was

attempting to curb the influence of the Anglo-Irish magnates and increase his own authority within the Pale. Finally, the Henrician revolution that began with policies of the centralization of power in England in the 1530s also had its effects in Ireland. The Kildare's in Ireland rebelled against these new policies in 1534, which ended with the fall of the Kildare affinity in Ireland. I examine the instructions to Sir William Skeffington, the first English lord deputy in Ireland after the Kildare rebellion. This tract instructed Skeffington to abolish all Gaelic systems such as 'coine and livery' and other practices by the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic lords that undermined the king's power. It is clear with this set of instructions that Henry is trying to increase his control on the Pale and extend it from there into the rest of the island.

Finally, I argue that Henry's sense of kingship is incompatible with the Irish political nation. I support my analysis by comparing Ireland with how Henry extended his authority in other outer lying regions, such as Northern England and Wales. I articulate what makes Ireland unique compared to Henry's other territories. Ultimately, I argue that the political nation in Ireland, with the strong kinship alliances of Gaelic society and networks of the Anglo-Irish affinities, make it impossible for Henry to impose the model of imperial kingship on Ireland that does elsewhere.

Chapter 2: Debating Irish Politics and Tudor Kingship

Scholars have debated the role of Henry VIII and his goals in Ireland from 1509 through the 1530s. In this historiography I will present debates by scholars such as D.B Quinn, Brendan Bradshaw, Steven Ellis, Fiona Fitzsimmons, Colm Lennon and S.J Connelly. Presenting the

arguments brought forward by these scholars, offers a wide variety of perspectives about the nature of Irish politics in the 16th century and Henry's sense of authority. Debates about Tudor politics in Ireland and Henry VIII's intentions towards his Irish Lordship have changed and evolved significantly since the 1970s. Many of these scholars, especially Quinn and Ellis have collaborated over the years and built off of each other's arguments to present a more cohesive perspective of Henry VIII and his role in Ireland in the first two decades of his reign. Fitzsimmons arguably presents the most radical departure from conventional thought of early Tudor involvement in Irish politics, and actively attempts to discredit the arguments presented of Bradshaw and Ellis. The community of scholars presenting work specifically on Henry VIII and his goals in Ireland may be small, however the debates generated by these scholars are numerous.

The first section of my historiographical review of Ireland under Henry VIII will focus on the how scholars have come to understand the nature of the Irish political scene. I will examine the extent to which each focus on the importance of the affinities and networks in Ireland, and the importance of local relationships between the Lord Deputy, the lesser Anglo-Irish Lords and the Gaelic chiefs. I will also examine the extent to which they think the issue of the Lord Deputy balancing the interests of the crown, by which I mean the protection of the Pale, and increasing the crown's influence and revenue in Ireland, and pursuing his autonomous dynastic interests in Ireland is important. If a scholar is not interested in the kinds of questions that I am interested in studying, then I assess what they do consider to be the important issues and whom they consider the important figures in the Irish political scene in the 16th century. The second section of my thesis is more straightforward. I examine how scholars have come to understand Henry's sense of

Imperial kingship and how he feels his authority should be upheld in Ireland. There is no straightforward answer to this question given, however many scholars such as Ellis, Bradshaw, Quinn and Fitzsimmons do offer indications in their arguments about the type of kingship that Henry wanted to have in Ireland.

I: Debates on the Nature of Irish Politics and Tudor Policy in Ireland

D.B Quinn separates the history of Tudor involvement in the Irish political scene by before 1520 and after 1520. The period before 1520 was dominated by local and regional histories. The period after 1520, we see the re-emergence of English policy in Irish affairs.⁵⁶ Quinn argues that before 1520 Ireland was split into two separate political entities 'Irish' Ireland and 'English' Ireland. However when assessing the entirety of the Irish political scene it is impossible to ignore either the regional interactions or the dynamic influence of the Pale when led by the earl of Kildare.⁵⁷ Quinn argues the political scene in Gaelic Ireland and the Pale revolved around the earl of Kildare because of his status as Lord Deputy and the powerful influence of his affinity.⁵⁸ Quinn's main argument regarding the Irish political scene before 1520s is supported by the development of the Kildare hegemony from 1494 onward. Quinn argues that the growth of the Kildare hegemony was more important to Kildare than protecting the crown's interests. Quinn demonstrates that the state of the Dublin Administration from 1513 to 1519 "makes a good illustration of just how far he

⁵⁶ D.B Quinn, 'The reemergence of English policy as a major factor in Irish Affairs 1520-34', in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1987. 687. This idea while explicitly stated on page 687, is an idea seen throughout the chapter and in his other chapter entitled 'Irish' Ireland and 'English Ireland'.

⁵⁷ D.B Quinn, 'Irish' Ireland and 'English' Ireland' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987, 621

⁵⁸ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare hegemony, 1494-1520' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1987, 1494-1520', 658

(Kildare) had come to regard the king's patrimony as his own."⁵⁹ He argues that by 1519, Kildare's hegemony of the Irish political scene had produced instability within the Pale that could no longer be ignored by the Tudor administration.⁶⁰

Quinn defines the period after 1520 by the reemergence of the English crown as an important factor in Irish affairs. He argues that crown policy in Ireland from 1520 onward illustrates that Henry now felt it necessary to extend his direct royal authority over his Irish Lordship.⁶¹ Quinn considers Ireland in the 1520s to be less about the relationships of the Lord Deputy, whether they are English or Anglo-Irish, with the Gaelic Irish, but more about the relationship between the crown and the Lord Deputy. Quinn suggests that from 1520 onwards there is a greater demand by Henry for the Lord Deputy to protect the crown's interest in Ireland.⁶² Quinn argues that the English crown's consistent supervision of the Irish political scene brought about a general decrease in power and influence of the Anglo-Irish nobility, including Kildare, even saying it gets to a point of despair.⁶³ For Quinn the defining feature of Ireland in the 1520s and 1530 is the graduation evolution of the Irish political nation revolving around Henry and his policies rather than Anglo-Irish magnates.

Brendan Bradshaw's, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century*, (1979), presents the argument that Anglo-Irish within the Pale are instigating a reformation against the autonomous rule of the Anglo-Irish magnates. Bradshaw argues

⁵⁹D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare hegemony, 1494-1520', 660-661

⁶⁰D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare hegemony, 1494-1520', 660-661

⁶¹D.B Quinn, 'The Reemergence of English Policy as a Major Factor in Irish Affairs 1520-34', 662

⁶²D.B Quinn, 'The Reemergence of English Policy as a Major Factor in Irish Affairs 1520-34', 663-664

⁶³D.B Quinn, 'The Reemergence of English Policy as a Major Factor in Irish Affairs 1520-34', 668 Quinn also states that in the 1520's the autonomy of the great magnates is slowly drawing to a close

that the reformation started by the Anglo-Irish in the Pale effects English policy towards the Irish Lordship after 1520. Bradshaw suggests that the political scene of the Pale consisted of the Anglo-Irish magnates, the member of their affinities and the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry. The magnates he argues had their own local political agendas, which ran contrary to that of the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry, whom he claimed dominated the Dublin administration. Bradshaw argues that by the 16th century the Anglo-Irish magnates, Kildare, Butler and the Desmond's, had drifted away from the political scene of the English Pale, and were building their own autonomous communities. Bradshaw even goes as far with this argument to claim that by the time Henry VIII inherits the throne, these autonomous communities were well on their way to becoming fragmented dynastic principalities.⁶⁴

The extent to which Bradshaw talks about the Kildare's relationship with the English crown and political relevance within the Pale is within the context of this perspective that the magnates are only concerned about their own regional interests and growing their 'dynastic principalities'. In other words, Kildare, as the king's Lord Deputy, is consistently at odds with the English administration of the Lordship. Bradshaw contends that from 1496 onward, as the Kildare affinity's strength grows, the earls of Kildare make no effort to balance the interests of the crown, and turn the Pale in a 'Kildare Annex'⁶⁵ This negative perspective of the Anglo-Irish magnates also effects how Bradshaw comes to see the importance of the networks and affinities within the Irish political scene. Bradshaw argues that the networks that the Anglo-Irish magnates build with the Gaelic chiefs are

⁶⁴Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press:Cambridge, 1979, 35

⁶⁵ Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 31

simply made to further their own autonomous communities, and further establish themselves in Gaelic Ireland. For instance, Bradshaw contends that that the Desmond affinity had drifted so far from English jurisdiction that it began to “search for a continental overlord as an alternative to the English king.”⁶⁶ Along the same lines, Bradshaw argues that Sir Pier Butler’s efforts to consolidate and establish alliances with Gaelic chiefs who supported his claim to the Ormond lands around 1515, was an act to distance himself and his affinity from his English relatives and therefore English jurisdiction. Bradshaw’s main objective of underscoring the Anglo-Irish magnates, especially the earls of Kildare, as enemies of the crown is clear, and sways the extent to which Bradshaw is thinking about the importance of their networks and relationships both within Ireland and with the English crown.

Bradshaw considers the most important element of the Pale during the first years of Henry VIII’s reign to be the role of the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry and their appeals to Henry about the need reform within the Lordship. Bradshaw argues that Pale nobility and gentry such as Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin, and Sir William Darcy, of the landed gentry, were educated in England and exposed to the cultural and intellectual currents of London, staffed the crown administration in Dublin.⁶⁷ Bradshaw suggests that the background and education of the lesser Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry and their key role in the Dublin administration come together to form an Anglo-Irish reform effort which was the first indication to the crown about the need for English intervention in Ireland.

⁶⁶Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 31

⁶⁷Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 35

Steven Ellis in his book, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447-1603, English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule*, focuses on the nature of English government and its prerogatives in Ireland before and after 1520. For Ellis, both the alliances and networks that make up the Kildare affinity, and the relationship that the Kildares maintain with the English crown made the earls of Kildare the most central figures in Tudor Ireland before 1520. Ellis emphasizes the importance of 'cross-border ties' or the ability of the earls of Kildare to bridge the political and cultural gap between Gaelic Ireland and English Ireland and form relationships with the Gaelic chiefs through political alliances and marriages. Ellis argues that the Kildare affinity, with their extensive land base, and Gaelic alliances was an important asset to the crown because it brought a measure of stability into the Irish political scene, and helped protect the English Pale against Gaelic attacks.⁶⁸

The other central argument of Ellis's analysis of the Irish political scene before and after 1520 is the importance of Kildare's relationship with the English crown. Contrary to Bradshaw's idea of the Kildares being an 'over-mighty subject', Ellis suggests that the Kildares actually looked for greater royal involvement, and no matter how independent they were they ultimately depended on the crown to sustain their position.⁶⁹ Contrary to Quinn and Bradshaw's arguments that the Kildares are not protecting the crown's interests, Ellis argues that Kildare's are constantly seeking the approval of the king and balancing the respective interests of what is happening locally in Ireland with broader interests of the

⁶⁸ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 110

⁶⁹ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 108 & 110

crown.⁷⁰ Ellis attributes English interference in Irish politics and the Surrey Expedition as the result of one of Henry VIII's episodic interests in government affairs.⁷¹

When examining the Irish political scene of the 1520s, Ellis focuses his analysis about the prerogatives of the crown for its Irish Lordship including strengthening the crown's position, and increasing revenue. Ellis argues that the relationship between the Lord Deputy and the Gaelic Irish was only important in terms of the Pale's stability. Ellis considers Henry's continuous supervision of the Pale and the Anglo-Irish magnates throughout the 1520s an attempt to keep Ireland from slipping back into political factions that dominated the Pale in the first decade of his reign. Contrary to Quinn's argument about the decreasing role of the Anglo-Irish magnates, Ellis contends that English continuous intervention in the Pale was not enough to undermine the influence of the earl of Kildare in the Irish political scene.⁷² Ellis argues that as late as 1533, there was no indication of the king's desire to rid Ireland of the Kildare affinity.⁷³

Fiona Fitzsimons provides a radical shift away from how Bradshaw, Ellis and Quinn view the English crown and their involvement in the Irish political scene from 1509-1530. Fitzsimons's goal within her essay 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland' (2004), is to challenge many of the findings of Ellis and Bradshaw, which she believes have persisted and been adopted by many other scholars because they

⁷⁰ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 110-111.

⁷¹ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 119

⁷² Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 133 and D.B. Quinn, 'English Policy in Irish Affairs 1520-34' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II, 668

⁷³ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 133

went unchallenged.⁷⁴ Her argument turns away from traditional scholarly consensus that sees English policy in Ireland through the 1520s as inconsistent and of low priority to Henry VIII. Fitzsimons argues that reform in Ireland was a primary goal of Henry VIII right from the start of his reign. She suggests that reform in Ireland became even more prominent on the agenda of the crown with Wolsey's rise to power.⁷⁵ The focus of Fitzsimons' arguments centers on early intervention by the English crown in Ireland to undermine the Kildare affinity and replace him with a Lord Deputy who was more malleable to the interests of the crown, and in a position to strengthen the position of the crown within the Irish political nation.

Like other scholars Fitzsimons argues that the key players in the Irish political scene in the 16th century were the Anglo-Irish magnates, especially the earl of Kildare. Fitzsimons's suggests in her essay that the crown recognized and wanted to exploit the politics of the affinities, which constituted a single political nation of Anglo and Gaelic Irish. She argues that the crown used Piers Butler, and the Butler affinity not only to undermine the Kildare affinity, but also as a way to infiltrate the Gaelic and Anglo Irish political nation.⁷⁶ Fitzsimons argues that the crown wanted to make there own affinity within the Irish political nation to get the political elite to recognize the authority of the king.

While Fitzsimons does acknowledge to the importance of the Anglo-Irish affinities within the Irish political nation, she considers the administrative reforms made by Wolsey to be the most important aspect of Henry VIII's policy in Ireland. Contrary to Quinn or Ellis, Fitzsimons argues that the appointments of Hugh Inge, John Rawson, and William Rokeby

⁷⁴ Fiona Fitzsimmons, "Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland" in David Edwards, *Regions and Rulers in Ireland 1101-1650*. Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2004. 91

⁷⁵ Fiona Fitzsimmons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 79-80

⁷⁶ Fiona Fitzsimmons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 120

to positions within the Dublin Administration within a two-year period, was an intentional move made by Henry and Wolsey, to strengthen the position of the crown.⁷⁷ Fitzsimons suggests that after 1520, the crown takes further action to increase its strength in the Irish Lordship by creating a privy council with executive functions independent of the Lord Deputy and being responsible for the appointment of almost all executive officers in Ireland.⁷⁸ Fitzsimons argues that the all of crown's initiatives in Ireland, both in the Pale and within the Irish political nation were not random or reactionary, rather a consistent strategy of administrative and legal reform meant to expel Anglo-Irish magnate influence within the Irish Lordship.⁷⁹

Colm Lennon focuses his analysis of the Tudor administration in Ireland from the perspective of what is happening within Ireland itself in response to political reform in England. Lennon's argument emphasizes the importance of the Anglo-Irish affinities in his analysis of the Irish political scene, with the Kildare affinity the dominant force for the first two decades of the 16th century. He also suggests the importance of alliances with Kildare's relationship with the crown as well. Lennon demonstrates this by arguing that Kildare's dynastic alliances through marriage with English nobility strengthened Henry's ability to trust him as Lord Deputy.⁸⁰ Lennon argues that the balance of Kildare's local relationships and his position as Lord Deputy, gave Kildare more incentive for maximizing resources of the king's lordship.⁸¹ Unlike Fitzsimons or Quinn, Lennon contends that Kildare is actively

⁷⁷ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland' in David Edwards, *Regions and Rulers in Ireland 1101-1650*, 100

⁷⁸ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 106

⁷⁹ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 119-120

⁸⁰ Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland, The Incomplete Conquest*. St Martin's Press: New York, 1995, 73

⁸¹ Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland, The Incomplete Conquest*, 71

trying to keep the crown's interests balanced with his own dynastic ones, and that Kildare continuously expressed the importance of his position on the king's favor.⁸²

Like Quinn and Ellis, Lennon considers Henry's removal of Kildare being the result of the king entering a new phase as an active ruler around 1519. However, Lennon argues that Kildare himself doesn't do anything wrong to provoke the king into the decision that reform was needed the lordship, rather it was Henry's change in political attitude in the 1520s that brought around reform efforts in Ireland.⁸³ Lennon suggests that Henry's change in attitude brought him to the realization that his power was limited in Ireland, and that he wanted to restore it. Lennon also argues that in addition to the kings changing political ideology, that there were reform efforts afoot within the Pale as well. Lennon argues that Kildare's position in Ireland was vulnerable partly because he did not respond properly to the growing reform movements of the 1520s in both England and in Ireland. Lennon suggests that the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry within the Pale in favor of reform in Ireland used Kildare and his affinity as a 'convenient whipping boy' to appeal to the king that royal intervention against Kildare was needed.⁸⁴

The final and most recent scholar of Tudor governance in Ireland that I examine is S.J Connelly. Connelly's book, *Contested Island*, is interesting to study, because he sums together all of the debates that have been put out in the 20th century, and then gives his perspective on the Irish Lordship under the Tudors. Connelly immediately addresses and dismisses the view that the Irish lordship was in decline in the 16th century. He instead

⁸² Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland, The Incomplete Conquest*, 84

⁸³ Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland, The Incomplete Conquest*, 89-90

⁸⁴ Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland, The Incomplete Conquest*, 92

suggests that the situation in the Pale was a 'mutually acceptable balance of interests' that existed between the king and his Lord Deputy at the turn of the century.⁸⁵ He then turns his attention to consider the causes for Henry VIII's call for reform in 1519, and argues that it came from within the king himself through his developing sense of kingship, an idea I will explain further in the next section of the historiography.

When assessing the nature of the Irish political scene in the 1520s, Connelly tends to collaborate and build off of Ellis and Quinn. Connelly's perspective tends to be geared towards the English role in Ireland in the 1520s. Connelly argues the importance of the alliances with Gaelic Irish, demonstrating this through Kildare's use of his Gaelic connections to create trouble in the Pale during his detainment in England. Connelly suggests that this helped Kildare get what he wanted from the crown, which was to return to Ireland.⁸⁶ Like most scholars, Connelly also contends that the main factor of instability in the Pale during the 1520s was feuding between the Butler and Kildare affinities. Despite all the factors of instability coming from within Ireland itself, Connelly argues that Henry dismantling the system of government under Kildare without a replacement played the most detrimental role in the Pales instability throughout the 1520s.⁸⁷ Connelly concludes that it is the developments in England and the changes within the king himself, which are having the most effect on the Irish political scene in the 1520s.

⁸⁵ S.J. Connelly, *Contested Island*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2007, 73

⁸⁶ S.J. Connelly, *Contested Island*, 82

⁸⁷ S.J. Connelly, *Contested Island*, 74

II: Debates on the Nature of Tudor Kingship

Many scholars agree that the topic proposed to his privy council in 1519, of 'how Ireland may be reduced and restored to good order and obedience' is the basis of Henry's ultimate goal for his Irish Lordship. However the majority of Tudor scholars contend that Henry's ideologies regarding his sense of kingship do not form cohesive policies until the 1530s, with the start of the Henrician revolution. Despite this consensus Quinn, Ellis, Fitzsimons and Connelly, present arguments that suggest that traces of Henry VIII's kingship can be seen in Henry's policies in Ireland during the 1520s that foreshadow the Henrician revolution. Connelly and Fitzsimons, in their assessment of Henry's sense of authority in Ireland especially paint a picture of a king who from the beginning of his reign was not content with the delegation of royal authority to local magnates.

Quinn assesses Henry's sense of imperial authority in Ireland and his method for achieving this authority as being similar how he achieves centralization in his other outlying territories. Quinn argues that Henry's conquest consisted of installing English officials in Dublin, which compares the use of 'royal organs of government' at Ludlow and in York used to override local autonomic lords.⁸⁸ Quinn also contends that the memoranda of 1519, provided insight into the strong legalism of Henry's own thinking. Quinn argues further that in the document the "mind of man who was in the 1530s to dominate England as no monarch since the Conquer had done before."⁸⁹ These arguments made by Quinn strongly

⁸⁸ D.B Quinn, *The Reemergence of English Policy as a major factor in Irish affairs, 1520-34*, 662

⁸⁹ D.B Quinn, *The Reemergence of English Policy as a major factor in Irish affairs, 1520-34*, 664

support that Henry was a king who had a sense of his own imperial authority well before the Henrician revolution 1530s.

In his assessment of Henry and his sense of imperial authority Quinn makes an interesting argument about the relationship between the Tudor monarchs and their Irish deputies that is worth noting. Quinn suggests that the death of Henry VII and four years later the 8th earl of Kildare brought the end of an era in Irish political history.⁹⁰ With this argument, he means that the 'fruitful' relationship that the king had established with the 8th earl of Kildare in Ireland towards his reign came effectively to an end with their deaths. Quinn further reflects that the different temperaments and upbringings of both Henry VIII and the 9th earl of Kildare, along with the changing Tudor political climate was bound in the long term to effect the relationship between king and deputy, and therefore lead to long term policy changes by the English crown towards its Irish Lordship. While Quinn makes it clear that none of is relevant before 1520, he does imply the importance of the relationship between the king and his deputy in Irish politics. He further argues, that while Henry VIII did not pay continuous attention to his Irish Lordship, he never completely forgot about it, rather he regarded it as a reserve sphere of influence that one day desired to govern more directly.⁹¹

Bradshaw argues that it was Henry VII, who brought a new emphasis to the power and dignity of the kingship in Ireland. Bradshaw contends that Henry VII had taught his son to replace the medieval notion of lordship in Ireland with the more modernized concept of

⁹⁰ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare hegemony 1494-1520', 654-657

⁹¹ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare hegemony, 1494-1520', 657 The Idea is also brought up again in his chapter on the reemergence of English policy as a major factor in Irish affairs, 1520-34

'kingly sovereignty.'⁹² While Bradshaw's main argument suggests that Henry does not actively express his 'kingly sovereignty' in Ireland until Thomas Cromwell comes onto the scene in the 1530s, he does accept that Henry does express his authority during the Surrey expedition. Bradshaw argues that Henry's expression of his authority in Ireland, builds on the humanistic ideals brought to his attention through the Anglo-Irish reformers of the Pale.⁹³ These humanistic ideals manifested itself with his policy of 'new departure', or the formation of a single community of obedient subjects through means of policy rather than conquest.⁹⁴

Ellis touches briefly on the idea of 'Tudor Absolutism' in his analysis of Henry's goals in Ireland in the 1520s. Ellis argues that Henry's statement of his absolute power in the memoranda for Ireland in 1519 was a strong indication that Henry's conception of his royal lordship in Ireland was undergoing change. He further suggests that Henry began to express the idea of absolutism in the 1520s by insisting that his royal power in Ireland be brought into line with practice in England⁹⁵ Ellis's idea of absolutism is supported by arguments made by Quinn as well. Ellis's argues that Henry VIII uses the policy of assimilation because in the 1520s he would not commit the financial resources to a full-scale invasion. Here Ellis highlights the idea that the ultimate goal of 'Tudor Absolutism' in Ireland was secondary for Henry in the 1520s.

Another interesting point made by Ellis that speaks to the evolving nature of Tudor politics, is that Henry's intervention in Ireland in 1520 marks the first time he ventures

⁹² Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 61

⁹³ Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 49

⁹⁴ Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 61

⁹⁵ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 124

outside of the political assumptions inherited by his father.⁹⁶ By this Ellis means that for the first decade of king's reign, Henry interfered very little in Irish affairs, leaving the crown's relationship with its Irish lordship the same as it had been under his father's reign. The Surrey expedition marks the first time Henry takes his own initiative to explore the political nation in Ireland. By making this comparison between father and son, Ellis highlights the idea that Henry VIII is beginning to move away from the shadow and assumptions of his father, and assert his own sense of kingship. Like Quinn, Ellis also argues that the relationship between Henry VIII and the 9th earl of Kildare was nothing like that of their fathers. Ellis argues that Henry VIII was more demanding and less appreciative than his father of the political reality of the weakness of royal authority in Ireland. Like Quinn, Ellis suggests that this difference in temperament of the two Tudor kings, inevitably brought about a different relationship between the king and his Lord Deputy in Ireland.⁹⁷

While Fitzsimons does not explicitly spell out Henry's political ideologies for his sense of kingship, the premise of her argument is that Henry from the beginning of his reign was actively trying to assert his direct authority within his Irish Lordship. Fitzsimons argues that Henry ultimate goal in Ireland was to enforce the crown government as the sole authority in the lordship, and curb the influence of his 'over-mighty magnates' who he felt were usurping his imperial authority.⁹⁸ Fitzsimons suggests that Henry's desire for reform in Ireland began to take shape with the rise of Wolsey. She further argues that as early as 1514 Wolsey was making administrative reforms in Ireland by placing English officials within the Dublin administration, and taking personal interests in key issues affecting the

⁹⁶Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 119

⁹⁷Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 115

⁹⁸ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 78

Irish lordship, including the Ormond dispute.⁹⁹ Fitzsimons focuses her essay on proving that Wolsey was the main instigator of reform within the Lordship. However the basis of her argument revolves around Henry's definite sense of imperial authority, and that it was always his goal to achieve sole authority in Ireland.

Connelly argues that English monarchs, including Henry VIII and his father had never been content with the limited power they had in Ireland, but more pressing needs forced them to accept delegation of power to the local magnates.¹⁰⁰ For Henry specifically, around 1519 he was going through a bout of active interest in matters of the state. Connelly suggests that Henry's continental intrigues and foreign policy, his long-term aspiration to see Ireland brought under control, and the development of a new concept of centralized authority in his realm, all contributed Henry's attacks on the Kildare hegemony beginning in the 1520s.¹⁰¹ Connelly suggests that Henry's vision of imperial authority were inspired by a combination of idealism and an understanding that his absolute authority extending throughout the entirety of his Irish Lordship, just the same as it did in England.

Similar to Quinn and Bradshaw, Connelly also maintains policies assimilation of Gaelic Irish into English society highlight the idea that Henry wanted the Gaelic Irish lords to take feudal submissions to his authority as lord, and reject any other Anglo-Irish or Gaelic Irish lord.¹⁰² While all three scholars write Henry's policy of assimilation of the Gaelic Irish as being unrealistic, especially given the instability of the Pale in the 1520s, it does provide

⁹⁹ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 94-95

¹⁰⁰ Connelly, S.J, *Contested Island*, 73

¹⁰¹ Connelly, S.J, *Contested Island*, 74

¹⁰² S.J Connelly, *Contested Island*, 79. Also see this idea presented in D.B Quinn. "The reemergence of English Policy as a Major factor in Irish Affairs, 1520-34", 663-664, and in Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century*, 61-63

insight into the idea that Henry's ultimate goal in Ireland was to achieve temporal imperium. For Connelly, Henry's developing sense of Kingship is the defining feature of his policies in the 1520s and 1530s.¹⁰³

Having examined the historiography of the Irish political nation, and Henry's sense of Imperial authority, it is clear that scholarship on these subjects are all over the map, and inconclusive. Scholarship on the subject, as with most topics of Tudor history, is ongoing as scholars continue to build off of each other's arguments to present new ideas. Now that I have reviewed what other scholars think about Henry VIII, his role in Ireland, and his developing sense of authority, it is now my turn in the next two chapters to build off these arguments and present my own ideas.

Chapter 3: Irish Politics; Networks and Affinities in the Political Nation

In his article, "Henry VIII and Ireland" published in *Irish Historical Studies* (1961), D.B Quinn begins by arguing that Henry VIII had grown up with a generation of relative stability. Quinn argues that not only was Henry more trusting of the noble families around him, but tended to rely on them more. This differentiated him from his father, who was notoriously untrusting of the noble families.¹⁰⁴ As evidence, Quinn notes that Henry VIII early in his reign delegated significant power in the outlying territories to local aristocracy.

¹⁰³ S.J Connelly, *Contested Island*, 74

¹⁰⁴ D.B Quinn, 'Henry VIII and Ireland' *Irish historical Studies*, Volume 12 No. 48, 1961, 319

Quinn and other scholars have acknowledged the importance and implications of such a relationship with the nobility for foreign and domestic policy. This kind of delegation of power by Henry is present within his Irish Lordship. Since 1496, the earls of Kildare had exercised significant independence with their authority in the Pale. This independence from the crown had created a political scene in Ireland whose stability depended on the actions of these Anglo-Irish Lords and their affinities.

The basic concept of an affinity, as well as its importance to the three Anglo-Irish magnates in Ireland is introduced in chapter 1. Anglo-Irish affinities consisted of their distant families, and minor Anglo-Irish nobility and Gaelic nobility who align themselves with the magnate. The Anglo-Irish affinities had a certain sphere of influence in the Irish political scene, and their actions largely determined its stability. The networks of alliances with greater Gaelic lords strengthened each magnate's sphere of influence within the Irish political scene. Kildare's affinity was his biggest asset to the crown, as it allowed him to intervene more readily in disputes among the Gaelic Irish lords. In the case of the earl of Kildare and the Butler's of Ormond, their network of alliances extended to English nobility, through family connections and other alliances.¹⁰⁵ The influence of the Anglo-Irish Lords and their affinities within the Pale and Gaelic Ireland, as well as the challenges that these affinities presented to the king will both be explored in this chapter.

From studying Irish political history in the 15th and 16th century it is clear that the Anglo-Irish magnates yielded much influence both in the Pale and areas of Gaelic Ireland. Outside of the Pale, where there was no permanent administration, the Anglo-Irish magnates and their affinities were especially important. In the absence of an

administration, common law courts, and sheriffs, the people outside of the Pale turned to Anglo or Gaelic Irish lords for justice and order. Referring back to the map shown in chapter 1, the sphere of the English administration in Dublin was small. When Henry VIII envisioned his governance in Ireland and formed policies for his Irish Lordship, he was for the most part considering how it would be implemented in the Pale and the areas under direct English influence.¹⁰⁶ When studying Henry's role in the Irish political scene, it is important to examine the areas where a permanent administration was present, and its influence in Ireland. Within the English Pale it is important to study the influence of the other classes of people, such as the Pale nobility and gentry as well as the English within the Dublin administration. While the Anglo-Irish magnates wielded much influence within the Pale, the presence of the Dublin administration, the model of English government, was also an important political factor within the Pale.

I: The Anglo-Irish Magnate's Their Affinities and the 'Ormond Succession Dispute'

The most important an Anglo-Irish magnate with the largest affinity at the beginning of the 16th century was that of the Fitzgerald's of Kildare. Since 1496 when the 8th earl of Kildare was reappointed Lord Deputy, he successfully expanded his affinity in both the Pale and Gaelic Ireland. The earl's ability to maintain a solid relationship with the English crown, while also utilizing the king's Irish patrimony to increase his personal wealth, land, and network of alliances with Gaelic chiefs, increased the autonomy of his affinity in the Irish

political scene. Kildare's son and heir, the future 9th earl of Kildare, was raised in England. While at the English court, Gerald Fitzgerald was raised with the future generation of important English nobles and forged enduring relationships with them.¹⁰⁷ The Kildare family's status at the English court was increased even more by Gerald Kildare's marriage to Elizabeth Zouche, a relative of Henry VII. Upon his return, the young heir to the earldom of Kildare served in the Dublin administration as treasurer until the death of his father in 1513. This experience as treasurer gave Kildare an understanding of the Dublin administration.¹⁰⁸ When the 8th earl of Kildare died, Gerald succeeded him as Lord Deputy. In the first years of the Kildare's time as Lord Deputy, he continued much the same as his father, continuing military campaigns to gain more territory, and further extending the influence of his affinity.

In England, Henry VIII during the period of 1513-1518 was occupied with continental matters, largely leaving his Irish Lordship alone. A four-month period in 1515 saw the first signs of unrest coming from within the Pale about Kildare. Sir William Darcy submitted his articles about the 'decay of Ireland' to the English council. Darcy's articles resulted in Kildare along with other senior members of the Dublin Administration to be called to England to report on the state of the Irish Lordship. Henry VIII was more concerned with continental issues than his Irish Lordship, and Cardinal Wolsey, the fledging chief minister of the king, was likely still more concerned about increasing his own influence over the king and English nobility. As a result of the lack of interest shown by the

¹⁰⁷ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony, 1494-1520' in *A New History of Ireland* Volume II. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1987, 656-657

¹⁰⁸ Mary Ann Lyons, *FitzGerald, Gerald* (Gearáid Ág, Garrett McAlison) 9th earl of Kildare, 2013 In James McGuire, James Quinn (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

king and Cardinal Wolsey, Kildare not only dodged the charges of abuse of power brought by Sir William Darcy, but also was given further land grants by the king, and the power to appoint his own Chancellor of Ireland and Chief Justice of the King's Bench.¹⁰⁹

In 1515 Kildare had a relationship with the English crown that revolved around the idea that as long as the interests of the crown, stability of the Pale and the generation of Irish revenues were ensured by Kildare, they would stay out of affairs in Ireland. This left the Kildare and his family free to continue extending their affinity's sphere of influence in Gaelic Ireland and continue to build up their personal arsenal of wealth. However unrest was beginning to boil up among the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry of the Pale. This combined with other important factors that will be examined in this chapter, made it certain that this relationship between Henry VIII and the earl of Kildare could not last forever.

By the 16th century, the Anglo-Irish Butlers of Ormond split into three branches; the Butlers of Polestown, the barons of Bunboyne, and the barons of Cahir.¹¹⁰ Sir Piers Butler was the third son of Sir James Butler of the Polestown branch of the Butler family. Sir James Butler acted as deputy of the earldom of Ormond to the absentee Thomas Butler, 7th earl of Ormond who resided in England. Piers was raised in the 8th earl of Kildare's household and was married his daughter Margaret Fitzgerald. When his father died in 1487, Piers assumed the position of deputy for the absentee earl of Ormond. However he was challenged when the earl sent over his illegitimate nephew Sir James Butler to Ireland to

¹⁰⁹ *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Edited by Brewer, J.S. Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer: London, 1862 Volume II no. 996-1001,

¹¹⁰ D.B Quinn, " 'Irish Ireland and 'English' Ireland" in *A New History of Ireland Volume II*, Oxford University Press, 1987, 631

assume the deputyship. Piers showed his determination to make a name for himself by murdering James Butler in 1497 excusing it as self-defense. With the support of his father-in-law, the 8th earl of Kildare by 1505 had Piers had reclaimed deputyship of the Ormond lands in Ireland.¹¹¹ When the 7th earl of Ormond died in 1515, Piers with support from the Anglo-Irish nobility, including the earls of Kildare and Desmond, took over as earl of Ormond. Butler claimed that since the lands were in his possession that he was the rightful heir according to Irish custom.¹¹² The Kildare and Butler affinities were in alliance through the marriage of Butler to Kildare's sister. Their relationship played an intricate part of the stability in the Irish political scene since they both held vast amounts of land bordering each other South of the Pale.

Arguably the first event to turn Henry VIII's attention towards the state of his Irish Lordship was the Ormond succession dispute. The succession dispute that ensued after the death of the 7th earl of Ormond, embroiled the earl of Kildare, Sir Piers Butler, and an influential English noble in the king's court, Thomas Boleyn. Boleyn was the English grandson of the 7th earl of Ormond, and challenged Pier Butler's claim in favor of his mother and aunt as the true heirs of the lands of Ormond in Ireland. Boleyn was of minor noble origins, however his marriage to Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howards, duke of Norfolk, significantly raised his standing in the English court. From the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, Boleyn's position at court was on the rise, and his connection with the

¹¹¹David Beresford, 'Butler, Piers 8th earl of Ormond 1st earl of Ossory' In James McGuire, James Quinn (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2013

¹¹² David Beresford, 'Butler, Piers 8th earl of Ormond 1st earl of Ossory'. Also see Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 117.

Howards, made him an influential noble at court.¹¹³ In 1516, he was able to get the king to look into the Ormond dispute, who ordered Kildare to have the succession dispute reviewed by the Irish privy council.

While the Ormond dispute was not officially resolved until 1528, the fallout did have immediate consequences in both England and Ireland leading into the 1520s. Within Ireland itself, while the earl of Kildare did support Sir Pier Butler's claim to the earldom of Ormond, his inability to get the king's recognition caused a major rift between the two Anglo-Irish magnates. While the Kildare affinity within the Pale and the Irish political scene was stronger, it would be a mistake to under estimate the importance of the Butler affinity and their network of connections in England and Ireland. Feuding between the two Anglo-Irish magnates brought their family members and those who were in alliance with each affinity to outright violence against each other. The Kildare's contracted their Gaelic alliances to increase raiding on Butler territory, and vice-versa. The Kildare-Ormond feuding that ensued through the 1520s was a major cause of the political instability both in and out of the Pale. For the crown, the increase in Gaelic raiding of English territory and unrest coming from supporters of each faction from within the Pale caused a situation that was hard of the English king to ignore.¹¹⁴

The Ormond Succession dispute plays a bigger political role in the development of affairs in Ireland leading into the 1520s than most scholars give it credit for. The dispute not only brought the two most influential Anglo-Irish magnates to become enemies, but it also brought royal attention the decay of English authority in Ireland. There is also a more

¹¹³Boleyn's importance is evident throughout from the beginning of Henry's reign, being created a knight of the Bath at Henry VIII's coronation in 1509, an ambassador to France from 1518-1521, commissioner of the Holy League.

¹¹⁴D.B Quinn, *The Kildare Hegemony, 1494-1520*, 659-660

subtle idea that can be concluded about the king and his limited authority to resolve the Ormond dispute. According to Irish law, because Sir Piers Butler held peerage in the Irish parliament attached to the Ormond title and lands in Ireland, he could inherit the lands and title, regardless of whether he was heir to the entirety of the 7th earl of Ormond's estates.¹¹⁵ Kildare and other Anglo-Irish nobility supported this law, and Butlers claim to the Ormond title and lands, leaving Henry powerless to challenge the law. Quinn makes the observation that Kildare's recognition of Butler's right to the title and the Irish lands was on some level a challenge to the king's authority.¹¹⁶ Although there is little evidence to directly support this idea, the king does leave his ruling on the case up in the air after 1516, which can either indicate that he had lost interest, or perhaps that he realized he did not have the authority in Ireland to win this case.

Regardless of the details and outcome the Ormond dispute, from around 1516 onward Henry's attention continued to gradually increase in Ireland. Up until 1518, Kildare had been able to strike a balance between extending the influence of his affinity and personal wealth, and his duties as the king's representative in Ireland. By 1518 however, the balance begins to shift towards a focus on local disputes and protecting his dynastic interests in Ireland, leaving the Dublin administration and the Pale in disorder. The local feuding outside of the Pale by members of Butler and Kildare's affinity and the instability it caused in the Pale, along with increasing unrest of the people in the Pale's whose livelihoods depended on stability, made the situation hard for the crown to ignore.

¹¹⁵Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*,. Addison Wesley Longman Limited: New York, 1998, 117. See for a more detailed analysis of the Irish inheritance laws.

¹¹⁶ D.B Quinn, "Irish Ireland and 'English' Ireland' in *A New History of Ireland Volume II*. Oxford University Press, 1987, 659.

II

The Desmond's and the Anglo-Irish Magnates in the 1520s

The Fitzgerald's of Desmond were the most elusive of the three Anglo-Irish magnates in the Irish political scene. Their dealing with the Dublin administration, after their involvement with supporting Lambert Simnel declined in the 1490s, most notable he was absent from the Poyning's parliament in 1494.¹¹⁷ The Desmond affinity supported another pretender, Perkin Warbeck in 1492, and as a result lost possession of Limerick Castle.¹¹⁸ Although receiving a general pardon in 1496, Maurice Fitzgerald 10th earl of Desmond retreated to their lands, and concentrated on consolidating their lands in Munster. The Desmond's maintained alliances with local Hiberno-Norman nobility, including the Lord Barry and Lord Roche, both of whom held land in and around Munster. Maurice Fitzgerald, 10th earl of Desmond maintained good relations with the earl of Kildare. Sometime before his death in 1520, his son James took over leadership of the Desmond affinity. The 11th earl of Desmond was much more confrontational than his father, and increased his raids on the Ormond lands. From 1518 through 1523, Desmond was also involved make alliances with Henry's continental enemies. He made alliances with first the French king, and then Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire conspiring against the English king.¹¹⁹ While these alliances never panned out and did not prove to be a serious threat to the king's security in England,

¹¹⁷ D.B Quinn, 'Aristocratic Autonomy 1460-94' in *A New History of Ireland Volume II, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*. Oxford University Press, 1987, 630

¹¹⁸ D.B Quinn, 'The Kildare Hegemony 1494-1520', in *A New History of Ireland Volume II*, 641-642 See this chapter for more detail about Desmond's activities under Henry VII

¹¹⁹ D.B Quinn, 'Henry VIII and Ireland, 1509-1534', 323-324 See for his ideas about the rumors of Desmond's continental intrigues as being a reason for Henry VIII attention being turned towards his Irish Lordship

Desmond's continental intrigues in the 1520s made the king nevertheless wanted to keep a close eye on his activities, and enlisted Kildare and Butler to report on his actions.¹²⁰

Throughout the 1520s, even with consistent intervention and constant effort to increase their position in Ireland by the English crown, the power of the Anglo-Irish magnates continues to be the dominant force of the Irish political scene. Kildare and his affinity posed a serious challenge to Henry VIII when trying to implement a new system of government in the Pale in the 1520s. When detained in England from 1519 through 1522, Kildare called upon his affinity and to stir up trouble in the Pale, by undermining the authority of Surrey. He also called on his Gaelic connections to increase attacks on the English Pale, with the intention to show the crown that he was necessary for the Pale's protection.¹²¹ Kildare was successful, and he was allowed to return to Ireland in 1523 with his new wife, Elizabeth Grey. Elizabeth Grey was the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, an influential courtier in Henry's court, and their marriage created another alliance for him in the English court.¹²²

When Kildare was present in Ireland, his feuding with Butler continued to bring political and social instability to the Pale. Both the Butler affinity and the Kildare affinity extended to England in the 1520s, as each had their champions at court pleading their case to the king. Butler through his son Sir James Ormond who worked in Wolsey's house, and

¹²⁰ D.B Quinn, 'Henry VIII and Ireland, 1509-1534', 332-333 Quinn suggests that the indentures of Kildare and Ormond in 1524, were in part to free Butler to watch Desmond's actions and defend his lands against Desmond.

¹²¹ *State Papers King Henry VIII*. Published under the authority of his majesty's commission, 1830 Volume II, 42-45 L&P Henry VIII Volume III no. 924

¹²² Elizabeth, Countess of Kildare herself uses his connections with the English court to try and gain favor from the king, see S.P Henry VIII Volume II part III, 101-102

Kildare through his newly established his Grey affinity.¹²³ Despite efforts on the part of the crown to stop feuding between the two Anglo-Irish lords, the indentures and peace commissions, the strength of each magnate's affinities kept the feud persisting through the 1530s.¹²⁴ Throughout the 1520s the Desmond affinity also played their role in increasing the instability of the Irish political scene. In 1524 Desmond increased raiding on Ormond territory, reviving a feud between the two affinities. Having to deal with the Desmonds in the south pulled Butler away from his administrative duties as Lord Deputy. Butler's personal retinue was stretched thin, and he was unable to protect the Pale from Gaelic raiding from the North. Desmond's activities were confined to his Irish Lands, however his involvement with the Butlers had an indirect affect on the stability of the Pale.

Kildare's connections with the Gaelic Irish chiefdoms placed him in a position to cause trouble in the Pale to get what he wanted from the king. Even after 1526, when Kildare was once again detained in England on charges brought against him by Butler, Kildare influence was still present in Ireland. 1528 when Sir Richard Nugent was appointed Lord Deputy, Kildare utilized his Gaelic allies to cause trouble, which resulted in the members of the Irish privy council to ask for his return. In a letter from Archbishop Inge and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Patrick Bermingham, the terrible condition of the Pale is described, and they proclaim that the earl of Kildare is the only man who can rectify the situation.¹²⁵ Unwilling in the 1520s to commit the financial resources needed to

¹²³ Fiona Fitzsimons "Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland" in David Edwards, *Regions and Rulers in Ireland 1101-1650*. Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2004. Fitzsimmons also argues the Wolsey was aligned with Ormond against Kildare.

¹²⁴ The 1524 indenture of Kildare and Ormond to the King, essentially promising to stop their feuding and work together working within the Dublin Administration, highlights this idea and about a year after the indentures were made, Kildare's articles against Ormond are sent to the king. See S.P. Henry VIII Vol 2 104-107 for full indenture. And S.P. Henry VIII Vol 2 120-124 for articles against Ormond.

¹²⁵ S.P Henry VIII Vol 2126-128

retain direct authority in Ireland through an Englishman, or a more malleable lesser Anglo-Irish noble as Lord Deputy, the crown was forced to tolerate the Kildare affinity and their influence authority in Ireland, as is evident by his restoration to the Lord Deputy position in 1524 and again in 1532.

II: The Irish Nobility and Gentry

The English pale in Ireland featured of a social hierarchy of noble classes and the gentry. Below the Anglo-Irish magnates were the minor nobility such as Sir William Preston, Viscount of Gormanston and Richard Nugent, 12th Baron of Delvin. Neither exerted much influence outside of the Pale, but they played an important role within the Dublin administration. Figures such as Robert Cowley, a merchant in the Pale and Sir William Darcy, heir to lands in Co. Meath rose up to play an influential role in the Pale's political scene. As argued in the introduction of this chapter, English policy in Ireland was geared towards the areas under its direct influence. Therefore the political social dynamic within the Pale played an influential role in the Henry's decisions in Ireland. While the Anglo-Irish magnates were very influential in the Pale, in order to fully understand how English policy in Ireland is being formed, it is important to know the roles and personal interests of the key figures on the ground.

In the 15th century, the Kildare affinity had established itself as the most influential of the three Anglo-Irish magnates. The resources of Kildare's affinity including land, alliances with Gaelic chiefs, and a large retinue offered the members of the lesser nobility and the gentry residing in the Pale and its shires protection from the bordering Gaelic

chiefdoms. The lesser Anglo-Irish nobility, gentry and merchants all required protection from Gaelic Irish, as well as political stability to ensure the security of their lands and livelihoods. Merchants for example needed safe conduct around the Irish Lordship at sea and on land in order to succeed in business. In 1515, Sir William Darcy's articles against Kildare show the first signs that the Anglo-Irish of the Pale were not satisfied with Kildare's system of government in the Pale. Darcy emerged as the leader of the Anglo-Irish in Co. Meath, who all felt this same sentiment towards Kildare's rule.¹²⁶ While in 1515, these accusations brought by Darcy against Kildare were dismissed by the king, they do show the growing dissatisfaction within the Pale about Kildare, which gained momentum in the 1520s. In this section of the chapter I will examine the Anglo-Irish men from the different social classes of the Pale who emerge in the 1520s as influential political figures in the Pale.

Richard Nugent 12th baron of Devlin is descendent of the original Anglo-Norman nobility that migrated to Ireland in the 12th century. His family was given the barony of Devlin sometime around 1172 along with land grants from Sir Hugh de Lacy, earl of Meath and right hand man of King Henry II in the conquering of Ireland. The Nugents eventually became part of the Irish peerage and sat in the Irish Parliament. Richard Nugent 12th baron inherited his title from his father, who died in 1478.¹²⁷ In 1489, Nugent was one of the fifteen Irish nobles that Henry VII acknowledged when issuing his general pardons to supporters of the pretender Lambert Simnel. Nugent generally tried to stay away from the politics of the Dublin administration, as evident by his refusal to attend parliament in 1498, for which he was fined 40 shillings. Nugent emerged under the 8th earl of Kildare's lordship

¹²⁶ Brendan Bradshaw. *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1979, 39

¹²⁷ Oliver Nugents, Barons of Delvin, Earls of Westmeath and Nugents of Antigua: A History of the Drumcree Nugents

as an important leadership figure. In 1496 in the absence of the earl of Kildare, Nugent was elected by the lord justices in council to act as commander-in-chief of forces assigned for the protection of the Pale against Irish raids. The 12th baron of Delvin also played a prominent role in the battle of Knockdoe in 1504 alongside the 8th earl of Kildare.¹²⁸

Beginning with his appointment as Justice of the Peace in Meath in 1515, Nugent from this point forward took an active interest in the Irish political scene and in 1522 was appointed to the Irish council. Nugent was never a supporter of the Kildare affinity and during the factional disputes between Butler and Kildare, aligned with the Butler affinity. Delvin replaced Kildare as lord Lieutenant in 1527, another attempt by King Henry VIII and Cardinal to find a system of government that could run independent of the Anglo-Irish magnates.¹²⁹ His lack of personal resources such as land, wealth and military retinue combined with lack of funding from the crown prevented him from being a successful Lieutenant. Another problem for Nugent was his lack of polity and alliances with Gaelic chiefs, which resulted with him being kidnapped by a Pale bordering Gaelic Lord in 1528. By 1528, less than two years after being named Lord Deputy, the crown's experiment of having a lesser Anglo-Irish noble of the Pale running the Irish Lordship was over, and Butler was reappointed.¹³⁰

While Nugent's social status did not suit him for a position of leadership of the Pale as a whole, he does emerge as the leader of the lesser nobility and gentry in Meath.

Nugent's family came from a tight knit community of Meath nobility, and his influence with

¹²⁸ David Beresford, Nugent, Richard 12th baron of Delvin. In James McGuire, James Quinn (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009

¹²⁹ Fiona Fitzsimmons, Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of reform in Henrician Ireland, ' in David Edwards. *Region and Rules in Ireland 1011-1650* Four Courts Press, Portland, OR, 2004, 112

¹³⁰ Fiona Fitzsimmons, Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of reform in Henrician Ireland, 114

amongst Meath nobility made his support valuable to the Anglo-Irish magnates.¹³¹ In the broader political scene of the Pale, this was important because the support of Anglo-Irish nobility of the Pale was essential to the success of an Anglo-Irish Lord being able to yield his influence in the Pale. The Meath nobility's discontent with Kildare as Lord Deputy is clear, since Nugents along with other Anglo-Irish nobles aligned themselves with the Butler faction after 1516. The local political relationship between Nugent and Butler formed a clear faction against Kildare and his affinity within the Pale, which caused a source of instability within the Pale and the Dublin administration in the 1520s.¹³²

Sir William Preston, 2nd Viscount Gormanston was the son of Robert Preston, who was entitled the 1st Viscount Gormanston in 1478. Preston and Nugent are cousins through Elizabeth Preston, Preston's father's sister. Robert Preston had always had a shaky relationship with the Kildare affinity, being of a group of English nobles in Ireland who were opposed to the 8th earl of Kildare as deputy.¹³³ However when Kildare returned to power in Ireland in 1490, the Viscount submitted to his authority, and even supported the earl's backing of Lambert Simnel. From September 1493- 1494 Gormanston acted as the king's Lord Deputy. He was summoned to England with Kildare and Sir James Butler (father of Sir Pier's Butler) for discussions regarding the state of Ireland. This is significant because it reveals the importance of the Preston family in the Pale's political scene. By 1496, the family was trusted by both the king and by the 8th earl, who during his visit to England

¹³¹ David Beresford Nugent, Richard 12th baron of Delvin, 2009

¹³² *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 1515-1574*. Edited by ed. Brewer J.S and William Bullen. Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer: London, 1867 no. 24, 29. The indenture of Kildare explicitly states that he cannot take revenge on Lord Delvin, and the other Anglo-Irish nobles who were aligned against his affinity. This makes it clear that the king recognized the instability caused by the factions formed involved in the Anglo-Irish nobles of the Pale, Butler

¹³³ Anthony M. McCormack, Preston, Sir William 2nd Viscount Gormanston. In James McGuire, James Quinn (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009

appointed Gormanston's son William, the future 2nd Viscount Gormanston as acting Lord Deputy.¹³⁴

Upon his father's death in 1503, William inherited the title and his family's estate in Stamullin Co. Meath along with other land holdings in Kildare, Louth and Dublin. Gormanston's land holdings in Co. Kildare made his relationship with the earl of Kildare important. In August 1504, Gormanston, alongside his cousin Richard Nugent 12th baron of Delvin and the 8th earl of Kildare, proved himself in the battle of Knockdoe, the result of a conflict between the Hiberno-Norman Burke Clan and the Kildare affinity.¹³⁵ Given his father's active involvement in the Dublin Administration throughout the end of the 15th century, it was only natural that his son continued with this work. Other than his peerage in the Irish parliament, Gormanston was appointed by the 9th earl of Kildare in 1515 to serve as Lord Deputy when he was summoned to England.¹³⁶ Kildare entrusting Gormanston as Lord deputy shows that in 1515 the viscount and Kildare were politically aligned. After Kildare is replaced as Lord Deputy by the earl of Surrey, Gormanston does appear to support the new administration, being appointed to the task force sent to make peace between Desmond and Butler.¹³⁷ Gormanston's status as an Anglo-Irish noble, and his land holdings throughout the Pale and in Co. Kildare granted him peerage in the Irish Parliament. Gormanston's involvement in the Pale's political scene seems to me minimal, as he does not appear to align himself against the Kildare's in the 1520s factional disputes nor does he appear to have any important role in Ireland during the 1520s.

¹³⁴ Anthony M. McCormack, Preston, Sir William 2nd Viscount Gormanston

¹³⁵ Anthony M. McCormack, Preston, Sir William 2nd Viscount Gormanston

¹³⁶ Anthony M. McCormack, Preston, Sir William 2nd Viscount Gormanston

¹³⁷ S.P Henry VIII Volume II part III, no. III 'The earl of Surrey to King Henry VIII'. 35-36.

Sir William Darcy was the son and heir of John Darcy of Platten Co. Meath, a landowning member of the gentry. His family's lands in Co. Meath were split into five manors, some of which were in the marches, and placed the Darcy's among the wealthiest Anglo-Irishmen of the Pale. Darcy received his legal training first in Dublin, and then in England, returning to Ireland around 1483. In 1487, Darcy became involved in the support for the pretender Simnel, attending his crowning as 'King Edward VI' in Dublin.¹³⁸ Traditionally his family was involved in English government in the Pale and its shires, Darcy himself serving as sheriff, under-treasurer, deputy treasurer, and serving on the baronial council during the 8th earl of Kildare's lordship. Darcy's relationship with the 8th earl of Kildare was strong, exemplified by his positions within the Dublin Administration. Darcy also tightened relationships with other nobility of the Meath through his own marriages, and the marriages of his children to other members of the Anglo-Irish gentry in Co. Meath.¹³⁹

When the 9th earl of Kildare came to power however, he was removed from his position as deputy-treasurer and from the baronial council, being replaced by Kildare's brother-in-law, Lord Slane, a member of the Gaelic Irish nobility.¹⁴⁰ Darcy likely wrote his articles entitled *The State of Ireland, and Plan for It's Reformation*, because of his resentment of being excluded from the 9th earl's government.¹⁴¹ In the articles, Darcy accused Kildare of imposing Gaelic exactions and other unlawful burdens on the Pale. He also indicated the decay of English order in the Pale, claiming that in many regions, the

¹³⁸ Steven Ellis, Darcy, Sir William. In James McGuire, James Quinn (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹³⁹ Steven Ellis, Darcy, Sir William

¹⁴⁰ Steven Ellis. *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 115

¹⁴¹ Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, 38

Anglo-Irish had assimilated more into Gaelic customs and culture. Darcy also expressed that Kildare was favoring Gaelic interests over those of the Anglo-Irish nobles and the crown.¹⁴² After Kildare was cleared of his charges, relations with Kildare were completely severed, and Darcy retreated away from Dublin until 1520. The Surrey expedition, brought Darcy back onto the political scene, where his knowledge of Gaelic custom and language proved valuable for Surrey, who employed him to help gain submissions from Gaelic chiefs. Throughout the 1520s, Darcy aligned himself with the Butler affinity, who reappointed under-treasurer during his deputyship.¹⁴³

The importance of Sir William Darcy was his leadership role in the Meath Gentry circles, emerging as the 'father of the movement for political reformation in Ireland'. Darcy's social background, his family's influence in the Pale gentry, and Darcy's leadership roles all made Darcy an important figure in the political scene of the Dublin Administration in the 1520s. The accusations he brought against Kildare in his articles reflected the broader attitude with the Pale nobility and gentry.¹⁴⁴ Even when working for the 8th earl of Kildare had Darcy insisted upon the importance of good English order, a characteristic shared by many Anglo-Irish nobles of the Pale.¹⁴⁵ Another characteristic reflected in his articles, which applied to many Anglo-Irish lords during the 16th century his land ownership in the Pale marches, and the need for protection the Gaelic chiefdoms who bordered his lands.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² S.P. Henry VIII Volume II, part I, 29

¹⁴³ Steven Ellis. Darcy, Sir William

¹⁴⁴ Brendan Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution*, 37 -39

¹⁴⁵ Steven Ellis. Darcy, Sir William

¹⁴⁶ Steven Ellis. Darcy, Sir William

Robert Cowley, an Anglo-Irish merchant living in the English Pale became part of the Dublin Administration as the 8th earl of Kildare's secretary. Cowley's origins are uncertain, meaning that he likely comes from an inconsequential family, with no real connections with the nobility or gentry of the Pale. Cowley received a legal education, possibly in London. Sometime around 1504, Cowley comes on the political scene of the Pale as the Lord Deputy's personal secretary. Cowley had a good relationship with the 8th earl of Kildare, who appointed him to his baronial council. Cowley's relationship with Kildare secured him government contracts to import goods to England.¹⁴⁷ When the Kildare died, his son dismissed Cowley from the baronial council. In 1516, when the Kildare and Butler feud emerged, Cowley aligned himself with the Butlers and put his legal training to good use for the affinity, in their attempts to undermine the Kildare affinity. In 1519, Cowley travelled to London to follow up with the accusations of Kildare abusing his position as lord deputy. After Kildare's dismissal, Cowley served as clerk of the privy-council in Ireland from 1520 to 1524. Once Kildare returned as Lord Deputy, Cowley returned to London to promote Butler's efforts to be recognized as the earl of Ormond and continue to present accusations against Kildare to the English council. Throughout the 1520s he advised Wolsey on Irish affairs, and work to discredit Kildare with much success. In 1525, he intercepted treasonable correspondence between Kildare and the earl of Desmond, which proved success enough to have Kildare detained in England until 1530.¹⁴⁸ Cowley's significance within the Pale's political scene was the legal talents that he used to undermine the Kildare

¹⁴⁷ L&P Henry VIII Volume 1 no. 4588

¹⁴⁸ Terry Clavin, Anthony M. McCormack, Cowley, Robert. In James McGuire, James Quinn (ed.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009

affinity. Being dismissed from Kildare's favor meant that the government contracts for his business as a merchant stopped, an essential part of his livelihood. Cowley's motivations in aligning himself with the Butlers, and offering up his legal services to his affinity, was to gain favor with an influential Anglo-Irish magnate who could replace Kildare as Lord Deputy.

Although the minor nobility, gentry and merchants do not have the same political influence and affinities at their disposal throughout Ireland, as do the Anglo-Irish magnates, their presence within Dublin Administration was important throughout the first two decades of the 16th century. Both Nugent and his cousin the Gormanston are members of the nobility, members of the Irish parliament, and yielded some influence in Dublin Administration leadership roles in their lifetime. Both men, along with the other landed nobility and gentry also held personal stakes with their land and offices, and thus an incentive to want stability and protection against the Gaels bordering their lands. In 1504 Nugent, Gormanston and Darcy are all present at the battle of Knockdoe fighting alongside the Kildare affinity against the Burke clan to defend English interests in Connaught. Somewhere along the line in the 1500s Kildare lost the support of the Anglo-Irish nobility, because he no longer properly secured their interests. As dissent for Kildare continued to grow Nugent emerged as the leader of the Meath nobility and Darcy, emerged as the leader of the gentry of the Pale. The two gentlemen along with Cowley aligned themselves with the Butler Affinity with the hopes of bringing the Kildare affinity down. Given their leadership positions, Nugent and Darcy's alliance with Butler was a broader indication of Anglo-Irish of the Pale dislike of the Kildare affinity, and its governing of the Irish Lordship. While Gormanston doesn't ally himself against Kildare as does his cousin, he also doesn't

commit himself as a supporter of the Kildare affinity. Gormanston appears to be politically unreliable, supporting whichever administration will offer himself and his personal lands the most protection. The main idea that becomes clear through this assessment of different influential Anglo-Irish figures in the 16th century political scene of the Pale is that of the growing dissent of Kildare's governing of Ireland. Several reasons including, less protection from Gaelic raids, decreased overall attention towards the Pale, and increasing favor of the Gaelic Irish, are all factors that contribute to resentment of Kildare deputyship and impress upon the king the need for political reform within the Pale.

III: English Presence in Ireland

From around 1510 the trend of English presence and interference in Irish affairs is on the rise. The biggest piece of evidence to support this trend is that from 1507 to 1513, four prominent Englishmen Hugh Inge, John Rawson, John Kite and William Rokeby, were appointed to fill various administrative and clerical positions. Each of these men had personal connections with either the king or Cardinal Wolsey, which will be examined in this section. Upon the arrival of the earl of Surrey in Ireland, the Englishmen proved valuable to the Irish council.¹⁴⁹ When considering English presence in Ireland, there is also the broader agenda that Henry VIII may have been executing in Ireland. Fitzsimons offers the view that part of Henry and Wolsey's broader agenda included encouraging absentee

¹⁴⁹ LP Henry VIII, 1519-1521. No. 670. The signatures of Rawson, Rokeby and Inge also appear on many of the letters from the council to Wolsey and Henry VIII throughout the 1520's.

lords in England to take a more active interest in their estates in Ireland.¹⁵⁰ The injection of Englishmen into the Irish council, dioceses, and administrative positions provides evidence that supports the idea that Henry VIII and Wolsey are trying to direct and English influence into the Irish council, dominated by those who support Kildare.

William Rokeby was the first of the prominent Englishmen to arrive in Ireland in 1507. Rokeby originated from Yorkshire England, and received a degree in canon law at Cambridge, and began his career working in the church as a rector parish church in his hometown of Kirk Sandal. From 1502 until 1505, he held various other benefices and was vicar of Halifax. In 1507, Rokeby was appointed bishop of Meath, where he served until 1512. While he initially was placed in Meath, to serve an ecclesiastic position, in 1512 Rokeby was transferred to the Dublin to serve as archbishop, and in the same year the king also promoted him to chancellor of Ireland. His promotions to these prominent positions within the Dublin administration correlate with the timing of the arrival of more Englishmen, such as John Kite and John Rawson to important political positions within the Pale.¹⁵¹ The successive nature of Englishmen arriving from England to serve in the government in Dublin suggests a broader agenda on the part of the crown to increase English presence in the Pale, and strengthen their position within the Irish Lordship.

This assessment for the purpose of Rokeby, and other Englishmen being placed in an important role in the Dublin administration is made stronger by that fact that he and the other Englishmen arriving at this time were all appointed to the Irish council. Rokeby was

¹⁵⁰Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the native affinities, and the failure of reform in Henrician Ireland' in *Regions and Rulers in Ireland 1100-1650* edited by David Edwards, see for the scope of her evidence and implications for this idea.

¹⁵¹D. G. Newcombe, 'Rokeby, William (d. 1521)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

among the senior Dublin officials summoned to England in 1515 to testify about the state of the Irish Lordship. The testimony given by Rokeby and other senior Dublin Administration officials supported Kildare's governing of Ireland.¹⁵² Rokeby stayed in England for several months after the council meeting regarding the state of the Irish Lordship, as he was present for Princess Mary's christening in February of 1516, and it is likely that during his stay, he was in council with the king and Wolsey discussing Ireland. Rokeby did maintain a personal relationship with Kildare, helping him establish a college at Maynooth in 1516 and leaving Kildare money in his will at his death in 1521.¹⁵³ On a political level, his activities in Ireland until his death indicate that he was working for the crown, and implementing the crown's agenda in Ireland.

Among the first of the Englishmen sent to Ireland in 1514 by Cardinal Wolsey likely for the purpose of reporting on the Pale's present state was John Kite. Kite was born and educated in London, receiving a degree in Canon Law. By 1509, Kite was a chaplain at court for Henry VIII where he is likely to have met and developed a connection with Wolsey. Wolsey secured Kite the position of archbishop of Armagh, and he arrived in Ireland in the spring of 1514. Kite remained in contact with Wolsey and maintained other close connections with the court attending both the Wolsey's cardinal's cap ceremony in 1515 and the christening of Princess Mary in 1516.¹⁵⁴ Throughout his time in Ireland, Kite wrote continuously to Wolsey about the worsening state of Ireland, lack of English civility in most

¹⁵² D. G. Newcombe, 'Rokeby, William (*d.* 1521)

¹⁵³ D. G. Newcombe, 'Rokeby, William (*d.* 1521)

¹⁵⁴ LP Henry VIII 1509-1514, no 928

of the country, and the need for the king to intervene.¹⁵⁵ Coming from London, the center of English order and civility, Kite saw the disorder of the Pale as being the result of lack of English governmental control, coming to the conclusion that the English crown had the responsibility to its Anglo-Irish subjects to intervene and reestablish English order. Kite formed part of a council in 1515 which reported on the State of Ireland and supported allegations against Kildare for his abuse of power, however when his appeals to the crown to investigate and reform the dire state of Ireland went unanswered, Kite lost heart with Irish affairs.

After 1516, Kite spent little time in Ireland. In 1519, when Kildare is removed from his deputyship, Kite does support the lieutenantcy of the earl of Surrey by trying to help him get Irish chiefs to submit to the king's authority.¹⁵⁶ Kite officially got license for the release from his Irish duties in 1521, and for the remainder of his life worked in Northern England. While Kite doesn't seem to have too much of an influence within the Dublin Administration, he is the first Englishman to directly appeal to the crown about the English's Pales dire state, and given his close relationship with Wolsey it is likely Kite's information was taken seriously by the crown.

Hugh Inge was another Englishman likely sent to Ireland by Wolsey in an attempt to increase English presence in the Dublin Administration. Inge was born and educated in England at Oxford. He was ordained a priest in 1491 and held several benefices in Western England. Inge worked abroad in Rome under Henry VII and Henry VIII in Rome until 1512.

¹⁵⁵ Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-[1603]. Ed. Hans Claude Hamilton. Vol. 1: 1509-1573 London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860. State Papers Online, Gale, Cengage Learning, 2015

¹⁵⁶ Calendar of Carew, 24

Upon arriving back in England, Inge came to the attention of Wolsey, who secured him the diocese of Meath. The king also wanted Inge be included on the Irish council, probably in an effort to increase English presence on the council.¹⁵⁷ Inge remained in Ireland for the rest of his life, first as the bishop of Meath, and later transferred to Dublin, where he was archbishop, and finally named Chancellor of Ireland in March 1522 and held the position until his death in 1528. His continued close involvement in the Irish council is evident throughout the 1520's, as his signature appears on letters from the council to both the king and Cardinal Wolsey until his death in 1528.¹⁵⁸ Inge's original purpose in Ireland was probably to increase English presence on the Dublin Administration, indicated by the king's appointment of Inge to serve on the Irish council. Inge's success is likely to do with Wolsey, and throughout his career in Ireland remains in constant contact with him about the state of Ireland.

John Rawson came to Ireland in 1511, to serve as the prior of Kilmainham to be the head of the Hospitallers order in Ireland, and serve on the Irish council. Rawson was the eldest son of Richard Rawson, a sheriff and alderman in London. Not too much is known about Rawson's early life and education until he joined the Hospitallers sometime in the 1490's. Rawson spent some time abroad working for the order, and in 1511 was sent to Ireland to serve as the head of the Hospitallers order there. Rawson had come to attention of Henry VIII, who appointed him to serve on the Irish council. His appointment to the council in 1513, alongside Hugh Inge and William Rokeby, again suggests the broader

¹⁵⁷ D. G. Newcombe, 'Inge, Hugh (*d.* 1528)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

agenda of the crown to have an increased presence higher up in the Dublin Administration.¹⁵⁹ Rawson was among the council of Englishmen serving in Ireland to be summoned to England in 1515 to discuss the state of Ireland. In 1517, Rawson was appointed as treasurer of Ireland, and began to become more active in the Dublin Administration. In 1518, Rawson was given license to defend Rhodes against the Turks, however it was revoked by the king and by 1520, Rawson was sent back to Ireland to help the earl of Surrey establish his lieutenancy. He was eventually allowed to go to Rhodes in 1522, being replaced as Treasurer by Piers Butler. Henry VIII's high opinion of Rawson and his importance in Irish affairs is evident, given that in 1520, the king sent him back to Ireland instead of letting him travel with the Hospitallers order from 1525 until 1528, Rawson was finally allowed to travel as the master of the light infantry in the Hospitallers order. Upon his return from his travels, Henry once again sent him back to Ireland, and was appointed to help form the 'secret council' along side John Alen and Patrick Bermingham in 1530.¹⁶⁰

Throughout the 1520's Rawson does not appear to align himself with any of the factional disputes dominating the English Pale, rather remaining loyal and committed to the crown's mission of bring the Irish Lordship under its direct influence. Rawson's virtuous nature and his commitment to the crown's prerogative in Ireland made him a valuable asset to the crown. Henry VIII's respect for Rawson is seen through his appointment of Rawson to many important positions in the Dublin Administration in the 1520s, including treasurer, the Irish council, and finally the 'secret council' of 1530. A final

¹⁵⁹ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the native affinities, and the failure of reform in Henrician Ireland', 100

¹⁶⁰ Mary Ann Lyons, 'Rawson, John, Viscount Clontarff (1470?-1547?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

note of the high regard the crown had for Rawson, was his appointment as Viscount Clontarff in 1541, which gave him peerage in the Irish Parliament.¹⁶¹

Patrick Bermingham, appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland in 1513, differed from his fellow Dublin Administration appointees in that time frame in the fact that he born in Ireland. Bermingham's family were traditionally involved in law administration in Dublin, his father Philip Bermingham serving as Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1474 through 1490.¹⁶² Bermingham however was Anglicized through his education as a lawyer in London's Lincoln inn. In 1483, he inherited his brother John Bermingham's Irish estates. Bermingham became involved in the Dublin administration as early as 1503 under the 8th earl of Kildare as a clerk of the exchequer, and was promoted in December 1513 to the chief justice of the King's Bench, an office that he retained for the rest of his life. Not much is known about his actions between 1513 and 1520, until he is appointed a member of the Irish council. As a member of the Irish council, Bermingham seemed to play an influential role and was appointed chancellor of the 'green wax' and exchequer in 1521.¹⁶³ Bermingham's important role in the Dublin Administration is evident after 1520, and his signature appears on many of the key letter and papers sent to both the king and Wolsey during the 1520's. He was instrumental in maintaining peace within the Pale during times of unrest.¹⁶⁴ He maintained a good relationship with the crown throughout the 1520's, which is evident by their trust in placing him as head of the 'secret

¹⁶¹ Mary Ann Lyons, 'Rawson, John, Viscount Clontarff'

¹⁶² H. Baker, 'Bermingham, Patrick (c.1460-1532)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

¹⁶³ H. Baker, 'Bermingham, Patrick (c.1460-1532)'

¹⁶⁴ H. Baker, 'Bermingham, Patrick (c.1460-1532)'

council', which essentially gave him command of the English Pale. Bermingham may have been born in Ireland, but throughout the 1520 he showed his commitment to maintaining good English law and order and the implementing the crown's agenda.

John Guy's book *Tudor Political Culture*, claims that the key to the success of Tudor government was a network of affinities that bridged the gap between court, where the king and his advisors made policies and local government throughout the country.¹⁶⁵ Guy tells us that the purpose of setting up these networks was to for the king to have personal connections among local men in government, and place these men as local officials so they could increase support for the king.¹⁶⁶ When analyzing the role of the Englishmen in the Dublin Administration, it becomes clear that their position fits with this description of 'Henry's Affinity'. Even the timeline of when the king and Wolsey begin to form these networks around 1513 roughly correlates with the arrival of Rawson, Inge and Kite in Ireland, and the elevation of Rokeby's political status within the Pale. Unlike in England however, the influence of the Anglo-Irish lords, and the distinct cultural differences of Anglo-Irishmen compared to Englishmen, likely made it more difficult for 'Henry VIII's affinity' of Englishmen in Ireland to have the same impact on the Pale. This idea that Rokeby, Rawson, Inge and Kite and even Bermingham are apart of a network of 'Henry's affinity' in Ireland is supported by a number of factors. First all four Englishmen arrived on the Irish political scene, do so with the clear goal of executing the agenda of the crown. Next, all of these men stay away from aligning with the political factions dominating the

¹⁶⁵ John Guy, *Tudor Political Culture*. St Martin's Press: New York, 1997. 278 Idea for points of contact between Henry VIII and his court around his realm comes from G.R Elton, *Tudor government: The Points of Contact*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1974

¹⁶⁶ John Guy, *Tudor Political Culture*, 278

English Pale in the 1520s, instead concentrating on keeping the crown informed of the political situation in Ireland. Finally, the creation of the Irish Privy council in 1520, with executive powers, which Bermingham, Rokeby, Rawson, and Inge all served on, confirms the broader goal of the crown was to establish a source of power within the Pale, which they can control independently of Anglo-Irish influence.¹⁶⁷ Throughout the 1520s, when the king's attention to his Irish Lordship was only secondary, it is definitely plausible that this idea of the 'affinity', which if established in Ireland likely would have been established with Rawson, Bermingham and Inge, work as his eyes and ears informing him of the Lordships state and protecting the king's ultimate goal of have direct royal authority in the Irish Lordship.

Chapter 4: Tudor Kingship in Ireland

Against the background of the Irish political nation set up in chapter 3, now I turn my attention to assessing Henry VIII and his political ideology. It is clear from an evaluation of Henry VIII's reign as a whole that, he was king with a very strong sense of authority throughout all of his domains. It is the only way to justify the revolutions of the 1530s that caused such political upheaval in all parts of his kingdom. The political nation of Ireland, with the autonomy of the Anglo-Irish lords, and lack of English influence presented Henry with a particular set of challenges when trying to implement his authority in the 1520s and 1530s. Understanding Henry's political ideologies and comparing them with the political

¹⁶⁷ Fiona Fitzsimons, 'Wolsey, the native affinities, and the failure of reform in Henrician Ireland', 99

nation of Ireland, leads me to the ultimate problems of the compatibility of Henry's model of Kingship in Ireland that I assess in the last section of this chapter.

I: Henry VIII's Political Philosophy

King Henry VIII had a distinct sense of his political philosophy early on in his reign. While his political thought did not ripen into full revolutionary action until the 1530s, there are many indications in his actions and policies of the nature of his political thought as early as the 1510s. The basic understanding of Henry's political thought can be derived from his sense of imperial authority. For Henry, imperial authority meant that only he had ultimate authority in all matters spiritual, temporal and territorial within the realm of England and all of its territories. Henry believed that he held authority not only in the temporal lives of his subjects, but also their spiritual lives. Henry believed that a king who does not recognize a superior is free from outside jurisdiction. This belief is supported by the king's own words, "kings of England in times past have never had any superior but God alone."¹⁶⁸ This ideological belief of king's authority is especially identifiable with his policies in England's territorial possession, including Tournai, Wales and Ireland, which will be discussed in this chapter.

A clear statement of Henry's sense of Imperial authority comes from the Act in Restraint of Appeals for Rome and the Act of Supremacy. The Act of Restraint in Appeals passed by Parliament in 1533 proclaimed,

¹⁶⁸ John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution.' in John Guy Ed, *The Tudor Monarchy*. St. Martin's Press: New York, 1997, 223

“The realm of England is an empire, governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by the same of spirituality and temporality”¹⁶⁹

Thomas Cromwell and the king used extracts made from Edward I’s claim to sovereignty over Scotland and England to make the argument that the realm of England was an empire. This empire encompassed England, Wales, Scotland and its other territorial possessions, including Ireland and France. Cromwell claimed that the English crown was the Imperial crown with supreme authority in all matters temporal and spiritual with England’s empire. The passage of the Act of Supremacy in 1534, declared Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England, making it illegal anywhere within his ‘empire’ of England to acknowledge the authority of Rome. The Act of Appeals and the Act of Supremacy passed in parliament, criminalized acts of opposition to Henry’s imperial authority, thereby inhibiting his opponents from begin able to oppose him by legal means. These two important acts were the beginning of the Henrician Revolution that brought major Tudor reform to all parts of the realm of England.

This ideological revolution of Henry VIII’s sense of authority was not born overnight; rather it developed throughout his reign. John Guy argues that the ideals of Henry’s imperial authority declared in the 1530s were in actuality expressed and utilized by the king throughout the first two decades of his reign to extend and enforce his sovereignty throughout his realm.¹⁷⁰ Guy even goes as far as to say, that the attack by the crown on the authority of canon law and the Pope within the realm of England extends

¹⁶⁹ John Guy, ‘Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution’, 214

¹⁷⁰ John Guy, ‘Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution’, 223

back to Henry VII. Guy argues that Henry VII, worried about the Church's ideology being incompatible with what he was trying to achieve on a secular level transformed the relationship between civil and Church authority by favoring the appointment of trained lawyers over theologians to Church positions.¹⁷¹ By making the church submissive to secular authority, Henry VII's control over the church increased. Guy argues that Henry VIII from the beginning of his reign continued his father's policy of maintained control over the English Church. A conscious effort to have control over the church supported Henry VIII's ideology that canon law only had jurisdiction over sacramental and ceremonial aspects of the Church.¹⁷² Spiritual authority over his subjects was only one aspect of how Henry VIII expressed his sense of Imperial authority. Henry also emphasized his Imperial authority through symbolism. The king placed an arched crown, a symbol of Imperial authority as decorative motif on his pavilion at a tournament in Tournai after the English conquered the territory in 1511. The English crown also issued an image of the arched crown on a special issue of coinage in Tournai.¹⁷³ Guy argues that this symbolism, combined with Henry's policies in Tournai and his other territorial possessions, indicates a clear direction that Henry was aiming to make his realm into an 'empire' where his authority was supreme.¹⁷⁴

The expression of the early influence of Henry's sense of Imperial authority is clearly seen in his policies is his dealing with his conquered French territory of Tournai in 1511. In Tournai, Henry demanded in the treaty of capitulation that all resident of Tournai,

¹⁷¹ John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution', 222-223

¹⁷² John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution', 227

¹⁷³ John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution', 229

¹⁷⁴ John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution', 229-230 and Thomas Mayor, 'On the road to 1534: the occupation of Tournai and Henry VIII's theory of sovereignty' in Dale Hoak's ed. *Tudor Political Culture*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge (1995), 22-24

both laymen and clerical, accept his sovereignty over all residents of Tournai in all matter spiritual and temporal.¹⁷⁵ Henry enforced his claim on the inhabitants of Tournai by making all residents sign an oath of loyalty to their new king. Henry's intentions with this oath was clear; he wanted to separate Tournai as far from the French crown and government as possible. In 1514, Tournai was integrated into the English legal system; a further effort by the king to emphasize his political authority in Tournai.¹⁷⁶ Tournai was only the beginning of Henry's imperial ambitions in France, and although the goals of furthering his 'empire' on the continent were never realized, English occupation and the policies enacted in Tournai highlights the nature Henry's political ideology. More importantly, Henry's political thought as expressed in Tournai emphasizes that the king's sense of Imperial authority did not stop with the borders of England.

Early on in Henry's reign, his political philosophy proved to be in conflict with the authority of the Pope and canon law in England. Guy argues that as early as 1515, Henry had defined his regal power in terms of his right to monitor how canon law would be allowed to operate in England. Henry maintained that it was well within his rights to have superiority in temporal and spiritual disputes within his territorial realm.¹⁷⁷ A perfect example of Henry's authority spanning spiritual and temporal matters is Statute of 1512, which began the abolition of clerical immunity from the effects of secular law in cases of felony. This statute passed by parliament in England was a clear contradiction to Pope Leo X's declaration in 1515 that laymen had no jurisdiction in the crimes committed by

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Mayer, 'On the road to 1534: the occupation of Tournai and Henry VIII's theory of sovereignty', 14-15

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Mayer, 'On the road to 1534: the occupation of Tournai and Henry VIII's theory of sovereignty', 17

¹⁷⁷ John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution', 223. Also see John Guy 'Henry VIII and the Praemunire Manoeuvres of 1530-1531' *English Historical Review*, Volume 97 (1982), 497

members of the clergy. Henry responded to the Pope's declaration with his own sweeping declaration; "the kings of England in time past have never had any superior but God along. Wherefore know you well that we shall maintain the right of our crown and of our temporal jurisdiction as well in this point as in all others."¹⁷⁸ Henry's statement shows the clear nature with which the king considered his laws as being superior within the realm of England over canon law. It also emphasizes the idea held by Henry that the Pope's authority only retained jurisdiction over England's sacramental life and ceremonies, and the spiritual wellbeing of the subjects full under his authority.

Tournai was not only an example of Henry's early political philosophy about his temporal authority in English territory, but also provided the first incident where Henry was to express his authority in spiritual matters. In 1513, Cardinal Wolsey was on the rise as Henry's chief minister, and Henry bestowed on him the bishopric of Tournai. Pope Leo X however, returned the see of Tournai back to the French bishop-elect Lououi-Guillard. Henry demanded the bishopric be returned to Wolsey, claiming that the Pope's interjection in English territory was an offense to his royal sovereignty in Tournai.¹⁷⁹ Henry's willingness to argue against the Pope's authority shows the seriousness with which the king held in sense of Imperial authority in his territories, and his determination to prevent any outside authority from interfering with his authority in English territory.

¹⁷⁸ John Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution', 223

¹⁷⁹ Thomas Mayer, 'On the road to 1534: the occupation of Tournai and Henry VIII's theory of sovereignty', 19-22

II: Henry VIII's Sense of Kingship as Expressed in His Instructions, Letters, Tracts and Decrees for Ireland

Now that Henry's political ideology has been established, it is time to turn out attention to how the king's expression of imperial authority can be seen within his Irish Lordship. By the 1520s Henry's sense of imperial authority at work in England and his territories in France are also at work in his political ideology of Ireland. Henry's memoranda for Ireland, his instructions to the earl of Surrey for his deputyship in 1520, the indentures for Anglo-Irish magnates produced in 1524, and finally the 'Ordinances for Ireland of 1534' are all statements by Henry expressing his sense of imperial authority, and how he felt it should ultimately be upheld in Ireland. Within each of these documents, I will not only examine the more obvious statements of his imperial authority, but also look for the more subtle ways Henry expresses his sense of authority over Ireland. Another aspect of these documents that I will examine is Henry's expressions for how he wants his authority to be upheld in Ireland.

The first tract that will be examined is the Memoranda for Ireland produced by the King in collaboration with Wolsey and other members of his privy council in 1519. The document was sent over with the earl of Surrey to Ireland as he embarked on his deputyship. Once he arrived in Ireland, Surrey's instructions were to spread the memoranda to the Anglo and Gaelic Irish lords, and their affinities. The ideas presented by the king within the memoranda represents his first direct expression of how he views the state of his Irish Lordship, the kind of authority he believes should be upheld in Ireland, and finally how his authority should be implemented. First and foremost the memoranda

called for the removal of Kildare, and the insertion of an English deputy, the earl of Surrey to act as the king's lord lieutenant in his Irish Lordship. This act in itself shows Henry's desire to bring real change to his Irish Lordship. In addition to this, having Surrey as his Lord Deputy, a highly trusted courtier of Henry, underscores the idea of Henry wanted a deputy in Ireland of his choosing and making without any conflicted loyalties. The memoranda has several parts which express the idea that Henry wanted men in Ireland whom he had greater control. The memoranda states that the Deputy to have councilors, three of whom were to be Englishmen, without whose advice he shall do nothing.¹⁸⁰ Having Surrey act only with the advice of his council demonstrates Henry's efforts to have the executive functions of the Dublin Administration not monopolized by one all-powerful person. Instead these functions were delegated to several Englishmen, including Rokeby, Bermingham and Rawson, who also made up the new Irish privy- council with executive powers that functioned independent of the lord Deputy in 1520.¹⁸¹ Not only does the memoranda expressly instruct an increased English presence within the Dublin Administration, but also commands that all landowners be resident for the defense of their land.¹⁸² This supports the idea of the crown trying to make absentee landowners in Ireland to take a more active role in their Irish inheritances argued by Fitzsimmons.¹⁸³ Introducing the earl of Surrey, delegating the executive functions of the lord lieutenant amongst several Englishmen, and compelling Englishmen to pay more attention to the defense of their Irish lands, make a clear statement that Henry wanted men whose loyalties were not conflicted.

¹⁸⁰ *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Edited by Brewer, J.S. Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer: London, 1862 Volume II, no. 670

¹⁸¹ Fiona Fitzsimmons. 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland' in David Edwards, *Regions and Rulers in Ireland 110-1650*. Four Courts Press: Dublin, 2004. 99-100

¹⁸² L&P Henry VIII no. 670

¹⁸³ Fiona Fitzsimmons. 'Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Henrician Ireland', 93

The next concern addressed by Henry within the memoranda for Ireland of 1519 concerns his instructions for the Anglo-Irish and Irish upon the arrival of the earl of Surrey. Within the memoranda Henry states that, “ loving letter be written by the King to Desmond, Sir Piers butler and others to resort to the Deputy at his coming, to know the King’s pleasure.”¹⁸⁴ Given the nature of the political scene and the importance of the Anglo-Irish magnates discussed in chapter 3, a move by Henry to make peace with Butler and Desmond makes sense. The king shows his political shrewdness by realizing the influence of the Anglo-Irish lords, and their potential to either help him or undermine his reforms in Ireland.

The final concern addressed in the memoranda concerns the Irish Lords, and the arrival of Surrey. Henry wanted Wolsey to mobilize a religious commissary to Ireland to call before them the religious leaders of Ireland, including abbots, bishops and archbishops, “to notify to the Irish that the King had sent his Deputy thither to reduce the land to order, not intending to make war against any who will do their duty, nor take anything from any man who is lawfully entitled to it...”¹⁸⁵ Two important ideas about Henry’s sense of kingship begin to bud from this part of his treatise. First, there is the idea of using the church to gain recognition of authority from the Irish. As discussed in chapter 1, the Church and its leading figures, including Rokeby and Kite did play a political role in Ireland. While Henry had nominal authority over all of Ireland, having the religious leaders of the Church of Ireland recognize his authority increased the authenticity of his imperial authority over the island and all of its inhabitants. Secondly, the memoranda gives the first indication of how Henry’s policies in Ireland. From the start Henry instructed that the Irish

¹⁸⁴ L&P Henry VIII Volume II no. 670

¹⁸⁵ L&P Henry VIII Volume II no. 670

be informed that there was no intention of the English to make war on the Irish who do their duty and submit to the king's authority. Henry clearly states in the memoranda that his intentions are, "but to make a fair distribution of lands at reasonable rents, seeing that they now live without order, not wealthy, and being assured of any succession to their heirs."¹⁸⁶ For the first time, Henry expresses his vision that the Irish Lords can be assimilated into English order and civility.

The memorandum for Ireland is an important tract that is the first expression of Henry's intentions towards his Irish Lordship. Henry's further instructions to the earl of Surrey upon his arrival in Ireland build on the ideas formulated in the tract. While there is no explicit detailed mention of Henry's desire to form an 'English empire', the same ideologies that are found in his policies of social and political authority in Tournai can be seen in his statement of intent in his Irish Lordship. Through the first decade of Henry's reign, his attention had been on expanding his imperial visions in Europe. By 1520 Henry may have been trying to consolidate the territorial domains already under his control to strengthen with the idea of his 'empire', as one that could rival the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁸⁷

The king's instructions for Surrey's expedition in the fall of 1520, give us Henry VIII's first expression of his sense of kingship in two ways; his sense of imperial authority in Ireland and the responsibility he felt as Lord of Ireland. This tract was sent to Ireland by the king, in response to Surrey's previous letters surveying the state of Ireland upon his arrival. Surrey's letters informed the king and Wolsey about the progress that he had made with gaining the submission of the Gaelic Irish chief to the king's authority, as well as the progress he had made to get the Desmond and Butler to stop their feuding. In response to

¹⁸⁶ L&P Henry VIII no. 670

Surrey's progress made with the Gaelic Irish, Henry in his set of instructions makes it clear that mere appearance of submission was not enough. Henry explicitly states to Surrey, "To spend so much money to bring the Irishry in appearance only of obeisance, without observance of our laws, resort to our courts of justice, and restoration of our dominions would be of little policy."¹⁸⁸ This declaration attests to his sense of imperial authority in Ireland. The king makes it clear that all of his subjects, including the Irish whom he refers to as 'disobedient subjects' throughout his instructions to Surrey, should see him as having ultimate authority throughout his realm. Henry considers the Gaelic Irish as his subjects that are in rebellion. Even if his subjects are in rebellions, the king felt his laws and responsibilities are a sovereign extended to the Irish. Henry's most explicit statement of imperial authority Henry in Ireland is when he expresses that he, as sovereign Lord of Ireland, is above the law.¹⁸⁹ This is an assertion by Henry of his ultimate authority in Ireland. Quinn argues that by declaring himself above the law in Ireland, Henry express the desire to have his unqualified sovereignty known in England, to extend to Ireland and was making a special efforts to the Gaelic Irish to make this clear.¹⁹⁰ Henry's singular idea of 'absolute authority' above the Gaelic Irish also supports Guy's argument that Henry considered his imperial authority of the inhabitants of his territorial possessions as being more dominant than local customs.¹⁹¹

Having articulated his sense of imperial authority in Ireland, Henry next expresses how he wanted his authority to be upheld. As previously mentioned above, Henry

¹⁸⁸ *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 1515-1574*. Edited by ed. Brewer J.S and William Bullen. Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer: London, 1867, Henry VIII to the earl of Surrey, 14

¹⁸⁹ L&P Henry VIII no. 670

¹⁹⁰ D.B Quinn. 'Henry VIII and Ireland 1509-34' *Irish Historical Studies* Volume 12 (1961) 325-326

¹⁹¹ John Guy, *Thomas Cromwell and the Henrician Revolution*, 219 and 222

expresses that the appearance of obedience his Irish subjects was not good enough. He wanted the Gaelic Irish to follow English laws, resort to English courts for justice, and restore the lands that rightfully belong to the English crown.¹⁹² In his instructions to Surrey, Henry expands on the idea of integration of the Gaelic Irish within the king's lordship and English system of government referred to in his memoranda. Henry's idea of assimilation of the Gaelic Irish extends to both their integration within the king's laws and their cultural assimilation into English society. First however, lets concentration on how Henry shows his desire to integrate the Gaelic Irish into the English legal system. By placing himself above the law Henry asserts that his authority does give him the right to make the Gaelic Irish obedient to his authority by force. However, this is not his desire, instead emphasizing the idea throughout his letter that the Irish must be brought to order by amiable means. Henry states explicitly that all dealings with the Gaelic Irish must be undertaken, "by sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions founded in law and reason, than by rigorous dealings, comminacions, or any other inforcement by strength or violence."¹⁹³ Henry's intentions to pursue a policy of assimilation founded in law, gives us a clear sense of the king's desire to bring the Irish in to the English government through legal means rather than traditional conquest.

Many scholars have argued that the reason Henry chose a policy of assimilation may have been because it was a less costly alternative to the traditional method of conquest. However if this was the whole reason then it is likely that the appearance of obedience by the Gaelic Irish lords probably would have been enough for Henry, as it did for his father.

¹⁹² Calendar of Carew, 'Henry VIII to the earl of Surrey', 16

¹⁹³ *State Papers King Henry VIII*. Published under the authority of his majesty's commission, 1830 Volume XII, p52

Similar policies by Henry highlighting his desire for the integration of the citizens of Tournai into the English society and its legal system undermines the idea that assimilation was a new idea for Henry and that it was taken purely from an economic standpoint. Henry's policy of Irish under direct English authority was a far-fetched idea considering the nature of the in the Irish political scene of the 1520s. However the fact that policies of assimilation had been used by Henry in his French territories, and his clear intention in his instructions to Surrey to do so in Ireland, gives some idea of his sense of his imperial authority in Ireland, and the ultimate goal he maintained.

The second part of Henry's sense of kingship expressed in his instructions to Surrey was the responsibility that he felt for his subjects as Lord of Ireland. Henry's social responsibility represents his intentions to culturally integrate the Gaelic Irish into English society. Henry felt that with his imperial authority in Ireland came the responsibility to maintain justice and order throughout the land, and increase the social welfare of the people. Henry's understands Gaelic society as oppressive and in need of reform, stating in his instructions to Surrey,

"For reams without justice be but tyrannies and robberies more consonant to beastly appetites, than to the laudable life of reasonable creatures. And where as willfulness doth reign by strength, without lawe or justice, there is noo distinction of proprietie in dominions, ne yet any man may say, this is myn; but by strength the weaker is subduyd and oppressed, whiche is contrarye to all lawes, bothe of God and man"¹⁹⁴

This statement makes it clear that Henry views Gaelic society as going against the laws of God and of good civilized, and it is his obligation to remedy the situation. The king suggests to Surrey that the, "best and most speedy way to bring that land to good order and to cause it to be inhabited and manored-for every Lord, having his own, would be able to live there

¹⁹⁴ S.P Henry VIII Volume II Part III, no XI Henry VIII to the earl of Surrey, 52-53

honorably, subdue tyranny, and cultivate his lands.”¹⁹⁵ Here, Henry presents a model of good nobility, exactly like the feudal system found in England, to replace the oppressive nature of Irish nobles in Gaelic society. Henry’s policies would remodel the Irish nobility to an Irish form of feudalism, where Gaelic chiefs would be his loyal servants in Ireland, rather than having ultimate authority within their lordships. Henry feels that with a new form of nobility, he could relieve his Irish subjects from being subjected to the tyranny of Gaelic custom, bring to all of Ireland good English order and increase the social welfare of his Irish subjects. His interpretation of the Gaelic Ireland, and his instructions for Surrey on how he plans to increase the social welfare of the Irish both highlight that Henry felt his imperial authority was not just his right in Ireland, but necessary for him to be able to fulfill his social responsibility to his subjects.

Henry’s instructions to the earl of Surrey are the first public statement of his intentions and ultimate goals for his Irish Lordship. It is important to note, that while Wolsey and the English council may have been involved in shaping some of these ideas and policies, the ultimate mastermind behind this set of instructions and the ideas that they represent is the king himself. Evidence for this can be found by looking at his actions in Tournai. The desire for his French territory to be under his imperial authority in all respects is similar to his expression of kingship in his instructions to Surrey. Wolsey may have influenced Henry in helping understand the nature and powers of kingship, but ultimately it was the king himself who gave the final decision of the policies in Ireland, and by 1520 it was Henry who had decided what kind of king he wanted to be. The fact that the letter containing instructions for Ireland to Surrey is addressed from Henry VIII rather than

¹⁹⁵ S.P Henry VIII Volume XII Henry VIII to the earl of Surrey, 52-53

the English council is also evidence to support that the king claimed responsibility for making the policies for his Lordship. The nature of the Irish political nation in the 1520s made most of the ideas presented in his instructions to Surry and the memoranda for Ireland implausible to make a reality. Despite this, they do represent Henry's early political thought and the early ideas of kingship that will be developed throughout the 1520s, and ultimately the political thoughts behind the Henrician revolution of the 1530s and 1540s.

After the Surrey expedition ended in 1522, the king's Lord Deputy in Ireland was once again an Anglo-Irish magnate, this time Sir Piers Butler. Following Surrey's departure from Ireland, and Kildare's return in 1523, the Kildare-Butler feud that had begun in 1518, quickly resumed adding another element of instability to the Irish political scene. By 1524 the political situation in the Pale was so intolerable that the king responded by sending a commissary group to Ireland to assess the situation and recommend a solution. The result was the production of an indenture between the king, Sir Piers Butler, and Kildare. A decision had been reached also to also make Kildare Lord Deputy once again, while Sir Piers Butler served as treasurer. An indenture between the king and Kildare for his return to the position of Lord Deputy was also drawn up. The actions by the king were both active efforts to pacify the Kildare-Butler feud. Each indenture was a legally binding contract between each Anglo-Irish lord to the king that if broken by the Anglo-Irish lords would result with being prosecuted to the full extent of the law. Given the legal and financial ramifications if the indenture was broken, the document represented a step up from serving at the king's pleasure of a set of instructions from the king. If you recall back in chapter 1, when Henry VII first came to the throne, he did not trust the nobility, and

utilized indentures to bind the members of the nobility to remain loyal to him. For Henry VII the indentures worked to keep the nobility dependent on him for their lands and titles. Henry VII's indenture with the 8th earl of Kildare in 1496 formed a bond of mutual respect, which lasted for the rest of Henry VII's reign. As mentioned in the beginning of chapter 3, Henry VIII was in general more trusting of the noble families around him, and he generally did not use indentures the same way as his father.

By 1524 the Kildare-Butler feud had made Henry feel the need to produce an indenture for both Kildare and Butler, which shows how serious the political situation in Ireland had become. The king explicitly states at the beginning his indenture for Kildare and Ormond that this was necessary, "for the pacifying whereof, and for other great urgent causes touching the good order and weal of this land Ireland..."¹⁹⁶ The intention of the indenture to curb the power of each of the Anglo-Irish lords is evident in many ways. First Henry explicitly states that neither party nor any member of their affinity be allowed to take up arms against each other.¹⁹⁷ Henry also places the power to judge if any of the articles of the indenture had been broken by either party into the hands of the Chancellor, Chief Justice and Chief Baron.¹⁹⁸ This delegation of authority over Kildare's and Ormond's indenture to the Irish privy council, was done consciously by the king in order to keep Kildare and Ormond in check. It has been argued that Henry was trying to find a way to rule his Lordship independently of the Anglo-Irish magnates, and the indentures provided a step in that direction of trying to implement his own authority over the Anglo-Irish lords.

¹⁹⁶ Calendars of Carew, no. 23

¹⁹⁷ Calendars of Carew, no. 23, 'Earls of Ormond and Kildare', 26-27

¹⁹⁸ Calendars of Carew, no. 23, 'Earls of Ormond and Kildare', 27

The king's indenture of the earl of Kildare upon being reappointed Deputy in 1524 emphasizes the king's clear intention of trying to curb his power and influence in the Pale. For example the indenture prohibited Kildare from making war on the Irish without the consent of the Irish council. It also made it clear that the use of 'coine and livery' on any subject of the king, other than Kildare's own tenants was illegal. Furthermore when it came to the subject of Kildare's use of 'Coine and livery', the king prohibited Kildare from using it for private purposes against the Irish. The indenture also restricted Kildare's authority to appoint officers to the judicial offices including the King's Bench, Common Place and the Exchequer. Likely a move by the crown to keep Kildare from placing members of his affinity in those positions again. The king also made Kildare's indenture subject to the discretion of the Irish privy council, an effort by the king to curb Kildare's influence over them. Kildare's indenture was intended to restrict his duties in Ireland to be for the defense of the Pale from Gaelic raiding, and make sure the legal and political aspects of the Dublin administration remained in the hands of English dominated Irish Privy Council. The indentures Kildare and Ormond were both broken within a year, and feuding between the two Anglo-Irish lords resumed. The ideas set out by the crown, and the king himself in the documents do provide insight into the mindset of the king towards his Anglo-Irish magnates. While Henry knew he could not completely get rid of the Anglo-Irish lords in the 1520s, the indenture shows that he did believe he could curb the overall influence that they wielded within the Irish political scene.

By the end of the 1520s Henry's political revolution of the centralization of his authority in the outer lying territories was beginning to take shape. The king with the help

of his new chief minister, Thomas Cromwell formed policies that drew further restrictions on the independence exercised by the Anglo-Irish lords in Ireland. The Kildare's did not respond well to Tudor centralization and rebelled against the king in 1534. The earl of Kildare died in England while being held in the tower in 1533. His son and heir Thomas Fitzgerald, 10th earl of Kildare continued with his rebellion into 1535. The rebellion ended with the capture of the earl of Kildare, who along with his five uncles were executed in 1537.¹⁹⁹ The end of the Kildare rebellion brought about the end of the Kildare affinity as an influence in the Irish political nation. Henry VIII show of strength against the Kildare affinity with their rebellion made the other Anglo-Irish lords more receptive to the seriousness of the king's intentions in Ireland, and cleared the way for his centralization policies to be implemented without objection in Ireland.

The final tracts to consider are the 'Ordinances for the Government of Ireland' put into effect in 1534. The Ordinances for the Government of Ireland were sent over with Sir William Skeffington upon his arrival in Ireland for his 2nd deputyship. The removal of the Kildare's from the Irish political scene in 1534 signified the end of an era of influence by Anglo-Irish lords and the beginning of the government in Ireland being headed by Englishmen. It is important to look at the ordinances because they are Henry's instructions to Skeffington following the downfall of the Kildares. The provisions of the ordinances targeted the parts of the political nation in Ireland that undermined Henry's imperial authority. Henry's main target was the restriction of the Gaelic practice of 'Coine and Livery' in the Pale. The Ordinances of 1534 abolished the system of gaelicized form of coyne and livery and other Gaelic exactions imposed on Anglo-Irish completely, replacing it

¹⁹⁹ Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudor's 1447- 1603, English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule*. Addison Wesley Longman Limited: New York, 1998, 141

by requiring great lords and local landowner to maintain a small retinue according to their status for the defense of their property.²⁰⁰ As previously introduced in chapter 1, Coine and livery was a tax and hospitality exaction placed on tenants of the Anglo-Irish lords for the maintenance of their private armies. The Pale defense was too important to completely get rid of 'coine and livery', however Henry wanted to restrict its use as much as possible, of 'coyne and livery' within the Pale, stating in the ordinances;

“as often as the sayd Deputie shall pass through the Englyshe pale, For any suche matter or cause, he shall nat set his men to coyne upon the Kynges subjects, by byll made by the herbynder; and that, by the advyse of two gentlrymen of every barony, were the sayd coyn shalbe set, appoynted yb the sayd Deputie and Cousayle. And that every man, so lyvered, shall be contect to have such meate and dryke as folweth.”²⁰¹

The Ordinances also firmly established the localized government of the crown in Ireland. The items of the ordinances set up how the courts would be run, lands would be distributed, and how justice would be dispensed. The king also declared that all Irish officials, including sheriffs, exchequers and the king's officers have their patents out of the English chancery. These measures were a sure sign that Henry was trying to have as much control of his local government in Ireland as possible. The Ordinances for the Governance of Ireland was designed to reign in the autonomous authority of the Anglo-Irish lords within their liberties in favor of more centralized government control of all its territories.²⁰² Their policies reflect the growing Henrician revolution sweeping the entire realm of England, and the first move by Henry to implement his imperial authority in Ireland.

²⁰⁰ S.P Henry VIII, 'Ordinances for the Governance of Ireland' LXXXX, 208

²⁰¹ S.P Henry VIII, 'Ordinances for the Governance of Ireland' LXXXX, 208

²⁰² Brendan Bradshaw. *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1979, 101

Understanding the nature of the Irish political scene, and Henry's sense of imperial of Authority in Ireland, it is clear that the two are not compatible. In 1520 when Henry wrote his first set of instruction to the earl of Surrey, he did not yet understand the independent nature of the Irish political nation. The autonomous nature of the Anglo and Gaelic Irish lords, made sure that Surrey stood no chance in 1520s of having any success with Henry's goals for imperial authority in Ireland. Surrey's reports brought Henry in tune with the political reality of Ireland, and his instruction to future deputies reflects this. Henry shifts the focus of his instructions to his deputies from the political ideology of his imperial authority to policies of simply trying to strengthen the position of the crown in Ireland. The Ordinances of 1534 do contain some of the same features as Henry's instructions to his deputies throughout the 1520s. For instance, efforts to restrict 'coine and livery' practice in the Pale and its usage by the Anglo-Irish magnates are seen in the indenture of Kildare to the king in 1524. By the time Skeffington is Henry's Lord Deputy for the second time, Henry had a firm understanding of the Irish political nation. Henry's sense of political action combined with the eradication of the Kildare affinity made it easier to make a more radical change within his Irish Lordship. Skeffington therefore had more success than Surrey ever did with extending Henry's authority in Ireland.

III: The Challenges of Imperial Kingship in Ireland

The nature of the Irish political nation presented Henry with the biggest challenge of implementing his Imperial authority that he would face in his reign. The model of Kingship

outlined in the first section of this chapter is just not compatible in Ireland for several reasons. First and foremost, the sphere of direct English influence in Ireland is actually very small. If you refer back to the map of the political nation of Ireland as it stands in the 16th century, the majority of the island is made up of Gaelic Irish and Hiberno-Norman Lordships. In 1520 Henry viewed all of the inhabitants of Ireland as his subjects, and as his loose allies. The reality however was that most the Gaelic chiefs, and Hiberno-Norman lords acknowledged to overlord of King Henry, but maintained their individual authority within their own lands. Simply put, Henry's imperial authority was not recognized or acted upon by most of his Irish subjects because their definitions of the 'king to subject' relationship were different.

Secondly, even in areas under direct English authority, the influence of the Anglo-Irish lords was strong enough to challenge the king's imperial authority. The Anglo-Irish lords in the 16th century were very independent. While Bradshaw's assessment that the Anglo-Irish lords held their own principalities that by the 16th century did not accept the authority of the king was over exaggerated a bit, there is a certain level of truth that the three Anglo-Irish lords did have the resources independent from the crown to do so. If you look at the traditionally autonomous lords in England and Wales, such as the Dacre family of Northern England, efforts to strip them from their local power were afoot, and the crown was mobilizing to implement their authority in those areas. For instance in 1525, Henry VIII sent his bastard son Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond to set up his own court in the North. Around the same time, another retinue was sent to Wales, with Mary, the Princess of Wales to establish direct royal authority in that region. In northern England and Wales royal administrative officers also served as an extension of Tudor power in local areas,

which was not seen within the Dublin administration. In Ireland efforts to reign in the independence exercised by Anglo-Irish lords was more difficult. This was because of physical distance of Ireland from the king's central authority, and partly because the Anglo-Irish lords that were loyal to the king were influential in gaining the support of many of the Gaelic lords to cooperate with the English crown. Removing the power of the Anglo-Irish lords would mean losing whatever minimal influences the crown had on the Gaelic Irish.

A third factor challenging Henry's ability to assert his Imperial authority in Ireland comes from within the English Pale itself. The Pale is divided between those who are supporters of the Anglo-Irish lords and those who would support the king's efforts to assert his Imperial authority in Ireland. As previously mentioned in chapter 3, the crown did try to rectify this situation by having more Englishmen present within the Dublin administration, to increase its own affinity. However the influence of the English administrators was still not enough to completely erase the influence of Kildare. This was highlighted in 1522, when Butler was chosen to replace Surrey rather than Kildare. Butler quickly realized he did not have the following in the Pale.²⁰³ The influence of the Kildare affinity in the Pale made it more difficult for the English crown to eradicate the Anglo-Irish magnate from the Irish political scene.

When you compare the Political nation of Ireland with that of Wales and Northern England there are similarities, but also unprecedented differences. When the Henry VIII came to the throne Wales, similar to Ireland, was split into two political nations. The Northwest of Wales was under direct crown authority, and its communities were models of

²⁰³ Steven Ellis. 'A Crisis of Aristocracy? Frontiers and Noble Power in the Early Tudor State' in John Guys, *The Tudor Monarchy*. St Martin's Press: New York, 1997. 338

English order and civility. The Southeast part of Wales however were individual Lordships run by Anglo-Norman lords, similar to the Anglo-Irish lords with their personal lordships in Ireland. The more prominent families included the Edward, duke of Buckingham, whose family held marcher lands in Southern Wales. In Northern England, marcher Lords dominated the Scottish borders, the biggest of the noble families being the Dacres. The Dacre's of the North, the Anglo-Norman Lords within the Welsh marchers, and the Anglo-Irish lords all retained autonomous authority in their local region, and were all subject to the king's desire for the centralization of the his outer lying territories.

Despite the similarities of the nature of lordship in these areas, there are fundamental differences with the political scene in Ireland that makes it impossible to compare how Henry's policies of centralization were implemented in Wales and Northern England, and Ireland. The first and most obvious difference is the physical distance of Ireland from the English crown's central authority in Southern England. Distance made communication and travel to Ireland more difficult in the 16th century. In the first decade of Henry VIII's reign, communication with the Dacre's of the North were fairly regular, while communication with Ireland was minimal. Second, the circumstances of the security of England must be considered. The circumstances with Scotland as a threat in the early years of Henry's reign made communication with the Northern marcher lord's imperative.²⁰⁴ In the first years of Henry VIII's, with the Tudor dynasty stable once and for all, his Irish inheritance posed no serious threat to England, making communication not as imperative. Desmond's continental intrigues around 1518 into the 1520s would somewhat change this,

²⁰⁴ See L&P Henry VIII, for correspondence evidence between the crown and Dacre and Kildare in Ireland. James V in Scotland in the 1510s made a treaty with France, whom Henry was at war with. Relations after the making of this treaty were uneasy between England and Scotland, and border raids by Scottish, and a threat of invasion by King James V were a real threat in the early years of Henry's reign.

however for the first decade or so of Henry's reign, the threat was much less of a worry than that of Scotland. This set of circumstances in the North made it more important for Henry to have a check on the great Lords of North throughout his reign, that are just not comparable to the situation in Ireland. Unlike the lords of the North and in Wales, The Anglo-Irish lords were left alone, which likely was a major factor that led to autonomous influence of the Anglo-Irish lords becoming more influential in the Pale.

Finally the most differentiating factor that distinguished Ireland from Wales or Northern England is the political scene in Ireland. As argued in chapter 3, Clan kinships and the networks of Irish and Anglo-Irish affinities that dominated Ireland made the island the most unique domain under Tudor authority. This type of cultural and social identity attached to Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lordships did not exist in Wales or Northern England. Each affinity was based on bonds of loyalty through kinship, a much stronger bond than one of a subject to his lord seen in English society. Referring back to the map in Chapter 1, most of Ireland in the 16th century was dominated by Gaelic society and its cultural customs. The pale was situated on the border of the Gaelic Irish lordships dominating northern and eastern Ireland, and Hiberno-Norman and Anglo-Irish lordships dominance in southern Ireland. This is significant since the Pale acted as a frontier for the expansion of Anglo-Irish influence in the north.

Judging from the physical, cultural and differences in political scene of Northern England and Wales compared to Ireland, its clear that the model of kingship that Henry believes he should have in all of his domains cannot be executed in Ireland the same way as it can in Wales and England. The nature of the political scene in Ireland however makes it

impossible for Henry to apply the same kind of imperial kingship that he does in Wales or Northern England. The king did not have a connection in the political culture of Gaelic clan kinship and the Anglo-Irish affinities, to break them down to make them accept his authority in all matters. Kildare's greatest strength to crown was that he did have these alliances and connection into the Gaelic chiefdoms, and could more readily resolve disputes, and provide protection against the Pale. Even if the king could have broken down the affinities of the Anglo-Irish nobility, the Gaelic clans and kinship were different from Anglo-Irish affinities, and he did not have the connections that he needed in order to truly assert his imperial authority over Gaelic chiefs.

Henry does make progress throughout his reign, reducing the influence of the Anglo-Irish magnates in the Pale, and increasing English presence in Ireland. However even after 1541 when Henry was created king of Ireland, thus officially bringing Ireland into the Kingdom of England under Henry's imperial authority. However the problems that centered on Gaelic cultural identity and clan kinship that were so deeply entrenched in the Irish political nation did not completely go away. Part of the effort with Henry's 'Surrender and Regrant' policy in the 1540s was to try and create a feudal system similar to England, where the Gaelic Lords would depend on Henry as their overlord for their lands, and in return they would get English titles and nobility status. Henry VIII would never fully enjoy the imperial authority in Ireland that he believed he should, however this belief in his sense of kingship in Ireland led him to make serious efforts that began the process that would continue throughout the rest of the 16th century to reduce all of Ireland to 'good English order and civility'.

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