



authority royal, belonging or appertaining to the royal estate and majesty of a king, by the name of lords of Ireland. ... [And whereas there] hath been great occasion, that the Irish men and inhabitants within this realm of Ireland have not been so obedient to the king's highness and his most noble progenitors, and to their laws, as they of right and according to their allegiance and bounden duties ought to have been: wherefore at the humble pursuit, petition, and request of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and other the king's loving, faithful, and obedient subjects of this his land of Ireland, and by their full assents, be it enacted, ordained, and established by authority of this present Parliament, that the king's highness, his heirs and successors, kings of England, be always kings of this land of Ireland.

2.20 *Submission of Two Ulster Chiefs (August 6 and October 1, 1541)*²²

In 1541, Henry's government sought to increase control in Ireland by the policy of surrender and regrant by which Gaelic clan heads gave up their quasi-independent status as Irish chiefs and accepted new positions as Anglo-Irish nobles. O'Donnell and O'Neil were the most powerful landlords in the northern part of Ireland. Con O'Neill (1484–1559) was granted the title earl of Tyrone in October 1542. What were the grounds for independence and disobedience before 1541? Why would Gaelic clan chiefs accept these terms? What was in it for them? How are the Irish lords to be integrated into the English nation? Why were names and language such important issues? Could this be the basis of a Tudor Revolution in Ireland as has been argued for England?

Indenture made August 6, 1541, between Sir Anthony St. Leger, Deputy, and the Council and Manus O'Donnell. ...

- (1) Manus O'Donnell will recognize and accept the king [Henry VIII] as his liege lord and king.
- (2) He will not confederate with the rebels of the king, but persecute them to the utmost of his power.
- (3) He will renounce the usurped primacy and authority of the Roman pontiff.
- (4) Whenever he shall be called upon by letters of the Lord Deputy and Council, to come to any great hosting, he will come in his own person, with 70 horsemen, 120 kerne [Irish foot-soldier] and as many Scots, or send one of his most powerful men with the same number, for one month at his own expense.

²² *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, Preserved in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–1574*, ed. J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (London, 1867), 183–4, 198–9.



- (5) He will appear in the next great Parliament in Ireland, or send to the same some discreet and trusty person authorized by his writing, sealed with his seal.
- (6) He will faithfully perform the articles contained in the king's letters sent to him at the time of his receiving pardon.
- (7) He will receive and hold his lands from the king, and take such title as the King shall give him.
- (8) He offers to send one of his sons into England, to the presence of his majesty, to be there reared and educated according to English manners.
- (9) The lord deputy and Council promise to assist and defend O'Donnell and his heirs against all who injure him or invade his country.

Articles of the submission of Conn O'Neill.

- (1) He utterly forsakes the name of O'Neill.
- (2) He and his heirs shall use the English habits, "and to their knowledge the English language."
- (3) He shall keep and put such of the lands granted to him as are meet for tillage "in manurance and tillage of husbandry," and cause houses to be builded for such persons as shall be necessary for the manurance thereof.
- (4) He shall not take, put, or cess [collect] any imposition or charge upon the king's subjects inhabitors of the said lands other than their yearly rent or custom, but such as the deputy shall be content with; nor have any gallowglass [specialized soldiers, usually mercenary] or kerne but such as shall stand with the contentation of the deputy and Council.
- (5) He shall be obedient to the king's laws, and answer to his writs, precepts and commandments in the Castle of Dublin, or in any other place where his courts shall be kept.
- (6) He shall go with the king's deputy to all hostings, "rodes" [responses to hostile invasions], and journeys, with such a company as the Marchers of the county of Dublin do.
- (7) He shall not maintain or succor any of the king's enemies, rebels, or traitors.
- (8) He shall hold his lands by whole knight's fees.

HISTORIANS' DEBATES

How noteworthy were Edward IV and his achievements? Were the Wars of the Roses a period of innovation and centralization, or of status quo, or even decay?

Essay by C. Ross in *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399–1509: Studies in Politics and Society*, ed. S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross, and R. A. Griffiths (Manchester, 1972); K. Dockray, "Edward IV: Playboy or Politician?," *The Ricardian* 10 (1995); C. Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437–1509* (Cambridge, 1997), chs. 8–9; D. R. Starkey, "From Feud to Faction: