Though nominally under English control, Ireland was the despair of many imperial projectors. In 1567 Sir Henry Sidney (1529–86), Elizabeth’s lord deputy there, reported to her on the situation in southwestern Ireland. Why is Ireland in so miserable a state? Whose fault is it? How does Sidney differentiate the Irish from the English? Does his report justify English involvement in Ireland? Would Ireland be fit for Gilbert’s own colonial policy (document 4.1)? Irish opposition to English colonization in Munster provoked harsh martial law by Gilbert, acting as Sidney’s subordinate. Gilbert reportedly ordered “that the heads of all those...which were killed in the day, should be cut off from their bodies and brought to the place where he encamped at night,... so that none could come into his tent for any cause but commonly he must pass through a lane of heads which he used ad terrorem.” Perhaps unsurprisingly, such state terrorism did little to settle the island; nevertheless, Gilbert was rewarded with a knighthood in 1570.

As touching the estate of the whole country..., like as I never was in a more pleasant country in all my life so never saw I a more wasted and desolate land, no not in the confines of other countries where actual war hath continually been kept by the greatest princes of Christendom; and there heard I such lamentable cries and doleful complaints made by that small remain of poor people which yet are left, who (hardly escaping the fury of the sword and fire of their outrageous neighbors, or the famine which the same, or their extortious lords, hath driven them unto...) make demonstration of the miserable estate of that country. Besides this, such horrible and lamentable spectacles there are to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles, yea, the view of the bones and sculls of your dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in truth hardly any

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Christian with dry eyes could behold.... Surely there was never people that lived in more misery than they do, nor as it should seem of worse minds, for matrimony among them is no more regarded in effect than conjunction between unreasonable beasts. Perjury, robbery and murder counted allowable. Finally I cannot find that they make any conscience of sin and doubtless I doubt whether they christen their children or no, for neither find I place where it should be done, nor any person able to instruct them in the rules of a Christian; or if they were taught I see no grace in them to follow it.

Mary was eventually executed on February 8, 1587 at Fotheringhay (see Bucholz and Key, chapter 5). Elizabeth’s letter to James VI (b. 1566, reigned in Scotland, 1567–1625, in England from 1603) a few days later focused more on future relations between Scotland and England than on his mother’s past. Compare this with her response to the Commons. What does Elizabeth claim, and is she believable?

My dear brother..., I have now sent this kinsman of mine..., to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that--as God and many more know--how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me that if I had bid aught I would have bid [abide] by it.... But as not to disguise fits most a king, so will I never dissemble my actions but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me that, as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others’ shoulders, no more will I not damnify myself that thought it not.... And for your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman nor a more dear friend than myself, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate.