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978-0-521-43479-9 - Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641–1660

Edited by Jane H. Ohlmeyer

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Between 1641 and 1649, for the first time before 1922, Ireland was recognized by the international community as an independent nation. Even though the Cromwellian conquest of 1649, followed by a decade of military occupation and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, made short work of Catholic Ireland's revolution, it nevertheless ranks as one of the most successful revolts in early modern history.

This interdisciplinary collection of essays examines how the tumultuous events of the 1640s and 1650s transformed the course of Ireland's history. Apart from a chronological account of the civil war and of the collapse of the Cromwellian régime in 1659–60, the essays are thematic and cover such diverse issues as the early stages of the 1641 insurrection, the impact of continental military technology on Irish warfare, confederate foreign policy, Anglo-Irish relations and the formulation of Irish policy at Westminster during the later 1640s, the wartime economy, the land settlement and the proliferation of radical sects during the 1650s. Other chapters examine the respective divisions within the Catholic and Protestant communities, the nature of Irish royalism and the evasive concept of national identity.

The contributors consider why Restoration Ireland was such a different world from that of the early Stuart era. Was the change simply due to the passage of twenty years; or to war in the 1640s followed by English occupation in the 1650s? During these decades did active forces of change outweigh those of continuity in shaping Irish society, identities, warfare, religious beliefs, economic and tenurial practices? Finally these essays seek to set Ireland in its wider European and British contexts.

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IRELAND FROM INDEPENDENCE TO OCCUPATION,
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*IRELAND
FROM INDEPENDENCE
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EDITED BY
JANE H. OHLMEYER
Yale University



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Like so many other recent works on early modern Irish history, this collection of essays arose from a conversation with Raymond Gillespie in the summer of 1990. I am especially grateful to Dr Gillespie for prompting me to edit this volume and for his advice and input, especially in the planning stages. Aidan Clarke, Tom Connors and Kevin Whelan have also been particularly supportive of this project and, from the outset, have allowed me to draw upon their expertise. I am deeply indebted to them and to Toby Barnard for reading early drafts of each essay and for making numerous helpful and incisive comments and to Nicholas Canny for casting an eagle eye over the introduction, chronology and bibliography. I am very grateful to Ian Gentles and Geoffrey Parker who read the entire manuscript in its final form and made a number of invaluable suggestions for improvement. My thanks also to William Davies at Cambridge University Press who was, as always, a delight to work with, and to Frances Nugent for her meticulous copy-editing. However, my greatest debt of gratitude is to the contributors and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them for their co-operation, for their endless patience with my editing and for their general enthusiasm for the project. Last but not least I would like to say a special word of thanks to my mother, Shirley, whose baby-sitting skills remain unsurpassed, and to my children, Richard and James, who have distracted and delighted me as I edited this volume.

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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS,
1639–1660

(Major military encounters are indicated in **bold**)¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
1639	21 May: Proclamation of the 'black oath'	May–June: First Bishops' War (ended by Treaty of Berwick, 18 June)	
	Aug: Poor harvests (since 1636)		Oct: Dutch destroy Spanish fleet at the battle of the Downs
			Dec: c. 1,300 Irish troops serving in Flanders (under Owen Roe O'Neill)
1640			Feb: Strafford asks Spain for assistance
	16 Mar–17 June: first session of Charles I's second Irish Parliament		
	1 Apr: Irish parliament adjourns to 1 June	13 Apr–5 May: Short Parliament in England	

¹ This is based on the relevant sections of T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland*, VIII: *A chronology of Irish history to 1976* (Oxford, 1982) and on material in the following chapters.

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CHRONOLOGY

*Date Ireland**Scotland and England**The continent*

			May: Revolt of Catalonia (until 1652)
		June: Alonso de Cárdenas becomes Spanish ambassador in London (until Oct 1655)	June–Aug: Owen Roe O’Neill defends Arras against the French
	July: Wentworth’s ‘New Army’ assembles at Carrickfergus		July: Olivares offers Charles I financial assistance
		20 Aug: Scottish army crosses the Tweed; beginning of Second Bishops’ War (ended by Treaty of Ripon, 21 Oct)	
	1 Oct–12 Nov: second session of Charles I’s second Irish Parliament		
		3 Nov: Meeting of the ‘Long Parliament’	
		11 Nov: Strafford impeached	
1641			Dec: Revolt of Portugal (until 1668)
			Gennep (governor Thomas Preston) surrenders to Dutch after a bitter struggle during which the Irish troops distinguished themselves
			Francisco de Melo becomes governor of the Spanish Netherlands

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	26 Jan–5 Mar: third session of Charles I's second Irish Parliament	30 Jan: Articles of impeachment against Strafford sent to House of Lords	Jan: Catalonia accepts French protection
		15 Feb: Triennial Act	
		22 Mar: Beginning of Strafford's trial	
	11 May–17 Nov: fourth session of Charles I's second Irish Parliament	12 May: Strafford executed; unsuccessful plans for use of force against Parliament	May: Mary Stuart marries William, prince of Orange
			June: Portugal and France sign a mutual aid treaty
			Portugal and Netherlands sign 10-year truce
			Treaty of Hamburg between France and Sweden
			July: Soissons conspiracy in France
		Aug: Charles I leaves London for Edinburgh	Aug: French fleet arrives in Lisbon to help Portuguese rebels
		Sept: Peace concluded with Scots	
	22 Oct: Outbreak of the Ulster rebellion	28 Oct: Scottish Parliament offers to send an army of 10,000 to crush the Ulster rising	
	23 Oct: Alleged attempt to seize Dublin thwarted		

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CHRONOLOGY

<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	26 Oct: Sir Phelim O'Neill captures Armagh		
	4 Nov: Sir Phelim O'Neill issues commission purporting to be from the king	22 Nov: Publication of Grand Remonstrance	
	11 Nov: Ormond appointed lieutenant-general of the king's army		
	16–17 Nov: Brief meeting of Irish Parliament		
	21 Nov: 'Rebels' attack and plunder Lord Moore's residence at Mellifont		
	21 Nov: 'Rebels' begin siege of Drogheda (raised in Mar 1642)		
	28 Nov: 'Rebel' attack on Lisburn repulsed		
	29 Nov: Army, sent to relieve Drogheda, defeated at Julianstown, County Meath; Irish insurgents open negotiations with Old English		
	End Nov: Sir Charles Coote garrisons Newcastle, County Wicklow and relieves Wicklow Castle		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	1 Dec: Coote skirmishes with 'rebels' at Kilcoole before returning to Dublin	1 Dec: Charles I presented with Grand Remonstrance	
	3 Dec: Antrim and lords of Pale summoned to a conference in Dublin on 8 Dec; they refuse		
	15 Dec: Coote attacks Santry and Clontarf		
	30 Dec: Sir Simon Harcourt and 1,100 foot arrive in Dublin from England		
	Dec: Alliance between Old English and Ulster insurgents; Counties Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Kilkenny and Tipperary join the rising		
1642	c. 22–37,000 Protestant and c. 11–23,000 Catholic troops in arms	1642: Publication of Henry Jones, <i>A remonstrance of divers remarkable passages concerning the church and kingdom of Ireland</i> (London)	
	Dublin administration and Confederates strike coinages		
	Jan: Catholics in Counties Antrim, Limerick and Clare join the rising	Jan: Attempt to arrest the Five Members; Charles I leaves London; passage of the Militia Ordinance	Jan: England unofficially recognizes Portugal's independence
	Early Jan: Coote routs 'rebel' forces at Swords		
	11 Jan: O'Neill's attempt to take Drogheda fails		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	11 Jan–9 Feb 1647: fifth session of Charles I's second Irish Parliament		
	1–3 Feb: Ormond burns Newcastle and takes Naas, County Kildare		Feb: Henrietta Maria travels to Dutch Republic for assistance
	12 Feb: Lord Lambert defeats Wicklow 'rebels' and clears Dublin of insurgents		
	Mid-Feb: Rebellion spreads to County Kerry		
	20 Feb: 1,500 foot under Col. Monck arrive in Dublin from England		
	End Feb: Viscount Muskerry and County Cork Catholics join the insurrection; a further assault on Drogheda fails		
	Mar: Siege of Drogheda raised	19 Mar: 'Adventurers' Act'	
	Lords Justice later allege that by 16 March 154,000 Protestants have been killed by 'rebels' (more realistic figure is <i>c.</i> 4,000)		
	19 Mar: Town of Galway declares for the 'rebels' and besieges Galway fort (to June 1643)		
	End Mar: Henry Tichborne retakes Ardee and Dundalk		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	2 Apr: Ormond campaigns in County Kildare and relieves Borris, Birr and Knockmenease	Apr: Gates of Hull shut against the king	
	15 Apr: Ormond defeats insurgents at Kilrush; a Scottish army under Monroe lands at Carrickfergus		
	29 Apr: Skirmish between Scots and forces of Sir Phelim O'Neill's at Kilwarlin Wood, near Lisburn, County Down		
	End Apr: Siege of Cork raised; Muskerry besieges Limerick Castle; Coote relieves Castlegeasal and Castlejordan and captures Philipstown and Trim		
	May: Scots recapture Newry and clear County Antrim of insurgents		May: Spanish Army of Flanders defeats the French at Honnecourt
	Early May: Tichborne seizes Carlingford		
	7 May: Insurgents fail to recapture Trim but Coote 'received his ticket to hell'		
	10–13 May: Meetings of Catholic clergy and laity at Kilkenny		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	End May: Government offensive grinds to a standstill for want of victuals and supplies; two English regiments arrive in Munster		
	June: Confederate Oath of Association drawn up and provisional Supreme Council nominated	19 June: Charles I rejects Nineteen Propositions	
	Scots march on Lisnagarvey, Armagh and Charlemont		
	Insurgents besiege Limerick		
	Alleged 'massacre' of Protestants at Kilmore		
	10 June: First meeting of Presbytery of the Scottish army at Carrickfergus		
	July: Owen Roe O'Neill and some veterans from Flanders land at Doe Castle, County Donegal		
	10,000 Scots now in Ulster		
	25 Aug: Inchiquin's victory at Liscarroll, County Cork	22 Aug: Outbreak of First English Civil War	Aug: French take Perpignan (Catalonia) from Spain
	Sept: Thomas Preston lands at Wexford		
	Sept: Good local harvests		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>	
	24 Oct–21 Nov: First confederate General Assembly	23 Oct: Battle of Edgehill (royalist victory)		
	Nov: Inchiquin wins battle of Bandonbridge		24 Nov/4 Dec: Cardinal Richelieu dies; succeeded by Mazarin as French chief minister (until 1661)	
			Dec: Confederates appoint representatives in Spanish Netherlands (Bourke); Paris (O'Hartegan); Rome (Wadding); Madrid (Magennis and Talbot)	
			Dec 1642–Feb 1643: Confederate agents issue <i>c.</i> twenty letters of marque; by end of 1642 the confederate navy allegedly comprised <i>c.</i> 30 ships, rising to <i>c.</i> 40–50 warships by the mid-1640s	
1643	<i>c.</i> 27–35,000 Protestant and <i>c.</i> 14–22,000 Catholic troops in arms		1643: French agents disseminate anti-Spanish propaganda in Naples	
	Feb: Preston takes Barre	1 Feb: Oxford Propositions	Jan: Fall of Olivares	
	18 Mar: Ormond, after failing to take New Ross, defeats Preston near Old Ross			

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	23 Apr: King orders Ormond to treat with the Confederates		
	20 May–19 June: Second confederate General Assembly		4/14 May Louis XIII of France dies; succeeded by Louis XIV (until 1715)
	May: Ormond's troops mutiny in Dublin		9/19 May: Habsburg defeat at battle of Rocroi
	13 June: Owen Roe O'Neill defeated by Sir Robert Stewart at Clones, County Monaghan		
	20 June: Fort of Galway surrenders to Confederates		
	24 June: Truce negotiations between Ormond and the Confederates begin		
	July: Papal agent, Pier Francesco Scarampi, arrives at Kilkenny	1 July: Westminster Assembly (sat until 1649)	
	July: Owen Roe O'Neill's forces defeat English at Trim	14 July: 'Doubling Ordinance' passed by English Parliament	
		26 July: Royalists capture Bristol	

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	6 Aug: Town of Galway joins the Confederates		Aug: Negotiations at Westphalia to end the Thirty Years War begin (until 1648)
	15 Sept: One-year cease-fire concluded between the Royalists and Confederates	25 Sept: Solemn League and Covenant between the English Parliament and the Scots	
	Sept: Disastrous harvests		
	7 Nov–1 Dec: Third confederate General Assembly		
	13 Nov: Ormond appointed lord lieutenant by Charles I		
	Nov 19: Confederates nominate seven delegates to meet Charles I at Oxford		
1644	c. 19–25,000 Protestant and c. 18–24,000 Catholic troops in arms		Opening of peace talks with French in Münster
	Inchiquin strikes a coinage (further issues in Cork, 1645 and 1646) and expels Catholics from Cork		Marquis of Castel Rodrigo becomes governor of Spanish Netherlands
			c. 1,230 Irish mercenaries arrive for service in Spain; by 1652 c. 22,200 had left Ireland for Spanish service; and by 1649 c. 7,000 more had left for service in France

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	Jan: Charles I authorizes Antrim to request arms, men and supplies from the Confederates	19 Jan: Scots army invades England	
		25 Jan: Royalist defeat at battle of Nantwich	
	Jan: Foissotte (Spanish agent, until early 1652) and de la Monnerie (French agent, until Feb 1646) arrive		
	Mar: Preston captures Duncannon	24 Mar: Confederate agents arrive at Oxford to negotiate with Charles	
		1 Apr: Charles I grants plenary powers to Glamorgan	
		Apr: Inchiquin visits the king in Oxford; denied the lord presidency of Munster	
	14 May: Monroe seizes Belfast		
	June: Confederates allow French and Spanish to recruit 2,000 Irish troops	29 June: Royalist victory at Croppedy Bridge	June: Dutch unofficially 'recognize' Parliament
	24 June: Ormond instructed to continue negotiations with the Confederates		
	27 June: Antrim sends c. 2,000 Irish troops to fight in Scotland with Montrose		

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>	
	17 July: Inchiquin abandons royalist cause and declares for Parliament	2 July: Charles I defeated at Marston Moor	July: Innocent X succeeds Urban VIII as Pope	
	20 July–31 Aug: Fourth confederate General Assembly			
	End July: The earl of Castlehaven's confederate army reaches Armagh			
	July–Oct: O'Neill and Castlehaven campaign in Ulster; stalemate at Charlemont			
		Aug: Parliament lose forty heavy guns to the king at Lostwithiel	Aug: French occupy Alsace	
			c. 600 Irish troops serving in Flanders (under Patrick O'Neill)	
	Sept: Confederates abandon siege of Youghal	1 Sept: Montrose's victory at Tippermuir, near Perth		
		22 Oct: Newcastle falls to Parliamentarians		
		24 Oct: English Parliament's 'no-quarter' ordinance for Irishmen captured in England or Wales		
		24 Nov: Uxbridge Propositions	Nov: Henrietta Maria arrives in Paris	

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CHRONOLOGY

<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
		19 Dec: Self Denying Ordinance (leads to creation of New Model Army)	31 Dec: Richard Bellings seeks continental aid for the Confederates
1645	<i>c.</i> 18–25,000 Protestant and <i>c.</i> 14–20,000 Catholic troops in arms		French capture ten towns in the Spanish Netherlands
			Publication of Conor O'Mahony, <i>Disputatio Apologetica</i> (Lisbon)
	20 Jan: Preston invests Duncannon fort (taken 19 Mar)	Jan: Parliament appoints Inchiquin as lord president of Munster	
		2 Feb: Montrose's victory at Inverlochy	
			Mar: Edward Tirrell replaces O'Hartegan as confederate agent in Paris
			Habsburg defeat at battle of Jankov makes German peace more likely
	15 May–31 August: Fifth confederate General Assembly	9 May: Montrose's victory at Auldearn, near Nairn	
	End June: Glamorgan arrives in Ireland	14 June: Charles I defeated at Naseby	June: Turks besiege Crete leading to war with Venice (until 1664)
	8 July: A parliamentary force under Sir Charles Coote takes Sligo	2 July: Montrose's victory at Alford	

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	25 Aug: Secret treaty between Glamorgan and the Confederates	15 Aug: Montrose's victory at Kilsyth	Aug: French victory at Alerheim
		10 Sept: Parliament takes Bristol	
		13 Sept: Montrose defeated at Philiphaugh	
	12 Oct: Papal nuncio Rinuccini arrives in County Kerry with Massari		
			10/20 Nov: Treaty between Innocent X and Sir Kenelm Digby signed at Rome
	20 Dec: Second secret treaty, dictated by Rinuccini, between Glamorgan and the Confederates		
	26 Dec: Glamorgan arrested by Ormond (released 22 Jan 1646)		
1646	c. 16–25,000 Protestant and c. 15–23,000 Catholic troops in arms	Publication of Sir John Temple's, <i>The Irish rebellion</i> (London)	c. 140 Irish mercenaries arrive for service in Spain
	Ormond strikes a gold coinage in Dublin		
	Jan: De la Torre (Spanish agent) arrives (until late 1649)	26 Jan: Parliament appoints Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle as commander-in-chief for projected Irish campaign	Jan: Dutch Republic's negotiators arrive in Münster

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland and England</i>	<i>The continent</i>
	7 Feb–4 Mar: Sixth confederate General Assembly	3 Feb: Chester falls to Parliament	
	19 Feb: Confederates prolong truce with king to 1 May		
	Late Feb: Dumolin (French agent) arrives		
	28 Mar: Peace agreed between Confederates and Ormond		
		15 Apr: Parliament appoints Philip Sidney as lord lieutenant of Ireland for one year	
		5 May: Charles I surrenders to Scots near Newark	
	5 June: Confederate victory over the Scots at Benburb, County Tyrone	25 June: Oxford surrenders	
	June: Roscommon surrenders to Preston, who fails to move against Sligo		
	14 July: Capture of Bunratty Castle, County Clare, by Confederates	July: Charles I rejects the Newcastle Propositions	July: Congress of Münster; provisional peace articles signed by Dutch and Spaniards
	30 July: Proclamation of the 'First Ormond Peace' in Dublin (3 Aug in Kilkenny)	July: Brothers Bellièvre appointed by France to mediate between the king and Parliament (until Apr 1649)	