

IRELAND
FROM INDEPENDENCE
TO OCCUPATION
1641–1660

EDITED BY
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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

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First published 1995

First paperback edition 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Ireland from independence to occupation, 1641-1660 /

edited by Jane H. Ohlmeyer.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 43479 3

1. Ireland - History - 1649-1660. 2. Ireland - History - 1625-1649.

I. Ohlmeyer, Jane H.

DA944.4.I74 1995

941.506-dc20 94-16542 CIP

ISBN 0 521 43479 3 hardback

ISBN 0 521 52275 7 paperback

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---|------|-----|
| <i>List of illustrations</i> | page | ix |
| <i>List of tables</i> | | x |
| <i>List of contributors</i> | | xi |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | | xiv |
| <i>Chronology of events 1639–1660</i> | | xv |
| <i>List of abbreviations</i> | | li |
| 1 <i>Introduction. A failed revolution?</i> | | 1 |
| JANE OHLMEYER | | |
| 2 <i>What really happened in Ireland in 1641?</i> | | 24 |
| NICHOLAS CANNY | | |
| 3 <i>Four armies in Ireland</i> | | 43 |
| SCOTT WHEELER | | |
| 4 <i>The Military Revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland</i> | | 66 |
| ROLF LOEBER AND GEOFFREY PARKER | | |
| 5 <i>Ireland independent: confederate foreign policy and international relations during the mid-seventeenth century</i> | | 89 |
| JANE OHLMEYER | | |
| 6 <i>'Political' poems in the mid-seventeenth-century crisis</i> | | 112 |
| MICHELLE O RIORDAN | | |
| 7 <i>Stafford's ghost: the British context of Viscount Lisle's lieutenancy of Ireland</i> | | 128 |
| JOHN ADAMSON | | |
| 8 <i>The Irish economy at war, 1641–1652</i> | | 160 |
| RAYMOND GILLESPIE | | |

| | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 9 | <i>The seventeenth-century land settlement in Ireland: towards a statistical interpretation</i> | 181 |
| | KEVIN MCKENNY | |
| 10 | <i>Radical religion in Ireland, 1641–1660</i> | 201 |
| | PHIL KILROY | |
| 11 | <i>The Protestant interest, 1641–1660</i> | 218 |
| | T. C. BARNARD | |
| 12 | <i>1659 and the road to Restoration</i> | 241 |
| | AIDAN CLARKE | |
| 13 | <i>Conclusion. Settling and unsettling Ireland: the Cromwellian and Williamite revolutions</i> | 265 |
| | T. C. BARNARD | |
| | <i>Select bibliography</i> | 292 |
| | <i>Index</i> | 310 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | The siege of Limerick by Ireton's forces, 1651 (reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford) | <i>page</i> 69 |
| 2 | Detail of the Down Survey showing the fortifications of Dublin | 79 |
| 3 | The siege of Ballyshannon, County Kildare, 1648 (reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Library) | 80 |
| 4 | The siege of Duncannon Fort, County Wexford, by General Preston, 1645 | 84 |

MAPS

- | | | |
|---|---|----|
| 1 | Ireland on the eve of the cessation of arms, September 1643 | 49 |
| 2 | The parliamentary campaigns of 1647 and 1649–52 | 57 |

TABLES

| | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 3.1 | Estimates (in ranges) of Protestant troop strength | <i>page</i> 50 |
| 3.2 | Estimates (in ranges) of Catholic troop strength | 51 |
| 9.1 | The ethno-religious pattern of landholders in West Ulster, 1641 | 188 |
| 9.2 | The ethno-religious pattern of landholdership in West Ulster, 1641 | 189 |
| 9.3 | West Ulster landholdership of the major Gaelic septs, 1641 | 191 |
| 9.4 | Catholics who retained or recovered land in West Ulster, post-1660 | 197 |
| 9.5 | Recipients of confiscated land in West Ulster, post-1660 | 199 |

INTRODUCTION.
A FAILED REVOLUTION?

JANE OHLMEYER

AT THE height of the 'General Crisis' which gripped Europe during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, one English preacher in 1643 informed the House of Commons that 'These are days of shaking and this shaking is universal: the Palatinate, Bohemia, Germania, Catalonia, Portugal, Ireland, England'.¹ He could have added Scotland and the Netherlands to his list and, by the end of the decade, Naples, Sicily and the Ukraine as well for, as Voltaire later concluded in his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756), this 'was a period of usurpations almost from one end of the world to the other'.² Of these 'usurpations' only Portugal, the Dutch and the Ukraine succeeded. Even though Catholic Ireland failed to win lasting political autonomy within the context of a tripartite Stuart monarchy, its rebellion of the 1640s nevertheless ranks as one of the most successful revolts in early modern history, for, between 1642 and 1649, the Confederation of Kilkenny enjoyed legislative independence and Irish Catholics worshipped freely.

Unlike the Dutch and Portuguese, the Irish made no bid for national self-determination during these years. On the contrary, the Confederates consistently touted their loyalty to Charles I and hoped that Ireland would remain an integral part of the Stuart monarchies, albeit with greater religious and political freedom. Therefore, even during the 1640s, Ireland should be viewed as a state within a 'composite' or 'multiple' monarchy which can be superficially compared to the dominions of the Austrian Habsburgs, of the Spanish Habsburgs, of the triple state of

¹ Jeremiah Whittaker, quoted by H. Trevor-Roper, 'The general crisis of the seventeenth century', in T. S. Aston (ed.), *Crisis in Europe 1560-1660* (London, 1965), p. 59. I am grateful to Toby Barnard, Nicholas Canny and Geoffrey Parker for reading an earlier draft of this chapter and for making numerous incisive comments and helpful suggestions for improvement.

² Cited in Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith (eds.), *The general crisis of the seventeenth century* (London, 1978), p. 3.

Poland–Lithuania–Ukraine or, even, of the Swedish crown.³ Certainly the Stuarts encountered problems in handling Ireland (and, for that matter, England and Scotland as well) similar to those experienced by Philip IV in Catalonia, in Flanders or in Naples or by John Casimir in the Ukraine. In these ‘peripheral states’ the forces of conservatism and provincialism outweighed those of change and centralization, cultural and linguistic boundaries meant more than national and geographic ones, and religious divisions – whether within the Protestant and Catholic faiths or between them – repeatedly challenged the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*.⁴

Recently Michael Perceval-Maxwell and Conrad Russell have highlighted the problems involved in running a multiple kingdom and, together with John Morrill and others,⁵ have drawn attention to the British and Irish context of the origins and course of the ‘Wars of the Three Kingdoms’.⁶ However this does not necessarily mark any novel departure, for many scholars of mid-seventeenth-century Ireland, like Donal Cregan writing in

³ For the Polish Commonwealth see William Hunt, ‘A view from the Vistula on the English Revolution’, in Bonnelyn Young and Dwight D. Brautigam (eds.), *Court, country and culture. Essays on early modern British history in honor of Perez Zagorin* (Rochester, New York, 1992), pp. 41–53.

⁴ For Ireland see Aidan Clarke, ‘Ireland and the general crisis’, *Past and Present*, 48 (1970), pp. 79–99; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, ‘Ireland and the monarchy in the early Stuart multiple kingdom’, *The Historical Journal*, 34 (1991), pp. 279–95; Ciaran Brady, ‘The decline of the Irish kingdom’, in Mark Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest and coalescence. The shaping of the state in early modern Europe* (London, 1991), pp. 95–115. Also see the seminal essay by H. G. Koenigsberger, ‘Dominium regale or dominium politicum et regale’, reprinted in *Politicians and virtuosi: essays in early modern history* (London, 1986). For an interesting, comparative overview of the causes of early modern revolutions see Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and rulers 1500–1660* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1982).

⁵ Perceval-Maxwell, ‘Ireland and the monarchy’; Conrad Russell, *The causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford, 1990), *The fall of the British monarchies 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991) and *Unrevolutionary England, 1603–42* (London, 1990), part iv; John Morrill (ed.), *The Scottish national covenant in its British context 1638–51* (Edinburgh, 1990). Also see Ronald Asch (ed.), *Three nations – a common history? England, Scotland, Ireland and British history c. 1600–1920* (Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung vol. xxiii, Bochum, 1993), especially the introduction and part II; Ronald Hutton, *Charles II, king of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1989); Peter Donald, *An uncounselled king. Charles I and the Scottish troubles 1637–1641* (Cambridge, 1990), David Stevenson, *Scottish covenanter and Irish confederates: Scottish-Irish relations in the mid-seventeenth century* (Belfast, 1981); Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms. The career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609–1683* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁶ However, others remain sceptical of the New British History and, with some justification, fear that this reinvention of the wheel will merely perpetuate the anglocentrism characteristic of the study of early modern English history. For as one Scottish historian noted recently ‘It is all very well to have our subject treated as “serious history” by the Anglo-American establishment, but there is also a danger in reaching out too eagerly for what could be a poisoned chalice’ (Keith Brown, ‘British history: a sceptical comment’, in Asch (ed.), *Three nations*, p. 117). Nicholas Canny has expressed similar concerns, see *ibid.*, p. 82. In this volume the term ‘Britain’ refers to England, Scotland and Wales, but does not include Ireland. Though Ireland can be viewed as one of the Stuart kingdoms, it was never part of Britain and technically speaking ‘British’ history excludes Ireland.

1944, have been careful 'to take account of the cross-Channel situation'.⁷ Similarly Hugh Hazlett's detailed investigation on the armies fighting in Ireland during the 1640s (largely written in the late 1930s and 1940s), John Lowe's first-rate articles on Anglo-Irish relations (published in the early 1960s), and the more recent studies by Karl Bottigheimer, T. C. Barnard, David Stevenson, Michael Perceval-Maxwell and Jane Ohlmeyer show special sensitivity to the complex interrelations between the three Stuart monarchies.⁸ Nevertheless, even though all of these works, together with the rather unwieldy and sometimes partisan accounts by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars such as Thomas Carte, C. P. Meehan and J. P. Prendergast, and Patrick Corish's seminal chapters in *A new history of Ireland*, have shed much light on the history of the 1640s and 1650s, a recent, analytical, comprehensive study of the Civil War and its aftermath is entirely lacking.⁹

⁷ Donal F. Cregan, 'Some members of the confederation of Kilkenny', in S. O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra i gCúmhne Mhíchil Uí Chleirigh* (Dublin, 1944), p. 34. Also see Cregan, 'The confederation of Kilkenny: its organization, personnel and history' (unpublished PhD thesis, NUI, 1947). Parts of the thesis have appeared in Cregan, 'Some members of the confederation of Kilkenny' and 'The confederation of Kilkenny', in Brian Farrell (ed.), *Irish parliamentary tradition* (Dublin, 1973).

⁸ Hugh Hazlett, 'A history of the military forces operating in Ireland, 1641-9' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1938) is extremely valuable, as are his articles on 'The financing of the British armies in Ireland, 1641-9', *IHS*, 1 (1938), pp. 21-41 and 'The recruitment and organization of the Scottish army in Ulster, 1642-9', in H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn (eds.), *Essays in British and Irish history in honour of James Eadie Todd* (London, 1949). For John Lowe see 'The negotiations between Charles I and the confederation of Kilkenny, 1642-9' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1960) and the following articles which are derived from his thesis: 'The earl of Antrim and Irish aid to Montrose in 1644', *Irish Sword*, 4 (summer, 1960), pp. 191-8, 'Some aspects of the war in Ireland, 1641-1649' in *ibid.*, 4 (winter, 1959), pp. 81-7, 'Charles I and the confederation of Kilkenny, 1643-9', *IHS*, 14 (1964), pp. 1-19, 'The Glamorgan mission to Ireland 1645-6', *Studia Hibernica*, 4 (1964), pp. 155-96. For more recent studies see Karl Bottigheimer, *English money and Irish land. The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971), 'English money and Irish land. The "Adventurers" in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland', *Journal of British Studies*, 7 (1967), pp. 12-27; T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland. English government and reform in Ireland 1649-1660* (Oxford, 1975); Stevenson, *Scottish covenanters*; Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ireland and the monarchy' and 'Ulster 1641 in the context of political developments in the three kingdoms', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 93-106; Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*. Also see Robert Elkin, 'The interactions between the Irish rebellion and the English civil wars' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1961) and the various articles by John A. Murphy in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, especially 'The politics of the Munster Protestants, 1641-1649', 76 (1971), pp. 1-20.

⁹ Thomas Carte, *History of the life of James, first duke of Ormonde* (second edn., 6 vols., Oxford, 1851); C. P. Meehan, *The confederation of Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1860); J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (revised edn., London, 1870; third edn., Dublin, 1922); Patrick Corish's four chapters in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland, III: Early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1978), chapters 11-14. The 'standard' political account of the years 1603-90 remains Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum* (3 vols., London, 1909-16; reprint, 1963). T. L. Coonan, *Irish Catholic confederacy and the Puritan revolution* (Dublin, London and New York, 1954) is hopelessly inadequate - see J. C. Beckett's

This is somewhat surprising given the number of primary printed sources relating to these decades (largely published under the auspices of the Irish Manuscripts Commission and the Historical Manuscripts Commission), the accessibility of Ormond's extensive archive which contains a wealth of detail pertinent to the conflict, and the amount of material relating to Ireland housed among the State Papers (Public Record Office, London).¹⁰ Perhaps this relative dearth of scholarship can be attributed to the destruction, in 1711 and 1922, of so many official records, especially the archive of the Confederation of Kilkenny.¹¹ Certainly the loss of these seminal documents has forced Irish historians to adopt several approaches. First they are increasingly willing to turn to other disciplines – Irish literature, historical geography, archaeology and anthropology – for insights.¹² For instance, recent work by historical geographers, especially William Smyth, has offered a novel perspective on the study of seventeenth-century Irish society and of the land settlement;¹³ while discussions of contemporary

devastating review in *IHS*, 11 (1958), pp. 52–5. Interestingly the origins of the rebellion have stimulated intense recent historical interest, see chapter 2, footnotes 6 and 7 below, Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641* and M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641* (Dublin, 1994).

- ¹⁰ The more important source compilations include Sir J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from A.D. 1641 to 1652* (3 vols., Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin, 1879) and *History of the Irish confederation and the war in Ireland, 1641–3* . . . (7 vols., Dublin, 1882–91); Mary Hickson (ed.), *Ireland in the seventeenth century* (2 vols., London, 1884); [E. Hogan (ed.)], *The history of the war in Ireland* . . . (Dublin, 1873); J. Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion* (IMC, Dublin, 1935); Brendan Jennings (ed.), *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582–1700* . . . (IMC, Dublin, 1964); Robert Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth: being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland, 1651–9* (2 vols., Manchester, 1913); John Lowe (ed.), *Letter-book of the earl of Clanricarde, 1643–7* (IMC, Dublin, 1983). Also the works listed in footnotes 17 and 18 below. Ormond's archive is divided between the Bodleian Library in Oxford (the Carte papers) and the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. The more important material relating to the war has been printed in Carte, *Ormond*, vi; Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history and Irish confederation*. Also see HMC, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquis of Ormonde*, ns (8 vols., London, 1902–20) and HMC, *The manuscripts of the marquis of Ormonde*, os (2 vols., London, 1895–9).
- ¹¹ T. C. Barnard has also drawn attention to the lasting influences of the highly partisan contemporary accounts and the tendency by later historians to treat them as 'gospel'. See T. C. Barnard, 'Crises of identity among Irish Protestants 1641–1685', *Past and Present*, 127 (1990), pp. 39–83; Barnard, '1641: a bibliographical essay' in Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641*, pp. 173–86; and Barnard, 'Irish images of Cromwell', in R. C. Richardson (ed.), *Images of Cromwell: essays by and for Roger Howell* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 180–206.
- ¹² For instance see Pádraig Lenihan, 'Aerial photography: a window on the past', *History Ireland*, 1 (summer, 1993), pp. 9–13 and footnotes 13 and 14 below.
- ¹³ William J. Smyth, 'Society and settlement in seventeenth-century Ireland: the evidence of the "1659 census"', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Common ground. Essays on the historical geography of Ireland presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988), pp. 55–83; Smyth, 'Territorial, social and settlement hierarchies in seventeenth century Kilkenny', in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: history and society* . . . (Dublin, 1990), pp. 127–60; Smyth, 'Property, patronage and population. Reconstructing the human geography of mid-seventeenth-century County Tipperary', in William Nolan and Thomas G. McGrath (eds.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985). Also see P. J. Duffy, 'The evolution of estate properties in South Ulster 1600–1900', in Smyth and Whelan (eds.), *Common ground*, pp. 84–109.

literature and poetry enhance our understanding of early modern Irish culture, national identities and loyalties.¹⁴ Comparing the wartime experiences of Ireland with those of other countries is equally valuable and helps explain phenomena such as the spread of the 'Military Revolution' in Ireland or the growth of war-weariness and provincialism. Third, historians of the 1640s and 1650s have no alternative but to make extensive use of more fragmentary sources – land surveys, estate records, parish and taxation registers, correspondence, proclamations and newsletters – which have survived. For example, Nicholas Canny's imaginative treatment of 'eye witness' accounts gleaned from the '1641 depositions' enables him to examine the conduct and progress of the insurrection in the localities and to unravel 'the complex of motivations that the Protestants attributed to their assailants'.¹⁵ Equally important (and, as yet, largely unexploited) are the remarkably complete archives of the continental countries involved in Irish affairs during the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁶ The papers of governments in Paris, Madrid and Brussels contain a wealth of tantalizing information: despatches, memoranda, reports and correspondence of their agents in Ireland and of their ambassadors in London and Edinburgh.¹⁷ Similarly rewarding are the Roman archives and the personal papers of the

¹⁴ See especially Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'James our true king. The ideology of Irish royalism in the seventeenth century', in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds.), *Political thought in Ireland since the seventeenth century* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 7–35. Also see Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (eds.), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict, 1534–1660* (Cambridge, 1993); T. J. Dunne, 'The Gaelic response to conquest and colonization: the evidence of the poetry', *Studia Hibernica*, 20 (1980), pp. 7–30; Michelle O Riordan, *The Gaelic mind and the collapse of the Gaelic world* (Cork, 1990); O Riordan, 'The native Ulster *mentalité* as revealed in Gaelic sources 1600–1650', in Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641*, pp. 61–91; Bernadette Cunningham, 'Native culture and political change in Ireland, 1580–1640', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society, 1534–1641* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 148–70; Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'The East Ulster bardic family of Ó Gnínmh', *Egise*, 20 (1984), pp. 106–14; Nicholas Canny, 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature', *Past and Present*, 95 (May, 1982), pp. 91–116. Also see chapter 6 below.

¹⁵ See pp. 27–8 below.

¹⁶ Robert A. Stradling, *The Spanish monarchy and Irish mercenaries: the Wild Geese in Spain, 1618–68* (Dublin, 1994), especially chapters 2–6, demonstrates how important foreign – and, in this instance, Spanish – sources are for the study of civil war in Ireland. I am grateful to Dr Stradling for making his manuscript available to me in advance of publication.

¹⁷ A considerable amount of Irish material from the Paris archives is available in print. For the Bibliothèque Nationale, see the National Library of Ireland, *Report of the trustees 1949–50* (Dublin, 1950) and *1950–1* (Dublin, 1951). A number of letters from the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères have been reproduced in Gilbert (ed.), *Irish confederation*. For the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, see Brendan Jennings (ed.), *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, 1582–1700 . . .* (IMC, 1964). Sadly there is no adequate listing of the Irish material in the A[rchivio] G[eneral], S[imincas, Spain].

papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, and his second-in-command, Dionysius Massari, dean of Fermo.¹⁸

These commissioned essays demonstrate that sufficient source material has survived for further research at the regional and national levels at home, as well as abroad. For instance, relatively little is known about key military leaders such as Sir Phelim O'Neill,¹⁹ Thomas Preston, James Touchet, earl of Castlehaven²⁰ or Sir Charles Coote; or about prominent political figures, especially James Butler, marquis of Ormond,²¹ Theobald Taaffe, later earl of Carlingford,²² Ulick Burke, earl of Clanricard,²³ Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin,²⁴ Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey and Richard Talbot, later earl of Tyrconnell.²⁵ Despite innovative studies by Donal Cregan, John Lowe and Hugh Hazlett, much remains to be done

¹⁸ See especially B. Millet, 'The archives of the congregation de propaganda fide', *Irish Catholic Historical Committee* (1956), pp. 20–7 and 'Catalogue of Irish material . . .', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 10–12 (1967–9). Also see Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), 'Vatican Library: MSS Barberini Latini . . .', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 19 (1955), pp. 67–144 and 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection Nunziatura di Fiandra, Vatican archives', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 1 (1958), pp. 7–125. For Rinuccini and Massari see R. O'Ferrall and R. O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, ed. Revd S. Kavanagh (IMC, 6 vols., Dublin, 1932–49); G. Aiazza, *The embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini . . .*, translated by Annie Hutton (Dublin, 1873) and Dionysius Massari, 'My Irish campaign', *The Catholic Bulletin*, 6 (1916), 7 (1917), 8 (1918), 9 (1919), 10 (1920).

¹⁹ Jerrold Casway, 'Two Phelim O'Neills', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 11 (1985), pp. 331–41 and John J. Marshall, 'Sir Phelim O'Neill 1604–1652[-3]', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, second series, 10 (1904), pp. 145–50.

²⁰ For his memoirs see, James Touchet, earl of Castlehaven, *Memoirs . . . his engagements and carriage in the wars of Ireland* (London, 1680; later editions 1681, 1684; reprinted New York, 1974).

²¹ The best account of Ormond's career remains Carte's biography (footnote 9 above). Even though Ormond has received some recent historical attention – J. C. Beckett, *The cavalier duke. A life of James Butler first duke of Ormond 1610–1688* (Belfast, 1990) and Billy Kelly, "'Most illustrious cavalier" or "unkinde deserter", James Butler, first duke of Ormond', *History Ireland*, 1 (summer, 1993), pp. 18–22 – his specific contribution to the Irish Civil War still needs further analysis.

²² The only recent account is in Harold O'Sullivan, 'Land ownership changes in the County of Louth in the seventeenth century' (unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, 1992), chapter 5.

²³ The bulk of Clanricard's personal papers are available in print, see Lowe (ed.), *Letter-book; Ulick de Burgh, marquis of Clanricarde, The memoirs of Ulick, marquis of Clanricarde . . .* (London, 1757) and *Memoirs of . . . Clanricarde . . . relating to the treaty between the duke of Lorraine and the Irish commissioners* (London, 1722). The excellent studies by Bernadette Cunningham, 'Political and social change in the lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1569–1641' (unpublished MA thesis, NUI, Galway, 1979) and Tom Connors, 'The impact of English colonial expansion on Irish culture: the Protestant reformation, popular religion, and the transformation of the family in early modern Connacht' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994) focus on the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century earls of Clanricard.

²⁴ The recent biography of Inchiquin by Ivar O'Brien, *Murrough the burner* (Whitegate, County Clare, 1991) is inadequate. See instead John A. Murphy, 'Inchiquin's changes of religion', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 72 (1967), pp. 58–68.

²⁵ J. Miller, 'The earl of Tyrconnell and James II's Irish policy, 1685–1688', *The Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), pp. 802–23 and James Maguire, 'Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell (1603–91) and the Catholic Counter-Revolution', in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the game. Losers in Irish history* (Dublin, 1989), pp. 73–83.

on the Confederation of Kilkenny, especially its organization in the provinces (how did the Confederates raise troops and money; how did they discipline unruly or disaffected citizens?) and the role played by various interest groups (namely the lawyers, the clergy, the aristocracy and the merchant community) in shaping confederate policy.²⁶ More analysis too is required of the confederate, royalist and parliamentary armies fighting in Ireland;²⁷ of the Catholic church and the religious orders and the role played in the conflict by clerics (especially by prominent figures like Rinuccini²⁸ or the Irish bishops Heber MacMahon,²⁹ Hugh O'Reilly,³⁰ David Rothe,³¹ Malacy O'Queely,³² and Oliver Darcy).

In stark contrast to England, where regional studies of the Civil Wars abound, relatively little is known about the impact the rebellion, ten years of fighting and two decades of heavy taxation had on the various localities and on individual family fortunes.³³ We need to investigate further the

²⁶ See especially the pioneering studies by Cregan listed in footnote 7 above and by J. C. Beckett, 'The confederation of Kilkenny reviewed', in Michael Roberts (ed.), *Historical Studies*, II (London, 1959), pp. 29–41. The confederate lawyer Patrick Darcy has attracted some attention, see Liam O'Malley, 'Patrick Darcy, Galway lawyer and politician, 1598–1668', in Diarmuid Ó Cearbhaill (ed.), *Galway: town and gown 1484–1984* (Dublin, 1984), pp. 90–109 and C. E. J. Caldicott (ed.), 'Patrick Darcy. An argument' in *Camden Miscellany XXXI* (Camden fourth series, vol. XLIV, London, 1992), pp. 193–320.

²⁷ The work of Hugh Hazlett, much of which remains unpublished, is invaluable, see footnote 8 above. Also see Ian Ryder, *An English army for Ireland* (London, 1987), Jerrold Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1984), Nicholas Perry, 'The infantry of the confederate Leinster army, 1642–1647', *Irish Sword*, 15 (1983), pp. 232–41 and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'The war of religions', in Keith Jeffery and Tom Bartlett, *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, forthcoming). Pádraig Lenihan is currently completing a doctoral thesis at University College, Galway on 'The armies of the Irish Catholic confederation 1641–9'.

²⁸ For Rinuccini see Michael J. Hynes, *The mission of Rinuccini, 1645–49* (Louvain, 1932) which is essentially a summary of *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*; Patrick Corish, 'Ireland's first papal nuncio', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 81 (1954), pp. 172–83 and Andrew Boyd, 'Rinuccini and civil war in Ireland, 1644–9', *History Today*, 41 (Feb. 1991), pp. 42–8. Tadhg Ó h Annracháin is currently completing a dissertation on the Irish mission of Rinuccini at the European University Institute in Florence.

²⁹ Séamus Ó Mórdha, 'Heber MacMahon, soldier bishop of the confederation of Kilkenny', in Joseph Duffy (ed.), *Clogher record album. A diocesan history* (Monaghan, 1975); Ó Mórdha, 'Ever MacMahon', *Studies*, 40 (1951), pp. 323–33 and 41 (1952), pp. 91–8 and J. E. McKenna, *Heber MacMahon in the confederate wars (1641–1650)* (Dublin, 1908).

³⁰ Séamus Ó Mórdha, 'Hugh O'Reilly (1581?–1653), a reforming primate', *Breifne*, 4 (1970), pp. 1–42 and 6 (1972), 345–69.

³¹ Maureen Hegarty, 'David Rothe', *Old Kilkenny Review. Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, ns, 2 (1979), pp. 4–21.

³² Richard J. Kelly, 'Dr O'Queely, archbishop of Tuam. A great statesman and prelate', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 17 (1905), pp. 247–53.

³³ Nicholas Canny has suggested that the 'true character of the revolt . . . will be better understood when the depositions for each locality and region are studied and correlated', Nicholas Canny, 'The 1641 depositions as a source for the writing of social history: County Cork as a case study', in Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius G. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork: history and society* (Dublin, 1993), p. 277. Also see Nicholas Canny, 'The marginal kingdom: Ireland as a problem in the first

survival strategies adopted by beleaguered Protestants during the 1640s and the accommodations made, during the 1650s, by Catholics who remained *in situ*.³⁴ Similarly the issue of indebtedness among the Irish natives and newcomers merits analysis. Did, for example, the crushing debts accumulated during the course of the 1640s represent more of a threat to Irish landlords than harsh governmental legislation or religious persecution? An anonymous Gaelic poet lamented how the war had interrupted traditional aristocratic pursuits and 'studies in the liberal arts and languages'; yet, apart from T. C. Barnard's enlightening account of the mental world of leading Old Protestants (see chapter 11), we lack any comprehensive scholarly analysis of wartime popular and elite culture, marriage and education patterns.³⁵ More attention must also be devoted to the continuities – especially the intellectual, cultural and political ones – with the pre- and post-war years. For as John Adamson notes in his essay on the three kingdoms context of Viscount Lisle's lieutenancy of Ireland (chapter 7), it is easy 'to overlook the fact that there were strong continuities, in both policy and personnel, between the Straffordian interest of 1639–40 and the junto which emerged in control of parliamentary Irish policy at the end of the First Civil War'. Both T. C. Barnard and John Adamson call attention to the extensive clientage and patronage networks that spanned the Irish Sea and provided vital points of contact between the centre and the periphery. Yet we need to examine further the role played by Irish men and women in influencing government policy and in articulating Irish

British empire', in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (eds.), *Strangers within the realm: cultural margins of the first British empire* (Chapel Hill, 1991), pp. 35–66. The depositions have also been used extensively by Hilary Simms, 'Violence in County Armagh, 1641', in Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641*, pp. 123–38; Thomas Fitzpatrick, *The bloody bridge and other papers relating to the insurrection of 1641* (Dublin, 1903; reissued, 1970), Fitzpatrick, 'The Ulster civil war, 1641. "The king's commission" in the County Fermanagh', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, second series, 13 (1907), pp. 133–42, 155–9 and Fitzpatrick, 'The wars of 1641 in County Down: the deposition of High Sheriff Peter Hill (1645)', *ibid.*, 10 (1904), pp. 73–90. Local studies of the civil war in England are too numerous to list in full. See, for instance, Alan Everitt, *The community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640–1660* (Leicester, 1966); John Morrill, *Cheshire 1630–60: A county government during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974), B. G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire gentry and the great rebellion, 1640–1660* (Manchester, 1978) and Ann Hughes, *Politics, society and civil war in Warwickshire, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, 1987).

³⁴ Some inroads have been made by Raymond Gillespie, 'A question of survival: the O'Farrells of Longford in the seventeenth century' in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds.), *Longford: essays in county history* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 13–29; Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*, especially chapters 9 and 10; O'Sullivan, 'Land ownership'.

³⁵ Also see Barnard, 'Crises of identity', pp. 39–83. Under the influence of the *Annales* school numerous works were published during the 1970s and 1980s which attempted to unravel the *mentalité* of early modern people. See, for instance, David Underdown, *Revel, riot and rebellion. Popular politics and culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1987) and Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (London, 1978). However, none covered Ireland.

grievances at the royalist court, whether in London, Oxford or on the continent, or at Westminster in the years after 1641.³⁶

Finally, the Irish migrant community – whether in Britain, North America, the West Indies or on the continent – would be equally worthy of closer analysis.³⁷ What, for example, became of the hundreds of Protestant refugees who fled to England, Wales and Scotland after the outbreak of the rebellion?³⁸ Even though the passage of Irish troops to and from Europe and the activities of Irish privateers have been the subjects of recent studies, other aspects of Ireland's relationship with the continent – especially with regard to commerce – deserve attention.³⁹ For instance certain Spanish municipal archives, such as the Archivo del Consulado de Bilbao, hold registers of ships entering and leaving the port (*libros de avería*), together with details of their destination and cargo;⁴⁰ while the notarial archives in the Gemeentearchief in Amsterdam contain information on merchants trading with, and vessels travelling to, Carrickfergus, Cork, Derry, Galway, Limerick, Portrush, Waterford and Wexford during the 1640s and 1650s.⁴¹ Louis Cullen has used French regional archives extensively in his work on eighteenth-century trade and perhaps a careful examination of the notarial records of La Rochelle, St Malo, Nantes and Bordeaux could shed light on trade with Ireland, on the passage of Irish troops, and on the activities of those Irish privateers who frequented these ports during the 1640s.⁴² While,

³⁶ Inroads have been made by Bottigheimer, *English money* and Donal Cregan, 'An Irish cavalier: Daniel O'Neill', *Studia Hibernica*, 3 (1963), pp. 60–100, 4 (1965), pp. 104–33 and 5 (1965), pp. 42–76. For the earlier period see P. S. J. Little, 'Family and faction: the Irish nobility and the English court, 1632–1642' (unpublished MLitt thesis, TCD, 1992).

³⁷ Hilary Beckles, 'A riotous and unruly lot: Irish indentured servants and freemen in the English West Indies, 1644–1713', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 47 (1990), pp. 503–22 and '“Black men in white skins”: The formation of a white proletariat in West Indian slave society', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 15 (1986), pp. 5–21.

³⁸ For the earlier period see the fascinating study by Patrick Fitzgerald, "“Like Crickets to the crevice of a brew-house”. Poor Irish migrants in England, 1560–1640", in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish world wide history, heritage, identity*, 1 *Patterns of migration* (New York, 1992), pp. 13–35.

³⁹ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "“The Dunkirk of Ireland”: Wexford privateers during the 1640s", *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society*, 12 (1988–9), pp. 23–49 and 'Irish privateers during the civil war, 1642–50', *Mariners' Mirror*, 76 (1990), pp. 119–33. See especially Stradling, *Spanish monarchy*.

⁴⁰ See especially *Registros de memorias y representaciones, provisiones reales, libros de decretos y elecciones*. These sources were all used by T. Guiard y Larrauri, *Historia del consulado y casa de contratación de Bilbao* (3 vols., fac. edn., Bilbao, 1972). Material relating to trade with Ireland also exists in the Vizcayan regional archive (Archivo de la Diputación de Vizcaya in Bilbao), especially in the correspondence between the crown and the senior officials of the province (*Corregimiento*). I am grateful to Miguel Angel Echevarria Bacigalupe for bringing this material to my attention.

⁴¹ I am grateful to Rolf Loeber for bringing this to my attention.

⁴² See especially Louis Cullen, 'Galway merchants in the outside world, 1650–1800', in Ó Cearbhaill, *Galway*, pp. 63–89. La Rochelle's notarial records are housed in the Archives Départementales de la Charente Maritime, La Rochelle; for Nantes and Bordeaux see the relevant collections held by the Archives Départementales de la Loire Atlantique and the

as the recent work by Gráinne Henry on the 'Wild Geese' in Flanders prior to 1641 demonstrates, military records, hospital reports, wills and parish registers can be used to reconstruct the military and merchant communities resident in Flanders, Spain, France and even the Netherlands, which, by the mid-1650s, may have exceeded 40,000 people (the equivalent of Dublin's pre-war population).⁴³

Even though this volume falls far short of being a comprehensive history of these two turbulent decades, it nevertheless draws attention to how the 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 (chapters 3 and 12), the essays are thematic and cover such diverse issues as the early stages of the 1641 insurrection (chapter 2), the impact of continental military technology on Irish warfare (chapter 4), confederate foreign policy (chapter 5), Anglo-Irish relations and the formulation of Irish policy at Westminster during the later 1640s (chapter 7), the wartime economy (chapter 8), the land settlement (chapter 9) and the proliferation of radical sects during the 1650s (chapter 10). Finally chapters 6 and 11 examine the respective divisions within the Catholic and Protestant communities, the nature of Irish royalism and the evasive concept of national identity.⁴⁴

Throughout 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 the 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 chapters seek to set Ireland in its wider European context. What was the relationship between independent Ireland and France, Spain and the Papacy and what influence did events and ideas in Europe have on Irish politics and warfare? Particular attention is also paid to the triangular relationship between Ireland, England and Scotland. Recent scholarship

Archives Départementales de la Gironde respectively. For details on the notarial archives in Nantes, albeit in the sixteenth century, see Jean Tanguy, *Le commerce du port de Nantes au milieu du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1956). For St Malo see the relevant collections in Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine and J. Delumeau, *Le mouvement du port de Saint-Malo . . .* (Rennes, 1966), pp. vii–xiv, 217–21.

⁴³ Gráinne Henry, *The Irish military community in Spanish Flanders, 1586–1621* (Dublin, 1992) and 'Ulster exiles in Europe, 1605–1641' in Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641*, pp. 37–60. Also see Stradling's account of the 'Ulster army' in Cantabria, *Spanish monarchy*, chapters 7 and 8 and Jerrold Casway, 'Irish women overseas, 1500–1800', in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 112–32.

⁴⁴ Also see the 'chronology of events' at pp. xv–l above.

has firmly rooted the origins of the 1641 rebellion, in Nicholas Canny's phrase, 'within the broad context of political developments in England, Scotland and Ireland'.⁴⁵ The same may be said for the restoration of Charles II, which, as Aidan Clarke notes, was facilitated by external intervention from Scotland and, to a lesser extent, Ireland. But what of the intervening years? Certainly Charles I, Charles II, Oliver Cromwell and the Westminster Parliament remained acutely sensitive to the interrelations between the three kingdoms: during the 1640s the Stuarts hoped to use Irish troops against their rebellious British subjects; while the English Parliament turned to the Scottish Covenanters for assistance in the belief that 'unless we doe fully vindicate these malicious papists [in Ireland], these two kingdomes both Scotland and England, cannot sleepe long in security'.⁴⁶ As the war progressed Ireland became sucked into the British political and military arena and, after 1648 and the outbreak of the Second English Civil War, actually became an extension of it.

I

According to accounts left by Protestant contemporaries, the Ulster rebellion of 1641 came as a total surprise: the County Tyrone MP, Audley Mervin, for one, could hardly believe that it was 'conceived among us, and yet never felt to kick in the wombe, nor struggle in the birth'.⁴⁷ Nevertheless the rising, which began on 22 October, plunged Ulster, and within a short time all of Ireland, into a decade of total war. Sir Phelim O'Neill and his co-conspirators succeeded in taking the key strongholds of Charlemont, Mountjoy Castle, Tandragee and Newry; only Derry, Coleraine, Enniskillen, Lisburn and Carrickfergus escaped capture. From Ulster the revolt quickly 'diffused through the veines of the whole kingdome'; by the spring of 1642 it had engulfed almost the entire country, wrecking havoc on the militarily impotent Protestant population.⁴⁸

The unexpected nature of the rising, combined with political unrest in Britain, proved critical to its initial success. Charles I, already exhausted by the Bishops' Wars of 1638 and 1639–40 against the Scottish Covenanters, became embroiled in his own struggle with the Westminster Parliament and failed to act decisively against the Irish insurgents. Had the English king accepted the 'Grand Remonstrance' (December 1641) and somehow reconciled his differences with Parliament, there can be little doubt that the

⁴⁵ See p. 26 below.

⁴⁶ *The Lord Balmerino's speech in the high court of Parliament in Scotland* . . . (London, 1641), p. 3.

⁴⁷ *An exact relation of all such occurrences* . . . (London, 1642), p. 1. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*