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## "Butchery and Plunder in God's Name": The Causes of Oliver Cromwell's 1649-1650 Irish Campaign

Thomas M. Mulhern

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"Butchery and Plunder in God's Name":

The Causes of Oliver Cromwell's

1649-1650 Irish Campaign.

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota, 1989

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

December 1992

For her patience, help and understanding this thesis is  
dedicated to my wife, Nancy Boettcher Mulhern.

This thesis, submitted by Thomas M. Mulhern in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

Thomas Howard  
(Chairperson)

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David G. Engle

This thesis meets the standard for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes to examine the campaign of Oliver Cromwell against the Irish in the years 1649-1650, and its immediate and long-range causes. This will be done by examining the campaign itself and the history of the English and Irish from their first meeting to the final confrontation between the Irish and Cromwell.

The introduction looks at the events occurring, in England and Ireland, in 1649 and why Cromwell was called upon to mount a campaign against the Irish.

The first chapter explores the Ulster Rising of 1641 and the eight years of war that followed, culminating in the arrival of Oliver Cromwell in 1649. Cromwell's campaign is highlighted by two massacres, Drogheda and Wexford, committed on his orders, and the after effects of these atrocities.

Chapter two examines the relationship of the English and Irish from their first meeting in 1172 until the Ulster Rising of 1641. The reasons why England invaded Ireland are scrutinized and the long term effects of that invasion are studied.

The third chapter delves into the propaganda that the English used against the Irish and the consequences of that propaganda on both the English and Irish.

Chapter four answers the two major questions of the thesis; why did the English hate the Irish and why did Cromwell resort to such violence in his campaign.



## INTRODUCTION

The year 1649 has become synonymous with suffering and misery in Ireland. A year when the shadow of death was a familiar sight to the Irish people, and that shadow came in the person of one man, Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell came to Ireland to crush a rebellion and forever stamp out Catholicism. He nearly succeeded in doing both before he left Ireland, where his memory lives on.

The year 1649 was a watershed for the English political structure. The country had been in the grips of a civil war since 1641, and on January 30, 1649, the Parliament took a step that forever altered the English political system; they beheaded King Charles I.

The regicide committed by Parliament altered the course of English/Irish relations and set most of Europe, even the Protestant kingdoms, against England. The execution of the king also brought events to a head in rebellious Ireland where former enemies now came together in an alliance against Parliament. Parliament responded by ordering Oliver Cromwell to mount an offensive to put down the Irish rebels.

Cromwell's campaign may have begun as a simple military campaign against rebellious and treasonous subjects, but its outcome had long lasting consequences. Cromwell's brutal

campaign and draconian policies created in the Irish a hatred and fear of England that continues to the present.

The problems of Northern Ireland today have their roots in the policies of Oliver Cromwell. Religious intolerance and ethnic hatred, carried to new heights by Cromwell, became the basis of England's policy towards Ireland until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Cromwell's savage campaign was the logical outcome of difficulties that had been building between Ireland and England for centuries. His brutality was not viewed as excessive or criminal by his English contemporaries. The Irish were a barbarous, uncivilized race who deserved no better treatment than wild animals, or so the English firmly believed. Cromwell's actions and those of his men were the result of centuries of misconception, fear, and hatred of Ireland. His fanatical anti-Catholic feelings only compounded his hatred and helped justify his policy of genocide.

In the following chapters I will attempt to show how a continuing pattern of ethnocentrism, enhanced by propaganda, created a stereotyped picture of the Irish in the minds of the English. A picture that portrayed the Irish as wild, savage, merciless, and beneath normal human compassion. From their first meeting, the English assumed a superior societal posture towards the Irish, and over the centuries they used this belief as an excuse to subjugate and dominate Ireland.

Studies of the relationship between Ireland and England usually dwell on the political and military strife between the two countries. In all my research I have not found one account that used the concept of a cultural clash between the Irish and English as its thesis. Understanding the subjugation of one people by another requires indepth analysis of more than just political conflict or military campaigns. The difficulty in dealing with the Irish/English question is trying to separate the political, military, and social aspects of the conflict, since they had become so interwoven over the centuries. Looking at only one aspect without the other two gives a clouded picture of the real situation. To understand root causes and try to grasp what motivated the aggressor, one has to compare and contrast the societies themselves. Besides the obvious greed and power motivation, I hope to prove that a strong ethnocentric strain drove Cromwell and the English to conquer and subjugate the Irish.

## Chapter 1

On March 23, 1649, Oliver Cromwell was summoned to appear before the Council of State at Whitehall and was offered the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Cromwell made his position clear in a cautious statement to the Council: "If we do not endeavour to make good our interest there, we shall not only have our interests rooted out there, but they will in very short time be able to land forces in England. I confess that I had rather be overrun with a Cavalierish interest than a Scotch interest; I had rather be overrun with a Scotch interest than an Irish interest; and I think, of all this is the most dangerous."<sup>1</sup> Cromwell had no doubt about the seriousness of the Irish situation, and his statement draws attention to the upsetting prospect of the English Puritan government's being overthrown, on behalf of the king, by the intervention of Irish forces.

Cromwell and the Council were responding to a situation that had been festering for over eight years: a rebellion in Ireland that consumed manpower, monies, and the prestige of the English government.

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English Civil War were polarizing the people of Great Britain; and in Ireland an iron hand had been lifted from the throats of the people. Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford, had been recalled to England.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshireman and devoted subject of Charles I, had been sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1633. His main objectives were to make Charles "the most absolute prince in Christendom, and that, too in the the person of the king's deputy; to raise a large revenue to relieve the king's necessities in England, and so render him independent of English Parliaments; and to discipline and reform the Irish army, which might perhaps become an important factor in any dispute between the king and his English or Scotch subjects."<sup>2</sup>

Wentworth was a ruthless and ambitious man who went about his business with a zealous efficiency. In 1634 he had browbeaten the Irish Parliament into submission, forcing them to vote "six subsidies of 45,000 Pounds each, amounting in all to 270,000 Pounds."<sup>3</sup> After bringing Parliament to heel, he went after the high church officials and demanded fiscal support from them, threatening severe reprisals if they did not cooperate. Wentworth was the king's man, plain and simple; he courted any member of the aristocracy or gentry who professed loyalty to Charles and cowed the rest into submission. His heavy handed acquisition of money for Charles was felt most by the common people. The Anglo-Irish bled their tenents white to fulfill their obligations to Wentworth.

In 1638 Charles rewarded Wentworth by making him Lord Strafford. In 1641 Strafford assembled an army of 8000 foot and 1100 horse to aid Charles in his conflict with Parliament. Strafford's fortunes were at an ebb and the king was forced, by the English in Ireland, to impeach his loyal subject. Charles, pressed on all sides, brought Strafford to trial on charges that he "had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government."<sup>4</sup> Charles signed a Bill of Attainder and Strafford lost his head on the scaffold on May 10, 1641. Strafford's army, mainly Catholics, was disbanded and the soldiers were sent home, taking their weapons with them.

The Ireland of mid-1641 appeared to be the picture of tranquility; but in fact the island was a powder keg with a short, burning fuse. The terror of Strafford's government had been removed and the long suppressed hatred of the native Irish was released. Added to the hatred was a fear on the part of the Catholics that the English Puritans were determined to stamp out Catholicism in Ireland.

Early in 1641, Rory O'Moore of Leix approached prominent Catholic gentry with the idea of a rising against the English government. O'Moore's conspirators included: Lord Maquire, Baron of Inniskillen; Sir Phelim O'Neil of Ulster; Sir James Dillon; and representatives of the clans McMahan, McGennis, and O'Reilly. The object of the rising was three fold: "to compel the king to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion,

to repeal Poynings Act, and to restore the confiscated estates."<sup>5</sup>

Their plan of action was ambitious: "by a coup-de-main, sieze Dublin Castle, which was weakly guarded with barely fifty men, but which contained a great store of powder, a large stand of arms, and thirty-five guns. Simultaneously, the forts and garrison towns in the south were to be surprised, and the gentry made prisoners in their country houses, as hostages for the persons of insurgents in case of defeat."<sup>6</sup> The rising was to be as bloodless as possible and the Scots of Ulster were not to be harmed, but treated as allies. The rising was to begin at daybreak, October 23, 1641, and be a coordinated effort throughout Leinster and Ulster, but an informer warned Dublin Castle the night before and the Dublin rising failed.

Though the Dublin rising failed, the Ulster rising was carried out with astonishing precision. The native Irish, who had been dispossessed and driven from their ancestral lands, struck back with a vengeance and a purpose. The clans O'Reilly, O'Hanlon, O'Quin, McGennis, McGuire, O'Farrel, McMahan, and O'Kanes rose under the leadership of the O'Neils. Phelim O'Neil was the leader of the insurrection and it was he who carried out the worst of the slaughter.

One town after another fell to the insurgents; the forts of Charlemount, Dungannon, Mountjoy, and Newry were captured and the stores of weapons and ammunition siezed. Only Derry,



Coleraine, Enniskillen, Lisburn, Lurgan, Belfast, and Carrickfergus were able to close their gates before the rebels entered them. Along with the towns, the country homes of the gentry were siezed and plundered by the rebels.

It was at these country homes that the worst of the atrocities occurred. The depredations and murders were kept to a minimum in most areas of Ulster; the glaring exception was the area controlled by Phelim O'Neil. O'Neil was described as a "dissolute ruffian . . . at the head of a rabble of some 30,000 men, armed principally with knives and pitchforks."<sup>7</sup> Failing to take Lisburn and Enniskillen, "he burned the cathederal and town of Armagh, and murdered some hundreds of the inhabitants, although they had surrendered on the promise of their lives."<sup>8</sup> The following is an example of O'Neil's campaign: "He hounded on the Irish to massacre the planters and their families. These wretched people were swept out of their villages, and driven by hundreds into the Bann and the Blackwater, and flung over the bridge at Portadown. The houses in which women and children had taken refuge were set on fire and the inmates burned. Men were hanged and butchered with knives. Women were systematically ripped up, especially the pregnant ones."<sup>9</sup> Only Rory Maguire, in the county of Fermanagh, committed such atrocities as O'Neil. While the Irish insurgents were slaughtering English Protestants, other native Irish were hiding and protecting these same Protestants. In some cases, "Irish priests and

Jesuit missionaries hid Protestants and tried to halt the bloodshed at the risk of their own lives."<sup>10</sup>

O'Neil's and Maguire's savagery was heralded by the English as the general treatment of Protestants in Ulster. The Irish who tried to prevent needless slaughter and who protected displaced Protestants were forgotten in the furor and panic that followed the uprising.

The rising of the native Irish stirred feelings in the Anglo-Irish families. They hated the new English interests "as cordially as the king detested the sturdy patriots who were resisting his arbitrary conduct in England."<sup>11</sup> The Anglo-Irish were to a man Roman Catholic and the English settlers were Protestant; and with the strong anti-Catholic sentiment within the English Parliament, the Anglo-Irish saw the opportunity to prevail. Charles I's problems with the Puritan element in Parliament gave the Anglo-Irish the excuse to declare for the king and stand in open resistance to the Protestants in the Irish Parliament. The Anglo-Irish stated their motives as simply a desire "for liberty of worship, and freedom from the greedy usurptions of the new English interest."<sup>12</sup> Events were moving along with a momentum that no one seemed able to control, and what started as a provincial rising became a national rebellion. For the next ten years Ireland was in turmoil and four distinct groups emerged, generally pulling in different directions. There was the old Irish party, whose aim soon resolved itself into

separation from England; the old Anglo-Irish party, whose object was civil and religious liberty, and no separation; the Puritan party, which became complicated with the Presbyterian interest of the Scots in Ulster, and was strongly anti-Irish in every sense; and the Royalist party, personified by Lord Ormonde, "which trimmed between the three others, and had as its ulterior aim the crushing the third by means of the other two."<sup>13</sup>

The problems that arose in England between the king and Parliament only exacerbated the situation in Ireland. Rory O'Moore had issued a subtle and ingenious manifesto, stating "that he and his friends had been compelled to take up arms to secure the rights which they believed the king would willingly grant them, were he not restrained from doing so by the Puritans in England; and that they held the forts and towns which they had captured till the king should be in a position to guarantee them civil and religious liberty."<sup>14</sup>

Following the initial uprising, a period of relative quiet occurred; this lasted for less than a month. The lord justices at Dublin Castle used this period to strike back, timidly though, "sending foraging parties, 'to kill, burn, and destroy,' within easy reach of the walls, regardless of whether the sufferers were in rebellion or not."<sup>15</sup> The lord justices further strained the situation by high-handed and dangerous treatment of the powerful Anglo-Irish families in the Pale. These were the same families who, at the outbreak

of the hostilities in Ulster, had unanimously expressed their loyalty to the government and called for a Parliament to plan for the protection of the Pale. The actions of the lord justices towards the Anglo-Irish clearly showed that the justices were driving the Pale's aristocracy to revolt. The justices' imprisonment of Lord Dunsany was the last straw for the Anglo-Irish; finding themselves flouted by the government, they turned to O'Moore. "Seven peers and one thousand of the leading gentry met the rebel leaders on the hill of Crofty; and by the middle of December all the Pale was in revolt."<sup>16</sup>

The lord justices committed the greatest blunder possible by aggravating the Anglo-Irish of the Pale. The Anglo-Irish of Ulster had always been considered more Irish than English, but the lords of the Pale were always seen as the most loyal, and their rising set the stage for the rest of the country. Munster rose under the leadership of Lord Muskerry; Connaught rose at the call of Lord Mayo; only Lord Ormonds and the Earl of Thomond remained loyal to the government.

The beginning of 1642 saw all of Ireland, with the exception of Dublin, Drogheda, and a some of the fortified seaport towns, in open revolt against the government's authority. While most of Ireland was firmly in rebel hands, the seed of rebellion had failed to sprout; Phelim O'Neil was losing on all fronts in Ulster. His initial and savage campaigns had burnt themselves out, and O'Neil's incompetence for command was about to cost him the rebellion. One by one,

he abandoned the towns of Newry, Down, Armagh, and Dungannon; and his troops were deserting him in great numbers.

While the rebellion in Ulster was at its lowest ebb, a ray of hope appeared in the form of one Spanish ship. On July 9, 1642, a Spanish ship sailed into Donegal bay and unloaded a store of ammunition and one hundred Irish officers, led by Colonel Owen Roe (Red Owen) O'Neil. Owen Roe was the nephew of the late Earl of Tyrone, and he and his fellow officers had received military education in the service of Spain, fighting in Flanders. O'Neil replaced his incompetent cousin, Phelim, as the supreme commander in Ulster and proceeded to organize the rebel forces into disciplined regiments.

He severely condemned the excesses and cruelties committed and, as a warning to others, burned the houses of those who had had the largest share in the savagery. Owen Roe's reforms and training gave new hope to the rebels and put the English on the defensive throughout Ulster.

In September 1642 another Spanish officer arrived in Ireland to join the rebels. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of Lord Gormanston, landed at Waterford accompanied by five hundred Irish officers, stores of ammunition, and some field and siege artillery. Preston organized the men of the Pale into regular regiments and won a victory over the government forces at Timahoe on October 5, 1642.

The addition of Owen Roe O'Neil and Thomas Preston to the rebel forces gave new vitality to the Irish and Anglo-Irish

insurgents. Their professional training and the trained officer cadre they brought with them forged the rebel forces into an army that was capable of facing any English army. With an infusion of new hope, the rebels assembled at Kilkenny to form a government of Ireland. Fourteen Roman Catholic peers, the bishops and clergy, and 226 Roman Catholic deputies from the counties and towns met to formulate a government and plan for the war that was already being waged. Command of the army was divided by provinces: O'Neil in Ulster, Preston in Limerick, Gerald Barry in Munster, and Sir John Bourke in Connaught.

While the Catholics were meeting at Kilkenny, civil war had broken out in England and both sides were looking to Ireland for aid. Charles wanted Lord Ormonde and an Irish army to help him against Parliament; and Parliament, through the lord justices, prevented the release of any Irish forces to Charles. Ormonde wanted to engage the Irish rebel forces either to defeat them or to induce a truce so that his forces could be used by the king.

The end of 1642 saw a stalemate throughout Ireland: the rebels controlled the countryside and the Royalists controlled the garrison towns. In the north, O'Neil and Colonel Munro were watching each other; in Leinster, Ormonde was persuading Preston, even though the lord justices were hindering him; and in Munster, Lord Inchiquin was cooped up in Cork with an army that was half starved and angry with the government.

The king made the first move to try to break the stalemate; "he created Ormonde a Marquis, replaced the lord justices with Royalist supporters, and ordered the former lord justices to be prosecuted for high treason."<sup>17</sup> Negotiations were started with the rebel forces, and on September 15, 1643, a one-year truce was signed by Ormonde and the rebel commissioners. The king's negotiations with the Irish angered his English and Scottish subjects, especially since the massacre propaganda was being widely disseminated throughout England and Scotland. Munro and his Scots in Ulster, and Inchiquin in Munster refused to recognize the armistice with the rebels and sided with the Parliament, openly declaring their rebellion to the king.

From 1643 to 1649, the military picture in Ireland became a hodgepodge of confused and conflicting loyalties. Ormonde stood for the Royalist cause, Munro and Inchiquin became the Parliamentary forces in Ireland, and the Irish forces had a truce with one side while fighting the other. If a writer had created this scenerio in a novel, everyone would have rejected it as being too ridiculous to believe; but the ridiculous is often the rule rather than the exception in Ireland.

The demands of the rebel government to the king were rather simple and starightforward: "a free Irish Parliament untrammelled with Poynings Act; free exercise of their religion, unfettered by any penal statutes; and a general act of oblivion; and the reversal of all indictments and

attainders."<sup>18</sup> Months went by in fruitless negotiations between the king and the Irish rebels. Charles had his hands full in England trying to keep his throne in the face of an ever strengthening Parliamentary army. While the Irish were negotiating, Oliver Cromwell's Ironsides were destroying Prince Rupert's army at Marston Moor and the king's forces at Newbury. Charles gave Ormonde permission to strike any type of deal with the Irish for their support. In the spring of 1645, with Ormonde's negotiations stalled, the king dispatched the Earl of Glamorgan to negotiate behind Ormond's back. Following the Battle of Nasby, the king's captured papers revealed the terms he was willing to grant the Irish: "the public exercise of their religion, with the use of all churches not then actually enjoyed by the Protestants, and a re-adjustment by an Irish Parliament of all plantation lands."<sup>19</sup> These secret negotiations between the king and the Irish awoke in Parliament a sense of urgency concerning matters in Ireland. The outcome of the English Civil War was not certain at this point, and an Irish army supporting Charles could swing the balance against Parliament.

In October 1645 a new figure appeared in Ireland who created discord among the rebel forces and prevented any real alliance among them. Giovanni Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, was dispatched as Papal Nuncio by Pope Innocent X to help reestablish the Roman Catholic church in Ireland. Rinuccini, aligning himself with the Old Irish forces and O'Neil, opposed



any kind of peace with the king unless there was complete reinstatement of his church. This stand alienated a large faction of the rebels who were willing to settle for religious toleration and not Catholic supremacy. Rinuccini became a gadfly, going from one town to another, denouncing any compromise with the king, and threatening with excommunication anyone who expressed support for a treaty.

While Rinuccini was haranguing the rebels, Colonel Robert Munro and his Scottish Ulster army took the field against Owen Roe O'Neil. O'Neil's forces fell upon Munro's at Benburb in County Tyrone on June 5, 1646, and inflicted a decisive defeat, thus placing Ulster in the hands of O'Neil. Following Benburb, O'Neil and Preston joined forces and moved towards Dublin and threatened to lay siege to the city. Early in 1647, O'Neil and Preston quarreled and O'Neil retired his forces to Kilkenny. Lord Ormonde, bottled up in Dublin, was in a quandry; the king had been captured by the Scots and turned over to the Parliamentary forces, and since Ormonde held Dublin in the king's name, this now became a moot point. On July 28, 1647, he relinquished his command and sailed to exile in France; Charles' last true supporter was now out of the picture in Ireland.

Parliamentary forces renewed the offensive against the Irish. Colonel Michael Jones attacked Preston at Dungan Hill and soundly defeated him; Preston lost 5000 men and all his guns and baggage. Lord Inchiquin's forces met the rebel army

of Lord Taafe at Knockanoss in County Cork on November 13, 1647; the rebel forces were completely broken and their artillery captured. The end of 1647 saw four separate armies holding different parts of the country and considering what to do; but 1648 proved to be the strangest of all the long years of the rebellion.

Lord Inchiquin had a falling out with the Parliamentary representatives and joined Preston's forces to campaign against O'Neil, while O'Neil and Rinuccini made terms with Jones against Inchiquin and Preston. Old enemies becoming new friends to fight old friends created a most confusing state of affairs.

The beginning of 1649 saw a further complications in the situation. Lord Ormonde had returned from France to lead the Royalist cause and on January 30, 1649, a fatal blow fell on the Royalists; Charles I was executed by Parliament. The beheading of the king forged an alliance among forces who only a year before had been bitter enemies.

Ormonde and Inchiquin joined forces and even the Presbyterian Scots of Ulster rallied to the Royalist standard. Inchiquin captured Drogheda and all the Ulster garrisons, save Derry, fell into his hands. While Inchiquin was busy in Ulster, Lord Ormonde laid siege to Dublin in hopes of cutting off supplies from England. On August 2, 1649, Jones attacked Ormonde's forces at Rathmines, slaying 4000 rebels and sending Ormonde in full retreat towards Kilkenny.

The Royalist cause was on the defensive, even though O'Neil's forces finally had joined Ormonde against the Parliament. Ormonde barely had time to garrison Drogheda with Sir Arthur Ashton and 3000 picked troops when Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin "with 8000 foot, 4000 horse, and a formidable train of artillery."<sup>20</sup> The long rebellion was now about to come to a close. Cromwell and his New Model Army would bring Ireland to her knees, crippling her ability to resist English colonization and creating a climate of hatred that lasted for hundreds of years.

Cromwell commanded an army that many believed to be the cream of European armies. The New Model Army had been created in 1645 to overcome the deficiencies experienced in the early stages of the civil war. Using mercenaries and troops loyal to particular individuals rather than the state was proving inefficient and many times costly. A prime example of this problem was O'Neil's withdrawal from the siege of Dublin which left Ormonde's forces weakened and susceptible to attack.

Cromwell and Parliament reorganized, "New Modelled," the Parliamentary forces into a professional army with strict discipline and regular pay. Of the two factors, regular pay was the more important; it removed the necessity of allowing the soldiers to collect booty as a form of payment for their services. An army whose troops were more concerned with winning battles than collecting loot was the army whose success was assured.

Cromwell's departure for Ireland was delayed until August 1649 so that he could suppress mutinies in four regiments of the New Model Army. The two most serious outbreaks were at Salisbury in Colonels Ireton and Scrope's regiments and at Banbury in Colonel Reynold's regiment. Cromwell believed these mutinies were the work of the Levellers, who were a group of Puritan radicals who believed in republicanism, religious toleration, equality before the law, the abolition of tithes, the election of sheriffs, and the sovereignty of the people. The main cause of the mutinies was much simpler than religious or political differences; failure of the Parliament to pay the troops was the root cause. Cromwell knew this, but used the mutinies as an excuse to suppress the Levellers.

Cromwell appealed to the loyal regiments to support him in putting down the Levellers' mutiny. He stated in a newsletter dated May 14, 1649, "that he was resolved to live and die with them, and that as he had often engaged with them against the common Enemy of the Nation, so was he resolved still to persist therein, against those Revolters which are now called by the name of Leveller."<sup>21</sup> (See Appendix A.)

Cromwell put an end to the uprising when his troops surprised the mutineers at Burford and completely crushed them. Cromwell restored some order back into the army, but when he sailed for Ireland in August, he commanded an army of divided and angry men.

The army sailed from Milford Haven on August 13, 1649, arriving in Dublin on the 15th. The stamp of Cromwell's mind is well indicated by the speech he made upon his arrival in

Dublin: As God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but by Divine Providence to restore them all to their just liberties and properties, much trodden down by those unblessed Papist Royalist combinations, and the injuries of war: and that all persons whose heart's affections were real for the carrying on of this great work against the barbarous and bloodthirsty Irish and their confederates and adherents, and for propagating the Christ's Gospel and establishing Truth and Peace, and restoring of this bleeding Nation of Ireland to its former happiness and tranquility, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England and him, and withal receive such rewards and gratuities as might be answerable to their merits.<sup>22</sup>

Several observations need to be made about the circumstances surrounding Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. A combination of prejudice and hard political realities dictated what he and his troops did; they do not excuse them. In the first place, there was Cromwell's personal attitude. The powerful myths that had grown up around the 1641 Ulster rising had created a dominant desire for revenge, and in seeking that revenge the English viewed all Irishmen as rebels. Cromwell was convinced he was embarked on a Godly crusade against the Catholics; he could tolerate Catholics in England who supported Parliament, but in Ireland, Catholicism was viewed as a political act as well as a religious one.

There was also solid, practical reasons for the nature of his campaign. Cromwell was overwhelmingly aware of the fact that the Irish expedition had to be speedy, conclusive, and most importantly, as cheap as possible; many reputations and fortunes had been ruined campaigning in Ireland. Ireland unsubdued represented a very real, back-door threat to the English republic, and with international opinion decidedly hostile, especially since the execution of the king, and the continental distraction of the Thirty Years' War ended, it was a back door that needed to be shut both firmly and quickly. Cromwell and the republic also had internal enemies within England, and the republic was nearly bankrupt; these combined to weigh heavily on Cromwell, but the Irish were his first priority.

The proclamation issued by Cromwell on August 24, 1649, to his forces before they departed Dublin is almost unbelievable, when taken in the context of the campaign that followed.

Cromwell declared:

Whereas I am informed that, upon the marching out of the Armies heretofore, or of parties from the Garrison, a liberty hath been taken by the Soldiery to abuse, rob and pillage, and too often execute cruelties upon the Country People: Being resolved, by the grace of God, diligently and strictly to restrain such wickedness for the future, I do hereby warn and require all Officers, Soldiers, and others under my command, henceforth To forbear all such evil practices as aforesaid; and Not to do any wrong or violence toward Country People, or persons whatever, unless they be actually in arms or offices with the Enemy; and Not to meddle with the goods of such, without special order. And I farther declare, That it shall be free and lawful to and for all manner of persons dwelling

in the country, as well gentlemen and soldiers, as farmers and other people (such as are in arms or office with or for the Enemy only excepted), to make their repair, and bring any provisions unto the Army, while in march or camp, or unto any Garrison under my command. And hereof I require all Soldiers, and others under my command, diligently to take notice and observe same: as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost perils. Strictly charging and commanding all Officers and others, in their several places, carefully to see to it That no wrong or violence be done to any such person as aforesaid, contrary to the effect of the premises. Being resolved, through the grace of God, to punish all that shall offend contrary hereunto, very severely, according to Law or Article of War; to discipline, and otherwise punish, all such Officers as shall be found hereof, or not to punish the offenders under their respective commands.<sup>23</sup>

Cromwell obviously viewed the people of the countryside in a totally different light than he did the people of the cities and towns.

Cromwell departed Dublin at the head of an army of ten thousand men for the stronghold of Drogheda. He arrived on September 3, 1649, and immediately laid siege to the garrison. After a week of siege, Cromwell offered Sir Arthur Ashton terms of surrender which were refused out of hand. On September 11 Cromwell ordered a bombardment and assault; a sharp fight ensued and the garrison was overwhelmed. What happened next was the first of two incidents that has made the name of Oliver Cromwell synonymous with cruelty and barbarity in Ireland.

Following the storming of the garrison and the capture of the defenders, Cromwell ordered that all the officers, and any priests found, be put to the sword. Sir Arthur Ashton and all his officers were hacked to pieces on the Millmount on

Cromwell's orders. The whole garrison, with the exception of thirty men, was put to the sword, and "all friars were knocked on the head but two."<sup>24</sup>

In a letter dated September 17, 1649, Cromwell detailed the campaign for Drogheda. He meticulously laid out the details for Parliament, from the landings at Dublin to the disposition of prisoners following the fall of Drogheda. The battle for Drogheda was a bloody affair for both sides, and in the heat of battle Cromwell ordered that all rebels be executed. He stated that "our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the Sword; and indeed being in the heat of battle, I forbade the soldiers to spare any that were in Arms in the Town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men."<sup>25</sup>

Cromwell in his letter justified the massacre by stating that "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these Barbarous wretches who have imbued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will prevent the effusion of blood for the future."<sup>26</sup> (See Appendix B.)

Most of Cromwell's actions at Drogheda were within the rules of war at that time. A garrison that was in an untenable position was offered terms of surrender, but if they refused they could be put to the sword. So his slaughter of the officers and men was technically justified, but the murders of the priests were totally beyond excuse. These acts



clearly indicate that Cromwell considered the priests to be agents of insurrection and a serious threat.

Cromwell's sparing the lives of some of the soldiers at Drogheda was no act of mercy. These men were shipped to the Barbadoes to work on the sugarcane plantations, and would endure a slow death as slaves. This was an expedient move on Cromwell's part, because the plantations were a source of income for the government and no free Englishman would endure the hardships of heat and disease, so slaves had been the answer and these rebel soldiers made good, strong slaves.

Another reason, and probably the strongest, why Cromwell allowed the slaughter was purely based on military considerations. Cromwell hoped by this first forceful stroke to so terrify the opposition that they would surrender.

Military considerations aside, Drogheda was a Puritan revenge for the 1641 Ulster rising; but there was little, if any, connection between the Drogheda garrison and the rising. Many of the garrison, especially the officers, were English Protestants; even the enlisted force was a mixed bag of Irish, Anglo-Irish, and English, Catholic and Protestant. These soldiers were fighting under the Royalist banner; they were fighting for the king against Parliament, not as Catholic against Protestant. Cromwell's blind hatred of Catholics clouded his brilliant military mind and allowed his soldiers to perpetrate murder.

The brutality of the Drogheda campaign did have a positive effect, as far as the English were concerned; the garrisons at Trim and Dundalk surrendered without a fight. Following Drogheda, the army marched south to the port city of Wexford where the lesson of Drogheda was repeated on October 11.

Once again there was a refusal to surrender, and after eight days, the town fell and was sacked. Wexford was of unusual importance to Cromwell's forces; it was not only one of the natural landing spots for communications with the continent, but also a center for piracy. By capturing Wexford the English removed one of the best sites for landing supplies and reinforcements from Ireland's continental friends, and with its history as a center for piracy, the English were given excuses to use brutal tactics.

The reduction of the garrison was as bloody as Drogheda, yet it happened in a noticeably different manner. At Drogheda the policy of slaughter had been Cromwell's decision taken in the heat of battle; at Wexford it appears that his normally well-disciplined troops literally ran amok, and no effort was made to control them. Nearly two thousand soldiers, priests, men, women, and children were killed. Again the atrocities blamed on the Irish in 1641 were now being perpetrated by the English.

When the English overwhelmed the garrison and put them to the sword, they also began to loot the town; a Colonel Robert

Lilburne of Cromwell's command explained in a letter to London that these acts were condoned by the commanders; "money, plate, and Jewells was much removed out of town, but other plunder there was good store; tallow, hyde, salt, and such drosse commodities are reserved for the state; but all other things are the soldiers devotion."<sup>27</sup>

The atrocities committed at Wexford go beyond the rules of war, even in the seventeenth century. Cromwell tried to justify the actions of his troops in a letter to Parliament on October 11, 1649: "And indeed, it hath not without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that we intended better to this place, than so great a ruine, hoping the Town might be of more use to you and your Army; yet God would not have it so, but by an unexpected Providence, in his Righteous Justice, brought a just judgement upon them, causing them to become a prey to the Soldier, who in their Pyracies had made preys of so many families, and made with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor Protestants."<sup>28</sup> Cromwell's justification for the slaughter of civilians in Wexford is preposterous at best and criminal at worst. By their acts of looting and murder, Cromwell's forces were no better than pirates themselves, and even the worst pirates did not kill children in cold-blood.

The second massacre produced results; garrison after garrison surrendered when challenged, and rebel forces were in full retreat. Cromwell's campaign slowed, though, since his

available forces were "reduced in number by the garrisons he was obliged to leave in the towns which had been recovered, and the remainder were sickening under the effects of the humid climate to which they were unaccustomed."<sup>29</sup> The necessity to garrison the captured towns and castles reduced the effective force at Cromwell's disposal, and Parliament was not supplying fresh troops to replace losses. The climate of Ireland had the greatest effect on the army's ability to perform; the early winter weather in Ireland is miserable on the good days. High humidity, low temperatures, and constant gales blowing in off the Atlantic make living in tents a hellish experience for even the best equipped armies. Cromwell's men succumbed to all forms of diseases and even Cromwell, himself, fell victim to the Irish climate. The army took up winter quarters at Youghal and Dungannon and prepared for further operations.

In January 1650 Cromwell renewed the offensive, but now he experienced stiffer resistance; it would seem that the terror of Cromwell was diminished by time. Ross, Duncannon, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Clonmel all fell to Cromwell's forces, but with each assault his casualties mounted. In May 1650 Oliver Cromwell experienced one of the few setbacks in his military career.

The Clonmel garrison of 1500 men offered stern resistance. Describing the opposition, a writer of the time stated: "They found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy this army

had ever met in Ireland; and there never was seen so hot a storm, of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, either in England or Ireland."<sup>30</sup> The garrison was commanded by Hugh O'Neil, cousin of Owen Roe O'Neil, and he had prepared his defenses well and was waiting for Cromwell's assault. The following describes what happened when the army attacked Clonmel; "when his guns had made a sufficient breach, an assault was ordered, and after four hours' desperate fighting, the besiegers were driven back with terrible slaughter."<sup>31</sup> Cromwell lost 2000 men in the assault on Clonmel and this further reduced his effective force. On May 10, 1650, the mayor of Clonmel sued for terms and Cromwell granted them and entered Clonmel only to find that "in the night the garrison quietly evacuated the town and fell back on Waterford."<sup>32</sup>

Cromwell had been robbed of his victory, but to his credit he scrupulously kept to the terms he had offered and the citizens of Clonmel were not harmed. Cromwell's mercy to the people of Clonmel was more likely due to the reduced state of the army than to any sympathetic feelings towards the citizens. The fall of Clonmel broke the back of Irish resistance. Cromwell had crushed the rebels in Leinster; General Coote had recaptured Ulster, and Broghill had reduced Munster. Cromwell had done his work.

In April 1650 the Council of State ordered Cromwell home to deal with a deteriorating situation in Scotland. He delayed until Clonmel had fallen and departed Ireland on May

29, 1650, leaving General Henry Ireton, his son-in law, in command. It would take another two years of bloody fighting before the Irish were finally and totally beaten. What had started as a quick campaign to put down a rebellion deteriorated into a war of attrition that took three years to resolve. The cost for both Ireland and England was incalculable; England lost valuable men and monies and Ireland lost any hope of independence.

What conditions had brought these two peoples to such a state; why were two peoples bent on destroying each other? To understand what caused the Irish and the English to hate each other, we must look back at these two peoples and their first meeting and the years that lay between the first encounter and 1649. In the following chapters I will attempt to show how a pattern of bigotry and hatred developed and how this pattern was maintained and enhanced over almost 500 years of contact between these two peoples.

## Chapter 2

The first contact between the English and the Irish occurred in the twelfth century, when Henry II was king of England, and Ireland was a land of petty kingdoms and intertribal warfare. Earlier, high kings of Ireland, who were elected by the four provincial kings, had been able to maintain a degree of central control, but upon the death of High King Brian Boru in 1014, no successor was elected and the central authority broke down and was soon replaced by power struggles among petty kings.

In 1134, Dermot MacMurrough, king of Ui Cennselaigh, murdered Donal MacFaelain, king of Leinster, and assumed his throne, thereby precipitating a civil war that lasted over thirty years. In 1166, Rory O'Connor, a tribal chieftain, illegally seized the high kingship of Ireland. Taking advantage of this situation, the Dublin Danes and the princes of north Leinster rose against Dermot, "a brutal and unscrupulous king."<sup>33</sup>

Dermot fled from Ireland, going to Bristol and then to the Aquitaine, where he sought the assistance of Henry II in recovering his throne. Henry, after receiving fealty and homage, promised to help him and gave him letters authorizing Henry's subjects to give him aid as "our vassal and liegeman"

in recovering his kingdom.<sup>34</sup> Dermot returned to Bristol and made contact with Richard fitzGilbert de Clare, called "Strongbow", "a powerful Norman lord who exercised authority almost independently of Henry II over the marches of south Wales."<sup>35</sup> Dermot promised Strongbow his daughter in marriage and the right to succeed him in Leinster in return for the Norman's assistance in securing his kingdom.

Dermot returned to Leinster in the spring of 1168, and early that winter Rory O'Connor and his allies engaged and defeated him. Dermot, now forced to submit to O'Connor's authority, sent messages to Wales begging assistance. After a lapse of more than a year, about May 1, 1169, Robert fitzStephens, a vassal of Strongbow, with a retinue of thirty knights, sixty men-at-arms, and about three hundred archers and foot soldiers, "the flower of the youth of Wales," landed on the south coast of Wexford, a county in Leinster. The next day Maurice de Prendergast, a Fleming from Pembrokeshire, arrived with ten men-at-arms and a group of archers.<sup>36</sup> The Norman invasion of Ireland had begun.

It continued in earnest on August 23, 1170, when Strongbow, against the wishes of Henry II, who feared his growing power, landed near Waterford with 200 knights and some 1000 other troops. He was soon joined by Dermot MacMurrough and the Normans fitzStephens and fitzGerald. Strongbow's forces moved north and captured Dublin on September 21, 1170, and by May 1171, with the death of MacMurrough, he was master



of Leinster. Strongbow's hold on his Irish acquisition was a tenuous one at best, with Irish enemies all around and a king in England who had cut off his supplies. Henry II had tried to stop Strongbow from leaving and forbade exports to Ireland when he ignored the king's command. The king further ordered all his subjects in Ireland to return by Easter or face forfeiture and perpetual banishment.

Strongbow attempted to counter this by sending an envoy to Henry to declare "that he considered his acquisition in Ireland as due to the king's favour, and held them at his disposition."<sup>37</sup>

Henry, who was now planning to intervene in person in Ireland, made no reply to Strongbow. Henry had been contemplating Irish conquest for some time; in 1155 he had petitioned Pope Adrian IV, the only Englishman ever consecrated pope, for papal sanction to invade Ireland. Henry's ambassador, John of Salisbury, recounted, "it was at my request that he granted to the illustrious king of the English, Henry II, the hereditary possession of Ireland, as his still extant letters attest; for all islands are reputed to belong by a long-established right to the Church of Rome, to which were granted by Constantine, who established and endowed it."<sup>38</sup>

With this sanction in hand, Henry embarked on October 16, 1171, "with 400 knights, 4000 archers and men-at-arms, siege equipment, and provisions, for an extensive campaign."<sup>39</sup>

Henry's great army impressed the Irish chieftains with the idea that he was irresistible. The Norman knights and especially the archers were a force the Irish had never before faced. Irish warfare was a close-combat type of fighting where one warrior engaged another. The mail-clad knights must have been a frightening sight to the Irish warrior with his hide shield, but the most fearsome sight of all were the Welsh archers and their long bows with high rates of fire and deadly accuracy. Even the bravest Irish warrior must have had second thoughts about facing such an army; the Irish High King Rory O'Connor and chieftains certainly did, as they paid fealty and homage to Henry as soon as his forces drew near their strongholds.

While Henry was holding his Christmas court in Dublin, a council of bishops was held at Cashel, presided over by Christian, bishop of Lismore and papal legate. To such men, the Normans may well have seemed welcome allies in the task of establishing an ecclesiastical organization still very new in Ireland.<sup>40</sup> The established church, and especially the hierarchy, became allies of the Normans in their attempts to overcome the "heathen" customs of the Irish tribal society.

Henry II's sole accomplishment in Ireland was the beginnings of a rudimentary form of royal government. The area that became the county of Dublin was reserved for the crown and became the seat of English government in Ireland. Henry made agreements with the petty kings and garrisoned the

cities of Cork and Limerick. Henry II was able to hold Ireland for two simple reasons: the internecine warfare among the tribes left them weak and without a central leadership; and, most importantly, the popes supported the English crown and admonished the petty kings and chieftains of Ireland to maintain their oaths of fidelity.

Ireland had a chance to expel its invaders, but intertribal rivalries, weak leadership, and the pure greed of some of the Irish prevented any organized response to the Normans. As the future would show, disunity and distrust, not invaders, were always Ireland's greatest enemies.

Henry was forced to leave Ireland when disturbing news arrived from England; the papal legates were threatening an interdict in response to Thomas Becket's murder, and young Prince Henry was organizing a rebellion. On April 17, 1172, Henry sailed from Wexford; he would never return to Ireland.<sup>41</sup>

The first contact between Ireland and England had been bloody, and it would set the tone for all relations between the English and the Irish for the next eight hundred years. Why did these two peoples have such a clash, and what made the Irish so different from the English? The key to understanding this is found in the nature of the two cultures at their first meeting. When Strongbow landed in Ireland, he and his Normans encountered a people so totally different from themselves that there was no basis for understanding. The

contrast of cultures seemed as great as it would to a man of this century meeting a twelfth-century Norman.

The reign of Henry II of England occurred during the period known as the High Middle Ages, a time of troubadours, chivalry, and courtly love. Henry and his Norman nobility lived a fairly comfortable life, for their time, and their view of the world was very narrow and rarely extended beyond their castle walls. Their society, especially for the nobility, was bound by a rigid code of religious conformity and personal allegiance. They failed even to understand the rude and fragile existence of the average Anglo-Saxon people of England. It is small wonder that they also looked upon the social customs of Ireland with a scornful and prejudiced eye. The feudal system of Norman England was the antithesis of Irish society.

The Irish and the Norman-English were separated not just by the Irish Sea, but by one thousand years of cultural change. The Celtic Irish of the twelfth century were no different from the people of Ireland in the first century A.D.. They were a pastoral people whose livelihood was derived from their cattle. They were a tribal society, and each tribe or clan consisted of a number of families bearing the same name as the founder of the tribe. Each tribe had a chieftain, which was an elected office, and other officers, such as the Druid(priest), the Bard(historian), and the Brehon(lawyer/judge); these men provided leadership and wisdom

for their people. Their laws, which were administered by the Brehon, were the laws of the Celtic peoples since before the time of Christ and had been derived from tribal custom. One of the major points of conflict between the Irish and English was the difference in the nature of their laws.

English law in the twelfth century was a far cry from the model judicial code that governs English society today. In the twelfth century the law was whatever the king or strongest noble wanted it to be. The feudal structure of society dictated that the lord made the laws, and the vassals and serfs obeyed them. Laws could vary from county to county, and no central, governing body spoke for the people. In Ireland, however, one law governed all; nobility and serf were all bound under one set of rules, the Brehon Code, which covered all aspects of society. The Brehons in the north of Ireland administered the same laws as the Brehons in the south of Ireland. Only the agreement of all the tribes, not personal whims or desires, could alter the code.

A closer look at one aspect of both legal systems will give a clearer picture of their reflections of social values. Under Brehon law there was no death penalty, even for murder. If one man murdered another, the law prescribed that he pay a heavy fine or support the murdered man's family for the rest of his life. In England, the death penalty was the common sentence for many crimes, including theft. Comparing the two, one has to wonder which society was the more barbarous.

The major difference between the Irish and the English was that the Irish had never been Romanized. From the time of the first invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar to the Claudian invasion and colonization, Ireland remained untouched by the "civilizing" hand of Rome. The Celts of Britain became influenced by Roman culture and lost their Celtic identity, becoming more Roman than Celt. When the Romans first encountered the Celtic Britains, they looked upon them as barbarians and savages, just as the Anglo-Normans looked upon the Irish a millennium later. When the Normans first encountered the Welsh, in their conquest of western England, they pictured the Welsh as wild savages, totally uncivilized and uncontrollable. A clear pattern of ethnocentrism on the part of the Anglo-Normans was beginning, and they would carry it further with the Irish.

Ethnocentrism also appeared in the clash of the Irish Church and the English Church. Ireland had been Christianized by St. Patrick and St. Columba in the fifth and sixth centuries. St. Patrick laid the foundation for Christianity by converting the provincial kings and chieftains and training missionaries to spread the word of God to the people. St. Columba founded monasteries, trained missionaries, and even converted the wild Picts of Scotland. During the barbarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, Ireland remained the beacon of Christianity in western Europe. Monasteries in

England sent their valuable relics to Ireland for protection during these invasions. While the Vikings were sacking and pillaging England, most of Ireland remained safe from deprivations.

It was during this period that Irish missionaries spread out to rebuild and rejuvenate Christianity in Europe. Only after Rome had reestablished control did conflicts arise between the Irish church and the Roman church.

As with many things that were introduced into Ireland, even the church became uniquely Irish. Early missionaries used the societal structure already in place to set up their churches, rather than trying to change the society to conform to their ways.

After the English came, so did the problems between the Irish and the English church organizations. The English church won out because of the support of the Pope, and the Irish church hierarchy would never question the authority of Rome. A religious clash would not appear again until the time of Henry VIII.

The tenuous peace Henry II had left behind was destroyed when the Normans attacked the province of Munster early in 1174. The Normans miscalculated and all of Munster rose against them and open warfare ensued. Additionally, Rory O'Connor and his forces from Connaught attacked the Normans and put them to flight. By mid-1175, a stalemate occurred and O'Connor was forced to conclude a treaty with the English at

Windsor on October 6, 1175. Henry granted that "O'Connor, 'his liege king in Connacht,' should be king under him, holding his land well and in peace, even as he held it before the king entered, but paying tribute for it."<sup>42</sup> Henry put the other provincial kings and chieftains under O'Connor's control, forcing them to pay tribute to O'Connor, a portion of which was, of course, sent to Henry. O'Connor's new holdings excluded Wexford and most of Waterford; these were held by the Normans and their vassals. The Treaty of Windsor brought the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught under English control, leaving only Ulster free.

Henry viewed the growing power of his Norman vassals in Ireland as dangerous and took steps to curb them. On Mid-Lent Sunday 1185, Henry knighted Prince John (Lackland) at Windsor and sent him to govern as Lord of Ireland. He was supplied with three hundred knights and a considerable body of horsemen and archers.<sup>43</sup>

John's arrival in Ireland did little to settle affairs; if anything, it may have made matters worse. His treatment of the Irish nobles was anything but diplomatic. The chronicler Gerald of Wales recounted that "there met him at Waterford a great many of the Irish of the better class in those parts, men who, having been hitherto loyal to the English and disposed to be peaceable, came to congratulate him as their new lord, and receive him with the kiss of peace. But our



new-comers and Normans not only treated them with contempt and derision, but even rudely pulled them by their beards, which the Irishmen wore full and long, according to the custom of their country."<sup>44</sup> These insulted Irish nobles appealed to High King O'Connor and the Munster kings, O'Brien of Thomond and MacCarthy of Desmond, for redress, telling them that "their new lord was an ill-mannered child, surrounded by other children, from whom no good could be hoped."<sup>45</sup> John departed Ireland in December 1185, leaving in his wake angry Normans and an Irish population insulted and ready to unite against an inept and ungracious lord.

Prince John's treatment of the Irish nobles shows that the superior attitudes of the English towards the Irish developed quickly. It is unlikely that John would have treated English nobles in the same manner. John Lackland's "diplomacy" created a climate of hatred and division between the Irish and English that grew to the point of consuming all.

Warfare, of one form or another, continued throughout the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century. Irish versus Norman, Norman versus Norman, and Irish and Norman against Norman kept Ireland in turmoil and forestalled any hopes of lasting peace.

Two events occurred in the fourteenth century that gave Ireland a temporary respite from English domination. In 1337, Edward III began a war with France that made Ireland a secondary issue for almost one hundred and sixteen years. The

opening of the Hundred Years War made the problems of Ireland pale by comparison; Edward stood to lose a much more important part of his kingdom, and his attention would focus on France for the remainder of his life. He called on his English vassals to support his campaigns, thus removing many of the antagonists from the Irish scene.

The second event began in the autumn of 1348 and did more harm to the English than any Irish army ever had done. The Black Death had reached Ireland and immediately began taking its toll among the population. As elsewhere in Europe, the hardest hit areas were the cities and sea coast settlements, and these were where the English were most heavily concentrated in Ireland. No accurate figures were ever compiled to record the death toll in Ireland. The only recorded estimate was presented by Richard fitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh; preaching before the pope at Avignon in August 1349, he stated "that it was believed that the plague had destroyed more than two-thirds of the English nation, but had not yet, he was credibly assured, done any notable harm to either the Irish or Scottish nations."<sup>46</sup> Though fitzRalph's estimates seemed to be exaggerated, the plague did not affect Ireland nearly as much as England, but his statement that there was not any notable harm clearly shows how little the English really knew about Ireland.

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examples. With the removal of direct control by the English throne, the Anglo-Irish became more concerned with their lands in Ireland than with supporting the English king. They were certainly his vassals, but reluctant ones at best who used any excuse to refuse support. Their intermarriage with the native Irish created a new attitude, making Ireland the most important part of their lives. An old Irish saying states "that the mists and moors of Ireland have defeated more invaders than any army; that these invaders become absorbed by the land and become more Irish than the Irish."

Edward III tried to suppress the nativist attitudes of the Anglo-Irish by issuing a proclamation in 1356, "announcing that no one born in Ireland should thenceforth hold a command in any of the king's towns or castles."<sup>47</sup> With this proclamation Edward tried to draw a distinction between those born in England and those of English decent, favoring the former. The English felt that the Anglo-Irish had lost their English identity through intermarriage and were no longer loyal subjects of the crown, and in some cases this was true. In 1367, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III, went to Ireland on orders from his father and convened a Parliament at Kilkenny to pass legislation to control the native Irish and Anglo-Irish; these acts became known as the "Statutes of Kilkenny." The stated purpose of the statutes were to "effectively secure the loyal English from the contagion of Irish manners."<sup>48</sup>

The acts forbade intermarriage, fosterage, sale or barter in time of war, or submission to Brehon Law. Violation was considered a felony. The adoption of Irish dress, language, and even mode of riding entailed a forfeiture of lands. No Irishman could enter an English monastery. Irish bards were considered spies and were forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to be entertained by the English. The English were prohibited from keeping Irish mercenaries, or to make war on the natives without permission of the government. The provisions of the statutes applied only to the "English lands," the area around Dublin and north Leinster directly controlled by the English.

This area became known as the Pale and only within the Pale did English law have any real effect. The Statutes of Kilkenny should have had a tremendous effect on both Irish and Anglo-Irish alike, but in fact they were ineffectual; though draconian in intent, they were in reality a hollow threat because there was no powerful executive to enforce them.

Edward III, because of his involvement in the Hundred Years War, had been unable to effect any real control over his Irish subjects, but his grandson Richard attempted to rectify matters and collar the recalcitrant Irish. In 1395, Richard II landed at Waterford with an English army of 30,000 archers and 4000 men-at-arms to rescue his Irish holdings and once and for all subjugate Ireland.<sup>49</sup> Richard did learn one lesson from his forefathers; archers were more effective than armored

knights in Ireland. The Irish chieftains, seeing his massive show of force, submitted to Richard without a fight and agreed to be loyal subjects. Richard entertained them "with great magnificence and received their submission."<sup>50</sup>

It was during Richard's time in Ireland that the "plantation" idea to accomplish English domination was first formulated. Richard planned to remove all the native peoples from a section of Ireland and replace them with loyal English colonists. His plans never came to fruition in his lifetime, but the idea never died and was revived and implemented by the Tudors.

Richard departed Ireland in 1396, leaving Roger Mortimer, the young Earl of March, his cousin and heir-apparent, at the head of the government. Mortimer immediately, and foolishly, attempted to create a plantation in County Wicklow and the Irish rose in rebellion. At the Battle of Kells, in 1398, the English were soundly defeated and young Mortimer was among the slain. When the news reached England, Richard realized that the Irish submissions would not stand in the face of a plantation.

Richard returned to Ireland determined either to subjugate or destroy the Irish rebels. Landing at Waterford on June 1, 1399, he marched to Kilkenny, hoping to induce the rebels into battle. The Irish, who had learned that a pitched battle was suicide, faded into the forests and proceeded to harass the royal army and kill any stragglers. Richard found

himself in the midst of a hostile country with no transport and no commissariat - a most uneviable position for a conqueror. He forced marched his famished troops to his supply fleet on the coast. His army was rescued, but now he received devastating news: Bolingbroke had landed at Ravenspur and claimed the throne of England. Richard immediately returned to England to try to save his throne, leaving Ireland to care for itself.

The period following Richard II's death in 1399 was a time of chaos and conflict in England. With no clear heir to the throne, the two royal houses of Lancaster and York began a struggle for supremacy, known as the War of the Roses, that lasted eighty-six years.

The War of the Roses should have given Ireland a respite from interference by the English while they tried to destroy each other at home, but the opposite became the fact. The Anglo-Irish were drawn into the conflict, and Ireland became as politically factionalized as in England. The supporters of the white rose and of the red rose kept Ireland in turmoil throughout the fifteenth century. Very few native Irish were drawn into the actual conflict, but depredations committed by both sides caused great suffering to the common people.

The War of the Roses ended in 1485 with the defeat of Richard III by Henry Tudor at Bosworth. Henry Tudor's victory created a dynasty in England that would have the greatest effect on Ireland since the Norman conquest. The Tudors,



especially Elizabeth, looked to Ireland not just as a troublesome colony, but as a source of revenue and manpower. The Tudors began a program of domination that is being felt to this very day.

England, distracted with foreign wars and civil strife, had for two hundred years allowed the Irish question to drift. Following Bosworth, Henry VII, busy consolidating his power, had little time to be concerned with Ireland and its rebel tendencies. Nevertheless he would soon be forced to deal with the Irish. He was "now about to take matters seriously in hand, and carry out a stern policy of repression and extermination, not only against the Celtic race, but against the Anglo-Irish also."<sup>51</sup>

Henry VII had left the government of Ireland in the hands of the Earl of Kildare, even though he was as much an Irish chieftain as an English peer and had strong Yorkist proclivities. It was when Ireland became a rallying point for every pretender to the English throne that Henry began to tighten his grip.

The first of these pretenders was Lambert Simnel, a ten-year-old boy the Yorkists tried to pass off as the Earl of Warwick. Simnel landed in Dublin with 2000 German troops supplied by Margaret of Burgundy, and was crowned Edward VI by the Bishop of Meath. Lord Kildare espoused the pretender's cause, even sending his brother with the pretender's forces when they invaded England. Simnel's army was defeated at

East Stoke on June 16, 1487, and Kildare's brother was slain.

A second pretender emerged four years later in the person of Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be Richard, the younger of the Princes of the Tower. Landing at Cork, he was patronized by the Earl of Desmond. Warbeck invaded England on three occasions; each attempt failed, and on the third he was captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Henry had had enough of his rebellious Anglo-Irish peers and proceeded to deal with them. In 1494, he sent Edward Poynings to Ireland as lord deputy, with 1000 men-at-arms. Poynings' avowed intention was "to thrust back the native Irish; his real object was to crush the adherents of Warbeck."<sup>52</sup>

Poynings, after putting down a Yorkist uprising at Carlow, summoned a Parliament to meet at Drogheda; this Parliament passed the infamous Poynings' Laws. They declared it to be "high treason to excite the natives to war. Private hostilities were forbidden unless with license of the lord deputy. The owners of march lands were to reside on their estates; and it was made a felony to permit the Irish enemy (natives) or Irish rebels (Anglo-Irish) to pass the borders."<sup>53</sup> Poynings further reduced the powers of the nobles with laws concerning the major towns; "the citizens and freemen of the towns were forbidden to become the retainers of the lords, and apprentices only were to be admitted to be

freemen of the corporation."<sup>54</sup> This greatly reduced the manpower available to the local peers and made the towns dependent upon the English government for support. The Statutes of Kilkenny were also re-enacted, except for the language provision. The final part of Poyning's Laws was directed against the independence of the Irish legislature. These provisions all but emasculated the Irish Parliament; though the stated intention was "that a benevolent monarch should be able to curb the enterprises of a lawless nobility, the real effect . . . was to enslave the Parliament."<sup>55</sup> The Irish Parliament now had to petition the King to allow it to assemble and have his approval of all bills passed; finally as a last insult, all statutes passed by the English Parliament now became binding on Ireland. This, in effect, made Ireland totally subservient to the Crown and its whims. The severity of Poyning's Laws would only be surpassed by the Penal Laws of the 1690s.

Henry VII, with the support of Anglo-Irish peers like Kildare, began to subjugate and pacify not only the Pale but also the other Irish provinces. Kildare, with the help of English soldiers, was able to move against old enemies and consolidate his power. At Knocktow in 1498, he broke the back of his enemies' power and set the stage for further English encroachment into Ireland. Knocktow became a turning point for the English and showed the Irish and Anglo-Irish that "victory was found on the side where the English sword was

thrown into the scale."<sup>56</sup> With the firm hand of Kildare at the helm, the status quo was maintained during the remainder of Henry VII's reign.

The ascension of Henry VIII in 1509 spelled the end of any real freedom for Ireland. The new king, with the aid of his astute minister, Thomas Wolsey, set out to settle the "Irish Question" once and for all. Henry aimed his first blow at Lord Kildare by recalling the lord deputy to England to answer certain charges of allying himself with the "Irish enemies."<sup>57</sup> Wolsey could not substantiate these charges; Kildare returned to Ireland, but only to face new charges of treason.

In 1534, Kildare returned to England and was promptly thrown into the Tower. Kildare appointed his son, Lord Thomas, to act as vice-deputy in his absence. Henry used this opportunity to his advantage by sending false messages to Lord Thomas, stating "that Kildare had been executed."<sup>58</sup> This ruse caused Lord Thomas to renounce his office and allegiance to the king, muster forces from among his family and retainers, and raise a revolt. After raiding throughout the Pale, he retired to his castle of Maynouth, secure in the knowledge that the king's forces could not take the castle by siege. Thomas learned to his sorrow that a new weapon was to be introduced into Irish warfare. Sir William Skeffington, the new lord deputy, arrived "with a train of artillery, with which he laid siege to the castle of Maynouth."<sup>59</sup> He

proceeded to batter down the walls of Maynouth, and the garrison's surrender marked the end of the rebellion. The Irish and Anglo-Irish had learned how to deal with English armies, but this new form of weapon was beyond their capability. The English had a monopoly in hand-guns and field artillery, since there were no arsenals or arms factories in Ireland; they would use this monopoly to their advantage.

The English imprisoned Lord Thomas and his five uncles, even though three of the uncles had refused to support Thomas' rebellion. After languishing in the Tower of London for twelve months they were all hanged at Tyburn, thus ending the house of Kildare.

The effect was prodigious; the consternation of both Irish enemies and Irish rebels was complete. Many in Ireland felt that, "If not Kildare, who could withstand the Crown?"<sup>60</sup>

Lord Leonard Gray, who became lord deputy upon the death of Skeffington, enforced his authority upon the country. Gray, in two short years, broke the power of the Anglo-Irish lords and reduced any resistance to the point of impotence. He destroyed the strongholds of the O'Connors of Offaly and the O'Briens of Thomond; captured the important castle of Athlone; and broke Ulster by a crushing defeat of the O'Neils at Belahoe. When Gray departed Ireland in 1540, "tranquilty hitherto unexampled reigned over the whole island; and a cessation prevailed both from the rebellion and from internecine bloodshed."<sup>61</sup>

Henry VIII had completed his first stroke against Ireland with the destruction of Kildare; his second blow would have a longer lasting effect than even Henry could have imagined. When Henry broke with the Roman church, the consequences were not immediately felt in Ireland. The English lords and Irish chieftains looked upon Henry's usurpation of the leadership of the church as a matter of complete indifference, only concerning the King and the Pope; "never having had the smallest scruples themselves in burning and plundering churches, cathedrals, and monasteries, the Anglo-Irish were ready enough to see the Church lands appropriated, when there was a prospect of having a share in the spoil."<sup>62</sup>       The king's attacks against the religious houses of Ireland were based purely on greed; he did not even attempt to accuse them of immoral and sumptuous living, as he had done in England. The history of the Irish clergy was one of piety, charity, and learning - not extravagance. Henry's blow fell in 1537 when Lord Gray summoned a Parliament to pass the Act of Supremacy. The Irish clerics stubbornly resisted the king's rejection of Roman authority and used their authority to try to counter him. Their attempts were futile, and they were excluded from the assembly when the vote was called. The act was easily passed by the pliant lay members; a subsequent statute, passed in 1542, vested all Church properties in the hands of the Crown. Approximately 400 religious houses, valued at 100,000 Pounds, with an annual revenue value of 32,000 Pounds, were

confiscated. This final stroke against Ireland ended any hope of a united resistance to the English during Henry VIII's reign, since the religious houses had been the financial support for the Anglo-Irish and native Irish nobility.

The one great failure of Tudor rule in Ireland was the attempt to impose the new Protestant religion on the native population; Henry underestimated the depth of faith in the Irish. The Irish do very little by half-measure, least of all their religion. The Irish refused to accept the Church of England; when new bishops or clerics were sent, the parishoners simply refused to attend church. Religious chaos reigned in Ireland all through the Tudor's reigns, swinging one way under Henry and Edward, another during Mary's time, and finally back again under Elizabeth. Try as they might the English could never enforce the religious laws on the Irish; even the Anglo-Irish gave the new religion only lip service. The English plundered and burned the Irish abbeys, and the Irish responded in kind by destroying English churches within the Pale.

Everywhere was misery and ignorance; the spark of religion was kept alive only by the "begging friars, Spanish, French, and English, who, at risk of their lives, continued their missionary work among the people."<sup>63</sup>

Henry's first harsh and then conciliatory treatment of the Anglo-Irish and native peoples kept the country in an uneasy peace throughout the remainder of his reign. This peace ended

with the death of the king in 1547, when the new government of Edward VI acted with prompt severity to put the Irish question to rest.

The old "plantation" idea was now reborn, and the English acted swiftly to dispossess the natives from their lands. The territories to the west of the Pale were selected for colonization; Leix, Offaly, Fercal, and Ely were invaded by royal troops under Bellingham and St. Leger. They captured the chieftains, dispossessed and scattered the land owners, and laid waste to their properties. The next step was to repopulate the area with English colonists. The Crown accomplished this by "the granting of leases of twenty-one years in the confiscated lands to various English colonists."<sup>64</sup> The Crown brought in their colonists, but failed to consider what the dispossessed Irish might do.

For nine years guerrilla warfare ensued between the dispossessed tribesmen and the settlers of a ferocious nature, "which ended in almost total expulsion of the latter."<sup>65</sup> The English government acted severely at this time and proceeded to do its work most thoroughly. The natives were either shot down in the field or executed by martial law, and the remnants driven into the neighboring bogs and mountains, where for a few years they preyed upon and spoiled the settlers "and in their turn were hunted as brigands, and put to death as outlaws."<sup>66</sup>



The death of Edward VI in 1553 should have give Ireland a respite from suffering with the assumption of the English throne by Mary Tudor, but she was so consumed with finding a husband and producing an heir that Ireland was forgotten. The Dublin government was only concerned with acquiring more land for colonization, and the destruction of the Irish continued. The uneasy peace that Henry had imposed on Ireland was destroyed by his children and never regained.

When Elizabeth I assumed the throne upon the death of her sister Mary in 1558, England was bordering on revolution, at war with France, and threatened by invasion by Scotland. She could "spare neither men nor money at present for schemes of aggression against Ireland."<sup>67</sup>

Elizabeth's timetable for Irish conquest was taken out of her hands by the death of Con O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. Matthew, O'Neil's oldest son by adoption, inherited his father's title and lands under English law, but was not entitled to them under Irish law. Under Brehon Law, only blood relatives could inherit lands and titles. Shane, O'Neil's younger son by blood, was elected by the tribe to be "The O'Neil." Shane's followers tried to solve the problem by killing Matthew, but Shane O'Neil's ambition was so great that he gathered to himself the whole power of Ulster and attempted to render himself independent of the English government. Shane put down any Irish who opposed him and fought and drove an English army, under the Earl of Sussex,

out of Ulster and to within twenty miles of Dublin. Such was the terror inspired by Shane's name after this victory that Sussex was "unable to bring his beaten army to face him in the field."<sup>68</sup> Sussex tried a new tactic to rid himself of O'Neil; he hired an assassin to murder Shane; the plot failed and Irish resistance stiffened.

In 1561, with the war at a stalemate, negotiations were begun and Shane was given a safe-conduct to England to meet with the queen. In September 1563, Elizabeth supported his claim to Tyrone and a peace treaty was signed. As with most treaties between Ireland and England this one failed.

Early in 1566, Sir Edward Sidney came to Ireland as lord deputy with a plan to crush Shane O'Neil. Sidney, enlisting the aid of Irish chieftains who had been harassed by O'Neil, was able to check O'Neil at every turn. By 1567, O'Neil was on the run; his army was gone and his chieftains were in revolt. Then Shane made his greatest mistake, and it would cost him his life. He turned to the Scottish settlers in County Antrim for protection. The Scots, burning with hatred for the massacre committed by O'Neil only one year earlier, cut off his head and sent it to Sidney at Drogheda. Peace should have come to Ireland following O'Neil's death, but peace was always an elusive thing between the English and Irish.

In 1569, Elizabeth began a serious attempt to reimplement the plantation scheme in Ireland. England was full of men who

aspired to be soldiers of fortune; the discovery of the New World had made them drunk with the spirit of adventure; they looked upon Ireland "as a country ripe for colonization, inhabited by a race who deserved no better treatment than the wild beasts, and whose fat lands were the proper birthright of enterprising but impecunious younger sons."<sup>69</sup> Again we see the ethnocentrism of the English, characterizing the Irish as "wild beasts," and claiming the "right" to confiscate their lands and treat them as they would. Even by the sixteenth century, the English view of the Irish had not been modified: it was much the same as in the twelfth century.

The first attempt at colonization, in 1570, met with disaster when the English settlers were massacred by a tribe of the O'Neils. A more determined effort was made in 1573 by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to whom the queen granted half the county of Antrim, the title of President of Ulster, and the sum of 10,000 Pounds for the fitting out of the expedition.<sup>70</sup> Essex's plan was to exterminate the Scots and Irish and lease his lands to English settlers. He was, of course, perpetually harassed by the O'Neils and the Scots, and both he and his followers retaliated "by committing a series of frightful atrocities."<sup>71</sup> Essex's attitude towards the Irish is best described by the following incident: "He lured Sir Brian O'Neil of Clanaboy into the castle of Belfast, then after a merry-making, treacherously siezed upon him, his wife, his brother, and their retainers, and put them all to the

sword, 'men, women, youths and maidens', two hundred in number."<sup>72</sup> After this atrocity he proceeded to Rathlin Island, where the Scots had left their wives and families, and massacred every man, woman, and child, some 650. By 1576, Essex was "ruined and broken in health and he returned to Dublin to die."<sup>73</sup> The plantations in Ulster would have to wait for future generations. Essex, who began a pattern of atrocities that was carried on by his successors, was no better or no worse than any of the adventurers who went to Ireland; they all perceived the native Irish to be savages, who as such were beneath any compassion. The unique thing about Essex was that he treated the Scots in Ulster the same as the Irish.

Other English adventurers tried their luck in Ireland, with about as much success as Essex. In 1570, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Wareham St. Leger, and Sir Richard Grenville attempted to confiscate the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry in southern Ireland. They forcibly expelled the landowners and massacred any who resisted. Both sides committed atrocities, and by 1571 all of southern Ireland was in open revolt. Sir Henry Sidney was compelled to raise an army and pacify the areas these adventurers had set in rebellion. Sidney was able to quell the insurrections, but not bring peace to the region. Irish chieftains and their forces took to the mountains and remained a serious threat to the English.

The last great rebellion of the Elizabethian period - ten years of blood and suffering - began in 1573 and was not completely crushed until 1583. The Irish Earls of Desmond, who had resisted the English during the reign of Henry VIII, continued their opposition through Elizabeth's reign because they "felt that they were marked for destruction and that their ruin was only a question of time."<sup>74</sup> The Anglo-Irish in general, realizing that England could never be beaten by Irish forces alone, began to look towards England's enemies for support in their struggles. With this a new element was added to the conflict between the Irish and English.

England's break with Rome had given the Irish a new weapon to use in their bid for freedom. The Anglo-Irish magnates now endeavoured to give a religious coloring to their actions; "they professed to be champions of the faith against a heretical tyrant."<sup>75</sup> Whether these rebels had any religious scruples or not has never been proven or disproven, but their appeals to the Catholic monarchs and the Pope met with success. France, Spain, and Rome were more than willing to aid any enemy of England. Spain's motivations were probably economic rather than religious, since England was becoming a competitor in the New World. Ireland's old friend, Scotland, could also be counted on for aid, especially since she had become an ally of France. These new associations gave the English government a different attitude towards Irish unrest; they now associated rebellion with popery. Everywhere

they looked Catholics were aiding Ireland with men and money; papal nuncios were coming and going at will, and the pope sealed the matter by issuing a Bull of excommunication against the queen. The Papal Bull, which professed to absolve Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance, drove the government into taking active repressive measures against Roman Catholics and forced the Roman Catholics into the false position of "being traitors either to their sovereign or to their spiritual head."<sup>76</sup>

By 1579, Ireland had risen in rebellion, and bloody war raged throughout the whole country. Lord Ormonde, one of the few Irish peers who remained loyal, was sent to put down the revolt and punish the rebels; he did both with great violence. Ormonde used the sword and the gallows to pacify the country. The following is an example of his campaign: "Ormonde caught and hanged Lady Fitzgerald of Imokelly, and reports in his dispatches the execution of 134 persons, and that the pardoned chiefs were bringing in the heads of the other rebels by the sackful."<sup>77</sup> This type of savagery broke the back of the rebellion, and in 1583 the last of the rebel leaders, Lord Desmond, was captured and murdered.

The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland left indelible marks on the country, turning the fertile province of Munster into a waste land. Famous English writers reported the depredations. Raphael Holinshed stated, "Whoever did travel from one end of Munster to the other, would not meet any man,

woman, or child, saving in the towns and cities; and would not see any beast."<sup>78</sup> The great poet, Edmund Spenser, who shared in the campaign and spoils, has left a most vivid picture of the southwestern province: "For notwithstanding that Munster was a most rich and plentiful county, full of corn and cattle, yet after one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any strong heart would rue the same, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of the grave and that in short space there were none almost left; and a most populous and plentiful country left void of man and beast."<sup>79</sup> The English burned the harvests year after year, and famine cleared the land of those who escaped the sword.

These horrible accounts should have awoken the English to the conditions they had created in Ireland, but they made no attempts to rectify the situation. On the contrary, they used these conditions to their advantage.

The English, utilizing Desmond's rebellion as an excuse to begin completion of their plantation scheme, were able to bring under Crown control "574,628 Irish acres of good and profitable land, besides seignorial rights over the four counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Waterford."<sup>80</sup> The government found eager takers in England for the confiscated lands, and by 1586 the plantations were well under way. The conditions of the land grants were very specific towards the

Irish; "no native irish should be taken as tenants and any remnants of the native population was to be cleared out of the plains into the upland country."<sup>81</sup> The new settlers faced the same danger their predecessors had: a native population waiting for revenge.

The years 1586-1595 were an interval of armed peace in Ireland, and had it not been for the English government's inability to control their agents a more lasting peace may have been attained. Two of Elizabeth's chief agents, Sir Richard Bingham and Sir William Fitzwilliam, through incompetence, greed, or a mixture of both, would bring Ireland to the point of a new rebellion by 1594.

The murder of Hugh McMahon, chieftan of the Clan McMahon, on trumped up charges, and the confiscation of his estates; and the kidnapping of Hugh Roe O'Donnel, son of the Lord of Tyrconnel of Ulster, brought all of Ulster to the point of war. Conditions had grown so bad that even the Earl of Tyrone, regarded as the most loyal of all the Anglo-Irish, was wavering in his allegiance. By 1595, Tyrone had made enemies of some of the most powerful English in Ireland and was left with two choices: support the Crown or support the northern chieftains in an uprising. Tyrone chose the latter.

Tyrone, pursuing his course with a set purpose, forged an agreement with the O'Donnells and McMahons. These three powerful tribes formed a league, which they encouraged others to join. Chieftains from all over the country rallied to the



league. The McGuires, O'Rourkes and the Scots of Ulster; the Bourkes, O'Dowds, and O'Connors of Sligo; the O'Kellys and McDermots of Connaught and remnants of the decimated tribes formed the first real confederation seen in Ireland since the days of Brian Boru. The confederation went about its business with dispatch; the O'Donnells overran all of Connaught, driving the English before them; Tyrone proceeded to ravage northern Ulster and capture garrisons along the river Blackwater. In late 1597, "Spanish ships arrived at Donegal Bay with arms and ammunition for the rebels."<sup>82</sup>

The first major engagement occurred in August 1598. Sir Henry Bagnel led four thousand English troops from Armagh to relieve Lord Burgh, whom Tyrone had under siege along the Blackwater. Bagnel and the Irish met along the river Callan, and the English were completely routed; "Nearly half the English force was annihilated, their guns, colours, and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy, and a disorderly crowd of fugitives took refuge in Dundalk."<sup>83</sup> This signal defeat was devastating to the English; all Ulster was in the hands of the rebels and nothing lay between them and Dublin except the forts at Dundalk and Drogheda. Connaught and Leinster were under rebel control, and in Munster, Lord Ormonde was under siege in the stronghold of Kilkenny, while his lands were being ravaged by the insurgents. By the end of 1598, all of Ireland, save Dublin and a few scattered garrisons, were in rebel hands.

Two major factors brought about the defeat of the previously invincible English. First, the Irish had learned a valuable lesson of war from their masters: organization and discipline won battles. Instead of fielding a horde of half-armed savages, the Irish now had a drilled and disciplined army, officered by men who had served under the queen's colors. Secondly, and most important, the troops were well armed and supplied. Spain was sending arms and ammunition, but ironically much of the weaponry came from the English themselves. The English soldiers, ill-paid and ill-fed, were demoralized and deserting in large numbers, "selling their weapons and powder to Dublin traders, who retailed it back to the rebels at exorbitant prices."<sup>84</sup> It seems that the English traders were not so scrupulous as to how they turned a profit. The English government, and especially the queen, were shocked, angry, and determined to crush the rebellion.

In the spring of 1599, an army of 20,000 infantry and 1300 horse was dispatched to Ireland under the command of Lord Essex, who had orders to end the rebellion and punish the leaders. The campaign plans had been worked out for Essex before his departure, but upon landing in Ireland he was dissuaded from the original plan by the Irish Council and persuaded to adopt their plan. Many of the council, who had their fortunes tied up in the Munster plantation, convinced Essex to defer campaigning in the north, even though this was the seat of the rebellion, and strike at the rebels in the

south. Essex reinforced the Ulster garrisons with the bulk of his forces and proceeded south with only 7000 men, accompanied by Lord Ormonde. This situation plainly shows that there were three factions at work in Ireland at the time. The first was the Irish who were in rebellion; the second was the queen's forces, whose plan was to crush the rebellious Irish; and the third was the English in Dublin, who were more concerned with protecting their investments than recovering all of Ireland for the queen. Essex allowed himself to be drawn into the Dubliner's agenda; this was a costly mistake for both Essex and Ireland.

The Irish refused to face him in open battle; they used guerrilla tactics to harass and weaken his forces, much like their ancestors had done against Richard II. He lost more than he gained; veteran officers were killed and valuable supplies were lost to the rebels. The queen was "furious at the smallness of his results."<sup>85</sup>

In August 1599, Essex made his greatest blunder by agreeing to parley with Tyrone. Essex and Tyrone worked out an armistice so that the Irish could lay their grievances before the queen. Elizabeth was enraged and ordered Essex home to answer for his conduct. Essex's blunder had a positive outcome for the English, though; Elizabeth appointed Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, to replace Essex.

Mountjoy, a commander who ruled "with an iron fist in an iron glove," set to work reforming the army. The following is

an example of Mountjoy's policies: "Not only was the punishment of death to be inflicted on any person guilty of such offenses as stealing of stores, duelling, sleeping on duty, falling out of ranks, or exceeding furlough 'except he can prove he was stayed by the hand of God', but also those who 'spoke against the Holy and Blessed Trinity' or contravened the articles of Christian Faith."<sup>86</sup> Impiety, blasphemy, unlawful oaths, and even missing daily prayer were punishable by fines or imprisonment.

Mountjoy waged a campaign of blood and fire, giving no quarter to the rebels, unless they surrendered unconditionally. He burned crops in the fields and destroyed any stores found; by the end of 1600, it appeared the rebels were on the run, but early in 1601, Spain intervened. Don Juan del Aguila and 3000 soldiers landed at the harbor of Kinsale to aid the insurgents; this gave the rebellion new hope, but it would be short lived. Mountjoy besieged del Aguila at Kinsale, and Tyrone and O'Donnel moved to relieve the Spanish. Tyrone planned to surprise the English on December 24, 1601, but his plans were betrayed by a deserter and the English were waiting and routed Tyrone's force, costing the Irish a great loss of men and stores.

The tide was turning in favor of Mountjoy. Del Aguila surrendered: O'Donnel fled to Spain to seek more help, and Tyrone returned to the north where he was harassed by Mountjoy's forces. By 1603, famine and disease, not English

arms, forced Tyrone to parley with Mountjoy, a peace was worked out whereby Tyrone was pardoned and his followers were given amnesty on Tyrone's promise to submit to English law. Three years of needless war and destruction could have been avoided if only Elizabeth had been willing to negotiate with the Irish, but as with her predecessors and successors, negotiation was always the last option in dealing with Ireland. England now had a whole new view of the situation; Ireland was not just a rebellious province, but an enemy siding with England's foes on the Continent.

The next three years saw the spark of rebellion extinguished by the process of starvation. Mountjoy's men destroyed crops, removing the whole source of sustenance on which the people depended. Pestilence followed famine, and in Ulster people died by the thousands. Fynes Moryson, Mountjoy's secretary and later President of Ulster, recounted the following terrible stories: "Carcasses of people lay in ditches, their dead mouths green with dock and nettles on which they had endeavoured to support life. How young children were trapped and eaten by the starving women who were hiding in the woods on the Newry; and how he and Sir Arthur Chichester witnessed the horrible spectacle of three young children devouring the entrails of their dead mother."<sup>87</sup>

The only factor that saved the Irish from complete annihilation was the country's geography; the whole island was, to a great extent, impassible to an army. The only real

roads were those within the Pale and those that led to the main provincial towns and garrisons. The country lying between and beyond these main arteries was either mountainous or boggy or densely wooded - - not the type of terrain an army's baggage train could traverse. The depredations inflicted by Mountjoy reduced the native Irish to a semi-barbarous state and effectively checked their progress towards civilization. The English, who had always perceived the Irish as savages, were now turning this fiction into fact. By the time Tyrone surrendered to Mountjoy, Elizabeth was dead and James VI of Scotland had ascended the English throne, as James I; this should have been good news for the Irish, but as had usually been true in the past, what seemed good turned bad for Ireland.

The reign of James I proved more devastating for Ireland than the reigns of all the Tudors. James enforced religious laws that Elizabeth had chosen to ignore. Priests who did not leave the country were hunted and executed; mass was forbidden under pain of imprisonment, and native Irish were excluded from any government office if they refused to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity. None of these draconian measures changed the faith of the majority of the native Irish; masses were held in secret by priests protected by the people, and the only Irish who submitted did so under great duress. By 1606, James' methods had put pressure on the two great magnates of Ulster, Tyrone and Tyrconnel. Harassed by the king's agents,

tied up in litigation brought on by the king's ministers, and spied upon and accused of seditious behavior, they were forced to flee Ireland with their families. This first "Flight of the Earls" removed the native leadership from Ulster and paved the way for a renewal of the plantation scheme.

Between 1611 and 1625, James I changed the face of Ireland more than any Plantagenet or Tudor had ever dreamed possible. After reviewing the earlier schemes, he concluded that the size of the earlier grants had been too large to manage. His new scheme, to be tested in Ulster, provided more manageable tracts; furnished land to the native Irish being dispossessed; and grouped the settlers from England and Scotland together so they could support and protect each other.

The final part of the scheme was to remove "the swordsmen, the turbulent gentry whose occupation was gone with the war, and who were an idle and dangerous class."<sup>88</sup> They were "encouraged" to enlist in other European armies, such as Gustavus Adolphus' in Sweden. The Irish gave them the nickname of "Wild Geese," and over the next three centuries thousands of Wild Geese would leave Ireland to fight someone else's wars.

The Ulster Plantation was so successful that the government planned to extend the scheme throughout Ireland. One great problem faced the English; they could not use the same tactics they had used in Ulster. The Ulster lands came by way of forfeitures from Tyrone and Tyrconnel, but in

Leinster, the next target, there were no great tracts of land under forfeiture. James organized "a commission to inquire into defective titles."<sup>89</sup>

The commission was to find holdings with questionable titles and bring them under Crown control. Their tactics are amply described in the following passage: "To give an appearance of legality to these iniquitous proceedings, juries were empannelled, and forced to give verdicts in favour of the Crown; witnesses were compelled to give satisfactory evidence; and both jurors and witnesses; if they had the boldness to withstand the pressure of the Crown lawyers, were hauled before the Castle Chamber, imprisoned, pilloried, and branded."<sup>90</sup> James' plan for Leinster was the most insidious of all; Ulster had been taken as spoils of war, but Leinster was being stolen by manipulation of the law - - the very plain and simple. Connaught was the next target, but the king's death in 1625 suspended these plans.

The general result of the plantation policy was to flood Ireland with a host of needy Englishmen and Scots "who looked upon the country as a grand field for enterprising persons with slender means and the colonists in Ulster were in a great measure the scum of both nations; debtors, bankrupts, and fugitives from justice."<sup>91</sup> These new colonists kept to themselves, not associating or intermarrying with the Irish; "they were the embryo of the 'Protestant ascendancy' of the eighteenth century."<sup>92</sup> James I had begun the real



destruction of Ireland as a nation. He initiated religious persecution, drove out the ancient leadership in Ulster, and began to make the plantation scheme work. Only Oliver Cromwell would have a more devastating effect.

Charles I, who ascended the English throne in 1625, carried the plantation scheme to the point of stirring up rebellion again. Charles had a pet scheme for governing his three kingdoms "by means of a favourite minister in each, reserving a general control over the whole to himself."<sup>93</sup>

The man Charles chose for Ireland was Sir Thomas Wentworth of Yorkshire. Wentworth was an able, but totally unscrupulous man, who used any means at his disposal to enforce his will and the king's desires.

Wentworth took office in 1633 and proceeded to brow-beat and intimidate the English colonists and Anglo-Irish alike. He was popular with the king, since he filled his treasury, but the means he used created an undercurrent of hatred and unrest in Ireland that would boil over in rebellion. By 1640, Wentworth was so hated that the Irish Commons and other victims of his tyranny demanded that the king remove and impeach him. Charles, under pressure from both the English and Irish Parliaments, impeached his faithful servant. All England and Ireland watched with breathless interest the trial of the man who, in the words of the impeachment, "had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government."<sup>94</sup> The

Parliaments rejoiced when the king signed the Bill of Attainder and sent Wentworth to the scaffold.

Wentworth was dead, but he had "sown the wind," and the Protestant colonists were about to "reap the whirlwind" in one of the bloodiest uprisings Ireland would ever see.

The Irish were again at the point of rebellion, ready to throw off the yoke of English servitude. The Irish hated the English for the type of treatment they always always received - - starvation, pillage, and murder. Even in their almost constant wars with Scotland, the English had never inflicted the level of barbarity on the Scots which they had on the Irish. Why did the English view the Irish with such contempt?

What made the Irish an object that was below human compassion? The answer is glaringly simple: propaganda. English propaganda that portrayed the Irish as a brutal, savage race.

### CHAPTER 3

Propaganda is an insidious tool that perverts the truth and can create hatred and fear in the mind of the uninformed. English propaganda always portrayed the Irish as a savage, barbarous race, whose very existence was an abomination in the face of God.

The first English propagandist appeared in the wake of the twelfth-century Norman invasion. Gerald De Barri, known to history as Silvester Giraldus Cambrenis or Gerald of Wales, was the historian of the Norman conquest; his writings and opinions became the gospel of English attitudes towards Ireland.

DeBarri was born in 1146, at his father's castle of Manorbrier in Pembrokeshire, Wales. His father was Anglo-Norman and his mother, Welsh. His two great works on Ireland were Topographica Hibernia, a geography written following a tour of Ireland in 1183-1184, and Expurgnatio Hibernica, an account of the first two decades of the English conquest of Ireland. The two works were dedicated to Henry II and Richard I, respectively. DeBarri's accounts carried a bias which became the accepted picture of Irish culture and society for centuries.

In Topographica Hibernia, DeBarri described the countryside and natives he observed. The following are examples of his views of the native Irish:

In this country children are not, as elsewhere, delicately brought up; for everything over and above the homely and somewhat scanty nourishment they receive from their rude parents is left to nature. They are laid in no cradle, nor swathed in swaddling clothes; their tender limbs know not the use of the warm bath, neither are they adjusted with the help of art.<sup>95</sup>

Verily a wild and inhospitable race: living only on the produce of their beasts, and living like beasts themselves. A race but little advanced from the primitive pastoral life. For whereas the stages of human progress are from the forest to the field, from the field to the town and so to civic polity, this people despising agricultural labour, having little taste for the refinements of civilization, and showing a strong aversion from political institutions, knows not how to relinquish the sylvan and bucolic habits to which it has always been accustomed.<sup>96</sup>

In these passages we see the beginnings of England's attitudes towards Ireland. DeBarri's description of the Irish as a wild and inhospitable race little better than beasts must have had a tremendous effect on the English. The English of the twelfth century considered themselves to be civilized and have an advanced agricultural and urban culture. DeBarri's comments that the Irish had not advanced beyond the pastoral life is an indicator that only a society that had advanced to the level of England's was an acceptable society. His comment about the Irish despising agricultural labor is a reflection of an ethnocentric attitude.

His comments about the Irish aversion to political institutions is a matter of perception. Ireland had a very political society, but the structure was loose and based on individual tribes rather than central leadership. Each tribe and province had its leadership, but this leadership was elected by the tribe or province and served at the people's will. To the feudal mind of twelfth-century England, this seemed a chaotic way to run a government.

DeBarri continued his commentary with the following opinion concerning Irish work habits:

Moreover they do not employ their time in the manufacture of linen, cloth, or any other ware, nor in the development of a single mechanic art. They are simply the slaves of ease and sloth: freedom from exertion they esteem the height of luxury, freedom from restraint the summit of wealth.<sup>97</sup>

De Barri derided the Irish for their lack of industry and mechanical arts, but Irish artisans created many utensils and fine musical instruments, and for centuries they had produced beautiful jewelry. The Irish had no need for linen or cloth, so there was no need to produce them, since their cattle provided their basic clothing needs. A pastoral society had simple needs and tastes.

De Barri went on to comment on what he believed was the cause of the Irish's lack of "culture":

Wherefore this race is a race of savages: I say again a race of savages. In short, all their ways are brutish and unseemly. But customs are formed by intercourse, and since in these remote parts men are so far removed from the rest of the world, and come so little into contact with refined

and civilized nations that they might be in a different planet, small wonder if they know nothing beyond the barbarism in which they have been born and nurtured, and which cleaves to them like a second nature.<sup>98</sup>

The Creator has done His part in giving them of His best; but where there is any call for effort on their part they are worthless.<sup>99</sup>

Again we see DeBarri's ethnocentric view that since the Irish did not measure up to the cultural level of England, then they must be savages.

DeBarri's works, widely read in his time, were still accepted as accurate well into the sixteenth century. His emphasis on the Irish as a race of savages could have no other effect than to frighten the English and instill in them a sense of superiority. With this picture planted firmly in the psyche of the English it is small wonder that they had no compunction about treating the Irish in any way that suited them.

The question must be asked: what were the real differences between the Irish and the English? Were the differences the English saw between themselves and the Irish a matter of reality, perception, or ethnocentrism, or a combination of all three? The answer is a combination of all three; but ethnocentrism was the strongest motivator.

As discussed earlier, the two cultures were in reality so disparate that there was no basis for common understanding. England was an agricultural society with every facet of life tied to the land. A man's wealth was in the amount of land he owned and the number of people who worked for him. Labor was

seen as a positive attribute, and any man unwilling to perform labor was less than a man. In the pastoral society of Ireland, however, cattle was the basis of wealth, and leisure was the basis of status. Only women performed manual labor; men were warriors and were above manual labor. The reality that the English perceived was based solely on their society and failed to take into account that other civilized societies might not function in the same manner as their's.

De Barri's was the only voice coming out of Ireland; the Irish did not have a writer to tell their story. Therefore De Barri's views and opinions became fact in the minds of the English and would cloud their thinking for centuries.

Nearly four hundred years after DeBarri, in 1573, Barnabe Rich came to Ireland as a member of the Ulster expedition of the Earl of Essex and became a prolific writer who perpetuated the perception of the Irish as savages. In 1610, Rich, like DeBarri before him, portrayed the Irish as "rude, uncleanly, and uncivil." Even their contact with the civilized English had been of no benefit to them because

. . . the Irish had rather still remain themselves in their sluttishness, in their uncleanliness, in their rudeness, and in their inhuman loathsomeness, than they would take any example from the English, either of civility, humanity, or any manner of decency.

Rich also saw the Irish as a "bloody-minded" people, "apt and ready to commit any kind of mischief," who delighted in "civil broils" which gave them "liberty to do wrong." Delving into antiquity for a comparison to a people whose

cruelty was legendary, he noted that even the "wild, uncivil Scythians do forebear to be cruel, the one against the other." Turning to the New World for a comparison to the epitome of savagery, he found that the "cannibals, devourers of men's flesh, do leave to be fierce amongst themselves."<sup>100</sup> But not the Irish, who "are ever most cruel to their very next neighbors." Explaining the motivation for such bellicose behavior, Rich observed:

For they know they are the more willingly drawn to undertake commotions and rebellions for the aid and assistance of these licentious routs that follow them. They therefore forbear no mischief, abstaining no more from that which is holy than from that which is profane. Neither any age nor honor so protect any, that rape be not mingled with murder, nor murder with rape.

The writings of Barnabe Rich add reinforcement to Gerald De Barri's, but they also gave a new twist to the English view of Ireland. Rich's Irish are not only rude, unclean, and uncivil; they are also rebellious and idolatrous. Rich did not attribute this "so much to their natural inclination" as he did "to their education," because the Irish

. . . are trained up in treason, in rebellion, in theft, in robbing, in superstition, in idolatry, and nuzzeled from their cradle in every puddle of popery.

These new charges came in the light of the attempts on the part of the Irish to expel the English from Ireland and to maintain their Catholic religion against the Protestant Reformation.



Rich's criticism of the Irish equated in importance with their "treasons and rebellion" their "ingratitude" towards the English, something he found incomprehensible "considering how mildly they have been and are yet governed." He observed:

And there is nothing so much detested amongst the Irish themselves as this vice of ingratitude . . . Theft, robbery, murder, yea, treason itself, may be a little flourished over with some blind excuse; but ingratitude can neither be covered nor shadowed by any means, but remaining naked must manifest itself everywhere with shame and dishonor.

The Irish would have had a different opinion about the mildness of English rule.

As with De Barri's writings, Rich's was accepted without question and the Irish now became not only savages, but also ungrateful, murderous rebels and idolators. Rich was maintaining the pattern of abuse and ethnocentricity that was a staple of the English's governing of Ireland.

Another Englishman writing in the seventeenth century discussed the Irish diet. Feynes Moryson served as secretary to Lord Mountjoy and chronicled his observations in a work, An Itinerary, published in 1627. He described the native Irish as "barbarous and most filthy" in their dietary habits. He was revolted at their habit of straining milk "through a handful of straw" and "scumming their pots" also with straw. Moryson went on to comment on the Irish's choice of meat, saying that they seldom ate mutton, but consumed "great morsels of beef unsalted" and that they commonly "ate swine's

flesh." Obviously beef and pork were not a staple of the English diet.

Moryson also observed that they did not drink beer like Englishmen, but that they "drank milk like nectar" and also "beef-broth." He noted that when the Irish lords came to any market town they indulged themselves in "Spanish wine" and "Irish usquebaugh (whiskey)" in large quantities and sometimes stayed drunk for days. His comments concerning the Irish dietary habits paints a most unpleasant picture and continued the belief that the Irish were savages.

Rich and Moryson were not alone in their opinions concerning the native Irish of the time. Writers such as Raphael Holinshed, Richard Stanyhurst, Edmund Campion, and even Edmund Spenser wrote of the degeneracy and degradation of the Irish. These authors were well accepted, and Spenser was considered one of the literary giants of the time.<sup>101</sup>

English government officials added to the propaganda against the Irish in their official reports. In 1598, Chief Justice Sir William Saxey wrote that Irish rebels "sieved English infants from the nurse's breasts and had the babies' brains dashed against the walls."<sup>102</sup> Saxey also claimed that "the Irish cut out the tongues and cut off the noses of their English prisoners."<sup>103</sup> The specter of the "wild Irish" even encroached on the New World. In 1637, Roger Williams warned John Winthrop that if the New England Indians were not treated kindly, they might "turne wild Irish

themselves."<sup>104</sup> It is ironic that Williams wrote those prophetic words, considering that the treatment the Indians of North America received had been perfected in Ireland.

Another propagandistic imputation made against the Irish was their form of warfare when fighting a larger and better equipped enemy. The character of Irish warfare was such that the English colonists in Ireland believed that the native Irish had invented the ambush. One English account from 1618 described how the wild Irish

"Will plash down whole trees over the passes, and so intricately wind them, or lay them, that they shall be a strong barricade, and then lurk in ambush amongst the standing wood, playing upon all comers as they intend to go along. On the bogs they likewise presume with a naked celerity to come as near our foot and horse is possible, and then fly off again, knowing we cannot or indeed dare not follow them."<sup>105</sup>

The English viewed this type of guerrilla warfare as mean and contemptable and could never understand why the Irish would never face them in open battle. It is patently obvious that the native Irish were not as stupid as the English believed them to be.

The Irish for centuries had been the victims of much English propaganda with no appreciable effect on the general population, but after October 23, 1641, the propaganda took a new and deadlier turn that brought pain and suffering on Ireland that would last for generations.

An old adage states, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," and the stirrings of civil war in England flamed

the spirit of rebellion in Ireland. The native Irish of Ulster rose on October 23, 1641, taking revenge upon Protestant settlers, looting and burning their towns and killing approximately 4000 people, among them 100 Protestants who drowned in the river Bann at Portadown. When the news reached England of the massacres, contemporary accounts exaggerated the number of Protestant victims to as many as 300,000, although there were not 300,000 Protestants in all of Ireland, let alone Ulster. This propaganda created a thirst for revenge that could only be quenched with Irish blood.

The propaganda flowing from Dublin Castle was so blatantly exaggerated and absurd that anyone, even the most unsophisticated, should have seen through it, but no one questioned its accuracy or authenticity. The English had been bombarded with anti-Irish propaganda for centuries and its validity had become an accepted fact. The English simply considered the Irish capable of any atrocity, no matter how heinous.

The propaganda from Dublin Castle took the form of correspondence supposedly sent from English settlers in Ireland to friends in England. The letters ususally had no type of personal identification and were of a style most likely to incite the English against the Irish. A letter dated October 27, 1641, from an English gentleman of Dublin to a friend in England, told of the atrocities committed by the Irish in Ulster, recounting that "the rebels have done much

hurt in the North part of Ireland, they have burned Armagh, Longnall, the Neury . . . they massacred the English in those parts, men, women, and children."<sup>106</sup> (See Appendix C.)

Another letter dated November 1, 1641, was bound to incite the English. The title alone clearly spelled out the point the propagandist tried to make, "A true and full Relation of the horrible and hellish Plot of the Jesuites Popish Priests and other papists in Ireland, for the Massacring of the two chiefe Justices, and the Privie Councill and Protestants in that Kingdom."<sup>107</sup> This letter, by an anonymous gentleman, recounted the plots and tactics of the Irish rebels in their attempts to overthrow the Protestants in Ulster. A letter from the Irish Parliament to the English Parliament requesting aid was not pure propaganda, but the inflammatory language of the document had to have had an effect the minds of the readers. (The complete transcript is contained in Appendix D.)

A supposed eye-witness account of the early days of the uprising, authored by a James Salmon, was published in December 1641. Salmon recounted the sacking of Armagh in the most graphic and gruesome detail: "the Towne they presently tooke, and burned the same night also, which was a Towne full of rich Merchants, both English and Scottish, whom they murdered in a most cruell and bloody manner, with their wive and children; first deflowering many women, then cruelly murdering them, and pulling them about the streets by the

haire of the head, and dashing their childrens brains out against the posts and stones of the streets."<sup>108</sup> Salmon recounted other atrocities committed by the rebels and how he, his wife and children had to flee Ireland to escape the rebels.

Salmon's account is obviously one gathered in the hysteria of the moment and has to be suspect. One must wonder how Salmon was able to get such intimate details of the atrocities if he and his family were fleeing for their lives.

The preceding letters and dispatches are prime examples of the propaganda widely disseminated and believed in England following the Rising of 1641.

The English government created visual propaganda to instill a sense of horror and revulsion in their people and justify stern measures against the Irish. They told of atrocities such as the disemboweling of men and women, the roasting of babies and children over open fires, and the incineration of Protestants trapped in their homes. The most horrible account was the murder of a Mr. Atkins and the disembowelment of his pregnant wife and murder of their unborn child. No civilized person could have read these accounts and not been filled with loathing and hatred. This propaganda did its job very well, creating a mindset that removed any compassion from the English soul in regards to the Irish. Figures 2-7, a 1647 woodcut, depicts, in horrifying detail, atrocities supposedly suffered by Ulster Protestant settlers

at the hands of Irish Rebels. To this very day many Northern Ireland Protestants look on the massacres as an attempt at genocide. The more horrible the account, the more readily believed it was by the English; later massacres of the Irish were excused as revenge for the Ulster atrocities. In England the accounts of the massacres were magnified in order to justify severe measures against Roman Catholics. Ignorant people were persuaded by ranting preachers that "the wild Irish were upon them, and were in hourly fear that the Ulster fury would begin at Bradford and Halifax."<sup>109</sup>

The Rising of 1641 was confined initially to Ulster, where the largest percentage of atrocities occurred. English propagandists, however, painted all the Irish with the bloody brush of massacre. Many English, even the most educated, blamed all the Irish for the murders committed by a few and demanded swift and final revenge. Oliver Cromwell, deeply affected by the rebellion and the ensuing accounts of survivors, developed an abiding hatred for Ireland that would explode in senseless violence in 1649. Cromwell's desire for revenge clouded his judgement and allowed him to let his forces perpetrate worse atrocities than the Irish.

## Chapter 4

So why then did a provincial uprising in Ireland create such fear and hatred among such a large segment of the English nation, and why did Oliver Cromwell resort to such violence in suppressing the revolt?

The answer to the first question lies deep within the English psyche, and only by trying to understand the English can we hope to explain why they acted the way they did. Ethnocentrism played a large part in creating the myth of English superiority over the Irish; just as it would in later years when the English came into contact with other native peoples. English ethnocentrism took many forms in their empire building and they always feigned a sense of superiority when they came into contact with native peoples. The English never could fathom why the Irish hated them and repaid their "kindness" with fire and blood. Add to the ethnocentrism a propaganda campaign that lasted for centuries and you have all the elements that created the disaster that occurred in Ireland in 1649.

When Gerald DeBarri began writing about Ireland in 1183, it is doubtful that he had any idea how much effect his works would have. His opinions and perceptions of the Irish became weapons in the hands of succeeding generations of Englishmen.



If DeBarri's writings had described the Irish simply as a backward and uncivilized people, his perceptions would have been accurate. The Irish were backward and uncivilized, compared to the English. But DeBarri's characterizations and descriptions, going far beyond simple misconceptions, left no doubt that he considered the Irish contemptible and no better than animals. DeBarri plain and simply wrote propaganda.

Later writers such as Rich, Moreyson, Holinshed, Campion, and Spenser expanded on DeBarri's propaganda and added a new dimension, characterizing the Irish as rebels and traitors. The Catholic/Protestant question created a new scope for the propagandist. Now the Irish were not only savages, but traitorous, idolatrous savages as well.

England's attitudes prevented any kind of harmonious relationship between the two countries. The English could never escape DeBarri's twelfth century view of the Irish, and if anything they enhanced it over the centuries. Fear and hatred were the stock and trade of the English government officials in Ireland, and greed for land made keeping the stereotype of the barbarous Irish all the more important. The religious problems of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries only exacerbated the tensions between England and Ireland.

As long as the English never strictly enforced their religious laws, the Irish could politely ignore them, but when the Puritans came to political power, everything came apart.

To the Puritans, religion and politics were one and the same, and any deviance was not only a religious threat, but a political one also. The Puritans characterized the Irish as not only savage and barbarous, but godless idolaters as well. Combine the general attitude of the English towards the Irish and add the anti-Catholic feelings of the Puritans, and an explosive situation is created. Cromwell's campaign was the explosion.

The campaign of Oliver Cromwell is still remembered in Ireland today; the name Cromwell is burned into the Irish soul, and the deep, abiding hatred for the English can be traced directly to Cromwell. Others came before and after Cromwell, but none, not even William of Orange, could elicit such raw passion as the memory of Cromwell. His campaign in Ireland was more reminiscent of a twelfth-century crusade than a seventeenth-century military campaign.

Cromwell was a man of his time; and the first half of the seventeenth century was a time of brutality and intolerance. The Thirty Years' War was as brutal and as costly as any war had ever been; large areas of Europe had been devastated and were in chaos, but England had been spared the depredations suffered by others. Even the English Civil War, though costly, had not affected large segments of the English population.

Oliver Cromwell's campaign was the culmination of nearly five hundred years of conflict between England and Ireland.

His savagery can only be explained in the light of his religious fanaticism and the pervasive English attitude towards the Irish. The irony of the situation is that Oliver Cromwell, that great Puritan, was in fact more of a savage than the people he killed. His race hatred and religious bigotry pushed him to commit, or allow others to commit, worse atrocities than the Irish were being blamed for.

Cromwell's explanation that the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford were God's retribution on the Irish clearly shows the depth of his religious fanaticism. Even in the heat of battle, slaughtering women and children goes beyond any kind of civilized conduct. The atrocities committed in Ulster in 1641 were the work of an undisciplined mob led by a bloodthirsty murderer, but the atrocities in 1649 were committed by, supposedly, the best disciplined army in Europe. The only possible explanation is that to the English mind, even Cromwell's, all Irish, regardless of age or gender, were cruel, savage, and enemies of England. This shows that the centuries of propaganda written about Ireland came to fruition in the atrocities committed by Cromwell's army

Even though Oliver Cromwell was the product of a violent and religiously bigoted century, he took his actions to new depths and created a hatred that has lasted for four hundred years. His cruelty and the governmental policies he initiated devastated Ireland and drove many from their native land. English colonial policy, even in India and Africa, was never

as harsh as that inflicted on the Irish. Only in North America would the treatment of the native peoples have the same malevolence as in Ireland. Cromwell's legacy, to both Ireland and England, was pain, misery, and a divided people, who, to this very day, slaughter each other in the name of God.

It is difficult to blame the average Englishman for his opinion of the Irish; he was ignorant of the truth, having been inculcated with negative propaganda that persisted from generation to generation. Having little or no contact with the Irish, he was bound to believe the information given him by respected writers.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary describes propaganda as "the spreading of ideas or information deliberately to further one's cause or damage an opposing cause." Using that as a frame of reference, DeBarri and later writer's works were propaganda. The English government promoted the propaganda and kept any fair view of the Irish from their people.

Propaganda is as deadly a weapon as cannon or sword, and its impact is farther reaching; the English government was a master at wielding this weapon.

APPENDIX A

LEVELLERS NEWSLETTER

Newsletter dated May 14, 1649, Cromwell details his campaign against the Levellers.

Right Honoured, this morning his excellency the Lord Generall Fairfax, and Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, rendezvouzed with their Horse and Foot neer Andover, where the Leiu. Gen. rode to the head of each regiment declaring, 'That he was resolved to live and die with them, and that as he had often engaged with them against the common Enemy of the Nation, so was he resolved still to persist therein, against those Revolters which are now called by the name of Levellers; not doubting but that they would as one man unite, and with unanimous spirits follow him, for the subduing of them, and bringing the chief Ring-leaders thereof to exemplany punishment.' Many declared a great willingness to engage with him: Others rejected it, saying that they would not fight against their friends: But they are now upon their march towards Salisbury, for the reducing and bringing of the Regiments to obedience and subjection that have declared against them: from whence wee hear, that they are resolved rather to die, than yeeld to anything which shall infringe their liberty, or pervert the freedom of their Nativity.

Many of the said party have agreed upon a Declaration, containing these enfining heads; First, they declare against the present Parl. and their proceedings. 2 Against the Councill of State. 3 Against the Generall Councill of the Army. And 4 against the proceedings of the late Court of Justice Their chief Ring-leader is one Capt. Thompson, who was formerly condemned by the Councill of War to be hagned, but by the goodnesse and compassion of the Lord Gen. he was spared: this is the man who draws all men after him, his number is conceived to be about 400, and in his march up and down hee daily gains newm Proselites to him: On Wednesday last he marcht to Ceventry, where he found ressitance, and the Gate shut against him, demanded as the Gates were so holy that he might not enter; and after the exchange of two or three Vollies, he left the place, and marched thence to Tossister, where coming in very late at night, he

siezed upon captain Farmer, the Postmaster there, who, after they had carryed him as a prisoner up and down with them, they were content to release him upon his Parol. Some blows have been already disputed neer Banbury between 100 of the Lord Gen. horse, and 200 of the Levellers, and after a sharpe conflict, the Levellers declining engagement retreated towards Oxford.

## APPENDIX B

### DROGHEDA DISPATCHES

The following are two letters concerning the battle for Drogheda and the ensuing carnage. The first is dated September 12, 1649, Published by one Robert Ibbitson of London and briefly outlines the siege and assault. The second is from Oliver Cromwell to Parliament detailing the successes of the Drogheda campaign

Sir, Our News from Ireland (God be thanked) is very good: On the 17th and 18th of August, there was little action, but waiting to heare of the rest of our Fleet, 19 being the Lords day, were spent in holy exercices; about six a clocke at night, they received the happy newes of the Arrivall of the rest of our Fleet; and Major Generall Ireton who had beene nine days at Sea, and the newes of Derry be relieved by Owen Roe.

The 20th was spent in landing the Forces that came with the second Fleet (the 21, and 22) were spent in refreshing and drenching of our poor horse almost starved at Sea. The 23 was a publick day of Thanksgiving kept for the late landing of our Forces, with a Proclamation, commanding the Magistrates of the Town and Officers of the Army, to suppress to the utmost of their power, swearing and drunkennesse. The 24 was spent in Councill and Court-Marshalls where divers persons were sentenced for misdemeanors; on the 25 was a generall Muster of the whole Army in two Greens near Dublin, the Horse and Dragoons at one Rendezvouze, and the Foot at the other, where the Lord Lieutenant, with Lieutenant Generall Jones, and divers other persons of quality went to view the Army.

The 26 being the Lords day, the forenoon was spent in publick exercises, and the afternoon the Lord Lieutenant, the Major Generall with divers other officers spent time in Prayer, and seeking Councill from God concerning their intended march on the week following. The 27 was spent in councill about their marching, & a Court-Marshall met, where a Cornet of Horse was cashiered for swearing, besides a Proclamation to protect the Country people from the violence of the Soldiers. The 28, 29, and 30th of August was spent in preparations to

march out against the Enemy. There were 1400 of those that were taken from Ormond that take up Armes now with the Lord Lieutenant and are of his Army.

On Septemb 1 the Army marched from Dublin, and upon their march divers came in to the Lord Lieutenant 6 or 8 or 10 in a day, and since they have come by a troop at a time, but some have lost their lives being discovered, some have fought it out being persued, and others have been executed by them. The 2 and 3 the lord Lieutenant with his Army marched to Drogheda, where Sir Arthur Ashton was Governour (that grand Papist which was once Governor of Oxford for the late King): And the Lord Moore was sent away to be tryed by a Court Marshall by Ormond and his Officers, upon some articles exhibited against him, & since reported, that he is condemned, and some say he is shot to death. The 4 and 5 some things passed between the Army and the Garrison, but we found nothing but a desperate madnesse in the besieged, so on the 6 and 7 we went on to plant our batteries and make approaches, as near to the town as we could.

The 8 and 9 we gained ground nearer upon them, and by that time had secured our quarters, and were in a good equipage, so that Sep. 10 we made shot against them, and did some execution upon the town near Church, on which day came 7 troops of the Lord Inchequeen, from the Naas, out of the County of Kildare, where Inchequeen was then burning and wasting of the country very much, but we were by them assured that there were divers that would come away from him if they could come safe to the Lord Lieutenant Cromwel. On the 11 came Mr. Peters with the last part of the forces resolved to storne Drogheda, as the next day, being September 12. On Septem: 12 being this present day, is newes come hither that their guns have been heard to play hard, and it is said here that we are entered Tredah, we are hourly expected the particulars."

Sir, Our Army being safely arrived at Dublin, and the Enemy endeavouring to draw all his Forces together about Trym and Tecrogham (as my Intelligence gave me); from whence endeavours were used by the Marquis of Ormond, to draw Owen Roe O Neal with his Forces to his Assistance, but with what success I cannot yet learn. I resolved after some refreshment taken for our weather beaten Men and Horses, and accommodations for a march, to take the Field; and accordingly upon Friday the Thirtieth of August last, Rendezvouzed with Eight Regiments of Foot, and Six of Horse, and some



Troops of Dragoons, three miles on the Northside of Dublin; the Design was, To endeavour the Regaining of Drogheda, or tempting the Enemy, upon his hazard of the loss of that place, to fight. Our Army came before the Town upon Munday following, where having pitched, as speedy course as we could be taken to frame our Batteries, which took up the more time, because divers of the Battering Guns were on Shipboard: Upon Munday the Ninth of this instant; the Batteries began to play; wherein I sent Sir Arthur Ashton the then Governour a Summons, To deliver the Town to the use of the Parliament of England; to the which I received no satisfactory Answer, but proceeded that day to beat down the Steeple of the Church on the Southside of the Town, and to beat down a Tower not far from the same place, which you will discern by the Card enclosed: Our Guns not being able to do much that day, It was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make Breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to Storm them: The places pitched upon, were that part of the Town wall next to a Church, called St. Maries; which was the rather chosen, because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that Church, we should be the better able to keep it against their Horse and Foot, until we could make way for the entrance of our Horse, which we did not conceive that any part of the Town would afford the like advantage for that purpose with this. The Batteries planted were two, one was for the part of the Wall against the East end of the said Church, the other against the Wall on the Southside; being somewhat long in Battering, the Enemy made six Retrenchments, three of them from the said Church to Duleek Gate, and three of them from the East end of the Church to the Town wall, and so backward. The Guns after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the Corner Tower, and opened two reasonable good Breaches in the East and South wall. Upon Tuesday the Tenth of the instant, about five of the clock in the evening, we began the Storm, and after some hot dispute, the enemy disputing it very stifly with us; and indeed through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat out of the Breach, not without some considerable loss; Colonel Cassel being shot in the Head, whereof he presently dyed, and divers Soldiers and Officers doing their duty, killed and wounded: There was a Tenalia to flanker the Southwall of the Town, between Duleek Gate, and the Corner Tower before mentioned, which our men entered, wherein

they found some forty or fifty of the Enemy, which they put to the sword, and this they held; but it being without Wall, and the Sally part through the Wall into the Tenalia being choaked up, with some of the Enemy which were killed in it, it proved of no use for our entrance into the Town that way. Although our men that stormed the Breaches were forced to recoil as before is expressed, yet being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt, wherein God was pleased to animate them, that they got ground of the Enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his Entrenchments; and after a very hot dispute, the Enemy having both Horse and Foot, and we onely Foot within the Wall, the Enemy gave ground, and our men became masters; but of their Retrenchments and the Church, which indeed although they made our entrance more difficult, yet they proved of excellent use to it, so that the Enemy could not annoy us with their Horse, but thereby we had advantages to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own Horse, which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty; the Enemy retreated divers of them into the Mill-Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being high, having a good graft and strongly Pallisadoed; the Governour Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the Sword; and indeed being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in Arms in the Town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men, divers of the Officers and Soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the Town, where about One hundred of them possessed St. Peters Church Stepple, some the West Gate, and others, a round strong Tower next the Gate, called St. Sundays: These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused; whereupon I ordered the Stepple of St. Peters Church to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames, God damn me, God confound me, I burn, I burn; the next day the other two Towers were summoned, in one of which was six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set onely good Guards to secure them from running away, until their stomacks were come down: from one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men; when they submitted; their Officers were knockt on the head, and every tenth man of the Soldiers

killed, and the rest Shipped for the Barbadoes; the Soldiers in the other Town were spared, as their lives onely, and Shipped likewise for the Barbadoes. I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these Barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds for such Actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The Officers and Soldiers of this Garrison, were the flower of all their Army; and their great expectation was, That our attempting this place, would put fair to ruine us; they being confident of the Resolution of their men and the advantages of this place; if we had divided our Forces into two quarters, to have besieged the North Town and the South Town, we could not have had such a correspondency between the two parts of our Army, but that they might have chosen to have brought their Army, and have fought with which part they pleased, and at the same time have made a Salley with two thousand men upon us, and have left their Walls manned, they having in the Town the numbers specified in the enclosed, but some say near Four thousand. Since this great Mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a Party of Horse and Dragoons to Dundalk, which the Enemy quitted, and we are possessed of; as also another Castle they deserted between Trym and Drogheda, upon the Boynes. I sent a Party of Horse and Dragoons to a House within five miles of Trym, there being then in Trym some Scots Companies which the Lord of Ardes brought to assist the Lord of Ormond; but upon the News of Drogheda they ran away, leaving their great Guns behinde them, which we also have possessd. And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought; It was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power, or might, but by the Spirit of God; and is not so clear: That which caused our men to Storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men Courage, and took it away again, and gave the Enemy Courage, and took it away again, and gave our men Courage again, and therefore this happy Sussess; and therefore it is good that God alone have all the Glory. It is remarkable, that these people at the first set up the Mass in some places of the Town that had been Monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent, that the Lords day before the Storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church, called St. Peters, and they held a publique Mass there; and in

this very place near One thousand of them were put to the Sword, flying thither for safety: I believe all their Fryers were knockt on the head promiscuously, but two, one of which was Father Taaff (Brother to the Lord Taaff) whom the Soldiers took the next day, and made an end of; the other was taken in the Round Tower, under repute of Lieutenant, and when he understood that the Officers of the Tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a Fryer, but that did not save him. A great deal of loss in this business, fell upon Col. Hewson, Col. Cassel, and Col. Ewers Regiments; Colonel Ewers having two Field-Officers in his Regiment shot, Colonel Cassel and a Captain of his Regiment slain, Colonel Hewsons Captain-Lieutenant slain; I do not think we lost One hundred men upon the place, though many were wounded. I most humbly pray, the Parlaiment will be pleased this Army may be maintained, and that a consideration may be had here, as may give a speedy issue to this work, to which there seems to be marvellous fair opportunity offered by God. And although it may seem very chargeable to the State of England to maintain so great a Force, yet surely to stretch a little for the present, in following Gods Providence, in hope the charge will not be long, I trust it will not be thought by any (that have not irreconcilable or malicious Principles) unfit for me to move for a constant supply, which in human probability, as to outward means, is most likely to hasten and perfect this work; and indeed, if God please to finish it here, as he hath done in England, the War is like to pay it self. We keep the Field much, our Tents sheltering us from the wet and cold, but yet the Country sickness ovtakes many, and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh Regiments of Foot may be sent us; for it is easily conceived by what the Garrisons already drink up, what our Field Army will come to, if God shall give more Garrisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

Your most humble  
 Servant,  
 O. Cromwel.

APPENDIX C

DUBLIN LETTER

In a letter dated October 27, 1641, an English gentleman of Dublin relates to a friend in England the atrocities committed by the Irish in Ulster:

There was on Friday last a cruell plot of Treason discovered, as great as the Gun-Powder Treason, my Lord Matquers, and divers others taken and imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin, my Lord Lenricole came to this Town on Monday night, and is suspected, he is privately layd for, They plotted to surprize the Castle of Dublin on Sunday last in the evening at Prayer time; and to have killed the Warders and possessed themselves of the King's store, and then to have mastered the English, but God prevented their bloody intentions, the Rebels have done much hurt in the North part of Ireland, they have burned Armagh, Longnall, the Neuery, and seeke to make away with Lord Marre, but he escaped them to Tredath, they have burned Dundalke, they massacred the English in those parts, men, women, and children, my Lord Blaney fled to this towne, but they have taken his Castles and all that belongs to him, with his Lady and children, this city is all up in Armes, and all from 16 to 60 are warned to be in readinesse, there was two Merchants in Christ Church-yard killed by the Rebels, last Munday Mr. Champion and Mr. Hayward. I heard today that the Lord Burlasses Troope will bring twelve of the Rebels that they have taken, The Neuery is taken and Dundalke is beaten down, they have lately killed one Mr. Iremanger, Attorney of the King's Bench, Belterbat is taken for certain, all being inhabited with English, they yeilded upon composition, the Rebels are 5000 strong, whereof 2000 are armed with the Armes they tooke forth of the Neuery.<sup>110</sup>

A letter dated November 1, 1641, supposedly recounts the plot to capture Dublin Castle and the whole scheme of the uprising:

The Letter beares date the twenty third of October, 1641, declaring that Hugh Ocoreit went to Dublin onto the lodgings of Hugh Muymashane his very good friend, and he and his friend going to the lodgings of the Lord Marques, understood great store of Noble men and strangers had been there, but they were all gone abroad, and they could not find them, wherefore they returned backe againe to his friends lodgings, where his friend revealed unto him the whole Plot; but swore unto him he should not stire till it was put into execution, and therefore hid friend commanded his servents to looke narrowly to him: but after a while he fained some excuse of necessity for his going downe, which his friend gave way, but sent his servents with him: when he was come downe, the servents not being so carefull to watch him as they might have been, he leaped over a wall, and went to Sir John Burley, and discovered to him the whole Plot, which was this: That at nine of the Clocke the next morning, the Irish Rebels (among whom the Lord Marques was one of the chiefs) intended at one hower and moment of time, to massacre and murder all the English and Protestants in the Kingdome of Ireland, likewise to murder the two Lord chiefe Justices, and all the privy councill at Dublin, and at the same time, to seaze upon all the Kings Castles, Forts, and Magazens throughout the whole Kingdome of Ireland, as also the Castle of Dublin, and that if they should finde any of the Citie that would not submit to them, then they would shoote downe from the Castle, the tops of the Chimneys to afright them, and if that did not prevaile, thay would than batter downe their houses about their eares.<sup>111</sup>

## APPENDIX D

## PARLIAMENTARY DISPATCH

On November 27, 1641, the Irish Parliament sent a plea to the English Parliament requesting aid in putting down the rebellion:

A Remonstrance from Ireland. Right Honourable, May your Honours be pleased to look upon our sad condition and relieve us, the event whereof God knowes what it may bee. There is a way, Right Honourable, whereby there is great hopes to quell the rebels amongst us without great cost or trouble, in comparison of maintaining armes to goe out against them. 1. That every towne be furnisht with men and armes within, and strongly fortified about, & made as able to defend it selfe by honest Protestants against the rebels, as possibly can be attained unto. 2. That all beasts and cattle, poultry, and all other victuals whatsoever, be brought either into, or neares the said townes; so that the rebels cannot come at them without great danger of their lives. 3. That Proclamations be sent forth by the Kings Majesty, with Declaration of pardon to those who shall come in and submit themselves, and be found truly penitent, and be converted to the protestant religion, protesting against all popery and popish Innovations. 4. That Proclamations be sent forth by the Kings Majesty, declaring that whosoever, though of the rebels that shall bring the head of his fellow rebel to the Officers of State, shall upon his submission be pardoned and rewarded with a certaine sum of money, or promoted to respect and honour; especially in case they bring the head or heads of some notorious and chiefe of the Ring-leaders of the Rebels. This may prove, right honourable, by Gods help the speediest redresse of our grievances; for whilst some are pined with want, food being kept from them, and others with feare and terrour of this course(as may be expected) will very probably be forced to returne; others for reward and dignity will as all Papists(for the most part) use to doe lay hands one upon the other, and even cut one anothers throats, and so even of the rebels themselves shall the murhterers one of another; and so the Kings

Najesties faithfull protestants subjects who have not revolted; be in lesse danger, fewer lives lost, and the whole Kingdome sooner brought under subjegation.<sup>112</sup>

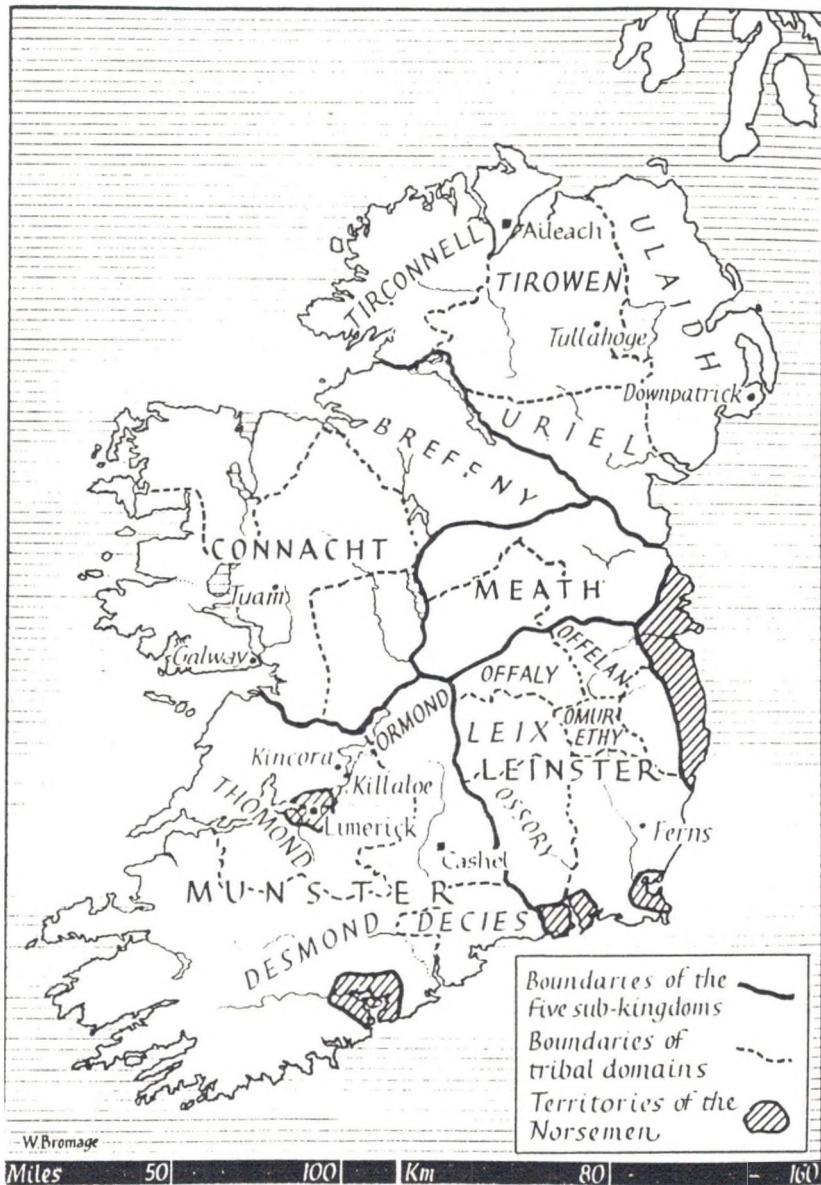


## APPENDIX E

James Salmon's letter concerning the atrocities committed by the Irish in Ulster in 1641.

The Lord Deputy Wentworth (in his life-time) disarmed the subjects there. There was a proclamation set forth by him at the Parliament in Ireland; that neither English nor Irish, should sell or keep in their houses any powder, upon the losse goods and life; neither any Armes whatsoever; save onely what is allowed, and to be had with leave from the Kings Store-house in Dublin, pretending thereby to keepe the Natives under, and to prevent such mischiefes as might arise, if they were not thus curbed, and kept downe. The first rising was in the County of Farmanah, the Lord Maquare being the chiefe Agent in their rebellion, who lived about 3 miles from Belturbit Northward, toward Eniskillen, which Lord Maquare is since taken, and now prisoner in the Castle at Dublin, he is of the bloud of the great Traytor, Maquare the Generall of Terhones Army, that great Rebelle of Queene Elizabeth. The first morning which was of their rising, was suspected from the words of one Daniell Caton of Mountragh, which was to this effect; that the times were better when the strongest men had most, and that he (being a great Irish papist) did hope to see of so againe ere long; whereupon he was examined by Mr. Ulmstid, Minister of the said Mountragh, and Justice of the peace for the County, and by him committed to prison, till the next Sizes; at which time he was censured to stand in the pillory, which he did at the Fortresse in the Market Square, which hee would not confess any thing; onely what was gathered upon comestures. And now have the Rebels camped themselves, rising in rebellion, to doe what they can to ruin the Protestants in that Kingdome. They rose in the night, and marched towards Belturbit with a running Camp, which they took and also the Ladie Butlers Castle, where she and her children were; but (by the providence of God) made an escape, and got away. Mr. Rodes the Minister with some other also made an escape; and fled into a wood neare the said Castle, and there hid themselves, and the rest of the English remaining in the towne, were forced to yield it up to the Rebels. Others of the Rebels marched to Armagh the same night; for

they are a running Camp scattered up and downe the Country, which Towne they presently tooke, and burned the same night also, which was a Towne full of rich Marchants, both English and Scottish, whom they murdered in a most cruell and bloody manner, with their wive and children; first deflowering many women, then cruelly murdering them, and pulling them about the street by the haire of the head, and dashing their childrens brains out against the posts and stones in the street, and tossing their children upon pikes, and so running with them from place to place, saying that those were the pigs of the English forts. In like manner have they dealt with the Inhabitants at Logal, a town five mile from the said Armagh, an English Plantation. There came some of the Rebels to the house of one Mr. Treadwill of Kildmurrey in the night, who broke in violently unto him, and would have killed all that were in the house, but that one of their own company called Bryan of Demsbie, a base son to the Earle of Claumelero, that he had by his own daughter, by whole perswassion, the rest of the rebels were perswaded not to kill them, but yet they were very cruell to him; for they tooke him, and stript him naked and bound his hands behind him, & so set him upon a little narrow bridge, or rather a post crosse a brook, where they left him; till it pleased God he was afterwards relieved; and it pleased God, that some of them were taken, and Bryan of Demsbie is now in prison at the Fortresse. But Mr. Treadwill was faine to remove to Dublin, who dare not adventure to live in Kildmurrey during this their rebellion, which God in his good time grant to cease.<sup>113</sup>



Twelfth Century Ireland

Figure 1

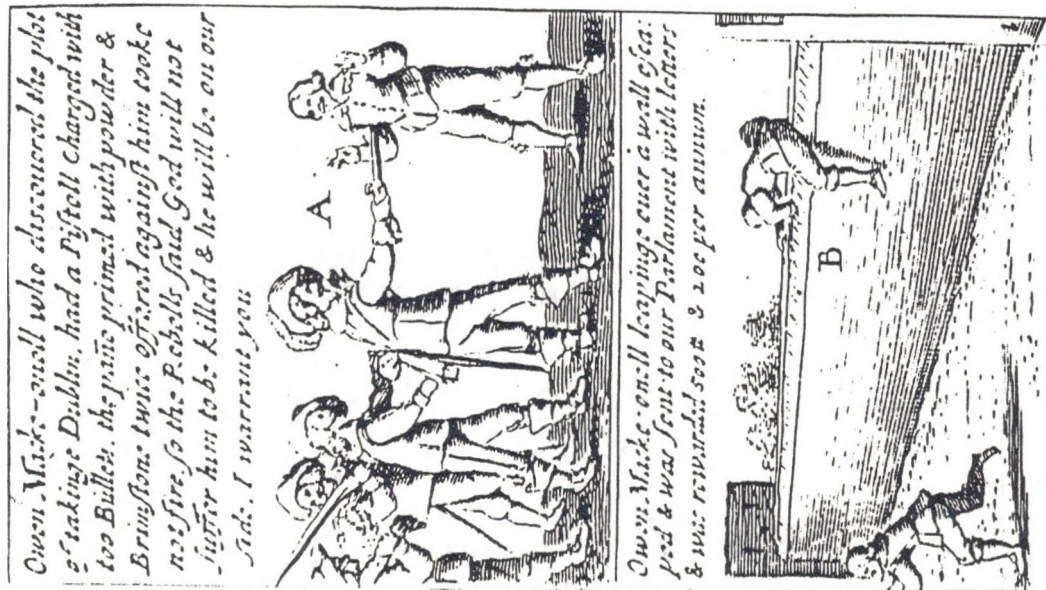


Figure 2

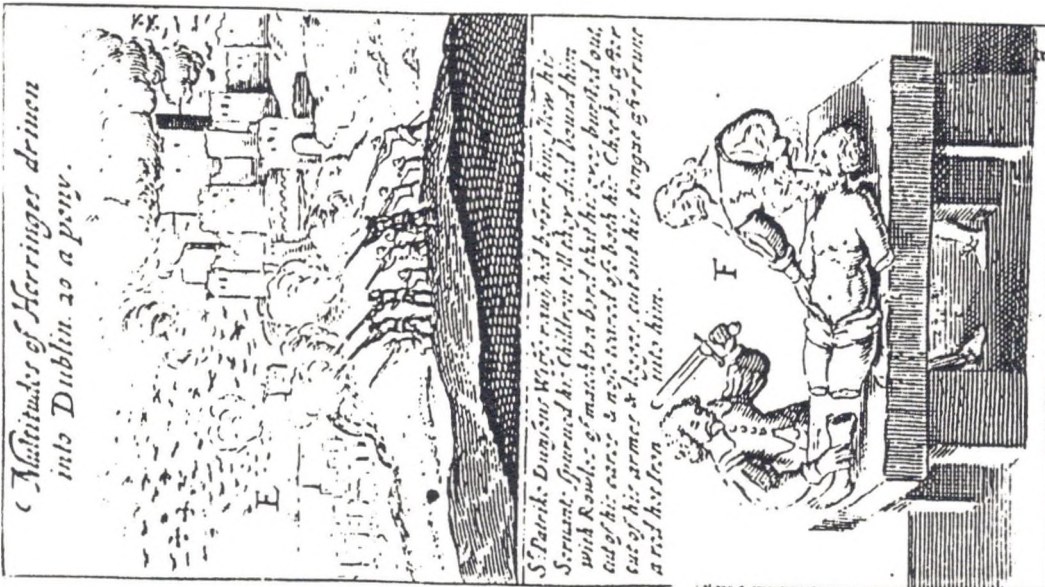
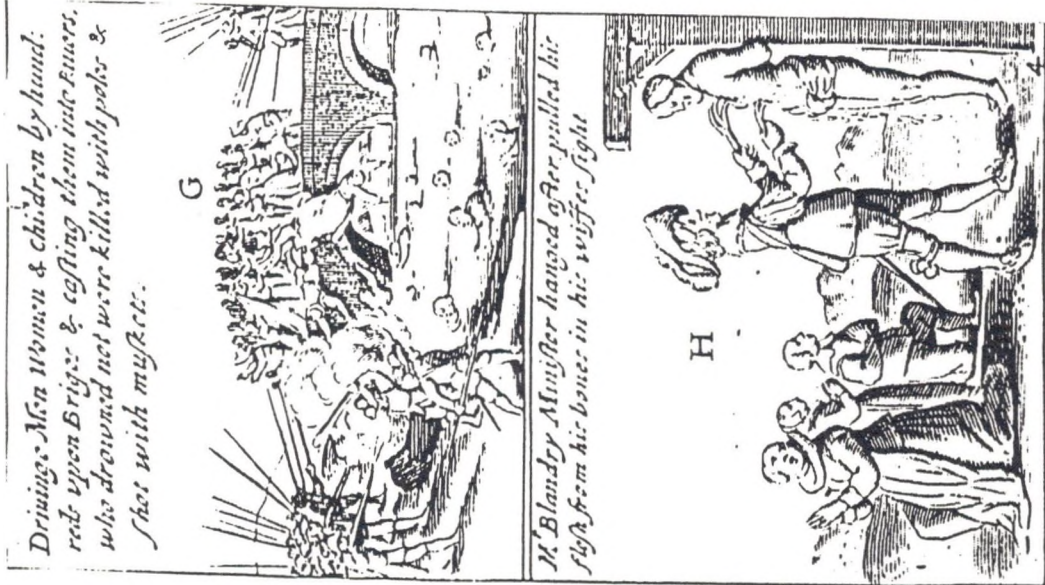
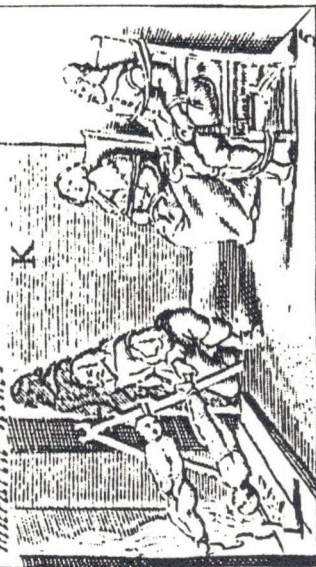


Figure 3

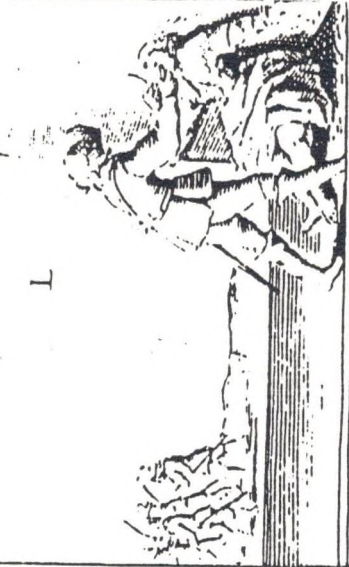
The Lerr! Blayy force ' to ride 14 miles with-  
out Dralls or Saddle ' saw his life, his Lady  
lodged in Swave being allowed 2 a day  
to relese her & her Children. Stew a hawman  
of hers and hanged him up before her face.  
2 days telling her she must expect the  
same to be visie her the moort.



Al' Daucuant and his Wife bound in their  
Chaires Striped the 2 Eldest Children of  
yours old rested upon Spittes before their  
Parents faces Cutt their throes and after  
murderd him.



Arthur Robinson daughter 17 years old the  
Robble bound her arms: a brand, discovered  
her one of her an other, till they sufficed her then  
pulled the horse from her hand and entered her  
trugue that she might not tell of their Cruelty:  
but she declared it by writing.



A Minglee and his wife came to Dublin in 30  
18 & left behind him some goods with a Jew:  
Jew's friend sent for them but could not be de-  
livered unless he or his Wife came for them:  
she came and presently they hanged her up.

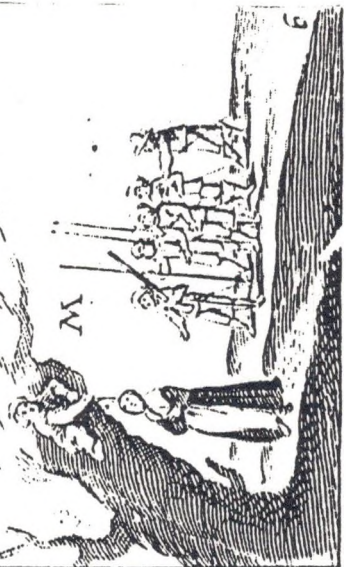


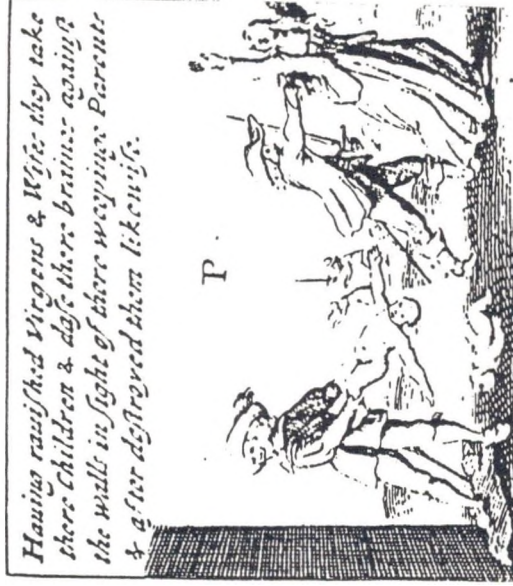
Figure 4



*At Forde howe ript, and to make her Conyffte  
where her mynne lay, they tooke her Conyffte  
clappinge them to the Soulder of her feete & to the  
Palme of her hande: so tormented her that  
with the paine thereof shee died.*



*They haue set men & women on hot Gridern:  
to make them Conyffte where there money was.*



*Having rauished Virgins & Wifes they take  
their Children & dye there brauer againe  
the wall in sight of their weeping Parents  
& a few destroyed them likewise.*



*At Jerome Minister of Bride: his Body  
mangled & his members cut of*

Figure 5

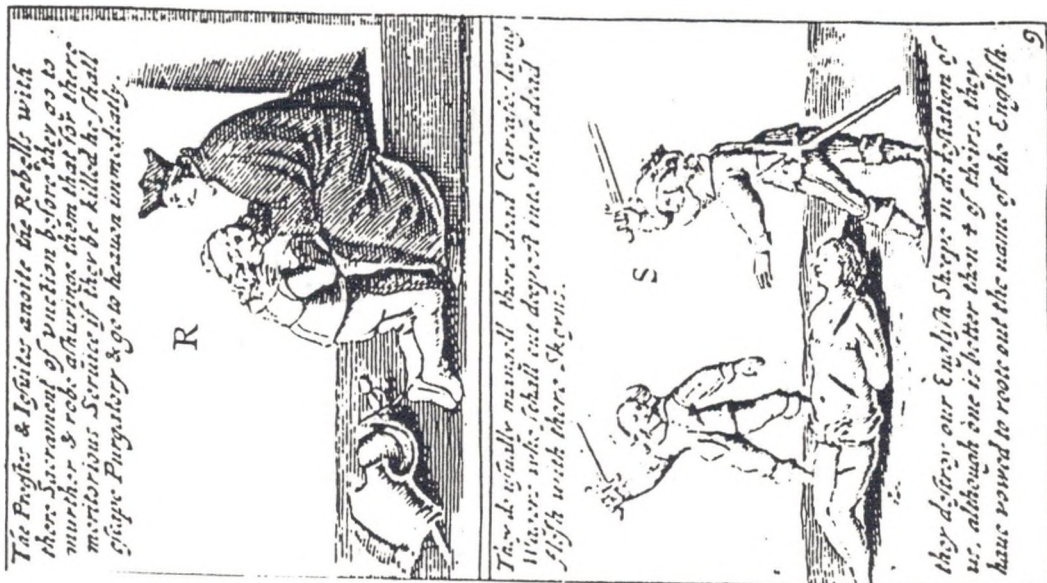
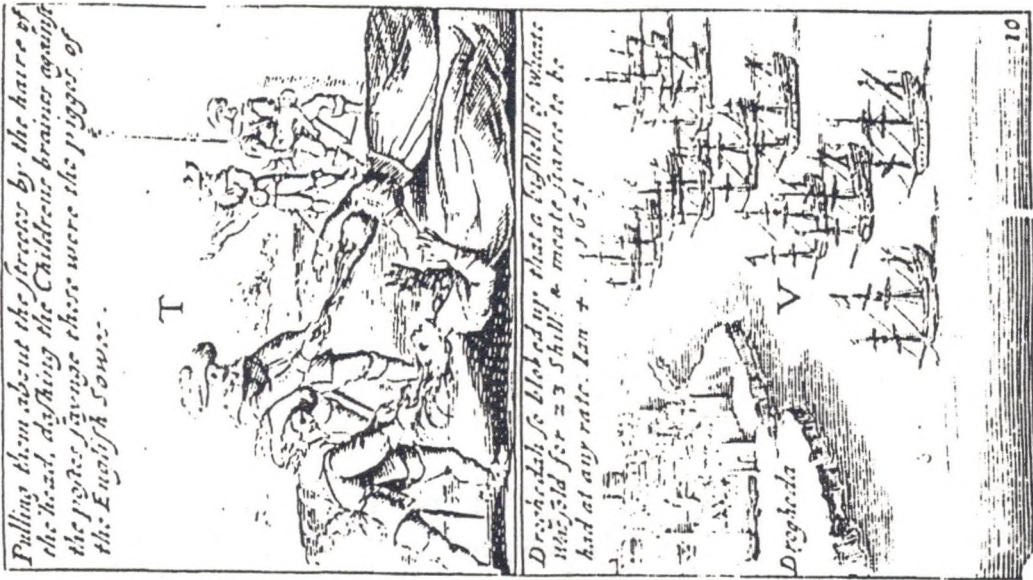


Figure 6



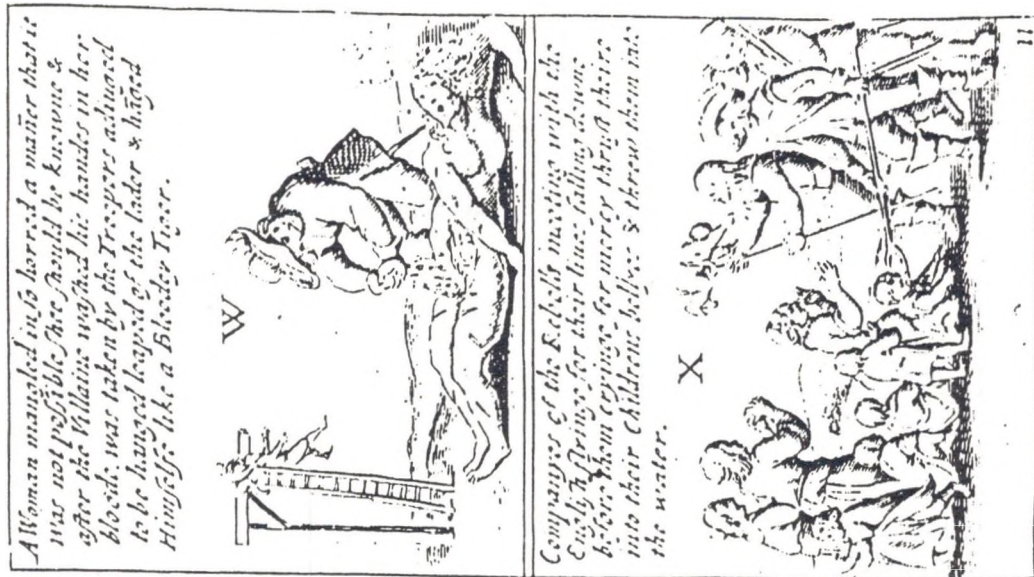
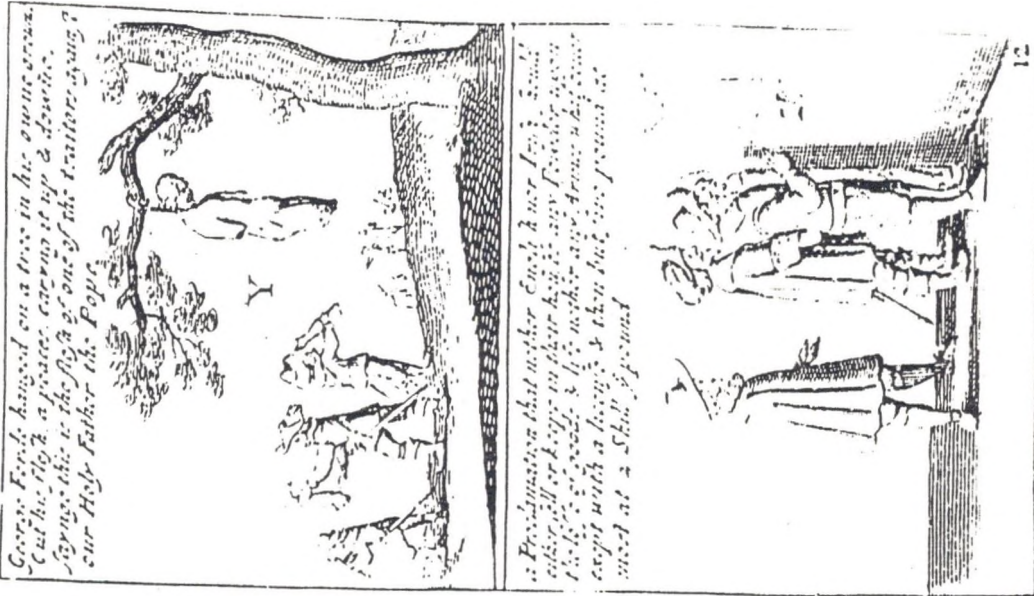


Figure 7

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74.Gwynn, 227.

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