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THE FALL FROM 'THEIR ANCIENT DIGNITIES': HOW THE OLD ENGLISH BECAME
IRISH FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ENGLAND

by

KATHARINE BEENE

Under the Direction of Jacob Selwood, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the struggle of the Old English to maintain their control in Ireland during an increasingly chaotic period. To understand this struggle for control this thesis examines the relationship between the English in England and the demographic groups in Ireland in the context of a rapidly changing society. Between the years of 1625 and 1660 the Old English lost control in Ireland and ceased to exist as a separate identity group. The English in England and the New English had a clear advantage in the fight for power and influence. In the end we see that the Old English, in their quest to maintain control and other themselves from the Gaelic Irish, created the language of their own demise. Once stereotypical language was created by the Old English elite it was utilized by the New English Protestants to justify the violence and reform movements of the 1650s.

INDEX WORDS: Gaelic Irish, Identity, Ireland, English Civil War, Irish Rebellion,
Charles

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KATHARINE BEENE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2018

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IRISH FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ENGLAND

by

KATHARINE BEENE

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December 2018

DEDICATION

I would like to thank Dan Martin for his unending patience during this process. He has been my constant support throughout my many late nights and has helped me during my periods of writer's block. I would also like to thank my parents Connie and Ralph Beene for their support. They have listened to my ideas and calmed me down when needed. Lastly, I would like to thank Peggy and Phil Martin for their support during this period, especially Peggy for acting as food runner during chaotic periods.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project Description

The identity of the Old English, settlers descended from the twelfth century Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, was greatly contested in the seventeenth century.¹ The Old English saw themselves as the ruling elite of Ireland and the keepers of honor and civility. The Gaelic Irish, those native to Ireland, saw the Old English as overlord or in some cases, kin. The Scottish, those settlers that came over with the Ulster Plantation schemes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, saw the Old English as neighbors and Catholics that needed to be converted to the proper faith.² The New English, settlers coming from England in hopes of better fortune, titles, and land, saw the Old English as papists responsible for the lack of civility of the Gaelic Irish and Ireland in general. These diverse groups fought to gain control of the policies in Ireland in the 1620s and 1630s until the eve of the Irish Rebellion of 1641. This fight

¹ Settlers from the 12th Century Norman- Anglo conquest of Ireland will be identified throughout this prospectus as Old English and the Irish people native to Ireland will be Gaelic Irish based up the practice of: Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), xi.

² For more information on plantation schemes see: Derek Hirst, *Dominion: England and Its Island Neighbours, 1500-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); For focus on the Elizabethan period, Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1976); For focus of early Stuart period: England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders and Conditions as are to be Observed by the Undertakers, Upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster* (London, 1608). For more on Scottish religion and the Reformation in Scotland see: Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Andrew T.N. Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent, and Diversity: The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015); Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

continued during the tumultuous 1640s and 1650s but the conflicts in both England and Ireland cast each demographic group in a new light.

This master's thesis seeks to find the leading opinions of the Old English, the ones that influenced policies and outcomes in Ireland during and after the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the English Civil War. It argues that the Old English, in an attempt to maintain their position and power, created the language of backwardness and depravity used against the Gaelic Irish, that was then turned against them to deplete their tenuous hold on power. This occurred through a gradual process of plantation schemes, absolutist policies and eventually rebellion and war and in turn influenced the policies implemented during the Interregnum, the period when there was no king in England but instead a Protectorate. These events and policies culminated with a view in England that the Old English and Gaelic Irish were no different from one another and were just Irish.

This thesis will attempt to answer how and why stereotype formation occurred, making the Old English the same as the 'meere Irish' from the viewpoint of England.³ In order to understand the impact this shift in Old English identity made, we must first understand stereotypes of the Gaelic Irish. What were the initial stereotypes and representations of the Irish being used by the English and Scottish? Why were these stereotypes formed? What shifts occurred that impacted the understandings of Old English identity? What were the policies enacted by Charles I and his deputies and what impact did they have on the Old English's group identity? What impact did these

³ 'Meere Irish' is a term used throughout the period to describe those that are Gaelic Irish. They were seen as inferior to those in England. For an example of this in context see: England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders and Conditions as are to be Observed by the Undertakers*, (London, 1608), Sig.B3 v.

policies have on the actions of the Old English and Gaelic Irish? What were the specific events that acted as catalysts for these changes? What impact did the new stereotype have on policies of the Interregnum?

This thesis will use cheap print to answer these questions, in doing so uncovering the process of identity formation. It will argue that the Old English's attempts to distance themselves from the Gaelic Irish backfired and created the language that was then turned against them by the Scottish and New English settlers in Ireland as well as the English Parliament. This was exacerbated by the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the events of the English Civil War, culminating in the forced migration and reform policies of the Interregnum period. By this period the Old English had been thoroughly changed from the elite rulers of Ireland to 'meere Irish' by those in England. It did not matter whether a person had ancient English blood lines or ancient Irish, all that mattered was the religion a person practiced, where a person lived, and the loyalty the person showed to the new Republic.⁴ The events explored in this thesis set the groundwork for English and Irish interactions for many years.

By the end of the period studied in this thesis land ownership in Ireland had shifted, forced migration under an indentured servitude model had been implemented, and governmental policies towards Ireland had become more centralized.⁵ The shift in

⁴ Issues of Irishness and Englishness appear many times during the period addressed in this thesis. For a longer view of this shift see, Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533- 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour*; Collin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁵ Alison Games, "Ireland, 1649-1660," in *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 255- 287.

land ownership from Catholic to Protestant created a Protestant Ascendancy which now largely controlled the Irish Parliament and enacted any policy put forward by England. Policies of forced migration, while not entirely implemented as planned, intensified the struggle for control in Ireland. These migration plans also increased the number of indentured servants shipped to the colonies. This increase in 'Irish' indentured servants changed the social and cultural makeup of the colonies.⁶ Governmental policies towards Ireland and England's colonies also shifted during this period. While the restoration of Charles II to the throne of England did bring back the monarchy, many of the policies implemented during the Interregnum remained in place. This is especially true of the governmental control over Ireland and the New World.⁷

Shifts in Old English identity left an unstable foundation for further policy changes in Ireland. The loss of the Old English elites as a bridge between Gaelic Irish culture and New English culture created a power vacuum filled with violent conquest and suppression of the Catholic Irish. This impacted both the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and later rebel movements. By joining the Confederacy of Kilkenny, the confederacy formed after the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the Old English acted as a catalyst for their own fall from power. The impact of this influenced the

⁶ For more information on the Irish impact on the Atlantic World see: David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2010); Donald Harman Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); Hilary McD. Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); and Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans and the Construction of Difference* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2013).

⁷ Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

policies under Cromwell and eventually Charles II. These policies widened the gap between the Irish and English and impacted relations for years to come.

1.2 Historiographical Review

This thesis joins two main historiographical debates to show the evolution of Old English identity. The first studies Old English identity formation and interactions of the Old English in Ireland with the New English and England in general. The second examines print culture in England and the impact it had on political thinking, identity formation, and the events of the Irish Rebellion and the English Civil War. By tracing these two historical debates together this thesis will argue that print had an important impact on the formation of Old English identity.

The first debate explored is about the Old English and their identity formation. There have been many important studies on this topic but Aiden Clarke's *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* is arguably the first foray into this field. In this work Clarke traces the alienation of the political and social elite of Catholic Ireland from Charles I. He was one of the first to use prosopography in this context to trace the interconnectedness of Irish society.⁸ This work is continuously referenced in the field of Old English identity studies, even today.

Once Clarke laid the foundations of this field many scholars took his ideas and began to apply them to other periods of English and Irish interactions. Nicholas Canny and Patrick Little represent this approach by examining the Old English through the context of Elizabethan and early Stuart colonization and civilizing schemes. Nicholas

⁸ Aiden Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966).

Canny claimed that the integrationist tendencies of earlier scholars overlooked the vast differences between the demographic groups in Ireland.⁹ Patrick Little, on the other hand, saw the integration of Old English and New English families as part of the colonization and civilizing missions. In his article, "The Geraldine Ambitions of the First Earl of Cork," Little demonstrates the successful integration of New English families with Old English families.¹⁰ The argument throughout this article was that the New English families did not embrace Gaelic customs but instead married into Old English families for prestige, status and as a way to re-civilize them.

More recent historical debates have examined the Old English as a group that needs to be seen in context with the rest of the British Isles. Brendan Kane's *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* does not separate the elite Old English from the elite Gaelic Irish or New English.¹¹ Instead he argues that the social and cultural practices of these elite groups was more similar than previously believed and that it is not until the reign of Charles I that we begin to see large discrepancies. Steven Ellis examines this interaction during the Tudor period, setting the groundwork for interactions in the Stuart period and later.¹² He argues that the Tudor consolidation of power ended the elite Gaelic and Old English hold on power, especially that of the Marcher Lords in Ireland.

⁹ Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650" in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650*, ed. K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978).

¹⁰ Patrick Little, "The Geraldine Ambitions of the First Earl of Cork," *Irish Historical Studies* 33, no. 130 (2002): 151-168.

¹¹ Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour*.

¹² Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Ireland* (New York, 1998) and *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford, 1995).

The more recent trends of interaction between Scotland, England and Ireland as well as the interactions between these different social groups can be seen in Ireland during the period that this project focuses on. It is my goal to show how the actions of one country affected the outcome of identity formation in other countries. While my research examines the period following many of these works, the themes, arguments and methods used by these previous scholars provide the necessary foundation for my argument. These works will allow me to examine the social and cultural occurrences which are necessary to argue that Old English as a separate identity group disappears by the 1660s.

The second debate explored throughout this thesis is 'print culture' in England and Ireland during the late sixteenth and seventeenth century.¹³ The foundation of this area of study comes from the many works of Cyprian Blagden, the foremost expert on the Stationer's Company.¹⁴ His works cover different parts of the history of the Stationer's Company from 1403-1959. While his works explained the development of the Stationer's Company and provided useful information it rarely showed the effect of print on English culture. Many later works in this field have been greatly influenced by Blagden's work.

Literacy rates form a central focus of the argument of this thesis. Even if there was a print revolution occurring the rate of print matters little if people cannot read.

¹³ 'Print culture' as defined by Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

¹⁴ Cyprian Blagden, "The English Stock of the Stationers' Company: An Account of its Origins," *The Library* 5th ser., x, no. 3 (1955): 163-185; "The English Stock of the Stationers' Company in the Time of the Stuarts," *The Library*, 5th ser., xii, no. 3 (1957): 167-186; "The Stationers' Company in the Civil War Period," *The Library*, 5th ser., xiii, no.1 (1958):1-17; *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960).

Many studies have sought to uncover the literacy rates for all levels of society with both cultural and economic focuses. David Cressy's *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* examines literacy rates throughout England in order to uncover the 'dimension and value of literacy in pre-industrial England.'¹⁵ Mary Pollard's *Dublin's Trade in Books, 1550-1800* examines the book trade in Ireland, especially the origins of printing and the rapid increase in the book trade during the eighteenth century.¹⁶

With the emergence of studies about literacy rates came a need to examine how items were selected for print and how these items were read by the population of England. Censorship practices became a central focus and relied heavily on the groundwork Blagden had already achieved. Robin Myers and Michael Harris influenced studies on censorship of print by using a two-country model in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910*.¹⁷ This collection of essays covers everything from "State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice" to absolutism in France.¹⁸ Studies on reading examined how early modern people read the items which were being printed. *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* by Raymond Gillespie examines the conquest of Ireland but more importantly he uses the history of reading as a basis for his argument.¹⁹

¹⁵ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), ix.

¹⁶ Mary Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books, 1550-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

¹⁷ Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992).

¹⁸ Shelia Lambert, "State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: The Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640," in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), 1-32.

¹⁹ Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Once studies had explored what was being printed and how it was being read there was a need to focus on cheap print. This is an important aspect of the historiography for the purpose of this thesis. The printing and spread of cheap print was what influenced the development of identity. Joad Raymond, an English literature professor, has done extensive work on the rise of news books, pamphlets, cheap print and the beginnings of newspapers.²⁰ Furthermore, Tessa Watt's, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, examines the use of cheap print as a way to disseminate Protestant ideals to a large portion of the population of England.²¹

These works on 'print culture' will give this thesis a framework in which to consider how and why the primary sources would have been printed, read, interpreted and sold during the period studied. The rapid increase in printed materials after the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 means a rapid spread of information about the rebellion. This combined with the conflicts evolving in England would have a profound impact on the formation of Old English identity.

This thesis will combine the trends of these historiographies to argue that Old English identity underwent a drastic change between 1625 and 1660. First the period between 1625 and 1641 saw the alienation of the Old English due to the policies of Charles I and Thomas Wentworth. It also saw their attempt to differentiate themselves from the Gaelic Irish population. The next period between 1641 and 1649 saw a

²⁰ Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); (ed.) *News Networks in Seventeenth-century Britain and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2006); (ed.) *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²¹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

gradual shift in Old English stereotype formation with the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641. This rebellion forced the Old English to choose between royalist loyalties and their Catholic faith. This choice was made easier by the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish propaganda being printed in England. By the time of John Temple's, *The Irish Rebellion*, the Old English had lost their English identity according to the English but had not become Gaelic Irish. It took the policies and practices of the Interregnum to complete the process of identity loss, turning the Old English into Irish.

1.3 Method and Theory

One of the major theoretical issues that this thesis needs to address is the process of identity formation. Many psychological studies examine the process of identity formation and the emergence of group identity. One of the ways I will approach the transformation of Old English identity is to use the article "A Narrative Approach to the Role of Others in Ethnic Identity Formation."²² This article uses social scientific approaches to examine the effect others have on the self-imposed identity formation of different ethnic groups. The English of the early modern period saw the Gaelic Irish as ethnically different from them. This study argues that ethnic identity formation is an interactive process which requires multiple groups. Contrast and comparison act as catalyst in identity formation. These ideas and methods can be applied to both the Old English's view of themselves, as well as the view of the Old English in England.

Furthering the ideas above, *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe* allows for a methodological examination of identity

²² Ylva Svensson and Jesper Berne, "A Narrative Approach to the Role of Others in Ethnic Identity Formation," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 24, no. 2 (2018): 187-195.

and identification development during the period examined in this thesis.²³ According to this work identity is not what one believes of oneself but what is assigned to an individual or group by governmental and elite policies. The identity of a person or a group comes from others, not themselves. This is an important concept for the understanding of identity transformation. As this thesis will argue the Old English were not successful in establishing their own identity but others were successful in creating an identity for the Old English.

We must examine theories and methodologies concerning print to fully understand the impact of cheap print materials and newsbooks. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* gives this thesis a theoretical framework for how to understand print.²⁴ According to Febvre and Martin, the printed book "was one of the most potent agents at the disposal of western civilization in bringing together the scattered ideas of representative thinkers."²⁵ This concept of the radical and rapid changes that printed material can have on social and cultural events is essential to the argument of this thesis. This work is furthered by the methodology found in Elizabeth Eisenstein's work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.²⁶ The concept of a communication revolution occurring because of the invention of printing pertains directly to the rise of newsbooks and the spread of cheap

²³ Valentin Groebner, *Who Are You? Identification, deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

²⁴ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* (New York: Verso, 1976).

²⁵ Febvre and Martin, 10.

²⁶ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

print. This spread influenced the development of ideas towards different identity groups and cultural shifts that caused conflicts between these groups.

While the concepts presented in Febvre and Martin and Eisenstein's works have an important place in this study, it is important to remember that print developed differently in England than on the continent. Adrian Johns's *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* addresses this concern.²⁷ John's work, while not directly related to the printed material used in this thesis, does introduce important understandings of the differences between continental and English patterns when addressing print. The role of the Stationers' Company in England is an important feature of this thesis because the controls instated by the company and the success of these controls impacted the flow of print material.

Theories about reading also must be examined to understand the impact of cheap print on social and cultural events. Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo's work *A History of Reading in the West* examines reading practices throughout the western world from ancient times to the seventeenth century.²⁸ While print is a central focus of this thesis, reading is an incredibly important aspect because of the variable literacy rates in early modern society. Theories about reading help to explain the rapid spread of ideas throughout England despite the lower literacy rates.

James Paul Gee's, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* offers a brief and effective overview of how to examine the specific language used in

²⁷ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

²⁸ Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).

print to differentiate identity groups.²⁹ Discourse analysis allows for a sociopsychological study of how people interpret events and those that are different from them. In the primary documents pertaining to the Irish Rebellion of 1641 there are differences in the language used to describe the Gaelic Irish Confederates, the Old English, and the Protestant New English. By analyzing these differences, we will be able to come to a better understanding of stereotype formation and the 'othering' of different demographic groups.

The last chapter will use Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony. The policies and reforms in Ireland during the Interregnum years changed the land tenure, language usage, and many other cultural aspects. This fits into Gramsci's notions of cultural hegemony, the domination of one group over the other through ideological and cultural means.³⁰ Gaelic language was slowly replaced by English from this point forward. Cromwellian reforms also attempted to change religious practices in Ireland. Protestant reforms and penal laws pushed Catholics out of the remaining offices of power they still held. Forced migration changed land tenure, which in turn shifted the balance of cultural and political control in the Irish Parliament and other offices of power. These shifts changed social and cultural trends in Ireland and its impact lasted for an extended period.

²⁹ James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (London: Routledge, 2014).

³⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

1.4 Primary Sources

Early English Books Online (EEBO) will be the main source used to gather primary documents. The pamphlets and broadsides printed between 1625 and 1660 will offer insight into the cheap print culture in early modern England, especially in relation to understandings of identity. Pamphlets like *A Bloody Battell: or the Rebels Overthrow and Protestant Victories* and *The Happiest News from Ireland* will offer understandings of language used to represent all sides of the conflict in Ireland.³¹ More specifically they will show the change in representations of the Old English and Gaelic Irish throughout the course of the Irish Rebellion.

On top of the sources available on EEBO, I will use Calendar of States Papers to study royal and parliamentary policies that affected events in England and Ireland, leading to the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion and the English Civil War. I will examine decisions about the dissolution of the Star Chamber, a court that controlled many of the censorship practices in early modern England, to help explain the sharp increase of printed materials in the 1640s.³² Calendar of State Papers will also be used for official understandings of the treason trial of Thomas Wentworth in 1641. It will also allow for a study of the governmental decisions made under Cromwell's tenure as Lord Protector.

These cheap print sources and official governmental records will also be put into conversation with literary works from each period. Edmund Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland* was published in 1633 during Charles I's rule although written initially

³¹ Anonymous, *A Bloody Battell: or the Rebels Overthrow and Protestant Victories* (London, 1641); Ulick Burke, *The Happiest News from Ireland* (London, 1641).

³² "Charles I, 1640: An Act for [the Regulating the Privie Councill and for taking away the Court commonly called the Star Chamber.," in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 110-112.

during Spenser's time in Ireland under Elizabeth I.³³ This work will be thoroughly studied for the language used about both the Gaelic Irish and the Old English. I will also analyze Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion*, published in 1646.³⁴ This work, published at the end of the first English Civil War and during the middle of the Irish Rebellion, interpreted the Gaelic Irish and Old English very differently than Spenser's work. Lastly, an analysis of William Petty's *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* will help to determine the position of Old English identity by the time of the Restoration.³⁵

These sources should give us a better understanding of identity formation during the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the English Civil War. Tracing identity formation and understanding through literary works and cheap print will show the impact of the 'othering' of the Old English at multiple levels of English society. It will also allow for the contextualization of laws and official policies enacted in Ireland at different points in the history studied in this thesis. These policies have a lasting effect on Irish-English interactions into the nineteenth century.

1.5 Chapter Description

While the chapters of my thesis will follow a chronological path, each chapter contains an important argument related to the transformation of Old English identity. This chronological format will cover the period between 1625, the beginning of Charles I's reign, and will end roughly with the Restoration of Charles II. Most events covered in these chapters will occur in Ireland, but the majority of the printed material will come from England, specifically London. This is because most printing presses were in

³³ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland* (London, 1633).

³⁴ John Temple, *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646).

³⁵ William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London, 1691).

London. This presents an interpretive issue for contextualization that will be addressed throughout the thesis, as mentioned previously.

In chapter two I will address the policies of Charles I and his lord deputy in Ireland, Thomas Wentworth, specifically why these policies were implemented and what impact the development of these policies had. I will argue that Charles I's sale of titles in Ireland and his attempts to raise money alienated the Old English and Gaelic Irish elite. It will also argue that the Old English, to regain some of their status, sought to distance themselves from the Gaelic Irish. This backfired and gave the New English the language necessary to discriminate against both the Old English and Gaelic Irish.

Charles I's sale of titles greatly impacted the Old English because these sales threatened titled elites on both side of the Irish Sea. The difference though was that Charles I, in an attempt to please the elite in England, devalued the titles of Ireland and Scotland.³⁶ This caused the Old English to react, forcing them to protect their ancient rights against both the Gaelic Irish and the New English upstarts. Furthermore, Edmund Spenser's views of the Old English and Gaelic Irish impacted the implementation of Charles I's policies by his Lord Deputy, Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth agreed with Spenser's evaluation of the Old English and sought to distance the Old English from their hold on power."³⁷ He did this by implementing an absolutist view of governing and by reneging on important policies like the Graces, policies that allowed the practice of Catholicism without impeding office holding.³⁸

³⁶ Kane, 215.

³⁷ Spenser 46-47.

³⁸ Kane, 240.

Chapter three will address this shift in the context of the Irish Rebellion and the English Civil War. Due to rising distrust of Catholics, the Old English were forced to choose between their religious beliefs and their loyalties to Charles I, regardless of their ancient bloodlines. This was furthered by the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1641. This chapter will argue that it was the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1641 and the English Civil War, as well as the breakdown in print censorship, which acted as a catalyst in the formation of anti-Old English stereotypes. These events increased the output of print materials exponentially and heightened the already present tensions in Ireland between the four main demographic groups. This chapter seeks to answer questions about why some of the Old English joined the Confederates and others joined royalist forces.

It also seeks to answer questions about specific individuals to show that despite family background some individuals managed to break out of their stereotypes. Even with these exceptions and many others, by the point of Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* there was no difference between the Gaelic Irish and the Old English from the viewpoint of those in England. According to Temple this was "because they betrayed their Englishness, which should have been stronger than their Catholicism."³⁹ Englishness now meant not an ancient connection to the elite of the Norman conquest, but a Protestant faith and support of Parliamentary policy.

Chapter four will argue that the Old English as a separate identity category had disappeared by the 1660s from the viewpoint of the English. I will argue that Temple's work affected the future interactions between England and Ireland, specifically the policies of Cromwell. It will argue that Cromwell's policies were influenced by Temple's

³⁹ Noonan, 177.

depiction of the Old English and the Gaelic Irish. These depictions allowed for the violent and excessive repression of the Confederacy of Kilkenny and the policies of forced migration to Connacht and the Americas.

I will also argue that the reform measures implemented in Ireland in terms of religion and education, while largely unsuccessful, did root out many aspects of Irish culture. This included the Gaelic language and Catholic land tenure. This in turn continued to transform Old English identity. By the time of the Restoration the Old English had ceased to exist as a separate identity group from the viewpoint of England.. Furthermore, Charles II kept most of the changes enacted during the Interregnum. This included the displacement of the Old English as a separate identity group and political power. This occurred while the Old English and Gaelic Irish continued to see themselves as separate identity groups. This thesis will conclude with a section tying the argument together and reviewing key points. It will convey the reasons why this is an important shift to understand.

2 CHARLES I'S ALIENATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH: POLITICAL AND CULTURAL POLICY IN IRELAND

2.1 Introduction

The Old English's way of life was greatly changed during the seventeenth century.¹ These settlers from the initial Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland during the

¹ Dates and spelling have been kept in their original format except when change was necessary for clear understanding.

twelfth century saw their way of life threatened from multiple angles. For nearly four hundred years the Old English's hold on power had remained relatively stable, with only occasional threats from England.² Henry VIII attempted to increase control in Ireland through the process of Surrender and Regrant due to the perceived threats caused by his break with Rome.³ This program, which declared Henry VIII King of Ireland and required the elite to declare oaths of loyalty by surrendering their land to Henry and having it regranted to them, did little to change the existing elite power structures. Furthermore, the plantation schemes of the Tudor period changed the demographics of Ireland in some ways but had very little immediate impact on Old English power structures.⁴ It was not until the reign of the early Stuarts that these plantation schemes began to be successful. With the plantation of Ulster after the Nine Years' War and the Flight of the Earls there was a large influx of Scottish settlers, largely Presbyterian in religion.⁵ While this plantation scheme was successful it did not fully shift the balance of

² For more information on these challenges see: Steven Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour*.

³ "Henry VIII: June 1541, 11-20," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 16, 1540-1541*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), 437-443.

⁴ For more on the plantation schemes and impact of them during the Tudor period see: Derek Hirst, *Dominion: England and Its Island Neighbours, 1500-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour*. For focus on the Elizabethan period: Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1976).

⁵ The Nine Year's War was a rebellion in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I which ended in 1603 and the Flight of the Earls was the subsequent self-enforced exile of Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh to escape prosecution. For more information see: Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain: 1485-1714* (New York: Pearson/Longman Press, 2005); Hiram Morgan, "Hugh O'Neill and the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (1993): 21-37; Thomas Gainsford, *The True Exemplary, and Remarkable History of the Earle of Tirone* (London, 1619). For more on the plantation in Ulster see: England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders and Conditions as are to be Observed by the Undertakers, Upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster* (London, 1608); M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (New York: Humanities Press, 1973).

power in early modern Ireland. Instead it was the political manipulations of Charles I and Thomas Wentworth during the 1620s and 1630s which upset the balance of power between the demographic groups.

This chapter will argue that rising discrepancies between England and Ireland about notions of honor created tension between the different demographic groups and influenced governmental policy. Charles I's sale of titles in Ireland and his attempts to raise money in Ireland further alienated the Old English and Gaelic Irish elite. These governmental policies not only threatened the Old English status quo but also disparaged their ideas of honor. This in turn created tension between the four main demographic groups in Ireland: the Old English, Gaelic Irish, Scottish and New English. These New English settlers sought more land and found ways to take it from native landowners creating even more conflict among the different populations of Ireland.⁶ By doing this, the New English affronted the honor of Old English elites, both in England and Ireland.

The honor culture of seventeenth century England and Ireland was shifting drastically due to the actions of both James I and Charles I. These shifting cultures gradually distanced the Old English in Ireland from their English roots. Before this period, honor in the form of titles and favor had largely been held and given based on ancient bloodlines. While blood was still important a more meritocratic definition of honor increasingly took the forefront in debates about honor culture.⁷ The problem was a

⁶ Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650" in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650*, ed. K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 43.

⁷ Cynthia Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 77.

question of who merited honor and what were the qualifications for honor. While the Old English claimed honor based on ancient lineage the New English increasingly based honor rights on their Protestant beliefs.

2.2 Stuart Honor Codes

An examination of early Stuart honor culture will help explain the developing rift between the Old English and the English government. The Old English were an aristocratic land-based group that perceived their land and bloodlines as proof of their right to exert power over Irish politics. This group saw themselves as equal to the English land nobility and above the Gaelic Irish. Furthermore, many of the Old English looked forward to the returned interest of England in Irish affairs because they believed it would improve the level of civilization in Ireland.⁸ It took a shift in honor codes for the Old English to become weary and then fearful of English involvement in Irish affairs. Until this point both the English in England and those in Ireland saw anyone with English blood as English. In fact, Sir John Davies claimed that there were “so many English colonies planted in Ireland, that... such as are descended of the English race, would be found more in number then the ancient natives.”⁹ Ideas of what Englishness was had been constantly in flux from statutes about children born outside of England to English parents all the way until *Calvin’s Case*, which determined the rights of Scottish

⁸ Karl S. Bottigheimer, “Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise, 1536-1660” in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650*, ed. K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 48.

⁹ Sir John Davies, *A Discourse of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (London, 1612), Sig. B1 r.

born children in England.¹⁰ In early Stuart England, ideas of what Englishness meant had yet to solidify.

Many challenges concerning the definition of honor began during the reign of James I (1603-1625). James I rapidly increased the number of Protestants serving in the Irish Parliament by implementing several changes to boroughs and titled peers in Ireland. When James I began to consider calling an Irish Parliament in 1613, he feared that the number of Catholics would prevent him from making progress on his goals, especially when it came to the religious reform of the Church of Ireland. Poyning's law, which made the Irish Parliament subservient to the Privy Council and King in England, was not enough to ensure the success of James I's policies in Ireland.¹¹ In order to combat this fear, James I created new boroughs and manipulated elections to increase the number of Protestants in the House of Commons.¹² This plan, while successful in achieving a Protestant majority in the House of Commons, was unable to overcome the Catholic majority within the House of Lords. If James was to be successful in his attempts to reform religion in Ireland, he had to disrupt the status quo and overpower the Catholic elite. According to Charles Mayes, this was accomplished through "the drastic enlargement of the Irish peerage," which was meant to "harness Ireland more

¹⁰ See cases and statutes like: Polly J. Price, "Natural Law and Birthright Citizenship in Calvin's Case (1608)," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 9, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 73-146; *Statutes of the Realm*, 25 Edw. III st.1.

¹¹ "James I: February 1604," in *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1603-1606*, ed. C.W. Russell and John Prendergast (London: Longman and Co., 1872), 140-151.

¹² Kane, 196-97.

closely to the Crown.”¹³ This plan was implemented and saw an increase of 116 peerages between 1603 and 1641.¹⁴

Charles I not only followed in his father’s footsteps, but he also accelerated the process. Charles created twenty-three new peerages between 1625 and 1629.¹⁵ What made the creation of peerages so distasteful to the Old English was not necessarily the rapid increase, but the questionable quality of those being given titles. For most aristocrats, the sale of titles brought honor and market too closely together.¹⁶ Charles was not distributing titles solely for the purpose of creating a Protestant majority in the House of Lords, but also for the raising of funds for a cash-strapped monarchy. According to Mayes, “of the five Irish peers created between 28 February and 4 March 1628, four were certainly purchasers.”¹⁷ The percentage of purchasers of titles in Ireland continued to increase during Charles I’s reign. These purchases, especially given the price of a title in Ireland compared to England, upset the honor code that was held dear by the Old English elite.¹⁸ These shifts in honor culture in Ireland were influenced by English perceptions of Ireland and in turn influenced policy making in Ireland.

¹³ Charles R. Mayes, “The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage,” *English Historical Review* 73 (1958): 228.

¹⁴ George Kearsley, *Kearsley’s Complete Peerage, of England, Scotland, and Ireland: Together with Extinct Peerage of the Three Kingdoms* (London, 1799); Edward Kimber, *The Peerage of Ireland* (London, 1768).

¹⁵ Mayes, “The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage,” 234.

¹⁶ Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston: Routledge, 2003), 38.

¹⁷ Mayes, “The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage,” 243.

¹⁸ English Baronies cost £ 10,000 while an Irish barony cost £ 1,500. Higher titles cost more in both countries: Mayes, “The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage,” 238.

2.3 Fears of Ireland

At the beginning of the reign of Charles I, the definition of the Old English no longer referred simply to the Anglo-Norman settlers. Instead, according to Aidan Clarke, “the term old English referred to a small, close-knit group, principally, but not exclusively, rural, which was characterized by a set of attitudes and interests compounded of a sense of racial unity, extensive possessions, commitment to English rule in Ireland, and Catholicism.”¹⁹ While a commitment to English rule in Ireland was considered a good thing, Catholicism was considered a threat and was viewed with a high level of distrust by the Protestants in England and Ireland. England was in fear of the Counter-Reformation and war with Spain.²⁰ This fear was exacerbated by the notion that Ireland would provide a launching point for a Spanish and Roman conquest of England.²¹ Moreover, fears of Irish Catholicism were heightened by Charles I’s initial leniency towards Catholics. In *Private Articles in Favour of the Catholics*, multiple concessions were made to lessen the persecution of *English Catholics*.²² While these favors were mostly made because of the marriage between Charles I and Henrietta Marie of France, they led to petitions from the English Parliament concerning religion. The Parliament feared that children being educated in Catholic seminaries and the lack

¹⁹ Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 27.

²⁰ For information on the Counter Reformation see: Damien Tricoire, “What Was the Catholic Reformation? Marian Piety and the Universalization of Divine Love,” *Catholic Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (2017): 20-49 and John O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013). For more on war with Spain see: Simon Healy, “Oh, What a Lovely War? War, Taxation, and Public Opinion in England, 1624-29,” *Canadian Journal of History* 38, no. 3 (2003): 439-465.

²¹ L.J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 27.

²² John Rushworth, “Historical Collections: 1625 (Charles I),” in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, vol. 1, 1618-1629* (London: D. Browne, 1721), 165-219.

of proper religious education throughout the realm caused an “increase in Papists” in England.²³

This fear impacted the approach Charles I took when interacting with Ireland and England. Charles promised to hold British and Irish subjects to the same recusancy standards and to enforce recusancy laws.²⁴ Multiple proclamations recalled subjects “back to their home countries,” away from Jesuit seminaries and foreign armies, specifically Spain and low countries.²⁵ Along with these recalls came an increased focus on persecuting “Popish Recusants” and a ban on arms in Ireland.²⁶ Even with this ban, some of the Old English were exempted. In a proclamation by Henry Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland, some members of Irish society were exempted from the ban on arms and in fact are listed as those entrusted with the storage and maintenance of armaments.²⁷ One of the members of Irish society listed on this exemption was the Earl of Clanricard, a member of the Old English and a Catholic. The fears of Catholicism while widespread did not mean a blanket distrust of all Catholics. Nonetheless, this widely held distrust of Catholics threatened the security and stability of Ireland and was greatly amplified by Charles I and his policies.²⁸ To increase the Crown’s hold on

²³ Rushworth, 165-219.

²⁴ Rushworth, 165-219.

²⁵ England and Wales Sovereign, *By the King, A Proclamation for Recalling his Majesties Subjects from the Seminaries Beyond the Sea* (Oxford, 1625) and England and Wales Sovereign, *By the King, A Proclamation for the Calling Home of All Such his Majesties Subjects as Are Employed by Sea, or Land* (Oxford, 1625). All sources will keep the original spelling and dates unless spelling must be changed for understanding.

²⁶ England and Wales Sovereign, *By the King, A Proclamation for the Better Confining of Popish Recusants, Convict According to the Law* (London, 1625) and Ireland Lord Deputy, *By the Lord Deputy and Councill, Whereas for Prevention of Such Disorders, Ryots and Rebellions* (Dublin, 1625).

²⁷ Ireland Lord Deputy, *By the Lord Deputy and Councill, Albeit His Majestie, in His Princely Wisdome* (Dublin, 1625).

²⁸ Clarke, 42.

Ireland and therefore the security level of Ireland, Charles I increased the number of New English settlers, which had a destabilizing outcome.

2.4 Distrust of the Old English in Print

This view of Irish society, including the distrust of the Old English, was largely influenced by the work of Edmund Spenser, a writer and adventurer in Ireland during the Elizabethan period. Although written in the late-Elizabethan period, Edmund Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland* was not published until 1633.²⁹ Even with the late date of its print appearance, Spenser's work was widely circulated in manuscript form.³⁰ According to Kathleen Noonan, Spenser saw "the real culprits in England's troubles in Ireland as the English-Irish, both the Old English and the New English that came with the first wave of plantations."³¹ Moreover, the further outside of the Pale, the area surrounding Dublin and under relatively continuous control of England since the twelfth century, the worse of an influence the Old English elite were. According to Spenser, "the chiefest abuses which are now in the Realm, are grown from the English, and some of them are now much more lawless and licentious than the very wild Irish."³² To Charles and the New English peers he was creating the Old English needed to be forced out of power and reformed, not given more control. To the New English the Old English had "degenerated from their ancient dignities" and no longer deserved to

²⁹ Edmund Spenser, "A View of the State of Ireland," in *Two Histories of Ireland* (Dublin, 1633).

³⁰ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1997), xi.

³¹ Kathleen M. Noonan, "The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People': Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda," *The Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998):156. The New English being addressed in this quote are those that came with the plantations during the reign of Henry VIII.

³² Spenser, *Two Histories of Ireland*, 44.

participate in government or society in Ireland.³³ This meant that there was a need for more Englishmen in Ireland and that policies needed to be implemented to take control from Catholic landowners. Importantly, however, the New English believed that there was still an opportunity to reform the Old English and return their dignity.

The views expressed by Spenser spread throughout the early seventeenth century in works like, Barnabe Rich's, *A New Description of Ireland* and in Sir John Davies, ' *A Discoverie of the True Cause Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued*.³⁴ Both Rich and Davies examined the reasons behind the constant conflicts between England and Ireland as well as the culture of the Irish. Rich stressed that he did not hate the Irish but "found fault with the idolatry that was committed in the country."³⁵ While he described the Gaelic Irish as "cruell, bloodie minded, apt and ready to commit any kind of mischief," he claimed that those in Dublin (mainly the Old English) were "reformed in manners, in civility and in curtesy."³⁶ In fact, the main fault he found in Dublin was the practice of Catholicism. According to Rich, "Popery in Ireland is the original of a number of imperfections, that otherwise would be reformed."³⁷

Davies, on the other hand, believed that there were two reasons why Ireland was not fully conquered. According to Davies the violent attempted conquest of Ireland did not destroy and supplant the Gaelic Irish. This was exacerbated by new governments, first under control of the Old English and then subsequent New English Plantations,

³³ Spenser, *Two Histories of Ireland*, 46-47.

³⁴ Barnabe Rich, *a New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610) and Sir John Davies, *A Discoverie of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (London, 1612).

³⁵ Rich, Sig, A4 v.

³⁶ Rich, Sig. D4 r & Sig, K2 v.

³⁷ Rich, Sig. R2 v.

which were exceedingly weak.³⁸ Davies argued that the English colonies degenerated relatively quickly “in their language, in their apparel, in their armes and manner of fight and all other customes.”³⁹ This led to reform laws under Edward III, such as laws banning marriages between English and Irish families.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Davies argued that the statutes separated English rebels from Irish enemies because the English were subjects of the crown while the Irish were not.⁴¹ This suggests that despite Ireland becoming a kingdom under the control of the English crown there was still a significant disconnect between perceptions of subjecthood and the legal definition of subjecthood. Because the Old English rejected the “civill and honorable lawes and customs of England,” they were responsible for the dilapidation of Irish society.⁴² This meant that any new attempts at the conquest of Ireland should be militaristic in nature and led by someone other than the Old English. The proof of this was the success of the Ulster plantation, led by the military and civil conquest of New English settlers.⁴³ The view that the Old English had degenerated from their English ancestry and that they were in need of reform was pervasive.

These views, however, were a direct attack on the honor codes of the Old English. They had perceived their role as the bringers of civilization to the Gaelic Irish. This was done through systems of patronage and kinship ties as well as through the use of their political and cultural power. According to the Old English, their power structures and control were being usurped by upstarts with no aristocratic blood or

³⁸ Davies, Sig. B1 v.

³⁹ Davies, Sig. E2 v.

⁴⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, 31 Edw. III, st. 4 c. 8.

⁴¹ Davies, Sig. P3 r.

⁴² Davies, Sig. Aa2 v.

⁴³ Davies, Sig. Nn2 v-Nn3 r.

kinship ties. As mentioned above, the early Stuarts sold titles of nobility, causing knighthoods to almost quadruple.⁴⁴ These newly entitled nobles were not from ancient families and did not have to have the same qualifications as those ennobled in England. According to Brendan Kane, these ennoblements created opportunities for men to race up the status ladder and perhaps leapfrog their erstwhile social superiors.⁴⁵ On top of this drastic increase in newly titled nobility, Charles I “announced that those bearing Irish and Scottish titles were to be placed behind their titular English counterparts.”⁴⁶ Now, not only was Old English honor threatened by a drastic increase in the number of peers but their titles no longer held the same respect. Instead of stabilizing the situation in Ireland, “noble rank was degraded, the Irish were offended, and in England the wrath of aristocracy and gentry, whose tempers were already strained by excessive additions to the English peerage, were provoked.”⁴⁷ Charles I’s treatment of the Old English elite had created more problems, not less.

2.5 Charles’ Need for Irish Support

Charles I was alienating the Old English elite at a time when he arguably needed them the most. With the chaos created by possible war with Spain, Charles I needed a steady supply of income. Charles I’s policy of forced loans, ship money, and the level of power held by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, all created tension in the beginning years of his reign.⁴⁸ Between the need for money to fund war and Charles I’s absolutist policies, there was little middle ground for compromise. By the time of the English

⁴⁴ Peck, 32.

⁴⁵ Kane 210.

⁴⁶ Kane, 215.

⁴⁷ Mayes, “The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage,” 251.

⁴⁸ L.J. Reeve, 9-57.

Parliament in 1628 both Parliament and Charles I were cautious of each other and sought to protect their rights. Because of previous English Parliaments under Charles I, the House of Commons felt the need to present the Petition of Right, in order to protect English liberties.⁴⁹ According to L. J. Reeve, this was meant to confirm their liberties in return for granting subsidies to the King.⁵⁰ The tension caused by these debates lasted well after Charles prorogued the 1628 Parliament and into the 1629 Parliament. The memory of the humiliation of the 1628 Parliament mixed with new tensions in the 1629 Parliament caused Charles to dissolve Parliament and begin the period of his reign known as the Personal Rule.⁵¹

With the dissolving of the English Parliament, Charles I had to find ways to raise money. Ireland was one of the many channels explored as a source of income. Although Ireland's Parliament had already been put under the control of England with Poyning's Law and James I had already made drastic changes to the demographics of the Irish Parliament, Ireland was not the first desired choice for Charles I. The distrust of Catholicism created a difficult situation for Charles I and for the people of England. Despite this fear, the number of Catholics serving in the Irish Parliament had drastically decreased with the rapid increase in titles sold under James I and Charles I up to this point and the rearranging of the Irish boroughs for the House of Commons.⁵² This

⁴⁹ "Charles I - volume 106: June 1-10, 1628," in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1628-29, ed. John Bruce (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1859), 144-157.

⁵⁰ Reeve, 20.

⁵¹ England and Wales Sovereign, *By the King, A Proclamation About the Dissolving of the Parliament* (London, 1629); England and Wales Sovereign, *By the King, A Proclamation for Suppressing of False Rumours Touching Parliament* (London, 1629).

⁵² Clarke, 255. Appendix shows a decrease in the numbers of Catholic members of Irish Parliament. Even more interesting is that the number of members of Irish Parliament drastically increases over the same period. Ulster, the area where rebellion began, actually had an increase in Irish members of Parliament in this period.

decrease in Catholics was occurring while the number of members, especially in the Irish House of Commons, increased from 126 in 1585 to 232 in 1613 and 256 by 1634 when Charles I called his first Irish Parliament.⁵³ The creation of new titles had altered the composition of the House of Lords, creating a Protestant majority, and the House of Commons now had 142 Protestants.⁵⁴ According to Clarke, “Catholics were systematically excluded from offices of central or provincial government.”⁵⁵ This systematic exclusion infuriated the remaining Catholics, decreasing the likelihood that the Irish Parliament would willingly give Charles the support he needed. In order to win their support, he revived a policy called the Graces.⁵⁶ These were meant to increase the toleration of Catholicism and lessen the attacks on the Old English, protecting their property rights. Charles I’s attempts to work with the Irish Parliament were led by his newly appointed Lord Deputy, Thomas Wentworth.

2.6 The Rise of Thomas Wentworth

While Thomas Wentworth was a member of the English gentry, he was not from a long-standing powerful family. Instead Wentworth can largely be seen as a product of court patronage and the meritocratic atmosphere of the early seventeenth century. In the 1620s he was part of the English Parliament but made very little impact. The most striking aspect of Wentworth’s early career was his imprisonment for refusing the forced

⁵³ Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 223

⁵⁴ Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The Wars of Religions* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1989), 46.

⁵⁵ Clarke, 118.

⁵⁶ Kane, 240.

loan.⁵⁷ These events did not prevent Charles I from appointing Wentworth as the President of the Council of the North.⁵⁸

In this position Wentworth was acutely aware of the need to legally strengthen royal authority and be a symbolic representation of the Crown's power.⁵⁹ Multiple disputes during this period demonstrate Wentworth's need to protect his honor and the honor of his office.⁶⁰ The lessons that Wentworth learned while President of the Council of the North would later impact the implementation of royal policy in his position as Lord Deputy of Ireland. It was in this role as president that Wentworth first experienced perceived assaults upon the honor of his office as assaults on the honor of the monarchy.⁶¹ This in turn influenced how Wentworth viewed his position within the broader context of the British Isles.

2.7 Wentworth in Ireland

When Charles I turned his focus from England to Ireland as a source of revenue he needed a trusted representative to help him exert control over political power in Ireland. Charles I sent his agent, Thomas Wentworth to Ireland as Lord Deputy to bring about this control and the eventual cooperation of the Irish Parliament. As a member of the new meritocracy, Wentworth intensely felt the need to maintain the honor of his

⁵⁷ J. F. Merritt, "The Historical Reputation of Thomas Wentworth," in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641*, ed. J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

⁵⁸ John Rushworth. "The trial of Strafford: The third day," in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 8, 1640-41*, (London: D Browne, 1721), 128-137.

⁵⁹ J. F. Merritt, "Power and Communication: Thomas Wentworth and Government at a Distance During the Personal Rule, 1629-1635," in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641*, ed. J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 111.

⁶⁰ Kane, 227-228.

⁶¹ Kane, 205.

office and therefore the Crown. The main way to achieve this honor was by implementing the reform policies which were suggested for the Gaelic Irish, Old English and some of the New English in Ireland. Kane argues that Wentworth “became part of a metropolitan civilizing mission intent upon anglicizing the Gaelic Irish and bringing the Old English and New English in line with Caroline social norms and the interests of the Crown.”⁶² Catholicism and the perceived grandiose mentalities of the elite in Ireland were the main areas of focus for Wentworth’s reforms.

While Charles I’s interactions with the Irish elite offered the possibility of the Graces, Wentworth focused on ways to get the money needed out of the Irish Parliament without having to make concessions.⁶³ While many of the religious reform policies pursued by Wentworth were of his own desire, his relationship with William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, influenced his actions. Wentworth believed that the Catholic Old English were an obstacle to civilizing missions because of their patronage of friars and Jesuits.⁶⁴ The only way to combat this was a wholesale redistribution of power from Catholic hands to Protestant hands, but first Wentworth had to discredit and break apart the current power structure.

One weapon used by Wentworth was plantation developments in Old English strongholds. Plantation schemes had long been used as a way to disrupt the Old English and the Gaelic Irish’s holds on power and were fairly common by this point. While many early plantation attempts failed, attempts made after the Flight of the Earls

⁶² Kane, 230.

⁶³ Anthony Milton, “Thomas Wentworth and the Political Thought of the Personal Rule,” in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 143-144.

⁶⁴ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 279.

had been more successful at influencing power shifts. A pamphlet printed in London in 1608 described the “distribution and plantation of the eschaeted lands in Ulster.”⁶⁵ In this document the plantation of Ulster is described as being implemented for “public peace” and that those partaking in the plantation are “not onely to benefit themselves, but to doe service to the Crowne and the Commonwealth.”⁶⁶ Plantation schemes were commonly seen as a way to improve the standing of the Crown and England in Ireland.

They were also seen as a way to influence and change social, cultural and economic policies in Ireland in order to reform society. This particular document sets forth a new plan to organize Irish society. Settlers from England and Scotland were awarded the largest plots of land which had been stripped from Old English and Gaelic Irish rebels.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the Gaelic Irish were only allowed to remain in the area as tenants under the supervision of English and Scottish settlers or in some cases they were allowed parcels of land which were much smaller in size than their English and Scottish counterparts.⁶⁸ Additionally, these Irish tenants and freeholders lost their land rights if they were believed to be part of any rebellion. Wentworth was a man of his time and had grown accustomed to this notion of plantations as a way to reform. The scheme created for the plantation of Ulster was the same as what he planned to implement elsewhere in Ireland. This would mean a complete overhaul of the Irish practices of land tenure and an implementation of English practices.

Wentworth sought to establish a plantation in the province of Connacht. This province, in west Ireland, was under the control of a member of the Old English

⁶⁵ England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders*.

⁶⁶ England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders*, Sig. A2 v.

⁶⁷ England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders*, Sig A4 r.

⁶⁸ England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders*, Sig B3r-B4v.

aristocracy, Richard Burke, Earl of Clanricarde. Clanricard was not only an Old English lord in Ireland but he also held the English title of Earl of St. Albans. In theory this should have protected him and his hold on power from Wentworth's interference. Instead, Clanricard became a target of the reforming Wentworth because of his power and Catholic religion. Clanricard's Irish origins allowed Wentworth to depict him "as an 'over-mighty noble', rebellious Irish lord and Catholic conspirator."⁶⁹ Furthermore, attacks on Clanricarde, one of the most powerful of the Old English elites, showed how far from power the Old English had fallen. Wentworth's plantation policies were "hostile to the Old English," and sparked resentment and animosity.⁷⁰

Animosity towards Wentworth did not stop with Clanricard but was sharply increased based on his interactions with the Irish Parliament. According to Canny, "the Old English animus against Wentworth was explained primarily by his refusal to honour the king's promise to have the Graces sanctioned by the Irish parliament."⁷¹ The Old English saw these actions as a breach of the honor code, and further infringement on their ancient rights and dignities.⁷² Wentworth's policies slowly alienated those of the Old English and the Gaelic Irish. This, however, was not enough for Wentworth. With the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars between Scotland and England, Wentworth faced even more problems due to the large number of Scottish settlers in Ulster. Relations between Wentworth and the different demographic groups of Ireland worsened through the late 1630s and heightened fears of the Catholic Irish played right into the hands of Wentworth's enemies.

⁶⁹ Kane, 236.

⁷⁰ Clarke, 110.

⁷¹ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 405.

⁷² Kane, 244-245.

According to David Stevenson there were approximately 8,000 Scots in Ulster, many of whom were Presbyterian.⁷³ When the Stuarts came to the throne of England they opened the plantation settlements to English and Scottish adventurers. The idea was that any form of Protestant settler was better than the Catholic majority already in place in Ireland. With the outbreak of war between Charles I and his Scottish subjects over religious practices, this policy quickly became a threat. Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, proposed a plan to raise troops in Ulster to fight the Scottish Covenanters in Scotland.⁷⁴ While this may have seemed like great idea to Charles I, Wentworth feared an army led by a Catholic Scottish lord. Despite these fears of Catholic involvement Wentworth remained loyal to Charles I and sought to support his policies while in Ireland. This led to Wentworth's harsh treatment of the Scottish settlers. Wentworth persecuted the Scottish living in Ireland, calling them "traitors and rebels."⁷⁵ This meant that Wentworth was perceived to support the use of Catholic troops against Protestants despite his reservations about Antrim's plans. Regardless of Wentworth's reservations towards the use of a Catholic army in Scotland, he eventually attempted to raise 9,000 men to fight for Charles I's cause.⁷⁶ This one event had drastic implications for the rest of Wentworth's career.

⁷³ David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the mid-seventeenth Century* (Belfast: The Ulster Historical Foundation, 1981), 11.

⁷⁴ Caroline Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 97.

⁷⁵ Scotland Convention of Estates, "The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against the Lieutenant of Ireland" in *Charge of the Scottish Commissioners Against Canterburie and the Lieutenant of Ireland* (London, 1641).

⁷⁶ Hibbard, 155.

2.8 Wentworth's Fall

Wentworth's policies in Ireland eventually led to his downfall. The constant attacks on the honor of the Old English alienated them and led to the eventual cooperation between the Irish Parliament and the English Parliament. For a brief moment the tensions between the Irish and the English were forgotten because of their shared animosity toward Wentworth's policies. Wentworth's "trampling on the Peers, oppressing his Majesties subjects, and insulting over people of all ranks, quality and condition whatsoever," permeated the testimonies during his treason trial.⁷⁷ The Old English stressed "their rights under the Magna Carta," and their ancient dignities.⁷⁸ They claimed that Wentworth had said that, "Ireland was a conquered nation and that the King might doe with them what he pleased."⁷⁹ The Irish accused him of "devising and contriving by force of armes in a warlike manner to subdue the subjects of the said realme of Ireland."⁸⁰

The complaints reported to the English Parliament against Wentworth were not only coming from the Old English or the Gaelic Irish. The English in England also had problems with Wentworth and for that he was impeached for high treason by the English Parliament.⁸¹ According to multiple pamphlets and broadsides, Wentworth was accused of "endeavouring to subvert the lawes and government of his Majesties realms of England and Ireland."⁸² The most serious accusation from the view point of the

⁷⁷ Anonymous, *The Downfall of Greatness for the Losse of Goodness* (London, 1641), 7.

⁷⁸ Hirst, 186.

⁷⁹ Thomas Wentworth, Strafford, *Depositions and Articles Against Thomas Earle of Strafford* (London, 1640), 12.

⁸⁰ Wentworth, 25.

⁸¹ England and Wales Parliament, House of Commons, *The Bill of Attainder, that Passed Against Thomas Earl of Strafford* (London, 1641), Sig. A2 r.

⁸² England and Wales, *The Bill of Attainder*, Sig. A2 r.

English was Wentworth's attempt to raise an Irish army for use in England. The abuse of the laws of England and Ireland was done in "an arbitrary and tyrannical" manner and through the "tyrannous and exorbitant" use of power.⁸³ These pamphlets stressed Wentworth's "haughty mind" and "tyrannous" ways as justification for the "paines and forfeitures of high treason."⁸⁴ Wentworth was accused of being the reason behind all of Charles I's troubles in his three kingdoms.⁸⁵ He was also accused of instigating Charles I's animosity towards his parliament in England and of threatening the peace and stability of the English government.

On top of these accusations against Wentworth for his tyrannical implementation of policies came the fears of Catholics in Ireland. Petitions were delivered to Parliament outlining complaints against Wentworth and fears of his use of an Irish army in England.⁸⁶ Other pamphlets blamed him for inciting "the warres between the two kingdomes of England and Scotland."⁸⁷ Furthermore, Wentworth's deputies in Ireland also stood accused of treason and were impeached. Sir George Ratcliffe was charged with "conspiring with the late Earl of Strafford, to bring an Army from Ireland to subdue the subjects of England."⁸⁸ These accusations led to the trial and execution of Wentworth for high treason. Furthermore, these events encouraged the growing

⁸³ England and Wales, *The Bill of Attainder*, Sig. A2 r.

⁸⁴ Anonymous, *The Downfall of Greatnesse*, 4, and England and Wales, *The Bill of Attainder*, Sig. A2 v.

⁸⁵ Wentworth, 45.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, *The Petition of the Citizens of London to Both Houses of Parliament* (London, 1641).

⁸⁷ England and Wales, *The Bill of Attainder*, Sig. A2 v.

⁸⁸ Anonymous, *Irelands Complaint Against Sir George Ratcliffe* (London, 1641), Sig. A1 v.

distrust between Charles I and his Parliament. This growing distrust along with the Irish Rebellion of 1641 contributed to the events of the English Civil War.

2.9 Conclusion

By refusing to work with his English Parliament and by cheapening the perceived values of English titles, Charles I made it impossible to maintain stable control in his three kingdoms. His attacks on the rights and liberties of the English Parliament mixed with his belief in his absolute power caused tension that eventually led to the period of the personal rule. This made it difficult to fund his government and created an overwhelming need to find income. Charles I did this through the indiscriminate sale of titles and through questionable taxes. This decreased the honor associated with noble titles, especially in Ireland and Scotland. In turn this increased tension between the demographic groups in Ireland. By the time of Wentworth's arrival, Ireland was ripe for conflict.

Wentworth's policies and personal beliefs increased the problems and distrust which already existed between Charles I and the Old English. The Old English found their way of life and power structures under attack from an upstart New English Lord Deputy. Along with this, Wentworth's exploitations of the Irish Parliament made it more difficult for Charles I to implement his policies. Wentworth's alienation of Irish society did not stop with the Old English and the Gaelic Irish. He also attacked the Scottish settlers during the Bishops' Wars. This led to petitions and letters against Wentworth. These accusations focused on Wentworth's absolutist policies and the "tyrannous and tragical" rule of Ireland.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Anonymous, *The Downfall of Greatnesse*, Sig. A2 v.

For a brief period, the Old English, New English, Gaelic Irish, Scottish and even the English in England found consensus in their dislike of Wentworth and in the arguments for his execution during his treason trial. Whether it was his blatant abuse of power or the fear of Irish Catholic forces being brought to England to suppress the English Parliament, this momentary consensus had larger ramifications. Many of Charles I's councilors found themselves in hot water with the English Parliament.⁹⁰ This momentary consensus, however, quickly collapsed with the calling of the English Long Parliament and the events of 1641. English fears of Catholicism proved to be stronger than the newly found harmony created by dislike for Wentworth. Between the accusations against Wentworth pertaining to a Catholic army and the accusations against William Laud that he was attempting to "set up Papistrie and superstition in the Church," the English public's distrust of Catholics was elevated.⁹¹ The Old English once again found themselves in a precarious position in the early 1640s.

3 SHIFTS IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE OLD ENGLISH DURING THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1641

3.1 Introduction

On the eve of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, four separate demographic groups coexisted in Ireland: the Old English, Gaelic Irish, New English, and Scottish. The policies of these groups were in constant conflict with each vying for supremacy. These

⁹⁰ England and Wales Parliament, House of Commons, *Articles Exhibited in Parliament Against William Archbishop of Canterbury, 1640* (London, 1640).

⁹¹ England and Wales, *Articles Exhibited in Parliament*, Sig. A3 r.

tensions were exacerbated by the Bishops' Wars between Charles I and his Scottish subjects. This turmoil gave the Old English an opening in which they reasserted, or at least attempted to reassert, their authority. According to Karl Bottigheimer, "a considerable part of 'the English image of Ireland' was manufactured in the Pale and reflected less the ignorant prejudice of metropolitan Englishmen than the calculated snobbery of a struggling elite within Ireland."¹ Concurrently, the Old English maintained their close kinship and cultural ties with the Gaelic Irish because they knew this was the best way to maintain control. The Old English continued to speak in Gaelic and intermarry for their own benefit.²

The contradictions between the language used against the Gaelic Irish and the continued interaction between the Old English and Gaelic Irish created problems for the Old English during the outbreak of rebellion. This chapter will argue that the events of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the breakdown of licensing and censorship in England acted as catalyst for the shift in Old English stereotypes. On the eve of the rebellion the Old English were a separate identity group according to the New English and those in England. By the time Sir John Temple wrote *The Irish Rebellion*, Old English is deteriorating as an identity group and becoming Irish, from the viewpoint of the English.³

¹ Karl S. Bottigheimer, "Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise, 1536-1660" in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650*, ed. K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 49.

² Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 417.

³ John Temple, *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646).

3.2 Ireland on the Eve of Rebellion

Perceptions of Catholicism increased the tensions resulting from the Old English's efforts to differentiate themselves from the Gaelic Irish. While not all of the Old English were Catholics, a vast majority were, and they were viewed warily by the New English. The New English sought to change this by converting the Old English to Protestantism. In fact, many like Richard Boyle the new Earl of Cork "considered his relative's marriages with Old English families as part of the same programme," to reform the Old English into proper Protestant subjects.⁴ This desire to reform and belief in the Old English ability to change was not shared by all. Protestant tenants in Ulster petitioned the English Parliament, claiming that their lords were slacking in the management of the Church of Ireland and seemingly allowed and encouraged the practice of Catholicism.⁵ These unverified complaints exposed deeper issues within Ireland and alarmed the reformed Protestant Parliament of England. Questions of loyalty based on residence and confessional ties mixed with the growing disillusionment of the Old English with Charles I and the English Parliament created an atmosphere disposed to conflict on the eve of the Irish Rebellion of 1641.

The tensions between the Old English and England increased with the Bishops' Wars in Scotland. Charles I and his Scottish subjects were embroiled in war over principles of religion. Arguments about attempts to impose Laudian visions of the Church of Scotland on the Presbyterian Scots spilled over into all three kingdoms. This was especially important in Ireland since there was a substantial Scottish population in

⁴ Patrick Little, "The Geraldine Ambitions of the First Earl of Cork," *Irish Historical Studies* 33, no. 130 (2002): 163.

⁵ Anonymous, *The Humble Petition of the Protestant Inhabitants* (London, 1641).

Ulster. At the beginning of Charles I's reign there were approximately 8,000 Scots in Ulster, many of whom were Presbyterian.⁶ This number increased substantially leading up to the conflict between Charles I and Scotland. Scottish settlers were encouraged to settle in the Ulster plantations as a beneficial influence on the Gaelic and Old English population. This settlement became a threat with the outbreak of the Bishops' Wars. This tension was then increased drastically by Wentworth, who made it his mission to support Charles I in Ireland against the Scottish Covenanters. According to one pamphlet printed by the Scottish Commissioners, Wentworth persecuted the Scottish living in Ireland in an extremely cruel manner, calling them "traitors and rebels."⁷ While the conflict between the Crown and the Scottish may have begun on the Isle of Great Britain, it quickly spilled over into Ireland and had a tremendous impact on the events of the initial outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641.

3.3 Print and Reading Practices in England

In addition to the tensions in Ireland, censorship and licensing in England became a contested arena. Many of the complaints of the Long Parliament were centered around ecclesiastical control. According to *A Decree of Star Chamber concerning Printing, 1637*, licensing and printing approval was to be authorized by the Church and the Star Chamber.⁸ This decree enhanced the already present controls on

⁶ David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the mid-seventeenth Century* (Belfast: The Ulster Historical Foundation, 1981), 11.

⁷ Scotland Convention of Estates, "The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against the Lieutenant of Ireland" in *Charge of the Scottish Commissioners Against Canterburie and the Lieutenant of Ireland* (London, 1641).

⁸ John Rushworth, "The Star Chamber on Printing, 1637," in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 3, 1639-40* (London: D Browne, 1721), 306-316.

printing put in place under Elizabeth I.⁹ Many of the statutes made during the Elizabethan period mandated the number of presses allowed or banned certain types of books instead of controlling authorship.¹⁰ The new decree tightened control, making it illegal to print anything without an author's name and it required everything to be registered with the Stationers' Company.¹¹ According to Sheila Lambert, "the role of the company was to prevent the printing of works not so licensed, and to use its powers to search for unauthorized publications and punish the printers thereof."¹² While this control was not perfect nor absolute it was effective in many ways. Besides the punishments of imprisonment and fines just the thought of being caught was enough to deter most potential rule breakers. In fact, the punishments were so well known that this was one of the main complaints of the Long Parliament.¹³

The Long Parliament was focused on reforming the Church of England and rectifying the abuses incurred during the personal rule of Charles I. One of these abuses was the persecution of Puritans by the Star Chamber.¹⁴ If the Star Chamber

⁹ "Queen Elizabeth - Volume 190: June 1586," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1581-90*, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1865), 331-337.

¹⁰ "Queen Elizabeth - Volume 161: June 1583," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1581-90*, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1865), 111-114; "Queen Elizabeth - Volume 185: Undated 1585," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1581-90*, ed. Robert Lemon (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1865), 294-299.

¹¹ John Rushworth, "The Star Chamber on Printing, 1637," 306-316.

¹² Sheila Lambert, "State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: the Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640," in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), 11.

¹³ John Rushworth, "Historical Collections: April 1641," in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 4, 1640-42*, (London: D Browne, 1721), 222-239; John Rushworth, "Historical Collections: July 1641 (1 of 2)," in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 4, 1640-42*, (London: D Browne, 1721), 304-333.

¹⁴ For examples of the proceedings against puritans see, "Charles I - volume 529: October 1628," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1625-49 Addenda*, ed. William

was abolished, then it was harder to persecute offenders. Parliament was successful in abolishing the Star Chamber and effectively ending the prosecution of licensing breeches.¹⁵ Without an ability to enforce licensing laws the system of state and church-sponsored censorship in early modern England broke down.

While the breakdown of censorship in England might not seem like it would have an impact in Ireland, it did affect the views the English had of those living in Ireland. Due to the breakdown in governmental control of print there was a drastic increase in pamphlet and broadside printing, many of which related to Ireland. According to the records in the English Short Title Catalogue the number of printed items in London in 1640 was 743.¹⁶ By 1641 this number more than tripled to 2335 records and increased again in 1642 to 3901. Not only is this a large increase but these two years alone represent approximately 37% of the printed material in London between 1640-1649. These statistics become even more important when other cities are considered. Oxford and York show the same type of print increase. The main difference between these cities is the volume of output not the percentage increase in print. While London put out approximately 17,045 printed items between 1640-1649, Oxford and York put out 928 and 166 respectively.

On top of the statistics above are those related to documents concerning Ireland. I set the search parameters for documents containing the keyword 'Ireland' between

Douglas Hamilton and Sophie Crawford Lomas (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1897), 298-300; "Charles I - volume 362: June 19-30, 1637," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1637*, ed. John Bruce (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1868), 226-263;

¹⁵ "Charles I, 1640: An Act for [the Regulating the Privie Councill and for taking away the Court commonly called the Star Chamber.," in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 110-112.

¹⁶ English Short Title Catalogue, http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc. From this point forward, this will be referenced as ESTC.

1635-1655 on Early English Books Online.¹⁷ This resulted in nearly 2300 documents, half of which were printed in 1641 and 1642. The number of anonymous writers also increased substantially from no examples in 1640 to 83 anonymous documents in 1641 and 248 in 1642. These statistics confirm that laws controlling print and requiring published authorship no longer applied. As conditions continued to deteriorate David Cressy argues, “attempts at censorship only drew attention to controversial works and stimulated demand.”¹⁸

This demand may not seem important due to perceptions of literacy rates and education in early modern England but the spread of information through cheap print occurred in multiple ways. Although literacy rates were low in most of the early modern period, reading was considered important in order to lead a godly life. Furthermore, literacy rates for men in London were relatively high.¹⁹ It is important to note that these statistics were based on the ability to sign or make your mark on official documents. This could possibly suggest that literacy was actually higher since the ability to read was normally taught before the ability to write. Furthermore, publishers were shifting printing practices to access large portions of the population regardless of literacy rates.²⁰ Even more importantly, “reading was not the individual and largely silent process which has

¹⁷ Early English Books Online, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/home>. From this point forward this will be referenced as EEBO. This search focused on titles and metadata not on the text of the documents.

¹⁸ David Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution, 1640-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 307.

¹⁹ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 74-75.

²⁰ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 322.

become the more familiar experience of subsequent generations.”²¹ During this period it was common for proclamations to be read in public as well as posted and for family and friends to gather for communal reading. This meant that only one person in a group needed to be able to read for news to spread.

3.4 Print and Reading in Ireland

The situation of print in Ireland was different than England but was still controlled by the laws of England. According to Raymond Gillespie, “in economic terms, the technology of print was of limited significance in sixteenth- and seventeenth- century Ireland, employing no more than a handful of individuals on a full-time basis.”²² Unlike England, Ireland’s print trade was controlled by a printer’s patent given to one person instead of a company of people.²³ Although the breakdown in print control and censorship did occur in Ireland as well as England, the results were not the same. In the 1630s there were a total of 98 documents printed in Dublin, according to the ESTC. This number increased to 164 records in the 1640s. While this is almost double, it is small when compared to the amount of print coming out of London and the rest of England. The amount printed in Ireland is even dwarfed by the 470 records coming from Edinburgh, Scotland.

The majority of printed material was imported from England and controlled by the Stationers’ Company, the same group in control of printing and licensing in England.²⁴

²¹ Adam Fox, “Popular Verses and their Readership in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 131.

²² Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 3.

²³ M. Pollard, *Dublin’s Trade in Books, 1550-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1.

²⁴ Pollard, 36.

Furthermore, the only printed materials coming out of Ireland were those being issued by William Bladen, the state sponsored printer in Ireland.²⁵ Each of these pamphlets and broadsides, printed in England or under the control of Bladen, stressed that they were telling a true story and were being “published to prevent false and erroneous copies” from spreading.²⁶ Not only did the royalists in Dublin control the print which was imported and exported from Ireland, but they were largely controlling print in Ireland. While the Confederates did establish printing presses the output was very small. Kilkenny and Waterford acted as print centers for the Confederates throughout the 1640s, but they only printed 39 and 13 documents respectively.²⁷ This was important to the development of stereotypes of the Old English and Gaelic Irish. Since there was not a similar level of print in Ireland this meant that the amount leaving Ireland and going to England was incredibly small, especially the print controlled by the Confederates. Without the ability to print propaganda and send it to England, the Old English had few ways to influence the English public. This left them at the mercy of the print spreading throughout England from English presses.

The ability to read the printed material also had a large impact in Ireland. Most of the items coming into Ireland were written in English, giving the book trade a distinctively colonial feel.²⁸ The majority of Ireland, especially rural Ireland, spoke Gaelic Irish and had very low literacy rates in any language. The literary output of

²⁵ Anonymous, *A Full Relation Not Only of Our Good Successes in General* (London, 1642); Anonymous, *A True Relation of Such Passages and proceedings of the Army of Dublin* (London, 1642); Anonymous, *Ireland's True Diurnall, or A Continued Relation of Irish Occurrences* (London, 1642). There are many more of these but this is a good set of examples.

²⁶ Anon, *A True Relation of Such Passages*, Sig. A1 r.

²⁷ English Short Title Catalogue, http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=logiqn-bl-estc.

²⁸ Gillespie, 70.

Gaelic Ireland was mainly oral in nature with a significant manuscript culture for personal not commercial purposes.²⁹ Furthermore, the print culture that did exist largely consisted of official documents. According to statistics gathered from the ESTC, more than half of the documents printed in the seventeenth century were official government sponsored documents. Other documents consisted largely of religious teachings in an attempt to reform the Catholic Gaelic Irish. Very little else was printed and all of it was controlled by the Company of Stationers' and their representative William Bladen.

3.5 Outbreak of Rebellion

On October 23, 1641 Gaelic Irish nobles in Ulster implemented a planned attack that was meant to seize and secure key fortresses, under the command of Phelim O'Neill. O'Neill was a prominent Gaelic Irish aristocrat and was related to many of the surrounding families, both Gaelic and Old English. The goal of this insurrection was to force Charles I and his deputies into negotiations about key grievances that had been ignored, especially the Graces. According to Canny, "all surviving narratives of the insurrection in Ulster" prove that it was started by "a small group of discontented Catholic landowners... with a view of negotiating a resolution of their grievances from a position of strength."³⁰ O'Neill's main grievances were security of his land rights and the free practice of the Catholic religion.³¹ While this insurrection was started as an elite movement to secure power in Ireland, it was quickly overrun by commoners, eager to assert their Catholic identity and protect their rights.

²⁹ Gillespie, 57.

³⁰ Canny, 469.

³¹ John Gibney, "Protestant Interest? The 1641 Rebellion and State Formation in Early Modern Ireland," *Historical Research* 84, no. 223 (2011): 69.

Once this occurred, both Catholic and Protestant Old English and Gaelic Irish aristocrats had to decide where their loyalties stood. Many in the Pale sought to distance themselves from this rebellious activity by proclaiming on “behalf of themselves and the rest of the Pale, and others of the Old English of this kingdom,” that they were not the culprits but instead that the rebels were “ill affected persons of the old Irish.”³² While each province contended with the rebels in its own way, the clear pattern was that the Old English worked to suppress the rebels. Rebellious commoners were as much a threat to the Old English power structure as to the New English. In Ulster the rebellion spread quickly allowing for almost complete control of the province. The only areas not under Gaelic Irish control were those controlled by the Scots. The English Parliament sought to stop this rebellion by using Scottish troops to suppress the rebels.³³ Meanwhile, troops being raised by the Earl of Ormond in Dublin were also meant to suppress the rebels.³⁴ This contestation of who would control the armies in Ireland led to more conflict between Charles I and the English Parliament.

Munster, Connacht and Leinster had similar conflicts about military and land control.³⁵ In Munster, groups of the Ormond family sided with the rebels.³⁶ This created even more conflict because James Butler, Earl of Ormond was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and kin to these rebels. Munster did not fully side with the rebels. Both Richard

³² Anonymous, *A Late and True Relation from Ireland of the Warlike and Bloody Proceedings* (London, 1641), Sig. A3r.

³³ Stevenson, 49-50.

³⁴ Scott Wheeler, “Four Armies in Ireland,” in *Ireland From Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660*, ed. Jane H. Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³⁵ For a map of the different provinces: Anonymous, *A Map of Ye Kingdome of Ireland* (Oxford, 1642).

³⁶ Aidan Clarke, *The Old English In Ireland, 1625-42* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 196-197.

Boyle, the Earl of Cork and Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin remained loyal to the English crown, at least in the beginning of the conflict. In the western province of Connacht there were similar conflicts of interest. While the area controlled by Ulick Burke, Earl of Clanricard remained loyal to English Crown, Barnabas O'Brien, Earl of Thomond struggled to maintain control against the rebels.³⁷ Finally, Leinster was completely engulfed in the conflict. According to one document, "the Lords of the Pale promised fidelity and their assistance," while the surrounding area was quickly captured by Lord Ormond's relatives.³⁸ These Old English and Gaelic Irish leaders explained the rebellion in social, not religious terms, despite the judgement coming from England.³⁹

Even with the attempts at fighting the rebels and securing Ireland, the Old English found that their efforts to differentiate themselves from the rebels were unsuccessful. According to Kathleen Noonan, "both in print and through the refugees flooding into London, English men and women received dramatic testimony of Irishness at a time when the puritan revolution resurrected questions of what it meant to be English and what was England's proper role in the world."⁴⁰ This led to the questioning of the loyalties and Englishness of the Old English in Ireland among the reading public.

3.6 Rebellion in English Print

The more salacious the story the quicker it spread through England and Scotland and the more fantastical it became. The government sought to gather these massacre

³⁷ Clarke, 193-194.

³⁸ Anonymous, *The Last News from Ireland; or a True Relation of the Sad Estate* (London, 1641), Sig. A2r.

³⁹ Derek Hirst, *Dominion: England and Its Island Neighbours, 1500-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 189.

⁴⁰ Kathleen M. Noonan, "The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People': Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda," *The Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 152.

stories to get a “true” account of what occurred. The 1641 Depositions database from Trinity College Library in Dublin has transcripts and pictures of the 8,000 depositions gathered after the outbreak of the rebellion. While some of these depositions make references to “bloody massacres” and cases of mass murder of women and children others only reference the loss of property.⁴¹ These depositions have a large range of complaints, not all of them atrociously violent. It is not until these transcripts begin to be picked up for print that the number of atrocity stories and the telling of these stories change.

The stories of the rebellion were “blown to monstrous proportions sparking scares across Britain” and occupied “17% of all English publications in the first year,” according to Hirst.⁴² Rebels were being described as “blood-sucking popish rebels” and “Turkish tyrants.”⁴³ The language of these atrocity stories poetically describes the events, one stating that, “the earth wept in blood.”⁴⁴ These fantastical accounts of the “blood thirsty savages” influenced the English public, especially once the print arena was opened.⁴⁵ The rebels in these pamphlets are accused of targeting Protestants and being ordered to “wash their hands in the blood” of their victims by “popish priests.”⁴⁶ Accounts of the Gaelic Irish rebels, and sometime Old English rebels, were

⁴¹ TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 813001r002?>>; TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php echo 821001r002?>>.

⁴² Hirst, 190.

⁴³ Henry Brinklow, *A True Coppy of the Complaint of Roderyck Mors* (London, 1642); Tristram Whetcombe, *The Rebels Turkish Tyranny, in their March December 24 1641* (London, 1641).

⁴⁴ Anonymous, *A Bloody Battell: or the Rebels Overthrow and Protestant Victories* (London, 1641), Sig. A2v.

⁴⁵ Anonymous, *A Bloody Battell*, Sig. A3r.

⁴⁶ Anonymous, *An Exact and True Relation How Eighteen French and Irish Men, Whose Names were Set Downe, Were Apprehended* (London, 1641), Sig. A3v.

told in violent language focused on blood, barbarity, death and anything else that could make the rebels less human.⁴⁷ More importantly, the descriptions of the rebels were consistently connected to ideas about the savagery of the Irish but now pertained to all those in open rebellion regardless of background.

The language used by the Gaelic and Old English rebels focused on loyalty and freedom, not destruction and violence. Even with publications that explained the reasons for rebellion, English opinion was already against the rebels. O'Neill and the rebels claimed, "that our desires are not to withdraw ourselves from the subjugation of our lawful King, or to any laws by his Majesty and Parliament, made for good government, that destroys not our religion, laws or liberties." They also exclaimed they "have not used any cruelty to the adverse Party; otherwise then hath happened to fall by the sword in battle, of which we have tasted."⁴⁸ Furthermore, the supposed Irish Covenant published in Edinburgh stressed loyalty to Charles I and to not attack any lands that were owned before 1610 or properly purchased.⁴⁹ These words did not influence public opinion and in many cases were twisted to make O'Neill look like a blood thirsty rebel seeking to eliminate English Protestants.⁵⁰

Pamphlets and broadsides detailing the suppression of the rebels took on a very different language. The language of repentance and providentialism permeated these narratives. This belief that God had pre-ordained these events or was actively involved in the suppression of the rebels was the most common theme throughout the

⁴⁷ Anonymous, *A Bloody Battell*, Sig. A3v.

⁴⁸ Phelim O'Neill, *The Petition and Declaration of Sir Philom O'Neal* (London, 1641), Sig. A3v.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, *An Exact Copie of the Irish Rebels Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1641).

⁵⁰ Phelim O'Neill, *The Rebels of Irelands Wicked Conspiracie* (London, 1641).

pamphlets.⁵¹ According to one pamphlet, “Sir Thomas Moore...with all speed raised the Protestants that were resident in those parts, encouraging them to make resistance, who were already resolved, rather to die in defense of their Christian liberties, then to live in servitude to the Papists cruelty.”⁵² The violence of suppression was presented in victorious and jubilant language unlike the bloody language applied to actions of the rebels. The English armies “burned villages in the way, which belonged to the Rebels,” without any comment about the violence of these actions.⁵³ Additionally, the titles of these pamphlets were stressed as “true” or “exact” and the victories are depicted as “glorious” and “joyful.”⁵⁴

These “true” stories spread throughout England. With the continuing improvement of the postal service and the invention of newsbooks, these stories had the ability to traverse England.⁵⁵ According to Joad Raymond, “newsbooks were cheap, slipshod, and probably profitable, and their printing was even more improvisatory and flexible than that of more prestigious texts.”⁵⁶ This meant that all levels of society probably had access to these stories. Furthermore, the number of booksellers that appear in the 1640s and seem to disappear after that is substantial. According to Henry

⁵¹ Providentialism as used in Alexandra Walsham, “‘The Fatall Vesper’: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London,” *Past & Present*, no. 144 (1994): 39.

⁵² Anonymous, *A Bloody Battell*, Sig. A2v.

⁵³ Anonymous, *A True Relation of Divers Great Defeats given Against the Rebels of Ireland* (London, 1642), Sig. A2v.

⁵⁴ Anonymous, *A True Relation of the Latest Occurrences in Ireland* (London, 1642); Anonymous, *A True and Exact Relation of Divers Principall Actions of a Late Expedition, Undertaken in the North of Ireland* (London, 1642); Anonymous, *A Glorious Victory Obtained by S. Henry Tichbourne and Captaine Marroe Over the Rebels* (London, 1642); Anonymous, *Exceedingly Joyfull Newes from Ireland, Or a True Discovery of the Present Estate* (London, 1642).

⁵⁵ Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁵⁶ Raymond, 237.

Plomer's *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers* many of the booksellers that are listed on the pamphlets from 1641 and 1642 focused on the sale and printing of political pamphlets.⁵⁷ These printers and sellers had many connections throughout England.⁵⁸ The mixture of these conditions allowed for the rapid spread of stereotypical language that was applied to all those in rebellion in Ireland.

3.7 Exceptions to the Rule

The strict confessional delineations stressed in these pamphlets made clear demarcations which did not exist in reality. According to T.C. Barnard, "before 1641 moves towards a shared sense of Protestant identity occurred hesitantly and unevenly and were riddled with contradiction."⁵⁹ Furthermore, Irish Catholicism was just as disunited, causing a lack of communication.⁶⁰ It is when these two contradictory notions are put side by side that the evolution of the stereotypes can be seen best. There were divides between Church of England Protestants and Presbyterians as well as divides between the Church of England and Church of Ireland, not just between Protestant and Catholics. Moreover, the divide between social levels was more important to the elite than confessional ties.

Multiple figures in Ireland do not fit the stereotypical presentations that were being presented in the pamphlets and broadsides about the Irish Rebellion of 1641, yet these perceptions persist. Ulick Burke, 5th Earl of Clanricarde was Catholic and Old

⁵⁷ Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641-1667* (London: Blades, East and Blades, 1907), 30, 138, 168, & 178. These are just some examples.

⁵⁸ Plomer, 3-4, 25, 184, & 199.

⁵⁹ T.C. Barnard, "Crises of Identity among Irish Protestants 1641-1685," *Past and Present*, no. 127 (1990): 49.

⁶⁰ Clarke, 68.

English and the son of the Richard Burke, who was embroiled in an honor battle with Thomas Wentworth. Even with this background, pamphlets printed about Clanricard's actions stress his "noble and valiant" nature and print speeches that he supposedly made about protecting "poore Protestants."⁶¹ Despite his confessional leanings, Clanricarde remained central to Charles I's policies in Ireland. According to Micheál Ó Siochrú, "Charles authorized Ormond and Clanricarde to accept a remonstrance of grievances from those he termed 'rebels.'"⁶²

James Tuchet, 3rd Earl of Castlehaven and Lord Audley, was part of the New English in Ireland, but was Catholic. This created a complicated understanding of English and Irish loyalty. Castlehaven originally sided with the Royalists but his loyalty was called into question despite his attempts to vindicate himself through petitions.⁶³ He even claimed to "repair to Dublin, and there offered his service," but was denied because he was a "papist" which made him "incapable of Trust, nay even of armes to defend his house."⁶⁴ Instead of being trusted as an Englishman, Castlehaven was instead charged with treason and imprisoned "with the sheriffs of Dublin."⁶⁵ Because of this treatment, the once loyal Castlehaven fled his captivity and joined with the rebel forces for a few years before once again joining the royalists.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ulick Burke, *The Happiest News from Ireland*, (London, 1641), Sig. A2r-A3v.

⁶² Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland 1642-1649: A Constitutional and Political Analysis* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 61.

⁶³ Cynthia Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 105-107

⁶⁴ Anonymous, *A Remonstrance of the Right Honourable James Earle of Castlehaven and Lord Audley* (Waterford, 1643), 8.

⁶⁵ Anonymous, *A Remonstrance of the Right Honourable James Earle of Castlehaven*, 14; Worthy Gentleman, *True Intelligence from Ireland, relating how the Rebels Stole away 300 Horse* (London 1642), 4.

⁶⁶ Anonymous, *A Remonstrance of the Right Honourable James Earle of Castlehaven*, 22-23.

James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was another person who broke the stereotype being developed during this period. Ormond was part of the Old English aristocracy, but unlike most of his kin, he was Protestant. This was because Ormond had become a ward of the state and was housed with the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot while growing up.⁶⁷ Unlike Ormond, others from the Butler lineage like Richard Butler, Viscount of Mountgarret, remained Catholic and joined with the rebellion. This connection, however, did not affect Ormond's reputation in England until much later. In fact, Ormond is discussed as "honourable" and his victories are recounted with the same language as other suppression pamphlets.⁶⁸

The largest abnormality when compared to the themes of the English pamphlets was Murrough O'Brien, 1st Earl of Inchiquin, a Protestant Gaelic Irishman. O'Brien came from an old Irish family and was the commander in Munster.⁶⁹ There are multiple pamphlets discussing Inchiquin's victories and how he was favored by God.⁷⁰ Additionally, Unlike the other exceptions already discussed, O'Brien joined with the Parliamentary forces in Ireland because he was disgusted with the terms of the cessation of conflict between the Royalists in Dublin and the Confederates in Kilkenny.⁷¹ While this shift to the Parliamentary side of the conflict was not permanent it creates a unique example of an exception to the stereotype rules.

⁶⁷ Toby Barnard, "Butler, James, First Duke of Ormond (1610-1688), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶⁸ A.L., *A True Relation of the Right Honorable, the Earle of Ormond and Sir Charles Coote* (London, 1642); Anonymous, *The Last True and Joyful Newes from Ireland* (London, 1642).

⁶⁹ Wheeler, 45.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, *A Certaine and True Relation of a Great and Glorious Victory Obtained by the Protestant Party in Ireland* (London, 1642).

⁷¹ Patrick Little, "O'Brien, Murrough, First Earl of Inchiquin (1614-1674), Nobleman and Army Officer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

The 2nd Earl of Antrim, Randal MacDonnell, a Scot, is the last case study due to his “chameleon-like behavior”.⁷² At the outbreak of the rebellion, Antrim stressed his loyalty stating, “My Lord, it is a great sorrow to me, my name and Honour should be so much defamed and scandalized by false and scandalous reports; nay permitted to be published in print, that I have revolted from the King, and turned rebel.”⁷³ Antrim stressed this allegiance, not in terms of Scottishness or Englishness, but in spite of his “Roman Religion.”⁷⁴ Antrim knew the deep seated distrust associated with being Catholic and holding a title in Ireland. He carefully constructed his identity to combat the stereotype. Despite this oath of loyalty, Antrim was suspected of constantly switching sides in the conflict based on which position best served his purposes. These few examples highlight cases where the stereotype of the Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English do not fit what was actually happening on the ground.

3.8 Success of Stereotypes

The anxiety caused by the thought of an Irish invasion hardened stereotypes and helped to transform understandings of both the Old English and Gaelic Irish in Ireland. The examples above are not the only cases of those that did not fit into the nicely constructed stereotype categories. There are other Old English members that remained loyal to the Crown. Even some of the Gaelic Irish sided with Charles I against the Confederacy of Kilkenny. These examples did little to change the damage which was already done causing, many of “the Old English, who had been left with nowhere else to

⁷² Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The Career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 8.

⁷³ Randal MacDonnell, *A Continuation of the Diurnall Passages in Ireland Declared in Two Letters* (London, 1641), 1.

⁷⁴ MacDonnell, 2.

go, to drift into the rising.”⁷⁵ Left with no other option because of the quickly solidifying stereotype, many of the Old English choose to join the rebellion and “help channel and contain the violence.”⁷⁶ Even in this capitulation, the Old English maintained their loyalty to Charles I and attempted to keep a separate identity from the Gaelic Irish. The Confederacy of Kilkenny pledged that King Charles was their rightful sovereign and claimed they would defend against “all ill-affected persons...to the losse of life, estate and goods.”⁷⁷ With the outbreak of conflict between the English Parliament and Charles I this loyalty heightened fears of many in England. Many in England believed that it was only a matter of time before Charles I made peace with the Irish rebels and brought their army to England.⁷⁸

As the conflict in England worsened, views of those who belonged to the Confederacy deteriorated further. Confederates were seen as enemies to the English public and culture, and by signing a cease fire with the Confederates, royalists became more suspect as well.⁷⁹ Pamphlets appeared discrediting the Earl of Ormond, the once valiant hero, claiming he was part of the Irish Rebellion and “was to be Lord of Ireland, as in former ages.”⁸⁰ Other pamphlets, mainly printed in London, which was controlled by Parliament, claimed that Charles I wanted Irish help to fight the Parliamentarians and to enslave the English people.⁸¹ According to Ethan Shagan, “the vast majority of

⁷⁵ Hirst, 189-190.

⁷⁶ Hirst, 190.

⁷⁷ Anonymous, *An Exact Copie of the Irish Rebels Covenant*, 3.

⁷⁸ Anonymous, *An Admiration by Way of Answer to the Petition of the Rebels in Ireland* (London, 1642), 1.

⁷⁹ William Bladen, *A Collection of All the Papers Which Passed Upon the Late Treaty Touching the Cessation of Arms in Ireland* (Dublin, 1643).

⁸⁰ Thomas Crant, *The Plott and Progresse of the Irish Rebellion* (London, 1644), 6.

⁸¹ Anonymous, *An Admiration by Way of Answer to the Petition*, 2-3.

pamphlets which described the alleged royal connection did so in ways which condemned the king.”⁸² This association with the Confederates, warranted or not, hurt the standing of Charles I and the Royalists in Ireland. All those in Ireland, except the Parliamentarians and at times the Scottish, were seen as untrustworthy and dishonorable.

3.9 John Temple’s, *The Irish Rebellion*

By the time Sir John Temple published *The Irish Rebellion* the Old English stereotypes had solidified. At this point, as Noonan states, “the failure of England to subdue Ireland was not the fault of a rapacious and selfish gentry who refuse to be agents of good government in Ireland but resulted from the natural treachery of the Irish rooted in their racial (i.e. ethnic) identity.”⁸³ Reformation of the Gaelic Irish and the Old English was no longer possible. This was a drastic shift when compared to the views of Spenser in *A View of the State of Ireland*, mentioned above.⁸⁴ In thirteen years the attitude of the English towards Ireland and those who resided in Ireland had shifted drastically. Temple’s *The Irish Rebellion* (1646) was released at the climax of tensions between England and Ireland and between Charles I and the English Parliament. This account of Irish history claimed to objectively explain both the reasons why the Irish were uncivilized and the events of 1641. Furthermore, according to Barnard, “because it accorded so well with the preconceptions about Ireland and the Irish encouraged by

⁸² Ethan H. Shagan, “Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641,” *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 1 (1997): 28.

⁸³ Noonan, 158.

⁸⁴ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1997).

more ephemeral accounts since 1641... it exerted a strong and baleful influence.”⁸⁵

This narrative influenced current and future views and actions towards Ireland.

The beginning of Temple’s narrative stated that the original plantations from the first conquest of Ireland had gone native.⁸⁶ These original settlers had intermarried and adapted to the native culture, losing their Englishness. As time progressed the Gaelic Irish had reasserted their dominance and some English were “barbarously rooted out” while what remained “degenerated into Irish manners and names.”⁸⁷ The Old English were no longer to be trusted and were no longer English in the eyes of Temple. They had become Irish, losing the separate identity that they had fought so hard to maintain. This stereotype was furthered by Temple’s deliberate use of the 1641 Depositions. Instead of using all of the deposition records, “Temple exercised his editorial judgement” and “selected the most shocking reported incidents for his history.”⁸⁸ These depositions contain stories of attempts “to destroy all of the English” and the killing of all Protestants.⁸⁹

These stories and Temple’s view of the inhabitants of Ireland influenced the suggested course of future policy towards Ireland. As Noonan argues, “For Temple...the enemy included the Old English, both Catholic and in some cases Protestant, and emphasized a plan for English domination and control of Ireland that

⁸⁵ Barnard, 52.

⁸⁶ John Temple, “The Originalls of the Irish,” in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), 2.

⁸⁷ Temple, “The Originalls of the Irish,” 11.

⁸⁸ Marie-Louise Coolahan, “‘And this Deponent Further Sayeth’: Orality, Print and the 1641 Depositions,” in *Oral and Print Cultures in Ireland, 1600-1900*, ed. Marc Caball and Andrew Carpenter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010), 76.

⁸⁹ John Temple, “The Discovery of the Conspiracie of the Irish to Seize Upon the Castle and City of Dublin,” in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), 20.

would exclude accommodation with the Old English.”⁹⁰ Systematic confiscation of land and power from all Catholics and some of the Old English became the suggested course of action. Temple thoroughly distrusted the Old English and blamed them for the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, despite the loyalty shown by many like Clanricarde and Ormond.⁹¹ Old English as a separate identity group and term disappears in Temple’s book, turning those that are Confederates or Royalist into Irish and Papists. Temple even ends his narrative with comments about how the Old English were raised as Papists and are therefore automatically inclined to side with the rebels.⁹² Exceptions to the stereotypes do not exist in Temple’s narrative. Confessional lines were drawn with no possible crossovers between Irish and English and Catholic and Protestant.

The strict confessional lines drawn between the Irish and English influenced subsequent policy based on Temple’s designs. According to Temple when Ireland is resettled “there may be such a course taken, such provisions made, and such a wall of separation set up betwixt the Irish and the British, as it shall not be in their power to rise up...”⁹³ This included the Old English “because they betrayed their Englishness, which should have been stronger than their Catholicism.”⁹⁴ These views spread through England and Scotland, creating a road map for the future. According to Marie-Louise

⁹⁰ Noonan, 173.

⁹¹ John Temple, “The Happy Conditions of Ireland, at the Time of the Breaking Out of the Rebellion,” in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), 16.

⁹² John Temple, “The Cruelties Acted by the Irish upon the British,” in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), 55.

⁹³ John Temple, “Preface,” in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), Sig. A3v.

⁹⁴ Noonan, 177.

Coolahan, "Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* was reprinted ten times between 1646 and 1812 and ransacked by later historians of the period."⁹⁵

3.10 Conclusion

On the one hand, the breakdown of the licensing and censorship of print in England created a rapid increase in printed materials with authorities exerting little control over those producing these political pamphlets. On the other hand, this breakdown did little to affect print in Dublin, which was severely behind England and the rest of Europe in both volume and complexity. These circumstances mixed with an increase in literacy rates and common reading practices in England to create the perfect environment for the rapid spread of ideas.

With the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, stereotype formation sped up. Because of these rapidly solidifying stereotypes the Old English found themselves caught between the conflicts in Ireland. The widely held perceptions in England of the Old English's disloyalty led them to join the rebellion and to take control of the movement because they were left with nowhere else to go. While the Old English may have shared many of the same views as the Gaelic Irish, it was the prevalence of anti-Catholic rhetoric featuring Old English examples and the government policies influenced by this print explosion that pushed the Old English into rebellion.⁹⁶ With the publishing of Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* the Old English ceased to exist in the eyes of many in England. The Old English were no longer English but were instead fully Irish.

⁹⁵ Coolahan, 70.

⁹⁶ Clarke, 227.

4 IRELAND DURING THE INTERREGNUM: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE OLD ENGLISH

4.1 Introduction

With the ending of the first phase of the English Civil War, the English Parliament was able to turn its attention towards the suppression of the Irish Rebellion. Phillip Sidney, Viscount Lisle, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and began the first stages of violent suppression.¹ This conquest, however, was interrupted by the outbreak of fighting in England and the beginning of the second phase of the English Civil War. Once Charles I was beheaded the English Parliament built up forces under the direction of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Lieutenant. Ireland's suppression, however, was made more complicated by the beheading of Charles I, as it encouraged the Royalists in Ireland to join forces with the Confederacy of Kilkenny. By joining, the Confederates and Royalists now greatly outnumbered the Parliamentary forces in Ireland. Even with more numbers, the Confederates and Royalists were too weak to be effective due to their disagreements on policy. Because of this Cromwell and the Parliamentary Army were able to conquer Ireland relatively quickly.

This chapter explores the policies behind the conquests and settlement of Ireland during the Interregnum years. I will argue that the term Old English as a separate identity category is replaced by the term Tory and eventually ceases to exist during this period. The Old English cease to exist as a separate identity group according to those

¹ C.H. Firth, "Sidney, Philip, third earl of Leicester (1619–1698), parliamentarian army officer and politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2014).

in England. It is important to note that the Old English still viewed themselves as a separate identity group, which I will demonstrate throughout this chapter. This disappearance of the Old English identity group in the eyes of those in England influenced the policies of the Interregnum years as well as policies after the Restoration. I will argue that Cromwell's policies were influenced by the common understandings of Gaelic Irish and Old English identity as depicted initially by Sir John Temple and that these policies shift as understandings of Old English identity shift.² I will begin by briefly exploring the period following the first phase of the English Civil War when Temple had a direct influence on policy in Ireland as a member of Lisle's council. I will then move towards the shifts that occurred during Cromwell's tenure as, first, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and second, as Lord Protector of the three countries. I will conclude with an examination of the Restoration and an investigation into the etymology of the term Old English.

While Temple may not have exerted direct control over governmental policies throughout most of the period discussed here, his views of the degradation of the Old English and his views of the Gaelic Irish were ubiquitous. By this point the belief in Gaelic Irish cruelty and unreformability were commonly mentioned in cheap print. Along with this view, the Old English were rarely separated from the Irish in these pamphlets and broadsides. These depictions allowed for the violent and excessive repression of the Confederacy of Kilkenny and the policies of forced migration to Connacht and the Americas. I will examine the relationship between the shift in understandings of Old English identity and these policies. I will also argue that the level of brutality of the

² John Temple, *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646).

suppression of Ireland was because those in Ireland were seen as culturally and socially different from the English, despite many being of English ancestry. I will also argue that the reform measures and transplantation policies implemented in Ireland, while largely unsuccessful, did attempt to root out many aspects of the Irish culture, as it was understood in England. This included the Gaelic language, Catholicism and the land tenure of the Irish Catholics. These policies were unsuccessful not because the negative views of the Old English and Gaelic Irish disappeared but because they were difficult to enforce and economically damaging.

4.2 Temple's Direct Involvement in the Government of Ireland

The first example of Temple's influence on the policies and actions in Ireland was his membership on Viscount Lisle's Privy Council.³ According to John Adamson, "Temple, who was appointed to Lisle's privy council in Jan. 1647, exercised a powerful influence over the new lord lieutenant and was to be the principal public apologist for the values and objectives which underlay his projected campaign."⁴ Lisle was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and chose to take the suggestions from Temple's work and create a policy based on the idea that the Irish were unredeemable. According to Temple's work and Lisle's policies, there was no separation between Gaelic Irish and Old English by this point and they all deserved the same treatment.⁵ Furthermore, Temple points to Lord Ormond, a member of the Old English aristocracy and a Royalist,

³ Ireland Lord Lieutenant, *A Collection of All the Papers* (Dublin, 1646), 2-5.

⁴ John Adamson, "Strafford's Ghost: The British Context of Viscount Lisle's Lieutenantcy of Ireland," in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660* ed. Jane H. Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 139.

⁵ Sir John Temple, "The Cruelties Acted by the Irish upon the British," in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), 55.

as the chief instigator of the problems in Ireland.⁶ To Temple, and therefore Lisle's government, Ormond had "long since degenerated into Irish" and was therefore an enemy to the state.⁷ These views of not only Ormond, but of all those siding against the English Parliament became pervasive.

One of the first examples of these pervasive views is the reaction of the public and the English Parliament to the treaty and cessation between Colonel Monk and Owen Roe O'Neil, Gaelic Irish leader of one of the rebel groups. This group, led by O'Neil, was not associated with the Confederate troops but controlled a large portion of Ulster. One document, written to the English Parliament by the Council of State for Ireland, claimed, "that this House doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel Monk, in the Treaty and Cessation made between him and Owen Roe O'Neal."⁸ It continues by discussing the amount of bloodshed caused by the "Irish Rebels."⁹ Furthermore, any cessation of arms was continuously declared null and void by the English Parliament.¹⁰ There were also attacks on the character of those serving Parliament in Ireland, especially if their bloodline was questionable. Lord Inchiquin's loyalty and effectiveness was commonly questioned. One document focused on defending Inchiquin's honor, claiming that he was "a principall instrument in preserving the remnant of the poore Protestants and preventing the designs of these bloody

⁶ Sir John Temple, *Ormonds Curtain Drawn* (London, 1646), 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸ George Albemarle, *The True State of the Transactions of Colonel George Monk* (London, 1649), 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ "December 1646: An Ordinance concerning the Cessation of Arms in Ireland, and Grants under the Great Seal of Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 910.

rebels.”¹¹ These attacks were directed at Parliamentary supporters during Lisle’s tenure because Lisle and Temple questioned the loyalties of all those who were not from pure English bloodlines.¹² Even though these views were becoming pervasive, Lisle’s leadership was considered too harsh and he was removed from office, along with Temple.

4.3 Cromwell’s Tenure as Lord Lieutenant

Upon the ending of the second phase of the English Civil War and the beheading of Charles I, the largest problem with which the English Parliament and Cromwell had to contend was the joining of Confederate and Royalist forces. The combination of the Royalists and Confederates outnumbered the English Parliamentary forces in Ireland, especially after Lord Inchiquin switched sides to become a Royalist supporter. While this was a difficult task for Cromwell’s troops it was made easier by the “political divisions within the Confederation between the Old Irish and Old English.”¹³ Despite the growing prevalence in England to see them both as Irish, these two groups still held onto their separate identities. According to James Wheeler, “defeat of royalism and Catholicism in Ireland owed as much to the disunity of the Catholic and royalist factions in Ireland as it did to English power and Cromwellian military prowess.”¹⁴ Despite this disunity, the combined royalist and confederate forces challenged the English views of an easy suppression of the Irish.

¹¹ B.S., *A Letter from a Person of Quality Residing in Kinsale* (London, 1646), 1.

¹² Adamson, 146.

¹³ James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 33.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

Cromwell's violent suppression of the Irish was an implementation of the ideas in Temple's work, which by this point had spread through the upper levels of the Parliamentary cause and had begun to solidify as the accepted understanding of the Irish rebellion. Cromwell and his other officers used harsh discriminatory language against all those that were involved in the resistance to their cause. According to Ian Gentles, Cromwell "had devoured Sir John Temple's *Irish Rebellion* and believed every word of its grossly partisan account, and its impossibly high estimate of the number of Protestant deaths."¹⁵ This understanding of the events of the Irish Rebellion mixed with the already ubiquitous understanding of the barbarous and uncivilized behavior of the Irish justified the level of violence in the suppression of the Irish.

This view was also shared by the English reading public. One pamphlet claimed, "without the sword no justice could be gotten against the Irish."¹⁶ This same pamphlet also claimed that the "settlement of Ireland by planters must not be by treaties and parlies but by terror and strength of hand."¹⁷ Others claimed that the "hand of God is causing famine and plague on natives and enemies."¹⁸ Ironically, Cromwell claimed that he would not massacre or banish and that the only thing causing negative effects for the Confederates and their allies were continued acts of rebellion.¹⁹ This is after the massacre at Drogheda, where Cromwell justified the violence as a way to scare the

¹⁵ Ian Gentles, *Oliver Cromwell: God's Warrior and the English Revolution* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 104.

¹⁶ Anonymous, *The Present Posture and Condition of Ireland* (London, 1652), 18.

¹⁷ Anon., *The Present Posture and Condition*, 31.

¹⁸ Ireland Lord Lieutenant, *A Declaration and Proclamation of the Deputy-General of Ireland* (Cork, 1650), A2r.

¹⁹ Ecclesiasticall Congregation, *Certaine Acts and Declarations Made by the Ecclesiasticall Congregation and Clanmacnoise* (Dublin, 1650) B4v-C1r.

Irish into submission.²⁰ To the English, violence was a justified course of action to prevent continued death and destruction and as a means to wipe out the “inhumane and bloody rebels.”²¹ T.C. Barnard argues that “until 1655 the emphasis was on punitive policies which aimed less at converting the Irish than at bludgeoning them into submission and leaving them too weak to rise again.”²²

The use of violence as the course of action, however ubiquitous, was not the only one suggested. Many Levellers in the army fought against the use of violence and the suppression of Catholicism because they considered it morally wrong.²³ Others believed that it would continue the violence indefinitely and instead suggested reform measures be taken. These suggestions, however, used paternalistic language suggesting the Irish were a backwards thinking group and prone to act defiantly by nature. One pamphlet claimed “this fewel to the fire of the rebellion, is not to be taken away by a persecution of their Religion, for they are so inhumane and unlike men, that we are first to reconcile them to our nature.”²⁴ It continued to argue against violent suppression by claiming that “the violent prosecution of their religion will but procure a further alienation from us.”²⁵ Instead it suggested that reform measures be taken to civilize the Irish and reform their religion through the presence of English Protestants.²⁶

²⁰ John Donoghue, “The Curse of Cromwell: Revisiting the Irish Slavery Debate,” *History Ireland* 25, no. 4 (2017): 24.

²¹ R.S., *Very Sad and Bloody News from Ireland, of the Losse of Brunratty* (London, 1646), 6.

²² T.C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 12.

²³ Norah Carlin, “The Levellers and the Conquest of Ireland in 1649,” *The Historical Journal* 30, no. 2 (1987): 269-288; Chris Durston, “‘Let Ireland Be Quiet’: Opposition in England to the Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland,” *History Workshop*, no. 21 (1986): 109.

²⁴ Anonymous, *A Discourse Concerning the Affairs of Ireland*, (London, 1650), A3r.

²⁵ Anon, *A Discourse Concerning the Affairs*, A3v.

²⁶ Anon, *A Discourse Concerning the Affairs*, A4v.

These suggestions against the use of violence and in favor of reform, however, were in the minority. Violence was the most popular suggestion coming out of England.

4.4 The Use of a New Name: Tories and Irish

Whether these pamphlets were arguing for the violent suppression or for the reformation of the Irish, both sides stressed their inferiority. More importantly these pamphlets and government documents make no mention of the Old English as a separate identity group. Instead a new term became prevalent during the early Interregnum years. The term 'Tories' was introduced around this period in reference to those fighting against Parliamentary forces in Ireland. Initially the term Tory was derived from a Gaelic word, *tóraidhe*. This term strictly translated meant pursuers but was really used as a way to describe an outlaw.²⁷ It was then adopted by the English to describe any Irish member of society who lived off of thievery and the killing of English soldiers. It is at this point when the Old English and any Royalists in Ireland, fighting against Parliament, became Tories. The once common division between the Old English and Gaelic Irish had instead become between the Tories and Irish.

In *A Particular Relation of the Present Estate and Condition of Ireland*, the author described how "the Tories have so barbarously behaved themselves towards their own party, that the Fryars and Priests have excommunicated them."²⁸ This is in reference to the divide in power and policies between Royalists and Confederates but is not a clear divide between the Old English and Gaelic Irish. Instead the division over policies was

²⁷ "Tory, n. and adj.". OED Online. July 2018. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/view/Entry/203716?rskey=ZwsPvl&result=1> (accessed October 11, 2018).

²⁸ Anonymous, *A Particular Relation of the Present Estate and Condition of Ireland* (London, 1650), A2r.

mainly between elite and common people within the Confederacy of Kilkenny. What makes this even more striking is that the Old English and the Gaelic Irish still saw themselves as two different identity groups.²⁹

The term 'Tories' appears again in a pamphlet from 1652 in reference to those that fought against Colonel Cook. The pamphlet claimed that a "party of Irish Tories commanded by General Owen Oneale" fought against Collonel Cook and killed him and his soldiers.³⁰ Now the term is no longer separated from the Irish but instead the Irish and Tories are the same. This term is mentioned multiple times throughout the 1650s in reference to those who are fighting against the English Parliamentary forces in Ireland.³¹ Furthermore, while the term Old English still appeared in print it was only in reference to events before 1642 and the formation of the Confederacy of Kilkenny.³² Taking this a step further, these pamphlets suggested that "our Irish pretending rivals are more than half mungrials, and of the old British extraction,"³³ claiming that there is a high level of British blood in Ireland and that the island justly belongs to the English. This also suggested that those with British blood that fought against the Parliamentarians were no longer acting as English or British but instead were pretending to be fully Irish. With the arrival of this new term and the justification of the violence towards the Irish a new separation between the Irish nation and the English nation was beginning to emerge.³⁴

²⁹ Ecclesiastical Congregation, *Certaine Acts and Declarations Made*, A2r.

³⁰ Anonymous, *A Great and Bloody Fight in Ireland* (London, 1652), A1.

³¹ Anon., *The Present Posture and Condition*, 6; Ireland Lord Deputy, *Ireland by the Lord Deputy and Council Whereas, notwithstanding the Many Wayes*, (Dublin, 1655).

³² Anon., *The Present Posture and Condition*, 8, 15, and 26.

³³ Anon., *The Present Posture and Condition*, 21.

³⁴ Anon., *The Present Posture and Condition*, 9.

This new understanding of the demographics of Ireland influenced the governmental policies implemented throughout the Interregnum years.

4.5 The Beginnings of the Protestant Ascendancy: Policies and Reform

The 1650s were a period of legal violence towards and suppression of the Gaelic Irish and Old English. The laws enacted during this period helped to solidify the disappearance of Old English identity from an English point-of-view. One of the first reform attempts was *An Act for the Better Advancement of the Gospel and Learning in Ireland*. Catholicism was considered the main reason for the depravity and uncivilized nature of the Gaelic Irish and the degeneration of the Old English. This act sought to “increase the learning and true knowledge and worship of God, and the advancement of the Protestant religion in Ireland.”³⁵ It proposed to accomplish this by redistributing Irish land and by erecting free schools to properly educate the Irish youth.³⁶

This redistribution of lands was implemented through *An Act for the Settling of Ireland*.³⁷ According to this act, “tis not the Parliaments intention to extirpate the whole Irish Nation.”³⁸ It just wanted to remove “all persons of the Irish Nation liable to these Qualifications.”³⁹ The qualifications for removal to Connacht were extensive and allowed for a broad interpretation. Furthermore, they were executed through the control

³⁵ "March 1650: An Act for the better Advancement of the Gospel and Learning in Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 355-357.

³⁶ England and Wales, *An Act for the Better Advancement of the Gospel and Learning in Ireland* (London, 1650).

³⁷ "August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 598-603.

³⁸ "August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.," 598-603.

³⁹ "August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.," 598-603.

of the Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy of Ireland, meaning that they were subjectively employed.

The ability for the Lord Deputy to continuously employee subjective interpretation is furthered by the ambiguous language used in each qualification. The first qualification mentioned was “if a person was involved on the side of the Catholics at all from the outbreak of rebellion until the founding of the Confederacy they forfeit their right to pardon and estate.”⁴⁰ The language allowed for an indefinite enough interpretation to allow those implementing the law to justify almost any case of land confiscation. The vagueness continues throughout the *Act for the Settlement of Ireland*. If the ambiguity was not represented in the all-encompassing identification groups named, it was represented in the inability to truly name those involved in specific events. For example, one of the qualifications stated, “people directly involved in the massacre against the English Protestants forfeit right to life and property.”⁴¹ It was extremely difficult to name specific people directly involved in the massacres of 1641. While some of the depositions may have directly named people most stated generic groupings of people, such as Mary Washbrooke’s deposition which claimed, “that she sawe the rebells drive awaie xxv coves from the said fflaben.”⁴² The naming of those involved in the massacre and rebellion was a largely subjective decision.

Other qualifications listed in this act also sought to confiscate land by listing what appeared to be every other person in Ireland. One stipulated that “those that had a

⁴⁰ "August 1652: An Act for the Setling of Ireland.," 598-603.

⁴¹ "August 1652: An Act for the Setling of Ireland.," 598-603.

⁴² TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970, [<http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID=<?php echo 820005r004?>>].

position in the rebellion but did no active killing, forfeit 2/3 land to Parliament."⁴³ These types of qualifications continued to the point that it is questionable whether a single person in Ireland of the Catholic religion would be allowed to keep their land. Even Catholics who did not participate in any way in rebellion were to have land confiscated, principally for being Catholic and therefore an enemy.⁴⁴ And Protestants who did not support Parliamentary forces were also to have some land confiscated, although not as much as the Catholics.⁴⁵ These confiscations were meant to act as payment for soldiers in Ireland, the adventurers who had initially funded the conquest, and many other Protestant settlers.⁴⁶

Once this land was confiscated the English government needed a place to put all those who were deemed rebellious and troublesome. All the Irish remaining were to be "Transplanted... into such other places within that Nation, as shall be judged most consistent with Publique Safety, allowing them such proportion of Land or Estate in the

⁴³ "August 1652: An Act for the Setling of Ireland.," 598-603.

⁴⁴ "August 1652: An Act for the Setling of Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 598-603; claims "That all and every person and persons of the Popish Religion, who have resided in Ireland at any time from the First day of October, One thousand six hundred forty one, to the First of March, One thousand six hundred and fifty, and have not manifested their constant good Affection to the Interest of the Commonwealth of England (the said persons not being comprehended in any of the former Qualifications) shall forfeit one third part of their Estates in Ireland to the said Commonwealth, to be disposed of for the Use, Benefit and Advantage of the said Commonwealth."

⁴⁵ "August 1652: An Act for the Setling of Ireland.," 598-603; claimed, "And that all other persons who have resided in Ireland within the time aforesaid, and have not been in actual Service for the Parliament, or otherwise manifested their good Affections to the Interest of the Parliament of England, having opportunity to do the same, shall forfeit one fifth part of their Estates to the Use of the said Commonwealth."

⁴⁶ "September 1653: An Act for the speedy and effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Arrears due to Soldiery there, and of other Publique Debts, and for the Encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 722-753.

parts to which they shall be Transplanted, as they had or should have enjoyed of their own other where, in case they had not been so removed.”⁴⁷ In this particular case it was determined that Connacht was the area which was safest to settle the Irish. Additionally, Connacht was considered to be the province with the worst land in Ireland and therefore unsuitable as payment to English troops and adventurers.

The only qualifications in the *Act for the Settlement of Ireland* which were not vague were that “all Catholic priests forfeit right to pardon and life” and that those listed directly as traitors in a long list were unpardonable and forfeited their lives and estates.⁴⁸ Loyalty structured identity, and as far as the English Parliament was concerned these people were Irish rebels and traitors to England. Those specifically named as enemies came from wide-ranging backgrounds. Some, such as the Earl of Ormond and Viscount Mountgarret, were Old English though of different religions. Some, such as Lord Inchiquin, were Gaelic Irish and Protestant. Even more perplexing were those, such as the Earl of Castlehaven, who were Catholic and New English.⁴⁹ By this point the English Parliament did not seem to care about bloodlines and backgrounds.

The *Act for the Settling of Ireland* was important because it utilized many of the suggestions championed by Temple. Temple claimed that Ireland needed to be “re-planted with British” and that “a wall of separation” needed to be “set up betwixt the Irish and the British.”⁵⁰ This notion is exactly what this act calls for. It calls for the removal of the Irish from their land to another part of the island which is separated from the main

⁴⁷ "August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.," 598-603.

⁴⁸ "August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.," 598-603.

⁴⁹ "August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.," 598-603.

⁵⁰ Sir John Temple, "Preface," in *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), A3v.

part of the island by the River Shannon. Furthermore, there was to be no separation between Gaelic Irish and Old English. Temple suggested that the separation was between Catholic and Protestant and that the Old English were no longer English.⁵¹ This lack of separation is apparent in the lack of different qualifications for Old English and Gaelic Irish. Instead Catholics and all those that rebelled against the English Parliament are lumped together.

The ideas represented in the land settlement were furthered by the language presented in the act pertaining to adventurers and soldiers. According to this act,

it shall and may be lawful for all persons of what Nation soever, professing the Protestant Religion, to purchase or take to farm any of the aforesaid forfeited Houses and Lands in Ireland, so set out, allotted, sold, demised or otherwise disposed of, or any other the forfeited lands in Ireland, not hereby disposed of, and to inhabit, dwell and plant in and upon them or any of them, and in any of the Counties, Cities or Towns mentioned in this Act, to be peopled, inhabited and dwelt in; And that all and every such person and persons shall have and enjoy all Rights, Priviledges, Freedoms and Immunities which belong unto, or may lawfully be claimed by Protestants Natives of this Commonwealth, both in England and Ireland.⁵²

The idea behind the land settlement was to displace Irish Catholics with Protestants. Furthermore, according to Alison Games, “repopulating Ireland with pious settlers who were also prosperous... was the biggest challenge confronting the regime in the 1650s.”⁵³ Cromwell attempted to import reformed ministers from both England and New England as well as encouraging Protestants to move to Ireland. The acts concerning

⁵¹ Temple, “The Cruelties Acted by the Irish upon the British,” 55.

⁵² “September 1653: An Act for the speedy and effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Arrears due to Soldiery there, and of other Publique Debts, and for the Encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland.,” 722-753.

⁵³ Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 270.

land settlement also made it illegal for Protestant soldiers and adventurers to sell their land in Ireland to Irish Catholics.⁵⁴ These acts also included anyone who the English Parliament considered a rebel or traitor in the ban on sales. Additionally, land in Connacht was off limits to Protestant settlers.⁵⁵ The goal was to keep the Irish Catholic population and the new Protestant population completely separated.

The only exception to any of these laws came in the form of those who served under Lord Inchiquin or the Earl of Ormond but were English Protestants. These Protestants were supposedly “seduced and drawn by the power and policy of the said Lords to follow them in their treacherous revolt.”⁵⁶ Because they were influenced by their commanding officers they were not responsible for acting against the English Parliament. Therefore, they were not held as traitors and rebels but instead became part of the solution to the problem. These Protestants were allowed to keep their land and purchase more. The main reason for this indemnity was most likely the failure of the English government to attract Protestant settlers to Ireland.

The next step in the attempts to reform policy and people in Ireland was to encourage the settlement of preachers and ministers. These public preachers were encouraged to obtain a license and then go to Ireland with the promise of fifty pounds

⁵⁴ "September 1653: An Act for the speedy and effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Arrears due to Soldiery there, and of other Publique Debts, and for the Encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland.," 722-753.

⁵⁵ "September 1653: An Act for the speedy and effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Arrears due to Soldiery there, and of other Publique Debts, and for the Encouragement of Protestants to plant and inhabit Ireland.," 722-753.

⁵⁶ "June 1654: An Ordinance for Indemnity to the English Protestants of the Province of Munster in Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 933-937.

for transportation cost.⁵⁷ After the promise of paying for transportation, the government of England also promised a benefice “to the value of one hundred pounds per annum.”⁵⁸ This amount is surprisingly large for this time and it suggest that proper Protestant preaching was seen as an important step towards Irish reform. After preachers were encouraged to take up residence in Ireland the English Parliament discussed elections for members of the Irish Parliament. *An Ordinance for the Distribution of the Elections in Ireland* reconfigured the number of members elected to the House of Commons.⁵⁹ This is important because the Irish, still the largest portion of Ireland’s population, received the smallest distribution of elected posts and no Catholics were supposed to serve. This made it impossible for them to control governmental policy.

The effect of these policies was to further undermine the control of the Old English elite, making it impossible for its members to reassert their position separate from the Gaelic Irish. Instead these policies were a one size fits all way of controlling the Catholic population of Ireland. Each act discussed in this section deliberately maintained vague and abstract language to allow for a subjective interpretation. This subjective interpretation allowed the New English to attempt to displace all those who did not fit neatly into perceived notions of Englishness. Once this occurred the Old English identity group began to lose its ability to threaten stability in Ireland. Between

⁵⁷ "June 1654: An Ordinance for the Further Encouragement of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Soldiers and other Planters there.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 924-929.

⁵⁸ "June 1654: An Ordinance for the Further Encouragement of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Soldiers and other Planters there.," 924-929.

⁵⁹ "June 1654: An Ordinance for distribution of the Elections in Ireland.," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 932-933.

losing their ancestral lands and their ability to participate in the Irish Parliament, the Old English began to cease to exist as a troublesome category for the English.

4.6 The Success and Failure of Reform Policies

Reform became the central focus of the English Government in Ireland, but the success of these reforms was questionable at best. According to T.C. Barnard, “Lack of money was the foremost reason for the failure of much of the Cromwellians’ reforming programme, in Ireland as in England.”⁶⁰ This lack of money made it impossible to pay those responsible for implementing reforms, from government officials to public preachers.⁶¹ While the land resettlement was not successful in its attempts to move the entire Irish Catholic population west of the River Shannon, it did succeed in changing the proportion of land ownership. “The Catholic share of land fell from 59% in 1641 to 20% in 1660, of which the bulk was in Connacht.”⁶² Though numbers vary, William Petty claimed “34,000 soldiers and 6,000 women, priest and boys were transported to Spain, Flanders and France and less than half returned.”⁶³ This is close to the estimates presented by D.M.R. Esson, who claims that, “about 40000 Irish left the country, forced to serve in continental armies between 1651-55; few returned.”⁶⁴ Esson’s estimates are most likely based off of Petty’s work but there are few other sources which state the numbers of those who left quite so clearly.

Furthermore, declarations by Ireland Commissioners threatened violence and transplantation but lacked the resources, both financial and personnel, to enforce these

⁶⁰ Barnard, 26.

⁶¹ Barnard, 31.

⁶² Barnard, 11.

⁶³ William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London, 1691), 19.

⁶⁴ D.M.R. Esson, *The Curse of Cromwell: A History of the Ironside Conquest of Ireland, 1649-1653* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971), 159.

reforms.⁶⁵ The printed broadsides claimed the Irish “shall and may be shipt and sent into some of the English plantations in America,” but this was difficult to enforce and only happened in small numbers.⁶⁶ According to Wheeler, “economic needs made the land settlement act impossible to fully implement but the extent that it was implemented caused enough damage to shift land ownership.”⁶⁷ This shift is what created the Protestant Ascendancy.

4.7 Old English No More

By the mid- to late 1650s the Old English had ceased to exist as a different identity group in the eyes of the English. While arguing against the transplantation of the Irish in 1655, Vincent Gookin only made one reference to the new term mentioned above, “Tories.”⁶⁸ The term “Tory” as it was mentioned above seemed to act as a transitional term, used to represent those in active rebellion against England. Gookin’s reference puts Tories into the same category as thieves, moving the term back to its original etymology.⁶⁹ Gookin argues that it would be impossible to reform the Irish if they are separated for the English. He makes no distinction beyond Irish and English and Catholic and Protestant. Gookin took his argument a step further when he said that “the

⁶⁵ Ireland Commissioners, *Ireland By the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England*, (Dublin, 1652), commissioners listed in this period are Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy, Edm Ludlow, Miles Corbet and Jo Jones; Council of England and Wales, *Further Instructions unto Charles Fleetwood* (London, 1653).

⁶⁶ Lord Deputy, *Ireland by the Lord Deputy and Council Whereas*; According to Aubrey Gwynn, “Cromwell’s Policy of Transportation,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 19, no. 76 (1930): 607-623, the exact numbers of those transported to the colonies is unknown but the number estimated is in the low thousands.

⁶⁷ Wheeler, 228-229.

⁶⁸ Vincent Gookin, *The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed* (London, 1655), 13.

⁶⁹ “Tory, n. and adj.”. OED Online. July 2018. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/view/Entry/203716?rskey=ZwsPvl&result=1> (accessed October 11, 2018).

English turned Irish formerly,” and that he hoped to reverse this by refraining from transplanting them.⁷⁰ At this point, just as Temple argues in 1646, the Old English had become Irish and nothing more.

This understanding of Old English identity, or lack thereof, had finally solidified. By the time of the Restoration in England, there were no longer four demographic groups in Ireland. There were only three, English, Irish and Scottish, and at times only two, Protestant and Catholic. When William Petty surveyed Ireland he represented this shift in his work.⁷¹ Although *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* was not printed until 1691, Petty had been researching for this book since the Restoration. According to Petty, “Scots are Presbyterians, Irish Papists, English Protestants or Conformists.”⁷² He argued that “the people of Ireland are all in factions and parties, called English and Irish, Protestants and Papists.”⁷³ He even took this a step further when he claimed, “the differences between the Old Irish and Old English Papists is asleep now, because they have a common enemy.”⁷⁴ The shift had come to its final conclusion as far as the English were concerned. It did not matter that those in Ireland, deemed Irish, still saw themselves as Old English and Gaelic Irish and would continue to do so for the next hundred years.⁷⁵ It also did not matter that those Gaelic Irish and Old English who had either chosen or were forcibly shipped to the colonies saw themselves as separate

⁷⁰ Gookin, 190.

⁷¹ Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*.

⁷² Petty, 8.

⁷³ Petty, 42.

⁷⁴ Petty, 43.

⁷⁵ Donald Harman Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997); Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612-1865* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans and the Construction of Difference* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2013).

identity groups.⁷⁶ What mattered to the English was religious affiliation. According to Petty, “Old Protestants and New Protestants are together now.”⁷⁷ As far as the English were concerned the demographics of Ireland were “English, Scotch and Welch Protestants versus Papists.”⁷⁸

4.8 Conclusion

After the Restoration the policies throughout the English empire changed very little. According to Barnard, “the prevalent view in the English parliament and army was that the Irish Catholics were not to be trusted and were indeed racially inferior.”⁷⁹ While the phrase “racially inferior” is anachronistic, the English did see the Irish as ethically different and inferior to themselves as well as to the Scottish and Welsh. The belief in Irish inferiority allowed “Charles II to accept the world more or less as he found it, leaving its religious, political and economic structures largely intact,” as Carla Gardina Pestana argues.⁸⁰ This included the policies in Ireland. The only things Charles II chose to change in Ireland was the restoration of land to his loyal supporters, such as the Earl of Ormond.⁸¹ Otherwise, the policies that brought about the Protestant Ascendancy were confirmed.

⁷⁶ Donald Harman Akenson, 115.

⁷⁷ Petty, 43.

⁷⁸ Petty, 116; For more information about the Welsh in Ireland see, Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Rhys Morgan, *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland, 1558-1641* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2014).

⁷⁹ Barnard, 12.

⁸⁰ Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 213.

⁸¹ Ireland, *An Act for the Better Execution of his Majesties Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdome of Ireland* (Dublin, 1662).

The Old English had effectively lost their tenuous hold on power in Ireland, which they had been fighting to maintain for the better part of a century. According to William Petty, who published his works after the Restoration, the “Irish who are the bulk of the nation are governed indirectly by foreign power.”⁸² This foreign power was the English Parliament, who still controlled the Irish Parliament through Poyning’s Law and the newly arrived or reinstated Protestant elite. The English government and the Church of Ireland continued to instate reform policies, despite their ineffectiveness. These attempts had some effect, with Petty claiming that the “language of the Irish children shall be English.”⁸³ Petty had the fortune to see these reforms come to fruition during his tenure in Ireland after the Restoration and before the Glorious Revolution. The destruction of Old English identity and the influence of Temple’s views were complete.

While there are not many direct references to Temple’s work in the statutes and publications of the English Parliament the ideology presented in Temple’s arguments ran throughout the governmental policies of the Interregnum as well as in the pamphlets and broadsides of the period. The term “Tories” was briefly redefined during a period of fluid identity in Ireland. It soon, however, returned to its original meaning until it was resurrected again during the succession crisis in the 1680s as a term for the Parliamentary supporters of James II.⁸⁴ By the time of the Restoration the categories of people in Ireland had shifted completely, at least from the English point of view.

According to Colin Kidd, “until the interrelated crises of the British civil wars of the

⁸² Petty, 40.

⁸³ Petty, 31

⁸⁴ "Tory, n. and adj.". OED Online. July 2018. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/view/Entry/203716?rskey=ZwsPvl&result=1> (accessed October 11, 2018).

1640s, the Old English community retained a proud sense of loyal Englishness.”⁸⁵ This was no longer an option according to the English. Loyalties were now to be drawn strictly based on confessional ties. While the Irish and Old English continued to see themselves as separate, even in the West Indies, the English saw anyone that was Catholic and living in Ireland through the 1640s and 1650s as an enemy.⁸⁶ Kidd claims that “Ireland’s troubled seventeenth century of civil war and expropriation witnessed the coalescence of the two distinct ethnic groupings, the Old Irish and the Old English.”⁸⁷ By the time of the restoration in 1660 there were no more Catholics serving in the Irish Parliament and the Old English, who had been struggling for decades, finally lost their tenuous hold on political and social power in Ireland.

5 CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the seventeenth century four demographic groups vied for control of politics and culture. The Old English still largely dominated the policies and procedures being implemented in Ireland. This changed in the roughly sixty years studied in this thesis. By the Restoration in 1660, the Old English identity group ceased to exist in the eyes of the English. The New English, now known as the Old Protestants and New Protestants, were firmly in control. The Protestant Ascendancy had arrived

⁸⁵ Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 154.

⁸⁶ This continued separation of Old English and Gaelic Irish identity in the West Indies is discussed throughout Donald Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997).

⁸⁷ Kidd, 151.

and remained until Irish independence. This was accomplished through several years of discriminatory policy towards Catholics, fighting, and violent suppression.

In the early Stuart period, plantation policies began to be successful. The Ulster plantation allowed not only Englishmen but Scots to purchase land and limited the amount of land which could be purchased by the Gaelic Irish.¹ The early policies of title purchases and patronage also influenced the shifting power dynamics in Ireland. By the 1620s the Old English felt their hold on power slipping. Because of this they created language which was meant to undermine the Gaelic Irish and recommend the Old English. This language of discrimination focused on the barbarity and incivility of the Gaelic Irish while presenting the virtues of the Old English.

Charles I's reign furthered their fears that they were losing their tenuous hold on power. The late 1620s and 1630s saw a direct attack on the notions of Old English honor by the proud Thomas Wentworth and by Charles I. Wentworth began to use Old English notions of honor against them by focusing on the differences between Old English ideals and contemporary English notions of honor. He turned these differences against the Old English in order to prove that they were closer in culture to the Gaelic Irish. This in turn allowed Wentworth to treat the Gaelic Irish and Old English in the same manner. The only positive idea which the Old English and Gaelic Irish elites represented from the view point of Wentworth was profitable sources of income. More importantly, they signified a threat to the Protestant way of life and to developing notions

¹ England and Wales, *A Collection of Such Orders and Conditions as are to be Observed by the Undertakers, Upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster* (London, 1608).

of Englishness. Charles I's ineffective policies and Wentworth's tyrannous ones alienated the Old English from the Crown.

This alienation created a gap between the Crown and Old English which the New English were able to exploit. In order to do this the New English utilized language which reinforced notions of Old English degradation of character and the undesirability of their Catholicism. This in turn influenced views of the Gaelic Irish and Old English in England. Even with these negative views, the prevalent belief was that the Gaelic Irish and Old English were still redeemable. This notion of redeemability was not to last, however, and was not shared by all, especially Thomas Wentworth. Thomas Wentworth sought to impose English notions of civility and honor, regardless of who he insulted and alienated on the way. This briefly allowed for a consensus between the competing factions in Ireland and England against Wentworth. Although there was a brief period of agreement, it was short lived.

The events of 1641 forever shattered any harmony developing between the competing demographic groups. The Gaelic elite, disenchanted with Charles I and spurred on by the events of the Bishops' Wars, rebelled in an attempt to reassert their authority and to protect their rights. This rebellion, however, quickly took on another character for Gaelic Irish commoners. While the Old English attempted to initially suppress this revolt, growing tensions in England between Charles I and his Parliament fueled the ever-growing resentment of the Old English towards England. Those in England did not believe reports of the Old English suppression of rebellion but instead were inundated with stories of atrocious massacres being perpetrated by all Catholics, even the Old English.

This growing stereotype of the Old English and Gaelic Irish as bloody rebels forced the Old English to pick sides, most feeling as if they were forced to side with the Confederacy of Kilkenny. If the Old English were not accepted as loyal to England, then they would exert their control over the rebellion and influence the policies of the Confederacy. By joining with the Confederates, the message that the Old English had been trying to reinforce was lost. There was no changing the minds of the English reading public or those implementing English policy. Fears of Catholicism and Irishness were ingrained in to the psyche of the English population and were spurred on by slanderous and fantastical accounts of the Gaelic Irish and Old English. This culminated in Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* which claimed to be a true history of the actions of the Gaelic Irish and Old English as well as a historical account of the Rebellion of 1641.

This account used the harshest language possible to condemn the Gaelic Irish for their barbarity and the Old English for their degradation to Irishness. Temple claimed the Old English had lost the right to be considered English when they chose their religion over their 'national' identity. Temple's policy suggestions no longer accepted the redeemability of the Gaelic Irish and Old English. Instead he suggested that it was impossible to reform them, so the best course of action was land confiscation and complete separation of the Catholic population of Ireland from Protestants. He advocated the beginnings of the Protestant Ascendancy and the transplantation policies of the Interregnum years.

While Temple did briefly participate in the government of Ireland, it was the ideas presented in his book which truly influenced policies. It is during the Interregnum years

where the last nail was put into the coffin of Old English identity. By the Restoration the Old English cease to exist as a separate identity group. The violent suppression of the initial Cromwellian conquest mixed with the legal violence enacted by the English Parliament meant that the Old English lost their ability to fight emerging policies and procedures. They also lost their economic control of the island with the enactment of the land settlement. While this policy was not as effective as initially desired it did succeed in removing the Catholic majority from the majority of land ownership. Instead the Protestants who sided with Parliament and even some who side with Charles I came out on top. With this shift in power came a solidification in identity categories in Ireland. The Old English ceased to exist, instead becoming Irish and Catholic, or losing any connection to Irishness and becoming English and Protestant. Whenever the term Old English was used after the 1650s it was used in reference to historical events not in reference to a specific contemporary identity group.²

This final shift had ramifications which lasted for a long time. While for a brief period during the reign of James II (1685-1689) the Old English were able to regain some control under the direction of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, this control lasted for only four years.³ The arrival of William of Orange and the loss at the Battle of the Boyne solidified Protestant control of Ireland. It would be decades before Catholics gained any political authority in Ireland. The Irish Protestant Ascendancy controlled the government of Ireland, at least until Ireland's union with Great Britain. Furthermore,

² "Old English, n. and adj.". OED Online. July 2018. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gsu.edu/view/Entry/130966?redirectedFrom=Old+English>.

³ Piers Wauchope, "Talbot, Richard, first earl of Tyrconnell and Jacobite duke of Tyrconnell (1630–1691), army officer and politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

many of the negative stereotypes of Catholics and the Irish remained pervasive in English society. These beliefs influenced the policies enacted for the next few centuries.

These events even influenced policies and developments in the Atlantic World.

Indentured servitude and forced migration added a new demographic group to the colonies. The effectiveness of the Cromwellian suppression of Ireland impacted the approach to the centralization of the West Indies and the North American colonies.

Furthermore, some historians of the English Atlantic have argued that the presence of Irish indentured servants influenced the development of ideas about race as an identity category.⁴ The English elite's desire to enforce separation between white, African and Native workers meant that they had to develop categories of racial separation. The events in Ireland must be considered in conversation with the larger developing English empire. Events occurring in the developing empire influenced and were influenced by events happening in Ireland during this period.

⁴ Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans and the Construction of Difference* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2013).

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