17th Century Ireland a Process of Otherizing:
The Uprisings of 1641 and 1688

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Introduction

There have been various uprisings and rebellions throughout history and they tell us what pushes people to resort to violence. Revolts also tell us, what ideas are most important to the people. Seventeenth century Ireland saw two revolts, one in 1641 and one in 1688. Historians have viewed these revolts as two separate occurrences. The 1641 uprising is viewed as a conflict between the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland, as a religious conflict. The 1688 revolution is seen a continuation of the Glorious Revolution in Ireland. While both of these statements are true, they are only part of the picture. The 1688 revolution is a continuation of the 1641 uprising with the same goals, the return of Catholic land and the ability for the Catholics to participate within the government and hold positions of power.

In both of the revolts the English emphasized the religious component because it was with this issue that the English started a practice of othering the Irish. “Othering” is a practice of perceiving or portraying someone as fundamentally different, alien or other. The Catholic nature of the native Irish population is emphasized allowing for a policy of discrimination and exclusion from the reaches of power. The Irish as early as the 1300s were seen as something different than the English living in Ireland and in England. However it is not until the early 1600s that a policy discriminating against the Catholics truly starts. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the Irish Catholics start to lose land and by the start of eighteenth century, a policy of legal discrimination was established with the creation of the penal codes.

The rebellions in 1641 and 1688 allowed the English to push their policies of discrimination against the Irish a step further. When the Irish rose up and were unsuccessful,
they were forced to take a step back from their goals and ended up in a worse situation then when they started. It is needful to make the note that often in the seventeenth century Irish and Catholic were synonymous with one another. It was assumed that are Irish were Catholics and all Catholics living in Ireland were Irish.

The 1688 and 1641 revolutions were working to achieve the same goal and arose from the same problems. In order to accomplish this, the thesis will examine the environment that was created in Ireland that led to the uprisings. Then the 1641 and 1688 revolutions looking at what occurred and what were the opinions surrounding the various events of the uprisings but, also what resulted from each of the uprisings. Then the 1641 and 1688 uprisings will be examined together looking for the similarities and connections between the two events.
Chapter 1: The Island of Ireland

In order to understand the troubles in the 1640s and in 1688, it is necessary first to look at some of the basic information about Ireland, including its political relationship with England, and the role that religion and race played on the island. Each of these factors created an environment that allowed the English to subdue and otherize the native Irish population for the benefit of the English settlers; leading to the loss of Irish land, autonomy and political power for the gain of the English. The English subdued the Irish through the creation of the plantation system. All of these factors would create the tense environment in which the uprisings of 1641 and 1688 occurred.

Political Relationship between England and Ireland

The political relationship between England and Ireland has been dominated by a series of attempts by the English to gain control of Ireland. England’s first attempt to gain political control started in 1169 AD, when Henry II of England was authorized by the Pope Adrian IV to invade and annex the Island through the Laudabiliter.1 The Laudabiliter was an edict that allowed the occupation of Ireland, “both for the good of the Irish themselves and in order to reform the Irish Church and further bind it more closely to Rome.”2 Even as early as 1169 there was a commonly held belief that the Irish were incapable of knowing what was best for them and then doing it. The infantilizing done to the Irish would help the English gain control of the island. The English

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control of the island then proceeded to wax and wane with most of its control centered around Dublin, until the 16th century.

England’s next step in gaining control occurred in 1367 with the Statute of Kilkenny. The passing of the statue of Kilkenny shows the two majors fears that the English possessed in regards to the Irish. The first was that the English did not have a strong enough control over Ireland. The second was to prevent the English colonists from becoming like the native Irish population. There had become a blurring of the cultural lines between the native Irish and the English colonists living together, which scared the leaders of England. The English colonists living in Ireland had to remain noticeably different from the native population for a process of othering to be successful; if the English and Irish looked and acted the same then it would become harder to treat them differently. The Statute of Kilkenny worked to make the differences between the Irish and the English clearly and easily distinguishable. A focus was placed on the English acting and appearing English; the statute “ordained and established, that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish; and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate.” The statute also prohibited the intermarriage of the English and Irish. The goal was to be able to discern an Englishman from an Irishman, through maintaining an English way of dressing, riding, speaking, and naming of children. The statute of Kilkenny also worked to prevent the formation of alliances of friendships between the Irish and English through establishing “that no alliance by marriage, gossipred, fostering of children, concubinage or by amour, nor in any other manner, be henceforth made

between the English and Irish.⁴ The English and Irish were prevented from creating friendships or alliances based on the means that were able at the time. The two groups were further prevented from intermingling by ordaining “that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any cathedral or collegiate church… amongst the English of the land.”⁵ Separation was also created within the church, a place of gathering and intermingling, with the creation of an Irish and English church. The statute of Kilkenny worked to create a separation between the English and Irish and maintain that separation, so that those born of English parents in Ireland would view themselves as English. The statute declared “that no difference of allegiance shall henceforth be made between the English born in born in Ireland, and the English born in England.”⁶ The penalties for the English which did not follow the statute of Kilkenny included forfeiting of land, fines, and prison. There is a fear of the Irish retaining control of the island. In the statute it is often phrased as the “Irish enemies”; for example one part of the law states the “language of the Irish enemies.” The Irish were viewed as something that was other and as a danger to the English. Each part of the Statute of Kilkenny worked to further separate the native Irish and the English colonists. Even though the law was extraordinarily impractical and did very little to change the everyday lives of the Irish and English living together, it does show a willingness of the English government to interfere in the everyday lives of those living in Ireland for their own benefit and security.

The next step taken by the English to gain control of the Ireland was through Poynings’ law in 1494. Poynings’ law came about when Henry VII gave Sir Edward Poynings the instruction to destroy the independence of the Irish parliament in order to ensure that the Irish parliament would not rise up in rebellion and support his enemies. There are six sections of the law. The first is most commonly thought of when talking about Poynings’ law. The first section establishes that the Irish parliament would not be held until the Irish governor and privy council sent the King a list of all the acts intended to be passed along with the reasons why they were required, then these acts had to be approved by the King and privy council of England. The Irish parliament would become subordinate to the King and council of England. Previously the Irish parliament was an independent body that was convened at the will of the Governor of Ireland. This part of the law would allow the English parliament to pass laws that would affect Ireland without the input of the Irish parliament. The second part established that all English laws affecting public wealth would also be applied in Ireland. The third section reaffirmed the Statute of Kilkenny except with the section applying to the use of the Irish language as it was used throughout English settlements. The fourth section was made in order to protect the settlement and made it a felony to allows enemies or rebels to pass through the marches. The fifth section forbids the exaction of coyne and livery in any form. The last section made it unlawful for Anglo-Irish families to use Irish war-cries. Each of the sections of Poynings’ law further established the subordination of the Irish to the English; the Irish parliament was just a shadow of the King, laws passed in England now applied to Ireland, and the Statute of Kilkenny was reestablished.

The next step in the political control of Ireland came in 1541, when a law devised by English parliament and passed by the Irish parliament, made Henry VII the King of Ireland. This would bring Ireland completely under English rule and make it no different from any other provincial dependency such as Wales. However the plan to turn Ireland into a provincial dependency did not go according to plan; due to several factors including distance, an unwillingness to spend heavily, and the interference of other European states. The plan was also further defeated by the distinctive cultures and attitudes of the Irish.\(^8\) By law the Irish were completely under the control of the English government. Yet, in a practical sense they obtained a sense of Irish identity and independence from England that would create problems and tensions.

The English parliament tried in many ways to subvert the Irish parliament and created added tension between the English and the Irish. The English parliament was constantly meddling in the affairs of the Irish people throughout the seventeenth century. In 1642 the English Parliament in Westminster “decreed that lands belonging to insurgents should be used to repay investors, mainly from England, Scotland, and Wales.”\(^9\) The English used Irish land in order to repay English debts. Then in 1660s the Westminster Parliament banned the Irish from trading in live cattle in the cattle acts because the Irish cattle prices were lower than that of the English. In 1699 the export of wool and woolen goods was also stopped with the woolen act.\(^10\) The woolen act went further than previous acts, the cattle acts just prevented the Irish from shipping live cattle into England, to English colonies or on English ships. The woolen act on the other hand prevented the Irish from exporting woolen cloth to any location.\(^11\) The English parliament worked to control what the Irish could and could not trade and export but, also what

was done with the Irish land, all to further benefit the English people and economy. The English parliament had complete superiority to any Irish law, not only did they have superiority in matters between the English and Irish but also in matters that were solely Irish. This allowed the English parliament to stipulate the goods that are allowed to enter and leave Ireland.

Another area of tension that grew between the English parliament and the Irish was in regards to who had the superior position in English political system, the English parliament or the monarchy. The Irish supported an increase in royal power and the decrease in the power of the English parliament. The Irish supported the increase in royal power because they disliked the English parliament meddling in their affairs. The Irish were often better treated by the monarchy than the parliament and the monarchy was viewed as having the right to meddle in the affairs of all his people. For example, in the Proclamation “for freedom of paffage out of Ireland into England” made by the King, the proclamation allowed the Irish the same access to England that the English had to Ireland; including not needing a license and the ability to move more freely within England once they arrived. The requests of the Irish were often better received by the King than the English parliament. The Irish were also more willing to submit themselves to the authority of the King than to the authority of the English Parliament. The Irish saw themselves as owing the loyalty to their King but, they did not always feel the same way about the English Parliament.

Plantation System

The creation of a plantation system within Ireland created tensions between the Irish and English living in Ireland. The English government encouraged the establishment of plantations in

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13 King Charles I. _A Proclamation for Freedom of Paffage Out of Ireland into England._ Court at Whitehall:, 1640. Online: EBBO.
Ireland with the owners of the plantations being Protestants of English and Scottish descent. Between 1603 and 1641 about 70,000 English and 30,000 Scots immigrated to Ireland.\textsuperscript{14} The English crown turned the region of Ulster into plantations following the ‘flight of the earls’ in 1609. The plan was to segregate the native Irish into defined areas and then establish entirely new Protestant communities on the land previously owned by the Irish. In order to give land to the Protestants, land had to be confiscated from the native Irish and mostly Catholic population. The Protestant immigrants would receive lots in size from 1,000 to 2,000 acres. Many of the Protestant settlers came from England and the lowlands of Scotland and brought with them their own traditions; transforming Ulster into an area that was dissimilar from the rest of the island, as it was greatly influenced by the new arrivals. There was however, a slight problem with the protestant plantation system: there were not enough settlers to complete the plan and so the segregation of the native population could not be fully carried out. Rather the native Irish remained as tenants and laborers on the land that the previously owned, and were forced by economic pressure to move to the worst land.\textsuperscript{15} Those in Ireland who lost land to the newcomers were unhappy with the presence of the new immigrants and started thinking of ways to regain what they lost, such as their land. Not only did the newcomers take the Irish’s land but they were also favored by the government.\textsuperscript{16} The following map (Map 1) highlights the spread of plantations through Ireland from 1556-1620, specifically the plantations being settled by the English and the Scottish. Most of the plantations were established in the northern part of the country, most specifically the region of Ulster. Ulster became made up almost entirely of the newly created plantations while the rest of the country had fewer of the plantations and no

plantations were located in the most western part of Ireland. The formation of plantations in Ireland, and the loss of land by the native population directly contributed to the uprisings of the seventeenth century.
Map 1: English and Scottish plantation settlements

Religion did not emerge as a tension between the Irish and the English until the 1530s, when Protestantism became the state religion of England. Prior to the establishment of the Church of England by Henry VIII, England was Catholic. The English monarch worked to impose Protestantism across the rest of the country. By the end of the sixteenth century the monarchy was able to accomplish this conversion from Catholicism to the Church of England throughout most of England and Wales, but was notoriously unsuccessful in Ireland. The majority of Irish remaining devoted to Catholicism, “challenged the contemporary axiom that religious disunity within any state risked serious destabilization.”

The lack of religious unity between Ireland and England created further tensions and conflicts from 1530 onwards. The Irish remaining Catholic was another way that allowed the English to otherize and infantilize the native population. Now the Catholic religion was viewed as evil. Titus Oates writes in the seventeenth century, “to consider the sandy foundation of your Romish Church and no more pin your Faith and confidence of salvation…that all people be terrified at the Name of Popery, and that all Roman Catholics open their obstinate eyes and ears, to see and hear the word of truth.”

The English worked to convert Irish Catholics to Protestantism as it was seen as the way that God was intended to be worshipped. The native Irish population remained largely Catholic which created a new difference between the English and the Irish; a difference that clearly separated the native Irish population from new immigrants from Scotland and England. Catholics who did not convert were punished by being barred from the government, land ownership, and ability to practice their religion.

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19 Oates, Titus. *Speedy advice to all Roman Catholicks; especially, those concerned in Scotland and Ireland*. London:, 1689. Online: EEBO.
Population breakdown in Ireland

The population breakdown of Ireland is essential in understanding what occurred. Statistics from 1659 establish the breakdown of the various races (English, Scottish and Irish) on the island, while information from 1732 shows the religious breakdown of Ireland. Combining these two pieces of information a better sense of the island’s population can be gathered.

According to the 1659 census data the racial breakdown of the island can be seen. 1659 race is more along the lines of what is viewed as nationality or culture heritage today. The 1659 census has a column denoted race and is broken down into two categories; the first group is the English and Scottish and the Irish make up the second group. It is significant that there were viewed as such fundamental differences between the English and Scottish and the Irish that the information is gathered during the census process. The English and Scottish living in each county can be seen through the following map (map 2). The largest numbers of English and Scottish are found in the Northwest part of the island, within the region of Ulster. Three counties within Ulster, Londonderry, Antrim, and Down all have between 40-50% of the population being made up of English and Scottish. These three counties are the closest to the island of England and Scotland are only separated from each other by a narrow channel. The only other county, which has between 40-50% of the population being English and Scottish, is Dublin, the capital city of Ireland and the location of the government and political power. Armagh has a between 30-40% of the population being English and Scottish and is also, located in Ulster. Then both Donegal and Fermanagh, located in Ulster, both have 20-30% of the population being English and Scottish. Monaghan is the county with lowest percent of English and Scottish in Ulster, with them making up between 10-20% of the population. Monaghan is also one of the most Southern of Ulster’s county; it is also one of Ulster’s few counties that is not located directly on the coast.
The rest of the island’s population is made up of between 0-20% of English and Scottish. Most of the counties’ whose populations are between 10-20% English and Scottish are located along the coast and in the Eastern part of the island, closer to the England, while most of the counties that are made up between 0-10% of English and Scottish are either more inland or are located along the western coast of Ireland, the areas furthest from England. Thus the English and Scottish settled the areas of Ireland that were the easiest to get to.

The religious breakdown of the island comes from data in 1732 and is only broken down by region. Ulster is the northern most region, and is made up of the following counties: Donegal, Londonderry, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan Fermanagh, and Tyrone and is 38% Catholic. Connaught is the western most region, and is made up of the following counties: Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, Roscommon, and Galway and is 91% Catholic. Leinster is the eastern most region, and is made up of the following counties: Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Longford, Kings, Queens, Kildare, Dublin, Wicklow, Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny and is 79% Catholic. Munster is the southernmost region, and is made up of the following counties: Clare, Tipperary, Wexford, Limerick, Kerry, and Cork and is 89% Catholic. Overall in 1739 the population of Ireland was be about three quarters Catholic. The highest percent of English and Scottish were found in Ulster and it is also, the area that had the least amount of Catholics. Then Connaught had the highest percent of Catholics, while also be the area furthest from England. There is also less difference in the number of Catholics living in the regions of Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, just as all three regions have a similar number of English and Scottish living in the area. The areas with the highest numbers of English and Scottish have the least number of Catholics, because most of the English and Scottish who migrated to Ireland were Protestants.

The new arrivals of the English and Scottish who arrived were Protestant while the native Irish population remained mostly Catholic. The population of seventeenth century Ireland had differences based on race (English, Scottish, Irish) and religion (Catholic, Protestant) that would create the basis for the subduing of the Irish population, resulting in violent conflict between the various groups.
Map 2: Population data comes from the 1659 Census

Since the English came to Ireland in 1169, there was tension between the Irish and the English. There was a long history of controlling the island through maintaining that those English who lived in Ireland remained English. The English crown and parliament also gained control of the Irish political system, which would be used to further the cause of the English. There were also a series of attempts made to convert Ireland to Protestantism in order to have a country united in religion. When the attempts of conversion failed the religious differences of the Irish population would be used as tool to further distinguish them from the English and a reason for the Irish’s loss of land and the better treatment of the new Protestant settlers. The English crown attempted to subject Ireland to its control in various ways and was not wholly successful. The lack of the English’s success in gaining control of Ireland and its population, created animosity and led to the troubles in the 1640s and the 1680s. The same way that the English government divided the country into an Irish Catholic population versus the new Protestant arrivals of English or Scottish descent will be how the country divides when violent conflict starts.
Chapter 2: 1641 Uprising

The 1641 uprising in Ireland highlights the tensions between the English and Irish but also set the stage for what would happen in 1688 as it was a continuation of the same purpose. The 1641 uprising was primarily focused on the Irish population gaining their land back, and obtaining greater rights. During the conflict atrocities occurred on both sides. Many of the accounts of the uprising were given by Protestants in Ulster and listed atrocities inflicted upon them by the rebels as the English parliament started a commission to collect the statements of the refugees of the rebellion starting in 1642. The depositions in many ways are one sided as most of the refugees were Protestants and the individuals collecting the depositions were sympathetic to the Protestant refugees. The uprising was a long conflict with varying periods of action and did not end until 1652 with the Act of Settlement and would result in the transplantation of the native Irish population.

Basics of the Uprising

One of the major causes of the 1641 uprising was the plantation system. The plantation system worked to take land from the native population and give it to English and Scottish protestant immigrants. One of the leading contributing factors to those who participated in the rebellion was resentments over the loss of lands, livelihoods, and the status of the newcomers. In many areas the newcomers who took the land and livelihoods of the native population, were more favored. An economic recession and poor harvest further exacerbated the low position of
the native Irish. The economic recession and poor harvest was the breaking point of the native population and led to the thinking that something within the country had to change.

The uprising started in October 1641 when Catholics in Ulster killed their Protestant neighbors and removed more of them from their homes and seized their property. The uprising in Ulster, was supposed to occur at the same time as the capture of the English governors in Dublin and thus rebels would gain control of the government and the Island. Many of the Irish rebels were working to regain the land they lost to the new settlers. The Dublin part of the Coup was unsuccessful as the administration was tipped off and what was supposed to be a quick coup turned into a full scale war. During the conflict the London Parliament went as far as to give “official sanction to the classification of the Irish as something less than legitimate combatants, by ordering that all Irishmen taken in arms in England or Wales were to be put to death.” The English parliament was dominated by puritans and had a negative view of the Irish rebels whom were viewed papists. By the spring of 1642 the entire country was involved in the uprising as it was not the quick decisive coup that the rebels hoped for.

The uprising did not get any real structure until 1642 with the formation of the Confederation of Kilkenny where the Irish Gaelic and the Old English Aristocracy formed an alliance. Both the old English Aristocracy and the Irish Gaelic happened to be Catholic but, they also lost the most land during the land reforms, neither party was completely united with the other. The Confederation of Kilkenny saw themselves as not rebelling against the King but rather working to attain the rights and property that was due to them. The motto of the group was

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“Irishmen of one mind for God, King, and Country.” They combined obedience to the King with the defense of the Catholic Church.

A Scottish army was deployed to Ulster to deal with the uprising in the early 1640s and supported the Irish Royalists, mostly Protestants who opposed the rebellion and remained loyal. The crown supporters went on the offensive in the spring of 1642 with the arrival of 3,000 English and 10,000 Scottish Soldiers. 1642 also saw the start of the English Civil War against King Charles I, resulting in his eventual execution on January 30, 1649. The English civil war was a factor in longevity of the uprising as the English’s attention was focused primarily on their civil war. Oliver Cromwell’s forces arrived in Ireland in 1649 and were able to gain control of the island by 1653, bringing it back under the control of the English Parliament.

One of Cromwell’s first objectives was to gain control of the City of Drogheda due to its strategic value. When Cromwell and his forces arrived in Ireland they turned in the uprising into a continuation of the English civil war.

**Goals of the Uprising**

Not all of the rebels were united in one common outcome, but all were attempting to lessen the English control of the Irish. The most radical hoped to attain a completely free state of Ireland and total removal of the authority of the English King and Parliament. Another set of demands came through the deposition of Rober Maxwell. Robert Maxwell recalled his encounter with Sir Phelim O’Neill one of the leaders of the rebels. Sir Phelim tells Maxwell what

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conditions needed to be meet in order for him and his rebels to lay down arms, “at first he told this deponent that they required only liberty of Conscience, but afterwards as his power so his demands were multiplied.”\textsuperscript{30} Phelim’s list of demands ends up including not having a lord deputy, all the great offices of states (councilors, judges, justices of peace) must be held by someone of the Irish nation, no standing army in the kingdom, all tithes paid by papists to be paid to popish priests rather than their taxes being used to support the Protestant Church of England, church lands to be restored to their bishops, all plantations since James I to be disannulled, and no future plantations to be made, no payment of debts due incurred by the English due to the uprising or restitution of anything taken during the war, all the fortification and strengths to be in the hands of the Irish with power to erect and build more as they see fit, all British to be restrained from coming over, all acts of parliament against popery and papists together with Poynings act to be repealed, and for the Irish parliament to be made independent.\textsuperscript{31} Religion was just part of the demands made by Sir Phelim; most of his demands regarded the Irish regaining what they had lost. The Irish were attempting to get their land back through the disannulment of the plantations and ensuring that they kept their land by forbidding the formation of any new plantations. The rebels were also attempting to regain Ireland’s political autonomy through the repeal of Poynings’ act and the making of the Irish parliament an independent political body but, also in allowing the native population to hold various positions of within the government such as a judge. One thing that Sir Phelim did not demand was Ireland’s independence from the English crown. Instead he wanted Ireland to be run more like Scotland whom had an independent parliament that was responsible for Scotland but owed allegiance to


the monarchy. There was a religious aspect to Sir Phelim’s demands mostly in allowing the Catholics the ability to practice their religion under law and the removal of laws that prevented this. Sir Phelim’s demands were in line with what many other Irish both rebels and loyalists desired.

*Accounts of the Uprising*

There have been various accounts made of the 1641 uprising through depositions, images, letters, and accounts of the events. Throughout the uprising accounts of Catholic atrocities inflicted upon the Protestants circulated. However, there were also atrocities inflicted on the Catholics and rebel Irish by the English. In 1641, the Puritan-dominated English Parliament started to amass sworn evidence against “these bloody Papists” showing them to be crueler than pagans, Turks, and barbarians. The Puritans viewed the Catholics in an extraordinary negative light even prior to the conflict and believed fully in the many evils that a Catholic could commit. The English Parliament worked to obtain the stories of those affected by the rebellion through a series of depositions. It is important to note that the depositions were collected during the early years of the conflict. There was also the possibility that some of the individuals exaggerated what occurred or told the investigators what they wanted to hear. The English parliament already had a set idea the Irish rebels were crueler than any pagan or barbarian, and it is unlikely that anyone they sent to collect the depositions would not also have a similar bias. Also, the depositions were made by refugees and most of the displaced were Protestants. It is also, necessary to note that in the 1640s continuing and widespread rumors, said the Catholics slaughtered 154,000 Protestants in Ireland; this is impossible as that there were less

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than 154,000 Protestants living in Ireland during the 1640s.\textsuperscript{33} Many of the Protestant accounts of the cruelties inflicted upon by the Catholic Irish would repeat themselves in the uprising in 1688.

One of the most repeated accounts of the atrocities inflicted on the Protestants comes from Elizabeth Price, a Protestant from County Armagh, who gave her deposition on June 26, 1643.\textsuperscript{34} Mrs. Price recalled that since the rebellion started, she and her husband had been robbed and deprived of their “goodes chattles and estate”, including cows horses, corn, hay, sheep, household stuff, jewels, rings, money, and other goods. Mrs. Price along with her five children and sixty other Protestants were taken from the Church of Armagh, stripped of their clothes and thrown them in prison. Those whom the rebels felt had concealed or hid something remained in prison; these prisoners were tortured so that they would divulge their hidden money and treasures and then killed. One of the rebel Captains said that he and his soldiers would take some of the protestant prisoners and safely convey them to their friends in England. Mrs. Price’s five children were included within this group. Rather than convey them to safety, the Rebels when they reached the bridge of Portadowne threw all the Prisoners into the water, drowning them\textsuperscript{35}. Those who could swim to shore were either knocked unconscious and drowned, or shot before reaching the shore. Mrs. Price also heard other accounts of the rebels drowning Protestants. When the rebels were asked how many Protestants they drowned at the Portadowne bridge they answered four hundred. When asked how many they drowned at Blackwater they could not answer because they drowned so many there. Incidents of the drowning of Protestants by the Catholic rebels became widespread. Images of the drowning were also made and became a

popular atrocity to recount. The following image (Illustration 1) is an example the drowning of Protestants by rebels. The caption at the top of the image reads: “Driving Men, Women and Children by hand: Rebels upon Bridge and canting them into River, who not drowned were killed with poles, and shot with muskets.” The image gives a visual description to the drowning that Mrs. Price described in her deposition. Individuals are being thrown from the bridge and those who make it towards the shore are faced by a line of men armed with muskets. Mrs. Price also recalls other incidents of atrocities inflicted on the Protestants. Many of the Protestants, especially women and children were not outright killed by the rebels but rather the Rebels would stab and slash at the head, face, chests, arms and hands of the Protestants but not kill them so that they could wallow in their blood to languish, pine, and starve to death. The rebels would severely wound the Protestants and then leave them to die from their own wounds. According to Elizabeth Price the rebels would

Illustration 1: Drowning of Protestant during the 1641 Uprising.\(^{36}\)

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also tell the Protestants “Give or bequeath thy soul to the Devil” and when the Protestants begged to pray before their deaths, they would be answered by “Why should you pray for your soul it is with the Devil already.” Mrs. Price’s deposition has some similarities to that of Thomas Fleetwood.

Thomas Fleetwood also gave an account of what he saw occur. Mr. Fleetwood was robbed and deprived of his farm, rents, and profits of thereof, his goods and his chattel. The following items were stolen from him corn, malt, cattle, cows, sheep, swine, horses, mares nags, house hold stuff, apparel, rings, books, provisions, fuel, debts, and other things equaling the value of 704 pounds. Fleetwood witnessed the following incident, two miles from Kilbeggan a Priest saying mass was attacked by a mob. People came toward him with naked pikes and pitchforks and then proceeded to rob and strip him of his clothes and all other possessions he had. The people then threatened him for presuming to carry any goods out of the county. Fleetwood also recalls one of the great cruelties that the rebels inflicted on the Protestants, they stabbed a woman to death leaving her several month old infant suckling the breast of its dead mother, and the preceded to leave and allow the baby to perish from exposure. The second was seeing the old English men and women forced to strip naked in the winter. The stripping of the Protestants became a common practice during the rebellion. The stripping became a “ritualized attempt to sever—sometimes literally—the Protestant presence from the land: the planters, in a symbolic echoing of Catholic dispossession, were stripped of their garments and possessions before being driven from their properties.” By stripping the Protestants of their clothing the

Irish rebels were able to bring this group that was the top of the hierarchy to their level while simultaneously making them suffer just as the Irish suffered when they were stripped of their land for the benefit of the English. It also allowed the Irish to regain what they loss when they possessed the clothing and other symbols of the Protestant planters’ position. The stripping of the Protestants would become a popular and widespread practice. The rebels accused Fleetwood of being “an English dog of Parliament Rogues”, and the rebels said that Fleetwood came but as beggars out of England and had nothing but what they had wrongfully gotten from the Irish Nation. The name calling that Fleetwood received at the hands of rebels highlights the low opinions of the Irish toward Fleetwood and the other Protestant planters but, also how the English Parliament was viewed as an organization that was deceitful, dishonest, unprincipled and unreliable.

There are other accounts of what the rebels did during the uprising, including an account of what the Rebels did to an English minister. They sawed off his legs off in the middle and then at the thigh. Then they sawed off his hands at the wrist and then at the elbow. Then the Rebels cut two slices from his breast. The Rebels then charged the minister to change his religion but he would not so they placed a hot iron and pierced his heart with it. There are also stories of cannibalism and witchcraft inflicted upon the Protestants. The deposition of Peter Hill, recounts how the Irish rebels would murder and devour any English person that they could find. There is still another account of the late Bishop of Limerick, who died while the castle was under siege; his body was placed in linen and buried. When the rebels entered the castle they dug him out of

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41 Emitie, Thomas. A New Remonstrance from Ireland Declaring the Barbarous Cruelty and Inumanity of the Irish Rebels Against the Protestants there: Also an Exact Discoveries of the Manners and Behavior of the Irish Renegadoes here in. London:, 1642. Online: EEBO.
his grave, stripped him of the linen and abused his body.\textsuperscript{43} The unearthing of the Bishop of Limerick’s body was not the only incident of the dead being disturbed. Individuals fleeing to Dublin reported that corpses were unearthed in Protestant graveyards.\textsuperscript{44}

There are certain similarities that can be seen through the various accounts of the atrocities inflicted upon the Protestants. They were often, first robbed of their household goods, livestock, clothing, personal affects, and any other item of value. The atrocities that were inflicted upon the Protestants were often done in an attempt to make them repent their protestant religion and God. The acts inflicted upon the Protestants such as the stripping were also done to remove what the Protestants had gained at the expense of the Irish. The actions inflicted on the Protestants usually involved some type of bodily harm and were described in such a way as to stay in the imagination of the reader. It is needful to state that stories of Protestants deaths are never just an Irish rebel killed a Protestant but rather have a darker edge to them with either torture or something taboo occurring. The two types of actions taken by the Irish Catholics can be seen as attempt to regain what the lost with the establishment of plantations with the robbing of the Protestants. Then the more violent actions inflicted on the Protestants can be seen as religious hatred for a group of new comers that becomes privileged and the elite group within the native country of the Irish Catholics. This intense hatred for the English Protestant within Ireland can further be seen through the defacement of English buildings and the slaughtering of the English breed of Cattle.\textsuperscript{45}

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\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{43} Emitie, Thomas. \textit{A New Remonstrance from Ireland Declaring the Barbarous Cruelty and Inumanity of the Irish Rebels Against the Protestants there: Also an Exact Discoveries of the Manners and Behavior of the Irish Renegadoes here in}. London:, 1642. Online: EEBO.
\textsuperscript{45} Perceval-Maxwell 232
\end{footnotesize}
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The Protestants were not the only ones who had atrocities inflicted upon them. At Islandmagee in County Antrim, reprisals against the Catholics were inflicted. It was reported that at Islandmagee “dozens of Catholics were hacked to death, including women and children and this was not an isolated incident.”⁴⁶ The massacre of Drogheda is another example of an atrocity inflicted upon the Catholic population. It is estimated that there were over 1,000 deaths at Drogheda, including everyone who took refuge in the town’s church. Any man identified as a member of the catholic clergy was immediately killed by the Cromwellian force. There is also reason to believe that many civilians were killed as at the end of the list of the dead at Drogheda concludes with “and many inhabitants.”⁴⁷ Cromwell also recounts the entering of Drogheda with, “being thus entered, we refused them quarter; having, the day before, summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives.”⁴⁸ There were orders for the complete slaughter of anyone who stood in the way of Cromwell’s forces. There was no option for surrender and there was intense pride on the part of Cromwell that they were able to kill so many of the Irish rebels. The following image (Illustration 2) depicts the violence of Drogheda. Cromwell’s forces are seen slaughtering anyone who stands in their way. Men are seen lying dead in the street with Cromwell and his men showing no respect for the dead and walking on them. A woman is held at sword point and children are terrified of what is going on around them. There was no mercy given to the Irish Catholics within Drogheda.

⁴⁷Connolly 94
These are just some of the widespread accounts of what occurred during the 1641 uprising. The native Irish Catholics attacked the new English Protestants while they retaliated. Much of what the Irish Catholics did was in response to their anger and hatred about the new settlers and their loss of land and ability to govern themselves. The Protestants often did what they did to the Catholics in response to what themselves have suffered through. The widespread and prevalence of rumors about what was occurring to each group did not help matters.

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Aftermath of the Uprising

The Act of Settlement of 1652 ended the 1641 uprising and directly impacted the Irish in some major ways. The Act of Settlement had a widespread impact on the Irish, it was estimated that there were not “not 100 of them in 10,000 who are not only by the 1st and 4th articles of the act of settlement under the penalty of losing life and estate.”\(^{50}\) Some of the most important articles of the Act of Settlement include articles, II, VI, and VII. Article II stated that every Jesuit, priest or person who received orders from the pope and promoted, aided, advised or assisted the rebels in the war in Ireland or helped with any of the murders, massacres, robberies or acts of violence committed against the Protestants or English would be excluded from pardons of life. Article VI stated that any person who commanded in the war of Ireland against the England, would be banished and forfeit two-thirds of their estate to the Commonwealth. Article VII stated that every Catholic living in Ireland from October 1, 1641- March 1, 1650 and not proved their loyalty to the Commonwealth of England, will forfeit one third of their estates to the Commonwealth to be used for the benefit of the Commonwealth.\(^{51}\) The act proscribed to the idea that there were different classes of responsibility for the uprising and used, “the idea of qualifications, that is to say, of classifying Irish delinquents under several heads, so that different penalties might be meted out to them, according to the degrees of their misconduct, was thoroughly familiar to Englishmen.”\(^{52}\) It could clearly be seen through the loss of land by the gentry and their transplantation, the transplantation of soldiers, while the lower-class was more likely to be able to remain. However, while it might have the intention that the only proprietors and soldiers be transplanted to Connaught while the rest of the population remained, that was not

\(^{50}\) Gardiner, Samuel , The Transplantation to Connaught, 703


\(^{52}\) Gardiner, Samuel , The Transplantation to Connaught, 701
always the result with many unlanded men receiving transplantation passes. The removal of the great landowner and the head of the clans to across the river Shannon, was thought to achieve three goals for the English. The first the separation of the leaders from their dependents would result in the breakdown of Irish society allowing the Irish remaining to be more easily influenced by the new English settlers. The second reason for allowing remaining of the unlanded Irish population to stay was twofold; one they were too numerous and two the settlers would be unable to cultivate their own lands. The third reason was that the separation of the Irish from their leading class would result in them converting to Protestantism and renouncing their Catholic faith.

The land distribution that resulted from the Act of Settlement changed the appearance of the land ownership in Ireland. Overall over 40% of the land in Ireland was confiscated and redistributed. In 1641 Catholics held about 70% of the land in Ireland, and after the Act of Settlement they held only about 10% of the land. By 1660, Catholics were only allowed to own land to the West of the River Shannon. The following map (map 3) illustrates the land confiscated in each county. The map also shows what the land in each county was reserved for. The land redistribution following the act of settlement changed the look of land ownership with Ireland, by greatly reducing the number of Irish who owned land.

53 Gardiner, Samuel, The Transplantation to Connaught, 717
54 Gardiner, Samuel, The Transplantation to Connaught, 720-721
Map 3: Land distribution in Ireland following the Act of Settlement

Chapter 3: Politics in England

The events that occurred in England influenced what occurred in Ireland. Cromwell’s death and the restoration of the monarchy would lead to the accession of James II and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 started in England and then spread to Ireland. The revolution’s primary focus in England was in regards to religion. It was viewed as a religious conflict between a Protestant nation and a Catholic king. This then led to the arrival of William of Orange in England and the fleeing of James II from England to Ireland and then to France.

*Cromwell and his death*

During this time England was turned upside down through a series of civil wars. In 1649 a parliamentary tribunal judged Charles I, the current king, guilty of treason and had him beheaded. This was followed by the abolishment of the House of Lords, the implantation of property taxes on the country’s elite, and a lack of a state church led to the emergence of a variety of sects.\(^{58}\) Cromwell was a product of the Puritan faction of England during that time, and considered the Irish Catholics “not merely a barbaric popish race destined for eternal damnation but also a people who were overdue a hefty repayment for their onslaught on the Protestant settler of Ulster.”\(^{59}\) In 1653 Cromwell would make himself the Lord Protector of England. In 1657 he would be offered and refuse the English Crown. On September 3, 1658 Cromwell died, and his successor was his son, Richard, who was unable to reconcile the various

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\(^{58}\) Pincus 11
\(^{59}\) Hegarty 133
factions within the country; with the restoration of the monarchy he fled to France.\textsuperscript{60} In 1660 with the restoration of the monarchy royalists dug up Cromwell’s body from his grave and hung him from a pole in London.\textsuperscript{61}

\textit{Restoration of the monarchy}

The monarchy was restored in 1660 and Charles II returned from exile to take the throne, along with his brother James who would become the heir. In 1662 Charles called the first parliament and had the power of monarchy restored. Charles was able to regain almost all of the power his father had given up during the 1640s.\textsuperscript{62} Many of the policies of Cromwell’s rule were overturned. This met that part of Cromwell’s act of settlement was overturned also. The new settlement resulted in about 500 of the Irish population getting land back and the adventurers, or those who gained land under Cromwell, losing about a third of their land. The native population still fared worse than the new settlers but, it led to animosity between the two groups, as the new settlers were resentful of having to give up any of their land.\textsuperscript{63} The Act of Uniformity of 1662 was passed, established that once again the only legal religious body would be the Church of England.\textsuperscript{64} In many ways the restoration attempted to turn England back to how it was in 1641.

\textit{Reasons for the Glorious Revolution in England}

It is necessary to first look at the Glorious Revolution in England before what occurred in Ireland can is examined. Without the events that occurred in England and the revolution in

\textsuperscript{61} Hegarty 143
\textsuperscript{62} Pincu 11
\textsuperscript{63} Simms, J.G., “The Restoration and the Jacobite War” \textit{The Course of Irish History}. 165
\textsuperscript{64} Pincus 12
Ireland would have been completely different. In many ways Ireland became another arena for the ongoing conflict between William of Orange and King James II.

Most of the reasons for the start of the Glorious Revolution in England came from actions taken by James II, mostly in regards to his religious beliefs. The religious beliefs of James became a major source of contention as James was Catholic. Between 1679 and 1681 three attempts were made by the Whig Party in the English Parliament to create an exclusion bill which would bar the Catholic heir (James) from inheriting the English throne; in all three attempts they were unsuccessful.\(^6^5\) In 1685, James was the younger brother to Charles II and inherited the throne when Charles died and became the first Catholic English monarch since Queen Mary. James became Catholic while living in France, prior to the restoration. The problems started with a King who was Catholic in a Protestant Country and was not helped by the fact that James had “no intention of divorcing his religious faith from his kingship.”\(^6^6\) It was also a time when, “all English men and women were compelled by law to attend Church of England services every Sunday. All other religious forms of worship were illegal.”\(^6^7\) Many thought that this was a horrible result especially considering once made King; James also became the head of the Church of England. The following image (Illustration 3) shows the popular attitudes and fears of having a Catholic King. James is depicted as the half-devil in the center of the image he possess symbols of the Catholic faith including a rosary. He is setting London on fire while simultaneously burning four men alive. A figure appearing to be the pope offers free pardons to all plotters and traitors. Then in the top right corner the devil is coming down, to cause even more chaos. The only piece of calm is on the left hand side, where a Protestant man

\(^6^5\) Harris 25
\(^6^6\) Pincus 78
\(^6^7\) Pincus 26
stands while angel comes down giving to him a crown and a sword. The inscription on the bottom of the image reads “Though Hell, Rome, and France: have United their Powers: We Defye them all Three (Sir) The Parliament's Ours, March the 21th 1680.” The image portrays a rare sense of fear surrounding Catholicism within England. Even prior to James becoming King there was a fear that his being Catholic would destroy the nation.

Illustration 3: A Prospect of Popish Successor

There were two major actions that James took that led to the revolution. The first is his Declaration of Indulgence and the second is his birth of a son. April 4, 1687 James issues his first Declaration of Indulgence. Then in the same autumn he packs Parliament in attempt to repeal the test acts. On April 27, 1688 James issued his second Declaration of Indulgence. James’s Declaration of Indulgence had three major areas: the first is suspending the penal laws for not attending the established Church of England. The second area is in allowing people to worship

68 Southcombe 40
69 Pincus 169
areas other than the established Church of England. And the last piece ended the obligation for people to take a religious oath before advancement in civil or military positions.\textsuperscript{70} The Declaration of Indulgence reads as follows:

\begin{quote}
We humbly thank Almighty God, it is and has of long time been our constant sense and opinion which upon divers occasions we have declared that conscience ought not to be constrained nor people forced in matters of mere religion; it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government, which it destroys by spoiling trade depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers and finally, that I never obtained the end for which it was employed. And in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns for after all the frequent and pressing endeavors that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity of religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and the difficulty is invincible. We therefore, out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit by virtue of our royal prerogative to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence… And to the end that all our loving subjects may receive and enjoy the full benefit and advantage of our gracious indulgence herby intended, and may be acquitted and discharged from all pains, penalties forfeitures and disabilities by them or any of them incurred or forfeited, or which they shall or may at any time hereafter be liable to for or by reason of their nonconformity or the exercise of their religion, and from all suits, troubles, or disturbances for the same, we do hereby give our free and ample pardon unto all nonconformists, recusants, and other our loving subjects, for all crimes, and things by them committed or done contrary to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion and the profession or exercise thereof.\textsuperscript{71}
\end{quote}

James’s Declaration of Indulgence takes a stand in the area of religious freedom and toleration. James is the first of the English monarchs to take such a public and clearly worded stand in favor of religious toleration. The previous failures of the English Kings attempting to make all of the English, members of the Church of England is mentioned. One of James’s reasons for making this declaration is for his own benefit because it would allow him to freely practice as a Catholic within England. However, he also has others that he feels will benefit the country. James states that by allowing this religious freedom it will increase trade and encourage strangers to come to

\textsuperscript{70} Declaration of Indulgences of King James II, April 4 1687.
\textsuperscript{71} Declaration of Indulgence of King James II, April 4, 1687
the country. Then James goes on to pardon anyone who was punished for practicing their own religion or not conforming to that of the Church of England. It is also fascinating that no specific religion is mentioned; these new freedoms are not limited to Catholics and other Christians but, are for any religion. James also took another step in order to create greater opportunities for religious nonconformists in England when he attempted to have the test act repealed; the test act was a law that worked to exclude “both Catholics and nonconformists from office or sitting in parliament, thereby denying all who were not communicating members of the Established Church any access to political power.”72 While James saw his actions as improving the lives of his subject; his protestant subjects saw it as subverting “the general religion current through three kingdoms, established by Parliament, and incorporated so into the laws, that the Religion of the Nation is the Law of the Nation.”73 The final blow for the Protestant Country was in June 1688 when James had a son with his second wife and so the baby Prince James Francis Edward who would supersede his two elder Protestant sisters to the throne. Worst yet this heir to the English throne would be raised Catholic.74 It was too much for the English populace and so they over-threw James for his son-in-law William of Orange and his wife Mary both of whom were Protestants. James being Catholic in addition to his policies of religious toleration set the stage and led to his eventual removal from the throne.

Glorious Revolution in England

William of Orange did not just invade the country and claim the throne for himself; rather he was invited. William, the Prince of Orange received an invitation from the Seven on June 30, 1688...

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72 Harris 28
74 Harris 2
1688. The seven people who invited William were Charles Talbot (Earl of Shrewsbury), William Cavendish (Earl of Devonshire), Henry Sidney, Edward Russell, Henry Compton (Bishop of London), Thomas Osborne (Earl of Danby), and Richard Lumley (Lord Lumley). Talbot, Cavendish Sidney, and Russell were Whigs, and Osborne, Lumley and Compton were Tories. The power base of the north of England was controlled by Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley. Sidney had power and influence in the army and Russell had power and influence in the navy.  
Talbot, Cavendish, Sidney, Russell, Compton, Osborne, and Lumley represented a diverse and powerful group of men within England. In their invitation highlighted what they felt was the problem and their difficulties: “the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government in relation to their religion, liveries, and properties (all which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectations of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are … people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change, … would willingly contribute to it if they had such a protection to… their rising as could secure them from being destroyed.” The problem is that King James has interfered in the lives, religion, and property of his subjects; every day the people are suffering more. The people are already to rise up; they just need a sense of protection, that if they did rise up someone would back them. The seven then go on to tell William the state of loyalty within James’s army: we “believe that [James II’s] army would then be very much divided among themselves, many of the officers being so discontented that they continue in their service only for a subsistence (besides that some of their minds are known already) and very many of the common soldiers do daily show such an aversion to the popish religion that there is the greatest possibility imaginable of

76 Pincus 38
great number of deserters which would come from them should there be such an occasion.”

There was very little loyalty to James left in the army according to the seven. The officers were there only for money while the common soldiers’ dislike of the Catholic religion seems to have outweighed any sense of loyalty they had to James.

In October 1688 William made his own declaration in regards to taking the English throne. One of the reason that William gives for entering England is that when James was crowned King of England, Scotland and Ireland, “without the least opposition, though he made then open profession of the popish religion, so he did then promise and solemnly swear at his coronation that he would maintain his subjects in the free enjoyment of their laws, rights liberties and in particular, that he would maintain the Church of England as it was established by law.”

James has gone back on his word in regards to allowing his subjects access to laws, rights and liberties but, he has also not maintained the Church of England as he should have. William also, states what he hopes to achieve by freeing the people and the Church of England from James. The Prince of Orange hopes to “procure the peace and happiness of that nation, which a free and lawful Parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes in this our undertaking but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution of their conscience and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws rights and liberties, under a just and legal government.”

The reasons William gives for what he does is for a free Parliament, ensuring that the nation is able to enjoy all their laws, rights, and liberties, to ensure a just government. The most telling reason though is for the “preservation of the

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77 Pincus 38
78 Pincus 40
79 Pincus 43
Protestant religion.” A large reason for William for taking the throne from James was based on religion.

After William’s Declaration was made he quickly arrived in England and was viewed as a savior. The conflict in England between William and James did not last long. William landed at Torbay in England on November 5, 1688 and the on December 23, 1688 James fled to France.\textsuperscript{80} James was not able to stand against William for long because “gentlemen, from all parts of the Kingdom flocked in with their arms and horses to join their Deliverer [William of Orange], and many troops and regiments of the Kings army deserted him, not enduring to be mingled among Papists or be obliged to fight against Protestants.”\textsuperscript{81} Later in 1689 William and Mary were crowned and acknowledged by Parliament as the King and Queen of England. The following illustration (figure 4) depicts how William of Orange was commonly depicted. In the top of the image under England’s Memorial it reads “Of its Wonderful deliverance, from French tyranny and Popish oppression. Performed Through Almighty Gods infinite goodness and Mercy By His Highness, William Henry of Nassau The High & Mighty Prince of Orange 1688.” The center of the image is dominated by an orange tree. Then an orange knocks the crown from James head and another oranges knocks out one of James’s supporters. The Queen is fleeing with her infant son, while the King of France murders his Protestant subjects. When William arrived in England, he was viewed as a Protestant savior saving the English from tyranny and Catholicism.

\textsuperscript{80} Pincus 170
\textsuperscript{81} Caesar, Charles. \emph{Numerus infaustus a short view of the unfortunate reigns of William the second, Henry the Second, Edward the Second, Richard the Second, Charles the Second, James the Second}. London:, 1689. Online: EEBO.
The actions taken by James, including his declaration of indulgence and his catholic sympathies led to a situation in which a defender of the Protestant faith was necessary and so the English called upon William of Orange. James II was viewed as “the only person that willfully and industriously dethroned himself.”

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82 Southcombe 76
The conflict of the Glorious Revolution moved from England to Ireland. Although, Ireland’s reason for fighting was more complicated than mere religion. Many of the Irish saw this as an opportunity to gain what they had been losing, their land and their ability to govern themselves. They saw James as being sympathetic to their goals and so, supported him in his attempt to regain his throne, just as in 1641, the oppressed group, the Irish Catholics, saw the conflict of 1641 as a way of improving their position and creating a change in the country. The Irish were unable to defeat William of Orange and his supporters causing them to lose more land and further limiting the ability to govern themselves with the adoption of the penal codes. When the Irish were defeated, they also migrated out of the country.

**Basic of the Glorious Revolution**

The revolution that occurred in Ireland was a continuation of the conflict between William of Orange and King James II. However, there were also significant differences between what occurred in England and Ireland. The actual conflict in Ireland lasted longer than it did in England. James was also more strongly supported in Ireland than in England especially by the masses. In Ireland the reasons for the revolt was slightly different, while there was a religious component; that could be viewed in terms of the climax between the long struggle for the control of the island between the Protestant settlers and the older Catholic population.\(^8^4\) This religious conflict also came through in terms of who supported William versus who supported James. One of the other major factors in Ireland was land, most specifically the over-turning of the Act of

\(^{8^4}\) Harris 423
Settlement and re-distributing the land to how it was during the 1640s. It was believed that James would over-turn the Act of Settlement because of the support he received, when the conflict was over.\footnote{Harris, Tim. \textit{Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy 1685-1720}. London: Penguin Books, 2007. Print.}

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was between James’ supporters the Jacobites and William’s supporters the Williamites. The majority of James supporters came from Catholic population in Ireland, because they thought James would be sympathetic to his cause as he was also Catholic, but he also received support from some non-Catholics. Some of the non-Catholics who supported James came from “Protestants, particularly those of the Established Church, [who] had qualms about renouncing their allegiance to their legitimate king.”\footnote{Harris. 435.} The Jacobite goal was to “restore full political, economic, and religious control of the kingdom to the Catholic majority and also to make Ireland more independent from England.”\footnote{Harris 422} In addition to gaining control of Ireland, another emphasis was placed on land, including wanting their estates back. The majority of William’s supporters came from the English, Danish, Scottish, and protestant Irish. William’s supporters worked to achieve “a counterrevolution – a revolution, that is, in the sense of putting the clock back to where things had started” while, simultaneously emphasizing the religious nature of the conflict and preventing Ireland from becoming Catholic controlled.\footnote{Harris 422} William was looked upon as the defender of the Protestant faith.

The Catholics who chose to support James did so because they felt he would be sympathetic to their cause. The Declaration of Indulgence that James issued would allow the Catholics greater opportunities and access to the higher levels of government and influence as it
allowed the religious freedom of all of James’s subjects while also providing for religious
toleration within the nation.\(^{89}\) This would allow the Irish Catholics to accomplish one of their
goals, gaining control within the government. James was influenced into drawing up and
supporting a bill that would destroy the Act of Settlement, which would restore land possession
to what it was in 1641.\(^{90}\) The other major goal of the Irish Catholics the restoration of land and
repeal of the Act of Settlement would be accomplished with James as King.

Richard Talbot Tyrconnell was appointed by James as the lieutenant-general of the army
in Ireland in 1686 and then in 1687 he was appointed the Lord Deputy of Ireland.\(^{91}\) There was
Protestant sympathy for the glorious revolution and deposing of King James II in Ireland. At the
same time there was widespread fear among the Protestants that there would be another uprising
of 1641, including the violence between the Catholic and Protestants within the country. Rumors
of the Irish rising up and starting massacres did not help with Protestant fears and , leading many
of the Protestants to flee to England, Scotland and the Isle of Man.\(^{92}\) Tyrconnell was also re-
building the army in Ireland after a third of the it was called to England, in attempt stop William
of Orange. Most of Tyrconnell’s army came from the Catholic population and by February 1689,
he had an army of close to 45,000 men.\(^{93}\) While much of the Catholic population was being
recruited into the army by Tyrconnell; Protestants started to form their own armed bands. By
March 1689 Tyrconnell was able to re-establish control of Ireland; mostly because of his attempt
to govern impartially, with the focus being placed on preservation of order and the protection of
the loyal subjects. Tyrconnell gave orders for the seizure of arms and horses for the army;

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\(^{89}\) Declaration of Indulgence of King James II, April 4, 1687
\(^{90}\) Walker, George. A true account of the present state of Ireland giving a full relation of the new establishment made by the late King James... EEBO
\(^{91}\) Barnard 33
\(^{92}\) Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 48-49
\(^{93}\) Harris 4260
Tyrconnell did not mention any religious distinction in his orders. Despite this fact, the Protestants were adversely affected by supplying the army with arms and supplies for the army because the Catholics were able to receive supplies from the army. As James continued to receive strong support from Tyrconnell and Ireland, he made the decision to travel from France to Ireland and arrived at Kinsale on March 12, 1689, with the hope of using Ireland as his foothold in regaining his crown. The people of Ireland were overjoyed at James’s arrival as seen through a ballad of the time, “King James’s Welcome to Ireland”:

Play, piper — play, piper,
Come, lasses, dance and sing,
And old harpers strike up
To harp for the king.
He is come — he is come,
Let us make Ireland ring
With a loud shout of welcome,
May God save the king.

Bring ye flowers — bring ye flowers,
The fresh flowers of spring,
To strewn in the pathway
Of James our true king.
And better than flowers,
May our good wishes bring
A long life of glory
To James our true king.

Huzza, then — huzza, then,
The news on the wing,
Triumphant he comes
Amid shouts for the king.
All blessings attend him,
May every good thing
Be showered on the brave head
Of James, our true king.

94 Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 55-56
95 Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 62
James’s supporters were thrilled with his arrival in Ireland. The song calls for a festive attitude for the country in order to celebrate James’s arrival. One line that repeats throughout the song is “James, our true king” which shows that many in Ireland felt that William had no claim to the throne and rather James was King. William did not arrive in Ireland until June of 1690.97

*Events of the Glorious Revolution*

The siege of the city of Derry, within the county Londonderry in the Northern part of the country, would last 105 days; the siege started on April 15, 1690 and end on July 28, 1690.98 Derry was a Protestant stronghold. The people of Derry show the internal conflicts and differences of opinion that Protestants had with fighting against King James. On April 18th James arrived at Derry and approached the city, whereupon the defendants of the city fired on him. The more conservative segment of the city was shocked that the king was fired upon and felt that they should beg for James’s forgiveness for the insult that they committed. Another part of the population of Derry felt that, James’s approach was a breach of faith and strengthened the resistance within the city. The divide in public opinion within Derry was similar to that of Ireland with part of the population believing that James remained King while another group believed that it was Ireland’s duty to rebel against James and support William. Prior to James’s arrival at Derry a truce was negotiated stipulating that, the inhabitants of Derry would submit to the King (James) and hand over their arms and horses and be allowed to continue to live peacefully in the city. The Jacobite army would allow them the day to make their decision and during that day the Jacobites would not approach within four miles of the city.99 James ordered that his officers continue to negotiate for the surrender of the city and the city continued to

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97 Harris 446  
98 Connolly 182-183  
99 Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, 99
refuse. Finally in July an English ship arrived bearing much needed supplies for the city and the siege was lifted.

The Battle of Boyne was an important victory for William and his troops and was one of the most famous battles of the conflict. The battle occurred on July 1, 1690 along the Boyne River and took place near the town of Drogheda. The Boyne River is the only significant river between Dundalk and Dublin and was important in controlling the country. The location near the town of Drogheda was the most defensible position for James to make a stand in eastern Ireland.  

During the battle, William would prove himself to be the better military leader than James, when he defeated the Jacobite army. The defeat of the Jacobite army opened the way to Dublin and Southeast Ireland for the Williamite army. The defeat caused the Jacobite army to split. James and a part of his army would withdraw to France while Patrick Sarsfield, an Irish Catholic hero, would take his part of the army and retreat into the Western part of Ireland and Limerick. The result of the Battle of Boyne resulted in two events: James’s flight back to France and William’s entry into Dublin. The Battle of Boyne became a turning point in the conflict, in favor of William.

Prior to leaving Ireland James empowered Tyrconnell to assume the administration of civil and military affairs, and to use his discretion either to make peace with the prince of Orange, or continue war. James’s fleeing to France had a larger impact; it divided the Irish Catholics, with the formation of a peace party and the war party. The peace party was ready to accept terms from Williams’s supporters and felt that if they acted now they might receive better terms. The

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100 Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 145
101 Cruickshanks 57
102 Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 145
war party believed that, Sarsfield would be able to lead the army to more victories, resulting in either William’s defeat or to the French sending troops.  

The Jacobite forces had their own victories throughout the conflict. In 1690 following the Battle of Boyne, Richard Grace, who was a veteran of the confederate war, led a successful defense of Athlone, a town located along the River Shannon. When Williamite forces asked for their surrender, Grace instead fired his pistol at them in a declaration of resistance. The defenders of Athlone destroyed the bridge and retired to the Connaught side of the river. The Williamite forces eventually fled when they heard the approach of the Jacobite army. The defense of Athlone inspired resistance throughout the island. The actions taken by Patrick Sarsfield would become one of the most celebrated of the Irish exploits during the war. On August 11th, 1690 a deserter from the English army arrived with the news that “eight pieces of battering-cannon” along with ammunitions, provisions, other supplies on the way from Dublin. The Major-general Sarsfield along with five hundred soldiers took off to intercept the delivery. Sarsfield was able to surprise the delivery within seven-miles of Limerick, destroyed the cannons and burned the other provisions. Sarsfield’s ride became memorialized in Irish poetry through a poem David Ó Bruadair: “He left no a bomb or a copper pontoon/ In Baile and Fhaoitigh that he did not disperse/ Like the smoke of a candle up into the sky.” Many of the moments of Jacobite victory inspired other actions of resistance. The Jacobite forces had their own moments of victory and believed that they would win the conflict against William.

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104 Cruickshanks 57
105 Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 160
106 Gilbert, 114
The death of Tyrconnell, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, a strong and loyal supporter of James, was a hard blow for the Irish resistance. On August 10, 1691 in Limerick Tyrconnell ate dinner with the first lieutenant-general. After dinner Tyrconnell found himself indisposed and the next day his illness was worse. Despite the application of many remedies Tyrconnell did not get better and on August 12th he settled his worldly affairs; he appointed three people to be Lord Justices and to govern in James’s stead, they were Alexander Fitton baron of Gosworth, Sir Richard Nagle, ad Mr. Plowden an English gentleman. On August 14, 1691 Tyrconnell died.\textsuperscript{108} With the death of Tyrconnell, “a great man fell, who in his fall, pulled down a mighty edifice, videlicet, a considerable Catholic nation, for there was no other subject left able to support the national cause.”\textsuperscript{109} Tyrconnell’s death forced a change of government within Ireland. Tyrconnell had been in charge of Ireland since 1686 and was skilled in dealing with political and military matters. The Jacobite cause lost one of its strongest supporters and allies when Tyrconnell died and the conflict ended less than two months following Tyronnell’s death.

The siege of Limerick was one of the last acts of resistance by the Jacobite forces during the conflict. Limerick was a naturally defensible city being on an island in the middle of the Shannon River.\textsuperscript{110} It is surprising that the Williamite General Ginkel, thought that he would be able to take Limerick in 1691. In 1690, William laid siege to the city and was unable to break it. In 1690 the city had fewer defenders and was less prepared for siege. William had a larger force than Ginkel. Despite these factors Ginkel attempted to take Limerick. The siege started on August 25, 1691, both sides made attempts to overtake the other’s forces, until on September 24th a cease fire was agreed upon and the start to a treaty was made. This treaty would become

\textsuperscript{108} Gilbert 155
\textsuperscript{109} Gilbert 155
\textsuperscript{110} Simms, \textit{Jacobite Ireland}, 163
the Treaty of Limerick and would formally end the conflict between the Jacobites and Williamites.  

*Opinions Surrounding and Blame for the Revolution*

Most of the blame and responsibility for the revolution was placed squarely on the heads of the Irish Catholics, as they were instigators as well as committing crimes against the Protestant population. The English won the conflict, allowing them to hold the Irish Catholics responsible for what occurred. There were opinions surrounding the right of William to the throne of Ireland and the support demonstrated for James, regardless of the nature of the supporters of James the Catholics retained responsibility for the revolt. The blame was not placed with those who supported James but rather with a specific group of James’s supporters, the Catholics. It is unsurprising that the Catholics are blamed for the revolution in Ireland. It was believed that “all the papists in that Kingdom, as well those of English Extraction, as the Native, are joined in this Rebellion.” The papists however were seen as taking the first step toward the rebellion when in Ireland Tyrconnell replaced Protestant civil and military officers with Catholics and removed most of the Protestant Justices and Sheriffs. The entrance of Catholics into the government and positions of power in Ireland is the same thing that was occurring in England and the English

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111 Gilbert 157-167
112 A letter from Duke Schomberge’s camp giving an account of the English and Irish army and a true account of all the papists in Ireland their number and estates, with reasons for declaring them forfeited, and the several parties amongst them with all the material circumstances that related to that kingdom, from the camp at Dundalke, November 4, 1689. EBBO.
113 English Protestant that lately narrowly escaped with his life from thence. Ireland’s lamentation, being a short but perfect, full and true account of the situation nature, constitution and product of Ireland: with an impartial historical relation of the most material transactions, revolutions, and miserable sufferings of the Protestants there, from the death of King Charles the second, to the latter end of April 1689: the time and manner of the late King’s landing there: what men, monies, shipping, arms, and ammunition he brought with him: the manner of his going up ad into Dublin is kneeling to the host: displacing all Protestants: the strength and the defeat of his army, and what else is of note: to which is added, a letter from a lieutenant in the Irish army, dated at Dublin, May 7. With an account of affairs to that time/ written by an English Protestant that lately narrowly escaped with his life from thence. London:, 1689. Online: EEBO.
majority was opposed to it and it was viewed as a threat to the continuation of England. Then the Protestants saw an additional threat to themselves and their power and position, in “less than five months ** 18 times the whole Body of the Irish Papists were everywhere Armed to the great terror of the Protestants; and as they were naturally inclined to Theft, so new they were by the Authority put into an excellent conditions to perform it, which with the inability of the new Officers to maintain them, upon destroying the Protestants.”  

The Catholics making up the majority of the population were being put into positions of authority and power, endangering the smaller number who had more of the power. In this face of this devastation and destruction, not to mention for fear of their lives and properties, the Protestants had but no choice than to start arming themselves.

The entirety of the Irish Catholic population within Ireland was held responsible for the start of the revolution; though different segments of the population were viewed as more responsible than others. The upper levels of the Irish catholic population, such as the clergy, lawyers and the gentry are held to the highest degree of responsibility. The Catholic Clergy are held the most responsible as they are “the contrivers and incendiaries to the Rebellion” as well as the “sworn vassals of Rome and France.” They are also the group that undertakes to destroy the Protestant religion. This is the group that is responsible for the continuation of the catholic religion and problems that come from it, such as attempts to destroy the Protestant religion. The next most responsible party is the Gentry; those nobles who lost their estates to the Protestant landowners following the Rebellion of 1641. This group is “the flower of the Rebels arm their

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114 English Protestant, Ireland’s Lamentation being short but perfect…EEBO.
115 A letter from Duke Schomberge’s camp giving an account of the English and Irish army and a true account of all the papists in Ireland their number and estates, with reasons for declaring them forfeited, and the several parties amongst them with all the material circumstances that related to that kingdom, from the camp at Dundalke, November 4, 1689. EEBO.
The Gentry lost their lands in the early 1600s with the creation of the plantation system and then lost more of their lands following the Act of Settlement in 1652. With each consecutive loss of land that the Catholic nobility suffered meant an increase in power to the Protestants in Ireland. The common man is viewed as less responsible for the rebellion because of the way he is perceived; he is doing what he is told by someone above him in the social hierarchy. While the blame and responsibility for the rebellion is not equally distributed for each segment of the Irish Catholic population, there was a commonly held belief that the popish element in Ireland is “industriously endeavoring his [James] Restoration, and the destruction of the Protestant Interest, the pardoning [of] the Estated Papists in Ireland will strength and encourage these …pardoning of one Rebellion in Ireland, is always the preludium to another.”

The papists in Ireland will continue to work to destroy the Protestants and that the Catholics need to be punished harshly or in such a way that they would not rebel again.

Certain themes become apparent when the responsibility for the rebellion is examined. It was phrased as the Irish or the Catholics as being responsible for the revolution and what transpired, rather than the supporters of James, which included more than just the Irish Catholic segment of the population. The entire revolution was viewed along religious lines with the

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116 A letter from Duke Schomberge’s camp giving an account of the English and Irish army and a true account of all the papists in Ireland their number and estates, with reasons for declaring them forfeited, and the several parties amongst them with all the material circumstances that related to that kingdom, from the camp at Dundalke, November 4, 1689. EBO.

117 Anon. A Letter from Duke Schomberge’s Camp, Giving an Account of the Condition of the English and Irish Army, and a True Account of all the Papists in Ireland their Number and Estates, with Reasons for Declaring them Forfeited, and the several Parties Amongst them with all the Material Circumstances that Relate to that Kingdom: From the Camp at Dundalke, November 4, 1689. London; 1689. Online: EEBO.
assumption that the Catholics were on the side of James and the Protestants were on the side of William. The Protestants and English viewed the Catholics as being responsible for what occurred, so that was whom they blamed. The responsibility for the revolution will have further consequences for the Catholics in Ireland.

There were also those who disagreed with holding the Irish Catholics responsible as they were just supporters of James, their King. One gentleman wrote “King James plainly forsook the Kingdom of England; but that of Ireland he did not seem to forsake. He retained the Government there, first by his Lieutenant, and then in person. And who can think it unpardonable, if these People adhered to their natural King.” James did not abandon Ireland, throughout the conflict he was either present or his appointed ruler was, Tyrconnell unlike in England when he fled and left the government to William. Those in Ireland were placed in a situation where they had to pick a side based on who they felt was the rightful king and is it so surprising or wrong that some would pick the King that they born under. The Irish Catholics were held responsible for the conflict because they were on the losing side. The English viewed the glorious revolution in Ireland, not as a conflict between who was the rightful King, but rather as a conflict between the Catholics and Protestants.

After the Revolution

The first step in ending the Revolution was the Treaty of Limerick which formally ended the conflict. The treaty would start a time of penal laws and Protestant dominance. The treaty of Limerick had two major parts, the military articles which dealt with the Irish army and its transportation to France and civil articles, which dealt with those who would remain in Ireland

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118 Person of quality. Some Ways for Raising of Money Humbly, Offered to the Consideration of the Parliament / by a Person of Quality. London:, 1690. Online: EEBO.
and be subjects of William and Mary. Religion and land were the most important pieces that the treaty dealt with. The civil articles were unsatisfactory to both sides and left several loopholes, such as the only guarantee of its observance being good faith. The treaty was formally agreed to on October 3, 1691.119

Some of the important articles agreed to under the Civil section of the Treaty of Limerick include: that all Roman Catholic will be able to exercise their religion and enjoy the same privileges as they did under Charles II. The residents of the various garrisons under Irish control including Limerick, officers and soldiers under commission of King James, had to submit to their majesties obedience and take the oath of allegiance, and would enjoy every privilege, estate and title that they did under Charles II. The oath of allegiance would be administered to all Roman Catholics. The last part of the civil articles established that no would break the treaty or force anyone to break it.120 The Civil section worked to re-establish what was agreed to, following the restoration of the monarchy and Charles II’s rule. There was also very little blame or responsibility placed on the civilian population and rather the treaty worked to ensure that afterwards they would be loyal subjects if William and Mary. There was a lack of the Irish goals being meet in the treaty: there was no discussion of Act of Settlement and the regaining of lost estates, no guarantees that the Catholics would be able to hold Civil or Military positions. There are also no consequences or guidelines, about what happens if someone breaks the treaty.

The Military articles are focused on allowing those who choose to leave Ireland the ability to do so. The military articles provided information on who could leave and the

transportation that they would be provided with. The military articles state that following: “that all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition so ever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate, and jewels.” This allows those who participated in the rebellion whether they are a foot soldier or an officer the ability to leave the country with their families. The one condition is those leaving do not go to either England or Scotland; most of those who choose to leave would end up in France. Fifty ships will be furnished to all the transportation of those who wish to leave they will not have to pay. Lastly, “all prisoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promise to use his endeavors that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.” The military articles were less controversial than those of the civil articles. Within the military articles there were also detailed instructions regarding the transportation of those leaving Ireland. The treaty of Limerick was found unsatisfactory to both sides of the conflict. One ballad of the time describes the Treaty of Limerick as, “Hard fate that still attends our Irish war./ The conquerors lose, the conquered gainers are;/ Their pen’s the symbol of our sword’s defeat,/ We fight like heroes but like fools we treat.”

Soldiers were allowed to leave Ireland under the treaty of Limerick and many took the offer; this exodus of the Irish would become known as the “flight of wild geese.” Some 16,000 Jacobite soldiers decided to leave Ireland and never return, despite that fact that Williamites tried

to discourage the Irish from leaving.\textsuperscript{123} Several thousand of the Irish followed Sarsfield and left for France, where they formed Irish regiments within the French service.\textsuperscript{124} Those who left were stripped of their property and citizenship. The soldiers were assured prior to their departure that they would be able to transport their wives and children and yet once the men got on board they were often forced to see their “Women and Children were left on the Shore, exposed to Hunger and Cold, without any Manner of Provision, and without any Shelter in that rigorous Season.”\textsuperscript{125} There is another account that recalls an incident where “some women, who had seen their husbands already taken on board ship, tried to grab hold of the boat that had returned to pick up the officers but they were either dragged off, or lost their grip, and drowned, or else ‘had their fingers cut off, and so perished in sight of their Husbands, or Relations.”\textsuperscript{126} Despite these gruesome incidents there were some families who managed to accompany their father or husband to France.

The Penal Laws or the Laws in Ireland for the Suppression of Popery were the last result of the revolution. The purpose of the penal laws was “aimed to deprive the Catholics of their religious, intellectual, social, and military leaders, In particular, the supply of clergy would be interrupted and, it was hoped, ruptured permanently. Bishops, monks, friars, were banned from Ireland. Those in the country were to be banished.”\textsuperscript{127} The Irish penal laws or penal code is a series of laws directed at limiting the rights of the Catholics in Ireland. The first law added to the penal code was done by Queen Elizabeth I in 1558. The addition by Elizabeth I is considered the oath of supremacy which is an oath that has one pledge their allegiance to Queen Elizabeth and

\textsuperscript{123} Harris 473
\textsuperscript{124} Simms, \textit{War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730}, 208
\textsuperscript{126} Harris 474
\textsuperscript{127} Barnard 51
her heirs and forsakes any foreign powers in either spiritual or worldly things. The oath of supremacy does very little power than makes individuals swear their allegiance to their Queen in all matters regardless of what they head of their religious order or others are telling them to do. No specific groups such as the Catholics are mentioned. The penal code remained as such for over a century. The next addition to the penal code does not come until 1691 by William and Mary. They created a category of people who became obligated to take the oath of supremacy usually in positions of power such as attorneys, clerks, and military officials, members of the House of Commons and the house of peers. William and Mary also established the declaration against transubstantiation which is an oath that sewers one to the protestant faith while denouncing the catholic one. Many of the same individuals are forced to make the declaration against transubstantiation as are the oath of supremacy including any peer of Ireland, members of Parliament, attorneys, and etc. The penal code also established the consequences for those who do not swear these oaths such as fines and prison time. The next series of statues limits the rights of Catholics in the form of prohibiting them from teaching, preventing them from owning arms, banishing the catholic clergy, limiting the rights and ability for Protestants and Catholics to intermarry. Overall the laws worked to prevent Catholics entry into the government or law. Their ability to own land was also lessened through the prevention of Catholics purchasing land and the forcing of Catholics estates to be divided up, ensuring that there was no accumulation of Catholic wealth. In all the laws were, an attack on the Irish Catholics.

Chapter 5: Connections between 1641 and 1688

The revolutions that took place in 1641 and 1688 are tightly connected and can be seen as the continuation of the same conflict. The goal of both uprisings was an increase of land ownership and rights for the Irish Catholic population. Both of the conflicts were also caused by the discrimination that the native Irish population suffered because of their religious affiliation. Events of 1641 uprising were brought up during the troubles of 1688. The aftermath of both conflicts resulted in Irish Catholics loss of land and migration.

Goals of the 1641 and 1688 Revolutions

The 1641 uprising occurred in order to regain what was lost with the creation of the plantation system. One of the major goals of the 1688 revolution was to regain the land the native population loss due to the Act of Settlement. The creation of the plantation system led to a large decrease in landownership by the native population and resentment and dissatisfaction about it. One family was forced to exchange the ownership of an entire county for that of a single barony.\(^{129}\) The native population loss large tracts of their land prior to 1641 and were upset about the entire situation. Prior to the revolution of 1688, the Act of Settlement caused the loss of Irish land. In 1641, prior to the Act of Settlement, Catholics owned about 59% of the profitable land in Ireland, and in 1688, after the Act of Settlement, Catholics owned 22% of the profitable land.\(^ {130}\) Almost 40% of the Catholic Irish landowners lost land because of the act of Settlement those who rebelled in 1688 hoped to have the Act of Settlement over-turned and their land restored to them. Both of the uprisings were focused on regaining land that was lost to the native population.

\(^{129}\) Connolly 36
\(^{130}\) Connolly 137
Ireland has always remained a place where majority of the population was Catholic even after England became Protestant. The Irish population was often treated poorly because these of religious differences as the English and Scottish felt “a deep anti-Catholicism. Popery to most of Charles I’s subjects, was a malevolent ad powerful menace, the pope himself was seen by many as the Antichrist in the bible.” In 1641, one of the hopes of the uprising was greater religious freedom and ability to practice the Catholic faith. Sir Phelim included in his list of demands that those of the Catholic faith pay their taxes to the Catholic church rather than supporting the Church of England. The 1688 revolution also had a religious competent. The Irish Catholics supported a Catholic King, James II, who issued a declaration of Indulgences that allowed for religious freedom and toleration, including the ability for Catholics to be part of the government and hold seats of power. The Irish had hopes in both cases that if they were successful they would be able to gain greater religious freedom and not be second-class citizens their protestant neighbors.

The Irish who rebelled in 1641 and 1688 also, hoped to achieve greater political independence for Ireland and no longer be under the control of the English Parliament. Sir Phelim also, stated that one of the demands of the rebels of 1641 was the repeal of Poyning’s Law. Poyning’s Law was the law that made the Irish parliament and governor subordinate to that of the English Parliament and King. The repeal of Poyning’s Law would make Ireland politically independent from England. In 1688, the desire for political independence remained.

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131 Connolly 37
133 Declaration of Indulgence of King James II, April 4, 1687
The Irish who participated in 1688 revolution hoped to “make Ireland more independent from England.” The desire for self-governance remained a central desire of both of the rebellions.

The goals of the rebellions in 1641 and 1688 were similar in their desires. Both of the rebellions hoped to achieve the return of lost land, greater religious freedom for the Catholic majority, and independence from England for the Irish Parliament. Both of the conflicts used similar tactics in order to accomplish their goals. The Irish Catholic population attempted to gain control of the island in similar fashions. Both started by attempting to gain control of the garrisons on the island. Then as the rebel forces came into conflict with the English army and was defeated, the rebels retreated to the Irish Catholic strongholds in the country.

**How Both Conflicts were viewed**

Both the 1641 and 1688 uprisings were viewed as the result of Catholic actions against the Protestants living in Ireland. The 1641 deposition project, of documenting the instances of Catholic cruelty on the Protestant population in the early year of the revolution shows, that the English parliament held the Catholics mostly responsible for what was occurring in Ireland. During the 1688 revolution the Irish are once again held responsible for the revolution. In both situations people were unsurprised that the Irish would rise up in rebellion, which comes from the common belief of the time that “pardoning of one Rebellion in Ireland, is always the preludium to another.” During 1641 and 1688 the conflicts were, also seen as a series of attacks on Protestants living in Ireland and the Protestant faith. Also in reports of the 1641 rebellions Irish and Catholic became synonymous with an Irish rebel who is fighting against the

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135 Harris 422
136 Anon. *A Letter from Duke Schomberge’s Camp, Giving an Account of the Condition of the English and Irish Army, and a True Account of all the Papists in Ireland their Number and Estates, with Reasons for Declaring them Forfeitied, and the several Parties Amongst them with all the Material Circumstances that Relate to that Kingdom: From the Camp at Dundlake, November 4, 1689.* London;, 1689. Online: EEBO.
new Protestant settlers and the English. Then in 1688, Irish and Catholic became synonymous with Jacobite, or those who fight for the cause of King James despite the fact that he had more than just the support of the Irish Catholics.

Occurrences during the 1641 uprising would be brought once again during the 1688 rebellion. One such example of this occurs in a document that was printed in 1689. The document goes on to say that “we find their first proceedings against the English various; some of the Irish only stripping and expelling them; other murdering Men, Women, and Children without mercy; all resolving universally to root out all the Protestants of Ireland: so deeply malicious were they against the English Protestants, that they would not so much as endure the sound of their Language.” The events described above are not occurring during the glorious revolution but rather during the 1641 uprising. Memories of the events of 1641 were not to be forgotten but rather described within the midst of the 1688 revolution. This is not the only occurrence of such memories of the 1641 uprising. The following image (illustration 5) depicts scenes from the 1641 uprising; including the incident, of throwing Protestants into the river as described by Mrs. Elizabeth Price. Illustration 5 is also visually similar to that of illustration 1, drowning of the Protestants. There is a amass of people standing on a bridge and being forced into the water below while armed men stand on the bank forcing anyone who can swim to shore back into the river or killing them. The difference though illustration 5, is published in 1688 while illustration 1 is published in 1642. The memories of the Catholic and Protestant conflicts that occurred during the 1641 uprising would be remembered and the population would be reminded of during the 1688 revolution.

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137 Anon. A relation of the bloody massacre in Ireland acted by the instigation of the Jesuits, priests, and friars....EEBO
Illustration 5: Alleged brutalities committed by the Irish Catholics on the Protestants as part of a Protestant propaganda tract.\textsuperscript{138}

Results of the Revolutions

After both the 1641 and 1688 revolutions the outcomes are similar. In both cases the Irish lost and their situation became worse than it was prior to their uprising. Following each of the uprisings the native Irish Catholic lost more land. The following map (map 4) shows the percent of land owned by Catholics in 1641, 1688 and 1703. The 1641 map can be seen as the starting basis prior to both rebellion Catholics held 59% if the land. After the 1641 uprising, in 1688 Catholic held 22% of the land. Then following the 1688 uprising, Catholics held 14% of the

\textsuperscript{138} Harris, center insert image 14
land. After each the unsuccessful uprisings there was a sharp decrease in the amount of land owned by the Catholic population.

Map 4: Proportion of Land owned by Catholics within Ireland in the years 1641, 1688, 1703

Following each of the unsuccessful rebellions there was also a movement of the Irish. Following the 1641 uprising the Act of Settlement, after losing their land, the many of the Irish were forced to move west of the River Shannon. The movement of the Irish stayed with Ireland following the 1641 uprising and was called the transplantation to Connacht. After the revolution of 1688, the Irish migrated to France with what became known as the “flight of wild geese.” About 16,000 Irish soldiers who supported James would leave Ireland and never return, some of the men would bring their wives and children.\textsuperscript{140} The movement of the Irish rebels further afield can be seen as an escalation. After the first uprising the rebels were moved further from the cities and England. Then the Irish rebelled again following this they were sent to France, a Catholic country.

Each of the rebellions was also followed by an increase in anti-Catholic legislation. Following the 1641 uprising, Cromwell imposed restrictions on the Catholics, including the driving out of Catholic clergy from the country.\textsuperscript{141} Following the 1688 revolution, the Irish Catholics suffered a more targeted and systematic set of ant-Catholic laws in the form of the Penal laws. The purpose of these laws was to “deprive the Catholics of their religious, intellectual, social, and military leaders.”\textsuperscript{142} The Catholics became unable to hold positions in the government, practice law, and own certain amounts of land and limited in their ability to rent their land. The penal laws would last for over a century within Ireland and would work to make the Irish Catholic into second-class citizens and bar them from positions within the government and the military.

\textsuperscript{140} Harris 473
\textsuperscript{141} Barnard 28
\textsuperscript{142} Barnard 51
The Catholic Irish population would continue to be looked down upon and suffer for centuries. There would constantly be tensions between the Protestants and Catholics within in Ireland; “well into the second half of the eighteenth century Irish Protestants marked the anniversaries of the rising with a sense of deliverance as well as warning, and Catholics lived in fear that the memories of it would be used to reinforce the penalties imposed upon them.”\textsuperscript{143} The Protestants would gain control of the country, forcing the Catholics to bear the punishments and restrictions that they received based on their religion. The Irish would also not be free of the English Parliament’s control until they finally gained independence in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Due to the fact that “an act of Westminster parliament in 1720 announced that the kingdom of Ireland, ‘hath been, is and of right ought to be subordinated unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto.”\textsuperscript{144} The results of the failed revolutions would be felt by many of the Irish Catholics for generations to come.

The conflicts that occurred in 1641 and 1688 can be seen as a continuation of the same problems, and demands. The 1641 uprising was hoping to restore land to the native Irish that they loss with the creation of the plantation system and then in 1688 the Jacobites were hoping to restore the land lost to the native Irish population with the overturning of the Act of Settlement. Then both of the conflicts had a religious component of working to achieve great rights and equalities of the catholic majority within Ireland. The 1641 opened to force the repeal of Poynings’ law while the 1688 revolution wanted an independent Irish parliament. In both cases greater political independence from England would have been achieved. Both conflicts also used

\textsuperscript{143} Perceval-Maxwell 291
similar tactics in order to accomplish their goals. Both of the revolutions were also viewed in similar ways by the English Protestants. The Catholic majority was held responsible for the actions that occurred during the rebellions and many actions taken during the conflicts were seen as Catholic attacks on the Protestant settlers and the Protestant faith. During both the 1641 and 1688 rebellion, the use of Catholic became interchangeable with that of Protestant. The events of the 1641 uprising were also remembered during the 1688 rebellion, as the events were brought up and mentioned as if they were once again occurring. The revolutions also had similar outcomes with failure to gain what they were fighting for. In addition after both conflicts there was a movement of the Irish population. After the 1641 uprising, the movement of the Irish remained in Ireland with the certain members of the population being transplanted into Connacht or to the West of the River Shannon. After the 1688 revolution, ‘the flight of wild geese’ led to a large number of Irish leaving for France. Cromwell placed a series of restrictions on the Catholics and worked to drive the Catholic Clergy from Ireland as well as England. Then following the 1688 revolution the Penal codes were established that limited what jobs, land, and ability practice religion of the Catholic population within Ireland. The revolts in 1641 and 1688 can be seen as a continuation of the event rather than two separate rebellions. The uprisings have more similarities than differences, with both striving to achieve similar if not the same goals, and resulting in similar if not the same consequences when they failed to achieve their aim. The result of both uprisings also resulted in discriminatory practices and a process of othering. The occurrences of the uprisings in 1641 and 1688 would continue to impact the relationship of the Protestant and Catholics within Ireland, in addition to Ireland’s relationship with England.
Conclusion

The native Irish population has largely been dissatisfied with their position since the arrival of the English. Prior to the establishment of the Church of England in 1530, there was a lack of a fundamental difference between the native Irish and the settlers from England. The Statute of Kilkenny worked to maintain the differences between the two groups but was not entirely successful. The Statute established the idea that one could be born in other places but still be English. Then the Irish parliament was changed so that it lacked independence and was made subordinate to the English parliament and King. Each of these factors worked to create an environment in which a plantation system could be established and a system in which groups were treated differently based on difference. The plantation system required that one group loses their land and it turn given to another group, usually made up of new arrivals because of a fundamental difference between the two groups. In the case of Ireland that difference was religion.

The 1641 uprising and 1688 rebellion were both conflicts in which a disenfranchised group, the Irish Catholics, saw an opportunity to improve their quality of life, regain land that they lost and the ability to access power and influence. In both conflicts there is a religious component because religion was used as the basis for the discriminatory practice. In 1641 and 1688, the religious component was emphasized because it changed the nature of the conflict and was better for the English. The conflict changed from a group of people fighting to regain their ancestral homes and the powers associated with them to Catholics rebelling against their Protestant overlords. Both of the conflicts were ultimately unsuccessful and were working to achieve the same goal the return of land.
Both of the conflicts further proved to the English that Irish Catholics were incapable of being trusted resulting in the forced migration to the outskirts of the country and then later to migration out of the country. The conflicts also resulted in the start of a comprehensive policy of legal discrimination against Catholics, with the establishment of the penal codes; a policy that would last centuries.

The English were able to find a fundamental difference between themselves and the Irish in the form of religion and use that in order to start a comprehensive policy of discrimination. The English’s negative view of papists helped in creating a policy of discrimination. It was also necessary that characteristic that was being used to create someone as other, be a trait that people care about. The English had long believed in various papal plots to convert the English and take control of the country but, they also believed that Protestantism was the true path to God. With one difference the English were able to turn the Irish Catholics into something that was other, something that was fundamentally different from themselves. The Irish Catholics would be seen as other and this policy would affect them for centuries to come. During times of famine, the English remained unmoved with the starvation and deprivation occurring in Ireland. When leaving Ireland, in order to try to find a better life, the Irish would be faced with signs “Irish need not apply.”

In seventeenth century Ireland, England was able to create a system of plantation and discrimination that would be utilized in their colonies through the twentieth century. The same policy would occur; the native population would lose land to the British and be limited in their ability to act autonomously. When the British colonies expanded into Africa and the Middle East, the British used race and skin color rather than religion as their fundamental difference
when creating a policy of discrimination. The practice of creating a policy of discrimination to benefit the new English settlers was perfected in seventieth century Ireland.
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