

**“Swearing & vowing they would kill them
because they were *of English kind.*”**

English perceptions on Irish and English national identities during the 1641 Rebellion

MA Thesis

Tara Lewis

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Preface

As we have come to an end it is always difficult to say goodbye. It is therefore that I write this preface with mixed feelings. On the one hand there is the feeling of relief of having it over with, finishing up, and succeeding in doing so. On the other hand there is the lurking emptiness on the other side of the tunnel. However, there is one thing that needs to be pointed out here, and that is the excellent and unfailing guidance of Professor Robert von Friedeburg. Making a decision between writing a thesis on the former prince consort Claus van Amsberg or diving, yet again into the wondrous and bloody world of the 1641 rebellion, was made a very easy choice by Professor Von Friedeburg, having the benefit of previous, impeccable guidance.

In a time where nothing seems to be certain, especially the future of the History department of Erasmus University, Von Friedeburg continues to uphold his Early Modern section with verve, securing therefore the quality and reputation of the department.

I think that especially the *rough treatment* (“you are a disappointment”) is the perfect fit for a lazy wiseacre like me. Thank you Professor, you are by far the most entertaining and intelligent teacher I have come across in my academic career.

This brings me to the other excellent supervisor that I have had the pleasure to have: Professor Hein Klemann. Thank you for reading, revising and continuously helping to improve my thesis and research. Together with Bert Altena you guaranteed a very entertaining and fun class, which shall be missed undoubtedly.

I think that both Professor Von Friedeburg and Professor Hein Klemann are the living proof that historians can be funny.

Thank you for that,

Tara Lewis, 2014

Excerpt

In October 1641 Catholic residents of Ireland united and rose in arms against English settlers. These Protestant, so called 'New English', were either chased out of their home or killed. This violent uprising went down in history as the 'Irish Rebellion of 1641.' The insurgents were of different origins, and can be divided into Gaelic, a population which was divided into clans, and whom had lived on the island since a few centuries BC, and 'Old English', Catholic Englishmen who had settled in Ireland since the Middle Ages, and belonged to the political, economic and social elite. Both groups had been affected greatly by the arrival of English settlers during the Tudor Conquest: Much of the land, previously owned by them, was now owned by settlers. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, this colonization was accompanied by an increasing restriction of the Catholic faith.

One of the most interesting things about this particular rebellion is the fact that Gaelic and Old English rose in arms together against the New English. Over time they had come to share the same religion, language and traditions. They had become so connected that Englishmen used violence against other Englishmen, in the name of the English king. One could argue that during this rebellion a new form of identity emerged, that was not based on a *native* connection, but on a national one. This is contradictory to the *modernist* perspective of nationalist theorists, who state that national identities are constructed in accordance with the arrival of the nation state, and cannot be found in the pre-modern period.

From 1642 onwards, the English government began to collect incriminating Protestant statements about the events during the uprising. The emphasis was on the material damage and suffered violence. The respondents gave a list of the lost goods, and a chronological account of events. The depositions vary in length and detail. These statements are known as *The 1641 depositions*. To research if there were any notions of a national identity in seventeenth century Ireland, these depositions were examined through a quantitative analysis. The depositions from the Counties Cavan and Cork were searched for descriptions of the insurgents; indications of how the fled English Protestants characterized their attackers. The research question was formulated as: “*Do the statements of Protestant victims in the Irish rebellion of 1641 indicate a perception of an Irish and English national identity?*”

As the findings of both Cavan and Cork clearly state, both Irish and English were considered as a group, using the terms frequently to describe themselves and each other, yet making a clear distinction between religious divisions. The English used the terms *Irish* and *rebels* commutable, sometimes making an exception by calling them the: *rebellious Irish*. There was no distinction made between Gaelic and Old English; they were persistently referred to as Irish. The Protestant victims referred to themselves as either English or British and occasionally Irish. These findings are the answers to the different sub-questions, and the cumulative conclusion and answer to the research question is therefore:

“The statements of Protestant victims in the Irish rebellion of 1641 indicate a strong and clear perception of Irish and English national identities.”

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1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the subject of this thesis, theoretical framework and research question.

1.1 Subject

In October 1641 Catholic residents of Ireland united and rose in arms against English settlers. These Protestant, so called 'New English', were either chased out of their home or killed. This violent uprising went down in history as the 'Irish Rebellion of 1641.' The insurgents were of different origins, and can be divided into Gaelic, a population which was divided into clans, and whom had lived on the island since a few centuries BC, and 'Old English', Catholic Englishmen who had settled in Ireland since the Middle Ages, and belonged to the political, economic and social elite. Both groups had been affected greatly by the arrival of English settlers during the Tudor Conquest: Much of the land, previously owned by them, was now owned by settlers.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, this colonization was accompanied by an increasing restriction of the Catholic faith. According to historian Nicholas Canny this was part of English policy to systematically try to make Ireland English, from 1580 onwards. According to Canny, the rebellion gave Oliver Cromwell legitimacy to complete this process. The rebellion caused a war, led by Cromwell, that would continue for nine years, and would go down in history as the *War of the Three Kingdoms*.

In the current debate between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland and Ireland, the rebellion of 1641 is still used by Protestants to emphasize the barbarism of the Irish Catholics. Up to this day, during the annual Protestant Orange March on July 12, they carry a banner on which the 'Massacre of 1641' is displayed. Apparently, the rebellion still plays a role in the year 2014.

Since the eighties, the dominant debate among historians on Irish history has changed shape, turning into the so-called Revisionist Debate, in which the focus is less on victimization and demonizing, but aims at a more nuanced image of the 1641 uprising. With this shift in focus, new questions arise. Whilst some historians are set upon finding the truth on 'what really happened' and others look for explanations, this thesis looks at the uprising from a different perspective. One of the most interesting things about this particular rebellion is the fact that Gaelic and Old English rose in arms together against the New English. Over time they had come to share the same religion, language and traditions. They had become so connected that Englishmen used violence against other Englishmen, in the name of the English king.

One could argue that during this rebellion a new form of identity emerged, that was not based on a *native* connection, but on a national one. While nationalism is considered an anachronistic term when it is applied to the seventeenth century, it does not mean that the roots of Irish nationalism cannot lie in this period.

1.2 Theoretical concepts: nationalism

To research whether there was a form of nationalism in 1641 we will have to look for theories of nationalism that are applicable to this period. Historians who engage them self in the theory of national history often claim that its origin lies in the late eighteenth century. The generally used argument for this, is that nationalism in early modern times could not exist, as the nation state had yet to be *invented*. Therefore theory on nationalism has long been exclusively focused on the eighteenth century, very much intertwined with the arrival of the nation state. This *modernist* approach focuses on the rise of the bureaucratic state, and the political and economic factors that inspire possible nationalist movements.

One of the first and notable historians to write about nationalism was Eric Hobsbawm, who is famous for his concept of *invented traditions*.¹ Hobsbawm argues the following: "*Nationalism is a political program, and in historic terms a fairly recent one. It holds that groups defined as 'nations' have the right to, and therefore ought to, form territorial states of the kind that have become standard since the French Revolution. Without this program, realized or not, 'nationalism' is a meaningless term.*"

A fellow historian from the modernist school of thought is Ernest Gellner who published *Nations and Nationalism* in 1983. According to Gellner: "*Nationalism is primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent.*"² Nationalism only appeared and, Gellner argues, became a sociological necessity, in the modern world.

There are historians who rebut this argument by stating that the nation is not only a formal phenomenon, but rather an *imagined community* that derives its legitimacy primarily in shared memory and tradition. Benedict Anderson is responsible for this alternate, yet also *modernist* approach. Anderson's view of nationalism places its roots at the end of the 18th century. While Ernest Gellner connects the spread of nationalism with the expansion of industrialism in Western Europe, Anderson states that the European nation-state evolved as a response to nationalism in the European overseas colonies, especially in both Americas. He considers nationalism as the original ideology, with a civic nationalist character, from which ethnic nationalism is an effluence.³

However, there is another school of thought, claiming that nationalism has roots in the early-modern age. "*Ethnic myths, memories, symbols, cultures and national formation must be understood in la longue durée.*" Thus historians Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson reflect on this *ethno-symbolists* approach of nationalism in their introduction of their book *Understanding*

¹ E. J. Hobsbawm and David J. Kertzer, 'Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today' in *Anthropology Today* Vol. 8, (Feb. 1992) 3-8.

² Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford 1983) 1.

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London 1991) 224.

Nationalism.⁴ Anthony D. Smith is a leading historian in this line of reasoning and makes a differentiation between *ethnie* as a cultural community, and the political form of nationalism in the eighteenth century.

Although it is tempting to place the typology of research that is conducted in this thesis in line with the *ethno-symbolists* approach, there is one important difference that should be taken into account. The connection that is assumed in the hypothesis is not an *ethnic* nature, but of a *national* one, based on territorial grounds instead of descendancy. Therefore the research question is focused on national identity. According to the *modernist* perspective of Breuilly however, national identities are constructed by institutions, and cannot be found in the pre-modern period.:

*“Pre-modern ethnic identity has little in the way of institutional embodiment beyond the local level. Almost all the major institutions which construct, preserve and transmit national identities, and which connect those identities to interests are modern: parliaments, popular literature, courts, schools, labor markets, et cetera ... National identity is essentially modern, and any useful approach to the subject must begin from this premiss.”*⁵

The field of research where this thesis aims to contribute to, is that of the *perennialists*, such as Adrian Hastings who, claims that in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales nations emerged with strong defensive nationalisms, long before the eighteenth-century.⁶ He also claims that it did not have to be a mass phenomenon, but could be limited to an elite, or small ruling class, which is contradictory of the hypothesis of this thesis, which states that the notion of national identity existed in all layers of society.⁷

1.3 Source

From 1642 onwards, the English government began to collect incriminating Protestant statements about the events during the uprising. The emphasis was on the material damage and suffered violence. The respondents gave a list of the lost goods, and a chronological account of events. The depositions vary in length and detail. These statements are known as 'The 1641 depositions', and are for the early modern age, a relatively large source of information. Apart from the Protestant statements there are also testimonies of detained insurgents.

⁴ Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson, *Understanding nationalism* (Cambridge 2001) 2-4.

⁵ John Breuilly, 'Approaches to nationalism', in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *mapping the nation* (London en New York 1996) 146-174.

⁶ Adrian Hastings, *The construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, religion and nationalism* (Cambridge 1997) 28.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 26.

1.4 Research question

The central question of this research can be gathered under the general question: "Was there a form of Irish and English national identity in early modern Ireland, and what role did it play in the revolt of 1641?" The specific question that this research will focus on is the perception of the New English on Irish and English national identity. The depositions were searched for descriptions of the insurgents; indications of how the fled English Protestants characterized their attackers. The research question therefore is:

“Do the statements of Protestant victims in the Irish rebellion of 1641 indicate a perception of an Irish and English national identity?”

This research question is divided into the following sub-questions:

1. *“To what extent are the rebels considered as one group during the Irish rebellion of 1641, by the Protestant victims?”*
2. *“How are the Gaelic and Old English described?”*
3. *“Do the Protestant victims refer to the rebels as Irish?”*
4. *“Do they make a distinction between Gaelic and Old English ?”*
5. *“How do the Protestant victims refer to themselves?”*

1.5 Terminology

Because in Irish history many concepts are intertwined, this research proposal will apply the following definitions:

Ireland: The island of Ireland as a whole. Not to be confused with the current Republic of Ireland.

Gaelic: Originally Celtic inhabitants who have inhabited Ireland from a few centuries BC.

Old English: English settlers living in Ireland since the Middle Ages, mostly Catholic.

New English: English settlers who live in Ireland since 1534, overall Protestant.

Irish/Irishmen: This study tries to answer the question whether 'Irish' in the early modern period means the same as it does in the twenty-first century. In anticipation of the hypothesis, this term is used when a combination of Gaelic and Old English is meant.

1.6 Methodology

Since the primary source that is used in this thesis (the 1641 depositions) is a large quantity of material, a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods was used to make the selection of depositions that were analyzed. First a hit count on a number of keywords in every County creates an overview with an indication of the frequency of certain words. After that, a correlation analysis searches for any relevant coherency between certain keywords, and the amount of depositions per County. On the basis of this analysis two Counties have been selected and used for the qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis starts with a selection of relevant depositions; quotes that have references to, or indicate any notion of religious, geographical or national identification. This is followed by a textual interpretation and analysis of these (categorized) quotes.

2. Historiography

Only a few historians have dealt with the uprising of 1641 in the context of Irish nationalism. To have an overview of the most relevant historical debates this historiographical paper consists of two parts. The first part focuses on Irish national identity, and the second part on the revolt of 1641.

2.1 Irish national identity

In 1972, historian Robert Kee had already concluded that the Irish identity is extremely difficult to define. He makes a distinction between the terms Irish; The original Gaelic inhabitants, and Irishmen; Englishmen, residing in Ireland, whose identity was connected to both England and Ireland. For the latter, the connection with Ireland was part of a broader loyalty, which can be compared to the situation in Wales and Yorkshire. Despite this distinction, the terms are frequently intertwined.⁸ He illustrates this with examples from which it is clear that from the eighteenth to the twentieth century on, prominent Irish and Irishmen were active on both sides of the struggle for an independent Irish republic.⁹

The terms are not fit to clarify and cover the differences in the broad spectrum of Irish nationality. An interesting argument Kee delivers, is that Irish identity for a long time existed only within the framework of the British Empire, and that therefore the same framework is part of the Irish identity.¹⁰

Steven G. Ellis does not use the same terms to distinguish the various inhabitants of the island of Ireland. He uses the Gaelic terms Gaedhil (Irish) and Gaill (English/foreign), to address the differences in origin during the Middle Ages. In his eyes, Gaelic-Irish is an anachronistic tautological term, and Anglo-Irish is a trend of the twentieth century, and used by nationalists to create space for a second Irish identity, in addition to those of Gaelic. A notable development in the early modern period is the emergence of a collective term in Gaelic, the new word *Éireannaigh*, which means the people of Ireland. According to him, this development fits into the origins of the Irish national identity.¹¹

Kee argues convincingly that there is a limit in time for which it is useful to trace Irish national identity. According to Irish mythology Gaelic troops attacked the island of Ireland a few centuries B.C., driving out the *Firbolg*. It could be argued that these Firbolg, a small and dark race,

⁸ Robert Kee, *The Green Flag, A History Of Irish Nationalism* (London 1972) 4-5.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 6-8.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 4.

¹¹ Steven G. Ellis, 'Building the nation: patriotism and national identity in early modern Ireland' in Robert von Friedeburg (ed.): *Patria' und 'Patrioten' vor dem Patriotismus: Pflichten, Rechte, Glauben und die Rekonfigurierung europäische Gemeinwesen im 17. Jahrhundert* (2005) 170-171.

were the original Irish residents. However, the Gaelic created a strong tradition and language which is still alive today and sets the country apart from England. According to Kee the arrival and integration of Normans is proof that the Irish tradition has more than only the Gaelic origin. It is however incorrect to see these Norman raiders in the twelfth century as the beginning of the Anglo-Irish conflict, since these Norman invaders were French-speaking adventurers.¹² They did not fight for an English cause, but were in it for fame and power. By marrying into the Irish tribes and adapting their language they became Irish. Kee points out the ironic result: many names that are considered typical Irish descend from these conquerors (Joyce, Fitzgerald, and Costello).

Although Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, is considered as one of Ireland's first national heroes, Kee claims that he did not fight for Ireland, but out of local self-interest. O'Neill was brought up in London as an Elizabethan gentleman, but left behind a "powerful legend about individual resistance to central authority."¹³ This, however, is not the key point, but the fact that the rebellion of O'Neill did not invoke a widespread national movement, and that this would take almost three centuries to actualize. His legacy was in the first place an emotional one, and had not yet sprouted any political action.¹⁴

The lack of Irish national ambition can be seen as well in the uprising of 1641, where the rebels demanded religious and soil rights, but pressed upon their loyalty towards Charles I.¹⁵ The uprising can be seen as the turning point in history where the distinction between Gaelic and Old English faded, and melted into one national identity: *The Irish*. Since both groups took up arms together they were considered as one enemy, and Cromwell's conquest of Ireland had victims on both sides.

Ellis confirms this theory and states that in 1670 the *Irish* were the Catholic population, being either from *Gadhil* or *Gaill* origin, and speaking Gaelic or English. These two traditions merged into one feeling of Irish identity, where as in the Middle Ages, the *Gaill* were considered the outsiders.¹⁶ According to Ellis this was the opposite of the English intention to make Ireland as British as possible. The idea of a *Commonwealth* created space for the emergency of a *geographical* bounded identity, as opposed to an *ethnic* identity.¹⁷

¹² *Ibidem*, 9.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 14.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 11-14.

¹⁶ Steven G. Ellis, 'Building the nation', 191.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 177.

2.2 Rebellion of 1641

The Irish rebellion of 1641 left its traces in Irish, English and Scottish history. Not only can the execution of King Charles I be associated with the uprising, the rebellion was followed by a civil war in the three kingdoms of nearly a decade, that has a strong causal relationship with the events of 1641. These far-reaching effects of the uprising have led to much debate amongst historians.

Canny is one of the most authoritative historians when it comes to the uprising of 1641, and focuses in his book *'Making Ireland British, 1580-1650'* on the origins of the uprising. As the title suggests, he makes his argument through a comprehensive reconstruction of a seventy-year-long English campaign, in order to make Ireland almost entirely English. The Cromwellian settlement in 1650 does not differ much from the plans that Thomas Wentworth had around 1632, when he began his seven-year term as *Lord Deputy of Ireland*.¹⁸ Canny states that historians, despite the fierce debate on Cromwell's actions, agree on the conclusion that the actions were not the result of one man, or a short-term decision, but the outcome of a long program.¹⁹

An important notion of Canny, related to this thesis, is the presence of Henry Jones, a Protestant clergyman, in parliament (the House of Commons), at the time of the adoption of the 'Adventurers Act' in 1642; a regulation that divided 2,500,000 acres of Irish land amongst Protestant settlers, as compensation for their (financial) assistance to the restoration of English authority. Henry Jones was also in charge of the operation in which Protestant victims of the uprising in 1641 told their story: the 1641 depositions. According to Canny it is likely that Jones and his lobby affected both the adoption, and the content of the law. The written statement of Jones argues that the outbreak of the uprising could have been prevented if the parliament had approved his earlier proposal in which he pleaded for plantations as a suppression of popery.

This proves that there was a group of English officials who indeed campaigned for the suppression of the Catholic population on the island of Ireland, for a longer period of time. The relevant question that arises, regarding this research, is whether Henry Jones in his role as an executive, worked wantonly towards an outcome in which he could realize his plans to reform the power structure on Irish soil, using the depositions as a means to banish Catholicism from Ireland.²⁰

Canny also argues that the revolt of 1641 is underexposed by historians. He attributes this largely to the Protestant appropriation of the subject, and their produced sources. According to Canny, the book of Sir John Temple, which was released in 1646, has created a distorted view on the actual events in Ireland. For instance, the fact that the revolt was led by Gaelic noblemen was

¹⁸ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British* (New York 2000), 558-559.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 577.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, 553-554.

set to the background by Temple, portraying the uprising as a 'Popish plot' of uncivilized savages. This is confirmed by Kathleen M. Noonan, who writes:

*“In Temple's view, the Irish violate the natural boundaries of human behavior: they do not respect those debilitated by age, gender, or physical impairment. In The Irish rebellion, toddlers are constantly having their brains bashed out by the rebels and special notice is given by Temple to the suffering of aged Protestants. Temple comments that the most horrible torture meted out by the Irish was reserved for women, 'whose sex they neither pitied nor spared'.”*²¹

Due to lack of resources with a different viewpoint, the work of Temple was the authoritative book on the uprising for a substantial amount of time. In subsequent reactions that chose an Irish angle, the emphasis was not on presenting its own version of the events of 1641, but on martyrdom in the Cromwellian period. Canny argues that historians today shy away from 'what really happened' and often linger in the background of the uprising.²²

Aidan Clarke asks whether the "rebels" in Ireland in 1641 can be considered as rebels, as their motivation behind the uprising was not to overthrow or undermine the authority of Charles I. The leaders of the rebellion initially appealed to Charles, and indicated that they were fighting for their freedom and not against him. The leaders of the uprising called upon their followers to attack only Englishmen, and leave the Scots be, intently giving off the impression that Charles was affiliated with the rebels. Additionally the rebels pretended to operate in the name of the crown, claiming that they acknowledged the king as the legitimate authority, and not the English Parliament. Clarke argues that this loyalty to the king and thus alleged legitimacy of the insurgents cannot be seen as rebellious.²³ His argument can be regarded as an opposing force in the one-sided historiography in which the insurgents are portrayed as a group of uneducated barbarians. He belongs to the historians who are part of the Revisionist Debate, and argue for a more nuanced picture of the insurgency.

John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer propose that the noblemen who were responsible for the organization of the uprising, used the king to give the uprising an air of legitimacy. The reason that this was taken seriously by some, was the rumor that the king had intended to use the mobilized Irish army against his parliament. Though the insurgents may have pretended to be part of the king's army, Kenyon and Ohlmeyer do not see this as something that can be taken seriously, and argue

²¹ Kathleen M. Noonan, 'The Cruel Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People': Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (March 1998) 151-177.

²² Nicholas Canny, 'What really happened in Ireland in 1641' in Jane H. Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from independence to Occupation, 1641-1660* (Cambridge 1995) 24-42

²³ Aidan Clarke, 'The genesis of the Ulster Rising of 1641' in Peter Roebuck, ed., *Plantation To Partition* (Belfast 1981) 29-45.

that this was merely a strategic maneuver.²⁴ According to them, the rebellion was caused by a combination of factors. Englishmen were structurally confiscating Irish lands and titles, causing the indigenous population to struggle with debt and poverty. The plantations of Protestant settlers and affiliated economic reforms, strengthened the feeling of dissatisfaction. In addition, the successful Scottish resistance against the interference of the English crown worked as a source of inspiration.²⁵

In his article 'The British problem and the English Civil War', British historian Conrad Russell suggests that the causes of the civil war should be searched for in the context of a broader time frame and in relationship and interaction between the countries England, Scotland and Ireland. He argues that the problems of the three individual countries cannot be seen in isolation. According to Russell, it is no coincidence that violent uprisings occurred in three kingdoms in three years. The common cause was neither constitutional nor social developments, as these were incomparable, but the two similarities the countries all had: Charles I as their king, and the fact that they were all part of his multiple kingdoms.

The physical absence of the king, involvement in wars, disagreements over trade, taxes and foreign policy, were the common result. However, Russell does not see these issues as the main cause of the British internal conflicts; since this was religion. That religion was the main internal point of debate between 1637-1642 was a result of Charles' policy, who was keen to achieve one uniform religion within the kingdom. This was rather problematic, since his kingdom inhabited three different religions, two of whom acknowledged the theory of royal supremacy.

According to Russell the attempted religious reform in Scotland was the immediate cause of the revolt there. The result of the Scottish rebellion was the reform of the English power structure (with the installation of the Long Parliament). These reforms then led accordingly to the Irish rebellion in October 1641. This mutual causality is his evidence that the structure of multiple kingdoms should be considered the main cause of the Civil War.²⁶

Russell states that if the Irish rebellion had been delayed three weeks, Long Parliament had been disbanded by that time. Without the participation of parliament the civil war would most likely have been prevented. However, the three factors of instability in the British Empire, as the result of the structure of a multiple kingdom, is a clear indication that the civil war was not a coincidence. The religious discord, financial uncertainty and rising costs of war were problems which had already arisen at Charles' accession to the throne. According to Russell, the king was not personally responsible for the emergence of the civil war, nor can the Irish rebellion be considered as a direct

²⁴ John Kenyon en Jane Ohmeyer, 'The background to the civil wars in the Stuart kingdoms' in Kenyon en Ohmeyer, ed., *The civil wars. A military history of England, Scotland, and Ireland 1638-1660* (Oxford en New York 1998), 12-13.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 28-29.

²⁶ Conrad Russell, 'The British Problem and the English Civil War' in *History* 72 (Oxford, 1987).

cause.²⁷

Historians seem to disagree on both the actual events in and around the Irish rebellion and the subsequent civil war, but also on the focus of historians on certain subjects, or rather the lack of it. The line of the debate is increasingly pointing towards a more nuanced image of the insurgency, which is in opposition with the almost propagandist work of Temple. This research will not enter the debate on "what really happened" but chooses to focus on Irish national identity and the influence/origin that can be found in the uprising.

²⁷ Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford, 1990).

3. Background

To understand the background and surroundings in which the 1641 rebellion arose, this chapter looks at the following aspects, all concerning English interference on Irish territory. First of all we shall look at the situation in Ireland in the middle ages, when the first settlers arrived during the rule of Henry VIII. After that we take a leap towards 1630, and look at the policy of Charles I, and the events that took place during his rule in England, Scotland and Ireland, leading up to the start of The War of the Three Kingdoms. Lastly we will look closer at the events in Ireland from 1640 on, up to the outbreak of the rebellion in October 1641.

3.1 Tudor Conquest (1534-1607)

Although the beginning of English rule on Irish soil can be traced back to the victory of Henry II in 1171, actual English involvement was relatively low until the sixteenth century. In 1494 English authority over Irish territory had reduced severely and English settlers were concentrated in 'The Pale', a fortified area on the east coast.²⁸

Henry VIII succeeded to his father's throne in 1509. After several years of rebellions and uprisings in Ireland, Henry decided that complete control over the island was necessary for the self-protection of England. Just as England had aided the Dutch in their revolt against the Spanish, Henry feared the Spanish would aid the Irish, and use the territory to plan an attack on England. This led to the start of a process that Canny describes as '*making Ireland British*'.²⁹ The beginning of this process, referred to regularly in history as *the Tudor Conquest*, was also the start of expanding English dominion overseas (imperial expansion). The first step of Henry's policy was putting Irish governance under English control.³⁰

The island of Ireland was at that time inhabited by two distinctive groups. The largest group consisted of *Gaelic*, a tribe-based society whose traditions, language and institutions were incomparable to that of the English, and whose origins on Irish soil can be traced back to the 5th century. A smaller group was the *Old English*, immigrated vassals with allegiance to the English crown. However, the Old English were that much integrated into Irish society that, according to the medieval (Latin) phrase '*Hiberniores hibernis ipsos*', they were more Irish than the Irish themselves.³¹

In 1534, Thomas Fitzgerald ('Silken Thomas'), the son of the ninth Earl of Kildare, started

²⁸ Robert Kee, *The Green Flag*, 9-10.

²⁹ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*.

³⁰ G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Tudor Conquest (1534-1603)' in T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (ed.): *The Course of Irish History* (Dublin, 1994) 174-175.

³¹ Steven G. Ellis, 'Building the nation', 170-171.

an open rebellion against English rule in Ireland. Kildare's undermining of the crown was not directly supported by the Gaelic leaders, who, for tactical reasons, had no trouble with the interference by the English crown, provided they were not disturbed in the management of their land, and were not hindered in their ambitions or personal interests.³² Canny argues that within the Catholic community there was also no clear vision on a desired freedom of faith. Radical clergymen, who were educated on the continent, demanded land for the Catholic church. The Old English in particular were against this claim, because they feared for their own lands, but also because they found the idea of an independent spiritual power a dangerous notion. These internal quarrels also meant that the threat of English rule on the Catholic faith had not yet sprouted any fear, let alone an urgency to support rebellion. It also meant that the clergy did not have the means to organize or support Kildare's rebellion.

The breaking down of the rebellion of Kildare was of such a violent nature that there had been no precedent in Irish history; all survivors were executed. With the downfall of house Kildare there began a long line of English viceroys. In the year 1540 the Irish parliament crowned Henry VIII the first English king of Ireland. In Dublin Henry declared himself '*King of the land of Ireland as united, and knit for ever annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England.*' A significant part of the Gaelic leaders attended the ceremony and gave their consent. This was followed by a period in which the king took drastic measures to annex Irish territory: *The Tudor conquest*. The situation in Ireland changed drastically when big colonies of English and Scottish Protestants (New English) arrived and took over elite positions of the already integrated Old English

Having neither the means nor the intention to maintain English power by military force, Henry VIII offered the chiefs a chance to peacefully submit, through a system in which they gave up their titles and lands, and got it back through the crown. This way, they fell under the direct responsibility of the king. However, this process was not without conflict, because it clashed too much with the tribal system of the Gaelic, causing smaller and larger leaders to play out their various interests. Robert Kee stresses that this was not a conflict between two nations, but between two forms of government, in which Gaelic and Old English both acted out of self-interest.³³ The various leaders shared only their language, traditions and laws. Kee argues that this Gaelic individualistic structure did not lend itself to grow into a nation state.

The result of Henry's policy was a conquest and confiscation of Irish lands, where violence was not shunned. After Henry's death, he was succeeded by Edward VI, then Henry's daughter Mary and finally by the last of the Tudors: Henry's daughter Elizabeth. By this time the Tudor

³² Robert Kee, *The Green Flag*, 10-11.

³³ *Ibidem*, 10.

Conquest was nearly completed, except for Ulster, where the lords continued to fight for their sovereignty.³⁴ Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, joined the Ulster lords in 1595 in open rebellion which started the Nine Years' War. He opposed the administrative takeover of his country using the assistance of Spanish forces. He managed to repulse attacks until 1601 with an army of 10,000 native mercenaries. When the Spanish arrived and were besieged in Kinsale, the troops marched south to join them. Different from their defensive strategy in Ulster, the battle became an offensive one. The army of O'Neill was not fit for open battle, and they were crushed by Lord Deputy Mountjoy. When Hugh O'Neill surrendered on the 30th of March 1603, Queen Elizabeth had just died, and the downfall of the Gaelic lordships was completed. O'Neill remained a nostalgic symbol of individualistic resistance against a foreign invader for centuries, and was therefore one of the first *national heroes*.³⁵

When in 1607 O'Neill and a number of prominent Ulster noblemen fled to the continent (*The Flight Of The Earls*), they left Ulster leaderless and large areas of land could easily be divided among the newcomers. The Tudor Conquest had been completed.³⁶

3.2 Ulster plantations (1609-1630)

By redistributing confiscated estates of revolted leaders to Protestant settlers, the first large population gap arose on the territory of Ireland. This gap would be at the heart of strong social and political divisions. Ulster became the area where plantations were implemented on a large unprecedented scale. The plan was to segregate native Irish in certain areas, creating new communities consisting only of Scottish and English Protestant settlers. However there weren't enough settlers to exploit the lands to its full capacity, so the Irish remained as laborers or tenants.³⁷

In the following years the Gaelic Irish kept relatively quiet. Young Irishmen were sent to the continent to get a religious education, organized in collaboration with the Roman church. This created a consistent alliance between Ireland and several countries on the continent, and helped the formation of a well-organized religious system in Ireland itself.³⁸

Meanwhile the *Old English* found themselves in an insecure position, fearing for further deprivations of their land. In 1628 they lent a large sum of money to Charles I, who needed financing for his war against Spain. In return he gave out a number of guarantees, such as

³⁴ G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Tudor Conquest' 183-185.

³⁵ Robert Kee, *The Green Flag*, 12-14

³⁶ G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Tudor Conquest', 188.

³⁷ Aidan Clarke, 'The colonisation of Ulster and the rebellion of 1641 (1603-1660)' in T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (ed.): *The Course of Irish History* (Dublin, 1994) 192-193.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 192-193.

requirements to ensure titles and lands, as well as stopping settlements.³⁹ After the war against Spain came to an end, he neglected to keep his promise, and the Graces were renounced.

3.3 Charles I (1630-1640)

By 1630, King Charles I had experienced a long period of military loss, and England had known no victory after defeating the Spanish Armada. The various wars with Spain and France, and the pressure they placed on the national treasury, was the cause of a rather deteriorated relationship between King Charles I and Parliament. When England withdrew itself from the continental wars and Charles was forced to agree with '*The Petition of Rights*', a law that restricted the freedom of the King, their relationship improved slightly.⁴⁰

In the following eleven years, Charles turned out to be (almost) an absolute monarch. This period is known as *The Personal Rule*. He implemented highly controversial tax laws, and in addition Charles made himself highly unpopular with developments in the religious sphere. His confidant Archbishop William Laud evoked much controversy with his ecclesiastical policy, in which he increasingly implemented Catholic aspects. The fact that the king was married to a Catholic woman exacerbated this tendency.

In Ireland the Gaelic and Old English population continued to lose rights and lands, while in the meantime their former property was exploited by the British and Scottish, in an attempt to gain as much profit as possible, to pay back debts to the City of London and the crown.

Meanwhile in Scotland, Charles was trying to implement Laudian policy in the Scottish Presbyterian Church. He made his coronation an exuberant event, with strong Catholic tendencies. Since the Scots detested these kinds of rituals, the coronation was seen as a provocation. When Charles tried to set up a common prayer book, several Scots broke out in open rebellion against the king. A national covenant in which the king (and his personal rule) was rejected as the rightful ruler of Scotland quickly circulated the country.

This made Charles furious, and he was determined to regain control of Scotland. However, he had no army and no money to mobilize one. He managed to organize some troops but they mainly consisted of inexperienced men. Additionally, he lacked experienced noblemen to lead his troops. This was when he turned his attention to Ireland.

Antrim, a notorious Gaelic warlord from one of the most important families in Ireland, managed to organize an army of 5.000 soldiers. Ultimately this army was not used in Scotland because the communication between Charles and Antrim died out. This had to do with the division

³⁹ Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* (Cambridge, 2010) 240.

⁴⁰ John Kenyon en Jane Ohmeyer, 'The background to the civil wars', 10-28.

between Antrim and Wentworth, and the lack of financial resources in Ireland to operationalize the plan.

The first Battle of Aberdeen ended in a success for the *covenanters*, under the leadership of the Earl of Montrose. After an attempted truce had failed, the Earls of Strafford, who was in charge of the troops, created a parliament that would eventually only sit for three weeks and is therefore called the 'Short Parliament'. The parliament stated requirements and restrictions to the king's actions regarding religion and state. The king did not think he needed their money at these terms, and dissolved the parliament. The second Bishop's War began with successes for the *covenanters*. Charles was forced to negotiate and form a new parliament. This parliament would go down in history as the Long Parliament, and would sit for thirteen years.

3.4 Ireland 1630-1641

Now that the background and the context of the events in October 1641 have been given, we will look more closely at the situation in Ireland between 1630 and 1641. According to Aidan Clarke the situation in Ireland in the first half of the seventeenth century can be described in one sentence: "The land of Ireland changed hands."⁴¹

Thomas Wentworth was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1633. His policy was to strengthen the kings' grip on Ireland, to bring about cultural and religious conformity and to civilize Irishmen. This process was put in motion by Charles' father James I, who employed a strategy in which he exercised control through influential families. Wentworth continued to confiscate Catholic lands, making, for the first time in history, no distinction between Old English and Gaelic. However, since Ulster planters were given penalties for failing to fulfill their conditions, Wentworth made himself highly unpopular on all sides. When he was called back to England in 1639, several members of parliament worked together to reverse all of his measures.

The period that followed was characterized by a growing rupture between king and parliament. The majority of the English people supported parliament which resulted in a general increasing distrust of the king and queen. The king himself had grown rather suspicious after the execution of his confidant Wentworth in May 1641 and the capture of William Laud in the Tower of London.⁴² Still Charles tried to establish himself as a constitutional monarch in the years 1640/41, by reforming parliament and abolishing some of the most controversial components of his policy: the Star Chamber, High Commission and Ship Money.⁴³

⁴¹ Aidan Clarke, 'The colonisation of Ulster', 189.

⁴² John Morill, Brian Manning and David Underdown, 'What was the English Revolution?' in Peter Gaunt, ed., *The English Civil War* (Blackwell 2000) 22.

⁴³ David L. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640-1649* (Cambridge 1994) 77.

The kings aggravating situation caused concern amongst the Old English and Gaelic, who feared that if either the Scots or the English parliament gained power over Ireland, they would suppress the Catholic faith. A plan arose to seize Dublin castle, and take possession of several strongholds in Ulster, in the night of 22 October. The plan leaked out and while some of the key men were arrested, local uprisings in Ulster continued according to plan. The siege of Dublin Castle however, never took place. The insurrection came as a complete surprise to its Protestant victims. As Audley Mervin, MP for the County Tyrone described it, it was “conceived among us, and yet never felt to kick in the wombe, nor struggle in the birth.”⁴⁴

Canny argues that almost all historians agree that the rebellion in Ulster was the result of a conspiracy by a small group of discontented Catholic landowners. To understand what has actually happened in October 1641, however, it is helpful to use the 1340 witness accounts of the 1641 depositions. According to Canny this tells us the following: On the evening of October 22 multiple groups took over garrison posts in Ulster, with the help of a number of tricks and maneuvers. The best known is the one of Sir Phelim O'Neil, who claimed to be an invited guest of Sir Toby, Lord Caulfield. After entering his castle (Charlemont Fort), O'Neil and his armed accomplices, disguised as servants, overpowered the castle. Simultaneously somewhere else in Ulster, Patrick O'Donnelly, his brother and a priest pull a similar stunt by entering the castle Dungannon, under the pretension of asking for a warrant to look for stolen sheep. When he was admitted, and the officer was writing the warrant, eighteen armed men took over the castle.⁴⁵

From Ulster the rising spread to Leinster, and on the 21st of November Drogheda was besieged, while there was fighting in Wicklow and Dublin. In December the Counties Mayo, Sligo, Kilkenny and Tipperary joined the rebellion and in the spring they were followed by Antrim, Limerick, Clare, Cork and Kerry.⁴⁶

Canny states that Sir Phelim O'Neil, after his statement on the 23rd of October, in which he demanded the loyalty to the crown of his supporters, was unable to control the insurgency, and could therefore not prevent its eventual direction. Canny explains this by the difference in background and education between O'Neill, who was not only a landowner, but also a trained lawyer and member of parliament. However, the scope of his influence did not extend beyond Armagh, and the leaders in other counties: Maguires, O'Reilly's, Mac Mahon's, O'Hagan and O'Cahan, were not as adept as him in politics. Also the motives and grievances of the laborers and

⁴⁴ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, A Failed Revolution? In Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.): *Ireland, from independence to occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge 1995) 11.

⁴⁵ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 471-473.

⁴⁶ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'The Civil Wars in Ireland', in Kenyon en Ohlmeyer, ed., *The civil wars. A military history of England, Scotland, and Ireland 1638-1660* (Oxford en New York 1998) 10-28.

tenants differed from those of the before named leaders. Raymond Gillespie confirms this theory and suggests that many rebels seized the uprising to settle their conflicts with the 'New English'.⁴⁷ According to Canny the failure to take all the garrisons in Ulster in the estimated period of two days, together with the different motives for rebelling, is the ultimate reason that the Irish rebellion of 1641 had the bloody course for which it is still famous.

When in October 1641 the Irish rebellion broke out, supposedly in the name of the king, the downfall of Charles had begun. The mobilized Irish army, which had originally been intended to use against the Scots, had been asked by Charles to remain ready for battle. Historians opinions vary on his reasons for this. Some believe he intended to use the army on English soil, to oppose his own parliament, the so called Antrim plot.⁴⁸ Whatever the reason was, the idea existed that the army must remain intact and operate in the name of the king. Irish noblemen who were ultimately responsible for the organization of the uprising used this information to manage their opposition to the English settlers, by claiming to operate in the king's name. Many of the rebels did this consistently, thereby giving their actions an air of legitimacy.⁴⁹

In England, the persistent rumors that the king was allied to the rebels in Ireland buzzed and fed the fear of Catholic domination over England. When the Scots offered to send an army of 10.000 men to Ulster, the War of the Three Kingdoms began. The three countries would be in a civil war from 1642 to 1651. The war took so many people's lives that it can be compared to the losses during the First World War, and ended with the conquest of Scotland and Ireland by Oliver Cromwell in 1653.

⁴⁷ Raymond Gillespie, 'Destabilizing Ulster, 1641-2', in Brian Mac Cuerta, ed., *Ulster 1641* (Belfast 1993) 112.

⁴⁸ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, The 'Antrim Plot' of 1641: A rejoinder, in *The Historical Journal*, Vol.37, no. 2 (June, 1994), 431-437.

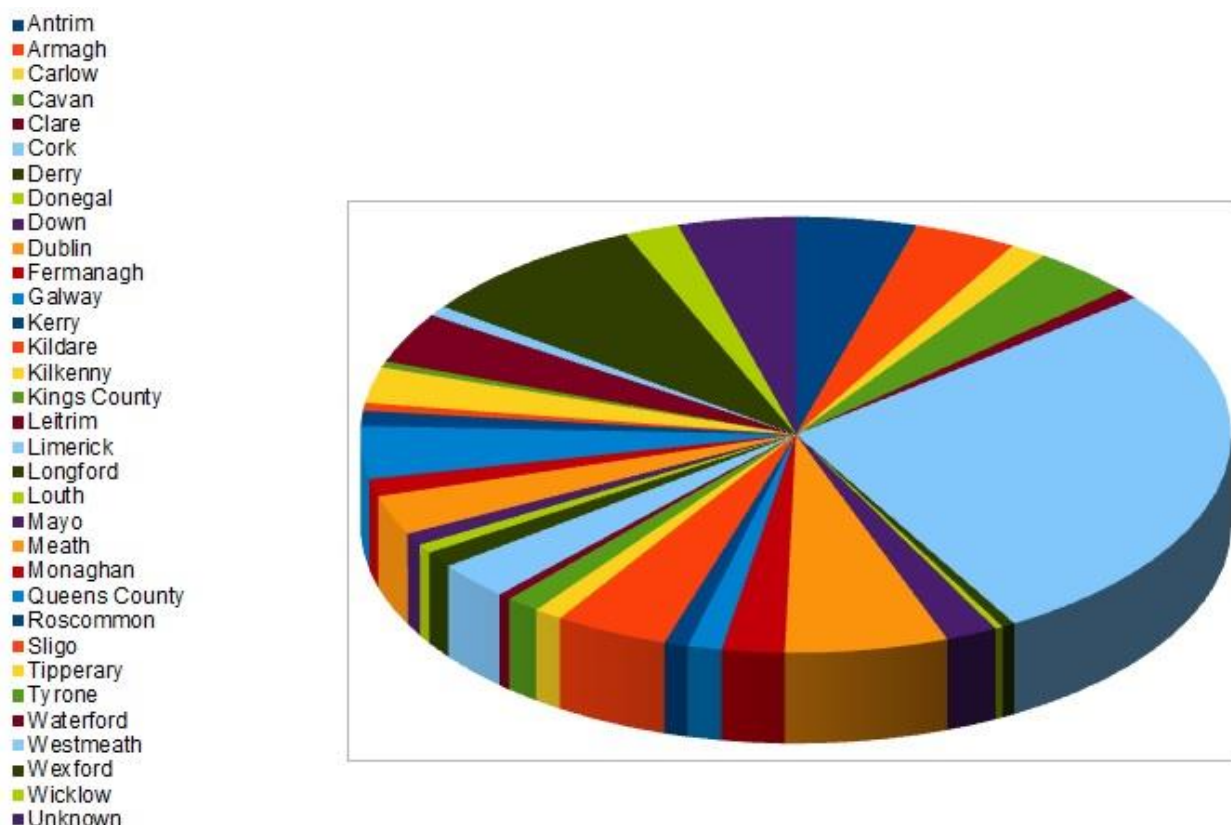
⁴⁹ John Kenyon en Jane Ohmeyer, 'The background to the civil wars' 12-13.

4. Quantitative analysis

Since the 1641 depositions are an immense source of material, a quantitative analysis of the depositions was made to decide on the matter of research methodology and regional focus. In this chapter the quantitative data extracted from the depositions, and the statistical analysis of this data, will be discussed.

To obtain a better overview of the body of material the analysis began with a hit count, creating a table with the absolute numbers of total depositions per County. Graph 1 shows the relative amount of depositions per county. There are large differences in the amounts of depositions per County, as Graph 1 shows.

Graph 1

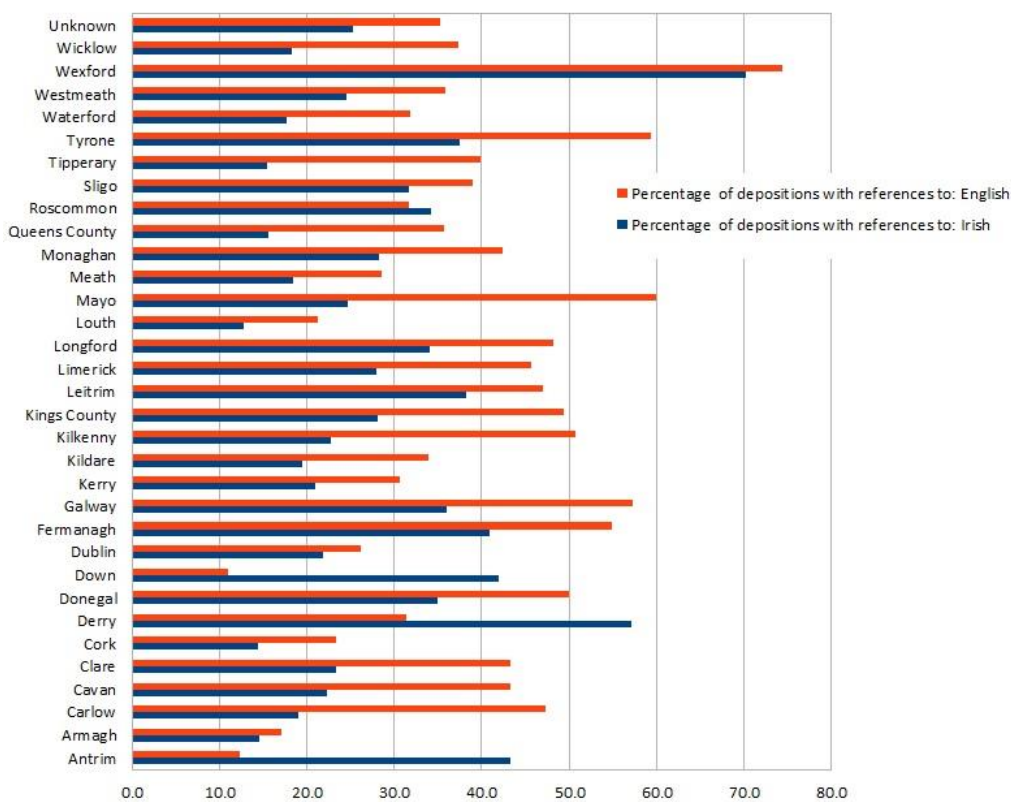


The Counties and the number of depositions per county have been combined with a frequency table, in which several keywords and the frequency of their use in depositions were counted. The keywords that were searched for were: *Nation, English, Irish, Scottish, Popish* en *Romish*. The results of this search showed that the keywords 'English' and 'Irish' came up relatively more frequent than the other keywords. This table formed the basis for this analysis. To explore if there was a relationship between the number of depositions per County and the number of

depositions that included the words English and Irish, a regression analysis was made. The hypothesis on which the regression analysis was made was that if a County had produced more depositions, the awareness of national identity was either larger, or smaller. The first results did show causality, suggesting that larger amounts of depositions had a relatively increasing influence on the keywords *English* and *Irish*. However, this analysis could not be found significant, because of the large differences between a few Counties. This mainly had to do with Cork, far away the largest County in deposition numbers, therefore causing outliers, which influenced the outcome.

A causality that was successfully proven by the statistical analysis was that between the frequencies of both keywords. Apparently, when 'English' is used as a term, 'Irish' pops up more frequent also. This is made visible in graph 2. On the basis of this analysis two choices were made. First of all, it was clear that the two keywords that would be used for the textual analysis would be 'English' and 'Irish'. The second choice concerned the matter of which Counties the research would focus on. Since Cork has such an extensive quantity of depositions, it was decided that a selection out of the relevant depositions from that County could be useful and representative, since the depositions that were recorded there, came from people all over the country, who fled through Cork.

For a second County the choice fell onto Cavan, a medium sized County, considering the amount of depositions. Also the geographical location of Cavan, up north in Ulster makes for a well-balanced representation with southern Cork.



Graph 2

5. Cavan

In this chapter the research results from the depositions in the County Cavan will be discussed. To have a better understanding of the material and put these depositions in the right context we start off with background information on Cavan and the existing information on the uprising in the County. This will be followed by an analysis of a selection of depositions out of Cavan. These fragments of depositions are categorized into different types of references.

5.1 Geography

Cavan (Irish: an Chabháin) is a County of Ireland, and part of the province of Ulster. The County has an area of 1931 km². The main economic activity was, and still is farming. Cavan was founded by Elizabeth I of England. Its surrounding counties are Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Westmeath and Fermanagh. The capital is Cavan. The larger towns in the County are: Arvagh, Ballinagh, Ballyjamesduff, Belturbet, Blacklion, Butler Bridge, Cootehill, Dowra, Kingscourt, Killeshandra, Stradone and Virginia. In 1641, the population consisted of parts Old



Irish, New English planters and seventeenth century Scottish immigrants. Cavan's location in respect to the Pale (the English area around Dublin) caused intensive contact with 'Old English'.⁵⁰

5.2 Uprising in Cavan

In the night of 22nd of October several strongholds in Ulster were taken, either by force, or by deception. In his book 'England and in 1641 rebellion' Joseph Cope specifically focuses on the events in Cavan. According to him, people in Cavan heard of the rebellion on Friday the 22nd of October by messengers from Fermanagh who were on their way to Dublin. On the 24th of October, the first reports were made of the presence of the O'Reilly's (leaders of the rebellion in Cavan) in Belturbet, Cavan, Butler Bridge and Virginia. Under the command of Philip O'Reilly, who was a member of parliament and well known in the area, they confiscated weapons, looted the houses and physically harassed the 'New English'. On the 1th of November the rebels returned to the larger

⁵⁰ Joseph Cope, *England and the 1641 rebellion* (New York 2009) 57- 58.

cities, where they robbed part of the (unarmed) New English and drove them away. Witnesses in Virginia confirmed this information and stated that in the first two weeks of November, the roads were full of refugees. One of the most prominent and violent events in Cavan was the 'Bridge at Belturbet Massacre' in which the last of the present New English in the County were driven into the river, to drown. There were no survivors because the insurgents on the side prevented people from lifting themselves out of the river. This notorious event is still visible on one of the banners the Protestant marchers carry on Orange order parades.

5.3 Depositions in Cavan

Out of a total of 261 depositions from Cavan, 58 had a reference to 'Irish' and 113 to 'English'. From these depositions a total of 40 were selected (20 English, 20 Irish). The complete selection with the relevant references is added in the appendix, and the most notable ones are discussed and categorized into different types of references: Barbarous acts, religion, ruling, English and Irish. Lastly one deposition will be dealt with individually, due to its unique character and multilayered references.

5.3.1 References to barbarous acts

In several depositions the deponents give a detailed account of some of the violence they came across. In these accounts they usually portray their Irish attackers, describing them and their acts. In the following deposition the Irish men, referred to as 'the Rebels' and woman and children are all part of the death of a woman and her newborn child, and parents are forbidden to dig graves for their dead children.

*"And further saith that some of the Rebels vowed that if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead children they should be buryed there in themselves: soe as the poore people, left the most of them vnburied exposed to ravenous beasts & fowle, & some few: their poore parents carried a great way to bury them after they were dead: & some were hidd in bushes that the Rebels should not fynd them <This deponent further saith that he saw upon the high way a woeman left by the Rebels stripped to her smock, sett upon {by} 3 woemen and some children being Irish whoe miserably tore and rent the said poore English woeman and stripped her of her smock in bitter frost and snow soe that she fell in labour in their hands and presence and both she and her child there miserably died."*⁵¹

The following deponent describes how her husband was 'barbarously murdered', but also refers to him as an 'English protestant'. She is forced to lie barely clothed in the snow with 220 other English, resulting in the death of two of her children.

⁵¹ Deposition of Adam Glouer, MS 833, fols 001r-001v.

"And further saith that the Rebels aforesaid when were all Comanded by Phillip ô Rely the gran Rebell that soe robbed stripped & dispoyled her & her said daughter as aforesaid being Maguires of the County of Fermanagh: they haveing first most barbarously murdered the said Thomas Irmonger her husband Mr Arthur & Tho: Champion & a subsherriff & 4 3 more English protestants (..) And that after this deponent was expelled from her house she & her 2 chyldren were were by the Rebels stript of all their clothes severall tymes some ymes by men women and children rebells & exposed her to great and vnwonted Cold nakednes & want stripped her two And shee & 220 poore English more were inforced to lye a whole night almost stark naked on the snow vpon a rock Soe as 2 of her children dyed since of the cold than taken as she is verely perswaded"

In the following deposition a woman gives an account of the brutal murder of children. She is however, not an eyewitness, but has heard this from fellow English and rebels.

"Capten of Rebels Capten Rory Maguire (whoe cawsd threescore protestants men women & Children to be throwne off the bridg of belturbett into the River, & there drowned, & he alsoe cawsd his souldjers to hang & kill one John fforbett a protestant gentleman, and his twoe sonns, and their wives and children: Some of the childrens braines being dashed out against the stones, as some poore English, then present, and divers of the Rebels have confidently related it vnto her,"⁵²

These three depositions and several others gave similar statements, in which the rebels are portrayed as barbarians, who neither shun violence nor cruelty. What stands out in these depositions is that the violence was comitted not only by men, but by children and woman as well.

"Diverse dayes after they were stript again of such things as they of the first company left them & others gaue them, almost euery mile twice, by men women & children searching them for monie, the women beeing more cruel towards them then the children men, & the children then the women, & often was my the said Doctors Tate sucking babe shaked out of his clothes, & let fall on the ground stark naked, wherby his neck could not but haue beene broken, had it not beene for the snowe."⁵³

This statement is confirmed by the following deposition.

"And that the Irish rebellious women were farr worse & more feirse & bloody then the men Rebels: & carrjed their skeines & there children of tenn yeres of age are fitted and furnished for the Rebellion with skeanes & pykes."⁵⁴

One woman is referred to specifically: Rose ny Neill, the wife of MP and rebel leader Philip O'Reilly. As the following deposition describes, she is more violent and vindictive then her

⁵² Deposition of Elizabeth Croftes: MS 832, fols 054v-055r.

⁵³ Deposition of Faithfull Teate, Elizabeth Day & William Thorp: Reference: MS 833, fols 061r-062v.

⁵⁴ Deposition of William Jamesone: MS 833, fols 160r-161v.

husband. Apparently he has to restrain her with threats of leaving her, as to stop her from killing all the English and Scots. She is named the main abettor of the Belturbett drowning. What is also noticeable about this description of Rose, is that the so called 'viragoe', nowadays spelled as 'virago', has her ancestors and kin to thank for her character.

*"Rose (out of divellish and base spite and mallice to the English and Scottish) endeavoured much to haue them all putt to death And would haue effected it, had not her husband denyed to suffer it He saying the day will come when thou mayst be behoulding to the poorest amongst them further saying vnto her That she might putt all the English and Scotts there to death if shee would But if she did he would forsake and never come neere her: yet not withstanding that bloody viragoe (harbouring the Envy & traitors mynd of her ancestors and kinred) was the principall cawser & instigator of the drowning of fifty protestants men, women, and Children, all at one tyme, at the bridge of Belturbett. (..) And further saith that the said Rose (in further expression of her hatred vnto the English & Scotts sayd That she was never well that daie that she sawe any of either of those nations"*⁵⁵

This story is confirmed by the following deposition.

*"And further sayth it is credibly reported that Rose Ny Neile wif vnto Phillip mc Hugh Mc Shane ô Rely in respect of her goeing out with the souldjers & vyolent action in the Rebellion hath gotten the name of Colonell Neile: & that she after the slaughter at dundolk brought men to murther the surviveing English about Ballihays in the County of Cavan: but cold not prevaile with her husband to doe or consent to the doeing thereof."*⁵⁶

This deposition describes how a wife hears from the other room how her husband is murdered because of the possible threat he could be, being a former soldier.

*"The said Brady tould him this deponents husband (as this deponent heard but could not be suffered to come in) that he had bin a souldier and was an able man and likely to come against them hereafter, and therefore he would cutt off his head, which accordingly they then did,"*⁵⁷

The following and last deposition to illustrate the notion of barbarity in reference to the Irish rebels is from Richard Lewys, a "gentleman an English man & a protestant." Except for this clear distinction between his geographical background as being English, and his religious identity as a Protestant, this deposition gives an account of seventeenth century cursing.

"The misery and Callamitie was great we endured but god in his mercy preserved vs from the savadge & barbarous cruelty of those perfidious damned and cursed Crue of traiterous and

⁵⁵ Deposition of Marmaduke Batemanson: MS 832, fols 080r-080v.

⁵⁶ Deposition of Symon Wesnam: MS 833, fols 204r-206v.

⁵⁷ Deposition of Margery Sharp: MS 833, fols 063r-063v.

Rebellious persons and brought vs to this Citty where god he knowes we beinge 7 in number havinge smale meanes knows not what wilbecome of vs if sume course be not taken to help vs."⁵⁸

5.3.2 References to religion

Religion plays an important role in the 1641 rebellion, and is not only referred to frequently as a motive, but is used to categorize both insurgents and victims. In the following deposition by Adam Glouer he describes the supposedly frequent action of rebels: hitting deponents in the face with their bible, which was made wet with dirty water. The deponents are described as Protestants. This deposition gives both testimony of the violent actions of the rebels, with religion as their motive and of the classification the deponents use to describe themselves.

*"and divers others of the Rebels, did then often take into their hands the protestant bybles & wetting them on the durty water did 5 or 6 seuerall tymes dash the same on the face of the deponent & other protestants saying come I know you love a good lesson. Here is a most excelent one for you & come to morrow & you shall have as good a sermon as this: & used other scornfull and disgracefull words vnto them"*⁵⁹

In the next deposition a testimony is made of a speech given by a Hugh O'Reilly, where he makes references to himself and his fellow insurgents, calling themselves *Irish* and referring to the New English as *English*. Also he stated that the motive for the actions of the Irish was to prevent the English from cutting their Irish throats, whereas the motive being religion. Lastly he makes the notable comment that a certain Protestant named Philip has lost his religion and has become a Catholic.

*"the same Hugh o Rely said that the English thought to cut the throat of the Irish for ther religion but the Irish would prevent them & cut there throats first for there religion & the deponent further said that Phillip O Cur & Shane mc Curr & Turloagh mc Caddow lost ther religion being Protestants & fell to papistry"*⁶⁰

In the next deposition Elizabeth Gough tells that she demanded a reason from Cahil O'Reilly, for the violence used particularly against English. He answers that he thinks it a pity that not all the English are murdered, because of the plot against the Catholic queen Henriette Maria. In this deposition there are clear references to both notions of Irish and English, as well as religion as a motive for violence.

⁵⁸ Deposition of Richard Lewys: MS 833, fols 034r-035v.

⁵⁹ Deposition of Adam Glouer, MS 833, fols 001r-001v.

⁶⁰ Deposition of William Hoe: MS 833, fols 011r-011v.

*"November last she demaunded of Cahil O Reily the reason of these outrages against the English above others: the said Cahil answering that it was pittie that all the English in England & Ireland were not hangd drawne and quartered before now. this deponent demaunding the reason he replied, ther they had hanged & quartered the Queenes priest in her presence: & had put gunpowder in her saddle to blowe her up: the said English calling her whore & her children bastards: whereupon she was glad laboured to flee to her brother into France, having first sent letters into Ireland to kill all the English men women & children."*⁶¹

The following testimony indicates Philip O'Reilly as the head of the company who attacked and stripped them. The deponent describes an Irish priest stating that he has an official fiat for the rising.

*"Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane o Rely & other Irish Rebels that did rise vpp in Rebellion then in the Countys of Cavan & ffermanagh whose names this deponent knoweth not, And further deposeth that he this deponent his wife & tenn Children were all stript by some of the Company of the said Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely the 3th day of November last neare vnto Youghall in the <o> said County of Cavan, And further deposeth that he heard one whose name as he thincks is fferdoragh (An Irish Preist) say that they had the kings hand for what they did & the cause of there riseing was because by that there was a Statute made in England that all Papists shold goe to church before a certaine tyme or be banished."*⁶²

This deposition conforms religion as the main cause for the uprising, referring to Engand as a threat to their priests.

*"& this was the rebels common word, All that we do is for religion we rise for our Religion. They hang our preists in England &c."*⁶³

The following deposition tells a singularly story about the brother in law of Donnell o Lery who is an Irishman, but also a Protestant, who took in the deponents family, withstanding death threats from the rebels.

*"And further sayeth That when this deponent & his wiffe & children intended to haue comen away from amongst the Rebels: one Donnell o Lery his brother in law w hoe is a meere Irishman & yet a protestant, being denied to come away from them took this deponent and his wiffe & children to his howse & there kept them about one yere together dureing which time the Rebels sent word & threatened them all with death vnles they would goe to Masse."*⁶⁴

⁶¹ Deposition of Elizabeth Gough: MS 833, fols 002r-003v

⁶² Deposition of Henry Reynolds: MS 833, fols 057r-057v.

⁶³ Deposition of Faithfull Teate, Elizabeth Day & William Thorp: Reference: MS 833, fols 061r-062v.

⁶⁴ Deposition of John Hickman: MS 833, fols 156r-156v.

5.3.3 References to ruling:

Many of the depositions have references to the motives of the insurgents, in relation to the ruling of the island of Ireland. For instance in the next deposition where sir Phelim O'Neil is being named the preferred king of Ireland.

*"the said Cahill adding that the said English had favour that they lost all & escaped vnslaine he further said that the Irish purposed to have a king of their owne in Ireland, and that Sir Phelim o Neale should be he."*⁶⁵

The next deposition was not as specific as to naming an alternative king, but did state that the Irish, by driving out the English, could have freedom of faith, and were entitled to their ancestors land. Although this does not necessarily mean that they prefer a different ruler or king, it does imply that they have changes in mind concerning this.

*"that he & the high sherife of the County Phillip mc Hugh mc Shean o Rely had the Kings Broad Seale ffor that all the English to bee disarmed, & that hee the said deponent did heare one Turlagh mc Chaier o Rely say that their Riseings was to drive out all the English fforth of this Kingdome & seacondly by that meanes they would haue Libertie of Conscience & thirdly they would haue their Ancestors Lands which had Longe been held from them by the English men"*⁶⁶

The following deposition gives a similar account, stating that the Irish want to have their land back. Also they claim to have a *president* for this, out of Scotland. In this context it is probably meant as a *precedent*, an example.

*"And further deposeseth that he this deponent did heare John Pyman of Belturbatt aforesaid gent { } say that the said Rebels told him that the cause there Maine reason of there Riseing was to enioy all there la{nd} againe & have there liberty of Conscience And that they have a president for the same out of Scotland."*⁶⁷

This is also confirmed by the next deposition.

*"By the meanes and hands of Hugh Boye <a> of Cillduffe and Phillip ô Reyly tenants and servant{s} to the number of twenty men and women saying withall that they would be Masters of their owne lands and charged vs to yeeld with their skienes at our breasts ready to kill vs."*⁶⁸

In the following deposition by Symon Grahme, this is confirmed again, with a notable classification of the rebels, calling them rogues and malicious.

⁶⁵ Deposition of Elizabeth Gough: MS 833, fols 002r-003v.

⁶⁶ Deposition of Henry Hocklefield: MS 833, fols 009r-010v.

⁶⁷ Deposition of Thomas Taylor: MS 833, fols 070r-070v.

⁶⁸ Deposition of William Kinge: MS 833, fols 022r-022v.

*"Patrick mc Gorrie of the same, with seuerall other notorious Roages Rebelles and malitious persones did at Clanrae aforesaid forceablie and felloniouslie with swordes skeanes pickes and other offensive weapones take and detayne the Cattle goodes and houshold stuffe aforesaid, And further this deponent sayeth That he heard the abouenamed James Beataghe say, that Ireland would never be vnder the English Government as it was, but that they would have an Irishman to be Cheefe Governor in this kingDome."*⁶⁹

Some depositions also state that the Irish want to be rehabilitated in their rights as landowners, such as the following:

*"And this deponent further saith that he hath heard itt credibly reported that the rebels vpon the taking away of his goods said that they had more right to them then he and that this deponent and the rest of the English, had inhabited this Kingdome long enough and it was now high time for them (meaneing the Irish) to recover and repossesse their owne."*⁷⁰

Elizabeth Croftes stated that she heard the rebels say that their ambition did not only lie in killing al the Protestants in Ireland, but in England as well. The ruling of their territory is thereby expanding overseas.

*"And the said Farrell o Rely murdered this deponents said father in law, & mother in lawe And this deponent further saith that she heard divers of the Rebels say that if they could kill all the protestants here, they would then goe with their forces into England."*⁷¹

The next deposition gives an account of what is at first view a contradictory statement. On the one hand, they name Charles as their king, claiming to have royal permission for their actions, and protecting his prerogative. On the other hand, they state that they will never have an English government in Ireland.

*"the sayd Philip averred that he took up armes for the kings right, and that he had a patent so to do vnder the kings broad seale & to disarme all the English (..) And this deponent during the tyme of his imprisonment divers tymes heard Many of the Rebels say that they tooke vp armes for manteinance of the kinges prerogative & would not cease vntill they had extirpated all the English out of the kingdome & would not have any English goverment hereafter in Ireland."*⁷²

In this deposition however, Charles is referred to as the king of England, and not considered the rightful king of Ireland, who, as they claimed, was one of the rebels amongst them.

"And this robbery were done & comitted by William <a> Linsy of ffarnan aforesaid &

⁶⁹ Deposition of Symon Ghrame: MS 833, fols 151r-152v.

⁷⁰ Deposition of Robert Symons: MS 833, fols 185r-185v.

⁷¹ Deposition of Elizabeth Croftes: MS 832, fols 054v-055r.

⁷² Deposition of John Anderson: MS 833, fols 098r-099v.

*Knoher ffox of the same & Shane Brady of the same & the said deponent being traueelling towards Dublin tow was on the way stript & his wife & 3 children & the parties aforesaid that robd the deponent said they had an Irish king amongst them & they regarded not king Charls the King of England The said deponent buried 2 of his children since the robbery they being starud with cold."*⁷³

This is confirmed by the following deposition, where it is said that Charles is used temporarily for the Irish cause, their goal being to cut the throats of all the English. Notable is the use of the words 'race' and 'nation'.

*"And further sajth That the Rebells did often say That they would neither leave Englishe nor Scottishe nor protestantes nor any nation but themselues in Ireld: (..) And this deponent heard the meere Irishe Rebells often say to the other Rebells of the pale theis wordes vizt you Churles with the greate breeches, doe you thinck That if wee were ridd of the Englishe That wee would spare you Noe wee would cutt all your throates alsoe ffor you are all of one Race with the other English thoughe wee make vse of you for the presente?"*⁷⁴

The last deposition with a reference to the stated preferred rulings of Ireland gives an extensive and detailed account of what the deponent heard the rebels say in general. As one of a few, he refers to the English as British, which is striking. In this account the rebels reject the English government, as well as the king, saying he should no longer receive rents out of Ireland. He goes on to quote one Donell Rellie (perhaps the same as the Donnel O'Leary as encountered in the deposition of John Hickman), who says the authority of the king is no more. It is not clear what is meant with the reference to the kings' laws. It could either mean that they were not used, or were not used anymore, or should not have been here in the first place. The last remark the deponent makes note of, concerns the cause of the rebellion, which was supposedly the killing of an unknown lieutenant. This is the first and the last reference to this possible cause, and there is no clarity or indication that is meant.

"And further this deponent sayeth That <hand> about the 23th of oct 1641 all the Irishes within the said Countie of Cavan rose vpp in Armes, and Robbed and spoiled all the British that dwelt in the said Countie, and that they made Colloneles Captanes and livetennantes the most pairt whereof this deponent cannot welle Nominate and hearde them generallie say that they would be no longer vnder the English Government, and that his Maiestie should not receaue any more rentes within this kingdome of Ireland, (..) And further this deponent sayeth That he heard one Donell Rellie of Killalisse dromconragh say that the king would never haue the authoritie in Ireland he had

⁷³ Deposition of Nicholas Michael: MS 833, fols 026r-026v.

⁷⁴ Deposition of Ambrose Bedell: MS 833, fols 105r-106v.

*before And that his lawes would never haue be [noe] heare as they was any more vsed And saith That Patrick mc Groome mc Lawghes divulge That the cawse of their insurreccion was the cutting off of the late lo: lieuetenant & you that are Brittans will shall pay for it."*⁷⁵

5.3.4 References to Irish:

As one of the keywords to indicate notions of national identity, 'Irish' is an important reference. Separated from the numerous occasions in which Irish was used in the previous depositions, this is in overview of depositions in which the use of the word gives a clear indication or connotation of what is meant by the term. For example, in the following deposition *Irish* is simply used to identify a certain group, to which Philip O'Reilly belongs.

*"his deponents said husband was Robed and dispoyled att Belturbatt aforesaid on or about the second day of November last aboute twelue a Clock in the day tyme <a> By the meanes of Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely one of the knights of the Shire for the said County Owen Brady of the parish of Anna aforesaid gent And other Irish persons that did Rise vpp in Armes with the said Phillip ô Rely & of his Company And further this deponent deposeth that the next day followeing this deponents said husband her selfe & two of her Children were all stript out of their Cloathes [att] neare vnto Cavan in the said County by some of the said Phillip o Rely his Company, there names this deponent knoweth not,"*⁷⁶

This is confirmed by the following deposition, in which it becomes clear that the names are given of those persons who are known, and the rest of the company is referred to as 'the Irish'.

*"The parties by whom the same robbery was committed wer Hugh Brady of Ballyhayes [col?] and his tenants and Gillousy Rele of the same and diuers others of the Irish of the Cuntry."*⁷⁷

In the next deposition a clear distinction is being made between Irish, English and Scots.

*"And further the said deponent saith That Myles Rely high Sheriffe of the Countie of Cavan with divers in the Company about the tyme aboue mentioned came to ffarnham aforesaid to the house of Mr Richard Castleton and tooke away divers Armes out of his house and sayinge That hee had Commission from the kinge at Eddenborough to disarme all the English and to furnish the Irish and the Scotts with armes."*⁷⁸

The following deposition adds two connotations to the term Irish. First they are called 'the rebellious inhumane Irish rout', and secondly the 'rebellious Irish'.

⁷⁵ Deposition of James Stewart: MS 833, fols 196r-196v.

⁷⁶ Deposition of Mary Ward: MS 833, fols 080r-080v.

⁷⁷ Deposition of William Perkins: MS 833, fols 049r-049v.

⁷⁸ Deposition of Richard Jackson: MS 833, fols 018r-018v.

*"Journeing towards Dublin he & his wife were strypt 8 myles from their dwellinge of their Cloaths Sherts & Smocks where there was one Abraham James murthered & some others & many hurt & wounded by the Rebellious inhumane Irish rout, the sayd deponent further deposeth that about the aforesayd tyme he was robd by the Rebellious Irish in the County of ffermannah"*⁷⁹

The term 'rebellious Irish' is also used in the next deposition.

*"And [] hee his wife and Children were all stript the day followeing att or neare Youghall in the said County of Cavan and left naked by reason by reason some of the said Rebellious Irish whose names this deponent knoweth not, by reason whereof this deponents yongest child was perished and dyed."*⁸⁰

The deponent Edmond Sherwyn refers to himself as a gentleman and British Protestant, and declares he has lived in the area for a period of 22 years. He refers to his former neighbors as the rebellious Irish as well, but uses English in the same sentence to label the type of cows that he lost. Thereby making clear that both Irish and English are used as a geographical indication.

*"Edmond Sherwyn late of Crenagh in the Parish of Annah nere Bealturbet in the County of Cavan gentleman a Brittish protestant being duly sworne deposeth haveing lived there & thereabouts the space of 22 yeares that betwixt the 23th of October & the 2d of November in the yeare of our lord god 1641 he the sayd deponent was robd by the Rebellious Irish. (..) And the abouesaid deponent further saith deposeth that in the County of ffermanagh in the Parish of Castlecoule or Drummull e y he was robd by the rebellious Irish & lost in English cowes."*⁸¹

The perception of Irish in combination with rebellious is again confirmed by the following two depositions.

*"The names of those Rebellious Irish"*⁸² *"att the time of the Risinge of the Rebellious Irish in the North of Ireland"*⁸³

The next deposition has two remarkable features. The deponent Jane Cuthbertson describes the burial of people in the field, stating that the Irish, whom she refers to as Irish natives, refuse to bury any of the British nation in their churchyard.

*"shee was present the next morneing when they were buried in the feildes, for the Irishe natives there would not suffer any of the british nation to be buryed in Church or Church yairde."*⁸⁴

The following deposition tells an unprecedented story out of the County Cavan. George Butterwyke declared how he was robbed of his cattle and goods, and how his wife was being

⁷⁹ Deposition of John Heron: MS 833, fols 006r-007V.

⁸⁰ Deposition of Thomas Taylor: MS 833, fols 070r-070v.

⁸¹ Deposition of Edmund Sherwyn: MS 833, fols 064r-065v.

⁸² Deposition of John Wilkinson: MS 833, fols 087r-087v.

⁸³ Deposition of Jane Taylor: MS 833, fols 067r-067v.

⁸⁴ Deposition of Jane Cuthbertson: MS 833, fols 243r-244v.

threatened by some men he calls *megowrans*, by which he probably meant men who are called McGowran. At this point his *man*, meaning his servant, comes to his aid and prevents the rebels from knocking in her head. This servant is an Irishman, and tells the insurgents that his master does indeed not have the coin, from lack of incoming rents.

*"The said megowrans after that they had sent away my Cattell did come backe to my howse and take away most of my goods and did threaten my wife that <they> would knocke her on in the head Iff she would not gyue them her monies and had done so but that my man being an Irishman did intreat for her and sayd that he knew that his master had not receiued his rent as yett and that money was very scarce with him."*⁸⁵

5.3.5 References to English:

As one of the keywords to indicate notions of national identity, 'English' is an important reference. Separated from the plentiful occasions in which English was used in the previous depositions, this is in overview of depositions in which the use of the word gives a clear indication or connotation of what is meant by the term. The common occurrence of the term is by introducing the deponent, or when the deponent refers to himself or fellow English. The next deposition is an example of such an introduction.

*"Thomas Vennibels of belturbitt in the County of Cavan [C]arrier and now a souldier in th his Maiesties service in Dublin an English prodestante."*⁸⁶

In the following deposition the term is used in the introduction, as well as in an account of what the rebels said. The deponent states that they spoke no evil words, and said they were merely keeping the goods safe, away from other rebels.

*"Phillip Whitman of the towne & parish of Drumlaine in the Barrony of Loughy and County of Cavan yeoman (an English protestant) (..) But heard not anye of the Rebells give out anye evill word, but said they wold keepe the goods for the vse of the English. And that the Rebells of other Countyes shold not take them."*⁸⁷

This deposition uses English (and Scottish) as a classification, making a difference between the country of origin, and their religion.

"and their confederates souldjers and Rebellious partakers, did robb stripp & deprive all the English and Scottish protestants thereabouts (that they possibly could) of all their goodes &

⁸⁵ Deposition of George Butterwyke: MS 832, fols 196r-197v.

⁸⁶ Deposition of Thomas Venables: MS 833, fols 075r-076v.

⁸⁷ Deposition of Phillip Whitman: MS 833, fols 086r-086v

meanes. Neither spareing sex nor age."⁸⁸

This is done in the following deposition as well, although not persistently. The deponent Mary Ward uses English and Englishman to describe the victims of the rebels.

"And further shee this deponent deposeth that shee did see one yonge man lye dead in the way betwixt Youghall & Cavan & Youghall with she beleeveth to be an Englishman & was Murthered by the said some of the said Rebels for that shee did see the said Rebels beate & wound diverse English protestants in the said way."⁸⁹

This deponent used the term English to describe himself and others, having a clear notion of the group he belonged to. Despite that he lost a piece of his skull, after being cut over the head with a sword, he seemed particularly upset that he had to go into England looking like a rogue, since they stripped and stole his clothes and shoes.

*"I and myne family being stript with many {th}ousands more of our English by the way they tooke me by {the h}eeles and dragged me on the ground and another came with a sword and Cutt me over the head that apeeice of my {scull} was fayne to be taken out before that would be whole the{n they p}ulled off all my Cloathes hose and shoes and byd me goe Lyke a {R}ogue into England so that thay Left neyther me nor my {wi}ffe and Children nether hose no shoes nor clothes but so that we were [for]ced to goo naked and barefoote 46 myles before we cam{e to} dublyn."*⁹⁰

The next deposition tells an anecdote of the deponent meeting his neighbour, of whom it is not clear if he is English. This man received a letter, but had trouble reading, so asked the deponent for assistance. It is notable that in this letter there is a clear distinction made between not only Irish and English, but between Irish papists and English Protestants.

*"And soe the deponent goinge forth of his house Att the dore mett with Leiftenant Arnolde Cosby, a neer Neighbor with a letter in his hande, which he deliuered this deponent to reade (not beinge well able to utter himselfe) which letter was from Sr William Cole or his sonne, importinge, That the tymes wer likely to very dangerous, for Rebellion & Treason wer a practizinge by the Irish papists against the English protestants, or to that effect and therfore that wer good for them all to bee upon their saufe keepinge, and soe much he wished him to imparte vnto all his English Neighbors all which cominge soe together caused this deponent to mistruste That it was a generall Revolt of the Irish {papists} to supplante & cutt of the Englishe protesants."*⁹¹

⁸⁸ Deposition of Marmaduke Batemanson: MS 832, fols 080r-080v.

⁸⁹ Deposition of Mary Ward: MS 833, fols 080r-080v.

⁹⁰ Deposition of Phillip Ward: MS 833, fols 085r-085v.

⁹¹ Deposition of Stephen Allen & Judith Allen: MS 832, fols 174r-175v

5.3.6 Deposition of Richard Parsons

The following deposition of Richard Parsons entails so many relevant references and viewpoints it is highlighted here and dealt with separately. Not only are there several strong notions of English and Irish identity, there are layers within these identities, for instance the differentiation between Irish from the Pale and of the north. The first statement in the deposition is already highly remarkable, wherein the deponent says he is hated in the first place, not only as a minister, but as an Englishman, or so the rebels told him.

"And this deponent haveing a wife and 3 children: & neither being admitted (nor in deed knowing how to forsake & gett out of the Cuntrie & being by them hated not only as a minister, but (as the Rebels themselues confessed) becawse he was an Englishman)"

After this he goes on to say that he had to flee from place to place, calling the insurgents *ruffians*, which means scoundrel or rascal. His neighbours would warn him of the approaching danger, causing him to flee into nature, sometimes running the whole night. This went on for one year and a half, and the deponent believes that he would have been killed had it not been for his wife, who was related to Philip O'Reilly.

"hee was inforced to fly and remove from place to place to shun their cruelty when they sent any Ruffians to looke after his liffe,(as some of his neighbors (formerly beholding to him) would from tyme to tyme give him notice, of his danger yet such misery & affliction were incident vnto and followed those escapes that oftentimes hee lay out in boggs mountaines and feilds in frost snow and raine to hyde & shelter himself from danger, Being sometimes pursued all the night Long by such as he is perswaded would haue Killed if the had found him In which kinde of posture and state he contynued for one yere and a halfe, which he could not possibly have done soe long but that his this deponents wiffe was an Irish woman and a kinn to the said Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely and his brother mother:"

Richard Parsons goes on to say that despite this kinship the common rebels bore extreme hatred for his wife, because she was a Protestant. They would have liked to kill her, were it not for her family ties with the O'Reilly's.

"Howbeit the Comon Rebels becawse she was a Protestant bore extreame hatred vnto her & would (as some of them sayd) kill her but for her kinred sake"

The next fragment of Parsons deposition discusses another matter concerning the presented loyalty issues. According to him, the Catholics in the Pale were reluctant to take up arms against the Protestants, whom were their neighbors and friends, as opposed to the northern Irish, whom they distrusted. At first they showed kindness to the English who were attacked, but after being threatened by the northern Irish they joined them in their attacks. Notable is the remark that the Irish

of the Pale had an existing secret combination with the rebels, promoting their region. Because of the distrust the northern Irish had for them, the Irish of the Pale became even more barbarous and cruel than the others, as to convince them of their motives.

"The Papists within the Pall (because of their distrust of the northeren Irish) were loath to take vpp armes against the Protestants their neighbors & frends: And therefore at the first shewd some little kindnes to the stript English But being solicited and threatened by the northeren Irish (with whom they had a secrett former combynacion for promoteing their Romish Religion) they tooke vpp Armes alsoe, and Joined with the rest in their robberies and Cruelties against the protestants: And then to avoid distrust of the northeren Irish They became more barbarous and cruell then they: as it seemeth little dreameing of the secrett inveterate Mallice that those meere northeren Irish alwaies bore against them for their alliance Kinred and affinity with the other English:"

Despite the efforts of the Irish of the Pale, having robbed their neighbors and made themselves highly unpopular, they were attacked and robbed by the northerners, whose mistrust ran too deep. Complaining was no use, for they replied that it was better that the northern Irish had the goods, than that they would fall into the hands of *stinking English Charles with great breeches*. Turning to the northerners for help, they were turned away, stating that they were there to spy for the English. This then made the Irish of the Pale so desperate that they turned sides again, asking mercy from the English.

"ffor noe sooner had the northeren Irish ingaged the Palle papists of the Palle with in their Robberies and cruelties & made them odious to the protestants. but they fell vpon them: and robbed and stripped them out of their goods as fast as they could: fearing least at anie tyme they should revolt vnto the English & being able to give them any Releeffe And whenas any of these palle people sh did complaine that to the the northeren Irish that they had robbed or abused them They would answeere It were better that they (meaneing the meere northeren Irish, should have it then anie Eng stincking English Churles with great Breeches, And often when as the papists of the Pall fled to the Quarters of the northeren Irish to bee releevd (being stript of their goods) The those northeren Irish would turne them out a doores, and say it were a good deed to kill them for they came about noe other busines But to spie and bring newes to th-English what they were doing and that their intencions were to betray them: which in deed made some of the papists of the Palle soe desperate, for all their former Rebellious accions) that they Revolted to the English protestants & yeilded to

their mercies."⁹²

This story is an unique account of the different layers and the complexity of identity the inhabitants of Ireland had in the seventeenth century, especially when they lived in the Pale. Despite their religion their first loyalty lay with their English neighbors. After being threatened they went over to the side of the insurgents, who betrayed and robbed them, making them turn sides again.

⁹² Deposition of Richard Parsons: MS 833, fols 275r-281v.

6. Cork

In this chapter the research results from the depositions in the County Cavan will be discussed. To have a better understanding of the material and put these depositions in the right context we start off with background information on Cavan and the existing information on the uprising in the County. This will be followed by an analysis of a selection of depositions out of Cavan. These fragments of depositions are categorized into different types of references.

6.1 Geography

County Cork (Irish: Contae Chorcaí) is a county in Ireland. It is located in the South-West Region and part of the province of Munster. It is named after the city of Cork (Irish: Corcaigh). The largest towns are Cork City, Ballincollig and Carrigaline. In 2011, the Counties population was 518,128 making it the second most populous of the counties in the state.⁹³ The county has an area of 7,499 km², making it the largest county in the state by land area and population. It's surrounding counties are Kerry, Limerick, South Tipperary and



Waterford. County Cork was officially created by the dividing of the older County Desmond in 1606.

6.2 Uprising in Cork (Munster)

Because of its location in the south, the 1641 rebellion did not really reach the County Cork until a few months after the insurrection. According to M. Perceval-Maxwell, Cork en Kerry were the last Counties to enter the rebellion.⁹⁴ Nicholas Canny gives a detailed account of the developments in the province Munster. Until December there were only a few incidents that were reported. The neighboring County Tipperary was the first area to be in open rebellion, where the first town was taken by 31 of December.⁹⁵ The local gentry was responsible for the actions and told consistent

⁹³ Actual and percentage change in population 2006 and 2011 by Province county or city, Year, Statistic and Sex Central Statistics Office. <http://www.cso.ie/census/table1.htm>. Retrieved: 2013-02-25.

⁹⁴ M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Dublin, 1994) 258.

⁹⁵ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 527.

stories about their intentions to their victims. Canny states that “*the overwhelming impression conveyed by the depositions for County Tipperary is that the insurrection was directed from the top and remained under gentry control.*”⁹⁶ Whether this was a coincidence or not, the leaders of the local insurgent forces all had estates that lay close to Tipperary. In Cork these were the estates belonging to Lord Viscount Roche, and several of the Barrys, O’Calaghans and Condons in north County Cork. They were soon followed by other Catholic landowners, both Gaelic and Old English.

The whole province of Munster was inhabited by many Old and New English resulting in mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants. The boundaries of religion and descent caused complicated problems, wherein some occasions a rift was torn between kinsmen, and sometimes even man and wife, leaving them on opposite sides of the conflict.⁹⁷ Some people tried to stay neutral, such as the Catholic William Power of Kilbolane in Cork. Yet, when his castle fell, he was accused of conspiring with the rebels, by even his own gate porter.

In areas that came under Catholic control the Protestants were pressured, sometimes with violent force, to convert to Catholicism. Generally the Protestants were attacked and expelled out of the area by the rebel army, or they fled their homes as a precaution. The narrations the deponents give in their accounts are notably different then the once from Ulster and Leinster, having much less confrontation and conversation between the insurgents and their victims. According to Canny this is exemplary for the way the 1641 rebellion unfolded in Munster as a gentry controlled operation, not dissolving into a peasant uprising.⁹⁸

Cork eventually became a Protestant stronghold, maintaining this position throughout the confederate wars. Both Cork and Dublin were popular destinations to seek refuge and make passage towards England.

6.3 Depositions in Cork

Out of a total of 1936 depositions from Cork, 279 had a reference to 'Irish' and 451 to 'English'. From these depositions a total of 50 were selected (30 English, 20 Irish). The complete selection with the relevant references is added in the appendix, and the most notable ones are discussed and categorized into different types of references: Barbarous acts, religion, ruling, English and Irish.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 528.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, 530.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 532.

6.3.1 References to barbarous acts

In several depositions the deponents give a detailed account for some of the violence they came across. In these accounts they usually portray their Irish attackers, describing them and their acts. In the following deposition Katherine Dolbier gives three accounts of murders committed by the rebels, whom she refers to as Irish gentry, although she has seen neither of these murders. The first one is a hanging, of which she is certain because she did see the corpse afterward. The second was an English servant woman, and the third is a story about two children who were thrown off a cliff.

*"shee liued at Belgooly, when the Irish gentry & others of the Barrony of Kinalea & others parts neare adiacent were gathered together the first yeare of the warres (..) (came some irish men, & tooke away the said Pasqua before downe the stares before John Long, and carryed him into the garden & hang'd him there) commanded his men to carry him downe & he the said John Long followed them & the man was hanged forth with, afterwards, as shee verily beleeuues, for shee saw his corps afterwards lying in a ditch hard by the place where she was told that he was hang'd; (..) further examined she saith that dureing the time of their imprisonment a seruant an english woman seruant to Mr Tho: dant of Gorty grenan was committed there a while, after wards sent away by with some irish people whoe pretended men vnder pretence to convey her to her masters house; but as she heard was murthered by the ways, this deponent saw her cloathes brought out afterwards brought to Belgooly but which is the cause of her knowledge but as she heard was whoe whoe murthered her this deponents knowes not alsoe this deponent heard that Robert Beers two daughters were throwne ouer the cliff, neare Cunury, but by whome she knowes not & further saith not."*⁹⁹

The next deposition tells a similar story, where no actual crime has been seen, but is suggested. The deponent first saw a group of English persons being escorted to a commander, and later a group of Irish carrying bloody clothes. After his inquiry they state that they have *dispatched* the English. It is interesting that the said Irish answered in *Irish* and that apparently the deponent understood them.

"he liued in Kerry & came thence to <A> Blarny to buy tobacco, & did see about sixteene english persons, men, women, & children, that he vnderstood were sent from Muckrcompe by order of the Lord of Musgraue, With a guard to Blarny where they were deliuered to the commander (..) he saw foure irish men of the ward of Blarny aforesaid towards euening, returneing from wards Corke to Blarny, Charying diuers clothes much bloody, on their backes wherevpon this deponent asked them whence they came, to whome th some of them answered in irish, that they hade

⁹⁹ Deposition of Katherine Dolbier: MS 824, fols 006v-007r.

dispatched the said english persons. they should neuer eate more bread."¹⁰⁰

It is the same in the following deposition, where the deponent has not seen any violence, but in this case has heard of it, out of the first hand, by the alleged victim, who saw how his wife and children were murdered.

*"one Mr Thomas Newman of the same same desired the said masters mate to carry him & his family a boord the said shipp & thence into England with his goods & haueing agreed for the freight & all the said Newman & he went in one boat & his wife & nyne children with some of his goods in another boate wherof the rebells in those partes haueing Intelligence (..) seised vpon the other boate where his wife and children were, & in a most miserable maner murthered the number of sixteene persons young & ould cutting the men in peeces & throwing others ouer boord his cause of knowledge is that this was related vnto him by the said Newman himselfe."*¹⁰¹

The next deposition gives an account of the personal experience of a deponent, who was tied to a horse and was dragged behind it for nine miles. He also makes references to what the rebels told him about their motives. He calls the way he was treated *inhumane* and *unchristian*.

*"that the ffalling out was in England the because the Queenes masse priest & a another ffryer were put to death in England & further tould this deponent that saith he you expecte ayde out of England take my woord you will gett none for whatsoeuer we doe we haue the kings broade seale for it He saith that the rebells stripped This deponent and afterwards (starke naked in a most inhumane manner tyed him to a horse taylor pricked him forward with their pikes & did driue him like a dogg after the said horse a amatter of nyne miles forward & backe ward & this deponent being fearefully tormented by the vnchristian vsadge the very flesh of his feete being torne thorne of they put him in stockes & there kepte all that night."*¹⁰²

6.3.2 References to religion

Religion plays an important role in the 1641 rebellion, and is not only referred to frequently as a motive, but is used to categorize both insurgents and victims. For instance the next deposition tells of two men who have given up their Protestant faith and have become Catholics.

*"& he saith that Henry Jefford & Patrick Nugent formerly English protestants are lately turned papists as he is credibly informed & further he cannot depose."*¹⁰³

These stories of conversion appear more frequent in the depositions out of Cork, as the

¹⁰⁰ Deposition of George Gould: MS 824, fols 009r-010v.

¹⁰¹ Deposition of Richard White: MS 825, fols 015r-016v.

¹⁰² Deposition of Hugh wellington: MS 823, fols 148r-148v.

¹⁰³ Deposition of Richard Sollace: MS 825, fols 001r-001v.

following two deponents confirm.

*"the names of the rest he doth not remember He lastly saith that the said Rowland ffield formerly a protestant is since this rebellion turned papishe."*¹⁰⁴

*"he further saith that Walter Spencer an Englishman formerly a protestant but is since this rebellion is turned papist."*¹⁰⁵

It appears that the Protestants were threatened to convert, as the following two testimonies seems to suggest.

*"Of his said goods they kepte him prisoner two o{r} three dayes, & in the meane time he heard the said Longe say that they would kill & hange all the English that would not goe to masse."*¹⁰⁶

*"Lastly he further he deposeth that the said William Arundell aboute Candlemas last tould this deponent that his best course was to turne papist goe to masse for Quoth he the King himselfe is heere in this Kingdome & goes to mass & further he deposeth not."*¹⁰⁷

Some of the English were *papists* to begin with, as the next deposition declares.

*"Thomas Turnor of the Towne & parish of youghall & within the County of Corke merchant (a brittish protestant) (..) John Rushell of the Aghs in the County of Waterford gentleman (an english papist) Anthony Rushell the younger of the same gentleman (both english papists nowe notorious rebells)"*¹⁰⁸

Some of the Irish were Protestants, as the following two deponents confirm.

"Donnell Shighane late of the Towne & parish of Malloe in the barony of ffarmoy and within the County of Corke yeoman (an Irish protestant) duely sworne and examined before vs by vertue of a Comission vnder the broade seale of this Kingdome (beareing date the 5th day of March Anno domini 1641)." ¹⁰⁹

*"Anne Ormon of the towne & parish of Michellstowne barrony of Condon & Clangibbon and within the com of Corke spinster (an Irish protestant) duely sworne & examined before vs by vertue of a Comision etc deposeth and sayth that aboute the last of december last 1641 she lost was robbed & forceably dispoyled of hiser goods & Chattles to the seuerall values ffolloweing Vizt value of 13 li."*¹¹⁰

The next deponent also describes someone as being born an Irishman, and yet a Protestant.

¹⁰⁴ Deposition of John Browne: MS 823, fols 023r-023v.

¹⁰⁵ Deposition of Henry Bennit: MS 823, fols 119r-119v.

¹⁰⁶ Deposition of Jiles Masee: MS 822, fols 025r-025v.

¹⁰⁷ Deposition of John Austine: MS 822, fols 166r-166v.

¹⁰⁸ Deposition of Thomas Turnor: MS 824, fols 093r-094v.

¹⁰⁹ Deposition of Donnell Shighane: MS 822, fols 083r-083v.

¹¹⁰ Deposition of Anne Ormon: MS 823, fols 083r-083v.

*"Richard Croker late of the parish of Clondrohatt in the Baroney of Muskrey in the Countie of Corke gentleman (a brittish protestant) (.,) of a debt due from one William Murphwe of the parish of Killmarter in the said Countie of Corke an Irishman borne yett a protestant & stript by the Rebels of Musgroe the some of Three pownds."*¹¹¹

The next deponent gives report of his former servant, an Irish Protestant who has converted to Catholicism and has become a rebel as well.

*"And hee further deposeth that Edmond mc Patrick alias Nughtin <A> a late servant to this deponent & an Irish protestant is not only revolted from his religion & beecome a papist as himselfe hath confessed but is beecome a Rebell vnder the Commaund of Cahir o Callahan."*¹¹²

6.3.3 References to ruling

Many depositions have references to the motives of the insurgents, in relation to the ruling of the island of Ireland. In the following deposition the deponent told how he was attacked during his work on the land, probably *sowing* corn, when they were shot at all day and called rebels, puritans and parliament rogues. Especially interesting is their accusation that the deponent and his fellow inhabitants of the village were the kings enemies, clearly claiming loyalty to the king, and establishing him as the rightful ruler.

*"and since that time the said Teig o Driscoll with about an 100 men horse & foot did assault the said Inhabitants of Baltimore b we being sauing of Corne vppon the lands of Baltymore, did all the day shoot at us with muskets neare an 100 shott, calling of us Rebels, puritanes and Parliament Rougs the kings enimes and that we fought againste the king with many other [] opprobrious words. & further he cannot depose."*¹¹³

This is confirmed by the next deposition, where again the deponent is accused of being a puritan rogue and a traitor to king and country.

*"he further sayth that one Teig O Rone with others seruants and souldyers to Cahir O Callahan did murder one william Lynes & his wife nere Moyallo as he was credibly informed he also sayth that this deponent with diuers others comming from Corke towards Moyallo he heard at a distance some of the Rebels of the Lord Muskeryes Army say that they were Puritanicall rogues & rascalls, traytours to their king and country."*¹¹⁴

The next deposition seems to be an account of a conversation between the deponent and one of the rebels, ending with the same claims about the king as the former depositions. The deponent

¹¹¹ Deposition of Richard Croker: MS 825, fols 127r-127v.

¹¹² Deposition of Nicholas Philpot: MS 824, fols 261r-262v.

¹¹³ Deposition of Richard White: MS 825, fols 017r-017v .

¹¹⁴ Deposition of Arthure Bettsworth: MS 823, fols 004r-005v.

was asked the question why he *held out so long*, and after he answered that he expected to be freed by English forces, the rebel cursed and said that he would beat the deponent to Cork and beyond, after which he would march into England.

*"then spoke the ensuing words or others to that effect namely howe durst you (quoth he) hold out soe long for that our generall were perswaded by some gentleman nowe in his army you would be all put to the sword men women & children the deponent answered that by that time he expected to be relieved by the English forces, he then replying with an execrable oath said, that same Inshiquin (quoth he) durst as well looke in the deuills face as come neere vs; for we will beate you from here to Malloe & then to Corke & from thence into the sea & afterwards they would we will march into England & see what the parliament would say to them, alleading further that they were the kinges souldiers & we (meaneing the protestants) were the puritanicall parliaments souldiers & rebells & further he deposeth not."*¹¹⁵

6.3.4 References to English and Irish

Since for Cork the references to both Irish and English are so frequently made together, they are joined in this paragraph. They are both keywords to indicate notions of national identity. The following statement is an exemplary deposition out of Cork, where many references to Irish and English were made to indicate the persons from whom they had lost part of their income or had an unpaid debt.

*"The deponent saith that he lost by meanes of this presente rebellion six pou{nds} sterling parte of his last Michelmas rent due from the vn{der}named person s Irish papist."*¹¹⁶

The same can be seen in the next deposition.

*"of depts which shee accompted good depts amounting to the some of five & thirtie shillings sterlinge beefore this present rebellion and nowe beecome disperate by reason they bee due from the vndernamed persons English protestants & Irish papists."*¹¹⁷

It looks like the former and following deposition were written down by the same person or the same format since they are almost exactly the same except for the amount of debt.

*"Of depts which hee accompted good depts amountinge to the some of fower three pound sixteene three shillings sterling before this present rebellion & nowe becom disperate by reason they bee due from the vndernamed persons English protestants & Irish papists."*¹¹⁸

In this testimony the deponent had the problem of lost income due to the death of an English

¹¹⁵ Deposition of Thomas Reymond: MS 825, fols 020r-021v.

¹¹⁶ Deposition of Epenetus Bellewe and Turlagh O Donnell: Reference: MS 822, fols 018r-019v.

¹¹⁷ Deposition of Tampson Dun: MS 822, fols 011r-011v .

¹¹⁸ Deposition of Daniell Poole: MS 825, fols 184r-184v.

Protestant.

*"Of debts the sune of foure pounds two shillings due from Garren Martin late of Insh kyin in the said County hewer But in re g a rd the said Martin (an English protestant) was murthered by the rebels aboute the 16th of March last therefore this depon e nt canot gett satisfaction from them."*¹¹⁹

According to the deponent William Ward both English and Irish were not able to pay their debt, due to their impoverishment.

*"and although he {acco}unted the same good debts before this rebellion yett in regar { d } the said debtors boath English & Irish are impouerished protestants {by} meane of this rebellion he cannot gett satisfaction from any of {them}."*¹²⁰

The following deponent made notice of the amount of time he lived in the area, stressing that it had been particularly during the time the *Irish gent* and other inhabitants were getting together. He also heard Irish speaking of the hanging of English, not knowing the reason for this.

*"Knogher mc dermond aged of Belgooly aged 50 yeares or thereabouts being sworne & examined saith that he hath was an inhabitant on the lands of Belgooly aforesaid the first yeare of the rebellion warres & diuers yeares before, & more particularly at the time the Irish gent & other inhabitants of those parts assembled there, which was about Candlemas in the yeare 1641, (..) And this deponent there heard some of the irish speakeing of the hanging of the said english persons. And askeing one another by what order it was done, wherevnto some of them answered, it was by the order of Phillip Barry og, & John Long <C> aforesaid & this deponent doth not know, nor euer heard of any cause they had to put the said english people to death."*¹²¹

The next deponent had not encountered any violence himself, but had known a man and wife who died, and has heard who killed them. He has seen someone who was hanged, which is interesting since it was an Irishmen, accuses of spying for the English, with no other proof then that he was living among them.

*"& saith that he knew Robert Beere & his wife whoe were put to death at Belgooly, & heard that one donogh mc Phillip was one of the party that fetched them said Robert from their his house, & saith he saw none hanged dureing the time of the assembly there, but one James Keating whoe was an irish man, & taken for a spy by reason he had liu'd with amongst the English."*¹²²

The next fragment is out of an examination of a John Heney, who was testifying against someone who was one of the *actives of Irish against the English*. He has seen this man in arms, but

¹¹⁹ Deposition of John Lake: MS 823, fols 099r-099v.

¹²⁰ Deposition of William Ward: MS 823, fols 117r-117v.

¹²¹ Deposition of Knogher mcDermond: MS 824, fols 005r-005v.

¹²² Deposition of Humphrey Line: MS 824, fols 012r-.

has no other proof against him then what was generally said about him.

*"That hee was in Actuall Armes with the Eneimy the same yeare The Cause of this deponents knowlede is that hee hath often seene the afforesaid Morrice in Actuall Armes and as itt was Generally Reported that the said Morrice was one of the Actiues of Irish against the English and farther saith not."*¹²³

A similar account is given in the following deposition.

*"Thet Cause of this deponent Knowledge is that hee hath often seine the said Cundon in Armes & knew him to bee Cornet of a Troope for the Irish in opposition to the English."*¹²⁴

The next deposition gives an unusual testimony of an Irishmen who was a Protestant, but joined the rebels.

*"The deponent further saith that John Bane of the parish of Carigrohane aforesaid yeoman formerly an Irish protestant is turned rebell."*¹²⁵

This is confirmed by the following deposition, concerning the same man.

*"The deponent further saith That John Bane of the said Carrigrohane formerly an Irish protestant turned rebells."*¹²⁶

In the next testimony the deponent gives a personal account of the threats the Irish Protestants endured, and the motivation the rebels gave for their conduct.

*"the said Thomas & Owen threatned to apprehend & tye him for that he was an [Irishman?] iri shman & went to Church & did eat flesh in lent wherevpon the deponent said William Tirry answered & said that the Irish that ioyned held with the English were woorse & then the Irish English themselues, the deponent saith that he vttered the said woords in the Irish tongue further."*¹²⁷

6.3.5. Deposition of Jasper Horsey

The following deposition of Jasper Horsey entails so many relevant references and viewpoints it is highlighted here and dealt with separately. Not only are there several strong notions of English and Irish identity, the eyewitness account of several attempts to persuade English Protestants to Catholicism is rare. In the first fragment the deponent tells how he was taken captive, and called an English traitor. His companion, who refused to convert was immediately executed.

"but next day the 10th of Aprill afforsaid this deponent & the other two coming back to

¹²³ Examination of John Henley: MS 827, fols 012r-013v.

¹²⁴ Examination of Hugh Hide: MS 827, fols 007r-.

¹²⁵ Deposition of Richard Hooper: MS 824, fols 141r-.

¹²⁶ Deposition of George Hawkes: MS 824, fols 139r-139v.

¹²⁷ Deposition of John mc Edmond: MS 823, fols 159r-.

Ould=Castletowne afforsaid were assaulted and sett vpon in the high way by John Roach of Ballinemony, in the said County gentleman hauing then in companie with him fiue hors=men & twenty armed foot=men, who apprehended this deponent & the rest & caused them to be disarmed and stripped of their cloathes calling this deponent an English Traytor & likewise the said John Roach then & there tooke from this deponent besides apparell a peece, a sword five shillings in money and one gould ring price thirteene shillings. The said John Roach Imediately caused the said Walter Harte to be Hanged but in the meane time prefered him his Life if hee did turne papist & to that purpose brought to him a masse preist to perswad him therunto, but the said Hart vtterly denying to turne was presently executed."

The next fragment starts with the capture and hanging of two Protestants: an Irishmen and a Scotchman. The story continues with the capture of another Irish Protestant, who was almost starved to death. The deponent gives a detailed account of the failed attempt to convert this Donnogh McTeige, who was also executed,

"Two of the Lord of Inchiquins troops (one was a Scotchman & thother an Irish man both protestants) with their horses & armes taken prisoners by some of the Lo: Roches forces & brought to Castletowne afforsaid where (though the Scotchman was deadly wounded & shott through the backe) both were without any mercy hanged. Secondly this deponent likewise obserued & sawe one donnogh mc Teige an Irish protestant & a man of threescore yeares of age & vpwards (who was sometime servant to William Jephson of Mallow Esquire) about the begining of May Last as hee went in the high way to Youghall to be assaulted and taken by some of the Lord Roches Companie who brought him to Castle towne afforsaid, where he remained prisoner a long time till he was half starued, being allowed but a smale morsell of Bread euery four & twenty houres, & day by day the Preists and friers in the said house to this deponents knowledg being then in number fifteen a Least did use to come to the said donnogh mc Teige perswading him to turne papist at last when they could not draw him, They gaue him his choise either to turne papist & saue his life or eilse, that there was noe remedy but he must bee hanged, hee tould them plainly he was perswaded in his Conscience he was of a good and sound profession & that he would neuer turne papist while he liued, being at last carried to the place of execution one father Roch & 4 other fryers & preists went along with him, at last he tould them openly they may goe to to the diuill if they will would for his parte he would be neuer perswaded by them & begged heartily they should trouble him noe more & soe hartily praying vpon the ladder he was att last executed. the deponents cause of knowledg is that being a prisoner there himself he sawe & obserued the said passages and hauing his libertie vp and downe he came to the certain knowledg of his premisses."

The next part of the testimony is also an account of a failed attempt to convert a Protestant.

The victim was a woman this time, who was first hanged to a pole and shot at, and finally hanged.

"That he obserued about the latter end of aprill last one Elizabeth a maid servant to Steven Tonse of Mitchellstowne in the said County merchant in the way coming from Corke and apprehended by the said Lord Roches forces & brought her prisoner to Castletowne where she had adiudged to be hanged if she had not turned papist which she utterly refused to doe but others then present thinking it a fauor don to her commanded her to be tyed to a post & shott to death & hauing made seuen shott att her and hitt either time yett not mortally wounded (hurt but at last she was in a tormenting way hanged.)"

Lastly the deponent described his own situation. He had been naked and had nothing to sleep on except a bit of straw for a long time. He desired a meeting with Lord Roch, who held him a captive. He then gave an account of this man's speech, where he said he had a royal commission from sir Phelim O'Neill to ban all the English and Protestants out of this kingdom.

"This examine lastly deposeseth and saith That he being a long time prisoner and naked vppon the matter being stripped before lyeing vppon the grownd with a little strawe vnder him, at last the deponent desired to speake in private to the Lord Roch that some course maybe taken for his enlargment, and being admitted unto his presence his Lordshipp spoke theise ensuring words or others like them in effect I can shewe yow (quoth he) a Commission vnder the kings hand and seale (which) I received lately from Sir Phelomy Ô Neale) whereby wee (meaning the Irish) are authorised to stripp and banish all the English & protestants out of this kingdome If they doe not Joyne with us, and doe as wee doe and adding further in a smiling manner, I will promise you (quoth he) the English shall eate noe more fatt beefe in the kingdome or words to that purpose."¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Deposition of Jasper Horsey: MS 824, fols 074r-075v.

7. Conclusion

In this last chapter the research question will be answered, based on the preliminary conclusions from the depositions out of Cavan and Cork, combined with the theory on nationalism.

7.1 Preliminary conclusions Cavan

The most striking notion out of the depositions of Cavan is the unmistakable distinction between English and Irish (and Scottish). In numerous depositions this differentiation between the separate groups is made. Not only is there a clear distinction based on the (recent) origin of the inhabitants, in almost all of the deposition it is stated if these *Irish* or *English* are Protestants or Catholics. Some of the classifications of Irish and English are: “the rebellious inhumane Irish rout”¹²⁹ or “Irish natives & British nation”¹³⁰

The depositions in Cavan show a high frequency of references to barbarous acts. Most of these are from eyewitness accounts. The massacre of the Bridge of Belturbet is however mentioned on several occasions, as an event the deponents have not witnessed themselves, which is accordingly with the claim that the Irish made sure that there were no survivors. Men, women and children were without exception, as one woman describes it: *barbarously murdered*. Secondly, the rebels seem to consist of men, woman and in one occasion even children. In multiple depositions the woman are considered more violent than the men. An important role is set aside for one woman: Rose ny Neill, wife to MP and rebel leader Philip O'Reilly. The dynamics between this duo is interesting, since he is not portrayed as a barbarian at all, and she is called a *bloody virago*. The classification of the rebels by Richard Lewys gives a clear impression of what the notion on barbarity was in according to the Irish: *"the savadge & barbarous cruelty of those perfidious damned and cursed Crue of traiterous and Rebellious persons"*¹³¹

In the references to religion as being a motive for the uprising, a clear sense of classification is again visible. First of all, the rebels themselves state to their victims, that the reason for their actions is to protect their faith in Ireland, but also the queen, who was allegedly threatened by ploys to kill her and her priests. The English are automatically asserted as one group, together with the English in England, who they hold responsible for these threats. Secondly there are several statements wherein either the English had schemed to murder all the Irish, or the other way around, all with religion as their motive. It is interesting thus, that they do not say “kill all the Protestants” but “kill all the English”. Apparently religion is a motive, used to classify and justify the killing of

¹²⁹ Deposition of John Heron: MS 833, fols 006r-007V.

¹³⁰ Deposition of Jane Cuthbertson: MS 833, fols 243r-244v.

¹³¹ Deposition of Richard Lewys: MS 833, fols 034r-035v.

*English or Irish. ("it was pittie that all the English in England & Ireland were not hangd drawne and quartered before now."*¹³²) One of the most interesting statements is of Richard Parsons, who says he was hated in the first place, not only as a minister, but as an Englishman.¹³³

Ideas on matter of state, ruling and rightful landownership imply a sense of political demeanor that elevates the sense of national identity from a gut feeling to political and economical motives. The rebels repeatedly state to deponents that they want to have their ancestors lands back and have liberty of conscience, by which they probably mean faith. In regard to the preferred ruler of Ireland there are two sets of opinions that occur in the depositions. The first of which claiming an Irishmen should be at the head of the country, the second establishing Charles I as the legitimate king of Ireland. In the following example this is made crystal clear. "*that Ireland would never be vnder the English Government as it was, but that they would have an Irishman to be Cheefe Governor in this kingDome.*"¹³⁴

However there are three statements that are remarkably different from the rest. In the first the rebels first claim to fight for the kings rights, and go on to say that they will have no English government.¹³⁵ This could mean several thing, for instance that they did not consider Charles as English, as he was born in Scotland and was from Scottish descent. It could also mean that the statements were made by two different persons, who had differing ideas on the matter. Lastly it could mean that the aim was to have both: a compromise between the two statements, where Charles would remain the king of Ireland, but they would have an Irish government.

The second aberrant deposition states that they were just using Charles for the time being, a theory that can found amongst historians as well, such as Jane Ohlmeyer, who calls it the *O'Moore-Maguire plot* and claims that they used Charles I to give an air of legitimacy to their insurgency.¹³⁶¹³⁷

The third and last deposition tells of a former servant who came to his former masters' aid, and protected his wife from being murdered. This is the only deposition out of Cavan in which an Englishman gives an account of an Irishman who helps him.¹³⁸

¹³² Deposition of Elizabeth Gough: MS 833, fols 002r-003v.

¹³³ Deposition of Richard Parsons: MS 833, fols 275r-281v.

¹³⁴ Deposition of Symon Ghrame: MS 833, fols 151r-152v.

¹³⁵ Deposition of John Anderson: MS 833, fols 098r-099v.

¹³⁶ Deposition of Ambrose Bedell: MS 833, fols 105r-106v.

¹³⁷ Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in Three Stuart Kingdoms. The Career of Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609-11683* (Cambridge, 1993).

¹³⁸ Deposition of George Butterwyke: MS 832, fols 196r-197v.

7.2 Preliminary conclusions Cork

As in Cavan, the undeniable notion out of the depositions of Cork, is that there is a clear distinction between English and Irish. In almost all of the depositions this differentiation between the separate groups is made. Like in Cavan, almost all of the depositions state if the information concerns *Irish* or *English* and Protestants or Catholics. In Cork the classification of both English and Irish is primarily to distinguish the debtors of the deponents. However, the difference with Cavan that stands out the most, is the number of references to Irish Protestants and English Catholics, and the frequency of conversion, mostly from Protestant to Catholic. This is probably explained by Canny's theory that there were many of mixed marriages between Irish and English in the area, causing one or the other to convert in the first place.¹³⁹ The depositions in Cork show a low frequency of references to barbarous acts, in comparison to Cavan, and only a few are from eyewitness accounts. The different course and timing of the insurgency in the province Munster probably explains this; many people had already fled the area and the uprising was controlled by the local gentry.¹⁴⁰

Another interesting difference is the direction of swearing and cursing, which when reported in the depositions, came from Irish side, calling the English the kings enemies and: puritans, rebels, and rogues. Apart from that, the line of reasoning in both depositions out of Cork and Cavan concerning the issue of rightful ruler is comparable.

According to the deposition of Jasper Horsey the insurgents were set upon converting part of the population to Catholicism, and invested time and energy into this. Some of the Protestants on their end, were very reluctant to do so, and chose death over conversion.¹⁴¹ As many depositions illustrate, some chose their life.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 530.

¹⁴⁰ *Idem* 528.

¹⁴¹ Deposition of Jasper Horsey: MS 824, fols 074r-075v.

¹⁴² See pages 40-41, 45.

7.3 Research question

The specific focus in this research was on the perception of the New English on Irish and English national identity. The depositions were searched for descriptions of the insurgents; indications of how the fled English Protestants characterized their attackers, and references of insurgents to themselves and their victims. The research question therefore was:

“Do the statements of Protestant victims in the Irish rebellion of 1641 indicate a perception of an Irish and English national identity?”

As the findings of both Cavan and Cork clearly state, both Irish and English were considered as a group, using the terms frequently to describe themselves and each other, yet making a clear distinction between religious divisions. The English used the terms *Irish* and *rebels* commutable, sometimes making an exception by calling them the: *rebellious Irish*. There was no distinction made between Gaelic and Old English; they were persistently referred to as Irish. The Protestant victims referred to themselves as either English or British and occasionally Irish. These findings are the answers to the different sub-questions, and the cumulative conclusion and answer to the research question is therefore:

“The statements of Protestant victims in the Irish rebellion of 1641 indicate a strong and clear perception of Irish and English national identities.”

On its own the deposition out of Cavan, where the former servant protects his master, tells us something about the reliability of the depositions.¹⁴³ It is tempting to believe that the clergymen who wrote down the testimonies tried to manipulate them into a certain direction. As this deposition proves, they -to a certain extend- did not. In addition, the countless variations and gradations of both events and usage of words, endorse that these depositions are accounts of individuals, and can thus be regarded as a trustworthy source. If then we have to translate the findings of this research and the answer to the research question to the general question if: *“there was an Irish and English national identity in early modern Ireland, and if so, what role did it play in the revolt of 1641?”* We can conclude that not only were there strong and clear notions of Irish and English national identity in Early Modern Ireland, it was a defining feature of the insurrection and course of the 1641 rebellion.

¹⁴³ See page 34 (Deposition of George Butterwyke: MS 832, fols 196r-197v.).

8. Literature

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Appendix A: Depositions Cavan

Keyword: English (1-20)

1. Deposition of Adam Glouer, MS 833, fols 001r-001v

And further saith that some of the Rebells vowed that if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead children they should be buryed there in themselves: soe as the poore people, left the most of them vnburied exposed to ravenous beasts & fowle, & some few: their poore parents carried a great way to bury them after they were dead: & some were hidd in bushes that the Rebells should not fynd them <This deponent further saith that he saw upon the high way a woeman left by the Rebells stripped to her smock, sett upon {by} 3 woemen and some children being Irish whoe miserably tore and rent the said poore English woeman and stripped her of her smock in bitter frost and snow soe that she fell in labour in their hands and presence and both she and her child there miserably died.

(..)

and divers others of the Rebells, did then often take into their hands the protestant bybles & wetting them on the *durty* water did 5 or 6 seuerall tymes dash the same on the face of the deponent & other protestants saying come I know you love a good lesson. Here is a most excelent one for you & come to morrow & you shall have as good a sermon as this: & used other scornfull and disgracefull words vnto them

2. Deposition of Elizabeth Gough: MS 833, fols 002r-003v

November last she demaunded of Cahil O Reily the reason of these outrages against the English above others: the said Cahil answering that it was pitty that all the English in England & Ireland were not hangd drawne and quartered before now. this deponent demaunding the reason he replied, ther they had hanged & quartered the Queenes priest in her presence: & had put gunpowder in her saddle to blowe her up: *the said English* calling her whore & her children bastards: whereupon she was glad *laboured* to flee to her brother into France, having first sent letters into Ireland to kill all the English men women & children. the said Cahill adding that the said English had favour that they lost all & escaped vnslaine he further said that the Irish purposed to have a king of their owne in Ireland, and that Sir Phelim o Neale should be he.

3. Deposition of John Heron: MS 833, fols 006r-007v

Journeing towards Dublin he & his wife were strypt 8 myles from their dwellinge of their Cloaths Sherts & Smocks where there was one Abraham James murthered & some others & many hurt & wounded by the Rebellious inhumane Irish rout, the sayd deponent *further* deposeth that about the aforesayd tyme he was robd by the Rebellious Irish in the County of ffermannah

4. Deposition of Henry Hocklefield: MS 833, fols 009r-010v

that he & the high sherife of the County Phillip mc Hugh mc Shean o Rely had the Kings Broad Seale *ffor* that all the English to bee disarmed, & that hee the said deponent did heare one Turlagh mc Chaier o Rely say that their Riseings was to drive out all the English fforth of this Kingdome & seacndly by that meanes they would haue Libertie of Conscience & thirdly they would haue their Ancestors Lands which had Longe been held from them by the English men

5. Deposition of William Hoe: MS 833, fols 011r-011v

& the same Hugh o Rely said that the English thought to cut the throat of the Irish for ther religion but the Irish would prevent them & cut there throats first for there religion & the deponent further said that Phillip O Cur & Shane mc Curr & Turloagh mc Caddow lost ther religion being Protestants & fell to papistry

6. *Deposition of Richard Jackson: MS 833, fols 018r-018v*

And further the said deponent saith That Myles Rely high Sheriffe of the Countie of Cavan with divers in the Company about the tyme about mentioned came to ffarnham aforesaid to the house of Mr Richard Castleton and tooke away divers Armes out of his house and sayinge That hee had Commission from the kinge at Eddenborough to disarme all the English and to furnish the Irish and the Scotts with armes.

7. *Deposition of Dorcas Iremonger: MS 833, fols 028r-028v*

And further saith that the Rebells aforesaid when were all Comanded by Phillip ô Rely the gran Rebell that soe robbed stripped & dispoyled her & her said daughter as aforesaid being Maguires of the county of Fermanagh: they haveing first most barbarously murdered the said Thomas Irmonger her husband Mr Arthur & Tho: Champion & a subsherriff & 4 3 more English protestants And further saith That the night before they were soe robbed, The wife of the said Phillip ô Rely came to this deponent and Mrs Tate the wife Doctor Tate & fownd fault with & questioned them because they had noe more howshold goods then she sawe there saying they must give her an accompt what was becomen of their houshold go{ods} or to that effect. And that after this deponent was expelled from her house she & her 2 chyldren were by the Rebells stript of all their clothes severall tymes some ymes by men women and children rebells & exposed her to great and vnwonted Cold nakednes & want stripped her two And shee & 220 poore English more were inforced to lye a whole night almost stark naked on the snow vpon a rock Soe as 2 of her children dyed since of the cold than taken as she is verely perswaded

8. *Deposition of Richard Lewys: MS 833, fols 034r-035v*

Richard Lewys late of Belturbut in the parish of Anna in the Countie of Cauan & and in the Barony of Loughte gentleman an English man & a protestant

(..)

but about friday followinge as I remember beinge the 29th of 8ber the generall notice from the Aurelys was that they could no longer protect the towne, for if that they the said Aurelys would not presently dispatch the English out of towne, Mc Quire with his cont of Fermanagh would come and destroy towne and inhabitants

(..)

The misery and Callamitie was great we endured but god in his mercy preserved vs from the savadge & barbarous cruelty of those perfidious damned and cursed Crue of traiterous and Rebellious persons and brought vs to this Citty where god he knowes we beinge 7 in number havinge smale meanes knows not what wilbecome of vs if sume course be not taken to help vs

9. *Deposition of Elizabeth Croftes: MS 832, fols 054v-055r*

Capten of Rebells Capten Rory Maguire (whoe cawsd threescore protestants men women & Children to be throwne off the bridg of belturbett into the River, & there drowned, & he alsoe cawsd his souldjers to hang & kill one John fforbett a protestant gentleman, and his twoe sonns, and their wives and children: Some of the childrens braines being dashed out against the stones, as some poore English, then present, and divers of the Rebells have confidently related it vnto her, And the said Farrell o Rely murdered htis deponents said father in law, & mother in lawe And And this deponent further saith that she heard divers of the Rebells say that if they could kill all the protestants here, they would then goe with their forces into England:

10. *Deposition of Margery Sharpe: MS 833, fols 063r-063v*

Margery Sharpe widdow (late wife of Anthony Sharpe) an English protestant

(..)

the said Brady refused by such perswasions as aforesaid from and out of the hands of her said

Husband, the said Brady refused to redeliver any of the said goods to her said husband but when he had gotten her said husband (comeing to demand the said goods) into an inner roome The said Brady tould him this deponents husband (*as this deponent heard but could not be suffered to come in*) that he had bin a souldier and was an able man and likely to come against them hereafter, and therefore he would cutt off his head, which accordingly *they* then did, Soe farther deposeth that she lost in yarn, weavers tooles, her house and garden stuffe worth sixe pound *in all worth 17 li.* {lost &} taken from her by Owen o Dawly and Niese o Dawly servants to the said Hugh Brady, and further this deponent saith that she was severally times stript in her comeing to Dublin

11. Deposition of Edmund Sherwyn: MS 833, fols 064r-065v

And the abouesaid deponent *further saith* deposeth that in the County of ffermanagh in the Parish of Castlecoule *or Drummull e y* he was robd by the rebellious Irish & lost in English cowes & heyfers & colts being 4 score worth 110 li. which were s tollen & forceibly taken away from a parcell of land called killmabracke by the meanes & hands of <d> Captayne Rory mc Guire & Connor Mulpatrick liveing vpon the same land & in the said parish & many others of his followers.

12. Deposition of Thomas Taylor: MS 833, fols 070r-070v

And [] hee his wife and Children were all stript the day followeing att or neare Youghall in the said County of Cavan and left naked by reason by reason some of the said Rebellious Irish whose names this deponent knoweth not, by reason whereof this deponents yongest child was perished and dyed, (..)

And further deposeth that he this deponent did heare John Pyman of Belturbatt aforesaid gent { } say that the said Rebels told him that the cause there Maine reason of there Riseing was to enioy all there la{nd} againe & have there liberty of Conscience And that they have a president for the same out of Scotland.

13. Deposition of Thomas Venables: MS 833, fols 075r-076v

Thomas Vennibels of belturbitt in the County of Cavan [C]arrier and now a souldier in th his Maiesties service in Dublin an English prodestante

14. Deposition of Marmaduke Batemanson: MS 832, fols 080r-080v

By and by the meanes of theis Rebels vizt Phillip oge ô Rely ofin the parrish of Kilwater and County aforesaid Esquire (a Capten of Rebels *Hugh Roe ô Rely of the same parish another Capten of Rebels* and by Rose ny Neile the wife of Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely of Ballinecargy a Collonell of Rebels which said Rose (out of divellish and base spite and mallice to the English and Scottish) endeavoured much to haue them all putt to death And would haue effected it, had not her husband denyed to suffer it He saying the day will come when thou mayst be behoulding to the poorest amongst them further saying vnto her That she might putt all the English and Scotts there to death if shee would But if she did he would forsake and never come neere her: yet notwithstanding that bloody viragoe (harbouring the Envy & traitors mynd of her ancestors and kinred) was the principall cawser & instigator of the drowning of fifty protestants men, women, and Children, all at one tyme, at the bridge of Belturbett: And she and the Rebels before named and Turlogh mc Cahir ô Rely of Ballinecarge aforesaid her steward (another notable Rebellious villaine) with Cahir oge ô Rely of Ballinecarge aforesaid: Hugh mc Patrick Brady Cormuck Brady his brother ofin the parish of Balliheys aforesaid gent, Cormuck Duffe Brady of the parrish of Balliheys aforesaid gent Donnell mc Hugh Rely of the parrish of Kilwatt and James ô Rely of the same gent, and their confederates souldjers and Rebellious partakers, did robb stripp & deprive all the English and Scottish protestants thereabouts (that they possibly could) of all their goodes & meanes. Neither spareing sex nor age, And this deponent is verely perswaded, that if they had not bin restrained by the said Phillip mc Hughe mc Shane o Rely the Colonell, this deponent and the rest of the protestants (that escaped) had bin murthered: And further saith that the said Rose (in further

expression of her hatred vnto the English & Scotts sayd That she was never well that daie that she sawe any of either of those nations: And whenas she and her partakers by robbery and force had possessed her and themselves of this deponents bedding and goodes, and that she was desired by this deponent to lend him a bed to lye on, vntill he should goe from thence, shee vtterly and scornfully denied it: Saying he must Learne to Lye on straw, as he was sure to doe./

15. Deposition of Mary Ward: MS 833, fols 080r-080v

his deponents said husband was Robed and dispoyled att Belturbatt aforesaid on or about the second day of November last aboute twelue a Clock in the day tyme <a> By the meanes of Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely one of the knights of the Shire for the said County Owen Brady of the parish of Anna aforesaid gent And other Irish persons that did Rise vpp in Armes with the said Phillip ô Rely & of his Company And further this deponent deposeth that the next day followeing this deponents said husband her selfe & two of her Children were all stript out of their Cloathes [att] neare vnto Cavan in the said County by some of the said Phillip o Rely his Company, there names this deponent knoweth not, And further shee this deponent deposeth that shee did see one yonge man lye dead in the way betwixt Youghall & Cavan & Youghall with she beleeveth to be an Englishman & was Murthered by t h e said some of the said Rebels for that shee did see the said Rebels beate & wound diverse English protestants in the said way

16. Deposition of Phillip Ward: MS 833, fols 085r-085v

I and myne *family* being stript with many {th}owsands more of our English by the way they tooke me by {the h}eeles and dragged me on the ground and another came with a sword and Cutt me over the head that apeeice of my {scull} was fayne to be taken out before that would be whole the{n they p}ulled off all my *Cloathes* hose and shoes and byd me goe Lyke a {R}ogue into England so that thay Left neyther me nor my {wi}fe and Children nether hose no shoes *nor clothes* but so that we were [for]ced to goo naked and barefoote 46 myles before we cam{e to} dublyn.

17. Deposition of Phillip Whitman: MS 833, fols 086r-086v

Phillip Whitman of the *towne* & parish of Drumlaine in the Barrony of Loughly and County of Cavan yeoman (an English protestant)

(..)

But heard not anye of the Rebels give out anye evill word, but said they wold keepe the goods for the vse of the English. And that the Rebels of other Countyes shold not take them,

18. Deposition of Elizabeth Woodhouse: MS 833, fols 090r-090v

And this deponent being at Phillip Mc Mulmore O Rielys house at Lismore hard him say to diverse of the Rebels, you told me you had ther kings broad seal to rise in armes, that you would but disarme the English and putt a gard into Bellturbat, and so suffer them all to enioy their goods, but you have deceiued me, and I will beleieue you no longer

19. Deposition of John Anderson: MS 833, fols 098r-099v

the sayd Philip averred that he took up armes for the kings right, and that he had a patent so to do vnder the kings broad seale & to disarme all the English:

(..)

And this deponent during the tyme of his imprisonment divers tymes heard Many of the Rebels say that they tooke vp armes for manteinance of the kinges prerogative & would not cease vntill they had extirpated all the English out of the kingdome & would not have any English goverment hereafter in Ireland

(..)

20. *Deposition of William Kinge: MS 833, fols 022r-022v*

By the meanes and hands of Hugh Boye <a> of Cillduffe and Phillip ô Reily tenants and servant{s} to the number of twenty men and women saying withall that they would be Masters of their owne lands and charged vs to yeeld with their skienes at our breasts ready to kill vs.

Keyword: Irish (21-41)

21. *Deposition of Nicholas Michael: MS 833, fols 026r-026v*

And this robbery were done & comitted by William <a> Linsy of ffarnan aforesaid & Knoher ffox of the same & Shane Brady of the same & the said deponent being traueiling towards Dublin tow was on the way stript & his wife & 3 children & the parties aforesaid that robd the deponent said they had an Irish king amongst them & they regarded not king Charls the King of England The said deponent buried 2 of his children since the robbery they being starud with cold

22. *Deposition of William Perkins: MS 833, fols 049r-049v*

The parties by whom the same robbery was committed wer Hugh Brady of Ballyhayes [col?] and his tenants and Gillousy Rele of the same and diuers others of the Irish of the Cuntry.

23. *Deposition of Henry Reynolds: MS 833, fols 057r-057v*

Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane o Rely & other Irish Rebels that did rise vpp in Rebellion then in the Countys of Cavan & ffermanagh whose names this deponent knoweth not, And further deposeth that he this deponent his wife & tenn Children were all stript by some of the Company of the said Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely the 3th day of November last neare vnto Youghall in the <o> said County of Cavan, And further deposeth that he heard one whose name as he thincks is fferdoragh (An Irish Preist) say that they had the kings hand for what they did & the cause of there riseing was because by that there was a Statute made in England that all Papists shold goe to church before a certaine tyme or be banished

24. *Deposition of Faithfull Teate, Elizabeth Day & William Thorp: Reference: MS 833, fols 061r-062v*

And first the said Doctor Tate seuerally saith & deposeth that about October 23 last 1641 I he this deponent hearing of a rebellion intended by the irish & seeing them begin to arise,

(..)

many others of the said Burrowes his tenants, who beeing *although Protestants & Christian, & the said Doctor Tate* owne parishoner) cruelly denied to let them lodg in any of his outhouses or barnes, it beeing then both frost & snowe, wherefore they *this deponent* conceiueth that the said Burrowes set his tenants on to rob them, for he neither resisted nor forbad them, but onely looked on soe that they & many scores more of their neighbours beeing deprived both of victuals & Clothes they were *all* enforced to lodge all that night under a snowie rock, where *the said Doctor Tate* s my sucking babe had perished (the mother hauing then noe milk in her brests had not the lord of his mercie under the rock where they lay provided a bottle Of Clabber or buttermilk, which preserved the childs life till the next day when as they came to Virginia: diverse dayes after they were stript again of such things as they of the first company left them & others gaued them, almost euery mile twice, by men women & children searching them for monie, the women beeing more cruel towards them then the children *men*, & the children then the women, & often was my *the said Doctors Tate* sucking babe shaken out of his clothes, & let fall on the ground stark naked, wherby his neck could not but haue beene broken, had it not beene for the snowe, & this was the rebels common word, All that we do is for religion we rise for our Religion. They hang our preists in England &c.

25. *Deposition of Edmund Sherwyn: MS 833, fols 064r-065v*

Edmond Sherwyn late of Crenagh in the Parish of Annah nere Bealturbet in the County of Cavan gentleman a Brittish protestant being duly sworne deposeth haveing lived there & thereabouts the space of 22 yeares that betwixt the 23th of October & the 2d of November in the yeare of our lord god 1641 he the sayd deponent was robd by the Rebellious Irish

26. *Deposition of Jane Taylor: MS 833, fols 067r-067v*

Jane Taylor the wife of Beniamin Taylor of Comliene in the parish of Drumlane and in the Countie of Cavan beinge sworne vppon the holy Evangelists; saith that her husband Beniamin Taylor was possessed att the time of the Risinge of the Rebellious Irish in the North of Ireland vizt the 23th of 8ber last

27. *Deposition of John Wilkinson: MS 833, fols 087r-087v*

The names of those Rebellious Irish, which robbed me followeth vidz. Cormack Brady of the parish of Anna in the County of Cavan Owen Brady of the parish aforesaid

28. *Deposition of Ambrose Bedell: MS 833, fols 105r-106v*

And further sajth That the Rebells did often say That they would neither leave Englishe nor Scottishe nor protestantes nor any nation but themselues in Ireld:

(..)

And this deponent heard the meere Irishe Rebells often say to the other Rebells of the pale theis wordes vizt you Churles with the greate breeches, doe you thinck That if wee were ridd of the Englishe That wee would spare you Noe wee would cutt all your throates alsoe ffor you are all of one Race with the other English thoughe wee make vse of you for the presente?

29. *Deposition of Symon Ghrame: MS 833, fols 151r-152v*

Patrick mc Gorrie of the same, with seuerall other notorious Roages Rebelles and malitious persones did at Clanrae aforesaid forceable and feloniouslie with swordes skeanes pickes and other offensive weapones take and detayne the Cattle goodes and houshold stuffe aforesaid, And further this deponent sayeth That he heard the abouenamed James Beataghe say, that Ireland would never *be* vnder the English Government as it was, but that they would have an Irishman to be Cheefe Governor in this kingDome

30. *Deposition of John Hickman: MS 833, fols 156r-156v*

And further sayeth That when this deponent & his wiffe & children intended to haue comen away from amongst the Rebells: one Donnell o Lery his brother in law whoe is a meere Irishman & yet a protestant, being denied to come away from them took this deponent and his wiffe & children to his howse & there kept them about one yere together dureing which time the Rebells sent word & threatened them all with death vnles they would goe to Masse:

31. *Deposition of William Jamesone: MS 833, fols 160r-161v*

And sayth that the Rebells aforesaid or some of them did say that the the English and Scottish were all Rebells to the kinge: And *further saith that* the Rebells alsoe did drowne at Belturbatt about threescore english & Scotts men, woman and children and as some of the Irish people towld this deponent about xvj of them soe drowned about three weeks or a month after appeared in the water bleeding & [] to Collonell Phillip *Ph elim* mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely Colonell of the Rebells and that therevpon he cawsed them to be taken out of the water to bee buried: for that they were murthered Contrary to his word: And sayth that the Rebells alsoe murthered one Mr John Mitchell of the age of 95 yeres Patrick Jackson Adam Baylie John Baylie John Walker and 3 or 4 more protestants all in one nighte And that the Irish rebellious women were farr worse & more feirse & bloody then the men Rebells: & carrjed their skeines & there children of tenn yeres of age are fitted

and furnished for the Rebellion with skeanes & pykes

32. Deposition of William Garton: MS 832, fols 165r-

That this deponent with many others of the poore English inhabitants in and about Ballihayes being forced by reason of the generall insurrection of the Irish to forsake their seuerall habitations & to goe towards Dublin, wherupon this deponent with about 200 more poore English, came to a place called Stradone about the 29th of October 1641. where one Thomas Burrowes *gent* then liued who not only refused to afford us any victualls or lodging but caused vs to departe thence towards the mountaines where wee taking up our poore lodgings in the night it when it rained & did snow with frost in the morning, the aforesaid Thomas Burrowes sent many of the rude Multitude of Rebels to us who plundered stripped & tooke all that wee had some of us stripped to the very skinne & wounded as wee weere then enformed the said Rogues were Countenanced by the Comand of Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane o Reily of Ballinecarig County aforesaid.

33. Deposition of Stephen Allen & Judith Allen: MS 832, fols 174r-175v

And soe *the deponent* goinge forth of his house Att the dore mett with Leiftenant Arnolde Cosby, a neer Neighbor with a letter in his hande, which he deliuered this deponent to reade (not beinge well able to utter himselfe) which letter was from Sr William Cole or his sonne, importinge, That the tymes wer likely to very dangerous, for Rebellion & Treason wer a practizinge by the Irish papists against the English protestants, *or to that effect* and therfore that wer good for them all to bee upon their saufe keepinge, and soe much he wished him to imparte vnto all his English Neighbors all which cominge soe together caused this deponent to mistruste That it was a generall Revolt of the Irish {papists} to supplante & cutt of the Englishe protesants,

34. Deposition of Musgraue Arrington: MS 832, fols 180r-180v

Musgraue Arrington of the Ibries in the parish of Dromlane in the county of Cauan of the Barony of Being duly Sworne deposeth that about the first day of Nouember last past 1641: that in the place aforesaid he was robd & spoiled of his wealth *goodes* by the natuies of the Kingdome
(..)

& the said deponent after he was robd going towards Dublin ware stript of his apparell him selfe wife & foure children hard by the Cauan about a mile of this side & one of the Irish natuies whose name the deponent Knoweth not being demanded by the deponent by whose authority these outrages & robberies were done answered it were the Kings pleasure to banish the English out of the Kingdome.

35. Deposition of Robert Symons: MS 833, fols 185r-185v

And this deponent further saith that he hath heard itt credibly reported that the rebels vpon the taking away of his goods said that they had more right to them then he and that this deponent and the rest of the English, had inhabited this Kingdome long enough and it was now high time for them (meaneing the Irish) to recover and repossesse their owne And that the said Rebels first, said that they had the Kings warrant and afterwards the queenes warrant for what they did Otherwise said they men might well thinke they never would have risen in that manner and haue done as they did.

36. Deposition of George Butterwyke: MS 832, fols 196r-197v

The *said* megowrans after that they had sent away my Cattell did come backe to my howse and take away most of my goods and did threaten my wife that <they> would knocke her on *in* the head Iff she would not gyue them her monies and had done *so* but that my man being an Irishman did intreat for her and sayd that he knew that his master had not receiued his rent as yett and that money was very scarce with him

37. Deposition of James Stewart: MS 833, fols 196r-196v

And further this deponent sayeth That <hand> *about the 23th of oct 1641* all the Irishes within the said Countie of Cavan rose vpp in Armes, and Robbed and spoiled all the British that dwelt in the said Countie, and that they made Colloneles Captanes and livetennantes the most pairt whereof this deponent cannot welle Nominate and hearde them generallie say that they would be no longer vnder the English Government, and that his Maiestie should not receaue any more rentes within this kingdome of Ireland,

(..)

And further this deponent sayeth That he heard one Donell Rellie of Killalisse dromconragh say that the king would never haue the authoritie in Ireland he had before And that his lawes would never haue *be [noe]* heare as they was *any more vsed* And sajth That Patrick mc Groome mc Lawghes divulge That the cawse of their insurreccion was the cutting off of the late lo: lieuetenant & you that are Brittans will *shall* pay for it

38. *Deposition of William Watte: MS 833, fols 200r-200v*

This deponent further sa{ith} that when he demanded of the Rebells that *so* Robbed him why or for what *cause* they soe robbed the Scottish and English the said Rebells replied that it *was* for the defense of theyr religion and when this deponent ans{we}red said replied that they (meaning the Irish) might enjoy theyr reli{gi}on without that violence by the indulgence of the kings Majestie whe{re}vpon the said Rebells returned answer that they had the kings wa{r}ant for what they did, that the English and Scottish had enjoyed the kingdome too long and that they sinned in lookeing upon us [goeing] on the ground by them and that we meaneing the protestants were noe Christians unlesse we were Christened agayne by theyr prists

39. *Deposition of Richard Parsons: MS 833, fols 275r-281v*

And this deponent haveing a wife and 3 children: & neither being admitted (nor in deed knowing how to forsake & gett out of the Cuntrie & being by them hated *not only* as a minister, but (as the Rebells themselues confessed) because he was an Englishman) hee was inforced to fly and remove from place to place to shun their cruelty when they sent any Ruffians to looke after his liffe, (as some of his neighbors (formerly beholding to him) would from tyme to tyme give him notice, *of his danger* yet such misery & affliccion were incident vnto and followed those escapes that oftentimes hee lay out in boggs mountaines and feilds in frost snow and raine to hyde & shelter himself from danger, Being sometimes pursued all the night Long by such as he is perswaded would haue Killed if the had found him In which kinde of posture and state he contynued for one yere and a halfe, which he could not possibly have done soe long but that his this deponents wiffe was an Irish woman and a kinn to the said Phillip mc Hugh mc Shane ô Rely and his brother *mother*: Howbeit the Comon Rebells because she was a Protestant bore extreame hatred vnto her & would (as some of them sayd) kill her but for her kinred sake

(..)

The Papists within the Pall (because of their distrust of *the* northeren Irish) were loath to take vpp armes against the Protestants their neighbors & frends: And therefore at the first shewd some little kindnes to the stript English But being solicited and threatened by the northeren Irish (with whom they had a secrett former combynacion for promoteing their Romish Religion) they tooke vpp Armes alsoe, and Joined with the rest in their robberies and Cruelties against the protestants: And then to avoid distrust of the northeren Irish They became more barbarous and cruell then they: as it seemeth little dreameing of the secrett inveterate Mallice that those meere northeren Irish alwaies bore against them for their alliance Kinred and affinity with the other English: ffor noe sooner had the northeren Irish ingaged the Palle papists of the Palle with in their Robberies and cruelties & made them odious to the protestants. but they fell vpon them: and robbed and stripped them out of their goods as fast as they could: fearing least at anie tyme they should revolt vnto the English &

being able to give them any Releefe And whenas any of these palle people sh did complaine that *to* the *the* northeren Irish that they had robbed or abused them They would answere It were better that they (meaneing the meere northeren Irish, should have it then anie Eng stincking English Churles with great Breeches, And often when as the papists of the Pall fled to the Quarters of the northeren Irish to bee releevd (being stript of their goods) The those northeren Irish would turne them out a doores, and say it were a good deed to kill them for they came about noe other busines But to spie and bring newes to th-English what they were doeing and that their intencions were to betray them: which in deed made some of the papists of the Palle soe desperate, for all their former Rebellious accions) that they Revolted to the English protestants & yeilded to their mercies

40. Deposition of Jane Cuthbertson: MS 833, fols 243r-244v

And after they had murdered them she was an eywitnessse of their burialls Insoemuch as which was and that shee was present the next morneing when they were buried in the feildes, for the Irishe natives there would not suffer any of the british nation to be buryed in *Church or Church yairde*

41. Deposition of Symon Wesnam: MS 833, fols 204r-206v

These Rebbells saide that the did Rise (in Rebellion) for their Consience and that they had the Queenes letter to Rise and that they would have their owne lands againe and Engl Ireishe Gouvernours, And further sayth it is credibly reported that Rose Ny Neile wif vnto Phillip mc Hugh Mc Shane ô Rely in respect of her goeing out with the souldjers & vyolent action in the Rebellion hath gotten the name of Colonell Neile: & that she after the slaughter at dundolk brought men to murther the surviveing English about Ballihays in the County of Cavan: but cold not prevaile with her husband to doe or consent to the doeing thereof

Appendix B: Depositions Cork

Keyword: English (1-29)

1. Deposition of Richard Sollace: MS 825, fols 001r-001v

& he saith that Henry Jefford & Patrick Nugent formerly English protestants are lately turned papists as he is credibly informed & further he cannot depose

2. Deposition of Arthure Bettsworth: MS 823, fols 004r-005v

he further sayth that one Teig O Rone with others seruants and souldyers to Cahir O Callahan did murder one william Lynes & his wife nere Moyallo *as he was credibly informed* he also sayth that this deponent *with diuers others* comming from Corke towards Moyallo he heard at a distance some of the Rebels of the Lord Muskeryes Army say that they were Puritanicall rogues & rascalls, traytours to their king and country

3. Deposition of Knogher mcDermond: MS 824, fols 005r-005v

Knogher mc dermond aged of Belgooly aged 50 yeares or thereabouts being sworne & examined saith that he hath was an inhabitant on the lands of Belgooly aforesaid the first yeare of the rebellion warres & diuers yeares before, & more particularly at the time the Irish gent & other inhabitants of those parts assembled there, which was about Candlemas in the yeare 1641,

(..)

And this deponent there heard some of the irish speakeing of the hanging of the said english persons. And askeing one another by what order it was done, wherevnto some of them answered, it was by the order of *Phillip Barry* og, & John Long <C> aforesaid & this deponent doth not know, nor euer heard of any cause they had to put the said english people to death

4. Deposition of Katherine Dolbier: MS 824, fols 006v-007r

Katherine Dolbier of Corke aged 43 yeares or there aboutes, being sworne & examined saith shee liued that her husband Pasqua dolbier & shee liued at Belgooly, when the Irish gentry & others of the Barrony of Kinalea & others parts neare adiacent were gathered together the first yeare of the warres (..)

(came some irish men, & tooke away the said Pasqua before downe the staires before John Long, and carried him into the garden & hang'd him there) commanded his men to carry him downe & he the said John Long followed them & the man was hanged forth with, afterwards, as shee verily beleuees, for shee saw his corps afterwards lying in a ditch hard by the place where she was told that he was hang'd; (..)

further examined she saith that dureing the time of *their* imprisonment a seruant an english woman seruant to Mr Tho: dant of Gorty grenan was committed there a while, after wards sent away by with some irish people whoe pretended *men vnder pretence* to convey her to her masters house; but *as she heard* was murdered by the ways, this deponent saw her cloathes brought out afterwards brought to Belgooly *but* which is the cause of her knowledge but *as she heard was* whoe whoe murdered her this deponents knowes not alsoe this deponent heard that Robert Beers two daughters were throwne ouer the cliff, neare Cunury, but by whome she knowes not & further saith not

5. Examination of Hugh Hide: MS 827, fols 007r-

Thet Cause of this deponent Knowledge is that hee hath often seine the said Cundon in Armes & knew him to bee Cornet of a Troope for the Irish in opposition to the English

6. Deposition of George Gould: MS 824, fols 009r-010v

he liued in Kerry & came thence to <A> Blarny to buy tobacco, & did see about sixteene english

persons, men, women, & children, that he vnderstood were sent from Muckrcompe by order of the Lord of Musgraue, With a guard to Blarny where they were deliuered to the commander there by (viz) one Lieutenant John mcWilliam o Reardan, as (this deponent beleuees) whoe was to send them to Corke; this deponent did not see the said persons conveyed with a guard from Blarny towards Corke but he saw foure irish men of the ward of Blarny aforesaid towards euening, returneing from wards Corke to Blarny, Charyng diuers clothes much bloody, on their backes wherevpon this deponent asked them whence they came, to whome th some of them answered in irish, that they hade dispatched the said english persons. they should neuer eate more bread wherevpon this deponent *t urned aside to* & one *to* James Nagle (now of dingle) being in his company, (turned aside from them) to & said vnto him *that* that was noe place for them to stay in, for he beleued the vengeance of God, would fall thereon, for such actions, & immeadi therevpon they went away together.

7. Deposition of Tampson Dun: MS 822, fols 011r-011v

of depts which shee accompted good depts amounting to the some of five & thirtie shillings sterlinge beefore this present rebellion and nowe become disperate by reason they bee due from the vndernamed persons English protestants & Irish papists

8. Deposition of Daniell Poole: MS 825, fols 184r-184v

Of depts which hee accompted good depts amountinge to the some of *fower* three pound *sixteene* three shillings sterling before this present rebellion & nowe becom disperate by reason they bee due from the vndernamed persons English protestants & Irish papists *vizt* George Birle Henry Gookin

9. Deposition of William Barry: MS 824, fols 011r-

he knew one Thomas Sanders an English merchant was rideing from Kinsale towards Gortney Grenan to Mr Dants & by the way neare Belgooly eight irish persons lying in ambush, tooke him prisoner & carryed him (*as ths deponent was credibly informed*) to the white Castle a mile distant from *neare* Kinsale where liued one Ellin *ne* Knogher alias Roch, & her daughter whoe entertained the said irish persons & gaue them their suppers. afterwards asked them what they would doe with that English man; saying if yow carry him to the Campe he wilbe sent home, & then wee shalbe vndone. for he will discouer where yow haue sup't this night, & then, I shall loose all my estate Wherevpon they tooke carryed him forth of the house & kild him presently *immeadiatly*

10. Deposition of Humphrey Line: MS 824, fols 012r-

& saith that he knew Robert Beere & his wife whoe were put to death at Belgooly, & heard that one donogh mc Phillip was one of the party that fetched them *said Robert* from their *his* house, & saith he saw none hanged dureing the time of the assembly there, but one James Keating whoe was an irish man, & taken for a spy by reason he had liu'd with amongst the English

11. Examination of John Henley: MS 827, fols 012r-013v

That hee was in Actuall Armes with the Eneimy the same yeare

The Cause of this deponents knowlede is that hee hath often seene the afforesaid Morrice in Actuall Armes and as itt was Generally Reported that the said Morrice was one of the Actiues of Irish against the English and farther saith not

12. Deposition of Richard White: MS 825, fols 015r-016v

one Mr Thomas Newman of the *same* same desired the said masters mate to carry him & his family a boord the said shipp & thence into England with his goods & haueing agreed for the freight & all the said Newman & he went in one boat & his wife & nyne children with some of his goods in

another boate wherof the rebells in those partes haueing Intelligence they choose out eight of the said Teige o Driscolls company, eight *out* of Cnoghor Crone o Driscolls company aforesaid, eight of Walter oge Coppingers company of Ringmurra in the said County gentleman & haueing manned a boate they lay in ambush vnder a Crecke & misseing of the boate where the said Newman was, seised vpon the other boate where his wife and children were, & in a most miserable maner murdered the number of sixteene persons young & ould cutting the men in peeces & throwing others ouer boord his cause of knowledge is that this was related vnto him by the said Newman himselfe,

13. Deposition of Richard White: MS 825, fols 017r-017v

and since that time the said Teig o Driscoll with about an 100 men horse & foot did assault the said Inhabitants of Baltimore b we being sauing of Corne vppon the lands of Baltymore, did all the day shoot at us with muskets neare an 100 shott, calling of us Rebells, puritanes and Parliament Rougs the kings enimes and that we fought againste the king with many other [] opprobrious words. & further he cannot depose

14. Deposition of Epenetus Bellewe and Turlagh O Donnell: Reference: MS 822, fols 018r-019v

The deponent saith that he lost by meanes of this presente rebellion six pou{nds} sterling parte of his last Michelmas rent due from the vn{der}named persons *Irish papists*

15. Deposition of Thomas Reymond: MS 825, fols 020r-021v

then spoke the ensueing woords or others to that efecte namely howe durst you (quoth he) hould out soe long for that our generall were perswaded by *some* gentleman nowe in his army you would be all put to the sword men women & children the deponent answered that by that time he expected to be relieued by the English forces, he then replying with an execrable oath said, that same Inshiquin (quoth he) durst as well looke in the deuills face as come neere vs; for we will beate you from here to Malloe & then to Corke & from thence into the sea & afterwards they would *we will* march into England & see what the parliament would say to them, alleading further that they were the kinges souldiers & we (meaneing the protestants) were the puritanicall parliaments souldiers & rebells & further he deposeth not

16. Deposition of John Browne: MS 823, fols 023r-023v

the names of the rest he doth not remember He lastly saith that the said Rowland ffield formerly a protestant is since this rebellion turned papishe

17. Deposition of Jiles Masee: MS 822, fols 025r-025v

Of his said goods they kepte him prisoner two o{r} three dayes, & in the meane time he heard the said Longe say that they would kill & hange all the English that would not goe to masse

18. Deposition of Julian Wyotte: MS 824, fols 102r-102v

Julian Wiott Wyotte of the towne and parish of ffarmoye in the barony of Condon and Clangibbon in the County of Corcke widdowe) a brittish protestant)

(..)

now bee com desparatt by Reson *due vpon* of the vndernamed persons *and* English protestants vzt Thomas Pollenger *an Impoverished protestant by meanes of this rebellion* and another part dewe from the vndernamed persons Irish and papest Edward Roch of Ballalegart *in the County gentleman gentleman* & Thomas Henesey of killcolman *in the said County gentleman gent* & Fep ett *Theobald* Roch of the Clash in the barony of Condon & Clangibbon [] *in the Aforesaid County gentleman* but in regar d that som of the said parties ar Englesh and protestant bee n *being* and vtterl y dissenabled by meanes of this rebellion and the Ire sh then in <nowe in> Actuall Rebellion: the

total of his losses Amounting to one hundred Eighteen pounds sterling & therefore this deponent cannot gett satisfaction from them.

19. Deposition of John Lake: MS 823, fols 099r-099v

Of debts the sume of foure pounds two shillings due from Garren Martin *late* of Insh *kyin* in the said County hewer But in re g a rd the said Martin (an English protestant) was murdered by the rebells aboute the 16th of March last therefore this depon e nt cannot gett satisfaction from them The total of his losses amounts to one hundred fourescore & nynteene pounds two shillings & that

20. Deposition of Thomas Turnor: MS 824, fols 093r-094v

Thomas Turnor of the Towne & parish of youghall & within the County of Corke merchant (a brittish protestant)

(..) Of debts which this deponent accounted goode debts before the begining o f this presente rebellion amoun ting to the sume of on thousand & *six hundred Ninty and three* hundred pounds due from the vndernamed persons vizt <A> Patrick Condon of Clandelane in the Countie of Corke gentleman John Rushell of the Aghs of Clandelane in the Countie of Corke gentleman John Rushell of the Aghs in the County of Waterford gentleman (an english papist) Anthony Rushell *the younger* of the same gentleman (both english papists nowe notorious rebells)

(..)

Nicholas George Carter of Thurles in the County of Tipperary gentleman (an English papist)

(..)

all which (as this deponent is credibly informed) are all out in actuall rebellion likewise vndernamed persons English protestants & *papists* vtterly dissenabled by meanes of this rebellion vizt are indebted to this deponent in parte of thaboue sume vizt William Coveny Thomas Burgy Margery Bond widdow

21. Deposition of Robert Horne & John Stevens: MS 823, fols 114r-114v

the said protestants are vtterly dissenabled by meanes of this rebellion & the rest out in *open* & actuall rebellion therefore this deponent cannot gett satisfaction of them

(..)

The deponent saith that his dwelling house & other out houses were burnt by mc Carty Reagh & his forces aboute the 12th of ffebruary last his cause of knowledge is that aboute the same time the said mac Carty Reagh pretending then to lay siedge to the castle of Inishkyen (where this deponent & other English were) write a *threat e ning* lettre to this deponent to deliuer vp the said Castle to his Maiesties vse as he pretended & when he this deponent denyed to deliuer the said Castle he then remoued his campe & burnt this deponents said house

22. Deposition of William Ward: MS 823, fols 117r-117v

a brittish protestant duly sworne & examined

(..)

Of Cowes horses Mares yearlings & heifers to the value of four score & { } pounds eight shillings Of debts to the summe of twenty eight *five* pounds which { } due from the vndernamed persons protestants namly william Heyes {of} Cloyne in the Conty Corke husb: Thomas hull of Insanabakae miller Lewis Moye of Cloyne in the said Com likewise wise John Megar {of} Ballyuodna in the aid County shepard likewise G abrell Lon erin of the Citty of Corke husb: likewise part of the said sume is d { ue } from papists namely John mc Mastine of Mugeely in the said Com husb: Edmund mc Gera of Mugeely in the said Com taylor and a l Gar{ rat } Barry of Ballincoppinger in the said Com gent and although he {acco}unted the same good debts before this rebellion yett in regar { d } the said debtors boath English & Irish are impouerished protestants {by} meane of this rebellion he cannot gett satisfaction from any of {them}

23. *Deposition of Henry Rooby: MS 825, fols 118r-118v*

Henry Rooby late of Carrigroghanbegg in the barony of Barretts & Countie of the Cittie of Corke *Tanner* (a brittish protestant) duely sworne & examined by vertue of &c. deposeth & saith That on or aboute the 20th of January last he was robbed & forceably dispoiled of his goods & Chattles to the seuerall values followeing vizt

(..)

he further saith that there are seuerall persons indebted to this deponent before this rebellion begun amountinge to the summe of fiue pounds & ten shillings due vpon Thomas Sharpe John Lambard Charles Warner & William Welsh English protestants & although he accounted the same goode debte, yeett in regards the said parties are dissenabled in thier estates the deponent conceaues he is nott likely to gett satisfaction from them.

24. *Deposition of Thomas Sheepard: MS 824, fols 120r-120v*

Thomas Sheepard of the towne and the parish of ffarmoyes & parish of killcrumplergle in the barony of Condon and *Clangibbon* in the County of Corcke blacke smeeth, a brittish protestant

(..)

Of debts due which he counted good debts bee fore this present rebellion to the some of ten *ffiu*e pounds and now bee com disparatt by reson part therof are from the vndernamed persons english and protestants &c. & slan english An English man and papist rebel viz henrie Ogle thorpe *of & grandge ne [nowe] in the said County gentleman* In Actuell rebellion, ther fore the deponant canot gett satisfaction

25. *Deposition of Tristram Hake: : MS 825, fols 255r-255v*

Tristram Hake *late* of Kilpatricke in the parish of Breny barony of Kynelmeaky & within the County of Corke yeom{an} (a brittish protestant) before vs

(..)

But in regard the said *parties* Joseph Ashbu r ham & Thomas Hill are protestants vtterly dissenabled by this rebellion & the *are* rest out in actuall rebellion therefore this deponent canot gett satisfaction{ }

(..)

Michelmas last this deponent was presente when samuella Bushopp an English protestant was taken prisoner by the rebells their names he knoweth not, whoe since (as this deponent is informed) was shott first & afterwards hanged by the n{eck?} & further he deposeth not.

26. *Deposition of Henry Bennit: MS 823, fols 119r-119v*

Henry Bennit late of Ballilegan in the parish of *Ardnigeh* Ardnigh in the Countie of Corke (a brittish protestant) beinge duely sworne and examined by vertue of his Maiesties &c deposeth

(..)

he further saith that Walter Spencer an Englishman formerly a protestant but *is* since this rebellion is turned papist

27. *Deposition of Edward Rashly: MS 823, fols 120r-121v*

Edward Rashly late of Cloncourse in the parish of Ball nedey & barony of Carby & within the County of Corke gentleman (*a brittish protestant*)

(..)

likewise the vndernamed persons English protestants are indebted to this deponent in parte of thaboue some vizt Captein John Jermin John Pollum of Kinsale clerke John Dun deceased Giles Groues William Holcom of Bandon John sweete William Michell Bull Richard Ben isse Thomas ffuller But in regard the said protestants are vtterly dissenabled by meanes of this rebellion & the

rest all out in actual rebellion therefore therefore this deponent cannot gett satisfaction from them

28. Deposition of Richard Hooper: MS 824, fols 141r-

Richard Hooper late of Carrigrohan in the parish of Carrigrohan within the County of the Cittie of Corke (*a brittish protestant* being duely sworne & examined before vs by vertue of his Maiesties Comission to vs & others directed (beareing date at dublin the 5th day of March in the 17th yeere of his Maiesties raigne that nowe is) touching the losses & suffrings of the English and protestants within the province of Munster deposeth & saith. That on or aboute the 24th of March Last & since the begining of this rebellion he hath beene robbed & forceably dispoiled of his goods & Chattles to the values followeing vizt worth 37 li. And Of his cowes and horses to the value of seaven pounds. Of his enterest in the lease of *in* Carrigrohan aforesaid to the value of thirtie pounds. Of his corne woorth soe much of before the begining of this rebellion. The deponent further saith that John Bane *of the parish of Carigrohane aforesaid yeoman* formerly an Irish protestant is turned rebell. The totall of his losses amounts to thirtie & seaven pounds & further he cannot depose

29. Deposition of John Austine: MS 822, fols 166r-166v

Lastly he further he deposeth that the said William Arundell aboute Candlemas last tould this deponent that his best course was to *turne papist* goe to masse for Quoth he the King himselfe is heere in this Kingdome & goes to mass & further he deposeth not.

Keyword: Irish (30-59)

30. Deposition of Jasper Horsey: MS 824, fols 074r-075v

but next day the 10th of Aprill afforsaid this deponent & the other two coming back to Ould=Castletowne afforsaid were assaulted and sett vppon in the high way by John Roach of Ballinemony, in the said County gentleman hauing then in companie with him fiue hors=men & twenty armed foot=men, who apprehended this deponent & the rest & caused them to be disarmed and stripped of their cloathes calling this deponent an English Traytor & likewise the said John Roach then & there tooke from this deponent besides apparell a peece, a sword five shillings in money and one gould ring price thirteene shillings. The said John Roach Imediately caused the said Walter Harte to be Hanged but in the meane time prefered him his Life if hee did *turne papist* & to that purpose brought to him a masse preist to perswad him therunto, but the said Hart vtterly denying to *turne* was presently executed.

(..)

Two of the Lord of Inchiquins troops (one was a Scotchman & thother an Irish man both protestants) with their horses & armes taken prisoners by some of the Lo: Roches forces & brought to Castletowne afforsaid where (though the Scotchman was deadly wounded & shott through the backe) both were without any mercy hanged. Secondly this deponent likewise obserued & sawe one donnogh mc Teige an Irish protestant & a man of threescore yeares of age & vpwards (who was sometime servant to William Jephson of Mallow Esquire) about the begining of May Last as hee went in the high way to Youghall to be assaulted and taken by some of the Lord Roches Companie who brought him to Castle towne afforsaid, where he remained prisoner a long time till he was half starued, being allowed but a smale morsell of Bread euery four & twenty houres, & day by day the Preists and friers in the said house to this deponents knowledg being then in number fifteen a Least did use to come to the said donnogh mc Teige perswading him to *turne papist* at last when they could not draw him, They gaue him his choise either to *turne papist* & saue his life or eilse, that there was noe remedy but he must bee hanged, hee tould them plainly he was perswaded in his Conscience he was of a good and sound profession & that he would neuer *turne papist* while he liued, being at last carried to the place of execution one father Roch & 4 other fryers & preists went

along with him, at last he tould them openly they may goe to the diuill if they will would for his parte he would be neuer perswaded by them & begged heartily they should trouble him noe more & soe hartily praying vppon the ladder he was att last executed. the deponents cause of knowledg is that being a prisoner there himself he sawe & obserued the said passages and hauing his libertie vp and downe he came to the certain knowledg of his premisses.

(..)

That he obserued about the latter end of aprill last one Elizabeth a maid servant to Steven Tonse of Mitchellstowne in the said County merchant in the way coming from Corke and apprehended by the said Lord Roches forces & brought her prisoner to Castletowne where she had adiudged to be hanged if she had not turned papist which she utterly refused to doe but others then present thinking it a fauor don to her commanded her to be tyed to a post & shott to death & hauing made seuen shott att her and hitt either time yett not mortally wounded (*hurt* but at last she was in a tormenting way hanged. This examine lastly deposeth and saith That he being a long time prisoner and naked vppon the matter being stripped before lyeing vppon the grownd with a little strawe vnder him, at last the deponent desired to speake in private to the Lord Roch that some course maybe taken for his enlargment, and being admitted unto his presence his Lordshipp spoke these ensuring words or others like them in effect I can shewe yow (quoth he) a Commission vnder the kings hand and seale (which) I received lately from Sir Phelomy Ó Neale) whereby wee (meaning the Irish) are authorised to stripp and banish all the English & protestants out of this kingdome If they doe not Joyne with us, and doe as wee doe and adding further in a smiling manner, I will promise you (quoth he) the English shall eate noe more fatt beefe in the kingdome or words to that purpose

31. Deposition of Donnell Shighane: MS 822, fols 083r-083v

Donnell Shighane late of the Towne & parish of Malloe in the barony of ffarmoy and within the County of Corke yeoman (an Irish protestant) duely sworne and examined before vs by vertue of a Comission vnder the broade seale of this Kingdome (bearing date the 5th day of March Anno domini 1641) concerneing the losses robberies and spoiles since this rebellion comitted vpon the brittish and protestants within the Province of Munster &c. deposeth and saith.

32. Deposition of Anne Ormon: MS 823, fols 083r-083v

Anne Ormon of the towne & parish of Michellstowne barrony of Condon & Clangibbon and within the com of Corke spinster (an Irish protestant) duely sworne & examined before vs by vertue of a Comision etc deposeth and sayth that aboute the last of december last 1641 she lost was robbed & forceably dispoyled of hiser goods & Chattles to the seuerall values ffolloweing Vizt value of 13 li.

33. Deposition of Richard Croker: MS 825, fols 127r-127v

Richard Croker late of the parish of Clondrohatt *in the Baroney of Muskrey* in the Countie of Corke gentleman (a brittish protestant) beinge duely sworn and examyned by vertue of &c deposeth and saith That about Shrovetide last and since the begynnye of this present Rebellion in Ireland he Lost and was Robbed and forceable dispoyled of his goods & Chattles to the seuerall values as followeth value of 37 li. Of Cowes Calves & yongue cattl e att Clondrohatt aforesaith *to the value of nyneteene pownds ten shillings*, of a debt due from one William Murphwe of the parish of Killmarter in the said Countie of Corke an Irishman borne yett a protestant & stript by the Rebels of Musgroe the some of Three pownds

34. Deposition of George Hawkes: MS 824, fols 139r-139v

George Hawkes *late* of Magellin & in the parish of St. ffinbarres Carrigraghan within the Countie of the Cittie of Corke hus (a Brittish protestant being duely sworne & examined before vs by vertue of his Maiesties Commission to vs & others directed

(..)

The deponent further saith That John Bane of the said Carrigrohane formerly an Irish protestant turned rebels

35. *Deposition of Hugh wellington: MS 823, fols 148r-148v*

that the ffalling out was in England the because the Queenes masse priest & a *another* ffryer were put to death in England & *further tould this deponent that saith he you expecte ayde out of England take my woord you will gett none for whatsoeuer we doe we haue the kings broade seale for it* He saith that the rebels stripped This deponent and afterwards (starke naked in a most inhumane manner tyed him to a horse tayle pricked him forward with their pikes & *did driue him like a dogg* after the said horse a matter of nyne miles forward & backe ward & this deponent being fearefully tormented by the vnchristian vsadge the very flesh of his *feete being torne* thorne of they put him in stockes & there kepte all that night &

36. *Deposition of John mc Edmond: MS 823, fols 159r-*

the said Thomas & Owen threatned to apprehend & tye him *for that he was an [Irishman?] iri shman & went to Church & did eat flesh in lent* wherevpon the deponent said William Tirry answered & said that the Irish that ioyned *held* with the English were woorse & then the Irish *English* themselues, the deponent saith that he vttered the said woords in the Irish tongue further

37. *Deposition of Mourish fiz Gerrald: MS 829, fols 161r-162v*

Mourish fiz Gerrald & *Anne his wife seuerally sworne* late of Mahoonagh Barrony of Connella and within the Com of Limericke gent duely sworne an Irish protestant

(..)

He also sayth that Josias Walker Constable of the said Castle with his wife & two children, heertofore reputed protestants and since this rebellion turnd papists and liue among the rebbellis <and John Butler of the said Castle husb: & Elizabeth ffurz wife to John ffurz of Oronir Castle gen: and Daniell Jennings the yonger before protestante & since gon to masse> also Nich: Bayly of the sayd Castle dyer & Tho: Cops of the same husb: with his wife & fiue childen heretofore reputed protestants & since this rebellion turnd papists

(..)

He also sayth that Josias Walker Constable of the said Castle with his wife & two children, heertofore reputed protestants and since this rebellion turnd papists and liue among the rebbellis <and John Butler of the said Castle husb: & Elizabeth ffurz wife to John ffurz of Oronir Castle gen: and Daniell Jennings the yonger before protestante & since gon to masse> also Nich: Bayly of the sayd Castle dyer & Tho: Cops of the same husb: with his wife & fiue childen heretofore reputed protestants & since this rebellion turnd papists

38. *Deposition of Tristram Whetcombe: MS 822, fols 026r-027v*

Of debts to the valu{e} of by bill and account to the value *summe* of three thousand nine hundred eight six pownds seaunteene shillings and ten pence, which ere this rebellion were esteemed good debts, but now become desperate by reason, some of the debtours are Impouerisht pro{tes} tants,

(..)

, with diuers othr poore people which are debtours for certayne goods. and others all impouerisht papists and Irish, a

39. *Deposition of Mathew Boulster: MS 825, fols 027r-028v*

further he deposeth not that aboute the thirteenth of March last this deponent haueing *before* fled to the Castle of Mitchelstowne in the said County he had conference with his landlord James Condon of KilWallis in the said County gentleman whoe tould this deponent *said theis words vnto him vizt*

Mathew (quoth he) turne backe againe to your house & farme & I will vndertake your safty for that the irish (quoth *he*) wilbe too stronge for you and it is vaine to expecte (sayd he) any ayde out of England meaneing *being* (as this deponent *then* conceaueth) *that he was* of opinion that the kinge was *on* of their side *as they nowe comonly reporte*

40. *Deposition of Hugh Bunckar: MS 823, fols 036r-036v*

Hugh Bunckar late of Breggowne in the parish of Michollstowne Barrony of Condon and Clangibbon & within the com of Corke husbandman (an Irish protestant duely sworne & examined before vs by vertue of a Comision

41. *Deposition of William Roe: MS 824, fols 036r-036v*

William Roe of the towne of Innyskeane in the barony of East Carbery in the County of Corcke Tanner a brittish protestant beng duly sworne & examined, by vertue of

(..)

and now become desperate by reason they become due from the vndernamed persons English protestants <Impouerisht> and Irish papists

42. *Deposition of Ellias Cotterell: MS 825, fols 041r-041v*

Of Cowes and dry cattle taken away when the Irish army were in the parish of Buttevant afores a id to the vallue of Twenty pounds

43. *Deposition of William Sarsfeild/: MS 825, fols 043r-043v*

he lastly sayth that Anthony the miller of Templemartin, hereto fore a reputed Irish protestant, and since turnd papist rebell & John O Carrig of the same so too

44. *Deposition of William Kingsmill: MS 825, fols 051r-052v*

which parties *Brittish & Irish* are indebted to the deponent in the sume of six hundred seaventy seaven pounds twelue shillings and a pen n y & in regard the said parties are robbed & soe disenabled on their estates by reason of this rebellion the deponent hath expecte noe satisfaction from them

45. *Examination of James Chapman: MS 827, fols 053r-*

The cause of this deponent Knowledge is that hee stayd there and saw his Actings and had not { } a way with his Life had hee not suffered his { } to bee Crised by an Irish Preist and ffarth{er} Saith not

46. *Deposition of Andrew Lacy: MS 824, fols 056r-057v*

at Length the said Rebellls perceauing that they could do no good vpon our party by forcing of the doors, they instantly fir'd the house where our men werr who still kept on fighting vntill the fire flam'd all about them then the musketteers in the lower roome cryed out for quarter, vpon that Richard Cundon aforesaid promis'd them, (vpon the yeilding vp of their *arms* arms) quarter for their liues, our men instantly came forth, and resigned their arms, that don the Rebb{ells}fell a stripping of our men, and as soone as they were stripped they were all slayne *cruelly murdered* one by one, the said Richard Condon allwayes strook vpon them the first blow with his sword, and then the rebbells would fall vpon them with their skeins & piks, till they were murdered, this deponent was *the last* Likewise which was brought out who was like not stript, but seing that they were all murdered after quarter giu'n came forth with his sword, & meant to fight for his life <cutting off three of their piks, heads with his sword> which accordingly, he did, keeping off six rebels for the space of halfe an houre, vntill at length the deponent was struck downe & hauing receiuing two & fifty wounds whereof thirty he receiued in his head & so <was stript>, & was left for dead, but

before day-light the deponent recou'd to Castle{lyons}

47. *Deposition of William Dant: MS 823, fols 065r-065v*

fiue pounds sterling debts which he accounted good before this rebellion due from Impouerished protestants Robert Beckett clerke Richard Manson *Robert Barklett* John offlin, & other Irish papists Dauid Gogan & Dermod ô Driscoll (whether they be in rebellion or noe the deponent knoweth not)

48. *Deposition of John Soolevan: MS 823, fols 102r-102v*

John Soolevan late of Cargymall in the in the parish of Templenecarrig & barony of Ayunacorroe & within the Countie of Corke gentleman (an Irish protestant)

49. *Deposition of William Ward: MS 823, fols 117r-117v*

the said debtors boath English & Irish are impouerished protestants {by} meane of this rebellion he cannot gett satisfaction from any of {them}

50. *Deposition of Richard Croker: MS 825, fols 127r-127v*

of a debt due from one William Murphwe of the parish of Killmarter in the said Countie of Corke an Irishman borne yett a protestant

51. *Deposition of Nicholas ffox: MS 829, fols 173r-174v*

he sayth that he saw 3 English protestants and an Irish protestant calld Donough Oge were hangd at Castletowne Roch about *the beg* [] inning of March last by the Comands of seriant Maior Henesy

52. *Deposition of Elizabeth Shore & Ellen Burden: MS 823, fols 182r-182v*

That William Tirry of <A> Grange aforesaid (sub sheriffe of the said County of Corke) did often issue out of my lord Sarfields castle neere adiacent & ridd to the rebells retayneing to the lord of Muskry (whose campe was within a smale distance of the said Castle) accompanied with his brother Dauid Tirry & Galway his wifes brother who (as was comonly reported) was Employed to carry tobacco to the rebells & two of his servants William Barrett (since made an ensigne of one of the company of the rebells) as was comonly said amonge the Irish there & John o Daly (his foote boy) whoe reproachfully vsed the said Elizabeth callinge her (amonge many other vile speeches) *English dogg* & shee further deposeth vpon oath that James Goggin a retainer to the said Castle where Tirry lay, did abuse the said Elizabeth with vile language as alsoe her fellow servant Katherin Donnell (whoe was before & then a protestant & since become a profest papist) who beate her & strucke her to the ground

53. *Deposition of John Steevens: MS 823, fols 185r-185v*

and now become disperate by reason they bee du e from the *vndernamed* vndernamed English protestants Irish rebells

(..)

further he deposeth not that Humfry Croly & Phillip Coghlane both of Inishkyan & the said Croly his wife were formerly protestants but since this rebellion are turned rebells

54. *Deposition of Phellim FitzSymons: MS 822, fols 203r-203v*

Phellim ffitz Symons Late of Clonie in the barony of Imokelly & within the County of Corke clerke (an Irish protestant)

(..)

In debts which this deponent accounted goode debts before the begining of this presente rebellion in Ireland amounting to the sume of three score & twelue pounds foure shillings & six pence due from the vndernamed persons vizt Cornelius Cloven Phillipp oge o Glisan and William o Gormahan of Corke papists & Owen ô Callaghan of Templebodan in the said County papists & Margery Hole

widdowe and a brittish protestant with diuers others papists and protestants (whose names this deponent canot remember haueing lost his writeings & papers by reason of this rebellion. And in regard the said parties papists are dissenabled by meanes of this rebellion & the said Margery Hole likewise vtterly dissenabled by meanes of this rebellion

55. Deposition of Owen McSwiney: MS 822, fols 207r-207v

Owen McSwiney late of the Grange in the parish of Buttyvant & barony of Orrery within the County of Corke Irish protestant

56. Deposition of Roger Kinedie: MS 825, fols 208r-208v

Roger Kinedie of Cahirdugane in the parish of Cahir Dugane in the Barony of fformoy in the Countie of Corke yeoman (*an Irish protestant*)

57. Deposition of George Dauis: MS 823, fols 223r-223v

deposeth & sayth; that about Christmas last he heard John O Hey of Timobeg aforesaid gen yeaman: say that the King did hold on the Irish side and that he was a Roman Catholick god be thanked for it: and that there were letters sent ouer to them from his Maiesty, & he had a copy of one of them and also that his Maiesty sent, that they [] should hold a Parliamt at Kilkenny & that they should be sure to make good acts of Parliament

58. Deposition of Henry Rugg: MS 824, fols 238r-239v

he was robbed by the vndernamed persons as ffolloweth (vizt) *partly by* daniell duffe ô Cahill of Ragabane in the parish of Templbodan in the Barony of Barrymore & County of Corke gentleman whoe a litle before he robbed this deponent of his goods sayde to twoe of these *this* deponents servants Andrew Lasy & Richard Turrner that he was sory that the old *prophesie* proverbe was Comeinge to pass (vizt) that the Irish men should wash their handes in English mens blood

59. Deposition of Nicholas Philpot: MS 824, fols 261r-262v

And hee further deposeth that Edmond mc Patrick alias Nughtin <A> a late servant to this deponent & an Irish protestant is not only revolted from his religion & become a papist as himselfe hath confessed but is become a Rebell vnder the Commaund of Cahir o Callahan 0 0