The Transformation of Galway: An Urban History of a Port Town 1600-1700

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I hereby declare that this is my own work

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ABSTRACT

Galway's wealth and position as a major Irish trading port at the beginning of the seventeenth century stemmed from a mixture of geography and politics. Its staunch support of the Crown, since its foundation in the early thirteenth century, enabled it to secure a range of special privileges. This situation allowed it to evolve as a settlement akin to a 'city state', exempt in the main from much of the fiscal duties imposed on commerce and trade within the English mercantile system.

This special relationship began to fall apart as the Reformation and Protestant interests began to impact on what was an almost exclusively Catholic community, with power residing in the hands of a monopolistic clique of powerful and wealthy merchant families. Until the Gaelic uprising of 1641, there was little visible evidence of a conflict of interest between Catholics and Protestants in terms of their political affiliations, and even during the early stages of the formation of the Confederacy, the Galway community was reluctant to join forces with the other Old English communities. However, the siege and subsequent surrender of Galway to the Cromwellian forces in 1652, resulted in the town being left in a state of stagnation by the time of the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. During the closing decades of the seventeenth century, Galway's trading activity dwindled as the town struggled to regain its former markets. For a brief period in the late 1680s, Catholics regained control of Galway's municipal affairs. They subsequently supported James II in the Williamite Wars, only to lose control once more following the surrender of the town to General Ginckle on 21 July 1691.

To date, no published work has closely researched the significant transformations, from 1600-1700, in Galway's economy, morphology, politics and society. This study seeks to address this lacuna by assembling and interpreting a vast range of historical evidence, so as to produce an original, integrated, meticulous and far-reaching narrative and analysis that reconstructs the urban history of seventeenth-century Galway.

As well as making extensive use of the primary and secondary historical sources relating to aspects of Galway's urban history, this study is also informed by recent scholarship on the seventeenth-century colonial policies that England adopted in its conquest of Ireland, particularly those which contributed to the outbreak of the Confederate Wars, the subsequent Cromwellian settlement of Ireland and the economic changes brought about by the Cattle Acts and the Navigation Acts after the Restoration.

As a whole, this study relies not only on the perspective of the historian, but upon interdisciplinary perspectives drawn from cognate disciplines such as geography and archaeology.

Chapter One
Introduction

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

This study focuses on the walled port town of Galway, located on the west coast of Ireland at the point where the Galway River empties the waters of Lough Corrib into Galway Bay (Figure 1.1). Although surrounded by often hostile Gaelic Irish neighbours, by the opening of the seventeenth century, it had succeeded in establishing itself as a major trading port alongside Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford. This pre-eminence was commented on by contemporary writers, including Roderic O'Flaherty, who optimistically noted that 'during the first half of the seventeenth century the town was the most distinguished place in Ireland next to Dublin which in some respects it surpassed'.[1]

Galway capitalised on this pre-eminent position during the first few decades of the seventeenth century, and continued to maintain trading links with continental Europe, particularly with Spain and its wine trade. Important new markets were also developed with Irish exiles who had begun to establish significant trading positions in the colonies of the New World and the West Indies. In many cases these 'new colonials' were often related by birth or marriage to the Old English merchant families of Galway. Furthermore, trading surpluses generated by this expansion in economic activity began to be used by wealthy Galway merchants to acquire extensive landholdings in the now pacified Connaught hinterland, significantly from Gaelic landowners who were increasingly being forced to mortgage their holdings to offset poor harvests and meet their tax obligations.

Galway's wealth and position as a major Irish trading port stemmed from a mixture of geography and politics. Its staunch support of the Crown since its foundation in the early thirteenth century, enabled it to secure special privileges which allowed it to develop as a 'city state', exempt in the main from much of the fiscal duties imposed on commerce and trade within the English mercantile system. This special relationship began to fall apart as the Reformation and Protestant interests began to impact on what was an almost exclusively Catholic community with power residing in the hands of a monopolistic clique of powerful and wealthy merchant families. Until the Gaelic uprising of 1641 there was little visible evidence of a conflict of interest between Catholics and

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[1] R. O'Flaherty, *A Chronological Description of West or H-Iar Connaught* (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1846), p. 412.

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Figure 1.1: Geographical Location of the Port Town of Galway

Protestants in terms of their political affiliations, and even during the early stages of the formation of the Confederacy, the Galway community was reluctant to join forces with the other Old English communities. However, the collapse of the rebellion and the subsequent expulsion of Galway's Catholic inhabitants, which included the wealth-generating merchant classes, resulted in the town being left in a state of stagnation by the time of the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.

During the closing decades of the seventeenth century Galway's economy stagnated as the town struggled to regain its former markets against a background of internecine strife between its New English Protestant and Catholic inhabitants. For a brief period in the late 1680s, Catholics regained control of Galway's municipal affairs. They subsequently supported James II in the Williamite Wars, only to lose control once more following the surrender of the town to General Ginkel on 21 July 1691. Thereafter, although the terms of the capitulation allowed many of the former Catholic inhabitants to retain their lands and properties, the gradual imposition of the penal laws effectively ended any further involvement of the descendants of the Old English Catholic patriciate in the management of the town's affairs.

CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although a few works accurately record many of the historical events of the period as they occurred, none provide a seamless narrative which spans the whole of the seventeenth century. Moreover no work published to date has researched the changes in seventeenth-century Galway's economy, morphology, population and society. This thesis seeks to address these lacunae by assembling and interpreting the historical evidence so as to produce a highly original integrated narrative and analysis that successfully reconstructs the urban history of Galway during the course of the turbulent seventeenth-century.

As well as making extensive use of the primary and secondary historical sources relating to aspects of Galway's urban history, the research is also informed by recent insights and interpretations into England's seventeenth century involvement in Irish affairs, aimed at incorporating Ireland into a wider English state which was to be

'culturally English and governed in the same way as England itself by English law and administrative structures'.[2]

The thesis critically examines Galway's transformation from a wealthy and successful loyal outpost inhabited by Old English settlers in the year 1600, to a relatively minor garrisoned port town of an emerging British Empire by the end of that century. Other prominent Irish trading centres such as Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Wexford and Drogheda all experienced similar difficulties as they lived through this period of turbulence and mixed fortunes, caught, as they were, in the crossfire of often diametrically conflicting religious and political beliefs and practices. But, unlike Galway, these towns, and other new entrants to Ireland's urban landscape such as Belfast and Derry, not only weathered the storm but emerged as prosperous active trading centres creating new riches from the burgeoning provisions trade with Europe and the New World colonies.

The thesis further proposes that Galway's decline in the seventeenth-century Irish urban hierarchy was not exclusively as a result of the internecine strife between the Old English Catholic founders and the New English Protestant community. During the latter half of the century, in an increasingly competitive mercantilist world, where matters were made more difficult for Ireland by the protectionist nature of English mercantile policy, the evidence points to Galway's economic decline as being as much due to factor endowments such as geographical location, natural resources and capital investment, as it was to the political and social upheavals which marked much of Irish seventeenth century history

CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

Chapter Two provides a comprehensive review of the literature of relevance to this study, namely general histories and historical geographies of Ireland and Europe in the seventeenth century, literature from the burgeoning field of urban historical studies (including urban history, urban historical geography and urban archaeology), colonial studies literature, and historical monographs, articles on aspects of seventeenth-century Galway contained in the pages of the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and*

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[2] S.G. Ellis, 'Writing Irish History: Revisionism, Colonialism and the British Isles', *Irish Review*, Number 18, (Spring/Summer, 1996),

Historical Society (since 1900), and local histories (principally, James. Hardiman's *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* and M. D. O'Sullivan's *Old Galway*).

Following on from the review of literature, Chapter Three deals with the nature and limitations of the various primary source materials that are employed by this study including, archaeological evidence, manuscript sources and printed primary sources. The latter include the State Papers Relating to Ireland, the proceedings of Galway Corporation, and various 'Documents of Conquest' such as the 1657 Survey and Valuation of Galway and the Down Survey, and original cartographic sources.

Chapter Four examines the important transformations in Galway's economy, morphology, population and society during the first four decades of the seventeenth-century. During this period, the last vestiges of a medieval, semi-autonomous city state were stripped away from the Old English hegemony, following the imposition of English civil and military rule. The chapter examines Galway's role in the emerging mercantilist world and as its strategic importance to the English military in the ongoing wars with Spain.

Up until the early 1640s, Galway, for the greater part, enjoyed a lasting military and political stability. This stability appears to have been achieved not just because the first four decades of the century were noted as a relatively peaceful time in Ireland's turbulent history but also as a result of an acceptance by the town's Old English Catholic merchants to embrace English rule as part of a *quid pro quo* agreement which allowed the old Catholic merchant patriciate to continue to amass huge wealth through trade and land acquisition. This chapter examines the nature of this relationship which initially contributed to the physical, demographic and economic development of the town and ultimately led to Galway's reluctant alliance with the Confederacy in 1642.

In Chapter Five Galway's role in the complexities of the confused and drawn-out Confederate Wars of the 1640s and 1650s is re-examined using evidence from primary and secondary sources. Following the Gaelic Uprising of 1641, which was documented so well in the so-called 1641 Depositions, there followed a bout of anti-Catholic hysteria that manifested itself in the form of an ardent Protestantism that characterised the Cromwellian reconquest of Ireland from 1649 onwards. The military conquest of Galway

occurred in 1652 whereupon the Catholics were expelled from the walled city. This was followed by what Willie Smyth terms the 'cartographic conquest' of Ireland from 1654-1659,[3] which resulted in the completion of Sir William Petty's Down Survey and the creation of detailed property maps for each parish and barony in 29 counties. The appendix of James Hardiman's (1820) *History of Galway* contains a splendid printed reproduction in tabulated columns of a rare Survey and Valuation of Galway's property dating to 1657. Upon closer scrutiny, the document allows one to explore the territorial reorganisation and social change that occurred in Galway as a result of the expulsion of the Catholic and Irish inhabitants from the city in 1652, and their replacement by New English Protestant adventurers and soldiers such as Edward Stubbers, John Peeters, Benjamin Veale, William Heathcocke, Samuel Newton, Colonel Thomas Sadler and Captain Bridges. The chapter undertakes a comprehensive review of the Survey and Valuation by producing an analysis of the various buildings and properties within the town. Furthermore the financial data from the survey is used to analyse property values in the sample area thus offering clues as to the social mix within the town.

Chapter Six gets back to the story of Galway's transformation, and scrutinises its situation in the aftermath of the Restoration of 1660. After the town had been returned from military to municipal rule, the revived corporation and new Ascendancy operated a policy of religious bigotry against Catholics. The latter were prevented from becoming freemen or joining the common council, and were also largely barred from playing any significant role in controlling industry and commerce. From an economic perspective, this chapter engages with new historiographical interpretations of Galway in the late seventeenth century that have been advanced in recent decades, primarily as a result of the sterling research carried out at a national and regional level by the Trinity College Dublin's economic historians, Louis Cullen and David Dickson. This chapter explores what happened to Galway's economy in the increasingly mercantilist world that emerged after the 1667 Cattle Act had forbidden the exportation of livestock from Ireland to England. In contrast to port cities such as Limerick, Waterford and Cork, Galway never developed a fully-fledged Atlantic provisions trade in barrelled beef and butter to the fledgling American colonies. In this chapter a detailed comparative analysis of surviving

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[3] W. J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750* (Cork University Press, Cork, 2006), p. 7.

manuscript sources concerning domestic and overseas trade, provides new insights into Galway's contribution to the Irish economy in the latter half of the seventeenth century compared to that of other principal port towns.

Despite their expulsion from the town and any involvement in its corporate management, the Old English merchant classes continued to play a major role in developing overseas trade operating from new bases in Europe and in the developing colonies of the Caribbean and North America. Evidence is examined of their continued role in supplying venture capital and trading expertise in the town, and developing early banking and other financial structures, expertise to fill the deficit created by lack of expertise in those fields by the New English settlers.

Chapter seven summarises the transformation of Galway between 1600 and 1700 by reviewing how the 'imperial/colonial' process, and the emergence of an early modern world capitalist system, combined with Galway's relatively poor factor endowments such as land, resources and investment capital, contributed to the decline in the town's fortunes over the seventeenth century.

Chapter Two
Literature Review

INTRODUCTION

The course of Galway's urban history throughout the seventeenth century was largely determined by English domestic and foreign policies. These in turn were developed and implemented by English heads of state and officials, to meet the religious, political and economic imperatives of their regimes. Caught in the middle of this process were the inhabitants of Galway and the other port towns of Ireland, which, for centuries, had seen themselves as the bed rock of English settlement in Ireland. The events of the first four decades of the seventeenth century served to disabuse Galway's close-knit community of this long cherished belief, and for the greater part of the remaining decades of the century the last vestiges of 'Englishness' were systematically stripped away from them.

The arrival of new English Protestant settlers following the Restoration had a profound impact on the social, political and religious affairs of not just Galway, but the whole of the island of Ireland and this has in recent years generated a considerable corpus of literature re-examining Ireland's relationship with England as, along with other emerging nation-states like France and Spain, the extent of English dominion reached out beyond that of its nearest neighbours to include newly settled lands in the Americas and the Caribbean. These new insights have been used extensively to inform the main narrative of this work, particularly in re-constructing the events which led to Galway's support of the Confederacy in the 1640s, and the ultimate extinction of the town's Old English hegemony after the Restoration.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Old English in Ireland, in the main (there are some notable exceptions highlighted below), were the descendants of the Cambro-Norman and Anglo-Norman conquerors, and saw themselves as the dedicated upholders of the legal, constitutional and commercial imperatives imposed upon them by English rule.[1] There is some disagreement amongst historians as to the correct description of this group whose members are variously referred to as 'Old English' or 'Anglo Irish'. These terms occur frequently throughout this study and since they are used to define

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[1] J. Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory for Empire? Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism', in K. Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004), p. 26.

specific groups of people at specific times during the period, a standard definition needs to be agreed.

In reviewing Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland,* Nicholas Canny notes that Brendan Bradshaw, Colm Lennon and Ciaran Brady refer to the Old English population as Anglo-Irish but he argued that this was not the usage at the time. The Latin description *Anglo Hibernici* was translated 'English Irish' by those who chose to render it in English, and although Spenser used the terms English and English Irish to describe the descendants of the Anglo-Normans, he was the first to use the alternative 'Old English' which subsequently became popular, even amongst the Old English themselves, in the seventeenth century.[2] The term 'Anglo Irish', Canny argues, has almost universal support from historians and literary scholars to describe the Protestant descendants of the Elizabethan, Stuart and Cromwellian conquerors of Ireland.[3] Brady on the other hand defends his use of the term 'Anglo Irish' on the grounds that the term Old English came into use in the 1590s to specifically denote a significant re-orientation in the attitude of the Anglo-Normans to the English government in Dublin,[4] and further defends its use by referring to the conventions laid down in the standard *A New History of Ireland.*[5] Clarke, in a much earlier work, generally supports the use of the term 'Old English' on the grounds that it was 'too exact a reference to be lightly abandoned':

> For practical purposes 'Old English' was a term of exclusion. It applied only to those descendants of pre-Elizabethan settlers who had remained Catholic; it applied only to those Catholic descendants who had retained their social position as property holders; and it applied only to those propertied Catholic descendants who had preserved their distinctive colonial identity.[6]

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[2] N. Canny, 'Review of *A View of the Present State of Ireland*', in C. Murray, (ed.) *Spenser in Ireland, Irish University Review* Vol. 26, No. 2, (Autumn/Winter 1996), p. 258.

[3] N. Canny, 'Debate: Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present,* No. 120, (August 1988), p. 203.

[4] C. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present,* No. 111, (May 1988), p. 24.

[5] C. Brady, 'Reply', *Past and Present,* No. 120, (August 1988), p. 212; F. X. Martin, 'Introduction' in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol. II, Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534,* p. liii, states that 'By and large, however, we have tended to use the term Anglo-Norman for the period before 1216, and Anglo-Irish thereafter'. T. W. Moody 'Introduction' in W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne, (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol. III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691,* p. xlii, is less pedantic and in allowing for the use of the term 'Old English' and 'Anglo-Irish' to be used as synonyms adds that 'These different uses of the same term present no serious difficulty provided that the Old English of the seventeenth century are seen not as exclusively composed of people of English descent but as constituting a political interest or party, Catholic in its religious identity but distinct in its political outlook from the Gaelic Irish (*Gaedhil*) or 'Old Irish'.

[6] A. Clarke, 'Ireland and The General Crises', *Past and Present,* No. 48, (August, 1970), p. 81.

Moreover Clarke observes that colonial origin was not an absolute condition of membership and that in the older towns the social group had long since overlaid original divisions 'and the social norm at higher levels was Old English, irrespective of ultimate ancestry. Technically the D'Arcys and Kirwans of Galway and many others were Irish'.[7] As the century progressed this distinction became less ambiguous as English (British since 1603 after the succession of James I) colonial and imperial expansionism challenged the differentiation of 'Old English' and 'Gaelic Irish', and it was as Irish Papists that the Old English were expelled from Galway in 1655, following the surrender to the Cromwellian forces in 1652.

Until quite recently, much of the literature discussing the historical relationships between Ireland and Britain, appearing under the guise of British history has, as Steven Ellis observed, 'been firmly Anglo-centred with Scotland, Ireland and Wales discussed only when developments there are deemed to have a direct impact on England'.[8] Bradshaw adds that the surviving evidence of debate of an official or semi-official nature which passed between various members of the political and ecclesiastical establishment in Ireland and the English government, is not a record of open confrontation 'but the letters of protagonists written to influence the arbiters of policy in England'.[9] However, it may be easier to understand English policy in Ireland during the seventeenth century if one examines the subject in terms of economics, the geo-political importance of the island and particularly Galway, in relation to Britain's ongoing conflict with Spain and the incongruity of a largely Catholic population professing allegiance to the Protestant Crown whilst maintaining its spiritual loyalty to Rome.

Following the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, James I and his advisors began to develop strategies aimed at imposing English laws, customs and above all else Protestant conformity on the Irish population. These involved eroding the rights and privileges of the Old English, taking over lands held by the Gaelic Irish and 'planting' new occupants of English Scots and Welsh stock. Central to the contemporary literature relating to

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[7] *Ibid.*

[8] S. Ellis, '*Not mere English,* The British Perspective, 1400-1650', *History Today,* (December, 1988), pp. 41-48.

[9] B. Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 21, No. 3, (1978), pp. 477-478.

seventeenth century English policies in Ireland are the works of the English Renaissance poet, Edmund Spenser (1552-1599). Although best known within literary circles for his allegorical romantic poem, *The Faerie Queen,* published in six volumes in 1596, it is his prose treatise *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* which has generated a considerable corpus of literature in Irish historical studies. In his *Spenser and Ireland: An Annotated Bibliography 1986-96,* Maley acknowledges that the considerable interest in Spenser's *View* during this period is largely due to the critical analysis of this work by S. J. Greenblatt and N. P. Canny in the early 1980s, and that many of the works cited in the bibliography owe their existence to these two important interventions.[10] The different interpretations of the *View,* notably by Canny[11] and Brady,[12] are due to the complexity of Spenser's allegorical style of which Canny observes; 'what text of the sixteenth century is clear and unambiguous?'[13] What is clear and unambiguous is Brady's summation of Spenser's solution to English domination of Ireland, namely, that the inevitable consequences of pursuing Spenserian policies would lead to 'general starvation, wide scale confiscation of Gaelic-Irish land, transportation of the population and the establishment of military rule over the whole country'.[14] Canny proposes that these were the policies of New English soldiers and planters in Ireland such as Barnaby Rich, Sir William Herbert and other provincial officials.[15] The *View* was circulated amongst the British administration in manuscript form before being finally published by Sir James Ware, a New English Official, in 1633.[16] By that time it had become the 'unofficial' hardnosed strategy carried out by generals such as Mountjoy, Strafford and Cromwell in their separate attempts to anglicise Ireland.[17] Canny adds that the formal text 'elaborated upon ideas, prejudices and responses that were widespread among those thousands of

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[10] W. Maley, 'Spenser and Ireland: An Annotated Bibliography, 1986-96', *Irish University Review, Special Issue: Spenser in Ireland: The Faerie Queene, 1596-1996,* Vol. 26, No. 2, (Autumn/Winter 1996), pp. 342-354.

[11] N. Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the Development of an Anglo-Irish Identity', *The Yearbook of English Studies: Colonial and Imperial Themes,* No. 13, pp. 1-19; C. Brady 'Debate: Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present,* No. 120, (August 1988), pp. 210-215.

[12] C. Brady, 'Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present,* No. 111, (May 1988), pp. 17-49.

[13] N. Canny, *Spenser's Irish Crisis,* p. 203.

[14] C. Brady, 'Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', p. 18.

[15] N. Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the Development of an Anglo-Irish Identity', p. 1-19.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] M. West, 'Spenser's Art of War: Chivalric Allegory, Military Technology and the Elizabethan Mock-Heroic Sensibility' *Renaissance Quarterly,* Vol. 41, No. 4, (Winter, 1988), pp. 654-704.

Englishmen who were involved in Government service in Ireland at the close of the reign of Elizabeth I'.[18] The ideas that were advanced to legitimise that programme gained wider currency in England in succeeding years particularly after England had lapsed into the chaos of civil war. Although Canny argues that *The View* was central to English policy in Ireland throughout much of the seventeenth century,[19] his argument does not enjoy universal acceptance. Brady challenges the idea that Spenser may be treated as a spokesman for an emerging consensus amongst English settlers and that 'new arrivals such as Sir Robert Gardner, the soldier, Captain Thomas Lee and the planter Robert Payne offered far less gloomy accounts of Ireland's 'disease' and made far less radical proposals for its cure'.[20] Moreover the centrality of Spenser's *View* to English policy in Ireland as argued by Canny, is further challenged by D. A. Orr, who suggests that the writings of Sir John Davies,[21] Attorney General to Sir Arthur Chichester, offered a rival program of state building, rather than 'completing and complementing the *View's* programme, with the sword having already cleared the way for the robe in the conquest of Ireland'.[22]

Orr argues that Davies, unlike Spenser, saw the common law as the necessary, rational, civilising agent for raising the Irish from their 'barbaric' condition:

> The common law would impose an external juristic order, enfranchising and denizening the Irish making them lawful subjects of the crown; this change in their legal status would, given the passage of time, eventually effect their inward transformation into rational civil beings and their assimilation into English culture.[23]

To Davies, the defeat of Tyrone signalled the first legitimate conquest of Ireland by the English and the country was now ripe for full scale legal reform. The changing of the native Irish's legal status from 'Irish Enemies' to lawful subjects of the crown was essential to raising them from their 'barbaric condition'. Orr summarises Davies's central view that the Irish were 'so out of the protection of the law as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in times of peace. The native Irish were not legal persons at

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[18] N. Canny, *Making Ireland British* (Oxford University Press, New York, 2001), p. 58.

[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 1-58.

[20] C. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis', p. 22.

[21] J. Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued and Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England until his Majesty's Happy Reign. Printed Exactly from the Edition of 1612* (A. Millar, London, 1747).

[22] D. A. Orr, 'From a View to a Discovery: Edmund Spenser, Sir John Davis, and the Defects of Law in the Realm of Ireland', *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. 38, Issue 3, (December, 2003), p. 397.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 401.

common law; they could not hold suit in the King's courts in Ireland and their lives, goods, and estates did not fall under the protection of the King's law'[24]. Pocock describes Sir John Davies' work as 'an early classic of colonial history and administrative literature, which proposed that only the Anglicisation of tenure could bring about settled conditions in Irish society', and states that the work is an 'intercultural if still ethnocentric history, concerned with conflict and crossbreeding between societies differently based'.[25]

The vulnerability of the Gaelic Irish to extremists is highlighted by Bradshaw,[26] who calls for a distinction between, on the one hand, 'garrison hardliners' such as Barnaby Rich, a soldier of fortune and pamphleteer, and Richard Bingham, who brutally suppressed Connaught during the last decade of the sixteenth century,[27] and on the other hand the 'persuasive' strategies advocated by Edmund Spenser, Sir John Davies and earlier, Adam Loftus, Bishop of Dublin. Where Barnaby Rich declared in his pamphlet *Allarme to England* in 1578 that 'there are a greater number that are not to be reformed but by the most bitter and sharp punishment indeed', Bradshaw observes that whilst Spenser's *View* advocated similar purgation it was to be seen as 'a necessary cost of achieving more civilised conditions and a gentler regimen'.[28] There is no record of whether the Gaelic Irish observed or indeed appreciated this fine distinction in the way that their culture, language and identity would ultimately be subsumed.

The question as to whether English dominion over Ireland was as a result of military conquest following the arrival of Henry II's forces at Waterford in 1171, or assimilated by consent with the signing of the Treaty of Windsor in 1175 between the High King of Ireland, Rory O'Connor and Henry II, was of crucial importance to the New English (Anglo-Irish) settlers of post Cromwellian, Restoration Ireland. A significant contemporary contribution to this debate was William Molyneaux's attempt to ground the legality of English rights in Ireland on consent rather than on conquest. In his analysis of Molyneaux's argument *The Case for Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated,* published in 1698, Patrick Kelly explores this argument which sought to

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[24] *Ibid.*
[25] J. G. A. Pocock, 'History: A Plea for a new Subject', *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol. 47, No. 4, (December, 1975), p. 604.
[26] B. Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy', p. 483.
[27] *Ibid.,* p. 402.
[28] *Ibid.*

justify the confiscation of Catholic Irish land and property and establish Irish Protestants as the true inheritors of the constitution granted by Henry II.[29] Kelly explores Molyneaux's argument that by accepting English laws and customs, the Irish had also accepted the penalties for future rebellion namely, the confiscation of their lands and property, and observes:

> Contrary to what might at first seem the case, therefore, free consent, binding people to its consequences – both foreseen and unforeseen – is ultimately far more coercive than military conquest.[30]

It is noted that Molyneaux's argument, formulated after the Williamite conquest of Ireland, uses the all inclusive generic expression 'Catholic Irish' to include the Old English Catholics who as the founders of port towns such as Galway, had played a central role in the establishment of English sovereignty in Ireland, but by the end of the seventeenth century had lost their unique identity.

Though Molyneaux's attempt to ground the legitimacy of English supremacy in Ireland at the end of the seventeenth century is clearly an Anglo-centred version of historical events, the Gaelic Irish aristocracy and literati at the beginning of the seventeenth century found no difficulty in using a similar re-working of historical events to accommodate the accession of James I. As the son of the deeply devout Catholic, Mary, Queen of Scots, there were great expectations that his reign would bring with it a greater tolerance of Catholicism, so much so that the likelihood was pre-empted by both the Catholic Old English and Gaelic communities leading to the so-called 'Recusancy Revolt' of 1603. Although the Old English had no difficulty in accepting James I of England as their rightful king, it was through his Scottish lineage that the Gaelic aristocracy found an acceptable route to embrace the succession. In a letter to the King of Spain, O' Neill and O' Donnell expressed their hopes that 'they would receive from the King many favours and in particular their liberty of conscience'.[31] This optimism was given further impetus by the re-working of genealogical and other material to promote James I's Gaelic pedigree. This legitimacy is illustrated in two Ulster poems written

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[29] P. Kelly, 'Conquest Versus Consent as the Basis of the English Title to Ireland in William Molyneaux's *Case of Ireland, Stated (1698)'*, in C. Brady and J. Ohlmeyer, (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005), pp. 334-356.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[31] B. Ó Buachalla, 'James Our True King: The Ideology of Irish Royalism in the Seventeenth Century', in D. G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall, V. Geoghegan (eds.), *Political Thought In Ireland Since the Seventeenth Century*, (Routledge, Oxford, 1993), p. 9.

immediately after James I accession. In an extract from the first, written by Fermanagh poet Eochaidh Ó hEodhasa he writes:

> The brilliant sun has lit up, King James is the dispersal of all mists; The mutual mourning of all, he has changed to glory; great the signs of change
>
> More remarkable than that is the fact that we; the troubled people of Ireland, that each one of us has forgotten the tribulation of all anxieties.
>
> It is meet for us, though I say so, to bid farewell to our yoke of anxiety: the helpful eye of our King supercedes the lasting forces of our sorrow.[32]

The second extract, from Donegal poet Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird is unequivocal in justifying James I's right to be crowned King of Ireland:

> For three hundred years – lasting their effect – is it in the possession of the high Kings ancestors…Scotland of the smooth-earthed land was held by nine of his family before him: I will give you their names…
>
> O prince whose hand gives straight judgment – it will now be said – talk not of 'taking new territory'; thou hast already a right to red-sworded Ireland.[33]

Any lasting hopes and expectations that the arrival of James I would bring about a *rapprochement* between the English Protestant and Old English/Gaelic Irish society were to be quickly dispelled as James I moved swiftly to establish his divine and very much Protestant rights over his Irish domains.

The two distinctly different views on the legitimacy of English hegemony in Ireland illustrated above and articulated at the terminal dates of this thesis underscore the complex nature of English involvement in Ireland during the seventeenth century. Over the course of the seventeenth century Ireland's political and economic structures were systematically taken over by an English administration. Although this resulted in the majority of the population being left as a landless and often homeless underclass, some sections of Irish society, particularly the Old English merchant classes and some members of the Irish aristocracy escaped much of the economic consequences of the land seizures and confiscations. But no one group escaped the dismantling of the social orders which had provided the moral and social compass for both the Old English and Gaelic Irish. For the inhabitants of the Old English port towns such as Galway, this meant the loss of their status as semi-independent city states, empowered by ancient charters to set their own local laws and customs. For the Gaelic Irish the cuts into the ancient fabric of their society

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[32] *Ibid.* p.10.

[33] *Ibid.*

went much deeper. The abolition of tainistry and the imposition of English laws on determining land ownership effectively destroyed the central core of the clan system' as did the substitution of English law for that of Brehon law. The process of demolishing two distinctly different social orders which had co-existed, albeit in often tense and hostile circumstances for nearly three hundred years, created the furnace in which, by the end of the seventeenth century, was forged a single society, that of Irish Catholics, who, though representing the majority of the population on the island of Ireland, were subject to English Protestant, political, economic and cultural dominion.

There is little disagreement amongst historians that the process by which this hegemony was achieved was 'colonialism', and that throughout the course of the seventeenth century Ireland was, 'uniquely in Western Europe, a "colonised" rather than a "colonising/imperial" country'.[34] However this study is concerned primarily with the question of what happened to the town of Galway its population during the upheavals of the seventeenth century. It avoids, wherever possible, engaging with ongoing colonial and post-colonial studies which seek to explore the ideological background to English 'colonialism' in Ireland including the extension of an 'Atlantic archipelago' with the development of the Caribbean and North American colonial settlements.[35] Rather emphasis is placed on seeking to understand the process of 'colonialism' in a seventeenth century Irish context. J. Ruane draws attention to the enormous scope for variation in attempting to arrive at an appropriate definition since it may include 'some or all of the following dimensions; economic, political, military, legal, cultural, psychological or

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[34] W.J. Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscapes and Memory, A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750*, (Cork University Press, Cork, 2006), p. 9.

[35] Some informed works on these ongoing studies include: N. Canny, 'Ideology of English Colonisation: From Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Volume 30, Number 4 (October 1973) pp. 575-598; N. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland*, (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1976), N. Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800*, (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1988); N. Canny, *Making Ireland British*; J. Ohlmeyer, 'Seventeenth Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories', *The American Historical Review*, Volume 104, Number 2 (April 1999), pp. 446-462; S.G. Ellis, 'Writing Irish History: Revisionism, Colonialism, and the British Isles', *The Irish Review*, Number 19, Spring-Summer, 1996), pp. 1-21; N. Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, (Penguin Group, London, 2004); C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641*, (Irish Academic Press, Bungay, 1986).

racial'.[36] Ruane distinguishes between colonialism as a process and colonial social systems; the process being:

> The intrusion into and conquest of an inhabited territory by the representatives (formal and informal) of an external power; the displacement of the native inhabitants (elites and/or commoners) from resources and positions of power; the subsequent exercise of economic. Political and cultural control over the territory and natives population by the intruders and their descendants, in their own interests and in the name and interests of the external power.

And a colonial social system as being one in which:

> The conflicts and contradictions associated with an initial colonising process remain salient for its present structure and functioning.[37]

This focus on process is further refined by Don Meinig who defines colonialism as:'The aggressive encroachment of one people upon the territory of another, resulting in the subjugation of the latter people under alien rule.'[38]

Meinig proposes five common categorisations of different aspects of human life, namely political, social, cultural, economic, and physiological, as a framework within which to define a distinctly geographical approach to the study of imperialism. In doing so Meinig seeks to distance imperialism from any specific ideological motive by defining it as a relationship between two peoples recognisable in some form throughout the record of human history.[39] In doing so he is careful to emphasise that although this definition in no way ignores the fact that this relationship can be a painful experience for those involved, it allows for an understanding of what happened, how have areas, places , peoples changed as a result of the process, before searching for causes and assigning blame.[40]

In Meinig's model the first process is to exercise political authority over the invaded areas by positioning people at strategic locations backed by military forces. This in turn creates a new social stratum in which the colonial power usurps the former 'ethnic aristocracy'. As this social revolution develops, relationships between the invaders and

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[36] J. Ruane, 'Colonialism and Irish Historical Development', in M. Silverman and P.H. Gulliver (eds.), *Approaching the Past, Historical Anthropology Through Irish Case Studies,* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1992), p. 295.

[37] *Ibid.,* pp. 295-296.

[38] D.W. Meinig, 'Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion', in A.R.H. Baker and M. Billinge (eds.), *Period and Place: Research methods in Historical Geography,* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), p. 71.

[39] *Ibid.,* p. 74

[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 71-75.

invaded broadens as contacts develop between a range of 'social intermediaries' including lawyers, teachers, bankers, etc. In some circumstances, miscegenation may lead to the emergence of a third social group which may be assigned to a different segment of the social geography of the area. Prolonged social contact also leads to cultural changes in society as instruments of the invader such as schools, law courts churches and the events of every day life impact on both societies.

Joe Cleary, in developing his typology of overseas colonisation, identified four types of dominant colonial development; administrative, plantation, pure settlement and mixed settlement. The emergence of a mixed settlement society following conquest and colonisation was a predominant feature of the Iberian conquest of the South American highlands and came about largely as a result of a small and largely male population of colonisers integrating with a much larger native population which in turn served as a buffer between the settler and native societies.[41] Although there are some marked similarities between the mixed colonial settlements of South America and those of Ireland, religious affiliation, not race, predominated as an ethnic marker. Although there well may have been some degree of miscegenation within the complex mix of Old English, New English, Gaelic Irish and Scots-Ulster societies, it was along the minority Protestant/majority Catholic divide that a unique mixed settlement model developed with the majority Catholic population seen as the inferior class, unfit to hold office, denied their civil rights and distrusted.[42]

Most forms of colonialism seek to extract wealth from the conquered territories in the form of land seizures, new property laws, rents taxation and the imposition of a new economic order which works in favour of the imperial power, such as trade embargoes. Meinig argues the invaders need to seek some form of allegiance with the conquered people in order to minimise the cost of maintaining their dominant position. This shift in psychological focus involves the manipulation of symbols of authority to create a measure of fear, respect and admiration. Visible symbols of authority are erected such as

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[41] J. Cleary, 'Misplaced Ideas? Colonisation, Location, and Dislocation in Irish Studies', in C. Carroll and P. King (eds.), *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory,* (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003), pp. 30-31.

[42] *Ibid.*; W. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory,* pp. 12-13.

fortresses, official residences, law courts and gateways, as well as the building of walls and the creation of separate urban spaces separating the 'natives and newcomers'[43]

ECONOMIC DEBATES

The main problem in examining the economic history of the port town of Galway in the seventeenth century is the near absence of objective evidence which would support a balanced and comprehensive comparative study of the town's economic development over the period. Since the late twentieth century, studies in the economic history of the period have been considerably advanced by new approaches to analysing the surviving records. This includes interpreting the evidence not just against a background of English dominion outlined above but as part of the development of international mercantilism and the opening up of the Atlantic trade routes.

This scholarship and the debate that it has provoked provide useful pointers in developing a framework for a better understanding of how Galway's economy was shaped and transformed over the seventeenth century as the merchant classes adapted not just to the impact on their society of English colonial policy, but to the threats and opportunities presented by the fundamental changes to their traditional commercial and trading environments.

F. J. Fisher uses the term the 'dark ages of modern economic and social history' to emphasis the paucity of detailed primary documentation for this period [44], adding:

> A generation ago, the main requirement of an economic historian was that he should be able to read, since most of his sources were literary. The archetype of the learned monograph consisted of a thin rivulet of text meandering through wide and lush meadows of footnotes.[45]

Louis Cullen has argued that understanding seventeenth-century economic and social history becomes 'all the more unsettled once we accept the argument that the malevolent intent claimed for English policy towards Ireland has been greatly overstated'.[46] Cullen's observation highlights the need to examine Galway's economic and social demise over the seventeenth century as more than just the inevitable consequence of English colonial

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[43] *Ibid.*

[44] F. J. Fisher, 'The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The "Dark Ages" in English Economic History', *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 24, No. 93 (February, 1957), pp. 2-18.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

[46] L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-91', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol. III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 386.

and mercantilist policy. All the more so, since there were winners as well as losers who thrived and prospered under the same regime. Dublin in particular, Cork, Waterford and towards the end of the century Belfast, all grew substantially while the port town of Galway's fortunes declined.

Assembling a body of evidence which allows for a better understanding of the economic threats and opportunities which surfaced during the course of the seventeenth century was constrained, until the latter half of the twentieth century, by the neglect of Irish economic history as a discipline in its own right. Writing in 1980, L.A. Clarkson observed:

> If economic history is defined as that which is written by professional economic historians, there is little of it; the combined profession in Irish universities, north and south, would be hard pressed to raise a rugby team. Much recent economic history is the work of general historians, economists, archivists, folklorists and enthusiastic amateurs. A large part of their writings qualifies as economic or social history only on the most elastic definitions.[47]

However, he acknowledges the advances made since the late 1960s following the formation of the Irish Economic History Group (formerly constituted as the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland in 1970), and points to the growing bibliography of relevant work, in the volumes of *Irish Economic and Social History* published annually since 1974.[48] Recent publications of this bibliography compiled by Cunningham and Gillespie and by Boran bear testament to this work.[49] Roy Foster on commenting on the problems of writing Irish history stated that these new studies reflected:

> Their achievements in applying quantitative methods, demographic analysis, international market factors and modernisation theory to areas previously reserved for moralising generalisation.[50]

In his preface to *An Economic History of Ireland, since 1660*, Cullen highlights the difficulties faced by economic historians until recent times in developing a coherent analysis of Ireland's economic history from near inaccessible archival material.[51] He

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[47] L. A. Clarkson, 'The Writing of Irish Economic and Social History Since 1968', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 33, No. 1 (February, 1980), p.100.

[48] *Ibid.*, p.101

[49] See B. Cunningham and R. Gillespie, 'Select Bibliography of Writings on Irish Economic and Social History', *Irish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 30, (2002), pp. 89-127; M. Boran, 'Select Bibliography of Writings on Irish Economic and Social History', *Irish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 32, (2005), pp. 99-142.

[50] R. Foster, 'The Problems of Writing Irish History', *History Today*, Vol. 24, (1984), p. 28.

[51] L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660*, (B. T. Batsford, London, 1972).

acknowledges however that major advances have been achieved through the work of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, and the growth of collections containing material of economic and social interest.[52] *An Economic History of Ireland,* which at the time of publication in 1972 had the distinction of being the first textbook on Irish economic history to be published for 60 years, takes as its major theme that Irish economic history should be explained in terms of factor endowments and market opportunities, rather than by political preoccupations deriving from the Anglo-Irish political conflict.[53] Or, as Roy Foster observes:

> Where economics intruded upon traditional Irish history they were either subjected to a moral rational whereby English dominion caused Irish economic decline, (an interpretation given academic currency by Alice Murray's *History of the Financial and Commercial Relations between England and Ireland from the Period of the Restoration* in 1903, which was still on reading lists fifty years later) or else interpreted as effect rather than cause of [in the case of] Ulster's separateness.[54]

Although the negative effect of expulsions and exclusion cannot be ignored as major influences impacting upon Galway's economic and social well-being, detailed attention is given in the main body of this work to examining Galway's unique geographic and strategic location so as to assess the relative influence of those factors on the town's development.

This revisionist approach to Irish history, making sense of how things happened, reached a highpoint in the late twentieth century although Brendan Bradshaw, in his robust criticism of revisionist, 'value-free' interpretation of the past, described Moody, Martin and Byrne's, *A New History of Ireland* as 'A survey history which exemplifies all the virtues and all the vices of the modern professional school'.[55] Bradshaw acknowledges the advances achieved by T.W. Moody *et al* in mining the archival resources and adding to the stock of historical knowledge via a stream of books, articles and academic theses, but challenges the underlying basis of the interpretation of the material by the revisionist school which is articulated by T.W. Moody in that:

> It is not Irish History but Irish mythology that has been ruinous to us and may prove even more lethal. History is a matter of facing the facts of the Irish past, however

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[52] *Ibid.,* p. v.

[53] L. A. Clarkson, 'The Writing of Irish Economic and Social History Since 1968', p. 101.

[54] R. F. Foster, 'The Problems of Writing Irish History', p. 28.

[55] B. Bradshaw, 'Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Modern Ireland, *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 26 No 104, (November 1989), p. 149.

painful some of them may be; mythology is a way of refusing to face the historical facts.[56]

In critically reviewing the robust debate on arguments for and against Irish historical revisionism during the last two decades of the twentieth century, Nancy Curtin summarises Moody's approach that revisionism 'thus challenges nationalist and republican history which it finds methodically suspect and freighted with teleological and untenable assumptions'.[57] Bradshaw however, in summing up his extensive critical analysis of the "value free" approach contends:

> The aspiration towards the development of a "value-free" history has flawed the achievement of the professional school of Irish historians since its establishment in the early 1930s. That principle has shown itself to be inappropriate as a means of approaching the Irish historical experience in two major respects. On the one hand the inherent limitations of the principle have been revealed in the inhibitions displayed by its practitioners in face of the catastrophic dimensions of Irish history. On the other hand, its vulnerability to tacit bias has been highlighted by the negative revisionism practised in its name in exploring the Irish nationalist tradition.[58]

Bradshaw does not advocate, however, a capitulation to uncritical public history moulded within the nationalist tradition but an imaginative and empathetic approach which concedes nothing in the way of critical standards of scholarship while at the same time responding sensitively to the totality of the Irish historical experience.[59] Bradshaw's challenge to what had become an established modern historiographical tradition had been directed at an earlier suggestion from S. G. Ellis that urged the modification or replacement of particular terms and concepts which have traditionally been used by historians but which, he argued, were an obstacle to a more balanced, pluralistic understanding of Ireland's past.[60]

It has been said that early twentieth century writers in economic history such as Alice Murray and George O'Brien 'lacked proper econometric analysis and deflected attention from the people and fixed it on the state', and that O'Brien's works 'represented the *locus classicus* of the nationalist explanation of Irish underdevelopment'.[61] But

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[56] T. W. Moody, 'Irish History and Irish Mythology', *Hermathena*, Vol. 124, (Summer 1978), p. 23.

[57] N. L. Curtin, 'Varieties of Irishness: Historical Revisionism, Irish Style', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2, (April, 1996), p. 198.

[58] B. Bradshaw, 'Nationalism and historical scholarship in modern Ireland, p. 350

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] S. G. Ellis, 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 97, (May 1986), pp. 1-18.

[61] Cited in M. McCarthy, 'Writing Ireland's Historical Geographies', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (2002) p. 535.

nonetheless their work, although discounting some of their more contentious conclusions, contains excellent scholarship, concerning the statistical details of Irish trade and commerce and as such they make a valuable contribution to the overall study of commercial activity in seventeenth century Ireland.[62]

Key aspects of the economic history of seventeenth century Ireland are examined by the contributors to Volume 3 of the *The New History of Ireland*.[63] Canny hailed the term "Early Modern Ireland" in its title "as a landmark in Irish historiography" and commended the authors on their choice of terminal dates (1534 and 1691) for the period as a welcome departure from the conventional regnal years, 1485 and 1714.[64] He observed that the decision to re-position the dates for this critical period:

> Enabled the authors of the narrative section to pursue through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such important themes as the growth of state power, the shift in land ownership, the impact of formal religion on native practise and the conflict between those who promoted and those who resisted such developments.[65]

The volume contains significant contributions towards a fuller understanding of seventeenth century economic history.[66] Whilst the contributions have been generally welcomed as constructive interpretations of the various facets of Ireland's historical past, *A New History of Ireland* had its detractors. One concern centred on the basic assumptions made by Moody at the outset that, 'if we as historians seek hard enough we will not only *find* a consensus in Irish history but we will also *produce* a consensus in contemporary Irish life'.[67] Written as this was, at the start of the fresh wave of violence during the 1970s, Bartlett commented that, 'retrospectively Moody's remarks seem anachronistic to a generation of historians that has learned to be wary of strident claims concerning their influence on, or responsibility for, the political and civil turmoil of the

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[62] A. E. Murray, *A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations Between England and Ireland from the Period of Restoration,* Studies in Economics and Political Science (P.S. King and Son, London, 1903); G. O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (A. M. Kelly, New Jersey, 1972).

[63] T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, (eds.), *A New History of Ireland.*

[64] T. Bartlett, 'A New History of Ireland', *Past and Present,* No. 116, (August, 1987), p. 209.

[65] N. Canny, 'Early Modern Ireland: An Appraisal Appraised', *Irish Economic and Social History,* Volume iv, (1977), pp. 56-65.

[66] R. A. Butlin, 'Land and People, *c.* 1600', pp. 143-167; A. Clarke, 'The Irish Economy, 1600-1660', pp. 168-186; L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', pp. 387-407; J. H. Andrews, 'Land and People, *c.* 1685', M. Dolley, 'The Irish Coinage', pp. 409-419, in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne,(eds.), *A New History of Ireland.*

[67] T. Bartlett, *A New History of Ireland'* p. 208.

last two decades.[68] Much of modern Irish historiography concerning the seventeenth century attempts to avoid narratives which seek to blend, or at least partially blend informed economic analysis with the more subjective "political preoccupations deriving from Anglo-Irish political conflict".[69] However, the impact of early seventeenth-century fiscal and mercantile measures by James I, and later Charles I, have been inextricably linked to the eventual loss of the support of Old English port towns such as Galway at the start of the Gaelic Irish uprising in 1641. Victor Treadwell has suggested that the new customs policy implied a fundamental displacement of an old and generally amicable relationship between the Crown and the port corporations and that:

> The resumption and farming of the Irish customs were thus to make a significant contribution to the politicisation of the corporations and to their integration in the general Anglo-Irish [Old English] opposition to the anglicising and centralisation policies of the early Stuarts that have been seen as a principal agent in the Irish version of the 'general crisis' of the seventeenth century.[70]

Following the Restoration, Irish economic and social history becomes easier to chart but, as Cullen has observed, the lack of detailed information prior to the Restoration makes it difficult to compare change with established trends for previous periods and that this appears to be particularly true of population estimates which serve as effective pointers to economic trends.[71] Population estimates for seventeenth century Ireland are at the very least speculative, given the lack of any comprehensive/absolute base data, and the largely unrecorded birth and death rates. Cullen has offered an informed analysis of the work of the principal writers and their conclusions, supported by an analysis of key demographic pointers, rapid population growth interspersed with demographic cataclysm. Cullen advises caution in the manner in which such data is utilised and suggests that:

> While the estimates, often amounting to mere guess work, reflect belief in what is happening in economic society, once formed they are frequently employed to give a hard edge to economic and social phenomena described by historians. They are by no

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[68] *Ibid.*

[69] L. A. Clarkson, 'The Writing of Irish Economic and Social History Since 1968', p. 101.

[70] V. Treadwell, 'The Establishment of the Farm of the Irish Customs, 1603-1613', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 93, No. 368 (July, 1968), pp. 580-602. For further background reading to the fiscal policies of James I see; J. Cramsie, 'Commercial Projects and the Fiscal Policy of James VI and I', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 43, No. 2, (June, 2000), pp. 345-364; R. Ashton, 'Revenue Farming under the Early Stuarts', *The Economic History Review,* New Series, Vol. 8, No. 3, (1956), pp. 310-322.

[71] L.M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-91', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol. III,* p.387.

means independent data which may corroborate conclusions arrived at from other sources.[72]

Despite this, in his contribution to *A New History of Ireland*,[73] Cullen draws parallels with the rate of population being consistent with the rapid expansion of Irish trade during the latter half of the seventeenth century, which in turn accounts for significant variations in population and town size. Importantly for this study, Cullen has offered as examples the rapid rise in the populations of Dublin, quadrupling in size by the end of the century, the doubling in size of Limerick and Waterford and the relative stagnation of Galway during the same period.[74] The rate of increase in the population of Cork however overshadowed that of all other urban centre's, increasing eight fold from 3,000 in 1600 to *c.* 24,275 by 1700.[75] This increase is attributed not only to the growing Atlantic provisions trade but also to the influx of New English Protestant settlers. In Dublin, by contrast, there was no need to fill empty spaces, because no expulsions of native settlers had occurred there.[76]

Central to an understanding of the changed economic environment which triggered these regional variations during the latter half of the seventeenth century, is the key role played by the imposition of the Cattle Acts which commenced in July 1664. In her extensive study of these critical mercantilist measures Carolyn Edie has commented that:

> The Irish cattle trade and the English efforts to stamp it out appear and reappear on accounts of the political, constitutional, and economic history of Restoration England, of the theory and practice of mercantilism, of the origins of English colonial policies, and of sources of the American Revolution.[77]

The reaction of the Irish agricultural industry was to develop new opportunities for barrelled provisions in European and non-British American markets. It was an early and important indication that in so far as it was within English power to do so, Irish interests were to be subordinated to the political and economic needs of England. Though the implications of the point were not fully realised until 30 years after the first Cattle Bill, in

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[72] L. M. Cullen, 'Population Trends in Seventeenth Century Ireland', *Economic and Social Review,* VI., 2 (1975), p. 149.

[73] L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-91', pp. 390-391.

[74] *Ibid.,* p. 391.

[75] M. McCarthy, 'The Forging of an Atlantic Port City: Socio-Economic and Physical Transformation in Cork, 1660-1700', *Urban History,* Vol. 28, No. 1 (2001), p. 25.

[76] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

[77] C. A. Edie, 'The Irish Cattle Bills: A Study in Restoration Politics', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* New Series, Volume 60, No. 2, (1970), p. 5.

the intervening years, Ireland found itself regarded increasingly as a colony or conquered territory by its former "sister kingdom" and its fortunes more and more subjected to the authority of the parliament at Westminster, in which it had no representation.[78]

WRITING IRISH URBAN HISTORY

This study, which examines the history of the port town of Galway between 1600 and 1700, while greatly influenced by the political, economic and social changes of the time, is above all, an urban history of one of a very few settlements which, during the course of the seventeenth century, existed in an otherwise thinly populated rural landscape. The study takes cognisance of the limitations of early attempts to chart the historical scholarship by raising awareness of the contribution that well-informed urban histories, urban historical geographies and urban archaeologies can make to an overall understanding of the Irish urban past in all its various guises.

Whilst the majority of the population of Ireland at the start of the twenty-first century, (60 percent), live in cities and towns, for the greater part of the twentieth century urban centres have contributed very little towards symbolising Irish identity.[79] Even into the twenty-first century, Ireland's rural landscape is still the prime focus of the various tourism agencies, and the racks of picture-postcards found in tourist-centres and retail outlets, contain depictions of seascapes, thatched cottages, green fields, donkeys and rural pubs. Images of cityscapes and townscapes are rare although with the arrival of 'City Break' tourism in the first decade of the twenty-first century, scenes depicting iconic cityscapes such as the Millennium Spire in Dublin have become more available.

It is difficult not to associate this urban 'myopia' with similar problems identified earlier, in the conflicting interpretations of Ireland's economic and social history, and the associated arguments concerning the impact of colonialism. Working backwards in time, late nineteenth century urban developments were bi-products of Ireland's industrial revolution. Towns, such as Belfast, developed around their proto industries. Other urban development sprung up around railway junctions, stations, and termini. Fashionable seaside urban holiday resorts grew in places such as Bray in County Wicklow and

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 5. Also so see: L. M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1880* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1968), p. .2.

[79] A. Simms, 'The Origin of the Irish Town', in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews, (eds.), *Irish Country Towns* (Mercer Press, Cork, 1994), p. 11.

Salthill, in Galway. Eighteenth century urban expansion came by way of estate towns built as adjuncts to the iconic emblem of Anglo-Irish ascendancy, the 'Big House'. The plantation towns of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were unequivocally built to secure the Anglicisation of the country following the defeat of Gaelic Irish resistance and later, as an aftermath of the Cromwellian wars, to accommodate the wave of New English Protestants who replaced the defeated supporters of the Confederate Wars, both Gaelic and Old English, who were transplanted to Connacht, transported to the New World colonies, or exiled to Europe. These plantation towns were preceded by the pre-Reformation urban settlements built by the descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquest. A few, like Galway, were developed on 'greenfield' sites, but most, like Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, were developed from earlier Viking settlements or even earlier Christian settlements. Armagh and Rosscarbery, representing the latter category, uniquely thrived though surrounded by a Gaelic dominated hinterland. Whereas it is understandable that this morphology of the Irish town could be seen as a seamless progression of colonisation and conquest of Gaelic Ireland, nonetheless it occupies its own space within Ireland's historiography.

The association of the urban past with English colonialism and of the rural idyll as the true home of the Gaelic Irish, and by extension nationalist culture, once proved to be one of the more significant obstacles to the development of Irish urban historical studies. Following the War of Independence, the Irish people had to confront some new realities associated with their hard won freedom, amongst which were the extent to which the Treaty would allow them to exercise their political independence in the future, and also in their new found relationship with their own history. Gabriel Doherty asks: 'Was the past an irrelevance to the problems posed by independence or should they [the Irish people] continue to look to it for inspiration to guide the fortunes of their new state? For the most part the answer lay in the latter approach with results that are still making themselves apparent'.[80] He illustrates this belief in the durability of Gaelic society by quoting from *Irish Monthly*, an otherwise restrained periodical, published in 1943:

> No other form of social organisation, one suspects, has continued to support so many
> people on small areas, in enjoyment of the truly good things of the earth – true wealth

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[80] G. Doherty, 'National Identity and the Study of Irish History, *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 111, No. 441, (April, 1996), p. 342.

> as distinct from money. The humble were not like the poor of urban societies, removed
> from sight and mind. They were members of the family circle. They sat at the family
> board in the big hall.[81]

Moreover, rural bias was a fundamental part of Eamon de Valera's political credo which dominated Irish politics for much of the middle of the twentieth century, and 'de Valera-ism' has been used by some commentators to describe his vision of Ireland as an essentially rural country, embodying all the virtues by which its culture was characterised. Consequently the 'rural' took precedence over the 'urban' in many aspects of government policy.[82] Against this background the writing of Irish urban history and the emergence of a multi-disciplinary approach to a better understanding of Ireland's urban past is examined below.

Early Irish Urban Histories

In Ireland meaningful observations on urban settlement began only in the 1570s and early 1580s with the writings of Richard Stanihurst[83] and shortly after by the inclusion of Ireland in William Camden's *Britannia* which included a description of Galway published in 1607.[84] Andrews observes that early-modern English writers like Camden tended towards flattering descriptions of towns so as not to offend the residents, and that many early urban historians were residents of the places they wrote about.[85] In an example of the pride and its rationale in Elizabethan England, he quotes John Hooker of Exeter as a contemporary Elizabethan local historian who described townhood as:

> A multitude of people assembled or collected to the end to continue and live together
> in a common society yielding dutiful obedience to their superiors and mutual love to
> [one] another.[86]

This quintessentially Tudor imagery of a town was of course totally alien to Gaelic culture, which was almost entirely rural in nature, and which, moreover, regarded the establishment of towns following the Norman Conquest as essentially representing an imposed alien culture or an icon of conquest. Not surprisingly, although Gaelic society

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[81] *Ibid.,* p. 343.

[82] M. McCarthy, *The Historical Geography of Cork's Transformation from a Late Medieval Town into an Atlantic Port City, 1600-170,* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Geography Department, University College Cork, 1997), p. 12.

[83] J. Andrews, 'The Study of Irish Country Towns', in A. Simms and J. H. Andrews, *More Irish Country Towns* (Mercier Press, Cork, 1995), p. 9.

[84] John Speed copied Norden's map of Surrey for the first edition of Camden's *Britannia*. L. Stevens and S. Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975), p. 726.

[85] J. Andrews, 'The Study of Irish Country Towns', p. 10.

[86] *Ibid.*

readily adopted much of the alien material culture concerned with warfare (stone castles, armour and weaponry), urban life and culture was almost entirely rejected. By the late middle-ages there is no record of an Anglo-Norman borough continuing to exist under a Gaelic secular lord outside of the Anglo-Norman controlled areas, except possibly for the port of Sligo.[87] Urban centres in purely Gaelic areas were confined to the Episcopal towns of Armagh and Rosscarbery (which in 1517 was a walled town containing 200 houses),[88] and the only known example of town development under a Gaelic lord was Cavan, where some sort of town seems to have grown up under the O'Reilly family, whose lordship seems to approximate more closely to a 'State' than the more typical fluid lordships of sixteenth-century Gaelic Ireland.[89] Against this background Andrews, wonders whether many Irish writers, then or later would have defined a town in quite the same terms as Hooker and indeed 'what was the first Irish town history to be written by an author with an Irish sounding name let alone in the Irish language'.[90]

Even though there was an explosion in Irish urban growth from the beginning of the seventeenth century as new 'plantation' towns were built as part of the overall plan to Anglicise Ireland, little contemporary literature exists which plots the rise of these developments or records details of new commercial property, streetscapes and public buildings. Andrews attributes this absence of civic interest to the landlord class who financed and built them as adjuncts to their own estates rather than as new urban centre's Westport in County Mayo represents a classic example of a new town in which the old village of *Cathair na Mart* was re-located within the new town to accommodate the building of Westport House. Andrews has deplored the absence of a 'William Bradford'[91], a founding father of the New England colony of Plymouth, Massachusetts, whose journal, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, (1620-4), contains a meticulous account of the development of the colony in its formative years, including the building of civic amenities, social welfare, and most importantly interactions with the native Americans.[92] As a result it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that urban historical

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[87] K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1972), p. 122.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] J. Andrews, 'The Study of Irish Country Towns' p. 10.

[91] *Ibid.*, p.11.

[92] W. Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plimouth Plantation* (Wright & Potter, Boston, 1901).

scholarship began to emerge as a source of literary endeavour, and then initially only for pre-Reformation Anglo-Irish towns, as post conquest plantation towns were regarded as being too recent. Eighteenth century histories included Dublin, Limerick, Carrickfergus, and in the early nineteenth century, Armagh, Belfast (post plantation in provenance but by this time the second largest city in Ireland), Waterford and an important contribution for the purposes of this study, James Hardiman's *History of the Town of Galway*, published in 1820.[93] Hardiman adds his own lament to the lack of useful local histories and includes in his *History* a comprehensive summary of the editions known to him:

> While every city and town, nay almost every village and hamlet, in Great Britain, can boast of its history, or illustrative description, the efforts of the pen or the pencil, in a similar way, in Ireland, may be enumerated in a summary note.[94]

Immensely valuable as commentaries like Hardiman's are, particularly where they contain socio-economic data from the primary records many of which were destroyed in the Four Courts Fire in 1922, they are nonetheless mostly the product of a local educated elite. Clergymen, doctors and in Hardiman's case, lawyers who, as Andrews comments 'are unlikely to spend much time on features that were common to a great many other places'.[95] Moreover, because of their narrow local focus it is understandable that they dealt only superficially with controversial issues, particularly those which would have been in the living memory of many of the readers of such histories. Little may have changed in this regard up to modern times. In commenting on the relative ignorance of the social geography of Ireland's population centres, Andrews observes;

> Small towns are a small world, in which there is more than a sporting chance that the victims of a sociologist's published case-study might recognise their neighbours and themselves.[96]

In discussing the lack of critical analysis in early Irish urban historiography, Anthony Sheehan argued that such histories were often 'mere assemblages of unsystematically arranged anecdotes with little or no attempt to view the city as a totality

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[93] J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Folds and Son, Dublin, 1820).
[94] *Ibid.,* p. v.
[95] J. Andrews., 'The Study of Irish Country Towns', p. 13.
[96] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

or to present a view of its change over the centuries'.[97] They lack a theoretical framework within which to examine the social and political structures of Irish early modern towns and their relationship with the immediate hinterland, neighbouring towns, capital cities (Dublin) and central government (London). With the notable exception of Cork,[98] these omissions have for the most part been reflected in the almost total absence of a dedicated critical analysis of major Irish towns over the full course of the seventeenth century. O'Sullivan's *Old Galway*, whilst providing a valuable source of primary research and a fine example of a structured framework of the history of Galway from its twelfth century origins, terminates in 1659.[99] A significant contribution to an understanding of seventeenth century Irish urban life, MacLysaght's, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, systematically covers specific aspects of life in the period and in particular his descriptive chapter on town life.[100] Sadly, although his analysis was widely acclaimed at the time, his contribution did not serve as a stimulus for ongoing scholarship to develop and expand on his work.[101]

The focus on urban history and the move away from descriptive narrative to objective analysis was stimulated by the advent of applied social science from the mid-nineteenth century. Ireland was by that time Britain's prototype model of Empire and as such new measurements were introduced to classify the Irish town and countryside via census returns and other statistical evidence in order to assist in the better governance of the country. (The application of the then recently introduced Poor Laws would be an example). This wealth of source material from the nineteenth and early twentieth century which has allowed for more complex and detailed urban studies of the period to be undertaken, has also encouraged historians to apply these frameworks to earlier periods and to revisit the remnants of the archival records on which those studies were based. R.

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[97] A. Sheehan, 'Irish Towns in a Period of Change, 1558-1625', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie, (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers; Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society,1534-1641* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1986), p. 93.

[98] M. McCarthy, *The Historical Geography of Cork's Transformation.*

[99] M. D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway* (Heffer & Son, Cambridge, 1942).

[100] E. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century,*(Cork University Press, Dublin, 1950), pp. 183-238.

[101] For additional comment on other works see; R.A. Butlin, (ed.), *The Development of the Irish Town* (Croom Helm, London, 1977), p. viii.

J. Hunter has constructed an impressive re-interpretation of Ulster Plantation Towns[102] demonstrating 'how, despite the destruction of much material, many repositories still contain potentially useful and informative documents, if historians are prepared to ask the right questions of them.'[103] This approach allows for a re-appraisal of urban history, unlike the earlier topographical publications highlighted above, which portrayed an exclusively elitist perspective of the town's unique persona, architecture and history.

A Multi-Disciplinary Approach

In his introduction to *More Irish Country Towns,* J. H. Andrews points to the difficulties of writing an urban history of a town where much of its growth dates from periods in time beyond the reach of surviving documentary, cartographic and architectural evidence.[104] Gillespie highlights the lack, or at best, fragmentary nature of the archival records during the seventeenth century and comments that, 'what detail there is, originating from the perspective of central government, tells much about the building of towns as part of plantation schemes but much less about the reality of urban life'.[105]

Andrews argues for a move from attempting to trace the course of a town's growth as a homogenous unit, by classifying a complete town, to a morphogenetic approach in which the historian draws on his analogical powers to 'read the layout of streets and boundaries by deciding which of any two lines is likely to be older than the other'.[106] As has been demonstrated earlier, the lack of primary records available to the historian to develop an urban history of an Irish early modern port town like Galway leaves gaps, sometimes quite significant gaps, when one is endeavouring to develop a continuous narrative from one event or period to another. Left with no other evidence, the temptation to fill these gaps with an imaginative re-construction of what took place is always present as is the temptation to assign the causes from a prejudiced Irish-nationalist or Anglo-centred viewpoint. Just as modern Irish historiography is better informed by a clearer understanding of the relevant economic and social history, so too is the understanding of the morphology of a town better understood by examining the physical

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[102] R. J. Hunter, 'Ulster Plantation Towns, 1609-41', in D. Harkness and M. O'Dowd, (eds.), *The Town in Ireland* (Appletree Press, 1981), pp. 55-80.

[103] D. Harkness and M. O'Dowd, (eds.), 'Introduction', *The Town in Ireland,* p. 3.

[104] J. H. Andrews, 'The Study of Irish Country Towns', p. 18.

[105] R. Gillespie, 'Small Towns In Early Modern Ireland', in P. Clarke, (ed.) *Small Towns In Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995), p. 150.

[106] *Ibid.*

evidence that remains of its origins and past history, combined with the limitations imposed upon the site by the physical geography of the terrain.

Writing on this subject as long ago as 1933, Carl Stephenson commented:

> The vestiges of urban growth are not the documentary sources of ordinary historical research. Rather they are the remains of walls, gates and buildings; traces of ditch and embankment; lines of streets, market places, and parish boundaries. To the skilled observer all these things, combined with information from ancient records and maps tell an eloquent story.[107]

The importance of Stephenson's work on the origins and growth of English towns and boroughs was the acknowledgment that, as an American scholar, he was to a large extent freed from the nationalistic straight jacket of pre-war European historical studies, and able to demonstrate that these developments were similar to urban growth in Continental Europe for the same period.

A positive benefit arising from the wholesale destruction of many European urban centres during the Second World War was the setting up of the International Commission for the History of Towns in 1955. The commission recommended the publication of a series of Historic Town Atlases to encourage a better understanding of common European roots, and open the possibility of research into comparative urban studies. Although late in the day, a similar scheme was proposed for Ireland by the Board of Medieval Studies in University College Dublin in 1978. Subsequently, in 1981, the Council of the Royal Irish Academy agreed to publish the Irish Historic Towns Atlas,[108] with additional funding made available by the government of Ireland. The Atlas consists of a series of fascicles for each of a cross section of size related towns in the Republic and Northern Ireland. The principle map in each fascicle is a large scale (1:2500) representation of the town as it is believed to have stood as close as possible to 1840.[109] The typology, though biased towards the medieval period, also includes towns more characteristic of more modern times including estate towns, industrial towns and resorts. Each town is reviewed in chronological sequence from the known beginning of urban life to the end of the nineteenth century. The maps and topographical information are derived from primary sources and supplemented by an introductory narrative describing the evolution and

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[107] C. Stephenson, *Borough and Town: A Study of Urban Origins in England* (Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, 1933), pp. 186-87.

[108] Hereafter referred to in the text as the I. H. T. A..

[109] A. Simms, *et. al.,(eds.)*, 'Introduction', in H. B. Clarke, *The Irish Historic Towns Atlas Dublin, Part 1, to 1610,* (2002.

development of the town from its earliest beginnings. This all inclusive typology of Irish towns supported by both the academic community and the Irish State marked a paradigm shift in the examination of Ireland's urban past coming as it did at a time when urban historical studies in Ireland were still in their early stages.[110] As an invaluable aid to research into early modern towns, the large scale plans provide a starting point for retrospective topographical research into the earlier less documented periods of early modern Ireland. One of the contributions the *Atlas* has made towards comparative studies of towns both in Ireland and in Europe has been the methodology applied by the contributors. In the preface to the I. H. T. A., the President of the International Commission for the History of Towns, Adrian Verhulst wrote:

> Urban History as it is practised today is much more than the local study of a particular town. As part of social and economic history it needs a comparative approach. The topographical aspects of towns, the layout of streets, rivers and canals, the localisation of public buildings and defence works and the general setting of the town in its geographical environment, are particularly well suited to such a comparative approach. The commission's guidelines have been followed more or less strictly by most of the many countries and regions where historic towns' atlases have been produced since. Among these countries Ireland, with its Irish Historic Town Atlas has produced a model in this respect.[111]

The first town to be completed was Kildare, under the editorial guidance of J. H. Andrews and since then a further 23 have been published.

This collaboration between the scholarly community and the state in order to achieve a better understanding of Ireland's urban history has spawned an equally beneficial alliance between other related groups. Faílte Ireland's state funded Heritage Towns programme, working closely alongside more tightly-controlled local planning authorities and supported by the numerous local archaeological and historical societies, has ensured that the worst offences against Ireland's built heritage have been curtailed, allowing for the future interpretation of the surviving material evidence to be examined against a planned programme of investigation and not, as has happened in the near past, as part of a '*post mortem*' on a building site or town-by-pass.

The ability to examine earlier manifestations of town development in Europe and Britain in the post war years was assisted by the need to re-build much of the heart of many cities and towns devastated by carpet bombing, Belfast no less than any other

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[110] M. McCarthy, *The Historical Geography Of Corks Transformation*, p. 39.

[111] A. Simms, *et. al.,* (eds.), 'Introduction'.

British city. But Dublin, however, situated in a neutral State apart from some damage due to faulty navigation by the *Luftwaffe,* came out of its 'Emergency' relatively unscathed. However the on-going 'anti-urban' philosophy discussed above allowed for a post war 'blitz' of a different kind when indiscriminate urban renewal in the early 1970s led to the destruction of many historically important structures, including many fine Georgian facades in Dublin, and the concreting over the most important known Viking settlement in Europe to build Dublin's Civic Offices. The ultimate saviour of much of the historically important urban landscapes of the smaller towns came not so much from an early recognition of their historic importance but from, 'the recognition that compared to the ugly and unpopular examples of modern architecture being built to replace them, the once despised remnants of their colonial past looked almost beautiful by comparison and worth preserving for use and study'.[112]

It was not until the early 1980s however, that major reconstruction of the inner core of Ireland's major towns commenced with the introduction of the Urban Renewal Scheme.[113] This in turn opened up the opportunity to examine the archaeological evidence of earlier settlement and, in the case of the Galway, to carry out 79 archaeological investigations between 1987 and 1998. The results of these investigations published in 2004, has provided an addition to the study of the urban history of Galway, particularly in providing a proven archaeological framework within which the surviving, but scant, cartographical evidence may be examined.[114]

Local Sources

The contributions of Hardiman and O'Sullivan have already been acknowledged above. Hardiman's narrative and observations often reflect the already identified propensity of early urban historians to limit their observations to matters concerning the town and the principal participants in its governance. It is arranged chronologically and

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[112] J. H. Andrews, 'The Study of Irish Country Towns', p. 18.

[113] The urban renewal scheme was introduced in 1985 by the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government in an effort to alleviate the increasing problem of dereliction and dilapidation which had affected large parts of the inner core of Irish towns and cities nationwide. In many cases these inner areas had sustained large population declines as growth and development was increasingly concentrated in the suburbs. The core objectives of the scheme were to promote urban renewal and re-development by promoting, by tax incentives, investment and reconstruction of buildings in designated areas.

[114] E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998* (Worldwell Ltd., Bray, 2004).

details the town's evolution from an Anglo-Norman twelfth century outpost through its early modern economic ascendancy as a major Irish trading port, to the first decades of the nineteenth century when its long economic decline over the course of the nineteenth century becomes evident. Hardiman strays on occasion away from a narrative supported by verifiable documented sources, to elaborate on events that have since become part of the folklore of the town, and essential ingredients in tour guides and other tourist orientated material. There is no real evidence for example that Mayor James Lynch executed his own son in the 1490s, although Hardiman devotes several pages of his history to elaborating on the event.[115] Even more curious is his quotation from the Corporation bye-laws of 1518 'that neither O' ne Mac shall strutte ne swaggere thro' the streets of Galway'.[116] Although Hardiman claims to have consulted the original corporation volume, it is not to be found in the original document now preserved in the library at NUIG Galway nor does it appear in the transcript edited by J.T. Gilbert and published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1885.[117]

Quite why he would have departed from the documentary evidence is not known but the real, if not priceless, value of his work is that apart from accessing state papers that have survived down to the present day, he clearly used sources that were in private hands and material that was lost in the fire in the Four Courts in Dublin in 1922. Of particular importance to this study is an extract from the Surveyor General, Vincent Godkin of the forfeited property in Galway following the expulsion of much of the Catholic population of the town in 1656-57.[118]

Unlike Hardiman's *History*, O'Sullivan's study is set against the background of contemporary Irish and European affairs which dictated the course of its history. In titling her second chapter 'The Founding of the Colony', O'Sullivan proposed that English colonial expansion started at the point of the Anglo-Norman conquest and that the plantation policies of the seventeenth century and the beginning of England's westward expansion to the Americas was a continuity of that process; that the newly founded Irish towns were the first overseas settlements and Galway her most westerly outpost. The

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[115] J. Hardiman, *History of Galway,* pp. 69-76.
[116] *Ibid.,* p. 210.
[117] *Tenth Report,* Appendix, Part V. p. 398.
[118] Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway,* pp. xxxvi-xliii.

work is divided into two parts, the first a chronologically ordered historical account of Galway's transition from a colonial outpost, to a self governed city state, then bastion of English support, and finally to defeat during the Cromwellian war. The second part is arranged thematically to illustrate the multi-layered nature of a municipal organisation. The role of the church, the oligarchy and the commonality, trade, crafts, guilds, culture and education are individually explored to portray a complete picture of the town.

Apart from the above works no complete historiographies have emerged based on Galway between O'Sullivan's groundbreaking volume in 1942 until the present time. There have been occasional works on specific aspects of the town's history in the seventeenth century in both collections of essays, and journals, such as the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society.* The complete volumes of the society numbering 55 in total and dating from 1900 until 2010 are referred to extensively during the course of this study. Many of the contributors to these volumes are lecturers and *Alumni* of the History Faculty of the National University of Ireland, Galway, (formerly University College Galway) and many of the contributions are extracts from more comprehensive published works including peer reviewed articles

The celebrations in 1984 of Galway's quincenntenial included a series of memorial lectures delivered at the National University of Ireland, Galway, illustrating various aspects of the city over the previous 500 year period, and these were subsequently assembled under the editorship of Diarmuid Ó Cearbhaill and published as *Galway, Town and Gown 1484-1984.*[119]

In 1996, a series of interdisciplinary essays on the history of the county and town, edited by G. Moran and R. Gillespie, *Galway: History and Society,*[120] provide more valuable insights into key aspects of town and county life from Norman times to the present day. Many of the contributions although noteworthy, are beyond the scope of this work, but some have particular relevance notably Paul Walsh's chapter 'The Topography of the Town of Galway'. The contribution includes highly informative contemporary narrative descriptions of the town with superimpositions of the medieval street layout

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[119] D. Ó Cearbhaill, (ed.) *Galway Town and Gown, 1484-1984* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1984).
[120] G. Moran and R. Gillespie, (eds.), *Galway History and Society* (Geography Publications, Dublin, 1996).

onto modern Ordnance Survey maps. This allows for an easy identification of how similar the street patterns are and thus how little has changed over the intervening centuries.

CONCLUSION

The main body of the work contained in Chapters Four, Five and Six seeks to address the primary research question. Galway at the beginning of the seventeenth century was, next to Dublin, similar in terms of population size and economic importance to other Old English port towns such as, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda and Carrickfergus. Why did the town fail to maintain this relative position during the course of the seventeenth century while other port town's, though experiencing similar economic and social disorders managed to develop their economies and in the case of Cork become second to Dublin the most populous and prosperous city in Ireland?

Each of the core chapters are thematically structured so as to assess and measure the political, economic and social changes over the period. The literature reviewed in this chapter represents key secondary reading, including general histories, economic histories, colonial studies, urban histories and local histories. The review is not intended to be exhaustive and the main body of the work uses an extensive body of primary sources to support, and in some case refute, some of the arguments outlined by the corpus of modern literature summarised above.

Chapter Three
Methodology

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on three periods during the course of the seventeenth century – where the outcomes affecting the fortunes of Galway may be measured against those of the other port towns of Ireland. The timelines of these three periods are as follows: 1600-1640 (when Ireland enjoyed a relatively long period of peace and prosperity), 1641-1659 (including the drawn-out and confusing Confederate Wars and their aftermath), and 1660-1700 (from the Restoration to the aftermath of the Williamite Wars). A range of primary and secondary sources are utilised in the course of the research and the qualitative and quantitative analysis of these forms the basis for the core chapters (Chapters Four, Five and Six).

SECONDARY SOURCES

This study analyses the political, economic and societal changes that Galway experienced from 1600-1700, as well as transformations in its urban morphology. The narrative examines the causes which brought about these changes, and whether or not they were unique to Galway or common to all other Old English towns. This initial research involves the sourcing of mostly secondary source material concerned with general historical narratives of seventeenth-century Irish history, and locating the work of historians currently researching into and writing about specific key events in the period.

Specific attention is also given to secondary sources which are concerned with thematic issues such as colonialism and mercantilism, themes which dominated the politics and economics of Irish life in the seventeenth century. There is a significant corpus of literature, much of it of recent date, which re-examines, for example, the writings of the late Tudor and early Stuart political commentators such as Edmund Spenser and John Davies. The motives and intent of English colonial policies in Ireland have been the subject of much debate in Irish historiography.

So too has the effect of English fiscal and economic policies on the Irish economy such as the Cattle Acts and the Navigation Acts. Early writers on Irish economic history tended to focus heavily on the negative impact of these policies, without exploring more rigorously other influences such as the development of the Atlantic trade routes. Books and

journal articles written since the late 1960s are thus essential reading in reaching some more balanced conclusions on trade and industry. This is particularly important when evaluating Galway's economy, which experienced a severe decline during the seventeenth century.

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Contemporary printed sources present a rich source of material, especially eye witness accounts of key events in the period – contained in memoirs, diaries, letters, contemporary histories, and observational commentaries – all of which contain reflections on issues of the day. Contemporary historical accounts often consist of gossip, second hand evidence or even blatant propaganda. Nonetheless the importance of including contemporary printed sources in this study is that they were written during the period under consideration. As such, they add a rich layer of information to that which can be extracted from manuscripts and printed primary sources. It is worth remembering, of course, that some contemporary printed sources may not represent a wholly reliable factual account of the events they describe. Others are blatantly biased, as exemplified by Cardinal Rinuccini's account of his time in Ireland.[1]

The State Papers, held in the National Archives of England and Wales are believed by most historians to be accurate transcriptions from the original manuscripts. For the purposes of this study, it is worth noting that the *Calendars of State Papers relating to Ireland* for the seventeenth century span the years 1600-1670. Thereafter, *The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, cover the years 1671-1692. The *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts* are a useful supplement to the State Papers, containing information for the years 1601-1614.[2]

Another important printed primary source is the works covering the life and times of the Duke of Ormonde, whose influence on Irish affairs was immense during both the Confederate Wars and the Restoration. *The Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde* runs to a total of eight volumes. These were compiled under the direction of the Historic Manuscripts Commission. Thomas Carte's *The Life of James Duke of Ormonde* also

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[1] G. B. Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland, 1645-1649*, Translated by A. Hutton, (Alexander Thom, Dublin, 1873).

[2] J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts. 1603-1614* (Reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Lichtenstein, 1974).

contains much valuable evidence.[3] Valuable information on the Williamite wars can be found in the printed versions of the Finch manuscripts and General Ginkle's correspondence.[4]

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Extracts from the Carte Manuscripts and the Rawlinson Manuscripts held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford are used to support the narrative concerning Galway's role at the outset of the Confederate Wars. Microfilm copies of the 1641 Depositions for Galway (MS 831 in Trinity College, Dublin, hereafter referred to as TCD) illuminate certain events at the beginning of the Confederate Wars. Whilst acknowledging the inconsistencies of these manuscripts N. Canny's analysis of the depositions and his typology of the motivations for the insurrection of various social groupings greatly assists in putting these records in perspective.[5] The details of the proposed transfer of Galway's land and property to the City of Gloucester in 1656 have been gleaned from the Common Council Minute Book of the City of Gloucester held at Gloucester Record Office (hereinafter referred to as GRS).

Important statistical data relating to imports and exports from Ireland in the 1680s and 1690s have also been obtained from the British Library (including Additional Manuscripts MSS 4759, Imports and Exports of Ireland 1683-1686 and Sloane MSS 2902, Exports of Wool to England, 1693-1699). Details concerning the Williamite War have been obtained from the correspondence of Sir George Clarke, the Secretary of War to William III (MSS 749 at TCD).

Manuscript sources which relate to the civil administration of Galway are limited. Galway Corporation Books 'B' and 'C' at the James Hardiman Library (NUI Galway) and MS 886 (Account of Galway) at Trinity College, Dublin, remain the only two documents of substance. The Tenth Report of the Historic Manuscripts Commission contains a complete transcription of Galway Corporation Book 'B' whilst the partially damaged manuscripts of

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[3] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde*, New Series, Volumes 1-8 (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1902-1911); T Carte, (ed.), *Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, Volume 5, New Edition, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1851).

[4] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Allan George Finch* Volume 2, (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922); Ginkle Correspondence, (Historic Manuscript Commission, Fourth Report, 1874).

[5] N. Canny, 'The 1641 Depositions: A Source for Social and Cultural History', *History Ireland,* (Winter, 1993), pp. 52-55.

Galway Corporation Manuscripts 'C' are published in the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*. These two sources form the foundation of the research into the activities of both the Old English Catholics who held power between 1600 and 1656 and the New English Protestants who, except for a brief period between 1686 and 1691, dominated proceedings for the latter part of the seventeenth century.[6]

MAPS PLANS AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Part of this study is concerned with examining the changing nature, over space and through time, of the urban fabric of the walled town and suburbs of Galway. Fortunately, there are surviving town plans of Galway depicting the topography of the town for the years, 1610, 1625, 1651 and 1685, (Figures 4.9, 4.14, 5.4, and 6.31). With the exception of the latter, drawn in 1685 with some precision by the military engineer Thomas Phillips as part of his report on the defences of Galway, the earlier plans, particularly those of 1610 and 1651, were intended to convey more than just an accurate 'footprint' of the environs of the walled town and the intramural network of streets and laneways. The plans depict a detailed 'birds eye' view of the buildings within the town showing individual castles, mansions, houses of merchants, single story cabins, religious houses, churches and markets, encircled by the battlements and towers of the outer wall. As with many maps and plans of the early seventeenth century, although drawn using some level of rudimentary cartographic measurement, they also served as a metaphor for the social structures of the town and its place and importance in both the surrounding countryside and beyond.

Thus the purpose of, as well as the content in, the 1610 and 1651 maps is not overlooked in examining their contribution to a better understanding of Galway's urban history. For completely separate reasons both plans were drawn to fulfill objectives which went far beyond that of a means of navigating around the streets and lanes of the town of Galway. In what J. B Harley describes as the effect of 'power external and internal to maps

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[6] J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Tenth Report, Appendix Part V; J. Rabbitte, 'Galway Corporation MS. 'C', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 11, (1919-1921), pp. 81-111; Volume 12, (1922-1923), pp. 57-84; Volume 13, (1924-1926), pp. 1-22; Volume 13, (1924-1926), pp. 65-83; Volume 14, (1928-1929), pp. 1-24,; Volume 19, (1940-1941), pp. 158-177.

and mapping', he draws a link to the extent to which the centres of political power exert an external influence over maps and plans.

> Behind most cartographers there is a patron; in innumerable instances the makers of cartographic texts were responding to external needs. Power is also exercised *with* [sic.] cartography. Monarchs, ministers, state institutions, the church, have all initiated programs of mapping for their own ends.[7]

John Speed, attributed with drawing the 1610 map of Galway, was a tailor by trade and map-making was his hobby until he appears to have come under the patronage of Sir Fulk Greville, the first Lord Brooke, *circa* 1598.[8] He was also by that time preparing maps for the Crown as the state papers record that:

> Mr. Fulke Greville has just brought me word of Her Majesty's pleasure that I should write you that there is a waiters room of the Customs house fallen in, which she has long determined might be bestowed upon John Speed who has presented her with divers maps; she therefore desires you will bestow the place upon him, whom she takes to be a very sufficient man to discharge the same.[9]

Between 1608 and 1610, Speed published 54 maps of England, Wales and Ireland, which were assembled as a collection in 1611 and published as *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain.* The collection included the 1610 map of Galway as well as those of Dublin, Cork and Limerick. There is no doubt that the collection was intended to illustrate the finest examples of British cities and towns and that Galway was considered at that time to be not just a representative sample but an important member of 'the Empire of Great Britain'. A second edition appeared in 1614 and a third edition, published in 1627, was re-titled, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World.*[10] In 1611 Speed also published *The History of Great Britaine under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* as a continuation of the *Theatre,* which he dedicated to James I.[11] The inclusion of the map of Galway in the *Theatre of the Empire* thus reflects in many ways the changed political landscape which viewed the port town of Galway as an integral part of a system which was to

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[7] J. P. Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', *Cartographica*, Volume 26, Number 2, (Summer 1989), p. 12.

[8] L. Steven and S. Lee, (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography,* Volume XVIII, (Oxford University Press, London, 1973), p. 726.

[9] William Killigrew to Lord Burghley, The Court, 15 June 1598, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598-1601,* p. 62.

[10] Stevens and Lee (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 726.

[11] *Ibid.*

eventually subsume the former medieval semi-autonomous city state of Galway into the British State. Its origins thus help to inform the main narrative description of the town at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The 1651 'Pictorial Map', though similar in plan to that of 1610, is drawn with considerably more detail and includes an elaborate index of street and place names many of which are still extant to the present day. The map is bordered with a considerable amount of decoration which, although to the casual observer may represent mere embellishment, is in fact an important and integral part of the narrative which the producers of the map wanted to convey to its readers. In reading these embellishments into the main narrative of the map, Harley argues for a re-interpretation of the status of decorative art on the European maps of the seventeenth century.

> Rather than being inconsequential marginalia, the emblems in cartouches and decorative
> title pages can be regarded as basic to the way they convey their cultural meaning, and
> they help to demolish the claim of cartography to produce an impartial graphic science.[12]

A detailed analysis of the origins and purpose of the 1651 map which is bordered with the shields of the fourteen principal families of Galway linked to that of the armorial bearings of Charles II is undertaken later, as part of the wider discourse of the politics of post restoration Galway. In terms of their cartographic contribution and allowing for the limitations on accuracy at the time they were compiled, they allow for some valuable conclusions to be reached about the morphology of the town at various points in its evolution including pointers as to movements in the levels of population

Population statistics, a valuable pointer to the financial and social stability of society, are non-existent for Galway for any part of the seventeenth century. Although Petty's 'Down Survey' and his *Political Anatomy* offer some clues as to general population trends on the island of Ireland, they are by no means comprehensive and offer no detailed information about individual towns. Estimates of the population of Irish towns in 1600 have been arrived at by L.M. Cullen based on an analysis of contemporary maps and which assumed a mean

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[12] Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', p. 9.

household size (MHS) of six persons.[13] These estimates which placed Galway as the most populous town next to Dublin with a population of *c*. 4000 in 1600 would appear to reflect Cullen's critically challenged over-estimation for the population of Ireland in 1600.[14]An earlier estimate made by M.D. O' Sullivan of 2,000 in 1600 would seem to have been more likely.[15]

In this work, estimates of population size and population changes in Galway over the course of the seventeenth century are based on a calculation of housing densities within the town from the drawings suggested by Speed (1610), and those of the Pictorial Map (1651) and by reference to the literature concerning the impact of war, famine, and expulsions on the population at various times over the century. Although the literature points to significant extra-mural development (that is, in the suburbs) surrounding Galway during the course of the seventeenth century, this study makes no attempt at estimating the suburban population until the mid-1680s, when some reliable evidence of the size and extent of the suburbs is made apparent by the work of Thomas Phillips. Within the walled town a factor of eight persons per dwelling is used to extrapolate total population based on housing density. A number of other MHS multipliers have been suggested and utilized in determining the urban population of Ireland in the seventeenth century. McLysaght suggests a figure as high as ten, McCarthy, six and a half, and Cullen, as low as six.[16] In selecting eight as an appropriate multiplier, factors which have been taken into account include the relatively small intramural urban area of the town (11 hectares compared with Dublin (20 hectares), Drogheda (43 hectares), New Ross (39 hectares), Waterford (23 hectares) and Limerick (28 hectares).[17] This resulted in the development of a significant number of three story tenement buildings

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[13] L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volume III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991), p. 390.

[14] J. Mokyr and C. O'Grada, 'New Developments in Irish Population History, 1700-1850', *The Economic History Review,* New Series, Volume 37, Number 4 (November 1984), 475-476; N. Canny, 'Early Modern Ireland: An Appraisal Appraised', *Irish Economic and Social History,* Volume 4, (1977), pp. 56-65.

[15] M.D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway,* (Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1942), p. 446.

[16] M. McCarthy, 'Historical Geographies of a Colonised World: the Renegotiation of New English Colonisation in Early Modern Urban Ireland, c 1600-10', *Irish Geography,* Vol. 36 (1), 2003, pp. 315-317: MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 66: L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691.

[17] P. Walsh 'Galway, A Summary History', in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 274.

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evidence of which is to be found in the literature of the period, including wills and testaments, maps and plans and particularly in the 'Survey and Valuation of Galway' in 1657, undertaken as part of the proposed re-settlement of Catholic residents under the Cromwellian expulsions.[18] Apart from the evidence of multiple families living in tenements there is an indication that some of the wealthier families, living in mansions had much larger households including servants and families. For example James Darcy had seven sons as well as three daughters and Sir Henry Lynch, who married James Darcy's widow had a further three sons and three daughters. Robert Blake had seven sons and three daughters.[19] Although no hard evidence survives to support an extrapolation of this family size to the greater population, the large number of wealthy merchant families living in Galway argues for a similar demographic to be found in many of those households.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The Urban Renewal Scheme in Galway which began in the mid 1980s offered the opportunity to excavate and examine the surviving evidence of Galway's past. The result was the publication of the results of 79 separate archaeological excavations and these have been utilised in the main body of the work to, where appropriate, verify and support contemporary narratives. The excavations have assisted in establishing the overall reliability of much of the detail shown on the 1651 'Pictorial map. For example a three-storey tower-house known as Blake's Castle was excavated which location corresponded to the site of the mansion house of Sir Richard Blake, illustrated on the 'Pictorial Map'. The investigation included a large scale excavation of Merchants' Road in 1987 and 1989 and has the distinction of being the first urban excavation carried out in Galway City.[20] In addition to verifying the provenance of suggested locations of buildings from the surviving cartographic evidence, the archaeological excavations also provided evidence to support contemporary and other sources of Galway's rudimentary industrial activities, in particular the leather goods trade. Over 227 fragments of

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[18] J. Hardiman *History of the Town of Galway* (W. Folds and Sons, Dublin, 1829), Appendix, VI, pp. xxxvi-xlii.

[19] B. O'Bric, *Galway Townsmen as the Owners of Land in Connaught, 1585-1641*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, School of History, NUI Galway, 1974), p. 169.

[20] E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*.

post-medieval footwear were recovered during the Galway archaeological investigations with the shoe styles being consistent with those from other post-medieval urban centres.[21]

FIELD WORK

The street plan of the walled town of Galway remains substantially as it was during the seventeenth century. The 1610 and 1651 street plans differ very little from the modern, satellite produced ordinance survey examples. In addition to surviving fragments of the city walls, a number of buildings have also survived the passage of time. In walking the city streets, key locations which correspond to the cartographic and narrative descriptions of the seventeenth century have been photographed and utilised in the body of the work to support the narrative where appropriate.

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[21] C. Gleason and D. O'Rourke, 'Leather' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 541.

Chapter Four
A Period of Growth and Stability
1600-1640

INTRODUCTION

Until the early 1640s, the port town of Galway enjoyed a lasting military and political stability. This was to change dramatically in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. Significant changes occurred in the lower levels of society, especially among the common people, whose numbers increased. Higher up the social order, the number of freemen also increased. Prior to the political disruptions of the 1640s and 1650s, Galway was still dominated by the Old English Catholic merchant families who had managed to retain much of their power and wealth by pragmatically accepting and dealing with the growing imposition of Protestant English neo-colonialist policies. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Galway, though isolated geographically from the rest of Europe, shared many of the characteristics of its European urban counterparts as the following brief overview demonstrates.

Early Modern Urban Europe

The continent of Europe was a predominantly rural community at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with less than 15% of the population living within the boundaries of often walled and gated settlements.[1] Nonetheless urban settlements, where they existed, be they village, town, or city, exercised a disproportionate influence not just on the surrounding hinterland, but, in the case of the large metropolitan cities like Paris or London, they were centres of power at a national level, exercising jurisdiction over the political, economic, social, and religious affairs of the country. It has been estimated that at that time, small towns with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants may have comprised over 90% of all urban communities in Northern Europe housing more than half the urban population.[2] The traditional function of most of these small towns was to serve the agricultural hinterland by providing a market for the surplus produce of the countryside, and this primary function also dictated the topography of most towns as the market place was to be found at the centre of the town, with the remaining built environment growing out of it.[3] As well as serving as a central market, most towns in Europe developed non-agricultural trades to meet the needs of both the urban and rural communities. Lacking

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[1] C. R. Fredrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (Longman, London, 1995), p. 21.

[2] P. Clark, *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, Paris, 1995), p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

both expertise and capital, the range of manufactured goods would have been limited to basic essentials such as agricultural implements and carts or wagons. Urban needs would have been limited to tailoring, leather working for shoes, and, where the small towns were at a distance from the larger urban centres, manufacture of additional goods like pottery or furniture.. Where towns developed specialist markets or goods, competition between neighbouring towns was intense.

The annual migration of rural dwellers to and from the towns was numbered in tens of thousands. Millions more, with little or no contact on a regular basis with towns or cities, were nonetheless either directly or indirectly affected by urban settlements, particularly those less than a day's walk from their communities by a country road or track way. The following description could have applied to almost any road in Western Europe during the early modern period:

> The countryside through which it runs could be mountainous or flat, meadowland or cultivated with a variety of crops. The road users, on the other hand are affected by more than rural concerns. Most of them are country people but their business takes them to and between urban centres: peasants on their way to and from the market, journeymen on the 'tramp', pedlars, pilgrims, mendicant clergy, soldiers, subsistent migrants. By taking the road, they have each implicitly recognised the influence of the town on their lives. The town may be their ultimate destination or a staging post on a longer journey. Whichever it is, it offers something that runs through the rural Europe of the majority like a gleaming ribbon, attractive, insubstantial, yet inescapable.[4]

Towns were hubs of dynamic activity; markets for the exchange of goods; filters for the dissemination of political, social, and religious ideas; and places of safety for civilian populations during frequent periods of turbulence and unrest. In some cases they were located at the outer limits of a nation's geographic influence, and were heavily defended outposts on the often disputed frontiers of their ruler's kingdom. To secure and maintain the loyalty of their subjects, many of these towns were granted charters by their overlords giving them trading and other civic advantages over less strategically important locations. Some developed as semi-autonomous 'city-states' with rights and privileges firmly held within the control of their leading citizens. The members of these exclusive oligarchies not only exercised political control over the commonality, but economic, social and religious affairs also remained firmly within their sphere of influence. The activities of every trade, craft and enterprise within the town were controlled by the guilds, which in

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[4] A. Cowan, *Urban Europe, 1500-1700* (Arnold, London, 1998), p. vi.

turn were dominated by the members of the rulers, and although religion played a major part in every day life of the town, the conduct of parish affairs was the responsibility of the ruling hierarchy rather than that of the prevailing religious orders.

This template of urban administration had evolved over more than 500 years of history; from the beginnings of feudal society during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and onwards through the medieval and late medieval periods. It had survived more or less intact through almost continuous warfare and civil unrest caused as much by religious dissent as by territorial expansion. Throughout all these centuries of change and consolidation, the basic structure of civic administration throughout Europe had remained relatively stable. The reins of power remained within the hands of a small and select group and entry to it was almost exclusively via the acquisition of wealth through trade and commerce and above all through inherited wealth. This right to governance was generally accepted by the lower orders, many of whom were locked in via the guild system, or dependant financially on the ruling dynasties for employment. In some European countries like England and the Old English urban settlements in Ireland such as Galway a common council typically existed. This represented particular sections of the community including guilds, the parish, and other local groupings. In these cases such an assembly would serve the purpose of adjudicating on changes to the local administrative by-laws. While these assemblies theoretically had some democratic role, in reality the 'commonality' as they were generally referred to, had little or no influence on the affairs of the town, and their day-to-day lives were circumscribed by the local laws and customs decided from time to time by the ruling elite. The town hierarchies thus maintained and retained their exclusive control over the town's affairs and by extension their personal interests by deftly responding to potential threats which arose from time to time from below, and managing, more often to their own advantage, the constraints imposed by the external powers and forces above them. Galway would not have been in any way out of place within this European urban model and in fact, as an international trading port would have ranked amongst the more important of the trading centres.

The Town of Galway in the Irish Urban Hierarchy, 1600

A town may be defined as a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals which may be recognised and classified by four

specific characteristics, namely a specialist economic function, a complex social structure, a sophisticated political order, and the ability to exert a distinctive influence outside its boundaries.[5] Figure 4.1, ranks the principal Irish towns which met these criteria at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Developed by Clark and Slack to establish a typology for English towns, the chart ranks urban centres from the capital or primate city, to regional capitals, country towns and market towns.[6] Within this categorisation Dublin is clearly the primate city, not only because of its size and wealth but also because it was the administrative centre for English administration. Below it were the regional capitals of Galway, Cork, Limerick, Carrickfergus and Waterford, whilst Drogheda and Kilkenny, although not having a regional influence, would have had a very strong economic influence within their surrounding area. At the next level down were the country towns. Sligo, for example was governed independently but was nonetheless economically dependent to some extent on the regional capital, in this case, Galway. At the lower end of the scale were a scattering of villages dependent on trading with the Gaelic Irish populations of the hinterland surrounding them as well as with urban communities.

Assigning population density's to Dublin and the regional capitals at the beginning of the seventeenth century can only be by informed guesswork. Cullen's estimated that:

> In 1600 Dublin was not much larger than Galway, and possibly Limerick, only double the size of Cork and Waterford and less than three times the size of Killmallock. Dublin in 1600 had a population of not less than 5,000, Galway of less than 4,200, Limerick between 2,400 and 3,600, Waterford and Cork of about 2,400.[7]

Cullen's estimates appear to include a notional figure for suburban growth.' The fact that only Galway and Dublin had very large suburbs seems to suggest that they were the two cities which had grown most rapidly in the preceding centuries'.[8] There is some evidence of the development of suburban growth to the east of Galway. Hardiman records the destruction of the eastern suburbs and '20 villages belonging to the town' during Hugh

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[5] A. Sheehan, 'Irish Towns in a Period of Change, 1558-1625', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers, Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1634-1641* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1986), p. 94.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[7] L.M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1600-1691' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volume III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, Rep. 1991), p. 390.

[8] *Ibid.*

Type	City/Town
Primate City	Dublin
Regional Capital	Galway
	Cork
	Limerick
	Waterford
	Carrickfergus
Town	Baltimore
	Bantry
	Carlingford
	Drogheda
	Dundalk
	Dungarvan
	Kilkenny
	Kinsale
	Rosscarbery
	Sligo
	Trim
	Wexford
	Youghal
Market Town	Ardee
	Armagh
	Athboy
	Clonmel
	Fethard
	Kilmallock
	Mullingar
	Naas
	Navan
	New Ross

Figure 4.1: A Typology of Irish Urban Centres circa. 1600.
Source: A. Sheehan, 'Irish Towns in a Period of Change 1558-1625', p. 97.

Ruadh O'Donnell's ultimately failed attempt to capture Galway in 1596.[9] However estimates of suburban population can only be guesswork and for the most part this study focuses on the intramural settlement and growth of the port town of Galway and, where appropriate comparisons with the other Old English major settlements.

At the beginning of the century Galway, along with the other key regional centres contained between 300 and 320 houses. The mean household size (MHS) may have varied from place to place and from between six to eight persons. Thus the average major town may have contained between 1800 to 2400 persons conforming to the norm for European urban settlement outlined above. It is possible that the population of Galway may have been slightly higher than the average. There is evidence of substantial three storied buildings being used as tenements to offset the limited ground space available for urban growth. This being the case an MHS of eight is plausible giving Galway a population of *circa* 2400 in 1600. Thus notwithstanding the possible minor variations in population size, there appears to be little variation in the size and economic prosperity of the regional capitals at the beginning of the century

Though undoubtedly unique in its location and character, Galway nonetheless shared many similarities with towns and cities throughout Europe. It owed its existence to very similar origins and had developed over time, broadly similar social, economic and political structures. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the European political map changed as trade and commerce moved from a localised subsistence economy towards a world capitalist system, and the religious map of Europe divided into two powerful but opposing ideologies. Towns like Galway, although representing but a fraction of the total populations involved, became the major nodes and channels through which these changes were effected.

The Reformation

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the emergence of monarchies with new agendas, which required new fiscal policies to finance cash hungry central administrations and the growth in military expenditure arising out of the pan-European religious conflicts. The network of compliant yet semi-autonomous towns and cities which had served the ruling dynasties and monarchies well throughout the preceding

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[9] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 95-96

centuries now began to represent obstacles to regimes which sought to advance new centralised forms of government. Within this changing world, those towns and cities which had enjoyed rights and privileges which exempted them from many duties and taxes no longer held any significant strategic advantages with which they could negotiate new terms and benefits. Their long run of relative freedom from interference from central authority was coming to an end. This freedom had been maintained not so much by compliance on the part of the towns or cities but because there was little or no benefit to be derived by the sovereign or overlord in attempting to extract additional wealth or concessions. Once this state of equilibrium was upset, the royal charters, some going back over centuries, were withdrawn or revoked as if they had always been temporary arrangements of convenience.

The main driving forces behind the change were political, fiscal and religious in nature. New tax regimes began to evolve which were designed to raise additional finance to pay for expanding central governments, meet the demands of profligate monarchs and support greater military expenditure occasioned by both pan-European conflict and growing civil unrest. More problematical was the enforcement of new ecclesiastical laws under which the sovereign of a country was the head of his church and its citizens were required to acknowledge that fact and to worship in accordance with those laws.

This new arrangement required that the church and state acted in considerable unity and by the beginning of the seventeenth century the concept of the 'godly prince' had become a fundamental basis for post-Reformation political thought throughout Protestant Europe. In this arrangement, the 'prince' as the ruler took advice from both parliament and church and then used his divine right to rule in a manner which would be seen as being fair, reasonable and good for the nation. The problem with the new order was that there was no effective means of determining what, if any, were the limitations of the royal prerogative where only God could exercise ultimate judgement on the ruler's decisions.[10]

Nonetheless this new policy, which had been refined under Elizabeth I, had become the fundamental basis of English government by the time James I succeeded to

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[10] For a fuller discussion see: A. Ford, 'James Usher and the Godly Prince in Early Seventeenth Century Ireland', in H. Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology In Ireland, 1541-1641* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999), pp. 203-228.

the throne of the 'Three Kingdoms' in 1603. The peoples of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England of course had by this time largely embraced the Reformation. Protestantism had become the basic bulwark of national identity but even at the beginning of the seventeenth century there was still no such concept as that of the nation state. The main monarchies in Western Europe were France, Portugal, Spain and England with smaller monarchies such as Sweden, Denmark and Scotland. The four main Western European states in particular were still some way from achieving national unity, and were still in the process of absorbing and integrating territory. Spain, for example, was an amalgam of six separate kingdoms each with its own laws and political traditions. France included some provinces which, though under the control of the Crown, still retained considerable autonomy. Ireland, while seen as one of the Three Kingdoms by the English Crown, was ethnically divided between the small but powerful Old English communities, and the majority population of Gaelic Irish. Neither of these two had embraced Protestantism and both of them acknowledged only the Roman Catholic Pope as their spiritual leader.

None of the major powers was in any sense a nation as understood in today's terms. In the emerging super-powers of Western Europe, religion still formed the primary basis of mass belief and solidarity. Faith was the medium through which the rulers and the populace could engage in both spiritual and secular matters. Religion was therefore a pre-cursor to nationalism or as Anthony Marx argued 'it served as the potential cement for what was to become nationalism'.[11] Faith was the most pervasive form of identity amongst the general population and therefore it is not surprising that it provided a basis for national cohesion. But religion itself must not be associated with early modern nationalism because identities of faith did not coincide with secular boundaries of state.[12] Before the Reformation, Catholicism was the predominant faith in Western Europe and was a medium for establishing allegiances and treaties amongst countries with Rome often acting as a central medium. After the Reformation, as Catholic unity split apart and as the concept of the 'godly prince' became a reality, the conformity to the religion of said 'prince' became an imperative in the process of developing nationalism. In England, Elizabeth I, who ruled from 1558-1603, came to symbolise 'the link and identity between

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[11] A. W. Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, New York, 2003), p. 25.
[12] *Ibid.*

the Protestant and the national causes',[13] and the link between the two had also served to move hatred of Catholics from the obsession of religious extremists into the middle ground of English nationalism:

> By the time the Queen died, no good Englishman could have defined his national identity without some mention of his distaste for Rome, and this remained the case for the greater part of the seventeenth century.[14]

At this juncture it is worth examining in detail how these pan-European events were distilled into Galway's political and social agenda for the first four decades of the seventeenth century. How did the Town respond to the economic and social upheavals caused by the political agendas of the Early Stuarts? What were the effects of the conflict created by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation on their spiritual and secular loyalties? How did the ruling elite respond to the challenges to their positions of power and influence and what were the implications of New English Colonialism, which began to regard Galway and the other established Irish urban settlements not just as sources of revenue and military garrisons but as centres from which a new social order could be imposed throughout the island?

Attempts to subdue the Gaelic Irish by colonising the land with English settlers had begun in earnest in Elizabethan times in Munster and on the Ards peninsula. Those settlements never developed into viable, and more importantly defensible communities, and they were nearly annihilated during the course of the Nine Years War. The defeat of the Gaelic Irish at the Battle of Kinsale, and the subsequent attainder of O'Neill, O'Donnell and Maguire after the flight of the Earls, created an opportunity for James I to introduce a new, more orderly colonisation process throughout Ulster, in which some 4 million acres of land were to be divided up between a mixture of private adventurers (so called undertakers), servitors (English soldiers), London merchant companies, and the Church. The terms upon which this land was allocated were set out in a series of documents entitled the 'project for the devision and plantacon of the Escheated Lands'.[15] One of the chief architects of these document was Sir John Davies, Attorney General to Sir Arthur Chichester whose subsequent treatise on the failure of English colonisation of

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[13] G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (Methuen, London, 1962), pp. 303-304.

[14] C. Z. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered, Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *Past and Present,* No. 51, (May, 1971), p. 27.

[15] P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest, Ireland, 1603-1727* (Pearson, London, 2008), p. 45.

Ireland, published in 1612, offers an illuminating insight into the mind-set of the English administration at the time. Almost certainly influenced by Edmond Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland,* Davies uses an agricultural metaphor to summarise, not just the initial colonisation process, but the ongoing need to husband the land to prevent it returning to it's wild state:

> For the good husbandman must first break the Land, before it bee made capable of good seed: and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forwith cast good seed into it, it will grow wilde againe and beare nothing but weeds.[16]

In effect, the objective of the plantation policies, articulated by Davies and others, was a early example of ethnic cleansing. In an ominous, but in 1610, not yet recognised, portent of things to come for the inhabitants of Galway, the so called' Printed Book' of that year stipulated that as part of the settlement, the undertakers were to build Protestant churches and fortifications and in Derry (Londonderry after 1610):

> The walls were shaped like a shield, protecting the new Protestant community planted there by the City of London. Catholics had to live outside the walls down in the Bogside. Nothing illustrates better the ethnic and religious segregation implicit in the policy of plantation.[17]

Niall Ferguson suggests that from this point on, Ireland became the experimental laboratory of British colonisation with Ulster being the prototype plantation in which to engage in 'social gardening. 'the challenge was to export the model further afield-not just across the Irish Sea, but across the Atlantic'.[18]

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

A Question of Loyalty

> 'seeing I am bound a vassal to his majesty though I differ from him in points of religion, I owe him all fidelity and service, and I will spare no pains, in my ways to give true demonstrations of the due respect...to him and his royal issue'.[19]

Thus spoke Francis Nugent, credited with the introduction of the Capuchins to Ireland. This statement echoed that of the Old English primate of Ireland, Peter Lombard. Although exiled in Rome in 1601 and a one time supporter of Hugh O'Neill, he

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[16] J. Davies, *A Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued, nor brought under Obeidience of the Crowne of England, until the beginning of his Majesties happie Raigne* (London, 1612), p.5.

[17] N. Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (The Penguin Press, London, 2003), p. 64.

[18] *Ibid.,*

[19] Cited in A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland* (MacGibbon and Kee, London, 1966), p. 21.

developed the view that the interests of the Catholic Church in Ireland could best be served by politically supporting James I.[20] This was the view held by the majority of the Old English in Ireland who had remained Catholic and it was certainly the view of the majority of the population of Galway. This pragmatism however did not extend to accepting the Oath of Supremacy. The Old English in Galway, in common with the other Old English colonial settlements, believed that they could share a commonality of secular interests with the Crown without the additional obligations of religious conformity. Their extensive trading interests with Catholic France and Spain ensured that they kept in constant touch with European Catholicism but at the same time they were discreet in their observance of what was a proscribed faith. They were also acutely aware, as a result of the Nine Years War, of the problem of 'disloyalty by association'. Although they believed that the ethno-cultural differences between themselves and their Gaelic neighbours should have been sufficiently obvious to English observers, they clearly had no understanding of the depths to which anti-Catholic mistrust had penetrated not only into the mind sets of the administration in England, but also into the English administration and garrison hard-liners posted to Ireland.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the English administration's lingering doubts over the loyalty of Galway in the event of a Spanish invasion were bolstered significantly by the activities of James Blake, a notorious member of the wealthy Galway merchant family and a source, no doubt, of considerable embarrassment to them. His brother was Valentine Blake and his father-in law Dominic Brian was said to be among the richest merchants in the country.[21] James Blake was a double agent and has been described as:

> An extraordinary character, a political spy, typical of the men of his trade…entirely unprincipled, ambidexter or as a fellow spy says of him, a cross intelligencer.[22]

Blake's role is dealt with in detail here solely because his activities were of sufficient enough significance to attract the attention of the state and a conflation of the varied reports and papers which surrounded his activities provide an accurate assessment of the

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] F.M. Jones, 'James Blake and the Projected Spanish Invasion of Galway in 1601', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 24, Nos. 1&2, (1950), pp. 1-18.

[22] M.D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway* (Heffer & Son, Cambridge, 1942), p.127.

English administration's overall concerns about the reliability of Galway as an ally in the Nine Years War, 1593-1603 and the Anglo-Spanish War of 1586-1603.

In 1600 Blake appears to have been working for the Earl of Tyrone. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, then Secretary of War in Ireland, sent intelligence reports to Sir Robert Cecil about Tyrone's current strategies and wrote on 14 February 1600:

> Tyrone hath lately sent James Blake and one more into Spain, to tell the King of Spain that now Tyrone has all Ireland under him except the corporate towns; and therefore he willed the King to send to him out of hand great artilleries, powder, and men, to batter the towns, which he doubted not to win by that course, and so put the whole kingdom into the King of Spain's hands.[23]

There was a note in the margin to this report that:

> James Blake is an Irishman, born in Galway, called Spanish Blake, because he has served amongst the Spaniards in Brittany, where Sir John Norreys took him to the fort of Bluett and afterwards employed him as a spy but Blake played false with him.[24]

F.M. Jones expresses doubt over the accuracy of this report in that by 26 June, 1600 under the alias *A. Blackcaddel,* Blake was recorded as being back in Galway and putting together a plot with MacWilliam to capture O'Donnell.[25] In a letter written to Captain Thomas Lee who served in the English forces Blake wrote:

> MacWilliam being one of the chiefest in the action of the rebellion of Ireland hath sent word about the time of your departure here hence, if that there were due consideration taken of him he will undertake to bring O'Donnell, O'Rourke, with half a dozen of the chiefest of that country, into England, either alive or dead; and, besides, will make his faction good in Tyrconnel against O'Neill and his partakers.[26]

The plan called for MacWilliam to be furnished with £1000, some ships, and 1000 foot soldiers and for Blake, with the authority of Sir Robert Cecil to oversee the venture 'and follow any direction he will send'.[27] In the event the plan was not adopted by Cecil which, given the notorious duplicity of Blake, is hardly surprising. It is unlikely that the English authorities would have entrusted an armed force of that size to someone as

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[23] Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil, Dublin, 14 February 1600, Atkinson, E. G. (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1599, April-1600, February. Preserved in the Public Record Office.* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1899). p. 473.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Jones, 'James Blake', p. 3.

[26] Blackcaddell to Captain Thomas Lee, Galway, 26 June 1600, Atkinson, E. G. (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1600, March-October. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1899), p. 258.

[27] *Ibid.,* 260.

unreliable as Blake and given their ongoing fears for the security of Galway, should it be the target for a Spanish invasion.

But Blake's attempt to secure a military force did not end at that point. The coastline of Connaught at the time was plagued by piracy and Galway, almost totally dependent on the sea-roads for its trade and commerce, suffered accordingly. It seems that Blake had convinced the then Mayor of Galway, Myghell Lynch, that provided with a sufficient force he could alleviate the problem because in September 1600 Lynch wrote to Sir Robert Cecil:

> The continuing roads used by the Malleys and Flaherties with their galleys along our coasts, where they take sundry ships and barks bound for this poor town, which they have not only rifled to the utter overthrow of the owners and merchants, but also has most wickedly murdered divers of our young men to the great terror of such as would willingly traffic, the let and hindrance of our trade.[and asks Sir Robert Cecil] to grant...Captain James Blackcaddell for 200 foot to be employed as well by sea to suppress the insolency of these roving rebels...the said captain has recovered by his own forwardness a ship laden with wines bound for Galway which the Malleys had had in their possession for a month.[28]

Again there is no evidence that this proposal was accepted, or any indication that Blake might have had other intentions for the use of such a force. What is not explained in Lynch's letter to Cecil is how Blake managed to capture a ship from the O'Malley clan who, led by Grace O'Malley, was at the time one of the most formidable pirate families in Connaught. Nor is there any explanation as to how he would go about suppressing the activities of both the O'Malley and O'Flaherty clans who had until this point held out against any attempts by the English forces to do so.

Nonetheless, Blake demonstrated remarkable tenacity. He reappears on the record again in March 1601, as a party in an alleged plot by some elements of the Corporation to usurp the English garrison commander Captain Henry Clare and appoint Blake in his stead. Clare was an ambitious young officer and held in high esteem by Cecil who had appointed him as garrison commander in October 1660, replacing Sir Robert Lovell, having previously considered him for a similar post at Limerick.[29] He had apparently carried out his duties robustly and, to further his career had written to Sir Robert Cecil

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[28] Myghell Lynch to Sir Robert Cecil, 27 September 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, March-October, 1600*, pp. 446-447.

[29] J. Maclean (ed.), Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, (The Camden Society, London, 1864), p. 159.

asking to be considered for the position of Governor of Connaught.[30] He had included with his letter a certificate signed by 15 signatories including the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, William Daniel, Patrick Lynch and five alderman, which testified to his diligence in 'banishing the rebels of Iar-Connaught from those parts...to the great and singular good of Galway, and the general advancement of Her Majesty's service there'. Furthermore in the same correspondence he reported:

> Here is lately arrived one Captain Blake, born in this town who since his coming hath been with Mac William, an arch traitor of this province; and being demanded what authority he had so to do, answered that he had sufficient from my Lord the Earl of Nottingham and your honour...He is here held a very dangerous man, having served the King of Spain and been in rebellion with the said McWilliam. He is a recusant, and much favoured in this town by the most obstinate of that sort, who would very gladly (as it is thought) work an alteration, if they knew how.[31]

There is clear evidence that there was a developing split in the town, in which Blake appears to have been involved, between supporters of the Counter-Reformation and those that had embraced the Protestant cause. On 10 March 1601, Francis Martin, the then Mayor of Galway, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil complaining about the behaviour of the garrison and in particular of Captain Clare. Martin alleged that Clare had seized the keys of the town and marched upon the Tolsel, stopping the proceedings. He further complained that he had been assaulted by soldiers 'bending their pikes at my breast, so as I escaped in great danger of my life'. He then proceeded to make a request:

> Order may be given as well for the removal of the said Clare herence, also for condign punishment according to his deserts, and that the said Captain Blake be here placed with his said charge, of whose loyalty in all duty we rest ourselves assured.[32]

Clare defended his actions by making a counter allegation against Mayor Lynch that not only was he consorting with the enemy but that his apostasy to the Protestant faith was in fact a political convenience in order to hold office, and that he was part of growing Counter-Reformation group which threatened the security of the town. On 25 June 1601, Clare wrote to the Privy Council that contrary to the complaint by Francis Martin, he had discovered that the Mayor had allowed Rory McTeig O'Flaherty, a known

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[30] *Ibid.,* p. 159.

[31] Captain Henry Clare to Sir Robert Cecil, Galway, 7 March 1601, E. G. Atkinson (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, 1 November, 1600-31 July, 1601. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1905), pp. 207-208.

[32] Francis Martin to Sir Robert Cecil, Galway, 10 March 1601, *Cal. S P. Ireland, 1 November, 1600-31 July, 1601,* pp. 219-220.

rebel, into the town and that he (Clare) had moved to detain him pending further instructions from the Lord Deputy. He claimed in his letter that despite having given assurances that O'Flaherty would be detained as requested, Francis Martin had allowed him to escape the following morning, long before the official opening of the gates. Captain Clare justified the seizing of the keys on the basis that O'Flaherty could have brought 500 men within three hours to any gate in the town. He goes on to write that having secured the town for the night, he returned the keys to:

> one Mr Marcus Lynch, an Alderman, a Protestant, and one specially liked of by the State here, to be kept by him, for the behoof [sic] of Her Majesty, the safety of the town, and the use of the Corporation, until my Lord Deputy's pleasure were known; with whom they were only to remain in the night, and in the day to be used by the ordinary officers as before...for which cause the Mayor, mortally hating me (joining with the recusants, his wife being chief of them, though he himself a protestant in show) hath sought both here and in England, by malicious and untrue objections to remove me.[33]

Clare enclosed a copy of the deposition that had been sworn by his supporters in February 1601. In the event, the Council of Ireland chose to take his side in the matter but clearly decided not to take any severe measures against Lynch although he was 'admonished for his former intemperate courses'. Captain Clare was encouraged to try to reach some understanding with Lynch 'to the furtherance of Her Majesty's service and the good and quiet of the town'.[34] Because of the ongoing fears about the security of the Town in the event of a Spanish invasion, the even-handedness of the Council in an attempt to calm down tempers on both sides was understandable.

Just where Blake's loyalties really lay is almost impossible to determine but the record of Blake's career as a duplicitous and dangerous man contained within the State Papers offers a unique insight into the tensions between the Protestant English civil and military authorities and the townspeople of Galway in the events leading up to the Battle of Kinsale. There were clear indications that in 1660-1661 a religio-political schism had developed as the strictures imposed by the Reformation had left many of Galway's citizens exposed to the charge of recusancy for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy. The development of this schism called into question the loyalty of the population should

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[33] Captain Henry Clare to the Privy Council, Galway 25 June 1661, *Cal. S P. Ireland, 1 November, 1600-31 July, 1601*, pp. 399-400.

[34] The Council of Ireland to Captain Henry Clare, Dublin, 30 June 1601, *Cal. S P. Ireland, 1 November, 1600-31 July, 1601*, p. 404.

Galway become a likely location for a Spanish landing and, along with the Blake conspiracy there is ample evidence that Galway or possibly Limerick but not Kinsale was the intended destination of the Spanish fleet .

In October 1601, after the Spanish had landed at Kinsale, A Galway merchant, Andrew Lynch Fitzjohn Fitzharry, arrived at Galway and gave evidence to the Mayor and others of the Spanish fleet's original sailing plan. His said he had been arrested in Lisbon in late May 1661, and his ship, carrying a cargo of salted hides and ash poles seized. But Sir Teighe O'Farrel, the Bishop of Clontarf who was to travel with the invasion fleet, had secured his release and he reloaded his ship with salt for the return journey. However the Spanish authorities would not let him sail lest he brought news of their plans. In mid August the fleet left Lisbon and Lynch was brought aboard the warship Crucifix. Whilst on board the Spanish ship he heard from one of the ships pilots that 'if the wind should hold they had come for Limerick and Galway, but that owing to the wind they were driven southward and so put into Kinsale'.[35]

Sir Robert Cecil was also convinced that Galway was the intended port for the Spanish fleet. In September 1601 he had cause to interrogate two prominent Irish prisoners who had been sent to England, Desmond and Florence McCarthy. He forwarded the results of his examination to Carew in which he stated:

> Of the Spanish purposes I interrogated them; Desmond affirms that they meant to come for Limerick, but Florence would need have it that they intended rather for Galway, wherein I assure you I join with him, being a place nearer to receive correspondence from the Rebels than to come into Munster where their party in broken, and where the Northern traitors are so far removed from home.[36]

On the latter point it seems inconceivable that O'Neil's march of over 300 miles during the worst of the winter months to relive Kinsale was anything less than forced on him due to the changed course of the Spanish fleet. After the defeat of the Irish forces at Kinsale, and whilst the Spanish forces under Don Juan del Águila were still holding out, Galway was still believed to be vulnerable to a Spanish attack as a second Spanish fleet was on

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[35] Examination of Andrew Lynch taken before the Mayor and Recorder of Galway and others, R. P. Mahaffy, (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, 1601-1603. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (His Majesty's Stationery Office), pp. 128-129.

[36] Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, 5 September 1601, *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew*, pp. 92-93.

it's way. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of State wrote to Robert Cecil urging him to send warships to prevent a second front being established:

> If our last success is not followed up promptly, the siege of Kinsale will be long and an opportunity given to the Spaniards to thrust in more forces and seek to nestle in Galway or Limerick.[37]

His fears were not unfounded for attached to his letter to Cecil was a letter from 'a very trustworthy alderman of Galway', James D'Arcy dated 29 December 1601.[38] D'Arcy's letter warned Fenton that he had learned of plot to attack and seize the town by the O'Flaherty's and others. The venture was being promoted by the Spanish who had promised 'large rewards in money and Spanish garrisons during their lives if they do so'[39] The Mayor had put the town on full alert but only the town militia were left to defend it as all the English soldiers had been mobilised to strengthen Mountjoy's forces at Kinsale. The information appears to have been taken very seriously because on 12 January 1602 a letter from the Privy Council in Dublin to the English Privy Council reported the intelligence they had received about the likelihood of further forces being sent from Spain and the threat to Galway and indeed other port towns. The letter also included some disturbing news of James Blake who had been imprisoned in Galway since his confrontation with Captain Clare:

> Also there has lately escaped out of prison in Galway one James Blake *alias* Captain Caddell [who is] altogether Spanish, and will, we are sure, be a dangerous instrument to execute this surprise. To guard against such surprises we beg that a special force of English be sent over to guard the port towns and Corporations, the Lord Deputy being compelled to use most part of the English troops in camp and the Irish soldiers not to be trusted with such a task.[40]

In the event, the Spanish surrender at Kinsale had eased the immediate fears of another invasion but the taking of Kinsale and the obvious vulnerability of Port towns like Galway to being overrun by insurgents or captured by a powerful naval force had forced the English authorities and particularly Mountjoy to undertake a thorough review of their defences. In April Mountjoy sent his proposals to the English Privy Council. He recommended that Cork, Waterford Limerick, Galway and Kinsale be fortified and well

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[37] Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Robert Cecil, Dublin, 6 January, *Cal SP Ireland, 1601-1603*, pp. 265-266.
[38] *Ibid.,*
[39] *Ibid.,*
[40] The Lord Chancellor and Privy Councillors in Dublin to the English Privy Council, 12 June 1601, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1601-1603*, p. 270.

garrisoned to discourage any further attempts by Spain since 'if they hear of our fortification works they may desist and turn their malice another way'.[41] But in the case of Galway it was not just the Spanish that concerned Mountjoy. His plan called for:

> A Fort to be made to secure the town against foreign invaders and to curb the seditious and factious youths that abound in that town.[42]

In making these observations Mountjoy highlighted a growing problem of civil disobedience in not just Galway but in the other Old English towns.

The source of discontent amongst the lower orders mostly stemmed from the religious oppression they suffered under Protestant English colonial rule, enforced by the authorities with the support of the English garrison. Much of the blame for any civil unrest must be attributed to the confused and often contradictory policies of the English administration. Although successive Lords Deputies were regularly instructed to secure religious conformity, they had consistently baulked at the scale and degree of repression that would have been necessary to achieve this objective. The pleas of the disciplinarians for a liberal exercise of the sword were met by admonitions about the preaching of the word. Examining the extremely volatile position which existed in and around Galway during this period, and the crucial need to ensure that the townspeople maintained their steadfast support for the Crown forces, it might seem obvious to a modern observer that notwithstanding the anti-Catholic sentiment of the English administration it was not the time for any robust enforcement of the religious strictures imposed by the Reformation. In fact the general approach during the course of the Nine Years War seems to have been a conciliatory one in this respect, as instanced by the Council of Ireland's correspondence with Captain Clare.

Nonetheless in 1596, the Lord Deputy on the advice of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, appointed a Protestant clergyman, William Daniel to St. Nicholas Church, with a mandate to preach and teach to the local populace in both English and Irish, and to 'root out their famous idols which they served'.[43] Not surprisingly Daniels appointment was

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[41] The Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council, Dublin 28 April 1662, *Cal. of SP Ireland 1601-1603*, p. 377.

[42] *Ibid.*,

[43] William Daniel to Burghley, Galway, 26 September 1596, E. G. Atkinson (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, 1596-97. Preserved in the Public Records Office* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), p. 121.

not received well by the townspeople and a letter, written by him to Lord Burghley at the time is illuminating, not just about the strength of feeling within the Town, but also the realisation that the conversion of the Catholics was not going to be achieved by missionary zeal alone. Claiming that the population had been urged to stone his residence by 'traitorous seminaries', he wrote to Burghley:

> The chief cause of all these troubles and revolts is the persuasion and suggestions of those filthy frogs of the synagogue of the Antichrist which are fostered in great numbers in every town, and do so generally prevail (for want of due regard to their apprehension and punishment), that generally the people dare not hear the word preached, nor baptize, nor marry publicly, nor bury their dead, but according unto the Roman superstition. The remedy of all this malady can be no other than to proclaim all such seducers and their fosterers, traitors to God and Her Majesty.[44]

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, policies and ideas of how to implement the Reformation in Ireland had polarised into two distinct camps drawn from the various sectors of the New English, colonial administration. Amongst these sectors were churchmen, civil administrators, new Protestant planter stock and the so called 'garrison hardliners', veterans of the oppressive campaigns led by Burghley in Connaught and later by Mountjoy in Ulster. On one side were those who supported Loftus and his view that only robust enforcement of the penal legislation would defeat recusancy, and, on the other side, those who advocated a softer more persuasive strategy. Both camps contained a mixed membership amongst the various interest groups except, not surprisingly, the garrison hardliners who exclusively favoured Loftus's approach. Loftus did not share any substantial support from other prominent members of the clergy but he had enjoyed considerable support from a succession of senior lay administrators during the late 1580s and 1590s.

A major influence in promoting a coercive policy was the poet Edmund Spenser, who had briefly held the post as Grey's personal secretary, although Ciaran Brady has argued that his position was more that of an important personal servant in a great noble household.[45] He appears to have used his connections to his advantage and subsequently settled in Munster on 3,000 acres of land awarded to him following the second Desmond Rebellion. During the early 1590s Spenser developed his ideas about the religious reform

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[44] *Ibid.,*

[45] C. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present,* No. 111 (May, 1986), p. 18.

of Ireland which he published in his allegorical treatise, *A View of the Present State of Ireland.* Undoubtedly influenced by the scorched earth policies which contributed to the defeat of Desmond, Spenser had developed a two-stage approach to religious reform. He advocated that, whilst an evangelical mission of persuasion by Irish-born ministers 'may draw them first to understand and afterwards to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation', they first needed to feel the sharp edge of the sword. In other words before the religious reformation could be promoted the people must first be brought to subjugation and this could only be achieved by war and famine.[46] Thus although the operational details of Loftus's and Spenser's policies were markedly different, they nonetheless shared a common strategy, that the sword was a necessary precursor of the word.[47] Although *The View* was not published until 1633, it is believed to have been widely circulated amongst English officials at the beginning of the seventeenth century and elements of Spenser's ideas and proposals were to be found in the writings of some of his English contemporaries such as soldiers like Barnaby Rich and John Merbury, planters like Sir William Herbert and provincial officials like Richard Beacon.[48]

Within those ranks there was also a marked degree of disagreement as to just how extreme the use of the 'sword' as a coercive measure might be. Not all the supporters of a coercive policy of reformation were prepared to go the brutal extremes of Sir Richard Bingham in the suppression of Connaught, nor that of officers like Barnaby Rich, who, instead of proposing starvation as an effective means of quelling Irish rebelliousness had once suggested castration.[49]. Spenser somewhat disingenuously said that he wanted to achieve his purpose with the minimum of hardship to the community and justified his proposals as a necessary cost of achieving more civilised conditions. Loftus on the other hand, despite his proposals, is on the record as having tried to curb Bingham's excesses and having being reprimanded from London for doing so.[50]

One surprising opponent of the oppressive enforcement of the Reformation was Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland and the man credited with the final defeat of

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[46] B. Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 21, No. 3 (1978), p. 482.

[47] *Ibid.,*

[48] Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis', p. 22.

[49] *Ibid.,*

[50] Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy', p. 483.

Gaelic Irish ambitions in Ireland at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601. Despite the ferocity of his prosecution of the war, he nonetheless had strong reservations about using a similar degree of brute force in winning the hearts and minds of the Catholic population as a whole. During Mountjoy's absence in Connaught at the end of the Nine Years War, Loftus and the Dublin government had decided towards the end of 1602 that the time was now ripe to put into effect the coercive measures that had been formulated but not applied during the Nine Years War, and six or seven recusant Catholic aldermen were arrested. On his return Mountjoy angrily reversed the policy believing it to be 'not merely impolitic at such a confused time but fundamentally misconceived'.[51] Writing to Cecil in January 1603 he said:

> I am loath to contradict any of their proceedings in matter of religion, for fear I may be esteemed backward in a reformation, but I am persuaded that a violent course therein will do little good to win men's consciences; but, howsoever, it is too soon to begin it; and it is most sure that it will breed a new war and, as I believe, make all the towns and nobility solicit Spanish aids...I am of the opinion that all religions do grow under persecution. It is truly good doctrine and example that must prevail.[52]

This was a remarkable statement from a man who had waged total war in Ulster during the latter stages of the Nine Years War. As well as a scorched earth policy which included burning the crops, killing the cattle and starving out popular support for Hugh O'Neill, he also established a series of garrisons which effectively surrounded Tyrone's shrinking power base and contain the Gaelic Irish forces therein.[53] This strategy formed part of the policies advocated by Edmund Spenser in *The View*. Though seemingly ambivalent, Mountjoy's observations were also visionary in that the spiralling pressure on the Old English Catholic populations of Galway and other urban areas of the Pale over the succeeding four decades of the seventeenth century played a major part in their eventual decision to take up arms against the government forces in 1641. More importantly Mountjoy's approach as well as that of Sir Robert Cecil reflected the views of James I who, although unwilling to grant toleration to Catholics, was at the same time unwilling to use coercive measures against them. He believed that it was not possible to 'force' consciences and his fundamental intellectual position remained opposed to the 'hard'

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[51] A. Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1997), p. 50.

[52] The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil, Trim, 20 January 1603. *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1601-1603*, p. 556.

[53] W.J. Smyth, *Map-making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c. 1530-1750* (Cork University Press, Cork, 2006), p. 49.

reformation strategy.[54] Nonetheless, at the dawn of the seventeenth century it is notable that the town of Galway had religious and military officials in place. William Daniel and Captain Clare were clearly supporters of the coercive school of thought and evidence was mounting of resistance to their tactics from some elements of the Town's population.

The death of Elizabeth I on 24 March 1603, which coincided with the submission of O'Neill to Mountjoy six days later, brought about a profound change in the political imperatives which had dictated English attitudes towards the walled port towns of Ireland and the vulnerability to invasion, especially of Galway. Although Spanish intentions still posed a threat, in reality, O'Neill's capitulation, coupled with an English naval blockade off the Spanish coast, effectively brought the threat of any further invasion to a close. In any event, as soon as James 1 succeeded to the throne he immediately signalled his intention to initiate peace proposals. His decision was not so much pragmatic as personal. James believed implicitly in the divine right of kings and had expressed the view that each ruler should enjoy his own possessions and not try to rob his neighbour. Moreover, in his role as James VI of Scotland, he had taken no part in the conflict and did not regard himself as being at war with Spain.[55]

Furthermore, the building of a new fort at Galway in 1603, (Figure 4.2), which had been proposed by Lord Mountjoy, had been completed and thus the Town was significantly more secure than it had been. The fort was built on the site of the former Augustinian monastery located within two hundred yards of the walls of the Town. The decision to build the fort had been taken when Galway was still believed to be the main port of choice for a renewed attempt by Spain to land an invasion force and Cecil had sent intelligence reports to Sir George Carew in August 1602 which indicated that Galway was the probable destination.[56] The responsibility for building the fort lay with Sir Oliver Lambert and Mountjoy had forwarded a progress report from Lambert to Sir Robert Cecil in August 1602, giving details of the proposed ordnance which Lambert believed 'will

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[54] A. Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland*, p. 49.

[55] G. Davies, 'The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660', in Sir George Clark (ed.) *The Oxford History of England*, 2nd Edition (Oxford University Press, London, 1959), pp. 48-50.

[56] Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, 5 September 1601, *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew*, p. 127

THE FORT NEERE GALWAY

Scale of yeardes

5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75.

A. St Augustines Churche

B. Lodgings for Souldiers on the side of the Churche.

C. Lodgings for the Commander and Officers.

D. Gate House.

E. Draw Bridge

F. Bulwarks.

G. The lower wall 10½ feet high of Stone.

H. The passage between the walls.

L. The upper or inner wall of Stone 18 feet high besides the parapet.

K. Vaulted Sallies through the rampier into the lower workes.

L. The Ditches.

Figure: 4.2. The Fort Nere Galway.
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway*, pp. 96-97.

make it of very great use against the Spaniards, if they happen to land, as he suspecteth'[57] But as Mountjoy had made clear in April 1602, the fort was to have a dual role; thwarting a seaborne invasion by Spain may at the time have been it's primary purpose but Galway, along with the other Old English Port Towns was viewed with deep suspicion by the English administration who saw the townspeople's faithful adherence to the Catholic religion as akin to an act of treachery. In 1601 Sir Edward Stanley commenting on the proposal to build forts at Galway, Limerick, Cork and Waterford ended his report by stating:

> Even if the Spaniards do not come, surely these sconces would be of use to strengthen the Queen's good subjects in those countries and keep the towns in obedience, who assuredly are over much affected to the Spaniard.[58]

Mountjoy, in his report to Cecil in August 1602 was unequivocal as to the role of the fort in strengthening internal security.

> If they do come [The Spaniards] I doubt not but these great workes will keep the Towne (neere which they stand) in so great awe, as they will not suddenly nor easily fall to their party, as otherwise in all likelihood they would, so as they show themselves anything strong before any of them and then will it be manifestly appeare that this cost was bestowed to great purpose; for the keeping of one Towne from revolting, will very well countervail the whole charge, that her Majesty shall be at, in planting of all of those fortifications, and yet will they afterwards bee such bridles to the Countries all about them, as they shall never bee able to rebel againe.[59]

But if the building of the fort offered greater security to the town in English eyes, it represented a two-edged sword to the townspeople and to the civil administration. Although Galway had been effectively the provincial centre for the English civil and military conquest of Connaught for much of the Elizabethan period, some degree of flexibility appears to have been agreed between the English military and the town; the right of the Mayor to keep the keys and secure the town at night for example. The conflict between Captain Clare and Mayor Martin saw the beginnings of a perceived shift in these arrangements but the commissioning of the fort and the provision of a permanent garrison firmly placed the security of the town and its environs into the hands of the newly

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[57] The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 August 1602, *The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson* Volume III (Glasgow University Press, Glasgow, 1908), p. 196.

[58] Sir Edward Stanley, *Memorandum on the Invasion and Defence of Ireland, Cal. SP Ireland, 1601-1603*, p. 44-45

[59] The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 August 1602, *The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson*, p. 196

appointed garrison commander, Captain Thomas Rotherham with 100 foot soldiers.[60] His patent from James I left no doubt as to his responsibilities and the scope of his power and authority which included 'The rule and government of all persons residing in or repairing to the bounds and circuits of his command, as well within liberties as without, of the town and harbour of Galway'.[61] The change in the town's status marked a watershed in the political map of Galway for, from this point on, the New English colonial process would gradually erode the independence of the Corporation over the next four decades contributing to its eventual, fateful decision to join the Catholic Confederate forces.

A Conflict of Loyalty and Religion

The previous sections of this chapter have attempted to illustrate that despite the debilitating effect of the erosion of Galway's status from a semi-autonomous city state to a New English colonial garrison town, the municipality and commonality of Galway had remained broadly aligned with the overall English political and military policy in Ireland and had remained loyal to the Crown. Politically motivated tolerance by the English administration combined with a pragmatic and ongoing philosophy of 'yielding to the pressure of the times'[62] by the Catholic community, had enabled the Town to emerge, albeit in dire straits economically, comparatively intact as a functioning administrative unit at the conclusion of the Nine Years War, which coincided with the death of Elizabeth I and the accession of James I. This durable, although unwritten, agreement, was to be put to the test almost immediately, as James's accession triggered revolt amongst the Catholic urban populations in the towns of Waterford, Limerick. and Cork.

The success of the Protestant Reformation in Europe by the beginning of the seventeenth century has been attributed in recent scholarship to the general acceptance, particularly by the European urban centres, of embracing the principle of *cuis regio eius religio* as enunciated at Augsburg in 1555.[63] English urban centres, with some rare exceptions like Wells in Somerset, followed a similar pattern. In Ireland, by contrast,

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[60] List of the Army serving in Ireland, 1 October 1603, C. W. Russell and J. P. Prendergast, (eds.) *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, 1603-1606. Preserved in the Public Record Office, and Elsewhere* (Longman & Co., London, 1872). pp. 90-91.

[61] J. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 97-98.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[63] M. McCarthy, 'Historical Geographies of a Colonised World: The Renegotiation of New English Colonisation in Early Modern Urban Ireland, *c* 1600-10', *Irish Geography*, Vol. 36 (1), (2003), p. 66.

almost the entire urban population of the country had resolutely refused to conform largely because the strength of resolve of the Protestant clergy had been no match for the Catholic hierarchies within the urban centres. Furthermore, because the proselytism of both the Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholics was inextricably linked with the Anglicisation of the population, the process of worship and instruction 'was ordered by Canon Law to be through the medium of English rather than Irish, and…a too close identification with the state of her policies'.[64] Meanwhile, by the beginning of the seventeenth century the Catholicism of the Irish urban centres was being bolstered by an influx of newly trained priests from the Counter-Reformation continental seminaries. Thus the accession of James I, a staunch Protestant, had the potential to trigger a backlash. An interrogation carried out by the Ecclesiastical High Commission for Recusancy in 1600 shows that 'hostility to the English State in the city of Cork at the beginning of the seventeenth century clearly went under the banner of the Counter-Reformation'.[65]

The documentation acknowledging James's accession was received in Dublin on 5 April 1603 and Mountjoy published the proclamation in Dublin on 9 April. At the same time copies were despatched to the principal administrative centres of the country to announce the succession in those places. However, in the words of a contemporary observer, William Farmer:

> But such as wear sent into the prouince of Munster, there was no greate haste made in publishing some of them: for the cities of Waterford, Limerick, and Cork made some douttes of the Quene's death, or if she were dedd who should be kinge, and with many other frivulus delays they deferred the tyme and would not publish the proclamations by any meanes.[66]

It is clear from the ensuing responses by both the Recusants and the Dublin administration that the details highlighted by Farmer were in fact delaying tactics by the leaders of the Recusant revolt to maximise the political opportunities which they envisaged might be forthcoming as a result of James's accession. Although the death of Elizabeth was not sudden, it is not credible that the politically aware leaders of the Catholic Pale would have had any doubts as to who would be her successor. However,

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[64] *Ibid.,*

[65] *Ibid.,*

[66] C.L. Falkiner, (ed.), 'William Farmer's Chronicles of Ireland. (Continued)', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 22, No. 87 (July, 1907), pp. 529-530.

since James I had taken no effective part in the English administration prior to her death there was no clear understanding, even amongst the English Privy Council, as to just what James's attitude would be towards the continuing process of the Reformation. There were clearly some expectations that as the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, he may have harboured some private Catholic leanings which would influence the future course of the Reformation and which would be generous to the Catholic urban populations. But, from the outset, it was clear that James's intent was above all else the exercise of his divine right to rule, and procrastination by the towns in reading out the proclamation of his ascendancy, followed by insurrection within the towns of Munster, was without doubt a politically inept method of highlighting their expectations.

At first, even Mountjoy was not too alarmed about the matter, and in writing to Cecil he expressed the view that the towns involved had mistakenly thought that during the brief interregnum they could 'declare their religion to His Majesty and the world...at which interval they supposed it to have been lawful or at least less dangerous'.[67] In the event it played into the hands of those who advocated the use of the 'sword' rather than the 'word' in recommending the preferred future policy for James I. Correspondence between the Irish administration and England during the summer of 1603 gives a clear indication that although the towns may have thought they had seized a golden opportunity to progress their religious freedom, the administration lost no time in advancing its own views and thoughts. The correspondence is quoted in some detail below because, although the contents are similar in their condemnation of the uprising and the motives of the Old English, they offer two separate recommendations for policies which underscore the course of the relations between the authorities and the towns over the next decade and lead on to the general breakdown of trust in the events leading up to the Confederate Wars.

The first, from the Bishops of Dublin and Meath to the King in June 1603, was an attempt to undermine forthcoming deputations from the Corporations of the Old English towns for the renewal of their charters and liberties on the basis that these were in effect a direct attempt to secure some degree of religious freedom:

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[67] Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil, 19 April, 1603, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 20.

The priests and discontented gentry of the Pale finding that their plots had miscarried in the hands of the traitors do now fall to new consultations to bring about their designs. Misled by their priests, some of the cities and towns of Munster, as his Majesty is already informed, have attempted, in violation of the laws of both kingdoms, to set up their idol and supremacy to Rome; others in the Pale in violent manner have committed a like offence; *and the rest, more wily, and therefore more dangerous, have of late met in public consultations, and are selecting solicitors to be sent to the King to lay before His Majesty some supposed wrongs*...[writer's emphasis] They [the bishops] have to inform the King that the men selected to follow this negotiation, though they are instructed to apply for the renewing of charters and such other suits as might become the solicitations of honest subjects, yet they are such as, beside their wilful obstinacy in matters of religion, and are well know to them and the rest of the council to be men of turbulent and malcontented disposition....They leave it to his majesty to devise some means to prevent the plots and aims of these priests, seminaries and Jesuits, which daily come from the seas. *After order taken with these seditious priests and Jesuits, that some learned and discrete preachers should be sent over and placed in the principal cities and towns of the realm, and by some moderate co-actions, this people should be compelled to come to the church to hear their sermons and exhortations.*[68] [writer's emphasis]]

Meanwhile, it was clear to the Dublin administration that an early declaration from James I as to where he stood on the issue would greatly assist it in dealing with the aftermath of the revolt. The need for clarity was no better illustrated than in the difficulties it was having in successfully prosecuting William Meagh, the Recorder of Cork, who had been arrested and charged with treason by Mountjoy following the town's capitulation. Not only had he filed a significant legal defence of his actions, but the administration was also concerned that, given his overall popularity within Cork City, a successful prosecution might even fail. At the beginning of July 1603 the Council of Ireland wrote to the Privy Council setting out its concerns and also its recommendations:

A great swarm of Jesuits, seminaries, friars and priests, not withstanding their late danger, frequent the towns and other places in the English Pale and borders more openly and boldly than before: few of the best houses in the Pale are free from relieving them. The Council find that they are under a strong and perilous impression, and so persuade the people, that, there shall be a toleration of religion, and for the procuring of it, sundry of the Pale and the towns are sent as agents to the court to solicit the same, and great contributions of money cut upon the country for their expenses and other charges. And being fallen of this point they [The Council of Ireland] urge the Lords of the Council move the King to consider of some present settled course concerning religion, to bridle the boldness and backsliding of the Papists before matters grow to further danger. For though the Deputy and Council apply the authority of the State with as great discretion as they can *(not knowing what will be his Majesty's course on the point of religion)* [writer's italics] yet it avails little to stay the case for they make a contempt of all (the Councils) doings, reposing altogether upon their project of toleration. This

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[68] The Bishops of Dublin and Meath to the King, Dublin, 4 June 1603, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 58-60.

> insolency has it's origins from the Jesuits and massing priests, but is strongly
> supported by some lawyers, practisers at the bar, and some of the Kings officers in
> his several courts, and all chief leading men who countenance the contempt of the
> gospel...*Understanding that most of the cities and corporate towns intend to send
> over agents for renewing their charters; they suggest that in renewing their
> charters the Corporations may be restrained to due limitations, themselves...for
> upon the well tempering and moderating of the charters of the corporate towns
> will depend a great moment for the better ordering of other parts of the
> kingdom.*[69] [writer's emphasis]

Although separated by a month and from ostensibly two separate sources there is no doubt that the letters bear the marks of the same hand, namely that of Loftus.

From this point on the towns and the Dublin administration would engage in a battle of attrition to determine the extent to which the towns could continue to enjoy all the benefits which their charters bestowed on them whilst at the same time continuing to maintain the dual mandate of obedience to Rome and loyalty to the King. This dual mandate presented two distinctly separate dilemmas for the opposing sides. The Old English Catholics, although having no apparent difficulty in reconciling their temporal obedience to the King with their spiritual obligations to Rome, could not be absolutely certain of their doctrinal position should, for example, Rome excommunicate James. From the government side the mere act of making the Oath of Allegiance was by no means a safe assurance of the ongoing loyalty of the participants and it certainly did not release them from their spiritual obligations. As Clarke and Edwards have noted:

> The dilemma was genuine, and for a government accustomed to believe that the
> line between friend and enemy was a religious one, adequately familiar with the
> tenets of Catholicism, and mindful of Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth, it
> was not unnatural to regard the claims of professedly loyal Catholics in Ireland
> with puzzlement and suspicion rather than with respect and goodwill. [70]

During the course of this short but critical period at the start of the reign of James I, Galway, at the time reckoned to be the second largest city by population in the Kingdom of Ireland next to Dublin, remained conspicuously silent. James Hardiman allocates but one paragraph in his *History of Galway,* when he announces, somewhat laconically, that:

> James I was proclaimed here in April 1603. Upon the accession of this monarch,
> the Irish, supposing him a Catholic, entertained hopes that their ancient religion
> would no longer be proscribed, and accordingly the principal cities and towns of

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[69] Deputy and council of Ireland to the Lords, Dublin, 2 July 1603 *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 66-68.

[70] A. Clarke, with R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification Plantation and the Catholic Question, 1603-1623', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volume III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691,* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, Rep. 1991), p. 190.

> the kingdom immediately declared for the open and uncontrolled confession of faith.[71]

No records exist of any attempt at recusant Catholicism or taking over control of St. Nicholas Collegiate Church and yet, as has been established earlier, the Protestant footholds in Galway were at the least tenuous. Many of those professing adherence to the Protestant cause were in all likelihood doing so for practical political and commercial reasons rather than from conviction.

The question arises therefore as to just where the Catholic population of Galway stood at this time in relation to furthering their own desire for a relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws. Certainly, even at this late date, it is unlikely that they would have entered into a conspiracy with the Leinster and Munster towns and the Pale, if for no other reason, in the case of Munster, than the ongoing rivalry and enmity between themselves and Limerick. It is more than likely that the pragmatic acceptance of the religious *status quo* may have played a part in the decision immediately to recognise James unconditionally. But the more likely reason would seem to be that any uprising or demonstration by the townspeople which went contrary to the King's writ might be suppressed by the military presence in and around the town. Unlike the Munster and Leinster towns, Galway was still on a high state of alert for any potential threat from Spain. When the fort was completed, apart from the permanent garrison of 100 foot soldiers, there were an additional 350 troops billeted in and around the town under the command of Sir Oliver St. John and Captain Henry Clare[72] It is possible that by April some of these troops may have been posted on, but since Galway was, by all accounts of the time, still a potential target of Spain, it is unlikely.

It is clear from his correspondence that Mountjoy had been anticipating an increase in civil unrest following the Battle of Kinsale and the renewed efforts by Loftus and his Council to re-impose rigorous conformity to the ecclesiastical laws and he had focused his attention on Galway in particular as a likely candidate. In Hardiman's account of the events surrounding the proclamation in Galway, he asserts that Mountjoy issued particular orders to the magistrates of Galway to ensure that no civil disobedience took place. In a reply to Mountjoy's instructions, the Mayor stated:

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[71] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 97.

[72] Abstract of Horse and Foot in Ireland, 20 November 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1601-1603,* pp. 522-523.

> He found no seditious inclination in the citizens, yet, to prevent disorders in these mutinous times, the governor of the fort had given him some of his soldiers to assist his authority, whom he to that purpose had placed in the strongest castles in the city.[73]

In effect the Town had been put almost immediately under martial law and garrison troops had occupied the houses of the principal members of the town's hierarchy. Under these circumstances it was extremely unlikely that any planned Recusant uprising, no matter how well conceived, would have stood any chance of success.

Thus it seems that the town of Galway had avoided yet another major confrontation with authority by 'yielding to the pressure of the times' and escaped the opprobrium that descended on the Munster towns of Cork and Waterford which had been labelled 'ill affected towards the English government and in good likening with the Spaniard'.[74] But had Loftus and the Council been persuaded that Galway had held firm out of a sense of loyalty to the King? It seems unlikely, given the suspicions noted earlier by officials like Clare, Daniel and Fenton, and in any event what was the town referred to by the Bishops of Dublin and Meath which had not taken any part in the uprising but yet were 'more wily, and therefore more dangerous (*and have*) of late met in public consultations, and are selecting solicitors to be sent to the King to lay before His Majesty some supposed wrongs?'.[75]

It is difficult not to conclude that Galway with its highly politicised hierarchy and with a long history of educating its scions in English law was not the target of these accusations. Indeed, outside Munster and Leinster, what other town of any real importance could there have been at that time, excluding the unlikely towns of Carrickfergus and Armagh? Loftus had raised his suspicions in June but by October 1603, the Mayor of Galway at the time, Martin Lynch confirmed that the Corporation was pressing ahead to secure a new charter, by writing to Cecil advising him of the Corporations intention to 'solicit with His Majesty of the amendment of their commonweal and confirmation of their estates and liberties and have thought good by the bearer hereof, Valentine Blake, whom in that behalf they have appointed'.[76] Hardiman

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[73] Hardiman, *History*, p. 97.

[74] A Note to the Taxation of Principal Towns, 1603, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 125.

[75] The Bishops of Dublin and Meath to the King, Dublin, 4 June 1603, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 58-60.

[76] Martin Lynch to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 October 1603, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, p.93.

relates that subsequently although the town was granted an extension of its charters, no new privileges or favours were granted at the time.[77]

That James was slow to agree to re-negotiate the charters was not procrastination on his part; at the beginning of his reign, he had more important affairs of state to deal with in England. At the same time those English issues were relevant in dealing with the tensions between the opposing forces in Ireland and even more relevant in determining his fiscal policies, which in Ireland were dependent directly on the terms and conditions held by the charter towns. The Recusants belief that James might have harboured some sympathy for their cause was not entirely unfounded. Initially James had shown that while he was against persecution of the Catholics throughout his Three Kingdoms, nonetheless he would not tolerate priests within the Kingdoms if they upheld the papal claim to dethrone princes and approved the assassination of heretical rulers.[78] But this early tolerance was to be seriously challenged by the political realities of the time which called for decisions based on a *realpolitik* approach rather than on what might be right or moral or just. On coming to the throne he had almost immediately come into conflict with the Commons on how his vision of the divine right of Kings squared with their belief that their ancient privileges and liberties were written into English law or, as it was put at the time. 'the prerogative of princes may easily and daily grow while the privileges of the subject are for a most part at an everlasting stand'.[79] This was to become a growing source of enmity between the Crown and the Commons over the next four decades. More importantly, disagreement about religion was an even more pressing issue.

The issue did not originate in any conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism, as was the case in Ireland, but between Puritanism and Anglicanism. Church and State at the time were seen as two parts of an indivisible society and Puritanism challenged the absoluteness of that tenet and in doing so it's adherents stood accused of attempting to introduce a popular or democratic form of government in church and in state.[80] James's belief in the ideal of the 'godly prince' had been diminished somewhat by the strictures of Presbyterian Scotland but on his coming to the English throne, the Bishops had

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[77] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 98.

[78] G. Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* (Oxford University Press, London, 1959), p. 3.

[79] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

[80] *Ibid.,* pp. 68-69.

enthusiastically embraced the theory of the divine right of Kings and had preached the practice of passive obedience. James in turn had supported the Bishops' stance against their puritan critics in Parliament. A position was created in which the Puritans found that 'any opposition to the church was regarded as sedition at court and any criticism of the monarchy was denounced as blasphemy in the pulpit'.[81] Therefore any tacit recognition by James of the sensibilities of Catholics, would inevitably be in conflict with the English Bishops' support of his position as the 'godly prince' within the framework of the English political hierarchy.

Meanwhile by the end of 1604 the Recusant Uprising in the Old English towns of Ireland had subsided. In a lengthy letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Davies reported that, apart from some isolated incidents in Munster and Leinster 'the people would for the most part submit themselves to the government willingly and become obedient subjects if the priests and Jesuits were banished the realm, which may easily be done by proclamation'.[82] Cecil was particularly pleased with the situation in Connaught and Galway in particular where:

> He found the people as civil and more obedient than their neighbours of the Pale; and where he saw the extraordinary industry and judgement of the Earl [Clanricard] in despatch of the business he had in hand.

As the military situation in Ireland eased following the end of the Nine Year War and the Old English towns either willingly or otherwise accepted the accession of James 1, the standing army in Ireland was reduced as part of James's moves to reduce the pressure on his exchequer. At Galway, the garrison was halved to 50 soldiers under the command of the now knighted Sir Thomas Rotherham and the Connaught companies under the command of the Earl of Clanricard and Sir Thomas Roper were also reduced to 50 soldiers per company[83]

Notwithstanding the easing of tensions in the Corporate Towns over matter of faith, in July 1605 James acceded to pressure from the Irish Privy Council to vigorously pursue an anti-Catholic policy in Ireland. On 5 October 1605 Sir Arthur Chichester, who had succeeded Mountjoy as Lord Deputy, put into effect the proclamation expelling all

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[81] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[82] Sir John Davies to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 December 1604, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 212-215.

[83] Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, Warrant from His Majesty for Reducing His Majesty's Army, 15 July 1605, *Cal. SP Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 394-395.

seminaries and priests by 10 December of that year.[84] On 16 October a further directive proclaimed that 'all his Majesty's subjects should repair to their parish churches, and there to hear divine service, according to the statute of secundo of the late Queen'.[85] This latter directive caused immense problems for those charged with implementing the Reformation in Ireland. From the outset the directive could be applied only to those who had access to Protestant churches so that, although the intention of the proclamation was to enable the Protestant church to apply religious conformity throughout the island of Ireland, in reality this could only realistically be achieved at the outset within the urban communities of the Old English towns and the Pale. Protestant churches were virtually non-existant outside those areas. In Connaught, apart from the sparse number of churches the problem was exacerbated by a critical shortage of Gaelic speaking prelates to preach to a largely Gaelic Irish community.

There was a significant challenge to this directive from the towns of the Pale and particularly from Dublin where, although it had not taken part in any uprising, the full rigours of the legislation were applied. These included a mandate from James to the citizens of Dublin requiring them to attend church on every occasion that the Mayor attended the Cathedral church of Christchurch.[86] Non-compliance led to arrests and the imposition of substantial fines. In Connaught the full weight of those charged with implementing these directives was focused on securing obedience in Galway, a Town which at least outwardly had demonstrated an enduring loyalty to the Crown over such a long period of time.

In Galway the Vice–President of Connaught, Sir Robert Remington had the proclamation published in the Market place. Following the proclamation the heads of some of the leading families of the town refused to comply with the directive and Remington summoned them to appear before the Council of Connaught whose members included Thomas Dillon and Sir Thomas Rotherham. The Galway recusants included William Lynch Fitz Peter, Oliver Browne, James Lynch Fitz Martin, Marcus Lynch Fitz William and Thomas Browne. Remington reported that in their defence the townsmen

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[84] Lord Deputy and Council to the Lords, King's Proclamation for the Expulsion of Jesuits and Seminaries, Dublin, 5 October 1605, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 332-333.

[85] Sir Arthur Chichester and Council, Howth, 16 October 1605, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 337.

[86] Mandate to Citizens of Dublin to Attend Church, Dublin, 13 November, 1605, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 346.

would give no other reason for their disobedience but that their conscience would not permit them to obey the proclamation.[87] Initially the case was adjourned as there was a dispute over the transcription of the original mandate, but in October 1605, the defendants were once again brought before the Council where they re-affirmed that:

> They would not repair to any divine service or summons ordained according to the laws of this realm, and utterly refused all further conference alleging that they had been bred into the Romish religion and that it is against their consciences to go to the church to hear service or sermons.

As a result the four named defendants were heavily fined with sums ranging from £20-£40, banned from holding any official appointments and committed to prison to be held at the Lord Deputy's Pleasure. [88] This particular case was illustrative of the treatment meted out to Galway's Catholic during this period There is no doubt that many more citizens received similar treatment

There was an immediate response from Dublin's aldermen and, led by Sir Patrick Barnewell, they put up a defence which was robust enough to convince the Privy Council in London that continuing these coercive policies could result in an outright rebellion. Accordingly, in April 1607, the Privy Council issued a direct order to Chichester to cease any further direct enforcement of compliance. Their rebuke to Chichester included the advice that 'if diligence be not used to plant knowledge and religion by preaching the word, the temporal authority rather hardens the hearts than attracts them to conformity'.[89] For a time it seems, proponents of the 'word' held sway over those of the 'sword'.

Charter Rights or Grace and Favour

James's reluctance to automatically renew Galway's charter and that of the other towns was no so much part of the program by the Crown to secure obedience and conformity to the Protestant religion but more to do with the state of the Crowns finances. The charters had been granted over the centuries by successive monarchs as a reward for loyalty, particularly to Galway which was geographically so far removed from the centre of power. Until the end of the Elizabethan period this mechanism had served both parties

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[87] Return by the Vice-President and Council of Connaught, C.W. Russell and J.P. Prendergast (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, 1606-1608. Preserved in the Public Record Office, and Elsewhere* (Longman & Co., London, 1874). pp. ccvi-xcix.

[88] *Ibid.,* pp. ccvi-xcix.

[89] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, Whitehall, 12 April 1607, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, pp. 137-138.

well, but James and his advisers were in the process of reviewing all sources of income, as the cost of their domestic and European ventures spiralled and those elements of the charters which effectively exempted the towns from paying substantial revenues to the Crown came under scrutiny.[90]

In January 1609 Galway, along with the other Charter towns renewed its attempt to seek re-granting of its charter rights. Hardiman notes that:

> Not only for a renewal and confirmation of all former privileges, but also that the town and liberties might be erected into a separate and distinct county; sheriffs appointed in place of bailiffs; and in consideration of the great increase of mercantile transactions, that the guild of merchants of the staple might be incorporated.[91]

The application was on this occasion accepted in principle and the process of agreeing content and any amendments was commenced. But the correspondence from the Privy Council to Chichester, acknowledging this progress also contained a warning about the renewal process which clearly suggested that James had made the connection between loyalty and compliance and was determined to ensure that the Corporations understood exactly what would underwrite the future of these ancient rights. A letter from the Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester made the Kings intentions very clear:

> The King...has made them sensible, first that the matter is not of right, but dependant on his own royal grace; secondly, that the temporary measures of his predecessors are not to be drawn into precedents of right, nor what was but permissive toleration to be converted into perpetual privilege; especially as the absolute power which the King now holds in that Kingdom gives room to hope for better fruit therefrom to his revenue than has been hitherto yielded.[92]

On 24 June 1609 a warrant for a fiant of a new charter for Galway was written which renewed the terms of the charter granted by Elizabeth I 'discharging of poundage and other customs in all the ports of Ireland except the cocket of hides'.[93] The request by the Corporation to extend the town limits and to incorporate the suburbs into a new administrative unit was also granted. The Charter dated 18th December 1610, stated that Galway 'should from thenceforth, for ever be one entire county of itself, distinct and

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[90] The Customs of Ireland, 1607, J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts. 1603-1614* (Reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Lichtenstein, 1974), pp. 170-174.

[91] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 98-99.

[92] Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 17 January 1609, C.W. Russell and J. P. Prendergast (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland of the Reign of James I, 1608-1610. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and Elsewhere* (Longman & Co., London, 1874), pp. 128-129.

[93] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Attorney General, 24 June, 1609, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1608-1610*, p. 222.

separate from the county of Galway, to be named and called the county of the town of Galway; *that the site and precincts of the abbey of St. Francis and St. Augustine's fort, and the lands belonging to the fort, should be reserved and excluded from the county of the town of Galway, and be and remain in the county of Galway'* [writer's emphasis].[94] These exclusions zones are clearly illustrated in the 1625 military map 'The Plotte of Galway' (Figure 4.14).

The granting of the charter brought to an end a seven year campaign by the Corporation to secure the rights and privileges which formed the basis of its wealth and, in addition, an apparent extension of its remit over the towns hinterland. However a careful examination of the events surrounding the eventual agreement to ratify the documents reveals a somewhat different set of circumstances from those pertaining when the previous charters had been granted, particularly those of Elizabeth I.[95] Elizabeth had every reason to maintain the *status quo* when she ascended the throne, given Galway's crucial role in defending the westerly approaches against Spanish invasion and against the forces of O'Donnell. The financial benefits which may have accrued from any diminution in the Town's revenue exemptions would, at the same time, have been too difficult to either assess or to collect. James on the other hand, had inherited a much changed environment both in terms of Galway's strategic value following the improvement in relations with Spain and of changes being developed by his exchequer to accrue additional revenue throughout his 'Three Kingdoms'.

The flight of the Earls in 1607 had re-kindled fears of a renewed attempt by Spain to pursue ambitions in Ireland and for a while in early 1608 various sources of intelligence available to Sir Arthur Chichester raised concerns that Galway was to be yet again a prime target for Spanish intrigue. Chichester had come into possession of a letter, thought to have been written by Sir John McNamara, giving details of invasion plans involving Galway. In a letter to Salisbury alerting him to the danger Chichester advised:

> How needful it is to finish the work at Galway and to strengthen that at Limerick for if an enemy posses themselves of those places and the towns it will be a hard matter to remove them. Doubts that Lord Danvers and Sir Josias Bodley will hardly finish the works for the

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[94] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* pp. 99-100.

[95] For a full translation of the Charter of Elizabeth I to the town of Galway see; Hardiman, *History,* Appendix 1, pp. xvii-xxvi.

sum of money by them propounded, for the workmen here are lazy and deceitful, many eyes and much care must be watchful over them.[96]

But his fears were calmed by the Privy Council in their reply to him on 20 March 1608 when, following an investigation into the details of the plot they assured him that 'notwithstanding these alarms given by turbulent and seditious spirits, there was no present fear of any invasion'.[97]

In general terms Chichester was well aware that there was ongoing simmering resentment from within the towns for several reasons. He was concerned that James's obduracy over the renewal of the Charters combined with the increased pressure on the Irish Council to enforce the restrictions on officials, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, might be enough to push the towns back into rebellion. In writing to Cecil in October 1608 he advised:

> If the King should take from them the profits and privileges which His Majesty's predecessors have permitted them to enjoy without giving them contentment by renewing their charters and enlarging their liberties in some other kind, it will discontent them, and obdure their hearts towards His Majesty's service, as much as the proceedings with them in point of religion would have done and surely it was a special point of wisdom to keep the cities and towns of this kingdom constant and faithful to His Majesty and his service, without which all may be in danger at one time or another.[98]

What might have been of equal, if not greater concern, to the Corporation than religious intolerance were the radical reforms being planned in England by James to increase exchequer revenue throughout his domain. The plan was to replace the collection of customs revenue by full time officials with 'farming out' the task to syndicates of businessmen. The basis of this new monetary policy was that since the King would derive income from the 'farm' by way of payments made in advance of any collection then this would guarantee certain revenues and thus form the basis for a stable and sound financial system. The loss to the Crown in discounting the absolute value of the revenue collection was in theory to be offset by the savings in costs of collection. But the real advantage of the system was to be found in the regularity and efficiency with which the farmers were able to meet the royal demands for loans.[99] The new fiscal policy first appeared in Ireland

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[96] Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, Dublin, 27 February 1608, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1606-1608*, pp. 428-429.

[97] The Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 20 March 1608, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1606-1608*, p. 441.

[98] Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 18 October 1608, *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1608-1610*, pp. 85-86.

[99] R. Ashton, 'Revenue Farming under the Stuarts', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 8, No. 3, (1956), pp. 310-311.

in April 1606 when two Englishmen, Thomas Hibbots and William Long, were given the sole right to export specific quantities of wheat, wool, sheepskins, and lasts of hides, tallow and wool. Their five year contract allowed them to enforce their monopoly with the aid of customs officers and heralded a new revenue structure which, although developed in England over the previous 50 years would be applied throughout Ireland within a decade. [100] The sweeping reforms have been described by Treadwell as: 'the cruel murder of Anglo-Irish corporate liberties' and by more recent 'value free' analysts as a 'process of administrative assimilation'. However the measures are judged, the new fiscal regime implied a fundamental displacement of an old and generally amicable relationship between the Crown and the port Corporations:

> Far from being the cosseted quasi-autonomous allies of the Crown, The Anglo-Irish merchant communities found themselves reduced to the unfamiliar and unpalatable role of regular taxpayers, their cosy municipal monopolies constantly threatened by the customs farmers' interest in expanding the volume of taxable trade to all merchants, not the least merchant strangers.[101]

Thus after seven years from the initial application in 1603, the charter had been granted, conditionally, and with no certainty that at any time the conditions could not be amended or indeed broken according to the King's writ. The extension of the town's liberties may outwardly have been seen as a significant mark of honour and Hardiman notes:

> The Corporation was empowered to have and to use several ensigns and ornaments for the honour and dignity of the town; and the mayor, for the time being, to have a sword borne before him, as a mark of the very great eminence of the office of the mayor of the town, and of the authority thereto belonging.[102]

But the reality was that the 'honour and dignity' were merely 'medieval ceremony'. The extension of the Town's liberties was a practical recognition of urban development: recognition that the encircled and walled environment of the town could no longer contain the growing population and the new charter merely extended the town's local legal structure to include these new areas. The charter still excluded the areas occupied by the Crown forces and the fort commander, Sir Thomas Rotherham, remained the effective

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[100] V. Treadwell, 'The Establishment of the Farm of the Irish Customs 1603-1613', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 368, (July, 1978), p. 583.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 602.

[102] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 100. The civic sword, which bears the mark of the two local silversmiths and dated to 1610, has survived to the present day and is still used for ceremonial occasions such as the conferring of the freedom of the town (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Galway Civic Sword Dated to 1611
Source: By Kind Permission of the Galway City Museum

Governor of the town including its extended liberties according to the terms of his original appointment in 1603.

Thus began a new and less comfortable relationship marked by some notably demonstrative behaviour by some of the Town's leading Catholic families who it seems, had chosen the highly visible annual elections for the Mayor to make their feelings known. The process of electing a Mayor is dealt with later but in 1609, Oilpher Brown was elected but, having refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, was replaced by Thomas Browne who also refused and eventually the appointment went to Ulick Lynch. This was now clearly a case of civil disobedience at the highest level within the town. The Mayor had to be elected by the freemen who clearly were part of the plot. They must have known that the two replaced candidates had no chance of remaining in office unless they took the Oath so the episode points to a deliberate and co-ordinated effort to test the resolve of the Crown. In 1611, more remarkably, Valentine Blake was elected Mayor. He was unquestionably one of the most influential citizens in the town and had acted for the town in renegotiating the renewal of their charter rights in 1603.[103] He also refused to take the Oath and his place was taken by the putative Protestant, Richard Martin, in the presence of the Vice President of Connaught and the Archbishop of Tuam, William O'Donnell[104]. Although Valentine Blake was deposed on 13 November 1611, a number of statutes bearing his name were enacted during October and early November. They included measures to ensure that the collection of duties and tolls was properly accounted for; restrictions on non-resident trading and, interestingly, a requirement that all strangers entering the town 'inform the Mayor from whence they came'. This last order was intended to prevent people coming into the town from 'any infectious place', a reminder that disease, including plague, was an ever present threat to a densely packed urban area such as Galway. Under his mayoralty he also admitted Sir Thomas Rotherham, governor of the for,t as a freeman.[105] The fact that the town archives do not indicate any amendments to these various statutes indicates that, politically at least, the Mayor's religious beliefs had no real bearing on local politics. In the following year, 1612, no

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[103] *Cal. S. P. Ireland, 1603-1606*, p.93.

[104] R. O'Flaherty, *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*. J. Hardiman, (ed.) (Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin, 1846), p. 37; J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, H. M. C. Tenth Report, Appendix, Part v, p. 463.

[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 463-466.

Galway-born freemen offered themselves for election and thus, Sir Thomas Rotherham became the first non-native to hold office in the history of the Corporation. One of his first acts was to introduce a requirement that any future candidate seeking to be elected Mayor, must enter into a bond of £1,000, guaranteed by two residents 'not to do any act or acts without the consent of the Corporation, which may in any way tend to the prejudice and damage of the said Corporation'.[106] Although the archive is not explicit on this matter it seems likely that standing for office with no intention of taking the Oath may well have been regarded as damaging to the Corporation. In 1615 Peter French Fitz-Valentine refused to take the oath on taking office and was fined £100.[107] There is no record of whether he lost his bond.[108]

From Compromise to Confrontation, 1612-1640

> No Irishman will hazard his life or estate for the difference of religion between them and those of England; for Giraldus Cambrensis will write that all other nations of Christendom are honoured for their martyrs (as England for St. Alban, and France for St. Dennys, &c) but Ireland, though it has had many saints, did never produce any martyr. No man ever heard or read of an Irish martyr.

Thus wrote Sir John Davis to Salisbury on advising him of the efficacy of proceeding with the rigorous prosecution of the laws against recusants in October 1611.[109] Four months later, following the brutal execution of the 80 year old Bishop of Down for treason, Sir Arthur Chichester reported to Salisbury:

> How obstinately the cities and corporate towns have of late demeaned themselves, how the priests abound everywhere, who sway and carry this people at their pleasures; how a tutelary bishop and priest, being lately executed here for treason, are notwithstanding thought martyrs by them, and adored for saints.[110]

Following the widespread deposing of municipal officers for failure to comply it was widely believed that the members of parliament summoned to the forthcoming re-convening of parliament would be required to take the Oath as a condition of membership. This belief combined with the fear expressed by Archbishop Kearney

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[106] *Ibid.,* p. 467.

[107] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 212.

[108] By way of comparison, and as an indicator of the relative wealth of the town oligarchy, £1000 would have been equivalent to nearly £2 million, at present day earnings. See H. Lawrence, 'Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to Present'. http://www.measuringworth.com/poweruk/

[109] Sir John Davies to Salisbury, Dublin, 14 October, 1611, C.W. Russell and J.P. Prendergast (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, 1611-1614. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office and Elsewhere* (Longman & Co., London 1877), p. 153.

[110] Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, Dublin, 6 February 1612, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1611-1614*, p. 244.

regarding the reconvened Parliament 'that things will take place in it such have not been seen since the schism of Henry VIII began', had made the Old English extremely wary of the extent to which the proposed legislation would make further significant inroads into their former rights and privileges. [111] The miscalculation by the English administration over the resistance to the recusancy laws seems to have tempered the belief that a programme of Anglicisation could be achieved by merely demanding that holders of public office take the Oath of Supremacy. In the event James was convinced that to obtain a lasting legally binding acceptance to his proposals, it was necessary to gain a majority in parliament and this could be achieved only by obtaining a Protestant majority. Since the majority of the 148 seats in Parliament were occupied by Catholics the only way to achieve a majority was to increase the number of seats occupied by Protestants. The scheme, devised by Carew, involved the creation of an additional 41 two-seat boroughs composed of a provost and 12 burghers, all of whom were required to take the Oath of Allegiance. The actual programme to be put before Parliament was in fact far less draconian than that originally planned. As Aidan Clarke has observed, the actual measures to be passed had come to be regarded as far less important than the government's ability to have them passed: 'The specific purposes for which a parliament had been deemed necessary had become secondary to the overriding need for a political victory over Catholic power'. [112]

Initially the attempt to ride roughshod over the Old English Catholic majority backfired owing to numerous complaints regarding deficiencies in the legality of some of the new appointments and the onerous nature of the proposed legislation, and James I prorogued parliament pending an enquiry. Since his main objective was to establish the political reality of a parliament favourable to his aims and objectives, James ultimately conceded many of the complaints made by the Old English, reducing the government majority to six and withdrawing the anti-Catholic legislation. [113] Although this was seen at the time as a victory for the Old English Catholics, in reality what James had achieved

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[111] A. Clarke 'Plantation and the Catholic Question, 1603-23', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland, Volume III*, p. 212.

[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 212-213.

[113] The King to Lord Chichester 11 August, 1614, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1611-1614*, p. 498.

was to secure the right of the excluded boroughs to be returned to future parliaments and thus secured future Protestant majorities.

By clearing the way for the Old English to accept the new regime and resume their seats in parliament 'James committed them to a political revolution which was not the less effective for being achieved in two stages rather than one'.[114] Although appearing to concede much of his legislative programme, he had achieved, amongst other matters, parliamentary acceptance of his title to Ulster and the right to proceed with the widespread plantation of a Protestant dominated, revenue producing province. This in turn encouraged him to conclude that other areas could now be considered for similar treatment and it was only a matter of time before those plans included the province of Connaught which would directly threaten the many wealthy merchants of Galway who had acquired lands therein. Although James had indicated in July 1615 that he intended to abide by the Composition of Connaught,[115] O'Sullivan has observed that numerous mentions in State Papers and other documents over the period up to 1625, including specific rumours circulated by the Earl of Westmeath,[116] suggested that a plantation of Connaught was indeed a possibility and that 'if Connaught should be planted what then would be the fate of their town?'[117]

In the meanwhile, despite Galway's position of relative geographical isolation, it found itself becoming embroiled once again in a conflict emanating from mainland Europe. The side effects of this conflict were to ultimately seal the fate of the Old English Catholic population of Galway and the town's status as one of the strongholds of the Old English colonial population of the island of Ireland.

In 1618, tensions between the Holy Roman Emperor, the Catholic Ferdinand II and the Protestant princes of the Kingdom of Bohemia, developed into all out warfare which quickly spread throughout Europe (The Thirty Years War), between Protestant and Catholic countries. In 1613 Elizabeth, daughter of James I, had married Fredrick V, the

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[114]Clarke, 'Plantation and the Catholic Question', p. 216.

[115] The King to Lord Chichester, Westminster, 21 July, 1615, C.W. Russell and J.P. Prendergast (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I. 1615-1625. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and Elsewhere* (Longman & Co., London, 1880), p. 84.

[116] The Lord Deputy of Ireland to Secretary Conway, Dublin 31 March 1625, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1615-1625*, p. 475.

[117] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*. p. 194.

Protestant Elector of the Palatinate and thus James found himself in a position of supporting his son-in-law in the conflict, whilst at the same time engaged in attempting to arrange a marriage between his son Charles and a daughter of the Catholic King of Spain. Although the political objectives of this match may have been an attempt to avoid an all out religious war, James' treasury was much depleted and the dowry of the Infanta was expected to amount to £600,000.[118] To make matters more complicated, his daughter, Elizabeth, was a blood niece of Christian IV of Denmark-Norway, another Protestant protagonist. Following the death of James I, Charles I automatically committed his subjects, including his Irish Kingdom, to the war to support his sister and to honour his treaty obligations to his uncle, Christian IV.[119]

From the start, however, despite James's attempt to achieve a rapport via marriage with a Spanish princess, English officials saw that although the main protagonist in the early stages of the war was Austria, it was once more Spain which they feared as the biggest threat and in particular the vulnerability of particularly Galway to Spanish attacks. The chief concern at the outset was the poor state of Galway's defences as the walls and citadel had fallen into a state of disrepair and the poor morale of the garrison. As well as requesting funds to repair the forts especially Galway the Lord Deputy wrote to the Privy Council asking for speedy payment for the garrisons 'to repair their tattered carcases, lean cheeks and broken hearts'.[120] As the 1620s progressed it became evident in advance of any Spanish invasion that Galway was targeted by Spain as the most likely destination for any attack.

Apart from intelligence reaching the authorities of Spanish intentions, there was growing unrest amongst the religious in Galway to their suppression. Contained within a report from Captain Pynnar, who had been commissioned to examine the fort at Galway and make recommendations for its repair, was a side note to the effect that there had been

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[118] G. Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 55.

[119] S. Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years War 1618-1648,* (Brill, Boston, 2001), p. 4.

[120] Lord Deputy St. John to the Lords of the Privy Council, 26 February 1610, *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625,* pp. 241; Lord Deputy St. John to the Lords of the Privy Council, *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625,* pp. 337-338.

meetings of priests and Popish fathers of Connaught and that one present at their councils stated that they spoke of taking that fort.[121]

In May 1624 The President of Connaught reported to the Lord President that a major meeting had taken place in Galway of the Catholic priests of the diocese of Tuam together with the principal gentry of the county accompanied by their sons.[122] His [Cootes] advice to the Lord President was to keep a special watch on the town and particularly the fort:

> For it is a point of foreign invasion and there is a continual concourse of more priests there than in any town in Ireland whose assemblies of this kind are the certain forerunners of all rebellions in this country.[123]

It is far more likely however that the sudden upsurge in the activities of the Catholic Church and the mostly Catholic population of the town were the result of the high expectations of a Royal marriage to a Spanish princess.

Galway was not alone in publicly welcoming such an outcome. A year previously the Archbishop of Armagh had written to the Pope in which he:

> Expresses the hopes conceived by the Catholics of Ireland at the treaty of marriage between Charles Prince of Wales and the daughter of the Catholic King of Spain, expecting as a result of such marriage a relief of their grievances so long suffered for their religion.[124]

This growing confidence of a successful match grew considerably during 1623, for in January 1624 an alarmed Lord Deputy wrote to Secretary Conway noting:

> This year out of the confidence of the match they ventured to choose many magistrates in their cities and corporate towns, for sovereigns and which were recusants so that His Majesty's sword of authority is in all quarters become recusants.[125]

James I must have been acutely aware that in order to secure a successful match he would have to make some concessions, but he also knew that an outright abolition of the laws against the Catholic Church would bring him into direct conflict with his Parliament. Thus in February 1624 he instructed the Lord Deputy:

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[121] Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council, 3 November 1621, *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625*, p. 339.

[122] Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught to the Lord Deputy, 19 May, 1624, *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625*, p. 493.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 497.

[124] Memorial to the Pope and the Cardinals from the Bishop of Armagh, 1623 *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625*, pp. 451-453.

[125] Lord Deputy to Mr Secretary Conway, Dublin, 9 January, 1624, *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625*, p. 455.

> Deal graciously with the Roman Catholics...they have to signify His Majesty's pleasure that they suspend the execution of the third article, concerning the government of the Church...until further order. But insolences or tumultuous and inordinate assemblies or innovation by erecting of religious houses...which may be dangerous to the State...those they must depress and reform by the assistance of the Council.[126]

As a result, in Galway, for the first time in 30 years, a Catholic, Robert Blake, was elected by the Corporation without any interference from the English Protestant authorities'.[127] Interestingly Hardiman, in keeping with his style of avoiding any political commentary, suggests an alternative reason for the appointment of Robert Blake. In a footnote he states that:

> No Catholics were admitted for many years, they invariably refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Thus circumstanced, it was with difficulty persons could be found to fill the office. In order to remedy this inconvenience, the Corporation at length resolved that every freeman should have a vote at the election.[128]

It seems hardly likely that this major shift in the conduct of the Town's affairs and the temporary suspension of the laws dealing with recusants were not connected. Since Catholics were being elected throughout Ireland at the time it is clear that James I's instructions to the Lord Deputy had been conveyed to the regional authorities. Hardiman records that Falkland visited the town in 1625 and knighted Richard Blake and Henry Lynch, both of whom were members of prominent Catholic families. During the visit he initiated the construction of a new fort and ordered all the gates of the town to be repaired at the expense of the Corporation.[129] That the gates were in disrepair is indicative of a general deterioration in town maintenance. Whether this was a result of nearly two decades of peace in which security had become less of a priority or just a general neglect of the town's infrastructure is unclear.

Evidence suggests that the orderly conduct of town business where each level of the social order 'knew their place' seems to have been breaking down. There appears to have been considerable disquiet among the lower orders as to how the town's affairs were being conducted. The archives of the town record in 1625 that: 'Whosoever should irreverently in evil language abuse the Mayor, for the time being of this town that he should forfeit ten pounds sterling and suffer imprisonment'. Further statutes suspended

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[126]The Privy Council to the Lord Deputy, 17 February 1624, *Cal, S. P. Ireland, 1615-1625,* p. 464. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 213.
[128] *Ibid.,*
[129] *Ibid.,* p. 102.

the general rights of freemen to attend the general assemblies, limiting them to persons who 'they shall from tyme to tyme lay down and nominate in writing.[130] Quite what had sparked this discontent with the hierarchy is unclear. Despite the religious suppression, the town had enjoyed a long period of peace since the start of James I's reign which had continued into the early years of Charles I. As a consequence the merchant princes had been able to develop their domestic and foreign trade and the town clearly prospered as a result. Evidence of this may be found in proposals to expand the port's capacity to handle the increased activity both in the volume of shipping and the tonnage. These proposals included improvements along the quays and harbour, and by Fort Hill and the fosse surrounding the town wall. In the event those works were not completed and Hardiman suggests that this may have been due to a disastrous fire in May 1619. The fire in the eastern suburbs was apparently caused by a musket shot during celebrations by the 'youths and tradesmen of the town,' which set light to a thatch roof.[131]

It is clear from the Corporation's archives that a major change was taking place within the largely compliant population during the late 1620s. There appears to have been a general breakdown in law and order within the town occasioned by both civilian and military unrest. The civilian unrest was occasioned partly by the relaxation of the penal enactments which had allowed the Galway Grammar School to re-open its doors during the mid-1620s. The Grammar or Lay school had, until it was suppressed in 1615 by order of James I, attracted scholars from all over Ireland and with a roll of over 1200 pupils, Galway had become the intellectual centre of Ireland.[132] At the time it re-opened, prominent members of the hierarchy at the time had either taught there or had been scholars. O'Sullivan records that they included:

> Duald Mac Firbis, Dr. John Lynch, Roderic O'Flaherty, Francis Brown, Patrick Darcy, the celebrated lawyer, Sir Richard Blake who became Mayor of Galway in 1627 and the Speaker of the Confederation of Kilkenny from 1647-1649, Peter French, afterwards knighted and elected Mayor of Galway in 1616 when he refused to act because he would not take the Oath of Supremacy. Dr. Kirwan...Roman Catholic Bishop of Killa , Edmund de Burgo and John O'Heyne, historian to the Dominicans.[133]

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[130] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 472.

[131] Hardiman, *History*, pp. 101-103.

[132] M.D. O'Sullivan, 'The Lay School at Galway in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 18.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Hardiman in one of his lengthy footnotes to *H-Iar Connaught,* also asserts that Roderick O'Flaherty was a protégé of Dr. Lynch and a scholar at the school, and that the distinguished antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis of Lecane was an intimate friend of both of them.[134] These associations are challenged by Nollaig Ó Muraíle who asserts that this was guesswork on the part of Hardiman and suggests that the confusion may have arisen because Hardiman, and indeed O'Sullivan, wrote on the basis that there was only one school in Galway whereas evidence suggests that there may have been a number of schools and a number of schoolmasters at the time.[135]

Nonetheless this *renaissance* in the teaching of classical studies and Irish language and culture, as well as providing for scholars from within the town, attracted a considerable number of Gaelic Irish who also came into the town to enrol. They were clearly for the most part from the poorer end of Irish society and, to support themselves, resorted to begging for food and money. In 1628 the Corporation proceedings note that:

> Whereas divers sturdie beggars and younge fellowes pretending themselves to be scholars doe daily in great numbers flocke and resorte to this town from all partes of the kingdome, which is not onely dangerous to the Corporacion by harbouring such multitudes and unknowne straunge persons, but also disableth the inhabitants from having anie means to relieve their own people or such younge schollers of the birth of the town who have a desire to study and learn.[136]

Over the years entry into the town had always been strictly controlled, particularly where the Gaelic Irish were concerned. This policy had been so successfully enforced that it is likely that the majority of the citizens within the town were, even by the 1620s, ethnically pure Old English. The dangers of allowing this sudden influx of large numbers of Gaelic Irish young men into the town were immediately obvious to the authorities. They introduced a series of measures designed to curtail this apparent threat to the town's security which included issuing cap badges to be worn by authorised beggars, increased security checks at the town gates, and imprisonment and corporal punishment for illegal vagrants and beggars. All school masters were required to provide a quarterly list of pupils under their charge including their ethnic origins.[137] The reference to 'all school masters' supports Ó Muraíl's theory of a number of educational establishments rather

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[134] O'Flaherty, *H-Iar Connaught,* p. 421.

[135] N. Ó Muraíle, 'Aspects of Intellectual Life of Seventeenth Century Galway', in G. Moran and R. Gillespie, (eds.) *Galway History and Society* (Geography Publications, 1996), pp. 152-153, 183.

[136] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 474.

[137] *Ibid.,*

> we could raise 2,000. We must have the new and old forts here strengthened. At present they are in utter ruin. If there were no forts we could hold the town against foreign or domestic attack, as we have done for 300 years, but we cannot hold town and forts together.[139]

The dilemma facing the English administration was the age old problem of whether it could risk arming the Old English in Galway to shore up the defences against Spain or would they be in fact arming a potential enemy. Sir Thomas Rotherham, who had by this time served as the military governor in Galway for 25 years was in favour of arming a local militia and Lord Falkland, in writing to the Privy Council was prepared to back a Sir Thomas Rotherham's recommendation and the grounds that:

> He knows the men in the town by long experience, is very confident of their loyalty, and I am inclined, from want of information to the contrary, to believe him. I submit to your Lordship the question whether they should be furnished with arms.[140]

Apparently nothing came of this recommendation for in February 1626 Justice Osbaldeston wrote what can only be described as an emotional letter to the Earl of Clanricard, then Governor of the town and the county of Galway concerning the vulnerability of Galway should it need to defend itself:

> There are only a few arms in the store and no tools for making fortifications. The fort is not tenable and is in danger rather than a safeguard, owing to its unpreparedness. The town is the weakest walled of any town in Ireland, but only for want of arms. There are plenty of men, but they will have to fight with clubs and pitchforks. Sir Thomas Rotherham has left the fort, I think because he fears he could not resist an attack there. I am ready to live in the fort, and, if necessary will sacrifice myself for the King.[141]

Osbaldeston continued with details of the additional cess charges being raised on the town of 2s 3d per soldier until the Kings treasure arrived and an additional sum of £400 which the Archbishop of Tuam had ordered the clergy to lend to avoid a cess being made on the church. In the closing paragraph of his letter Osbaldeston also expressed his concern over the ongoing rumours of the King's intention to review the Plantation of Connaught and the destabilising effect that it was having within the town:

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[139] Extract from the Letter of Sir Thomas Lynch, Mayor of Galway to The Lord Deputy, 12 January 1626, R. P Mahaffy, (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Charles I. 1625-1632, Preserved in the Public Record Office* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1900), pp. 85-86.

[140] Lord Deputy to the Council, Dublin, 26 January, 1626, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 83.

[141] Justice Osbaldeston to the Earl of Clanricard, 1 February 1626, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 89.

> There is talk of plantation here, which I regret. It causes more fear than the Spaniards. People feel how much they have paid here for the settling of their estates; all of the payments put upon them come to far more than the land is worth.[142]

Thus we find that the citizens of Galway were not only, it would seem, being left without material support in the event of a Spanish attack , but were having to financially support the English garrison against a background of a possible loss of land and estates in some future attempt to over rule their land titles. Although this would have had an impact especially on the higher orders of society nonetheless it is not too difficult to imagine the demoralising effect that it had on the general population.

To compound the townspeople's miseries the garrison troops were beginning to mutiny because of their living conditions. Earlier in January, remnants of the failed British expedition to Cadiz had begun arriving in Galway with most of the crews and soldiers suffering from disease and sickness. The sick soldiers were billeted on the town and as a result, their diseases, possibly including plague, had spread to the garrison. The extent of this additional burden on the townspeople is recorded in a further letter from Justice Osbaldeston to Lord Falkland:

> I have had the men and arms counted and the arms of the dead and sick brought to the King's store. The healthy soldiers are being cessed and billeted on the country; the sick in Galway, where it is agreed to 'lay and levy' 3s, a week for them. The country allows willingly 9d. a week above the Kings rate for the sick. The healthy soldiers cannot march for want of stockings and shoes. If money does not come at the end of the month the sick must be laid elsewhere...The officers have no money and the soldiers no clothes or shirts...there have been disorders and mutinies here, but I have no power to use martial law.[143]

Despite the examples quoted above, (and many similar appeals were being made throughout the country),[144] the failure of the authorities either to bring the English garrisons up to strength or to agree to what were known as 'trained bands' of Old English soldiers, led to a continued deterioration in the defensive capability of the town over the ensuing months. The reason was that although Charles 1 was baulking at the cost of maintaining an effective army in Ireland the alternative, less costly solution of arming the

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[142] *Ibid.,*

[143] Mr. Justice Osbaldeston to Lord Falkland, concerning the state of Galway Town, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 93.

[144] See for example, Sir Edward Villiers's letter to Lord Conway, Youghal, April 6 1626; 'I renew my request for relief of the soldiers who are now no longer able to subsist. Pray consider the position. I am continually listening to the supplications of a multitude of distressed people and unable to relieve them'. *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 110.

Old English was vehemently opposed by the Protestant authorities in Ireland. In part of a discourse by Lord Wilmot on the securing of Ireland he observed:

> The nobility is largely loyal and should be favoured with posts of trust. Certainly it is wrong to arm all the population indiscriminately here. It will discourage the loyal and give the Catholics an opportunity of renewing their ancient policy of intrigue with Spain...and why should we arm Papists in Ireland whilst we are disarming them in England?[145]

A. Clark has observed that:

> The rooted Protestant assumption that the army's function in Ireland was to protect their interests from the Catholics formed an unyielding barrier to the idea of a unified Catholic and Protestant military system orientated towards the defence of both against foreign invasion.[146]

In July 1626 the rapidly deteriorating defensive capability of the army in Ireland, characterised by the reports on the state of Galway's garrison by Justice Osbaldeston, were reported by Falkland in a letter to the English Privy Council:

> We have received from you the Prince of Orange's news concerning Spain's intentions. The news shows the necessity of our being well prepared, but owing to our necessities this is what we are unable to do. We cannot put an army into the field for fear of mutiny, and a disturbance will cut off even the few King's rents that are still paid. We will do what we can, but though there are many people fit to fight we have no arms wherewith to arm them.[147]

Falklands warning of the weakening morale of the army came to a head in Galway in mid-September 1626 when he wrote to the English Privy Council informing them that 'The garrison of Galway have at last begun what I fear others may do'. Sir Thomas Rotherham letter enclosed with that of Lord Falkland's reported:

> The soldiers have taken to pillaging the country, driving of cattle and poultry and hurting people who resist. They rob and spoil even inside the town. I desire leave to exercise martial law upon them which will keep them quiet.

And probably to focus the need for urgent attention to be given to the deteriorating defensive capability of the garrison Rotherham added:

> A Jesuit called Dermot O'Carnon arrived here lately. He was Rector of a College at Lisbon and had a great reputation in Spain. He could not have come here but on some important errand, and is, I expect, preaching as a Jesuit. I will watch him.[148]

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[145] Discourse of Lord Wilmot on the Securing of Ireland, 1626, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 193.

[146] Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, p. 35.

[147] The Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council, Dublin, 18 July, 1626, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 142.

[148] The Lord Falkland to the English privy Council, Dublin, 14 September; Letter of Sir Thomas Rotherham, Galway 7 September, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 155.

The consequences of not having a viable army in Ireland to face an expected invasion force from Spain and France brought to a head nearly two years of discussion between Charles I, the English Authorities in Ireland and the Old English aristocracy on two key issues. How best to defend Ireland and how was it going to be funded. Having had any plans to raise the 'trained bands' from the Old English and Gaelic Irish populations rejected outright by the English administration in Ireland, Charles was left with the problem of who was to pay the cost of an English standing army. He could not, nor did he have the means, to aggressively force the Old English landowners to meet the cost so he was left with accepting an offer from the Old English led by Sir John Bath who held lands in Dublin and Meath in exchange for some fundamental changes in their civil liberties and in particular their security of tenure.

On 22 September 1626, Charles I resolved to keep in Ireland a standing army of 5000 foot and 500 horse. In instructing the Lord Deputy he ordered:

> The charge of which is to be defrayed by the population. The charge is to be fairly assessed in money clothes and victuals. You are to declare to the people that we would have gladly have freed them from all charge in the matter had it been possible, and that as a recompense we give then these bounties and graces of which will send you the particulars.[149]

Although the content of the King's instructions to Falkland suggest that the 'bounties and graces' referred to had been granted but in fact the 28 articles listed in the Kings letter to the Lord Deputy were only heads of agreement and as article 28 made clear:

> These graces far exceed in value what is asked of the country in exchange and they cannot be granted unless people willingly submit to the charge for supporting the army there.[150]

Delegates were appointed from the provinces to negotiate the details with the committee appointed by the King and the delegates from Connaught included Sir Luke Dillon and Sir Henry Lynch from Galway representing the interests of the landowners in Connaught including those of the Earl of Clanricard.[151] The negotiations were concluded in May 1628 in which it was agreed that the Irish delegates would pay three payments of £40,000 per annum for the next three years in exchange and that the King would grant a number of

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[149] The King to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland, Westminster, 22 September 1626, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 156.

[150] *Ibid.,* pp. 156-158

[151] Appointment of Sir Luke Dillon and Sir Henry Lynch, Lord Falkland to the English Privy Council, Dublin, 17 December, 1627, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 293; Acts of the Privy Council of England, Vol. 43, 1627-1628, p. 401. (www.british-history.ac.uk/, accessed 12 November 2010).

concessions (the Grace's) concerning civil and religious liberties. Instructions as to the content of this agreement were sent to Falkland [152] For the Connaught delegation the most important of the Graces was Article 27 which guaranteed their land holdings from any further encroachment by the Crown. The relevant clause in article 27 was unequivocal:

> That they and every of them may all have such further assurances for securing their several estates from all ancient titles accrued to the Crown before sixty years last past...And if His Majesty be so pleased that these said several estates be confirmed unto them and their heirs against His Majesty, his heais and successors, by an Act to be past in the next Parliament to be held in Ireland, to the end that the same may never hereafter be brought into any further question by His Majesty, his heirs in that Kingdom.[153]

The problem with the agreement was that although many of the Graces alleviating civil and religious oppression were implemented immediately, the matter of the confirmation of land titles had to wait until the next Irish parliament. Until that was achieved the Old English, particularly the Galway landowners in Connaught, had gained nothing more than the Kings promise for all their efforts; as events unfurled the Kings promise turned out to be worthless.

The treaty with France in April 1629 and the opening of peace negotiations with Spain in May 1629 removed any immediate military threat of invasion of Ireland. It therefore removed the need for Charles to continue his policies of appeasement especially in the area of religion and land ownership. The first indications of a challenge to the relaxation of religious freedom came on St. Stephen's Day 1629 when the archbishop, Mayor and sheriffs of Dublin attempted to interrupt mass in a chapel in Cork Street. They were driven off by a stone throwing mob estimated to have been over 3000 strong and escaped with their lives by taking shelter in a house. Sir Thomas Dutton in writing to Lord Dorchester about the incident observed:

> The danger of conniving at Papists has now been made clear. A Catholic rebellion now would be fraught with terrible danger, for both the commoners and the soldiers in the Kings pay are Papists. In Ireland they are in the majority of 40 to 1. Ireland is the back door to England and must be carefully guarded.[154]

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[152] The King to the Lord Deputy and Council, Westminster, 24 May 1628, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, pp. 338-339.

[153] Acts of the Privy Council of England, Volume 43, 1627-1628. pp. 398-412, (http://www.british-history.ac.uk/, accessed 12 November 2010).

[154] Sir Thomas Dutton to Lord Dorchester, Dublin 30 December, 1629, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 501.

Although the religious houses in Dublin were seized as a result of this action and similar seizures took place throughout the country, Aidan Clarke has observed that: 'Neither clergy nor laity suffered more than an inconvenience by these measures. Their significance lay in the warning they conveyed of greater severity in the future.'[155]

Of equal concern was that despite the intention of the 'Graces' Charles I had not recalled an Irish Parliament and thus no opportunity had arisen to confirme land titles. An early warning of the likely resumption of the policy of plantation on lands held by the Old English came from the Earl of Ormond, writing to Lord Dorchester in January 1631:

> I have heard of the King's intention to plant Ormond. I have held it since Harry II's time, and it was given me to suppress the enemies of the Crown. I hope I shall not be the first of the English to be ranked with the Irish and to be replanted.[156]

In 1631, Sir Charles Coote, Vice President of Connaught presented plans for the plantation in Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo. In 1632 local juries were empanelled to compile lists of Catholics to enable recusancy fines to be levied as soon as the subsidies expired. The hope that the government could be moved to a conciliatory acceptance of the pluralist character of the colony of Ireland 'seemed to have fallen victim to the single-minded sectionalism of the Protestant settlers'.[157]

Meanwhile, following the cessation of hostilities with Spain, the town of Galway enjoyed a period of relative stability. There is no manifest evidence that any attempt was made to suppress the Catholic religion and it is apparent from the archives that the late 1620s and early 1630s was a period of economic growth and recovery within the town reflected in the provision of recreational facilities and town improvements. Hardiman records that in 1630 a square plot at the green, outside the east gate was set apart for the purpose of public amusement and recreation. It was enclosed with wooden rails and planted with ash trees. New roads were constructed outside the walled town. Inside the town, the main street from the great gate to the market cross was paved and several other improvements made which:

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[155] A. Clarke, 'Selling Royal Favours, 1624-32' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume III*, p. 242.

[156] The Earl of Ormonde to Lord Dorchester, Carrick, 5 January 1631, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 597.

[157] A. Clarke, 'Selling Royal Favours', p. 242.

> at length rendered the town one of the most perfect in the kingdom, possessing every convenience which could tend to promote the health or increase the comforts of the inhabitants.[158]

The town appears to have been in much the same shape of good order when Wentworth visited the town in 1634. He stayed at the house of Sir Richard Blake and knighted Dominick Brown, the Mayor, and 'having expressed much satisfaction at the highly finished state and opulent appearance of the town, his lordship departed for Dublin'.[159] This impression of a well managed and well maintained town on the westerly fringe of the Kingdom must have come as more than a pleasant surprise to Wentworth in contrast to that which greeted him on first arriving in Dublin.

His first sight of his new sphere of activity depressed him. Dublin, the capital of Ireland did not make a favourable impression on a man who had lived in huge and busy London or the stately and well built city of York. The unplanned streets sprawled vaguely out from the grey waters of the Liffey to a rather indefinite boundary on the muddy St. Stephens Green. Few of the streets were paved and much of the town...appeared to be sinking into the mud...The castle were he was to live was partly derelict and murderously damp. From his study window he looked out on a neglected field, half under water where an old horse, fetlock deep in ooze woefully cropped the muddy grass. Wentworth described the poor beasts dejected stumblings, feeling perhaps at that moment that the outlook from the window was a parallel to the outlook before him in Ireland.[160] Despite the favourable impression of the town of Galway the policies of Wentworth as Lord Deputy were ultimately to confirm the worst fears of both the townspeople and the county concerning their security of tenure reported by Mr. Justice Osbaldeston in 1626.[161]

Wentworth had two key objectives on taking up the appointment as Lord Deputy. The first was to maximise the revenues paid to the Crown and the second was to enrich himself during his tenure of office. On arriving in Ireland he faced a number of difficulties in securing these objectives. Sources of income in Ireland were few. There was little industrial development and commerce was limited mostly to the Old English settlements like Galway. Most of the revenues generated in Ireland came from the land,

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[158] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 103.

[159] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[160] C.V. Wedgwood, *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641: A Revaluation*, (Macmillan, New York, 1962), p. 137.

[161] *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632*, p. 89.

not by industrious farm production, but from rents. Many Irish estates had been acquired by New English settlers often through dubious transactions or in circumstances where title to the land may not necessarily have been proved by the original owner. Old English land owners had secured title to lands, as in Connaught, by 'surrender and re-regrant' in the previous century. The wealthy merchants of Galway had also acquired title to lands throughout the Counties of Galway, Sligo, Mayo and Roscommon and had bought out lands held by Gaelic Irish or by accepting land in lieu of unpaid debts and mortgages. Protection of these vested interests from successive Lords Deputies seeking to raise additional revenue had been a constant battle for both Old English and New English landowners and 'in the management of an Irish estate, the skills of a lawyer were more important than those of an agriculturist or businessman'.[162] Any attempt to claim ownership of land had to be processed through the courts and proved within the Common Law system of Ireland. This system was effectively, by the mid 1630s, firmly in the hands of the New English as the Old English Catholic lawyers and judges were, for the most part, precluded from holding office by their refusal to swear the Oath of Supremacy. A great deal of corruption existed within this legal system. Judges and juries were often in the pay of local landowners and, on discovering a defective title, they often informed the landlord rather than the Crown. On this system Wentworth commented that 'all the judges…bend themselves to pronounce that for law which makes for securing of the subjects estate wherein they have so full an interest'.[163]

Wentworth's response to these obstacles to achieving his objectives was; 'to decide that autocracy was the only possible form of government'[164]. He had already been given almost unlimited power by Charles I and effectively had a brief to rule Ireland as a Regent rather than as a Deputy. The word 'Thorough' has come to be associated with Wentworth's methodology and it features in correspondence with Laud, then the Archbishop of Canterbury who was also a member of the Irish committee of the Privy Council. In the correspondence Wentworth set out his proposed *modus operandi* in Ireland. Put simply it was a two edged policy of driving through opposition and enquiring

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[162] T. Ranger, 'Strafford in Ireland: A Revaluation', *Past and Present,* No. 19, (April, 1961*),* p. 32.
[163] *Ibid.,* p. 33.
[164] G. Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 111.

into every corner of the kingdom to govern the country and raise revenue for the king.[165] In his attempts to confiscate lands in Connaught prior to introducing new plantations, the ruthlessness of Wentworth's policy was to be felt throughout the province and especially by the landowning merchants of Galway.

The plantation of Connaught was not an original initiative of Wentworth's. A number of proposals had been examined during the early decades of the seventeenth century including one in 1631 just prior to Wentworth's appointment, which was intended to seize all holdings of less than 200 acres and enrich the larger landowners, both Old and New English. It did not proceeded on the grounds that it failed to promote the main objective of plantation which was to 'bring in deserving English, pay faithful servants and assure the King's interest'.[166] But the principal reason why Connaught had remained relatively immune from the plantation policy was that the Earl of Clanricard, by far the largest landowner in the province, held extensive estates in county Galway and was governor of the county and the town. Former Lords Deputies had significantly less power than Wentworth and would have baulked at taking on such a powerful opponent as Clanricard.

On 18 April 1635, following the dissolution of parliament Wentworth began his tour of Connaught with the objective of finding the king's title throughout the province (with the exception of Leitrim which had been planted 15 years earlier). Between 9 July and 20 July 1635, juries in Boyle, County Roscommon, Ballinrobe, County Mayo, and in Sligo, County Sligo, all found in favour of the king and effectively handed over one quarter of all the lands identified. These findings were not of course the result of a balanced decision by a fairly selected jury based on proven legal arguments. They were: 'occasions of organised intimidation in which Wentworth, with stern looks and insolent and impious and insupportable pride, bullied and threatened his way to a favourable verdict'.[167]

Wentworth knew that the real test of his policy of 'Thorough' would be in proving his case in County Galway. The inquisition was scheduled to take place on 14 August

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[165] Wedgwood, *Thomas Wentworth*, p. 120.

[166] Difficulties with regard to the proposition for the plantation of Connaught. *Cal. S.P. Ireland, Volume 16, 1625-1632.* p. 640.

[167] A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, p. 93.

1635 at Portumna, the main residence of the Earl of Clanricard. The choice of residence was indicative of the bullying tactics employed by Wentworth and could only have been intended to demonstrate the relative impotence of Clanricard. Meanwhile the Galway landowners had secured the legal documentation to prove their case and this had been subjected to scrutiny by Galway lawyers Richard Martin and Patrick Darcy.[168] Furthermore the county sheriff Martin Darcy had rejected a list of jurors sent to him by Wentworth and had empanelled a jury of his own choice.[169] After three days the jury agreed to find the king's title to lands which had reverted to the Crown following the death of William de Burgo and the Duke of Clarence, but no other land was proved to belong to the king. This decision was taken against a background of open hostility from Wentworth which included, when evidence was being given for the King, 'soldiers within the room with muskets charged and matches lighted'.[170] Wentworth was furious at this rebuttal which not only frustrated his objectives in securing additional revenues for the king but also undermined his policy of 'Thorough' which had, until now, enabled him to rule in Ireland with little consent from parliament, the church, or the law. He had both the jury and the sheriff arrested and bound over to appear before the Castle Court in Dublin in May 1636.

During the intervening period the Galway gentry and the supporters of Clanricard in England made every attempt to influence the outcome of the court hearing, but unfortunately for them Clanricard died in November 1635. The sheriff and jury were tried and found guilty of conspiracy and refusal to find the King's title. Each of the jury was fined £4,000 and the sheriff £1,000. The Sherriff was kept in prison where he died because of the severe treatment which he received. Some idea of the ill treatment which both the sheriff and the jury endured is noted by Hardiman: 'The jurors were...sometimes pilloried, with loss of ears and bored thro' tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with an iron'.[171] Against this background of ruinous penalties and brutality the jurors

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[168] A very complete summation of the case set out by the town and county gentry entitled; *The True State of the Title which is now challenged by His Majesty to the Province of Connaught* is included in; R. P. Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Charles I. 1633-1647. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1901), pp. 213-215.

[169] Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland,* p. 94.

[170] *Ibid.,* p. 95.

[171] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 105.

realised that there was little to be gained by holding out against Wentworth and in December 1636 they offered to find in the King's favour. As a result their fines were reduced and they were released from prison. The inhabitants of Galway wrote a humiliating petition to the Lord Deputy in February 1637 in which they:

> Confess in fulsome terms, their error in not acknowledging his majesty's undoubted title to the County Galway. They ask the Lord Deputy to take into account the frailty of mans judgements. They pray that they may have a share in the benefits of the grace and hope to imitate the public services of their forefathers.[172]

In April 1636 two new commissions were issued at Wentworth's command to legally seal the transfer of lands to the King. The first, held on 5 April found title for lands in the county and the second, on 6 April found title for the liberties of the town.[173] Despite this capitulation by both the county and the town the compliance went unrewarded. As well as confiscating half the land in question instead of a quarter as he had done in Sligo, Mayo and Roscommon, he also resumed properties of less than 134 acres in full with the result that four-fifths of the land in the county was forfeited. This additional burden was not merely a vindictive measure on Wentworth's part in retaliation for the resistance by the Galway landowners to his confiscations. His ambitious plantation policy included Clare and Munster and he believed that by penalising what he perceived as time-wasting delays in Galway, the remaining targets for confiscation would concede more readily, that 'it was essential that fear should supply the defects'.[174]

In the event, despite the disruption and suffering of the people of Galway both in the town and county, the plantation policy failed because Wentworth had assumed that there was a ready demand for settlers to emigrate from England to Connaught. In fact although emigration from England was on the increase at the time, it was to a new life in the Colonial settlements of New England and Virginia, where 'America offered religious freedom for the disaffected and abundant opportunities for the ambitious whereas Ireland

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[172] Copy of the Petition of the Inhabitants of Galway to the Lord Deputy, 9 February 1637, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1633-1647*, p. 149.

[173] A very interesting document listing details of part of the Corporation holdings at the time is analysed in detail by Walsh and Duffy. The document printed in the *Galway Vindicator* in 1844, is thought to be part of the Stafford Survey of 1637, provides further testimony to the 'Thorough' of Wentworth as well as an invaluable account of the nature of landholding around the towns perimeter. A full description is contained in; P. Walsh and P. Duffy, 'An Extract from Strafford's Inquisition: Galway Corporation Property, in 1637', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 49, (1997), pp. 49-64.

[174] A. Clarke, 'The Government of Wentworth, 1632-40' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume III*, p. 262.

offered little in comparison'.[175] Although Wentworth was unrelenting in his exemplary treatment of the population of the town and county of Galway throughout his tenure as Lord Deputy, by 1640, Charles I, possibly because of rising unrest throughout the country at the time offered some relief when he ordered that:

> The freeholders of the county and city shall be treated the same way as those of Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo in the matter of the new plantation. It was intended to treat them with less liberality because they had disputed the Kings title; but he wishes to forgive them for their former errors. The Commissioners of Plantation shall admit as freeholders people whom they think fit to the plantation, even if they should not possess the 100 acres qualification.[176]

Although this afforded some prospect of financial relief to those freeholders who had been affected, the attempted confiscation of their property brought home to the Old English, the realisation that their relationship with the Crown with charter rights and land tenure dating back centuries had irrevocably changed. They were no longer thought of as separate and distinct from the general Irish population. Their strategic importance as a defensive force against foreign invasion had diminished. Their ancient charters and liberties granted by successive monarchs over the centuries had been shown to be worthless when tested against a ruthless opponent like Wentworth. They were, as they entered the 1640s, along with the rest of the Gaelic Irish population, now seen by the English administration as no more than disaffected papists. The importance of this changed relationship was all the more disheartening to the citizens of Galway when one examines the history and structure of the town's corporate identity.

SOCIAL ORDER: THE CORPORATION AND THE COMMONALITY

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the civic and economic affairs of Galway were administered by an assembly which, apart from the Town Clerk, was elected annually by the 'Commonality'. This qualification was originally determined by residency within the town, that is to say co-burgesses irrespective of social position. The legal basis for this structure was enshrined in a charter originally granted by Richard II in 1396, which had been renewed, modified and extended by subsequent English monarchs throughout the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to reflect the economic and political landscape of the time. Many of the numerous additions and modifications were mercantile by nature but the most important measures for the Crown, and more

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[175] *Ibid.,* p. 263.
[176] The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 6 July 1640, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1633-1647,* pp. 243-244.

importantly for the citizens of Galway, were those which established the town as being directly responsible to the Crown and not in any way part of the feudal landscape of Connaught.[177]

Since the Norman occupation an evolutionary process had taken place in which, unlike their counterparts in Leinster and Munster, many of the Anglo–Norman invaders of Connaught had integrated into the Irish population, becoming 'more Irish than the Irish', whilst the population of Galway had in the main remained true to their Anglo-Norman roots. While many of the original Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland, over time, adopted an Irish lifestyle and with it a feudal lordship system which challenged the absolute rights of the English monarchy, the citizens of Galway had remained loyal to the Crown and defended the town, as well as they could against the regular incursions of the Gaelic Irish. The first recognition of the town's relationship with the English Crown came in 1361 when Edward III granted a murage charter which permitted the collection of tolls and customs to finance the erection and maintenance of defensive walls against attack from the Gaelic Irish. When this charter was renewed by Richard II, in 1396 at the same time he elevated the town's status to that of a Corporation with all the rights and privileges of the city of Drogheda.[178]

The most important sections of the 1396 charter of Richard II were to acknowledge, for the first time, Galway's strategic geopolitical position in the west of Ireland. In recognising that the town had defended itself over a long period of time against numerous incursions by both Gaelic Irish and 'English-Irish' forces, Richard's charter commenced with the following acknowledgement:

> The town of Galway, in Connaught, which is the key of those parts of his land of Ireland, (in which town all his faithful and liege people, as well as strangers as others resorting to the parts aforesaid…were received, saved, comforted and relieved) lay exposed on all sides as well to *Irish enemies as English Rebels*…and that the burgesses for the safe custody of the said town against the malice of the said enemies and rebels had continually day and night, maintained the said town, divers men for defence, at their own proper charges, to the manifest impoverishment of their estate.[179]

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[177] A translation of this charter, which includes all of the rights and privileges accorded to the town by Richard II and his successors up to and including those granted by Elizabeth I is included in the Appendix to Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. xvii – xxvi.

[178] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. xvii – xxvi.

[179] *Ibid.*, pp. xvii-xviii.

In recognising the strategic position of the town, the charter copper-fastened its independent position by allowing it to hold a monopoly over all trade and industry within the town boundaries, and more importantly for the future well being of its citizens, gave the town exclusive rights to hold courts and determine legal issues within the town. Thus the charter created the legal and social circumstances for the town to become, in effect, a quasi-autonomous city state.

The original intention of the early charters was to allow all the inhabitants to have an equal share in the corporate responsibility for the town, to enjoy the corporate privileges and bear the common charges. In practice the actual control of the town evolved into the hands of an elitist oligarchy, consisting mainly of families who were descended from the original Anglo-Norman invaders or who had arrived in Ireland from England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as colonists. Some of these families had settled into Connacht to become local rulers backed by a strong Anglo-Norman military presence. As this military presence diminished against a background of growing unrest from the Gaelic Irish population many of these Anglo-Norman families had retreated into Galway as refugees, bringing with them their accumulated wealth and skills as traders establishing extensive trading links both within Ireland and overseas particularly the Iberian peninsular.[180] Hardiman observed:

> The new colonies, here alluded to, consisted of several families, whose descendants, are know to this day, under the general appellation of *the tribes Galway* [*sic*], an expression, first invented by the Cromwellian forces, as a term of reproach against the natives of the town, for their singular friendship and attachment to each other during the time of their unparalleled troubles and persecutions, but which, the latter afterwards adopted, as an honourable mark of distinction between themselves and those cruel oppressors..[181]

These families did not all settle into the town at the same time but arrived in different periods and under different circumstances.

Hardimans *History of Galway* gives a brief biography of fourteen of the principal families, The fourteen family names cited were; Athy, Blake, Bodkin, Browne, D'Arcy, Deane, Font, French, Joyce, Kirwan, Lynch, Martin, Morris and Skerret.[182] These families may have occupied the upper echelon of Galway's economic and political elite but other

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[180] G. V. Martin, 'Oliver Martin and the Tribes of Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 12 (1922-19230, p. 41.

[181] Hardiman, *History of Galway* pp. 6-7.

[182] *Ibid,*

family names such as Bareth, Bremingam, Burke, Butler Crena and Penrice occur in the record. Over generations some of these family names may have died out or the members absorbed into other families by inter-marriage. The Penrice family was active in Galway affairs until about the end of the fourteenth century when Thomas Penrice, the last of the male line died. He was succeeded by Joan Penrice who inter-married with Stephen Lynch.[183]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the real power in the town was exercised by an inner circle of a few very powerful and immensely rich families who between them were to dominate the economic, political and social life of Galway throughout the first five decades. However, the extended families of Blakes, Frenchs Lynches, Brownes, Kiwans, and Martins were the most powerful. Politically, these six families had between them occupied most of the key positions on the corporation from 1600 until the expulsions of Catholic residents from the town in 1654. Sir Valentine Blake was head of the main branch of the Blake family in 1600 and was described as being the richest man in Galway with extensive property holdings in the town of Galway and in the counties of Galway, Mayo and Clare.[184] By the 1640s members of the extended Blake families owned upwards of 20,000 'profitable' acres in counties Galway, Mayo and Sligo. Other major landowners in these three counties were the Lynch family with over 14,000 acres, the French family with over 13,000 acres and the Brownes with more than 6,000 acres.[185] Land ownership was not of course limited to just the wealthy few. In 1617 it has been estimated that no fewer than 75 townsmen owned land in County Galway, many of them small holdings, with 32 townsmen owning less than 100 acres.[186]

It was also the custom for some of the scions of Galway's elite to be educated at the Inns of Court in London and members of the Blake family featured prominently in local and national politics, throughout the course of the seventeenth century. The Lynch family were also prominent in local and national politics, dominating the elections for the

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[183] These families and their armorial bearings appear in on the 1651 'Pictorial Map'; the details of which are discussed later in the work; Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 6.

[184] M. J. Blake (ed.), *Blake Family Records, 1600-1700*, (Elliot Stock, London, 1905), pp. 16-17, 45-46, 250-251.

[185] B. O'Bric, *Galway Townsmen as the Owners of Land in Connaught, 1585-1641*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, School of History, NUI Galway, 1974), pp. 217-220, pp. 455-460.

[186] *Ibid.* p. 455.

key positions of Mayor and Sheriff during the first four decades of the seventeenth century (Figure 4.4).[187] The Martin family also owned huge estates in Galway, Mayo and Roscommon. Inter-marriage between families also served to strengthen their hold on power both locally and nationally. Richard Martin, for example married Margaret, the daughter of Sir Peter French which meant that both Patrick Darcy and Roebuck Lynch, two of Galway's leading lawyers throughout the four decades of the seventeenth century were his brothers-in-law.[188] The French family also held senior positions within the Corporation during the early part of the seventeenth century. This pattern of Corporate and economic dominance by an elite core of families was reflected in the other Old English port towns. In Cork the Roche, Gould and Terry families held sway whilst the Nugents and Flemings controlled Drogheda as did the Whites and Creaghs in Limerick

By the end of the sixteenth century the Corporation's control over the Town and its inhabitants was absolute. O'Sullivan argues that given the total isolation of Galway from the rump of the Old English living in Munster and Leinster, and the often hostile hinterland surrounding the Town, such a totalitarian system was inevitable:

> As so often happens in history, then, individual liberty had to be sacrificed for the sake of the general security, and Galway passed over definitely to oligarchic rule, a rule so justified itself that it met no serious rival for hundreds of years to come.[189]

Although entry to the governing elite was restricted to members of the ruling families, there were no absolute rights of inheritance. Being a member of one of the ruling families only conferred a right to be in a 'pool' of prospective candidates to the Corporation and thus to be eligible, at some future point to hold office. Women, for example, were excluded even if there were no surviving male siblings within the family. Only men were judged able enough to manage the affairs of the Corporation and, as entry to the inner circle was by election, only the 'sitting tenants' were able to exercise total control over who was to be admitted. Once admitted they had access to a system which wielded absolute power within the community.

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[187] J. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 198-217

[188] M. Ó Siochrú, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://dib.cambridge.org.

[189] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 355.

Family	Mayor	Bailiff*	Sheriff
Lynche	15	8	16
Martin	6	2	12
French	4	1	7
Blake	5	3	7
Kirvan	1		4
Browne	2	1	1
Skerrett	1		1
Font		1	2
Bodkin	2		2
Darcy	3	4	2
Others	1		6
Total	**40**	**20**	**60**

Figure 4.4: Principal Families Holding Mayoralty and Other Civic Positions in Galway, 1600-1640.
* The position of Bailiff was replaced by that of Sheriff in 1610.
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 198-217

The Corporation

At the start of seventeenth century the hierarchical structure followed a pattern which was very similar if not identical to other charter towns in Ireland as well as in England. The principal office was that of Mayor, elected by the common council. Once he had been elected the mayor inherited considerable power and authority, not only over his immediate political supporters but over the entire population of the town. He elected one of the two Bailiffs, the other being elected by the Common Council. Their duties were principally financial but the baliffs also fulfilled an important legal role, sitting in the municipal courts and assisting the Mayor in the dispensation of justice.[190] Throughout the first four decades of the seventeenth century these positions were, with one notable exception, occupied by members of the ruling merchant classes (Figure 4.4). As can be seen from the list of names, the Lynche family had dominated the key positions closely followed by the Martin, French, and Blake dynasties. What is of interest is that, as already noted, for the greater part of this period no Catholics could become Mayors. It is difficult to believe that, within this closely knit Catholic community, so many Protestants could be found amongst the town's elite.

Overall legal issues were determined by the Recorder. This was a recent addition to the corporate structure, having been introduced by Elizabeth I in 1588 as part of a series of measures to secure the implementation and application of English law throughout Connaught in general, and Galway in particular, where considerable discontent was being expressed by the population in relation to the activities of Sir Richard Bingham who had paid scant regard to the niceties of common law during the course of his subjugation of the province. The first Recorder to be appointed was Dominick Martin in 1558-1559. He continued to occupy the position until 1610 when he was, ironically, replaced for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy[191].

The Town Clerk was the one remaining official member of the ruling elite. Unlike the other officials his tenure did not depend on an annual election. He was appointed by and responsible to the mayor. The occupants of post of Town Clerk were unusually not

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[190] *Ibid.*, p. 364.
[191] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

part of the oligarchy and, more importantly were sometimes appointed from the native Irish. O'Sullivan observes:

> Indeed it goes to show that, despite their attitude of superiority towards the Irish, the burgesses of Galway were not unwilling to fall back, when the occasion required it, upon the learning and ability of the native in the practical work of the administration of the town.[192]

In 1605 the Corporation opened up the electorate to freemen:

> who were merchants keeping crock and pan and paying tax or were admitted as merchants in the future,shall have his and their voice both in electenge of officers yearely...not withstanding that such personnes have not yet borne office of Mayoralties or Bailshipp in the said towne.[193]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century there were three distinct means to freedom; by marriage, by apprenticeship and by birth. Each was linked to the essential qualification of living within the town.[194] This vital qualification had been reinforced in 1584 by statute:

> That any and every freeman of this Corporation that willinglie absenteth him or them from the same duringe the space of one whole yeare and a daye, not paying or bearinge with the said Corporation scott and lotte, taxe and tallage, then he or they so absentinge and not paying or bearinge, be so disfranchised and lose his or their freedome for ever.[195]

It is clear from this late sixteenth century statute that *de facto* rights did exist but, as already seen, no evidence exists of any attempt to exercise the democratic right of the freemen of the town to influence the election of the Mayor and common council until 1624.

A very important part of the procedures of the time served to illustrate the strategic position of this walled Old English enclave, isolated as it was from the main body of Old English settlements in Munster and Leinster. Although the Mayor clearly enjoyed many privileges, he also bore sole responsibility for the safety of the town, surrounded as it was by potential, and in some cases actuall hostile Old Irish inhabitants of the hinterland. Each year, on being sworn, in he was handed all of the keys to the town gates. The gatekeepers were similarly sworn in and the Mayor then returned the keys to their safe keeping. Each evening upon locking the town gates the gatekeepers returned

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[192] *Ibid.,* p. 366.
[193] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway.* p. 460.
[194] O' Sullivan, *Old Galway,* p. 368.
[195] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 428; Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 209.

half of the keys to the custody of Mayor and the other half to the retiring Mayor, known as the Mayor in Staple.[196] It is clear from these procedures and the precise contents of the oaths that this was not a ceremonial duty akin to the present day 'Ceremony of the Keys' at the Tower of London, but a serious reminder of the need to be constantly on guard.

The Social Hierarchy

In many ways, the structure under which the corporate governance of Galway was conducted mirrored the way in which society in general was ordered within the town throughout the early modern period and, though geographically isolated from much of mainland Europe, the structure of society closely resembled the European model. This is hardly surprising for, despite its geographical remoteness, Galway had, over the centuries, established itself as a major trading port within the evolving mercantile world, especially with France and Spain, and thus a form of acculturation in the way in which society was ordered could have been expected.

The exclusively male dominated control of the town of Galway's economic and political affairs reached into the way in which each layer of society within the town was permitted to go about its everyday affairs. Society was structured pyramidically. At the top was a small patrician group dominated by the wealthy merchant class. Below this were the minor merchants, craftsmen, retailers and members of the legal profession. At the base of the pyramid were the workers, apprentices and others in the employ of the top two groups and dependant upon them in a wage economy which utilised both cash and kind.

Although the reins of power were controlled by a patrician elite, over the centuries, given the rate at which even these exclusive families must have expanded through marriage, many minor members occupied positions within the second tier of society. It was this middle section that represented the real strength of the town of Galway. This section provided a core group of householders who drove the economic, industrial and commercial activities within the town. It was to this class that the apprentice, journeyman, and servant aspired and entry into it was governed by restrictive by-laws and qualifications. The primary qualification was to be admitted as a freeman; without such distinction it was not possible to pursue any trade or commercial

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[196] *Ibid.,* p. 437.

undertaking. Being admitted as a freeman opened up a wide range of commercial opportunities to work within what was essentially a closed market. Any trader from outside the town, from nearby Limerick for example, or from any other Old English settlement or from any English or European town, could trade by buying or selling from the relevant freeman of the town. The numerous trades and occupations which made up this collective activity were controlled by the merchant and trade guilds.

The type of work, trade or occupation undertaken by the head of the household was inextricably woven into the position he and his family would occupy on the social scale. Goldsmiths and silversmiths, for example, were high on the social ladder because of the metals with which they worked, the relative skills needed and the wealth necessary to trade in precious metals. Higher still were the university trained professionals, many of whom were scions of the patriarchy. Their social position became even more secure towards the end of the sixteenth century as the application of English law became the standard legal process throughout Connaught and indeed the island of Ireland. Similarly, those engaged in wholesale commercial activity were regarded as higher in the social scale than, for example a trader selling his goods at market or through the retail system. However, the right to engage in trade or commerce was not a universal one. Just as the ruling classes dominated the town's governance, they also controlled entry into the town's commercial life.

The Guild System

The Guild system was an integral component of urban life, throughout medieval Europe. It consisted of organisations of merchants who had secured a trade monopoly within their town. The term merchant also had a different meaning at that time. It was not restricted to buyers and sellers of goods to be sold at wholesale or retail prices, but applied also to any artisan that manufactured goods, often being responsible for the entire supply chain from purchasing of raw materials through production and sale of the finished product. Originally the systems for maintaining product quality and price controls were self regulatory, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were regulated by a series of statutes by a Corporation whose members were in turn integrally part of the system through their own trading activities. Entry into the merchant guild was strictly controlled; for economic reasons the number of merchants was limited so as not to create

surpluses and thus depress prices; for political reasons because once admitted as a full guild member the way lay open to becoming a freeman; and for sectarian reasons because it was very rare for any 'Gaelic Irish to be admitted.

But there is evidence that Gaelic Irish could become established merchants within the town and also be admitted as freemen. The Corporation Archives reveal that in 1500, one Donill Oge Ovalloghan was working as a goldsmith in the town and was married to Julian Fallon the daughter of Andrew Fallon. He had petitioned the Corporation to admit his son-in-law as a freeman. It is presumed from the content of the plea that he had no male heirs, and wanted to secure future entitlement for his heirs. The Corporation agreed that:

> for the better relief of the said Andrew Fallon, who is old and impotent, it is considered and agreed by us, the said Mayor and Bailiffs and brethren of Galway...that the said Donill Ovolloghan shall be accepted, taken and received into our freedoms and like as and accordingly our privileges and charters.[197]

Elsewhere in Ireland the system had developed on a more liberal basis. In Dublin, Gaelic Irish applicants had been taken into the apprenticeship system,[198] and some of the wealthier members of the craft guilds had succeeded in obtaining the privileges and access to power of the merchant classes. But in Galway the merchants had too long a start on the craft guilds and had long ago consolidated their grip on the key positions in the town.[199] The Guild Merchant and the Corporation were theoretically distinct groups. The Guild Merchant was responsible for the organisation and regulation of trade and commerce and the Corporation's function was to raise the necessary taxes to maintain the town's infrastructure, walls, streets and other civic buildings and of course police the population and thus maintain law and order.[200] In actual practice, the principal officers of both systems were often the same people and no more so than in Galway.

The craft guilds however represented a stabilising influence within the town. They were the bridge between the ruling oligarchy and the general working population. Within the Guild there were three grades, the master, the journeyman and the apprentice. Although there were clearly differences in status and indeed in earning capacity, what

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[197] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 390.
[198] G. Clune, *The Medieval Guild System* (Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1943), p. 130.
[199] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 399.
[200] Clune, *The Medieval Guild System*, p. 17.

marked the system out as totally different to modern-day industrial relations was that there was no class system, The master, journey man and apprentices all worked alongside each other. The apprentice had to serve usually a seven year term and had to pass an examination approved by his guild, after which he became a journey-man for a further three years. At the end of the process the system allowed for the participants to start their own businesses, producing their own wares in their own workshops and selling them on to their own customers.[201]

The system depended for its proper functioning on maintaining a balance between the three grades of workers. Rules were imposed limiting the number of apprentices and journeymen. Rules were also imposed on operating in more than one trade to ensure that, as far as possible, there was an equal opportunity for qualified citizens to make a living, as for example in this extract taken from the Corporation archives.

> It is ordered that no town dweller shall meddle nor interrupt nor occupy no man's occupation or science on pain of forfeiting of [12.pence] but only his own science, and also to forfeit and lose all such parcel of work that is found within his house contrary to his own occupation.[202]

The original intention of restrictive membership was to ensure that no one trade was over subscribed within the town; there was obviously a point where, for example, bakers could trade within the town whilst operating strict controls over price.

During the apprenticeship the novice was expected to live and work within a very strict moral code of conduct and live in a state of *in loco parentis* in relation to his master. As the following extract from the Corporation archives illustrates:

> that the said Cornell, with the consent of his mother and friends, hath the said day and yeare, put himself a prentice unto the said William, to [thende] and for the term of seven whole [yeares] next after the said date fully to be [accomplished] and ended...during which [tyme] the said Cornell [promyseth] and [byndeth] him faithfully and truly to serve his said master, taverns of custom not to haunt, and not to play at cards or [dyces] nor any other unlawful games; sleep he shall not out of his maisters howse without urgent causes...And the said William promises and binds himself well and truly to instruct and teach his said servant in the science and intercourse of merchandise during the said term...and keep him with meat, drink, linen, and woollen clothes and all other commodities necessary and expedient for his said calling. And after the said term so ended, make him free as a brother and member of the merchants of the same town and cause the same to be enrolled in the court, guild and records thereof as [apertayneth].[203]

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[201] *Ibid.,* p. 84.

[202] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 400.

[203] *Ibid.,* p. 438.

The relatively rigid code of conduct expected of the youth of the town was no doubt imposed not just to secure a trained and educated workforce, but also contributed to law and order within the confines of the city wall. Entry was restricted to natives of Galway unless the master could show that none such was available.[204] Although this was undoubtedly designed to preserve the 'English' nature of the town, taken together with the fact that only apprentices who had served their time in Galway could practice their skills, the policy ultimately deprived Galway of new ideas and innovations taking place, particularly in England, and from the continent.

Restrictions were also imposed on imports of goods and foodstuffs from other towns. All imports into the town had to enter via the customs house and incur the relevant duties and taxes in force at the time. There is no doubt that, as throughout history to the present time, smuggling took place where a profit could be turned on the trading of goods from 'across the border' without paying the requisite tax. No merchants could engage in either buying or selling of goods with merchants in Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, Dublin or any other towns or cities and strict penalties were imposed if these laws were broken:

> for any hides feltry [*sic*], linen cloth, merchandise or provisions of fish, flesh or butter, he or they that would bargain or traffic privately or openly with any such merchants aforesaid and cause the same to be imported by land or sea, unless they come to this town as other strangers and merchants in ships, he or they of this town that sells any of that merchandise...to forfeit all that he or they sell and also xx.*li,* [£20 sterling].[205]

Although the Corporation Books offer valuable insights into the workings of the guild system there is little evidence remaining of the extent to which the system developed as it did in other principal Irish towns, particularly Dublin, where the number of trade guilds expanded in line with the growth of the capital city. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dublin had 21 crafts organised in seventeen Guilds, but by the end of the century this had reduced to eight.[206] The reason for this was financial. When levies were imposed by the Corporation one third fell on the Guild Merchant and the remainder on the crafts. Thus it must have made sense for the weaker craft guilds to amalgamate into fewer, but

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[204] *Ibid.,* p. 444.
[205] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 410.
[206] Clune, *The Medieval Guild System,* p. 149.

financially stronger composite Guilds.[207] It would appear from the scant evidence to hand that Galway's guild system may well have developed along similar lines, with most craft guilds consolidating by the beginning of the seventeenth century and managed and controlled by the Corporation statutes. Crafts and trades, however, would have continued to grow as industry developed and although no composite list exists for Galway the following list of trades in Dublin illustrates the probable scope of this expansion:

> Apothecaries, bakers, barber surgeons, brewers, malsters, bricklayers and plasterers; butchers, carpenters, millers, masons, heliers, cooks and vinters, coopers, curriers, cutlers, painters, paper-stainers and stationers, felt makers, glovers, skinners, goldsmiths, hosiers and knitters, joiners and wainscotters., merchants, saddlers, upholsterers, shoemakers, smiths, tailors, tallow chandlers, tanners, and weavers.[208]

Rare evidence of a Guild of Goldsmiths can be found from an engraving commissioned by Hardiman depicting the grave slab of Thomas Davin, (Figure 4.5). The original slab, now lost, but possibly covered over on the site was recorded by Hardiman as being within the Franciscan Abbey graveyard: 'A very curiously carved stone which lies near the modern tomb of O'Connor, contains the Corporation of goldsmiths, the several instruments of torture used in the Crucifixion, and an antique ship.'[209]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century quality and price control began to deteriorate, as indeed did law an order.[210] This was clearly a serious issue for the Corporation because tanned hide and finished goods and tallow were two of the principal exports from Galway to England and the continent.[211] Thus not only were the industries important as revenue producers they also represented a major source of employment in the town. Despite the officially expressed concern of the Corporation, the responsibility for the degradation of standards can almost certainly be laid at their feet. There can be no doubt that as they tightened their grip on the town and its affairs by means of all-embracing regulatory control, the role, function and purpose of the guilds were diminished and the membership, the so called commonality, had little input into the governance of the town. Moreover Galway's isolation from the main urban centres in Ireland had protected it from outside competition up to the end of the sixteenth century.

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[207] *Ibid.,*

[208] J. Eccles Wight, 'Irish Guilds and Their Records' *Irish Roots,* Number 2, (1997), p. 11.

[209] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 268.

[210] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* pp. 208-211.

[211] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway,* pp. 400-401.
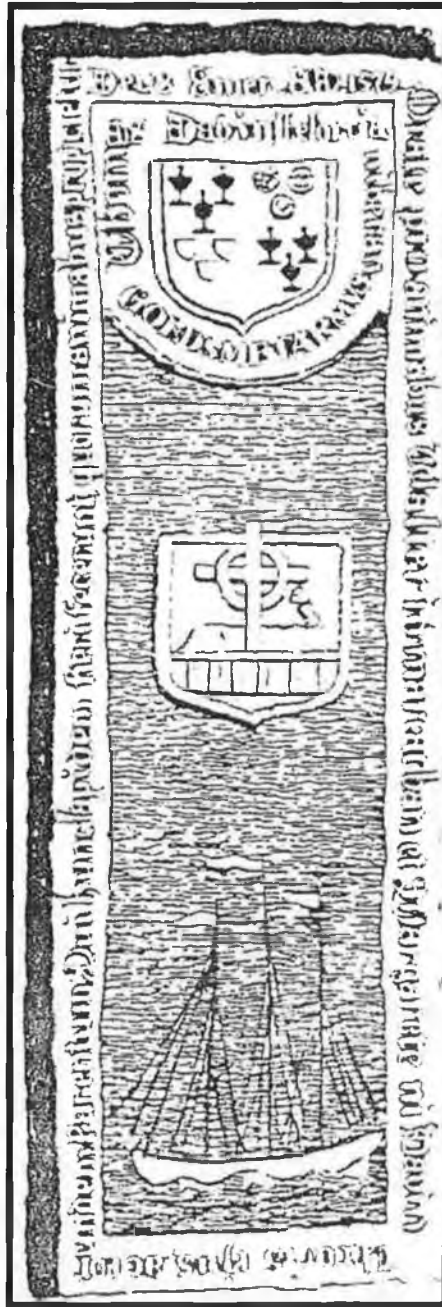
Figure 4.5: Old Tombstone at the Franciscan Abbey
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway*, p. 317

This ongoing protectionism had bred a tolerance to poor quality and high prices in which Clune, drawing from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* states that:

> Competition, not protection is the only guarantee of good material, good workmanship, and low prices. Protection and the Guilds and the Guild system are not merely useless but injurious. The pretence that Corporations are necessary for the better government of the trade is without any foundation.[212]

Meanwhile, the improving, albeit still difficult transport infrastructures, had allowed for the easier transportation of goods to Galway. Despite the restrictive statutes which theoretically controlled this activity, the members of the Corporation, whose duty it was to enforce these statutes were also the wealthiest and richest merchants of the town and it served their interest not to be too strict in observing their own rules so as to attract foreign merchants to the town. Thus Galway, for the greater part of its late medieval commercial life was, *de facto, a* free port.[213]

By allowing external trade to develop, the small craftsmen were left between a rock and a hard place. They no longer enjoyed a virtual monopoly within the town but at the same time were restricted in their ability to expand or innovate or extend their basic skills to other, possibly more profitable enterprises. Forced to work under these increasingly difficult conditions it must have dawned on some of the merchant craftsmen that despite losing the security of the town, they might be just as well off living outside the jurisdiction of the town, and thus outside of the restrictive trading measures and the taxation system which went with it. This exodus is reflected in the *Articles of Reformacion* which stated

> Many merchants and handy craftsmen have relinquished their mansions in town and keep themselves in the country without answering tax and talladge, scott and lott within this town...it is good to establish that every of them do come to dwell in town or otherwise to order a fine less their libertine as appertain.[214]

These cracks in the erstwhile stranglehold that the Corporation had over the commercial life of the town were to widen considerably as the involvement of England in the affairs of the town increased. The impact of the Reformation on a Catholic-dominated medieval system, sowed the seeds of a new mercantile system in which small independent city states were to be replaced by a central authority. Not only would towns and cities such as

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[212] Clune, *The Medieval Guild System*, pp. 207-208.

[213] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 414.

[214] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 209.

Galway, compete within an internal market, but external markets would grow as sea routes opened up as the European colonial territories expanded .[215]

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Galway, like every other major urban centre in Ireland, with the exception of Kilkenny was a port town. A contemporary writer described Galway as:

> the port where all the commodities in the province of Connaught that were transported beyond the seas were shipped and there the produce of them either in forreaigne wares or money was returned.[216]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, apart from locally grown food stuffs and some raw materials like timber, what could not be manufactured or obtained locally would generally be brought in by ship. Goods which were traded in exchange left the town via the port or were transported into the Gaelic Irish hinterland. It was within this limited 'revolving door' that the Corporation was able to control and generate the wealth that had enabled them to build a rich and powerful settlement which resembled a city state. Moreover, because of the total lack of an internal transport infrastructure, Galway's main trading partners were to be found in similar port towns and cities along the main Atlantic seaboards of France and Spain.

As with most other activities of this period quantitative measurements of Galway's contribution to the overall trading volumes of the island of Ireland are difficult to establish and verify. In 1611, as part of a review of trading volumes to assess tax and duties, Robert Cogan put the total contribution of gross trading values for Galway at a little over 10% of the total value of all imports and exports of the main trading ports of the island. He had estimated that the value of Dublin's trade was £100,000, Waterford £30,000, Drogheda and Cork, £20,000. With reference to Galway he noted:

> Galway – this town is situated in a Bay. Country about it, very rocky and barren, trade chiefly in transporting hides, yarn, woodfells, beef , furs, &c., returns wine, iron, salt and some commodities out of England which may amount unto per annum £20,000. Total sum of exports of these cities and towns amount to the sum of £211,000.[217]

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[215] Clune, *The Medieval Guild System*, p. 205.

[216] R. Bellings, *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, Volume I* (Reprinted: AMS Press, New York, 1973), p. 96.

[217] *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, 176.

His report excluded the rest of Connaught and, it appears, Ulster. But it is revealing in that it demonstrates the paucity of trading activity north of Galway and thus the town's strategic importance in the region:

> Of the rest of the towns which lie northwards I cannot yet satisfy you, because I never saw them, but by conjecture they are not many, neither do I conceive them to be of any great trade, but consisting chiefly of fishing for salmon and herring, which is in great abundance and may yield the King a great profit being carefully looked into. There are also transported many hides, yarn, tallow, and sheepskins, beef, &c, which will help increase the King's customs, when officers are placed in them as in other towns.[218]

Although Galway was clearly the major trading centre for the whole province of Connaught, its estimated 10% contribution to the gross value of trade generated within Ireland's other main trading centres, puts its relative trading status much further down the league table than other more subjective observations would indicate.[219]

However there is no doubt that despite the political and cultural differences between the town and the Gaelic Irish occupied hinterland, and the extent of Galway's continental trading connections recorded by Hardiman and others, Galway depended on the produce of Connaught for its day to day existence. Apart from the trade goods illustrated above, produce from the hinterland included barley, beans, peas, oats, corn, wool, butter, cheese, honey wood, wattles, linen cloth, cattle horses, pigs, fowl and fish.[220]

Fish, Salt and Hides

Fish was, not surprisingly, given the town's location, a major source of food for both local consumption and for export. The rich fisheries of Galway Bay yielded a variety of species which were sold both fresh, for local consumption and salted for export. So important was this source of food and revenue that the Corporation placed severe restrictions on fishermen pursuing alternative, and potentially more lucrative alternatives:

> That no sea-men or sea-man, or, I would say, fisher-men or fisher-man, do take in hande either the plowghe, spade , or teithe, that would bar them from fyshinge, both to serve themselves and the common wealthe with fyshe, in consideration whereof that the said fishers and their wiffs and famylie be reasonably served before all others with all necessarie sustenune and food of provition as cometh to

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[218] *Ibid.,*

[219] L.M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660* (B.T. Batsford, London), p. 390.

[220] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* pp. xviii-xix.

the market, whereby they mought be the better hable to erne their livings that way, and have better hope.[221]

Despite the vigorously enforced strict controls on non-resident trading within the town little or no evidence is evident that similar controls were exercised over inshore fishing. There are references to a considerable amount of fishing off the island of Innis Boffin by boats from the West of England and of Dutch boats fishing of the Connaught coasts.[222] By contrast the fresh water fisheries, particularly salmon, appeared to have been highly valued by the members of the Corporation and in particular the Lynch and Darcy families.[223]

Members of the Corporation also enjoyed lucrative rights over eel fishing:

> Every fish day, betwixte Michaelmas and Hollontide, but two hundred small elles, and every of the ballifs to have one hundred; and from Hollontide forth it is ordered that the Mayor, for the furnishing his table with fresh fishe, shall have the election of two fishers, whom he liste, and every baliffes to have in like a fisher to keep their house with fishe.[224]

The extent to which the town relied on the River Galway and Lough Corrib for salmon and eels may be reflected in the conservation and protection measures enacted by the Corporation:

> That ne free of fishe, viz of yles be taken by ne way whatsoever, begyn the 15th of Aprille to the springe following the same; and also that no red samon be taken, nor crue of samon as in the statute in that behalfe is provided...and fearing the distruction of the fish, to prevent the same, that no lymed hids or flax be suffered to be put into the river.[225]

Fish also appeared to have been part of the staple diet for the English Army provisioned from the Galway military stores. The State Papers record; 'The Commissary at Galway stands in need of salt, to be part used for the keeping of the store of fish there and has advertised the arrival of a bark laden therewith'. In January 1600 it was observed; 'In Galway there is victual, viz, biscuit, butter, cheese, fish, to serve 2000 men to the 17th March'.[226]

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[221] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[222] *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1599-1600*, p. 356; *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1608-1610*, p.473.
[223] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 291.
[224] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 413.
[225] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 209.
[226] Motions made by Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil and Others, January 9 1600, *Cal. SP. Ireland 1599-1600*, pp. 393- 394.

It has been noted that the ability of Galway to store and supply provisions to the Army may have been a precursor to its later role in the provisioning trade to the West Indies.[227]

During the archaeological excavations in Galway, 1987-1998, considerable quantities of fish bone were discovered in Courthouse Lane. The species, dated to the post medieval period, included Shark/Ray, Spur Dog, Eel, Conger, Herring, Salmon, Cod, Haddock, Whiting, Pollack, Ling, Hale, Gurnard, Mullet, Scad, Wrasse, and Flat Fish. Of the total bones identified Cod represented some 20% of the total. The very large assemblage of fish bones at this site, (it is the only urban collection in the West of Ireland) has led archaeologists to conclude, that although high status fresh water fish like salmon and eel feature prominently in Irish literature, marine fishing was clearly an important industry and was a major food source for the town.[228]

Mention has already been made of the importance of salt. Before the development of other forms of food preservation, particularly refrigeration, other than seasonally dependant ice, salt was the only practical way of preserving fish, meat and butter and was an essential ingredient in the treatment and preservation of finished hides. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the regular supply of salt to the English army was vital to establishing provisioning stores throughout Ireland and in Galway in particular. There are numerous references to its price, supply and shortage, in the State Papers at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Normally shipped in barrels or hogsheads, English army supplies generally came from England, via Chester and it was considered that 'nothing was so good as British salt for victualling'.[229] Salt was also sourced from Bordeaux and from Spain.[230] The importance of the commodity as a source of income had not escaped the notice of James I and his financial advisers when, as part of the proposals to amend the rights and privileges of the charter towns, it was proposed:

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[227] A. Hartnett, 'The Port of Galway: Infrastructure, Trade and Commodities', in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Excavations in Galway City, 1987-1998* (Wordwell Ltd., Bray, 2004), p. 305.

[228] M. Murphy, 'Animal Palaeopathology', in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 602-624.

[229] *Cal. SP. Ireland 1599-1600*, p. 499.

[230] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

> The privilege claimed under charters by the walled towns to prohibit the entry of any ship with wine, salt, or iron, unless the merchant will sell at such price as they themselves shall fix, to be abolished.[231]

But above all other commercial and industrial endeavours it was the production and exportation of cattle and more importantly of hides which allowed the town to develop its export markets with France and the Iberian Peninsula and, during the early part of the seventeenth century, create significant wealth for the merchants particularly in the importation and distribution of wine. The cattle trade also generated an extensive range of specific skills which helped to expand the role of the craft guilds. These included skinners, tanners, butchers, tallow chandlers, shoe and glove makers and other finished leather trades. Over 227 fragments of post-medieval footwear were recovered during the Galway archaeological investigations with the shoe styles in the Galway collection being consistent with those from other post-medieval urban centres. The majority of these finds were discovered on Merchants road.[232]

The demand for cattle allowed the rural economy to develop, and the development of the rural hinterland, in turn, created a demand for blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and plough-carpenters. The transportation requirements of the trades created work for wagon and cart makers and saddlers. Each member of these trades and crafts would, as illustrated earlier, have been part of a specific guild and the quality of workmanship determined by the guild masters.

The primary trading activity which provided early seventeenth century Galway with its wealth was the importation of wine in exchange for raw and finished hides, hide products and tallow. Although no trade statistics are available for Galway some idea of the extent and value of the export trade in hide and tallow in the early part of the seventeenth century can be gleaned from extracts from the State Papers at the time. In 1611, arising out of James I ongoing attempts to raise revenue, an offer had been made to pay £800 per annum for a licence to export 2000 lasts of raw hides and 3000 tons of rendered tallow over a twelve year period.[233] The price of a hide at the Irish markets in

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[231] The Customs of Ireland, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1611-1614*, p. 195.
[232] C. Gleason and D. O'Rourke, 'Leather' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 541.
[233] Measures and Prices of Raw Hides, *Cal. S.P. 1611-1614*, p. 199.
Ten hides (usually of cows of three or more years old) made up a 'dicker' and 20 dickers equalled a 'last'.

1611 varied between six shillings and twelve shillings according to whether it was raw or tanned and could expect to fetch between ten to fifteen shillings at market in St. Malo, Lisbon or Seville.[234] Thus the export value of the hides would have realised upwards of £300,000. Tallow was sold at the time for £20 a ton and thus the value of this contract would have raised a further £60,000.[235] Although no figures are available for Galway, since hides and tallow were the principle goods exchanged for wine, the volumes of wine imports into the town discussed below, suggests that the value of exports may well have been in the order of magnitude suggested by the above example.

Timber and Timber Products

Timber, both cut and worked product, was an important constituent of the staple products which made up Galway's early seventeenth century export trade. The shortage of supply of grown timber for both home and export use appears to have become acute at the end of the sixteenth century. In a memorandum in the town's archive the continued export of any kind of timber or timber product was forbidden unless licensed by the Corporation owing to the great scarcity of timber available for fuel and for 'the present waunte of repayringe of the shippis, barques or boates at our haven and not elleswshere'.[236] The reference to boat repairs is of interest because there is little evidence on record of significant involvement in boat building or repairs at Galway despite its importance as a port at the time. The manufacture of pipe-staves for the construction of barrels would have also consumed mature timber and this activity appears to have been widespread, for along with other timber finished product the activity was outlawed in 1609:

> The great waste thereof for pipe-staves and similar minor uses and it's exportation to foreign countries…none of the timber growing in the King's woods may be employed in such commodities or transported beyond sea, but may be reserved for building and repairing the King's ships.[237]

Apart from the commercial exploitation of the Irish woodlands by both Old English and Gaelic Irish, large scale woodland clearance had also been the result of the scorched earth

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Ibid., p. 200).

[234] *Ibid.*

[235] *Ibid.*

[236] Gilbert, *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 430.

[237] Lords of Council to Chichester, March 24 1609, *Cal. SP, Ireland, 1608-1610*, p. 174.

policies undertaken on both sides during the Nine Years War. Following the defeat of O'Neil the remaining woodland landscape, although clearly protected by measures such as those highlighted, was seen as part of the spoils of war by the New English colonial administration and clearly no longer a free or a least cheap natural resource of supply to traditional crafts and trades. They did not see the woodland as an integral part of an existing economic structure but rather a source to be exploited for their own use and once cleared 'as providing valuable farmland for commercial cattle, sheep and dairy farming'.[238] Timber would also have been used as charcoal in the local production of iron. The production of iron was limited to locations where all the ingredients for production were available in one place due to the high cost and difficulty of transport. There appears to have been a limited production facility in Galway evidenced by the discovery of a smelting works which was operating in the post medieval period and discovered during the 1997 excavation of the Custom House, Court House Lane.[239] It is doubtful that this facility would have been sufficient to meet Galway's total needs because, as elsewhere in Ireland, production capacity was very limited with the exception of the Blackwater Valley, in Waterford and at Mountrath in Queen's County, where there were sufficient local resources to both produce iron in quantity and export via Waterford to other ports in Ireland.[240]

The Wine Trade

The importation of wine from continental Europe to Galway had been a major trading activity since the thirteenth century and was, until the sixteenth century, largely with France. However in the sixteenth century Spanish wine became more popular both in Ireland and England.[241] Hardiman states that 'more wine was, for a time, annually imported into Galway than into all the other parts of the country'. As a result, Galway's merchants became key players in the importation and distribution of the product and allegedly had wine cellars as far east as Athboy in County Meath.[242] The veracity of this statement has been questioned by recent research particularly in regard to the

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[238] W.J. Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscape and Memory*, p. 94.
[239] Dominic Delaney, 'Excavations Within the Town Walls', in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Excavations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 164.
[240] Clarke, 'The Irish Economy, 1600-1660', p. 184.
[241] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 413.
[242] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p.79; O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 413.

geographical isolation and difficulty of overland travel. Nicholas Canny has observed that even at the start of the eighteenth century travel into the hinterland was severely limited and that of wine would only have been transported in small barrels hanging on either side of a small horse or pony.[243] It is also unlikely, that, given the restrictions imposed on Galway and other urban settlements such as Limerick, on trading goods in each others market territory highlighted by Hardiman,[244] remote warehousing and sale of wine or any other goods would have been tolerated. In terms of volume Hardiman has stated that:

> Wine, the principal article of traffic, was imported in vast quantities. On an average, as the annals testify, of from a thousand to fourteen hundred tuns annually. Exemption from presage contributed not a little to the encouragement of this branch of commerce.[245]

To put this into a modern context, a tun was the equivalent of 252 old wine gallons and an old wine gallon was smaller than an imperial gallon, (231 cubic inches to 277'5 cubic inches).[246] Thus annual imports appear to have ranged from 252,000 to 352,800 old gallons per. annum. There is a problem with this estimate in that Hardiman gives as his source 'the annals' which may have been documents available to him and later lost or destroyed. According to documents held in the National Archives of England and Wales the only accurate account of wine imports into Ireland is for the period from the 29 September 1614–29 September 1615.[247]. The document is divided into three sections. The first provides an account of the wines brought into Irish ports, the second gives details of receipts and payments for Impost of wines for the period, and the third provides valuable details on coastal traffic associated with the wine trade. The details contained in these documents have been distilled in the narrative below to attempt to build a comparative analysis of Galway's contribution for the period in question. In this document the total amount of all wines imported officially into Ireland during the period September 1614 to September 1615 was 1500 tuns (380,000 gallons) or only 12% more than Hardiman's estimate of Galway's wine imports in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is not

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[243] N. Canny, 'Galway: From the Reformation to the Penal Laws' in D. Ó Cearbhaill, (ed.) *Galway Town and Gown, 1484-1984* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1984), p. 12.

[244] Hardiman, *History,* pp.78-80.

[245] *Ibid.,*

[246] H. F. Kearney, 'Select Documents, The Irish Wine Trade, 1614-1615', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 9, No, 36, (September, 1955), p.404.

[247] Accounts of Wines brought into divers ports in Ireland, Public Record Office, Kew, London (hereafter PROKL, E 122/196/14.

likely that the wine trade in Galway had suffered such a catastrophic decline in the first decade of the seventeenth century although there are acknowledged discrepancies between the official figures used for estimating customs duties and the actual volume of imports.

This discrepancy, which would apply to all goods shipped by sea, was due to the total absence of any real means of policing the traffic other than at the ports. The west coast of Ireland, inundated as it is with numerous inlets and coves, even if policed by a naval presence, would have provided ample safe havens for unregulated trading.[248] Thus smuggling was rampant as was piracy, and goods so obtained would have ultimately been imported into Galway and other ports, via a 'black market' system. Some evidence supporting this activity appears in the records for the period. In 1614 Valentine Blake had complained of.

> spoil made of two ships, the one of Lubeck and the other of Calice, by Capt. Mannering, who pretended a voyage to Binny, whereby he and his partners were endamaged to the value of 3,000*l*. He complains of the insufficient sureties taken by the admiralty for the behaviour of Capt. Mannering.[249]

In 1621 a French ship was found wrecked in Galway bay. The Captain and crew were rescued by the townspeople and the ships cargo salvaged. However the Captain was identified by some of the town merchants as having previously 'robbed a ship freighted by them to the value of 800*l*.'[250] More famously in 1632 Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stafford, on taking up his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had resolved, amongst other things to take action against 'the pirates with which the seas swarmed'.[251] His taking up residence at Dublin Castle was however delayed when he was

> compelled to wait on account of the pirates who suddenly, in more than unusual strength appeared in the Irish sea....No doubt hearing of the intended voyage of the Lord Deputy, they were attracted by the scent of prey. They were not disappointed. Of the vessels sent first with his baggage they took one with goods to the amount of £4000 and linen alone that cost him £500.[252]

However for the purposes of this examination, a comparative analysis of wine imports (Figure 4.6), extracted from documents held at the National Archives of England

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[248] Sir Authur Chichester to Salisbury, April 13, 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1606-1608*, p. 473

[249] Lords of the Council to Lord Chichester, May 8 1614, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1611-1614*, p. 475.

[250] St. John (Lord Grandison) to the Privy Council, 6 June 1621, *Cal. S.P. 1615-1625*, p. 327.

[251] E, Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford,* Vol.1 (Tinsley Brothers, London, 1874), p. 103.

[252] *Ibid.,* p. 111.

Port	£	s	d
Cork	505	10	0
Limerick	362	10	0
Galway	**341**	**7**	**6**
Waterford	288	15	0
Dublin	273	10	6
Londonderry/Colerain	164	4	5
Drogheda/Dundalk/Carling ford	140	2	0
Wexford	75	2	6
Carrickfergus/Strangford	67	10	0
Youghal	32	0	0
Sligo/Ballyshannon/Donegal/Killibegs	26	15	6
Kinsale	17	0	0
Dungarvan	9	0	0
Dinglehussie	8	10	0
Rosscarbery/Berehaven/Bantry/Limbcon	8	10	0
Baltimore	4	15	0
Tralee	4	0	0
Crookhaven	3	15	0
Newross	2	0	0
Total	2334	17	5

Figure 4.6: An Account of Wines Brought into the Various Ports of Ireland During the Year 1614-1615.
Source: F. Kearney, 'Select Documents, The Irish Wine Trade, 1614-1615', pp.408-429.

and Wales is used as a guide to estimating Galway's relative position in the Irish wine trade during the early decade of the seventeenth century. Moreover the details of the documents reveal some important information about the relationship of the wine trade to that of all other import and export activities. The fact that the record of wine imports was separated from that of all other goods dates back to an arrangement in early Elizabethan times when the duties for wine were farmed out 30 years before the Irish customs farm came into existence.[253] In 1611 the wine farm was worth £1,866 to the Irish exchequer just less than one-twelfth of the whole revenue, representing a considerable contribution to total revenue.[254] Thus the importance of Galway as a main importer would have been noted by the English administration. Moreover the importation of wine was not mutually exclusive to other imports nor to resulting exports. Such Irish port records as exist bear testimony to this. The Ulster port books which have survived state:

> In 1613 the *Speedwell* which was registered at Liverpool, brought to Coleraine a cargo of sea coal, bay salt, wine and vinegar and French wines. In 1615 the *Cathren* of Carling ford brought bay salt, wine and vinegar from France. In short, the fact that a particular ship in 1614-15 brought only two hogsheads of sack, does not lead to any conclusions about the size of the ship.[255]

From this it is reasonable to conclude that whilst the wine trade into Galway was a significant element in its trading profile, it nonetheless allowed for the economic carriage into the town of other goods as part of the cargo manifest, especially staples like salt which was an essential ingredient in the preparation of fish, beef and hides for the export market.

The importance of the trade to Galway may be seen by examining the relative value of wine imports into the port against that of other major Irish ports during the period September 1614 to September 1615, (Figure 4.6). Only gross amounts are included in Figure 4.6 but a detailed analysis of the £341 7s 6d attributed to Galway is shown in Figure 4.7. Figure 4.6 illustrates that at the time Galway was the third largest importer of wine into Ireland by value, accounting for some 14% of the total. The records suggest that Spain and more specifically Cadiz was the main trading port for the Galway wine merchants and by inference, the main port for other goods as well, since, as already stated, there is a high degree of probability that these ships carried more than just wine.

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[253] Kearney, 'Select Documents', p.402.
[254] *Ibid.,*
[255] *Ibid.,* p.404.

GALLWEYE An Accompte of all the wines brought into the porte of Gallway from xxixth of September 1614 until the xxix of September 1615 viz

	£	s	d
xxiiiij december 1614			
In the Phillip of Bideford, Hugh Hickridge, master, from Cales			
Thomas French, native ix ton 1 hogshead sacke	13	17	6
The master iij hogsheads sacke	1	2	6
ij Marti 1614 [-15]			
In the Markors of Croswicke, Charles Bellinger, master, from Croswicke			
William Skerrit native j ton demi french wine	2	5	0
iiij Marti 1614 [-15]			
In the Katherine of Pennacke, John Ceste, Master from Naunts			
Stephen Linch native viii ton demi french wines	12	15	0
xi Marti 1614 [-15]			
In the Bright Star of Jersey, Denncan Loseliature, master, from St. Maloes			
Robucke French native 1 ton iii hogsheades sacke	2	12	6
xix April 1615			
In the Phenix of Barstable, Ethelred Beaple, master from the Canaries			
Robert Blake native xvi tons sacke	23	0	0

	£	s	d
xxiii April 1615			
In the Hopewell of Foye, William Costin, Master from Cales			
John Bodkine native iij demi sacke	6	15	0
John Streitch native xxv ton demi sacke	38	5	0
xxiii April 1615			
In the Hopewell of Foy, William Costin from Cales			
Nicholas Blake native xiiij ton sacke	21	0	0
John Font native xx ton sacke	30	0	0
Martin French native iij ton sacke	6	0	0
xxvi Junii 1615			
In the St John of Rusco, William Clooee, master from Cales			
Jessper Martine native xxiij ton demi sacke	47	0	0
die aforesaid			
In the Francis of Gallwey, Lawrence Barnehowae, master from Cales			
Thomas Blake native xx ton sacke	30	0	0
Dominicke Skearett native xx ton sacke	30	0	0
Richard Barret native xx ton sacke	30	0	0
Thomas Martin native xxii ton sacke	30	0	0
Martin Browne native xx ton sacke	30	0	0
xxvii 1615			
In the John of St Maloes, Julean Moneau, from St, Maloes,			
John French native viii ton sacke	16	0	0
Some	341	7	6

Figure: 4.7 An Account of Wine Imports; Galway 1614-1615
Source: H. F. Kearney, 'Select Documents, The Irish Wine Trade, 1614-1615', pp.408-429

Ninety-six per cent of the wine recorded in Figure 4.7 is Sacke and only 4% as French Wine. It is difficult to deduce from the scant evidence available, the relative extent of Galway's trading relationships in Europe. Spain, despite the political difficulties with England, was still a major purchaser of hides and also a supplier of the all important salt and iron, reflecting the long established trading relationships and networks built up over time between the Galway merchants and their Spanish partners.[256]

Figure 4.8 is an abstract of the merchants importing wine into Galway for the year 1614-1615 and offers some clues as to the likely location of Galway's trading partners other than Spain. In March 1615 Stephen Lynch shipped in a quantity of French wine from Nantes and William Skerritt brought French wine from Croswick in the same month. This latter port of lading was almost certainly Le Crosic, a small port situated at the mouth of the Loire estuary in Brittany. It is a long way down river from Nantes, France's largest port at the beginning of the seventeenth centur, but given the long haul up to the main port, it seems likely that the Nantes trading partners may well have shipped wine and other goods down to Le Croisic in smaller barges for convenience. St. Malo, in Northern Brittany, also appears as a port of lading and like Galway had developed as a relatively isolated medieval walled port town. St. Malo, Rouen and especially Nantes had developed significant Irish colonies during the early seventeenth century, swelled by the increasing numbers of refugees fleeing from the growing religious intolerance at home.[257]

The document illustrated in Figure 4.7 also highlights Galway's dependence on so-called 'foreign bottoms'. Thomas French's consignment of wine from Cadiz in December 1614 was delivered in an English ship from Bideford in Devon and Robert Blake's shipment of sack from the Canaries arrived on the *Phoenix* from the nearby Devon port of Barstaple [Barnstaple]. The *Frances* of Galway appears to be the only home port ship noted in the documents for 1614-1615 and may well have been owned jointly by the trading merchants. It will be noted from the names of those involved that all the importers were native to the town (French, Blake, Martin, Lynch, Skerrit and Bodkin) and that the iron grip on trade held by the merchant elite was still absolute. Moreover

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[256] Gilbert, *Archives of the Town of Galway,* 408.

[257] J. J. Silke, 'The Irish Abroad; 1534-1691' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volume III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, pp. 592-593.

Date	Port of Lading	Merchants	Home port of ship	Wine	Tunnage
Dec. 1614	Cales	Thomas French	Bideforde	Sacke	10
Mar, 1615	Crosswicke	William Skerrit	Crosswicke	French Wine	1
Mar. 1615	Naunts	Stephen Lynch	Peanacke	French Wine	8
Mar 1615	St. Malo	Robert French	Jersey	Sacke	1.75
Apr 1615	Canaries	Robert Blake	Barnstable	Sacke	16
Apr 1615	Cales	John Bodkin John Streich Nicholas Blake John Font Martin French Peter Lynch	Foy	Sacke	69
June 1615	Cales	Jesper Martin	Rusco	Sacke	23
June 1615	Cales	Thomas Blake Dominick Skearett Richard Barrett Thomas Martin Martin Browne	Galway	Sacke	103
June 1615	St. Malo	John French	St. Malo	Sacke	8

Figure 4.8: Principal Importers of Wines into Galway 1614-1615
Source: F. Kearney, 'Select Documents, The Irish Wine Trade, 1614-1615'

these traders were also part of the entrenched Catholic opposition to the English Reformation.

> The constant traffic between their home ports and those of Catholic Europe 'helps to explain the prominent part which the 'Old English' played in bringing the Counter-Reformation to Ireland. Busy trade routes provided an easy and natural means of communication for things other than wine.[258]

The *Frances* would not have been the only Galway based ship plying its trade between the home port and continental Europe during the first four decades of the seventeenth century. England's war with Spain and France caused serious disruption to trade during the 1620s as Galway-based merchant ships were classed as British-owned and therefore liable to be seized. There is evidence that merchant ships heading for the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean Spanish ports may have sailed under false colours to avoid the naval blockades.

This practice may have distorted the fragmentary evidence of a home-based merchant fleet but it also created problems for the merchants who took these risks. In 1627, Richard and Simon Lynch had sailed their ship *The St. Patrick* to St. Malo where she was hired and freighted for a voyage to Malaga, with a French crew and master. This deception enabled the ship to offload her cargo at Malaga and take on board a new cargo [presumably wine], for the return trip to Galway. Bad weather forced the ship into Kinsale were she was seized 'for a French hull'.[259] The Lynch's subsequently proved their title to the customs authorities in Kinsale by producing a Charter-party agreement signed at St. Malo before the Royal Notaries of the Court of Rennes for the hiring of *The St. Patrick*.[260] This account is not only helpful towards some understanding of the geographical extent of Galway merchants trading activities but also offers some clues as to the complexities of maintaining their trading links through the many periods of political upheavals which characterise seventeenth century Irish history.

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[258] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[259] Petition of Richard and Simon Lynch, merchants of Galway, September 1627, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1625-1632*, p. 273.

[260] *Ibid.*

TOPOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION

Maps and Plans

There are only two surviving plans of the town of Galway drawn in the first four decades of the 17th century. The first, attributed to John Speed, formed part of his major town plan atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, (Figure 4.9). The plan was included in a map of the Province of Connaught by Speed in which he notes that 'Galway is a land very thankful to the painful husband and no less commodious and profitable to the shepherd'.[261] The map of Galway is a remarkably accurate 'birds-eye' view of the town although it is doubtful that Speed ever came to Ireland let alone Galway. He acknowledges other contributors in his major work on the mapping of England and its towns, and this must have been the case for Galway. Paul Walsh draws attention to a copy of a survey used by Speed in his *Atlas* that was discovered by John Andrews in Merton College, Oxford.[262] Whoever it was clearly had a detailed knowledge of the town's layout and its principal buildings and, 'apart from the stylistic representations of the crennellated walls and houses, it shows a marked degree of accuracy when plotted as a ground plan'.[263] When comparing Speed's map with later ground plans of Galway it should be noted that it is orientated East-West and not North-South as is the present day convention.

The purpose of the publication of the map was to illustrate the neat and tidy appearance of the buildings, many with well laid out gardens to the rear, reflecting the overall theme of Speed's Atlas. A prosperous, thriving and peaceful outpost of Britain's expanding colonial empire rather than the reality of a town at odds with its English administrators.

Although the map offers no clues as to street names or structures it is possible to identify buildings and place names which have either survived down to the present day or have been identified by archaeological investigations. Most notable is of course St. Nicholas Church, standing slightly to the left in the middle middle ground and to the church's right the market cross. The town is shown to be entirely surrounded by walls and even though, the right middle ground of the map outside the walls is depicted as firm

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[261] J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, p. 143.

[262] P. Walsh 'Galway, A Summary History' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 277.

[263] *Ibid.,*

Figure 4.9: Map of Galway, 1610 by John Speed.
Source: Trinity College Dublin, MSS 1209/70.

land, it is in fact known that at the time that these were salt marches which were entirely covered by water at high tides. Only two sections of this wall survive down to the present day, namely the North Bastion and a stretch of the wall now preserved within the Eyre Square centre along with the restored section of the town wall at Spanish Arch. These give an indication of how substantial these walls would have been in the early seventeenth century (Figure 4.10).

The town is intersected by the main thoroughfare which extends from the Great Gate (left background), via the market cross and continues to the West Gate (middle foreground). As has already been noted, the main part of this thoroughfare was paved from the great gate to the cross in 1630.[264] All the houses are shown facing the street and whereas it is unlikely that this would have been the case throughout the town, many of the remaining early seventeenth century house frontages within the present town conform to this pattern. One such surviving house was extensively examined and described as part of the archaeological investigations in Galway in 1995.. The house situated in Upper Abbeygate St. and now a restaurant, has been dated to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, (Figure 4.11). The house still retains many of the original features and these are described in detail in the published report.[265] Since there are many such surviving buildings of this type it can be safely assumed that they were in the main built on three stories using mostly cut limestone. This visually clean cut appearance clearly inspired many of the descriptions of the town that characterised it as being 'fair and stately'. The doorway of a wealthy merchant's house, known as *The Browne Doorway* has also survived down to the present time and now stands in Eyre Square having been removed from the original site in 1904 when it was in danger of collapsing. Fortunately a photograph of the doorway in its original position was taken in 1904 and is reproduced in (Figure 4.12). Above the doorway are the coats of arms of owners Martin Browne and his wife Marie Lynch. Martin Browne died in 1636.[266] Another example of the very fine craftsmanship available to the wealthy merchants of Galway at the time is the doorway of Sir Peter French, (4.13). The house has been dated to 1602 and was situated on Market St.

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[264] J. Hardiman, *History*, p. 103.

[265] J. Higgins, '26-28, Abbeygate Street Upper Excavation' in, E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, pp. 138-143.

[266] Lord Oranmore and Browne, 'Pedigree of the Brownes of Castle MacGarrett', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 5, (1907-1908), p.56.

Figure 4.10: Section of Renovated Town Wall, Spanish Arch, Galway 2009.
Photo: John Towler.

Figure 4.11: Renovated Early Seventeenth Century Dwelling House.
Cooke's Tavern, Upper Abbeygate St. Galway. 2009
Photo: John Towler

Figure 4.12: The Browne Doorway in its Original Location.
Source: Galway County Library

Figure 4.13: The Doorway of Sir Peter French, 1602.
Source: W. F. Trench, 'Notes on a Doorway'. p. 37

to the right of St. Nicholas Church. Sadly, like much of Galway's early seventeenth century architecture, it has not survived to the present day.[267]

The total number of dwellings in the town is difficult to assess but a count of the houses depicted suggests around 300 to possibly 320 houses. This number interestingly falls within the estimate given by James Blake to the Duke of Lema given in full below. Many of the house were tenements over built over three floors containing several families. Evidence of this is to be found within the will of Robert Blake dated 1616. In the Will he bequeaths 'to my son Andrewe Blak [*sic*] my tenements in Flood St. in Galway called Griffine and Verdones place, and the mortgages I have upon the tenements in Earls Lane from Martin galde Lynch'.[268] Moreover there is some evidence that the wealthy merchant family households may have been as large as 14-16 family members plus a number of servants.[269] The 1610 map depicts a mixture on one , two and three storied dwellings. This being the case and applying an average mean household size (MHS) of eight persons per building, the suggested intramural population of Galway in 1610 would have been *circa* 2,400.

There appears to have been a significant amount of land under cultivation within the town which if correct suggests that there was no undue pressure for building sites within the town. Although the map only shows suburban development in the right middle ground across from the West Gate bridge, documentary evidence suggests that there was quite substantial development outside the town walls, particularly to the east. Hardiman refers to the fire of 1619 breaking out in the eastern suburbs,[270] and the aforementioned Blake will leaves substantial properties outside the town. The Corporation also held extensive holdings in the 'County of the Town' or liberties. Details of these holdings were revealed by the *Galway Vindicator* in November 1844 when it published an extract from Strafford's Inquisition into Galway Corporation property in 1637. This document has been painstakingly examined by P. Walsh and P. Duffy and many of the placenames

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[267] A detailed description of doorway and surviving details of the interior are to be found in; W.F. Trench, 'Notes on a Doorway in Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 4, (1904-1905), pp.37-39.

[268] M.J. Blake, *Blake Family Records, 1600-1700*, (Elliot Stock, London, 1905), p.247

[269] B. O'Bric, *Galway Townsmen as the Owners of Land in Connaught, 1585-1641*, p. 169.

[270] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 101.

mentioned have been identified.[271] In all, the landholdings around the town of Galway which were declared in favour of the King in 1637 were estimated at '32 quarters of free and chargeable land'.[272] The right foreground of the map shows the harbour and quays in and around the fish market. Beyond the West Gate drawbridge, the river, which was not navigable for large ships was used as a waterway for small craft. The figure of a man carrying a salmon spear in the middle foreground is an indication of the importance of salmon fishing to the local economy.

The last known map of the town to be drawn during the first four decades of the seventeenth century, 'plotte of Galway' drawn in 1625 was as a result of the need to reappraise, the towns defences, as war with Spain once more posed a threat to the town's security. The main purpose of the map was to illustrate two possible locations for an additional bastion on the west bank of the river with the first, adjacent to the West Bridge, and the other built around the Dominican Friary. It was not just war with Spain which had preoccupied the English administration, for, as described earlier, relationships between the townspeople and the military had deteriorated considerably. The plan, (Figure 4.14), is undoubtedly based on Speed's earlier work but without the elaborate topographical detail and embellishments.

The inscriptions in the lower right of the plan are useful additions to the understanding of the growth in Galway's suburbs referring, as they do, to 'the great many houses beside the Abbey, all which must be taken away.'

> The place we have chosen is this ffoarte invironed wth this water, and we think must contayne this fforme being longer one way then the other; but it is wholly left to y[o'] lo[pps] wisdome

> This Abbey belongeth to Mr Darcy and will require a great number of men to man it, beside it is a great distance from the town. And cannot be seconded from the Towne, if the bridge here adjoying bee taken away: And within the Circuite of the ffoarte, there is a great many houses besides the Abbey all w[ch] must be taken awaye

A comparison with Speed's map reveals a significant number of similarities and it may well be that the author had either used it directly as a model or was at least familiar with it.

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[271] P. Walsh and P. Duffy, 'An Extract from Strafford's Inquisition: Galway Corporation Property in 1637', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 49, (1997), pp. 49-64.
[272] *Ibid.,* p. 53.

Figure 4.14: The Plotte of Galway with the laying out of the New Forte, 1625
Source: MSS 1209/72 Trinity College Dublin.

Contemporary Descriptions

The archives contain two noteworthy contemporary descriptions written both before and after Speed's map of 1610. The first forms part of a transcript entitled 'Narration of Captain James Blake to the Duke of Lerma in the Matter of the Negotiations with his Majesty concerning Aid For Ireland and the Enterprise of the City of Galway, 1602, August 29'. Although, as noted earlier, James Blake has been shown to have been a most unreliable individual, the description below is substantially supported by the other sources detailed herein:

> The town of Galway is small, round in shape, containing few households in the whole town not more than 300 and can provide no more than 500 soldiers of its own

> The town is magnificently situated: on one side it boards the sea: the river Giasson bounds it on two other sides. While the fourth side faces the land. This section of the town is fortified by walls and dykes though on the other sides it has merely walls and water

> There is neither castle nor fortress in the whole town nor, at the time when I left it was there sufficient stores of war to perform anything of moment since the English did not fear a strong Irish attack in this quarter

> The town possesses about 20 pieces of artillery between large and small but they are not mounted nor are more than three ready for action. Of shot and powder there is very little and the most of what there is, is for arquebuses.

> In the town the Queen usually maintains but one company of soldiers and the most of these are usually natives

> At the entrance of the harbour a road beginning at Mutton Island leads into the town. Opposite this island is another small island which is called.(?) Both islands form, as it were, a mouth about a quarter of a mile across and from there a channel runs right into the town of Galway. Ships of 500 tons can come right up to Mutton Island but only smaller ones can proceed further. Ships of 60 tons can come right up into the port of Galway

> On the right of the channel as one enters the Town westward is a small round creek about half a mile broad and very deep. Here about 30 ships can anchor and find secure shelter from all wind

> As one approaches the above mentioned road one passes three islands seven leagues distance from the town called the islands of Aran and of the Saints because they possessed many saints in bygone days. It is only possible to land on these islands in good weather; in bad weather one must lie out to sea or make for the road,

> Mutton Island has no castle except merely one small tower to control ships. It can however be so fortified that no ship could enter or leave without permission from that island. The English have not as yet fortified it

> Although the town has one slight hill from which there is a convent of Augustinian Friars from which it could be attacked, there is still nothing to since the hill is about 600 paces distant and a such distance artillery could have no serious effect against the walls as strong as those of Galway

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> All the inhabitants of the town are Catholics although subject to the Queen. The governors of the town are always natives of it while my brother is at present in charge of military affairs. Most of the town council is composed of my relations all of whom are aware of the tyranny of the English Queen and wish to end it. Moreover they are much given to the service of God and of his Majesty[273]

The second description is attributed to Sir Oliver St. John and written in 1614:

> The province of Connaght has only two Corporations, the ancient monuments of the English conquerors, and is inhabited only by English families and surnames; the one is Gallway, a walled town and port of the sea, lately made a county, and governed by a Mayor and two sheriffs. The town is small, but has fair and stately buildings. The fronts of the houses (towards the streets) are all of hewed stone up to the top, garnished with fair battlements in a uniform course, as if the whole town had been built upon one model. The merchants are rich and great adventurers at sea. Their commonalty is composed of the descendants of the ancient English founders of the town, and rarely admit any new English to have freedom or education among them, and never any of the Irish. They keep good hospitality and are kind to strangers; and in their manner of entertainment and in fashioning and apparelling themselves and their wives they preserve most the ancient manner and state, as much as any town that ever I saw. The town is built upon a rock, environed almost with the sea and the river, compassed with a strong wall and good defences, after the ancient manner, such as a reasonable garrison may defend itself against an enemy.[274]

The town was small by comparison with the other principal walled towns of the Old Irish, the area within the walls was approximately eleven hectares with a circuit of 1330 m. This compares with Dublin (20 hectares), Drogheda (43 hectares), New Ross (39 hectares), Waterford (23 hectares) and Limerick (28 hectares).[275] The comparative small size of the town may have been partly due to a desire on the part of the municipality to keep the town small and compact but geography and geology would have also been determinates in restricting the size of the town. The descriptions and size of the town give weight to the evidence that Galway traders not only used the sea as an open road to develop their markets but that considerable trade must have taken place in the surrounding countryside with the Gaelic Irish communities. A range of statutes and bylaws had, over time proscribed trade within Galway and had created monopolies which excluded traders from other Old English port towns, as well as the Gaelic Irish from operating outside of this restricted market and thus avoiding the myriad tolls and customs

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[273] F. M. Jones, 'James Blake and a Projected Spanish Invasion of Galway in 1602', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 24, Nos. 1 & 2, (1950-51), pp. 9-11.

[274] A Description of Connaught by Sir Oliver St. John in the year 1614, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts,* (1603-1614), p. 295.

[275] P. Walsh 'Galway, A Summary History', in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 274.

levied on such trade. These restrictions created a class of middlemen, the so called 'grey merchants who operated outside of the town selling imported goods in exchange for staples such as skins and hides. These traders clearly worked either in partnership with or as servants of Galway's merchants and the activity became most noticeable at the end of the sixteenth century, when, doubtless because of the severe disruption to trade apart from the smuggling of wine, salt, and aquavit, there is evidence of gun-running as well.[276] The small internal size of the town also points to the possibility that considerable expansion of the suburbs took place in the early seventeenth century.

CONCLUSION

During the first four decades of the seventeenth century the residual fabric of Galway's late medieval character was steadily eroded by English colonial and fiscal policies combined with rigorous enforcement of conformation to the supremacy of the Protestant religion. However the impact on the town's population was not evenly spread because the town itself, as has been illustrated, was not made up of a homogenous population with broadly similar standards of living or cultural experience. Rather, by the end of the 1630s, much of the relatively pure Old English population had been diluted as Galway had outgrown the physical constraints of a walled town and spread out into the suburbs, absorbing elements of the Gaelic Irish in the process. Many of the prominent merchant class had moved out of the town during the early part of the century to take up residence in the sometimes vast estates they had acquired from dispossessed or distressed Gaelic Irish owners.[277] But the most important impact on Galway society over the period, and the one which was to tip the balance in favour of an alliance with the Confederacy in 1641 was the imposition of English economic, religious, political and civil authority. This was forced upon, but nonetheless tacitly accepted by many of the ruling oligarchy. Towards the end of the 1630s this imposition of English authority was starkly illustrated by the actions of Wentworth in riding roughshod over the legitimate claims to land ownership by the Old English.

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[276] The Bishop of Cork and Ross to Sir Robert Cecil, 15 February 1600, *Cal. SP Ireland, 1599-1600*, p. 476.

[277] B. O'Bric, *Galway Townsmen as the Owners of Land in Connaught, 1585-1641*, Unpublished MA Thesis, School of History, NUI Galway, 1974, p. 304.

Whilst the old medieval urban form of government was despotic rather than democratic, it was also protectionist in that all who lived and worked within a society which was enclosed both by defensive walls and by custom and tradition, enjoyed a degree of safety, comfort, and in some cases luxury, denied to outsiders. Although resistance to change had at first been robust, it is clear from the surviving records that Galway's ruling merchant elite had followed a continuous policy of appeasement towards the English administration. Galway's leading merchant families had provided the Protestant church with senior members of the clergy and until the accession of Charles I there had not been any serious difficulty in finding avowed Protestant merchants to take the oath of supremacy and serve in the various corporate offices. It could be argued that faced with the alternatives they had little choice if they were not to suffer the same fate as Waterford. This too had been a loyal city rewarded by charters going back to Richard II and described in 1624 by Lord Deputy Falkner as being:

> A civil and good people, descended from the ancient British colony from the first conquest...great and true loyalty to the Crown of England...excepting their recusancy they do the King good service.[278]

Unlike Galway's unique compromise measure of electing the Protestant governor of the town's English garrison, the failure of Waterford's ruling burghers to find anyone to take the Oath of Supremacy in 1612, left the city without a Mayor or Sheriff and resulted in 'their charters abolished, their liberties removed, their revenues taken over by the Crown, and their city reduced to the status of a village'.[279]

The paradox of the dilution of power and prestige and the imposition of new fiscal and economic measures was that overall, in all the old Port Towns including Galway, the wealthy merchants prospered over the period as free trade opened up new market opportunities. The break-up of the old Gaelic order in Connaught had also provided opportunities for the merchant class to invest in landed estates which freed them from the dependence on the town as their sole source of income. Indicative of the general economic health of Galway in the late 1630s was the completion of a number of infrastructural works at the expense of the Corporation. These included the building of the East Tower Gate and the installation of a town clock in 1637 and in 1639 the building of a

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[278] Lord Deputy to the Privy Council, 11 December 1624, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1615-1625*, p. 550.
[279] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, pp. 193-194.

new Thosel or Town Hall which involved the compulsory purchase of a number of properties in the vicinity of St. Nicholas church.[280]

But the abolition of guild monopolies also exposed ordinary citizens, the butchers, bakers, shoemakers and glovers to competition. They now had to compete in an open market economy and as Brendan Fitzgerald has commented:

> The net result of this was to be a division among the Old English along economic lines which even affected the type of religious allegiance which had hitherto been united. On the one hand, the wealthy Old English were obliged to be flexible in the face of the Protestant threat; on the other, the ordinary tradesmen had no incentive to do likewise and increasingly found themselves in alliance with a more uncompromising and unilateral form of Catholicism.[281]

Thus the town entered the 1640s no longer a cohesive, structured and well ordered port town. It had been increasingly divided between a merchant class prepared to accept the limitations on its freedom in exchange for being allowed to continue its profitable enterprises, and the discontented lower orders, who made up the bulk of the town's population, increasingly finding themselves on common ground with their erstwhile foes, the Catholic Gaelic Irish.

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[280] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 103, Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 489.

[281] B. Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland, The War of Religions* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1988), p. 19.

Chapter Five
From Confederacy to Confiscation

1641-1659

INTRODUCTION

Chapter five explores the course of events which took place in and around Galway during the period 1641-1660. It examines the effect of the Confederate wars and the Cromwellian settlement on the everyday life of the town, including its trade and commerce. The chapter also examines the territorial reorganisation and social change that occurred in Galway resulting from the expulsion of Catholics, and their replacement with New English Protestant adventurers and soldiers, following the town's surrender to the Cromwellian forces in 1652.

At 6 pm on 23 October 1641, Henry, the Bishop of Down, sent an urgent message to Viscount Montgomery of the Ards:

> The Irish, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, have taken Charlemount and Dungannon with a huge multitude of Irish soldiers. The country flies before him. Tonight we are all arming here. I pray you think of some course to make head against them.

At 10 pm that same night he sent a more urgent, message:

> The news I sent four hours ago is not so bad as the truth. Newry has fallen, and we expect the rebels here to-night or to-morrow. Please send help.[1]

On 25 October 1641, the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland wrote to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, advising him that on 23 October 1641, they had foiled 'a damnable Papist plot' to seize Dublin Castle.[2] So began the Ulster uprising which was to rapidly spread to the rest of the island of Ireland, and was to end in a crushing defeat for the Catholic Confederacy. Galway was to play a major role in this conflict, for, although it was the last Old English bastion to join the Confederacy, and was the last to capitulate, it was also, along with Waterford, Wexford and Limerick, one of the three major seaports held by the Confederates. Their failure to capture Dublin and Cork subsequently proved to be a strategic weakness in their ability to prosecute a successful campaign.

The uprising was not an isolated example of internal strife within the emergent European nation states. Civil unrest and revolution were almost the norm throughout

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[1] R. P. Mahaffy (ed.), Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Charles I. 1633-1647. Preserved in the Public Record Office (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1901), p. 342.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 341-342;. Lords Justice and Council to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, 25 October 1642, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P, 1641-1653,* New Series, Volume 2, (Historic Manuscripts Commission. Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by Mackie and Co. Ltd., London, 1902), pp. 1-3.

Europe during the mid-seventeenth century. The 'General Crisis' as modern historians came to describe it, was so widespread that many contemporary observers saw undertones of conspiracy, so similar were the nature and causes of the unrest. An appropriately named Jeremiah Whittaker informed the English House of Commons in 1643 that they did not stand alone in rebellion. 'These are the days of shaking', he thundered, 'and this shaking is universal; The Palatinate, Bohemia, Germania, Catalonia, Portugal, Ireland, England'.[3] The Thirty Years War was at its height and, across Europe, populations were afflicted with war taxation, military oppression, dislocation of trade, industrial unemployment, enforced billeting of soldiers and pillaging. However it was not just the collateral effect of war on the populations which had generated civil unrest, but the activities of the regimes which held power. Described by Trevor-Roper as the 'Renaissance Court', these structures had:

> stretched to grasp and hold new empires, sometimes vast new empires, the Renaissance state, up to and beyond 1600, expands continuously without as yet bursting its old envelope. That envelope is the medieval, aristocratic, monarchy, the rule of the Christian Prince.[4]

These new empires were, of course, the emerging composite monarchies of Spain, France and Britain. These rapidly expanding mercantilist economies provided not only the wealth to support the military conflicts in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, but also the means to support 'the incredibly wasteful, ornamental, parasitic, Renaissance Courts and Churches'.[5] In many parts of Europe, the taxes to maintain these often vast, profligate and invariably corrupt regimes fell on the peasants, resulting, as was the case in France,- whose nobility were exempt from tax,- in small, but regular peasant revolts. In England, the taxes fell on the gentry who, though not part of the privileged court, were nonetheless, politically powerful within the country and in parliament. In Ireland, certainly after the arrival of Wentworth, similar impositions were levied on both the Old English, who still held on to some vestiges of political power, the Gaelic Irish who for the most part, had none, and the New English and Scots planters.[6]

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[3] G. Parker and L. M. Smith, 'Introduction', in G. Parker and L. M. Smith, (eds.), *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1985), p. 2.

[4] H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the 17th Century', *Past and Present,* No. 16, (November 1959), p. 39.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 47.

[6] Thomas Wentworth was created the Earl of Strafford in 1640.

The very existence of an English parliament within what was, in every other respect an absolute monarchy, was evidence of one weakness in the ability of Charles I to rule absolutely. In 1629, Charles had prorogued parliament. Having made peace with France and Spain, the huge financial drain on the exchequer had been plugged. From that point on, as long as he could manage his court from his current sources of income, he had no need for parliament to grant him additional subsidies. Peace with France and Spain had re-opened the European trading routes and the expansion in imports and exports had resulted in additional revenues from customs, although the practice of farming out these lucrative income sources to private enterprise, reduced the net benefit to the crown.[7] The Galway merchants had reaped huge benefits from this peace dividend. It had allowed them to expand their network of continental trading partners and to develop the growing transatlantic trading opportunities, particularly in the West Indies, where they already had established 'extended family' commercial interests in the sugar and tobacco trades.

Although Charles had made peace with his European neighbours, by 1640 the relationship with his Scots subjects had deteriorated to the point that both sides were preparing for war. At the root of the problem was his insistence that the Book of Common Prayer, introduced by his father James I (VI of Scotland) in 1619, be forced upon a largely Presbyterian population. The Scots reaction had been to appoint a select committee which re-established the Presbyterian form of government and declared that 'ministers who were not sound Presbyterians had forfeited their livings'.[8] This was, for Charles, the final straw. His ability to rule by divine right was fundamentally underpinned by the support of the bishops and that right could not exist without that support. The removal of the Scots bishops who had continued to support him was a direct challenge to his authority and that challenge could not be ignored. Charles reluctantly recalled parliament so that additional funding could be raised to fund an armed conflict with Scotland. The English parliament however, was not prepared to discuss any subsidies without first dealing with a number of outstanding grievances. These grievances included the onerous charges and taxes which they and their county neighbours had to bear and the imposition of the numerous canon laws introduced by William Laud, Archbishop of

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[7] G. Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* (Oxford University Press, London, Second Edition, 1959), p. 83.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 89.

Canterbury who believed that the sacraments, set prayer and ceremonial aspects of worship had been neglected. The Puritan inclined parliament feared that these measures would 'unlock the door to popery'.[9] Charles prorogued what came to be known as the 'Short Parliament' leaving the problem of funding the planned war to a newly formed Scottish Committee.

At this point, in the early 1640s, the outwardly separate threads of unconnected tensions within the 'Three Kingdoms' began to coalesce. At the meeting of the Scottish Committee on May 5, 1640, the members, who included Wentworth, discussed the various alternatives open to them. Suggestions included forcing the City of London merchants to lend £100,000. When the query was raised as to what would be the outcome if no money was to be found, Wentworth (recently created the Earl of Strafford), somewhat characteristically replied:

> Goe on with a vigorous war, as you first designed; loose and absolved from all rules of government, beinge reduced to extreame necessitie, everythinge is to bee done that power might admit, and that you are to do. They refuseinge, you are aquitted towards God and man, *you have an army in Ireland, you may imploy here to reduce this kingdome* [writers emphasis]. Confident as anythinge under heaven Scotland shall not hold out five months.[10]

Strafford was to find, to his cost, that the City of London was not likely to bend so easily to his 'Thorough' as the Sheriff and jury of Galway. Ultimately Charles had no option but to recall parliament in November 1640. Thus at the start of the fifth decade of the seventeenth century the majority of the 'country' people in the Three Kingdoms found themselves in conflict with, for albeit different reasons, the 'court' of Charles I.

The population of Ireland, at the beginning of the 1640s was, unlike Scotland or England, a composite of different cultures, traditions and religions, which made it nigh impossible to administer without favouring some elements and offending others. The majority was composed of the Gaelic Irish who were almost exclusively Catholic. The Old English represented the second largest group but shared a common affinity with the Gaelic Irish in being, for the most part staunchly Catholic. Next were the English Protestants living mainly in the provinces of Munster and Leinster, and the Ards

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[9] P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest, Ireland, 1603-1727,* (Pearson, Harlow, 2008), p. 79.
[10] Davies, *The Early Stuarts 1603-1660*, p. 96.

peninsular. Finally, the relatively new English and Scots planters in Ulster, who shared a common bond of not being Irish, but came from different cultures and, although Protestant, practised various forms of that faith ranging from the extremes of the Arminian inclined Anglican Church through Presbyterianism to the extremes of Puritanism. At the beginning of the 1640s the population of the town of Galway was composed mostly of Old English Catholics, a growing population of Gaelic Irish Catholics and a very small minority of New English Protestants who represented the English civil and military administrations. Galway's religious and cultural mix was thus a representative demographic profile of an Irish urban landscape which was to change irrevocably over the next two decades.

This diversity of cultures and belief had, over the preceding 20 years or so, given first James I and then Charles I, considerable difficulty. Their inability to eradicate Old English Catholic power and their unwillingness to diminish New English Protestant advantages had created a stalemate. The emergence of conflicting interests within composite monarchies was not unique to Britain. As the European composite monarchies developed their individual characteristics they all had to deal with one common denominator, namely the absence of the monarch and the court from the peripheral states and the inevitable loss of power in those states by the administrative and political elites. In Spain this disadvantage had been partially overcome by the appointment of native councillors to attend court, voice local grievances and provide local knowledge in the determination of policy. In Britain the early Stuarts, James I and Charles I, had appointed Lord Lieutenants for Scotland and Ireland to represent them, based in Edinburgh and Dublin, and assisted by a 'court' of privy councillors. Neither monarch had made any attempt to create a 'British Council'.[11] In Scotland this absence of court influence and advice had undoubtedly contributed to Charles I's flawed decision to force the use of the Common Prayer Book on the largely Presbyterian population. In Ireland, cultural and political diversity had resulted in no clear unified 'voice' emerging. The Old English had,

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[11] J. H. Elliot, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past and Present*, No. 137, (November, 1992), pp. 55-56.

from earliest times, appealed directly to the monarch to settle disputes.[12] The new English, with an affinity with the Protestant Privy Council, generally felt that effectively they had the 'ear of the court', and the Gaelic Irish continued, in all respects, to be disenfranchised

For Wentworth in 1634, the balancing of conflicting sensitivities was not part of his policy of 'Thorough'. When he left for England in 1640 he thought the Irish were 'as fully affected to his Majesty's person and service, as can possibly be wished for'.[13] Ireland was, indeed far more prosperous, having enjoyed decades of relative peace and growing foreign trade. However Wentworth's method of 'Thorough' had managed to alienate all the diverse cultural, political and religious groups in Ireland and indeed, were it not for the deep divisions between them, it is difficult to see how they would have not united against him. During his tenure he had swept aside the Old English claims to security of tenure as illustrated by his seizure of lands in Connaught. He had equally challenged many claims and leases held by New English Protestants particularly where the land was formerly held by the church. He had fined the Corporation of London £70,000 for failing to implement the conditions under which the plantation of Derry (Londonderry), had been granted. He had enraged the Ulstermen by forcing them to swear what was known as the 'Black Oath', which forbade them to take up arms in support of their kinfolk in Scotland, and further proposed to banish from Ulster all Scots who were not considerable landowners. He had directly attacked two of the most powerful men in Ireland, namely the Protestant Earl of Cork and the Catholic Earl of Clanricarde.[14] And most remarkable of all, his tyrannical reign had brought together in common cause, the Catholic and Protestant members of the Irish parliament who jointly framed the 'Remonstrances' at his subsequent trial in England for treason. The Protestants had stepped down from their previous political ascendancy at the 'court' to take their place alongside the Catholics in the 'country'.[15] However, as subsequent events proved this was only a transitional movement, and there was no sense of any common identity within the

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[12] See Galway's dispute with Limerick and the Earl of Ormonde concerning the presage on wine, J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time,* An Exact Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition (Kenny's Bookshops, Galway, 1975), p. 79.

[13] Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660,* p. 115.

[14] P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest, Ireland, 1603-1727* (Pearson, Harlow, 2008), p. 78.

[15] A. Clarke, 'Ireland and the General Crisis', *Past and Present,* No. 48, (August, 1970), p. 94.

population other than within their own clearly defined social and cultural groupings. As already stated the Old English and Gaelic Irish were clearly defined cultural groupings but this was not the case within the Protestant communities. As A. Clarke has observed:

> The group consisted of an assortment of established settlers and newcomers, English, Scots, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Puritans, and many of them had little in common with one another than the fact that together they composed the ruling class in Ireland.[16]

During Wentworth's time in Ireland this ascendancy had been temporarily suspended as he replicated the absolute power enjoyed by Charles I and his court, and by the other Renaissance courts of Europe. His policy of 'Thorough' was translated into ruling Ireland 'absolutely, efficiently, and without regard to any interest but that of the crown'.[17] Many prominent Protestants were removed from office, particularly within the all powerful areas of the church and the law. During his tenure he set about selling those offices to his cronies who would support him in his ambitions. Although he rightly achieved significant extra revenue for the King he also enjoyed an annual income from his Irish endeavours of £13,000 p.a., making him one of the richest men in Britain.[18] Clearly it was politically convenient for the Protestant interests to join with the Old English in demanding ongoing, long term security for their legal rights and liberties, but this brief alliance was to end when, in 1641, it became clear that their best interests lay with supporting the English parliament, as the schism between King Charles and the English parliament widened. It has been argued that critics of Charles I saw Wentworth's policies in Ireland as a 'laboratory' where solutions to common problems of religion, law or constitution could be tried out as a prelude to Stuart absolutism. The charge laid against him at his trial that he tried to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom would seem to substantially support this view.[19]

Wentworth showed a total disregard for the Common Law. These laws had offered some degree of protection not only to recently acquired Protestant land holdings, but also to long term and often ancient grants and leases of both Old English and Gaelic

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[16] *Ibid.,* 1970, p. 97.

[17] A. Clarke, 'The Government of Wentworth, 1632-40', in T. W Moody, F. X, Martin, F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume III, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), p. 243.

[18] T. Ranger, 'Strafford in Ireland: A Revaluation', *Past and Present,* No. 19, (April, 1961), p. 29.

[19] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 79.

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Irish landowners. This example of his absolutist style of governance proved to be a fatal blow to already disaffected and disadvantaged Catholic landowners. Although Wentworth had by now departed, it was clear that at any time in the future, their security of tenure could be threatened and that fear, along with the strictures already placed on their religious beliefs, paved the way for a radical realignment in their relationship with both the Government and the Crown.

They had every reason to fear for their future security. The legal precedent that Wentworth had established to prove Crown title to the lands of Connacht and Clare made vulnerable all other lands which had remained in the hands of the Old English and Gaelic Irish for centuries. Nicholas Canny has noted that what Wentworth referred to as 'the great work of Plantations' was not just the Plantation of Connacht and Clare but the acquisition and resettlement of almost all land in Ireland that remained in Catholic possession. While the finger can hardly be pointed at Wentworth, as the sole cause of the Ulster uprising, as intelligent and politically aware as he was, he had to have realised that there was a point at which the Catholic majority in Ireland, having been deprived of any legal remedy, would resort to more radical measures to protect their property rights.[20]

THE IRISH UPRISING

The initial stages of the uprising were the product of a group of Catholic landowners whose dual ambitions were to protect their ownership of land in Ulster and preserve their right to adhere to the Catholic faith without penalty.[21] These men, though dissident Irish were not socially excluded or beyond the Pale. They were members of the landed gentry in Ireland and mixed as social equals with Old English Catholics and New English Protestants, intermarried with both of the other groups and shared the same political processes. Of the two principal leaders of the plot one was Rory O'More who, before the uprising was more commonly known as Roger Moore and owned lands both in Armagh and Kildare. His wife was the daughter of a prominent member of the Old

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[20] For a concise analysis of Wentworth's awareness of the potential for his plantation policy to alienate the Catholic community in Ireland see, N. Canny, *Making Ireland British* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 282-288.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 469; A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland* (MacGibbon and Kee, London, 1966) p. 227-228.

English aristocracy, Sir Patrick Barnwell.[22] The other was Phelim O'Neill, the eldest son of Turlough O'Neil, and had studied at Lincolns Inn. In 1641 he had been elected a member of the Irish parliament representing the plantation borough of Dungannon.[23] Two of the plotters involved in the failed attempt to secure Dublin Castle were Connor Maguire and Hugh McMahon. Maguire was the second Baron of Enniskillen and a member of parliament and McMahon was the son of Sir Brian McHugh Oge. He had been a lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish Army and had married a daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. [24] An illustration of their relative standing in the community can be deduced from their description as being 'discontented gentlemen', rather than rebels, when the Old English Members of Parliament re-convened in November 1641.[25]

The reasons why a localised, military coup in Ulster designed to secure limited, but important objectives from a position of strength, escalated rapidly into first a provincial uprising and then a countrywide insurrection, which impacted upon Galway's fortunes, have been speculated on over the years. Theories have ranged from a Popish counter-Reformation plot to drive all Protestants out of Ireland, to a military operation authorised by Charles I, as part of a plan to regain his authority over parliament in England. No historical evidence exists which supports either of these two extremes, but it is not to difficult to understand that in troubled and confused times, rumour plays an important role in the propaganda war. Certainly some of the activities of Charles I would have fuelled the notion of his direct involvement. Aidan Clark points to the fact that Charles I had indeed sent agents to Ireland in the summer of 1641, to explore the possibilities of raising an Irish army in the event that his ongoing struggles with the English parliament escalated. Rory O'More, whilst already involved in planning the Ulster coup, had also become involved in these discussions. Although Charles did not pursue the matter further, it appears that the possibility of Royal endorsement had encouraged the plotters to move the idea from a vague scheme, to a purposeful movement. In effectively deceiving the initial participants in the uprising, the deceit

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[22] L. Stephen and S. Lee, (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, London, 1917), p. 1098.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 1099; M. Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649; A Constitutional and Political Analysis* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999), p. 23.

[24] *Dictionary of National Biography*, pp. 671; 772.

[25] Clarke, 'Ireland and the General Crisis', p. 98.

helped the plotters to engage with the Old English who subsequently joined the Confederation as loyal supporters of the King.[26] As to the involvement of the Catholic Church in formulating a plan for a national insurrection, given the outright paranoia that existed within the Protestant communities at the time, it would be difficult not to imagine that the entire venture was inspired by Rome. The subsequent involvement by Cardinal ini in the Confederacy would have given much credence to such rumours. Moreover although the leaders of the uprising may have harboured genuine beliefs that the venture had the support of Charles I, the reality was somewhat different and there is every reason to believe that Rome was more than aware that Charles I would be most unlikely to support the full restoration of the Catholic Church in Ireland whatever the outcome. The reality of this position was confirmed in early 1642 by Father Hugh Burke, O.S.F, who had been appointed by Rome to act on behalf of the Irish Confederation in Flanders. In reporting on a discussion with Charles' Catholic wife, Queen Henrietta Maria of France, she assured him that:

> The King had no inclination to the Catholic faith, that he held the Catholics to be rebels, and that his mind is made up never to concede them absolute liberty of conscience on such wise that the ecclesiastics should be reinstated in the sees and benifices which the Protestants hold in Ireland.[27]

It is reasonable to assume that against that background, Rome may well have developed alternative strategies for a successful conclusion to the uprising.

In a major work to advance historical understanding of what really happened in 1641, Nicholas Canny has examined the 1641 Depositions as a source for the social and cultural history of that time. In doing so, whilst he has acknowledged that the source documents are not only biased, but in some cases extremely exaggerated, in all cases the narrative given by the deponents included face to face conversations with their persecutors. Canny has identified a remarkable consistency in the reported dialogues from all parts of Ireland during the first few months of the uprising and through this evidence, Canny has been able to construct a typology of the motivations for the insurrection of various social groupings.[28]

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[26] Clark, *The Old English in Ireland.*

[27] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Franciscan MSS* (HM Stationery Office, Dublin, 1906), p. 138.

[28] Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650,* p. 467; N. Canny, 'The 1641 Depositions: A Source for Social and Cultural History', *History Ireland,* (Winter, 1993), pp. 52-55.

As an example of the value which these documents afford, the evidence of Robert Maxwell, held captive by Phelim O'Neil for the first six months, offers an insight into the indication that the uprising was at first very limited in its objectives but became more far reaching in its scope as it escalated over the following months. He asked O'Neil what he wanted:

> At first he told this deponent that they required only liberty of conscience, but afterwards, as his power so his demands were multiplied. They must have no Lord Deputy, great officers of State, privy Councillors, Judges or Justices of the Peace but of the Irish nation. No standing army in the Kingdom. All tithes payable by Papists to be paid to Popish priests. Church lands to be restored to their bishops. All plantations since *Primo Jacobi* to be disannulled none made hereafter. No payment of debts due to the British or restitution of anything taken in war. All fortifications of strength to be in the hands of the Irish with power to erect and build more if they thought fit. All strangers (meaning British) to be restrained from coming over. All acts of Parliament against Popery and Papists together with Poynings' Law, to be repealed, and the Irish Parliament to be made independent.[29]

What is revealing about this deposition is that O'Neil was not seeking to establish a separate nation state. He envisaged Ireland as continuing to exist within the composite monarchy of the Three Kingdoms and with Charles I as the rightful King. His rebellion was not against the King but against a tyrannical Puritan government in Dublin. He studiously ignored the absolutism sought by Charles and, for a time, practised by Wentworth during his time in Ireland. Instead he identified the Dublin parliament as a version of the medieval renaissance 'court'. Although this perceived relationship between 'court' and 'country' was not the cause of the uprising, as may well have been the case in the peasant revolts in France during the same period, it provided the fertile ground upon which much of the Catholic population's grievances were allowed to thrive.

The pioneering analysis of these depositions begun by Canny and subsequently utilised by historians in the production of a number of recent monographs of the period, reveal that below the wealthy landowning classes, a deep well of resentment was felt by the Catholic lower classes towards their marginally better off Protestant neighbours. When the full horrors of the murderous events of the winter of 1641-42 finally affected the collective conscience of the Confederacy they were forced to acknowledge the events. But glib explanations that the causes could be found in the prorogation of parliament on 17 November 1641 and the subsequent absence of a forum for them to air their grievances

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[29] Cited in; Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 93.

are palpably an exercise in damage limitation.[30] There is no evidence that the Catholic underclass was politically aware, and there is no recognition that what had started as a limited military engagement had escalated into a large scale popular revolt over which the leaders had little or no control.

As an example, although leaders such as Phelim O'Neil had attempted to arrange safe passage for convoys of Protestant prisoners, the depositions reveal that the most common massacre of Protestants by Catholics involved mobs attacking the escorts and murdering the prisoners.[31] Sometimes the escorts themselves took revenge on their captors. In one instance a Captain, Toole McCann, had driven approximately 100 prisoners onto a river bridge at Portadown and thence into the river Bann. Those that did not drown, were shot.[32]

Although the attacks were aimed specifically at the Protestant clergy, and were without doubt, sectarian, the churchmen had also attracted the opprobrium of the Catholic lower classes because they had used their privileged positions to accumulate significant wealth. They not only benefited by locally imposed tithes, and ecclesiastical impositions but also from the profits they had made in money lending activities. Given the relative poverty of the Irish population it is likely that many of the clergy's debtors were Irish.[33] Evidence from the depositions reveal that Irish indebtedness was widespread and the house raids which took place throughout the province of Ulster included the removal and destruction of records such as leases, which gave title to the settlers, and also bonds and specialities containing details of monies owed.[34]

By December 1641 the uprising had become a country wide rebellion but, largely due to the loyalty of the town to the provincial governor, Clanricarde, Galway did not join the rebel forces until March 1643 when the townspeople fatally decided that it would be in their best interest to join the Confederacy. It was not a decision based solely on their

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[30] *Ibid.,* p. 97

[31] *Ibid.,* p. 99

[32] Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650,* p. 485.

[33] B. Mac Cuarta, 'Religious Violence against settlers in south Ulster, 1641-2', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland,* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2007), pp. 161.

[34] Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650,* p. 476.

religious affiliation to the Confederates but more a determination to protect their sense of distinctive identity.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

An Uneasy Neutrality

Although the socio-political atmosphere in Galway in the build up to the Uprising was not as volatile as in Ulster, it is evident that religious tensions were mounting within the town and the county as the numbers of Catholic clerics swelled. The problem was that ironically, when one considers the ongoing suppression of the Catholic religion over the previous four decades, by the 1640s there was a surfeit of priests throughout Ireland. Many were in poor circumstance, as confiscations and the closing of churches, schools and monasteries had left them deprived of their living. In a letter to Luke Wadding in Rome, Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford wrote:

> Our country is soe furnished with clergie men that ere it be longe we are like to have one against every house, so many in a poor beggerlie country that the laytie begins to frowne on us especially considering that most of the clergie are idle contentinge themselves to say mass in the morninge and until midnight playing or drinking or vagabonding.[35]

To Wadding, a member of the Holy Office in Rome and chief advisor to Cardinal Ludovisi, Protector of Ireland, this was to prove a delicate issue because despite the problems outlined by Bishop Comerford, this body of priests also provided the means by which, despite the destruction of much of the church infrastructure, the faith was kept alive in the houses of the Catholic population. It was also a matter of concern to the English administration. At the end of June 1641, the Lords Justices wrote to Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State, that they had 'Ordered all Popish books to be stopped at the ports and inquired into how many Jesuits, friars or priests have come to Ireland in the last half year'.[36] Galway appeared to have been equally affected by this influx of Catholic clergy. In a letter to Vane, the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam advised that:

> Every church throughout the Dioceses of Tuam has a Romish priest as constantly as a Protestant minister. The people are oppressed by Papist and Protestant priests, and the former are more burdensome than the latter. There are everywhere mass-houses wherein they celebrate the mass and resort thereto in crowds in a public

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[35] S. Ní Chinnéide, 'Luke Wadding, 1588-1657', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 26, (1954-1956), pp. 81-8.
[36] *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1633-1647,* p. 307.

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braving manner. The Protestants of the town of Galway, 'the eye and soul of that province' are particularly scandalised by this but they do not know where to turn for relief.[37]

Despite this apparent high level of Catholic clerical activity within the town of Galway and the surrounding country areas there is little evidence from the Depositions of 1641, that the uprising in Ulster sparked any significant similar backlash amongst the local Catholic laity towards their Protestant neighbours. In fact Connacht in general, and Galway in particular, differed significantly from the provinces of Ulster, Munster and Leinster in that, with the notable exception of Leitrim, - despite Wentworth's efforts,- no significant areas of the province had been 'Planted' by the outbreak of the Uprising in 1641. In fact, as problems with both Scotland and the English parliament grew ever more threatening to Charles I, by July 1641, he had abandoned Wentworth's plan in an attempt to shore up his now crucial, Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholic support.[38] In County Galway even small scale settlement had been minimal due to the combined factors of the geographical remoteness from England and the limited amount of profitable land available to the more venturous settlers willing to take leases from Old English and Gaelic Irish landlords. Protestant settlement in the main tended to be focussed in or near urban centres where clusters of English military, administrative and religious communities could offer some degree of protection such as the archiepiscopal seat of Tuam, the military garrison at Galway and to the east of the county, settlements under the protection of the albeit Catholic Clanricarde strongholds of Portumna and Loughrea. To that extent the small Protestant presence in much of Connaught 'would have been the product of a spread from these initial nodes of settlement'.[39]

Judging the scale and extent of violence by Catholics towards their Protestant neighbours in Galway during the early months of the Uprising is difficult. The only contemporary evidence of note is to be found in the 1641 Depositions.[40] Of the c.19,000 sheets contained within the 31 volumes held at Trinity College, Dublin, only 347, (1.8%),

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[37] *Ibid.,* p. 309.
[38] *Ibid.,* p. 269; M. Percival-Maxwell, *Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion* (McGill-Queens University Press, 1994), pp. 140-141.
[39] Canny, *Making Ireland British,* p. 387.
[40] The 1641 Depositions, Trinity College, Dublin hereafter TCD, MSS 831.

refer to Connaught.[41] These in turn contain statements from 90 individuals of whom only 20, (22%), refer to incidents in the town and county of Galway.[42] A closer examination reveals that although a very small number include, as they were intended to, individual theft and in some cases violence towards the Protestant laity, a significantly greater number of depositions serve to chart the breakdown of law and order within the town of Galway, as the conflict of interest between the parliamentary forces garrisoned in the fort and the Old English within the town developed into open hostility as the uprising spread throughout the country.

Whatever the underlying tensions in Galway in October 1641, any immediate likelihood of the townspeople joining the rebellion was forestalled by the timely intervention of Ulick, the fifth earl of Clanricarde, who, in his capacity as governor of the town and county of Galway, was highly respected and trusted by the Catholic population. On hearing of the outbreak from Sir Charles Coote, Vice President of the province, he sent instructions to the mayor and council to break out the depleted armoury, strengthen the town gates and double the watch pending his arrival on 6 November 1641. Whilst there he increased the garrison at the fort and arranged for the town to provision the soldiers until additional supplies could be shipped in.[43] These arrangements were put in place none too soon as the counties of Mayo and Sligo quickly became subsumed into a mixture of organised rebellion and outright lawlessness. Some of this lawlessness was occasioned by the existence of bands of unemployed soldiers who had been originally mustered by Wentworth to fight for Charles I against the Scots. Following the settlement with the Scots, arrangements were made to transfer some of these recruits to Spanish service and two regiments, under the command of Theobald Taffe and Sir James Dillon, had been on route to Galway prior to the uprising, to be embarked for Spain. Clanricarde had been involved in securing their passage out of Galway but a combination of parliamentary resistance to their transfer and the refusal by the English customs authorities in Galway to allow them to embark, resulted in them being stranded in Connaught. Not much is known about what role they ultimately played, but a remark by

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[41] A. Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', P. Fox, (ed.), *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College, Dublin,* (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1986), p. 113.
[42] Canny, *Making Ireland British,* p. 386.
[43] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 109.

Clanricarde to the Earl of Leicester in December 1641 suggests that they joined the rebellion 'because there was nothing else for them to do'.[44] Not surprisingly, civil unrest and armed conflict prompted both the Protestant clerical and laity of Connacht to flee to more secure areas to escape the potential, and in some cases the very real prospect of falling victim to a hostile, and mainly Gaelic Irish Catholic population. Although evidence from the 1641 Depositions indicate that Protestants in Sligo and Mayo had an option of going north sometimes by the sea route from Killala to Killybeggs, those in the Galway hinterland had no choice but to head for Galway and the relative security of the fort.[45] It could have been expected that the castle of the archbishop of Tuam would have been a safe haven to those settlers in its immediate vicinity, but it must have been a serious blow to their morale when almost immediately after the news of the uprising broke, the Archbishop deserted the castle and 'flew for refuge to the fort at Galway'.[46]

It would appear that during November 1641, the corporation gave full support to Clanricarde's instructions to support the garrison. On 11 November 1641a general assembly was convened in the Thosel where it was unanimously resolved 'to the last man the said town of Galway would lose their blood and lives in his majesty's service'.[47] This resolution is not confirmed by any collaborating statement in the archives of the town but, given the uncertainty of events at the time, and the corporation's long history of conciliatory politics with the English administration, such an initial response was not surprising. However if swearing loyalty to the King was in any way intended to appease the English authorities, it indicated that the Corporation had either not been keeping abreast of the rapidly deteriorating relationship between King and Parliament, or conversely, that they were indeed well informed of the latest events and hoping for a conclusion in the King's favour. In any event 1641 ended with the town caught between a hostile and threatening Gaelic Irish population practically at its gates, a suspicious government and growing belligerence from the English parliamentary garrison occupying the fort. The frustration and despair of the Old English was summarised at the time in a letter from Richard Martin to Ormonde:

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[44] Percival-Maxwell, *Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 247.
[45] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 386.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[47] *Ibid.*,

> The uprising of the Irish it seems –of County Sligo, Mayo and Roscommon and some in Monaghan and Fermanagh…We are in the town disfranchised of arms and munitions. If it be war we are very unfortunate to be hated by some powerful neighbours for being English, to have over 400 years constant and unsuspended loyalty without help of a garrison, but now be forgotten and cursed. A rumour is spread whether malevolent or truth I cannot tell, of some direction or communication to the fort not to admit up to buying of arms and munitions for our money from any foreigner. Though it be well known, God forbid if the report should be true.[48]

In January 1642, the fragile peace, held together through the personal authority of Clanricarde, was broken as violent conflict broke out between the townspeople and the garrison. The exact cause of the breakdown is unclear but, given the tense atmosphere which must have pervaded the town and environs of Galway, it would have taken only a small incident to spark a major confrontation. In October 1641, the commander of the fort had been Sir Francis Willoughby who had extensive military experience and had been responsible for the defence of the town of Carlisle on behalf of the King in his war against the Scots. He was highly regarded by Clanricarde and must have been seen as a secure custodian of Galway's defences and well able to deal diplomatically with the corporation and townspeople. [49] Towards the end of October 1641 he was posted to Dublin and left his son Captain Willoughby in charge. At the behest of Clanricarde, the fort had been provisioned by the town sine October 1641. In January 1642, the provision merchants in the town refused to continue this arrangement unless some payments were forthcoming. It appears that this action coincided with a build up of tension, though not it would appear as a result of it, between the garrison and the town which had manifested itself in violence on both sides. J. Hardiman records that:

> Captain Willoughby, who was a young and inexperienced man, of hot and ungovernable temper, began to conduct himself in the most rash and violent manner towards the townsmen, who, in their part, were not without a large portion of pride. With these dispositions on both sides, disputes were inevitable.[50]

Hardiman may have been understating the extent of the civil unrest. Rumours must have been reaching the town of atrocities being carried out in October and November 1641 further to the north and north east. Whilst closer to home, according to the testimony of Christopher Coote of Tuam, while heading for the safety of Galway in

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[48] The Bodleian Library, Carte MSS II, f 117, p. 209.
[49] M.D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, (Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1942), p. 234.
[50] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 110.

November 1641 with his wife and four children, he had been robbed and pillaged because he read a prayer-book in church on the Sabbath and his wife was forcibly ravaged by a lieutenant Roderick O'Rourke of Ballindarick, Galway: 'another held her hair until the wicked act was performed'.[51] This deposition is unusual. There was a very low incidence of rape reported in the depositions throughout the uprising, and it has been suggested that this may have been due to reluctance on the part of the deponents to admit that they or their female relatives had been defiled, particularly if the women were still alive or of a high social standing. Nonetheless, a petition presented to the House of Commons by women in London referred to the 'savage and unheard of rapes exercised upon our sex in Ireland' but registered at the same time the victim's reluctance to speak of such matters.[52] However rape was considered to be a serious crime within the Catholic community and was reflected in Gaelic poetry where 'Rape was included on the lists of transgressions committed by the Irish in their moment of victory which explained why God had permitted the Catholics to be defeated in what had been a providential cause'.[53] Elsewhere atrocities on a much larger scale reported from Sligo and, closer to home, Shrule, on the Mayo/Galway border, marked the effective end of the initial stages of the insurrection in Connacht and the beginning of the more widespread Confederate Wars.

On 12 February 1642, a party of some 100 English refugees had arrived at Shrule on the Mayo-Galway border. They included D. J Maxwell, the Protestant bishop of Killala, and the party had been escorted to the border by an escort led by Lord Mayo and his son Sir Theobald Bourke. The following day, 13 February, Lord Mayo had arranged for them to be escorted by Sir Theobald Bourke and a company of soldiers under the command of Edmond Burke, to Kilnemannagh to meet up with an escort from Galway. Shortly after setting off, Edmond Burke and his soldiers, despite attempts by Sir Theobald to prevent it, attacked the refugee column killing most of them. Dr. Maxwell and his wife had been stripped naked and beaten, but were fortunate to be rescued by the Galway escort and, under the protection of Clanricarde, taken to Galway. Dr. Maxwell was to

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[51] TCD, MS 831, fo: 172.

[52] M. O'Dowd, 'Women and War in Ireland in the 1640s' in M. Mac Curtain and Mary O'Dowd, (eds.), *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, (Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 1991), p. 101.

[53] N. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 544.

become the Archbishop of Tuam in 1647.[54] Galway was not to join in an Oath of Confederacy until April 1642, but in the meanwhile its importance as a seaport was highlighted by the continuing efforts of the English administration to re-supply the garrison and the equally determined efforts of the townspeople to thwart such endeavours.

Against this background the English forces within the fort and the prominent townspeople were pitted against each other, and the subsequent events during February and March 1641 were to result in a schism which had the effect of nullifying all of Clanricarde's attempts at diplomacy. The exact chronology of events during the early months of 1642 is difficult to establish but a general picture of the rapidly deteriorating relationships between the two sides emerges from surviving primary and secondary sources. Since the establishment of the fort in 1603, the garrison commander had enjoyed certain rights and privileges both within and without the walled town, the fort itself being outside of the jurisdiction of the Corporation.[55] Captain Willoughby, possibly in retaliation for the suspension of supplies seems to have allowed his soldiers to run amok in the town seizing and imprisoning some of the inhabitants and placing goods and ships under armed guard. In retaliation, some of his soldiers were seized by the town's militia and placed under arrest.[56] From the fragmented records it seems that at this point the town was moving towards a general state of lawlessness. John Sheehy, a baker, and his wife testified that on the Sunday before St. Patrick's Day, on leaving church they were surrounded and 'overawed by a multitude of ruffians and Irish barbarous soldiers', and called upon to take an oath of allegiance to the King and the Corporation.[57] Clanricarde, at this point once more intervened in person to calm matters down and, managed to bring both parties together to agree some form of truce. For the town's part it signed a declaration in which:

> They declared their allegiance and determination, at the hazard of their lives, lands
> and goods, to preserve the town in obedience, to defend his majesty to the upmost
> of their power and contribute to for the mutual defence of the town and fort, for
> his majesty's service.

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[54] M. J. Blake, 'Notes on the Place Names in Brownes Map of Mayo, 1584', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 6, (1909-1910), pp. 105-106.

[55] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 97-98.

[56] Hardiman. *History of Galway*, p. 110; J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1649*, Volume 1, (M. H. Gill, Dublin, 1882), pp. 97-98.

[57] TCD, MS, 831, fo: 169, 171.

On the same day Captain Willoughby signed a similar declaration of mutual amity and defence.[58] It is not credible that Clanricarde, as politically astute as he must have been, left Galway with any sense that the troubles were really over. Willoughby's father was now a senior member of the Parliamentary council in Dublin, and Captain Willoughby would almost certainly have been a committed Parliamentarian. The Corporation on the other hand had clearly promised its allegiance solely to the King. Almost immediately after Clanricarde had left, Galway's troubles once more erupted between the two sides with a series of incidents which focused on Galway's strategic role as a sea port.

The sequence of events began as far back as late 1641. In a deposition made in March 1643, John Turner, described as 'clerk of stores' at Galway fort and surveyor of customs for Galway' said that:

> on or about the beginning of November 1641 he had been informed that 30 bags of wool of English origin on which no duty had been paid, had been privately and by night at the directions of Robert Smith, put aboard a ship, the *Elisabeth and Francis* belonging to Robert Clark. The ship had already been loaded for France with hides tallow and other commodities on which dues had been paid He boarded the ship along with George Ratcliffe, collector of customs and George Staunton, then searcher of the port and found and seized the wool but was prevented in taking it away by Thomas Lynch Fitz-Andrew, the exporter. The ship then set sailed for France.[59]

The ship returned in late February 1642 laden with salt powder, and arms.[60] O'Sullivan argues that this ordnance constituted the first instalment of a much larger order placed by the council for the defence of the town which, as it was for self protection was not intended as a prelude to going over to the Confederates.[61] The exact amount of ordnance in this consignment is unclear. Hardiman states that 'she had on board twelve pieces of ordnance, about a dozen muskets and seven or eight barrels of powder'[62] whilst a letter from the Lord Justices to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, dated April 23 1642, states that:

> We have intelligence that a ship laden with arms for two thousand men and store of munitions arrived lately out of France at Galway, which if it be true (as we

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[58] J. Hardiman. *History of Galway*, p. 110.

[59] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 153, 155.

[60] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 155.

[61] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, pp. 238-239.

[62] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p.111.

doubt it is) will much advantage and encourage the rebels there and in other parts.[63]

Whatever the actual amount of arms and munitions involved, upon arriving at Galway, the ships owner, Robert Clarke, complied with a warrant from the Lords Justices in Dublin and Clanricarde, that any cargo of munitions arriving at the port be brought to the fort storehouse for defence. As Clarke and the fort storekeeper, John Turner made arrangements to transport the goods ashore they were prevented from doing so by Thomas Lynch FitzAndrew and others. Clarke and Turner were then arrested by the Council which included Darcy and Martin on the grounds that they were guilty of treason by withholding vital supplies to His Majesty's loyal subjects of Galway. They were subsequently jailed until Clanricarde secured their release some 12 days later.[64]

Although it was Clanricarde's intention to ensure that the cargo would be transferred to the fort, the surviving depositions reveal that almost immediately following Clanricarde's departure, plans were put in train to seize the ordnance on behalf of the town. In Turners account:

> Clanricarde...put an end to the difference between the merchants and Clarke but as soon as he went away, Dominick Kirwen, factor to Thomas Lynch, on the advice of Darcy and Martin, boarded the ship, (Clark and his men being away), killed the master's mate. Possessed themselves of the ship of 300 tun or thereabouts and took out ten pieces of ordnance planted against the fort[65].

Robert Rawlins, the ship's surgeon stated:

> He was on board when 'divers persons' boarded; he was wounded by a skene by a boatman, fell into the hold and finished up on a cradle which hung between the decks. And while there saw divers persons endeavouring the surprisal of the gun room. A man with a carbine, whom he did not know, helped him up and defied Dominick Kirwan, who was threatening with a skene, by addressing him in Irish, which Rawlins did not understand, and aiming his carbine at him. [66]

The widow Ross testified:

> Her husband had refused to go upon the design [the surprisal of the ship] and had been imprisoned by named persons, including Dominick Kirwan, that boatmen were promised £20 each when the affair was finished. When she sought the money from James Oge Linch, he referred her to Kirwan.[67]

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[63] *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormonde, 1641-1653*, New Series, Volume II, p.111.
[64] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 153; 155; O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 239.
[65] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 153.
[66] *Ibid.*, fo: 197.
[67] *Ibid.*, (No pagination visible).

Steven Lynch Fitz-Andrew confirmed the bounty of £20 to the boat men and further added:

> That eleven hundred pounds was offered for the ship, guns and apparel and when this was refused, Walter Oge Martin, James Oge Lynch and others 'consulted about taking it'[68]

Having seized the ship and safely removing it for within range of the fort, the ringleaders returned to the town, closed the gates and disarmed all the English within the walls. They then set about opening up lines of communication with the Gaelic Irish insurgents in Iar-Connaught and Mayo:[69]

In a deposition of 12 March 1643, Oliver Smyth of Galway testified that;

> He and other English lived quietly and had the liberty to go to church and enjoyed the Protestant religion until Patrick Darcy and Richard Martin came in January 1642. The chief governors sent for Irish people to Iar Connacht who robbed and murdered the English particularly the Sunday after Easter. John Fox and his wife were murdered. They cut of his head upon a pike and did carry about the streets. Upon Lady day in Lent following he and other English were called before Walter Linch, Mayor and the council of eight and forced to swear loyalty to them. If he refused mischief would be done to hime. Sir Valentine Blake, Patrick Darcy, Richard Martin, Sir Dominick Browne and Oliver Browne Fitzoliver were present at counsel.[70]

The substance of this deposition presents a general marker for the beginning of insurrection within the town. The formation of a Council of Eight, referred to by Oliver Smyth in his deposition, seems to have been a reaction by the leading merchants in the town, not only to the deteriorating relationship with the English garrison in Galway but on a much wider front, to the proposals by the English parliament to confiscate some 2.5 million acres in land in Ireland, including lands in Connacht owned by many of the leading townspeople, in order to pay for the escalating costs of the military.

But the Adventurers' Act was far more than a fiscal measure to offset the escalating costs of the Confederate War. It had its roots in an ongoing pressure on the English Parliament by prominent members of the Protestant community in Ireland, who argued that the failure to repulse the uprising in October 1641, and the subsequent spread of the conflict to encompass the whole of Ireland, lay with the repeated refusal by the English government to implement the plantations schemes that they had consistently

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[68] *Ibid.*, fo: 209.
[69] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p.111.
[70] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 158.

advocated as a means of suppressing popery. Following the October uprising, there had been a concerted and coordinated propaganda campaign to mobilise English public opinion. This was largely based on pamphlets which illustrated often gruesome depictions of Catholic atrocities against the Protestant community.[71] It has been suggested that it was this moral persuasion, rather than the opportunity to make windfall profits, which moved the English merchants and Parliamentarians to make early and substantial contributions to the Adventurer campaign. Furthermore what has become known as the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland in the 1650s was 'an extension of, and anchored upon, the plantation scheme adumbrated in 1642'.[72]

The members of the 'Council of Eight' were; John Blake Fitz-Robert, Sir Robert Lynch, Sir Valentine Blake, Sir Dominick Brown, John Blake Fitz-Nicholas and Andrew Browne Fitz-Dominick, Richard Martin and Patrick Darcy. The latter two were prominent lawyers who were to become the principle protagonists in prosecuting Galway's part in the confederate uprising and were notably at the forefront of the confrontation with the English administration and with the Protestant population of Galway in particular.[73] There does not appear to have been any General Assembly called to elect the Council of Eight (the Council), who, it appears, had assumed plenipotentiary powers to deal with any emergency that arose. The Mayor, Walter Lynch was an ex officio member and between them they represented the majority of the governing families of the town.

Having seized the ship and obtained much needed powder, shot and ordnance to engage the well armed soldiers within the fort, the Council, at the instigation of Patrick Darcy and Richard Martin, had set about denying access to the town to the soldiers from the fort while, at the same time, allowing the Gaelic Irish from Iar Connacht unrestricted entry.[74] There are a number of depositions, taken in March 1643 which describe the immediate aftermath of these events. Apart from that of Oliver Smyth above, John Turner confirms the murder of John Fox and his wife, and also that of a Mrs. Collins whilst she

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[71] Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', p. 111.
[72] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 553-554.
[73] TCD, MS, 831, fo: 155, 158, 163
[74] *Ibid.*, fo: 153, 155.

knelt in prayer and added that 'the magistrates Darcy and Martin did not punish these outrages by the 'imported' Irish'.[75]

The extent to which the insurrection in the town was a popular and generally welcome event is unclear. Certainly there must have been considerable ill feeling towards the soldiers in the fort and particularly towards Captain Willoughby. The demographic profile of Galway's population had changed considerably over the first four decades of the 17th century. As noted above, from the late 1620s there had been a steady immigration into the town from the Gaelic Irish hinterland which had caused some concern to the corporation.[76] Conversely as the county of Galway had remained very stable under the governorship of the Clanricardes, townspeople had been gradually moving out into the suburbs and even further on into the countryside. The combination of this inward and outward migration had almost certainly resulted in a noticeable shift within the town's social composition, especially in the ratio of Old English families to families who shared both Gaelic Irish and Old English family trees. Furthermore, as the strictly enforced medieval restrictive practices were loosened, the proportion of the working class population as a percentage of the whole would have grown as the more relaxed rules of entry allowed for a greater number of participants in the various trades and occupations. Finally during the early months of 1642 there would have been a steady influx of Protestant refugees seeking refuge in and around the walled town: 'many of quality, making Gallway their place of refuge'.[77] Thus the picture emerges of a town whose population had not only grown significantly over the past two decades but was now more culturally diverse than at any other time in its history.

The depositions offer some clues as to the likely profiles of the active participants in the initial insurrection. The involvement of Patrick Darcy and Richard Martin is very evident. Less overtly complicit are the members of the Council of Eight. But those who took part in the actual seizing of the ship and the subsequent murders of some of the crew would appear, from those named, to be young men from mixed Old English and Irish families. The naming of James Oge Lynch, Walter Oge Martin (Irish óg being young or junior) and that of Steven Lynch Fitz-Andrew, added to the testimony of Surgeon

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[75] *Ibid.*, fo: 155.
[76] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 474.
[77] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, pp. 98-99.

Rawlings that some of the ship's attackers were speaking in Irish, suggests that, although the overall plot may have been instigated by Darcy, Martin, and others, it was young militants from the town who took the ship. When, in May 1641, the Mayor surrendered the keys to Clanricarde, it was noted that 'The young men laid down their arms, and that upon promise of their future loyalty, he [Clanricarde] then received them into his Majesty's protection'.[78] Thereafter, as occurred in Ulster, the leaders appear to have lost control for a while as mob rule took over. Having secured the town they immediately set about investing the fort by raising a battery against it and cutting off its supply routes. Willoughby had responded by burning the houses in the eastern suburbs so as to deny reinforcements arriving from Iar Connaught and Mayo.[79]

Clanricarde very quickly mobilised his own forces to relieve the fort but finding that the narrow land bridge to the fort was threatened by the insurgents' cannon, withdrew and deployed an alternative strategy to secure the fort's position and to get emergency supplies through. He re-supplied the fort by sea and also strengthened the garrisons of his castles at Oranmore, Clare-Galway and Tirellan. This rapid action effectively blockaded the town and closed off its own supply routes which 'produced discontent among the people within, and their auxiliaries without'.[80] The speed at which Clanricarde was able to close down the insurrection provided more evidence that it was more of a spontaneous eruption by militant dissidents rather than a well planned attempt to reduce the fort and join the Confederates.

Not surprisingly the events in Galway created considerable confusion on all sides as communications with Dublin, not good at the best of times, worsened. For the Lords Justices and Council the position seems to have been very clear. In an official letter it was recorded that 'The Town of Galway, as well as Waterford, had revolted and joined the Irish confederacy'.[81] But the town of Galway was some way off, at this point, from joining the Confederacy, nor was it acting as a cohesive unit. If anything, there appeared to have been a divergence of views with the Corporation and leading merchants of the town still holding a neutral position and the 'young men' who formed the greater part of

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[78] Lord Justice and Council to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, June 9, 1642, *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, Volume 2, p. 148.

[79] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642*, Volume 1, p. 103.

[80] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p.112.

[81] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642*, Volume 1, p. xlvii.

the insurgents joining with the Gaelic Irish. They in turn appeared to have been encouraged by the Catholic clergy led by the warden of St. Nicholas, Walter Lynch.[82] This presented additional difficulties for Clanricarde. Throughout the winter of 1641-42, the leading Catholic clergy in the town and county had largely supported him in his efforts to keep Galway at least neutral in the growing conflict. Now there appeared to be popular support for the Catholic cause. They clearly felt empowered not only to take the initiative but to put some pressure on Clanricarde to be more sympathetic towards their cause. [83]

At this point in the proceedings, Clanricarde was in danger of being rejected by both sides. Although a Catholic, he had so far resolutely carried out his duties as Governor of the town and county and given Willoughby his full support. But as the insurrection throughout the country became more widespread, the lines of demarcation between the protagonists, which until this point had been somewhat blurred, were drawn into sharp relief. Until the spring of 1642, the insurrection had been characterised by a loose affiliation of regional interests with no common united agenda. In March, 1642 the bishops and vicars of the ecclesiastical province of Kells initiated the first moves to establish a unified central authority to conduct the course of the war. In their deliberations they declared that the war was a just war, waged against Puritans, who had plotted the destruction of the Catholics, the Irish and the King's writ. What must have been of some concern to Clanricarde was that in making this declaration they went on to say that all Catholics who supported the government and, by extension all Catholics who did not join the war, were declared excommunicated.[84] These matters were likely to have been in the mind of Walter Lynch when he looked to Clanricarde 'for a settlement betwixt his Lordship and the towne of Gallway and their adherents, with the tacit menace of ecclesiastical censures in case he proceeded to reclaim them by force'.[85] But Clanricarde was clearly not a man to be threatened in this way and in a lengthy reply to the clergy in which he claimed the King's authority in all his actions, indicated that should further threats be forthcoming he would, as a last resort, 'leave this kingdom, which he knew

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[82] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway,* p. 244; Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, p. 104.

[83] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, p. 104.

[84] P. J. Corish, 'The Rising of 1641 and the Confederacy, 1641-1645', in T. W Moody, *F. X, Martin, F. J. Byrne,* (eds.) *A New History of Ireland, Volume III, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691,* p. 297.

[85] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, p. 104.

would be a resolution displeasing to most of them'.[86] In this, Clanricarde was playing a master card, because his counter blockade of the town had forced an effective stalemate between the town and the fort. At this juncture only his personal intervention could secure a peaceful conclusion to the proceedings. As an indication of the confusion which existed at the time, it was reported on 4 July 1642, that Clanricarde had indeed been excommunicated at this point by the Archbishop of Armagh for preventing the fort being taken by the insurgents. But on 24 July, in a communication from Fr. Hugh Burke to Luke Wadding in Rome, Burke wrote that; 'The men of Galway have put themselves in the hands of 45 [code for Clanricarde], who had declared for our side...when the Archbishop menaced him with censure'.[87]

Having agreed to a ceasefire the prominent members of the town and county very quickly appointed a commission to reach a settlement. The commission, consisting of Sir Dominick Brown, Richard Martin and Alderman Brown for the town and Sir Valentine Blake and Theobald Burke for the county presented their proposals to Clanricarde on 23 April 23.[88] Clanricarde was not at this juncture prepared to negotiate for anything other than the absolute surrender of the town and the giving up of the arms, ordnance and powder which it had accumulated. Rumours had been building for some time that the King was personally about to come to Ireland to hear the complaints of the Confederate Catholics and attempt to secure an end to the rebellion by negotiation. Clanricarde's gambit appears to have been that 'his Majestye, upon his speedy arrival, might find them in such a posture of obedience as might invite his mercy, and that he himself might rather be a mediator for them, than their accuser, which could not be avoided but by a sudden and fitt submission'.[89]

As these negotiations were taking place, relief supplies for the fort, requested by Clanricarde, earlier in the month, had arrived in the bay on board the *Employment*, under the command of Captain Ashley.[90] The 30 gun ship brought much needed supplies to the

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[86] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[87] *Franciscan MSS*, pp. 156-157, 164.

[88] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 112.

[89] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642*, Volume I, p. 106.

[90] Lord Justices and Council to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, 23 April, 1642, *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of* ,New Series, Volume 2, p. 113; In Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 115, The ship is referred to as the *Resolution.*

fort as well as special instructions to Captain Willoughby from the Lords Justices that in the event of any hostile act against the fort by the town, 'to do all things that might bring terrour or danger upon the town'. Willoughby needed no real encouragement to execute these orders but, was cautious enough to inform Clanricarde and await his direction.[91] Clanricarde now had to weigh up his options carefully. He was aware, from communications with the Protestant Bishop of Killala, who having escaped the massacre at Shrule, had taken refuge within the town, that a unilateral breaking of the ceasefire might spark an extremely hostile reaction leading to a possible massacre of the English Protestant community. It might even be enough to encourage hostile forces in Mayo to carry out threats to carry the fight into Clare and threaten Clanricarde's own power base there.[92] On the other hand his intelligence within the town had informed him that although there was a majority of freemen wiling at this time to submit to his proposals, there was still a substantial force opposed to laying down their arms. He decided on a strategy of allowing Captain Willoughby to fire, what amounted to some warning shots, to encourage the dissidents to conform. This proved not to be enough and Clanricarde, in a final show of force, discharged some heavy artillery at the town, having moved his entire force to the gates. On 13 May 1642, the Mayor and Aldermen and many of the young men of the town met Clanricarde and Captain Willoughby at the Crosse, dividing the liberties from the fort. The Mayor delivered up the keys of the town and the young men laid down their arms. Clanricarde, 'on promise of their future loyalty received them into his Majestye's protection until his royall pleasure were further declared'.[93] The terms and conditions of the truce were for the most part violently objected to by the clergy led by the Warden, Walter Lynch, who recorded their objections in an 'excommunication' published alongside the articles of submission signed by his namesake Walter Lynch Fitz-Ambrose, Mayor. The terms of the agreement were for the town garrison to disarm and to deliver all the stores of arms and ammunition to the fort and to agree not to import any further munitions other than that which was intended for the fort. This last condition was unacceptable to the Council who had every reason not to trust Willoughby, especially if they had no means to resist an armed incursion by his soldiers. So after some further

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[91] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume I, p. 107.

[92] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume I, p. 108.

[93] *Ibid.,* 107-109; Hardiman, *History of Galway.* p. 114, p. 248.

negotiation, Clanricarde gave way on the last clause which was later to cause some severe political damage to his relations with the Dublin administration.[94]

Although Clanricarde had achieved considerable personal success in negotiating a settlement with the town, it proved to be no more than a temporary respite, doomed to failure by the fact that apart from being accepted with such bad grace by the clergy-led dissidents, it was also condemned by the Lords Justices and Council in Dublin. In a long letter to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant, dated June 9 1642, they recommended that the terms agreed be made null and void and in particular those which allowed the town to continue to source arms and powder.

The reality of Galway's strategic geo-political importance to both the Protestant and Catholic cause once more came to the fore as the Dublin administration reacted forcibly to Clanricarde's conciliatory terms:

> As a harbour that lies open to Spain and France, forces from foreign parts may at any time easily arrive there and from thence annoy the kingdom and furnish all parts of the kingdom with arms and munitions; and even in this short time of their present rebellion the rebels sent thither for powder, not only from other parts of that province but also from the other three provinces.[95]

The letter went on to recommend that the town be cleared of rebels, who were to be replaced with 'A number of English who may so secure that place as it may not continue an inlet and countenance, as now it is, for disturbance of the public peace and terror of good subjects'. This recommendation was to be brutally implemented less than 10 years later.[96]

Galway's strategic position as an entry port for men and munitions was well understood at this time by both the Confederates and the Parliamentary party as were the ongoing efforts to secure additional supplies from the continent. The already well established trading links that the Old English port towns like Galway had developed over decades were now used for the supply of munitions and this was to be a continuing problem for the Parliamentary forces throughout the war. In November 1642, the English Parliament had sought to stem the flow of arms, powder, and ammunition from Flanders (then still part of the Spanish Empire) by sending a diplomatic mission to remind the

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[94] Full details of these documents are reproduced in Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 113-114.

[95] *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormonde,*New Series, Volume 2, p. 151.

[96] *Ibid.,* pp.148-151; *Franciscan MSS,* pp 169-170.

authorities there that such activity was contrary to an embargo on arms exports to the Confederate forces proclaimed by the King of Spain.[97]

In May 1642, a Galway merchant arrived in London to secure arms for 1,500 horse and 2,000 foot. The shipment was initially blocked by Parliament and the ship immobilised by having her 'sails, cables and cordage' confiscated, but it subsequently escaped the embargo.[98] On 13 June 1642, it was reported that a ship arrived into Galway conveying 'a great quantity of powder and munitions, upon which the people of Munster and Ulster have drawn, as I am advised from France by a merchant of Galway'.[99] A letter from Gregory French, O.P., to Luke Wadding, dated 20 June 1642, leaves no doubt that the port of Galway was growing in military importance in contributing to the Confederate war effort. French wrote: 'Your Paternity may know I am authorised by the Province of Connaught, and especially by the Corporation of Galway, to repair hither, to make suit for the aforesaid armour and ammunition, not for themselves only but for all the kingdom in general'.[100] Arms and ammunition were not necessarily being offloaded directly into the port since this would have risked coming under fire from the fort's ordnance and after the arrival of Captain Ashley, from a well armed naval warship. But there were many creeks and inlets along the western shores of the bay into which goods could be carried by small boats. One recorded consignment was that brought in by the Galway merchant, Francis D'Arcy consisting of, apart from provisions, 'ten pieces of ordnance, sixty muskets and two thousand seven hundred pounds weight of powder'.[101] This particular consignment was seized by Clanricarde as part of the terms of settlement since it was already within the town at the time.

The severe criticism of Clanricarde by the Parliamentary administration in Dublin and its obvious concern over the military weakness of allowing Galway to revert back to a position of armed neutrality as opposed to military subjugation, was probably the catalyst which persuaded Captain Willoughby in the fort, and Captain Ashley in the heavily armed warship *Employment,* to almost immediately to set about breaching the fragile protection offered by Clanricarde to the town. Captain Willoughby's father, Sir. Francis

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[97] *Analecta Hibernica,* No. 4, October 1932, (Dublin Stationery Office, Dublin, 1932), p. 16.
[98] *Franciscan MSS,* p. 141.
[99] *Franciscan MSS,* p. 150.
[100] *Ibid.,* p. 152.
[101] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 115.

Willoughby, was not only a member of the Council in Dublin who had signed Clanricarde's reprimand but, on the day that the articles of submission were signed (11 May, 1641), he had been appointed acting Sergeant-Major General of the Irish Army due to the fact that the commander-in-chief, St. Leger was indisposed.[102] Under theses circumstances it is most likely that the subsequent actions of Willoughby and Ashley, were those of officers under Parliamentary orders rather than personal acts of retribution. It was certainly the intention of the parliamentary forces to strengthen the naval forces along the vulnerable western seaboard and suppress the importation of munitions from the continent. A number of requests were sent from the Council in Dublin to the recently constituted Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland for additional ships specifically to reinforce the *Employment* in Galway Bay.[103]

Nonetheless their rigorous prosecution of those orders, carried out without any reference to Clanricarde, who was officially the military governor of the town, became the principle threat to any ongoing peace in the area. In a long letter to the Lords Justices dated 13 July 1642, Willoughby made clear his determination to press ahead with a military take-over of the town:

> I am now fully resolved henceforth not to give the least credit or belief to their protestacions or vowes of future loyalty. Although they have given fower hostages unto the Rt, Hon. Earl of Clanricarde, I conceive, if it may stand with your Lordships likeing, that the hostages be kept here in his Majesties fort...The town have in all points broken the pacification in entertaining rebels in the town...and shooting against his majesties fort. I conceive in discharge of my duty I could do no less than loose upon them with my great ordnance which I did to the number of 60 great shot through their houses, and should have shot more but that the right Honble the Earl of Clanricarde come hither.[104]

He also requested additional supplies to achieve his objectives, particularly the need for fresh provisions:

> I humbly desire yr hons and the rt. Honble the Earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans that by his power in the county of Galway I may be releeved with fresh provisions as yet I rec. non but what I was forced to sally out.[105]

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[102] The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 11 May 1642, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1633-47,* p. 360.

[103] Lords Justices and Council to His Majesties Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, 1 September, 1642, *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormonde* New Series, Volume 2, pp. 186-189, 197.

[104] Captain Willoughby to the Lords Justices, 13 July 1642, The Bodleian Library, (hereinafter TBL), Rawlinson MSS, B. f, 42.

[105] *Ibid.,*

During one of Captain Willoughby's armed forays into the countryside to secure provisions, he had arrested a sergeant in the forces of Lord Clanmorris, an ally of Clanricarde. He took him back to the fort and hanged him in sight of the townspeople. In retaliation, Clanmorris hunted down some soldiers belonging to the fort and had them executed. A series of 'tit for tat' measures ensued in which Willoughby, it is claimed, waged open warfare on the surrounding countryside. The townspeople, in retaliation, engaged in a war of attrition against the fort and its occupants.[106]

Whilst all this was going on, in early August, 1642, an expeditionary force under the command of Lord Forbes, which had waged a campaign of terror in the south west of the country earlier in the year, had anchored off the town.[107] This force, consisting of a squadron of 20 ships, and with a land force of about 2000 men, was not part of the Parliamentary army. It was comprised of Adventurers, and their commission had been sanctioned by the English Parliament, but not approved by the King. They had sailed from Kinsale at the invitation of Willoughby, who had sought no authority to do so from Clanricarde, to assist in his now openly avowed intention to invest the town and seize it for the Parliamentary forces.

Forbes' military background included service in Germany and subsequently as a leading figure in the Scots Covenanters' war against King Charles. He was, by the time he arrived in Galway Bay, a resolute supporter of the Puritan Parliamentary party and his force had been raised and financed as part of the 'Irish Venture', by the Committee of Adventurers. Furthermore, given that the expressed objective of that committee was to promote the Protestant cause in Ireland by way of conquest and plantation, he already had some experience in such objectives. He had earlier been involved in a direct attempt to challenge Spanish Catholic influence in South America, in the ultimately failed, privately sponsored, attempt to secure a Protestant settlement on Providence Island, off the Nicaraguan Coast,[108] In 1638 Lord Robert Brooke a major investor in the Providence

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[106] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 116.
[107] P.J. Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 303.
[108] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 554.

Island project asked Forbes if his brother would be interested in becoming the Governor of the colony.[109] As Nicholas Canny has observed:

> The fact that this privately sponsored, transatlantic onslaught upon papistry had been repulsed was all the more reason why the attack against the universal enemy should be relaunched nearer to home once the call for assistance came from the besieged Protestants of Ireland.[110]

Lord Brooke was now a leading member of the 'Irish Venture' and Forbes and his squadron were lying off the town of Galway with a commission to:

> invade the rebels in any ports or creeks where they can reach them. They shall have power to seize all the rebels ships and goods at sea, and shall be entitled to any prizes they take from them. The ships shall carry His Majesty's colours, and shall exercise the right of search, if necessary by force.[111]

On 8 August 1642, claiming the authority of the King and Parliament and blatantly ignoring the authority of Clanricarde as governor of the town Forbes wrote directly to 'The Magistrate of the towne of Gallway' effectively accusing them of being in rebellion and inviting them, under a flag of safe conduct, to come aboard his flagship the *Speedwell*, and submit to his authority. He further offered them his protection by garrisoning the town whilst these discussions took place. The contents of a series of letters which subsequently flowed between Forbes, the Mayor and Clanricarde, made it increasingly obvious to Forbes that the town was not going to submit meekly to his terms. Moreover Clanricarde was supported in this instance, by the Lord President of Connaught, who was equally affronted by what amounted to an unauthorized incursion into his domain. Beyond the matter of affronting the sovereignty of the Lord President was the whole issue of the legality of Forbes' presence. The 'Adventurers Act' had been passed by the English parliament and, at the time that Forbes was preparing to invest Galway, the Irish House of Lords was examining proposals to suspend Poynings Law. As part of their deliberations they believed that the 'Adventurers Act 'would be prejudicial to

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[109] A.P. Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans: The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain* (Yale University Press, Newhaven, 1914), pp. 246-247.

[110] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 554.

[111] Copy of Order of the English Parliament, London, 21 June, 1642, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1633-47*, p. 361.

this Kingdom, by admitting the parliament of England to be a force, to oblige us here, without being confirmed'.[112]

Although Willoughby had informed Clanricarde of the arrival of Forbes he was furious at the Captain's blatant disregard for his position and authority as Governor of the town. In a letter written to Willoughby from his castle at Loughrea on 9 August 1642 Clanricarde made his position clear:

> Captain Willoughby, I received a letter from you this last night which informed me of the arrival of the said Lord Forbes and a squadron of ships into the bay of Galway and expresseth your speedy desire of my repair thither to confer with his Ldp. To which in present I can only answer that I am altogether a stranger to his Ldp. And the nature and quality of his employment.

He went on to give Willoughby a severe warning about the likely consequences of using mercenaries who had no other objective except plunder to secure his military objectives.

> It may become you seriously to consider the danger in drawing a settled war about you from all the bordering counties, when it may be the necessity of their plans may draw the fleet so suddenly from the assistance and carry away the spoils that may be employed for the future supply and the relief of the English formerly inhabiting or to inhabit there…I have no more to say but to express myself.[113]

Clanricarde had also challenged Forbes on his authority to speak in the King's name drawing attention to the fact that:

> he was soe well informed of the high division between the King and Parliament, and their hatred to all of his religion…and that he could not think it either safe or honourable to put himself into their power, until he should find they were better inclined, and would observe those rules which they too should think fitt to prescribe.[114]

In effect Clanricarde had called Forbes' bluff. The double declaration for King and Parliament was, by this time, an extremely suspect piece of rhetoric by avowed Parliamentarians still seeking to convince the uncommitted of their dual authority. Moreover Clanricarde and Lord Ranleigh, the Lord President of Connacht, were both acutely aware of the town of Galway's strategic position. If an attempt were made to seize it by force at this delicate stage of the growing unrest, it could potentially bring about all out rebellion throughout the province. Clanricarde's dismissal of Forbes' claim to bear the

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[112] M. Ó Siochrú, 'Catholic Confederates and the Constitutional Relationship between Ireland and England, 1641-1649' in, C. Brady and J Ohlmeyer, (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005), p. 214.

[113] TBL, Rawlinson MSS. B. f: 43

[114] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, p. 146.

King's authority was later vindicated by a letter from Charles I in April which expressed approval of his proceedings with Forbes 'whoe without authority from him came in his name, by power derived from Parliament, to demand the surrender of the towne of Gallway'.[115]

Lord Forbes' brief did not extend to seeking any diplomatic solution and whilst the appointed governors of the town and province were deciding on the best course of action to take, he had decided to hasten the decision by landing a war party on the west side of the town. He raised a battery near Our Lady's church, burnt several villages belonging to Clanricarde and killed several women and children in the process.[116] Notwithstanding this crude attempt at securing a decision by force, Lord Ranleigh, conscious no doubt of his duty to act on behalf of the Dublin administration, persevered in attempting to at least resolve the charges and counter charges made by and against the fort. No agreement appears to have been reached and Lord Forbes, realised that even with his well armed squadron supported by the garrison in the fort, the town's defences were unassailable. Moreover, as a privately funded venture, his men were becoming troublesome for want of payment, so he withdrew from Galway on 4 September, 1642, bound for Limerick.[117] But, as a final act of outrage, he defaced St. Mary's church, and dug up the graves in the cemetery. Further, to emphasis the profit motive behind the whole episode, he seized a merchantman belonging to the town valued at over £6,000.[118] Overall, this campaign by a strong, well armed force was a military failure, but the fierceness and calculated aggression with which it had been conducted had increased the bitterness of the Catholic population and beyond question, helped the Confederate cause in Galway.[119]

Clanricarde's refusal to allow Forbes to assist Willoughby in occupying the town, yet at the same time, continuing to act as the government's appointed, representative of the town and county of Galway clearly highlighted the 'realpolitik' of the importance of

[115] *Ibid., p. 137*

[116] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 117; Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 1, p. 145.

[117] *Franciscan MSS*, p. 174.

[118] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 118.

[119] Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 303: O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 252.

For a full transcript of the correspondence which was exchanged between the Town, Clanricarde and Lord Forbes, during this episode, see Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 1, pp. 139-149.

Galway's neutrality to him at this stage of the conflict. In fact his actions were at the very least prescient and more probably astutely political, as the relationship between the King and the English parliament which he had observed earlier, worsened. Allowing the town and county of Galway to be either a Confederate or a Parliamentary stronghold at this time would have left him personally stranded in the middle of a political and religious divide. In explaining his position to Lord Ranleigh, the Lord President and revealing his contempt for Lord Forbes and the 'Adventurers' he observed:

> Nothing was to be gained by making his government the seat of warre but some rich booties for the fleet, with which, when they were laden, they might retire and leave him exposed to be overwhelmed by multitudes of enemies that would be drawne to the county of Gallway from all partes to oppose this invasion, and to relieve the onely town in the province which had the strength to make anie resistance, and was the sole sea port in Connaught, from whence they might conveniently entertaine commerce with foraigne partes.[120]

Clanricarde now found himself mediating in two fronts. Nationally, between the Confederate forces and the Irish Parliament, and locally between townspeople led by the clergy and clerics who wanted to join the Confederation, and a substantial number of the town's hierarchy and merchant classes who still hoped for a settlement with the King without the need for armed conflict.

But matters on both a national and local level were rapidly unravelling. The English Civil War had begun well for Charles I with his victory over the Earl of Essex at the Battle of Edgehill in October 1642.[121] But by the spring of 1643 his campaign in England had stalled. Although his forces had achieved some success in the north following the battle of Edgehill, the failure to achieve all out victory meant that the main prize, London, still eluded him. As both sides consolidated their forces they both looked for outside assistance. The parliamentarians turned to Scotland and the King to Ireland.[122] The Irish army was at that time under the command of the Marquis of Ormonde who was a steadfast supporter of the King. In early 1643 its strength was estimated to have been between 27,000-35,000 foot and horse.[123] In late 1642, the Lords Justices had attempted

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[120] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, p. 144.

[121] The Earl of Essex was the uterine brother of Clanricarde: Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War,,* Volume 2, p. 90-91.

[122] Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660*, p. 194-195.

[123] J. Ohlmeyer, *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995). p. xxiii.

to win control of the army from Ormonde and they had been assisted in this endeavour by two representatives of the English parliament, Robert Reynolds and Robert Goodwin, who had brought with them £20,000 and a supply of powder and match.[124] At the beginning of 1643 it was clear that the Irish Army officers would continue to support Ormonde and the King.[125] At the end of January 1643, taking strength from this support, and wary of the bias of the Lords Justices to the English parliamentary party, Charles I ordered the Lords Justices to expel the Parliamentarians and, writing directly to Ormond, Clanricarde and five others, authorised them to meet with the Confederate Supreme Council and hear their grievances.[126]

In reality these grievances were already known to the King who had been petitioned by the Confederates as far back as July 1642, and which petition had been forwarded by the Lords Justices in August of that year.[127] Clanricarde was also well acquainted with the extent of the 'Remonstrance of Grievances' which had been communicated to him by the Supreme Council as part of an attempt to win him over to their cause in November 1642.[128] But there is no doubt that given Charles' urgent need for re-enforcements for war in England, that what had attracted him to respond at this time was that the Confederate petition concluded by requesting that they be:

> Left free in the profession of their faith and given security for their estates and liberties; that hereafter your majesty will make no distinction between us and the rest of the nation subject to your empire...which granted, we will convert our forces upon any design your majesty may appoint.[129]

For Charles I the prize offered for any successful negotiation was the opportunity to not only have access to the Irish Army under the command of Ormond but also additional re-enforcements from the Confederates.

Naturally enough the Lords Justices, who by the same command had been instructed to give the Commissioners every assistance, made a long and impassioned

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[124] Lords Justices and Council to Wm. Lenthall, 28 October 1642, *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, Volume 2, p. 219.
[125] Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 304.
[126] *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormond*, p. 244.
[127] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642*, Volume II, p. 247.
[128] Gilbert, *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91; For a full description of the 'Remonstrance' see: *Ibid.*, pp. 226-242.
[129] Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 302

appeal to the King to re-consider his proposals.[130] In particular they refuted the Confederate claims that they were at all times loyally supporting the King's cause and warned:

> That the English do fear that if peace should now be treated of here, it would give a stop to further supplies of men, munitions, arms, or victuals to be sent hither, which the rebels have long threatened against us, and so the stores being kept weak here the rebels would no doubt, speedily to bring Protestants into their merciless power, and fall upon them to the full execution of their former intendants.[131]

The Lords Justices, throughout their counter arguments for settlement with the Confederates, professed that their motives were grounded in the preservation and safety of the King and the rule of law. In reality they recommended that, rather than treat with the Irish Catholic population, the King should take the opportunity to put into practice the policies and strategies advocated over the past four to five decades by Edmund Spenser and in a modified fashion by John Davies and others, to secure for all time a Protestant majority on the island of Ireland:

> They remember in the best of former times the Irish did so exceed in numbers, that the Governors never could or durst fully execute the laws for true reformation for fear of disturbance, having some hope always by civil and fair entreaty to win them into a civil and peaceable life, so as if peace should now be granted to them before the sword or famine have so abated them in numbers so that in reasonable time English Colonies might overlap them, and so perhaps frame the residue into English manners and civil cause of life, by trades, or other good industry, to take comfort in a quiet life, the English do plainly forsee it can never be safe for them to cohabit with them.[132]

Less than a decade later a victorious Cromwellian regime attempted to put this policy into effect but in the meanwhile the King, though not in any way acceding to the Confederate demands, had more pressing matters to attend to. He must also have been aware of the on-going tensions between Ormonde and the Lord Justices. Ormonde though impeccably Protestant as a result of an orphaned upbringing under the Court of Wards was non-the less a scion of the Old English aristocracy, many of whom were now members of the Confederacy. He was also a staunch supporter of the King. The government in Dublin composed of the Lords Justices and Council was nominally loyal to Charles I, but in

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[130] Lords Justices and Council to the King, 16 March, 1643, *Cal. Of Manuscripts of Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, Volume 2, pp. 244-253.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[132] *Ibid.*

reality many of its members were supporters of the English Parliamentary Party. Following the meeting between the Commission and the Confederate forces at Trim, it was Ormonde not the Dublin Government, who was commissioned to seek a truce with 'the King's Roman Catholic subjects in arms.' Further to strengthen Ormond's hand during the course of the negotiations in July 1643, he expelled the parliamentary supporters Parsons, Loftus Meredith and Temple, from the council.[133]

Although Clanricarde had managed to maintain his position as an intermediary at national level during late 1642 and the spring of 1643, his control over events in Galway over the same period had been less successful. His personal influence over the gentry of the town and county of Galway had so far managed to keep them at least neutral. But neutrality was becoming less of an option as attitudes hardened on both sides. In a letter from Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding in October 1642, Bourke wrote that the Confederates were about to declare that all neutrals are enemies and that Clanricarde, who was still being advised by his brother (Father Oliver Bourke), was one of them. 'And this is the greatest blow to the Catholic cause in all the realm, because all the Province of Connaught follows the example of the Earl and makes no war upon the heretics'.[134] Most of Connacht by this time was in fact in the Confederate camp, and Clanricarde's hold over the influential gentry was to be severely tested in early 1643.

Following the departure of Lord Forbes in September 1642, the fort, under the command of Captain Willoughby had been effectively under siege. Although not yet formerly declared for the Confederates, all factions within the town saw Willoughby and the garrison as the common enemy representing, the Parliamentary party.[135] The strategic importance of the fort to the English Parliament has already been highlighted and supplies continued to arrive into Galway Bay throughout the winter of 1642.[136] On 1 November 1642, Parliament voted for a substantial replenishment of a range of munitions, material and provisions. The supplies included 300 uniforms, two tons of match and lead, two siege cannon, a chest of medicines, a large quantity of timber, and provisions including

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[133] P.J. Corish, 'The Rising of 1641' p. 306.
[134] *Franciscan MSS*, pp. 206-207.
[135] C.P. Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny* (O'Rourke, New York, 1873), p. 57.
[136] *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1633-47*, p. 229.

wheat, oatmeal and 50 butts of beer.[137] By the same order 1,600 suits of old clothes donated by the City of London were shipped via Galway to Athlone to clothe the soldiers there should supplies of new uniforms already in transit via Dublin, not arrive. The order instructed that, should the new uniforms arrive, then the old clothes 'be disposed of there to poor Protestant people as the Lord President of Connaught shall think worthy of them'.[138]

The siege of the fort by the town, had become by now, no less than a war of attrition and to keep the besiegers at bay the fort was using up material at an alarming rate. In January 1643 a direct appeal was made from the fort to the English Parliament, outlining the military situation and requesting urgent replenishment of supplies. The report, signed by a Captain Hall, gave details of the massing of an army of 7,000 to 8,000 men under the command of Lieutenant-General Bourke making ready to invest the fort. The report confirmed that the supply route organised by Clanricarde was now regularly intercepted by rebel forces and without fresh supplies of provisions the fort was unlikely to hold out much longer.[139]

This report did not result in any urgent response from Parliament and in April 1643 Captain Hall travelled to London to personally appeal for assistance including 'victual and clothes and pay for the souldiers there and for some other necessary provisions for the defence of the place which is of very great danger to bee lost, if not speedily supplied'.[140] Parliament responded by diverting £500 from a fund intended for the relief of poor people (presumably Protestant), in the province of Connaught. Parliament also gave instructions for a flotilla of warships currently commissioned to guard the Irish coast, 'bee appointed to attend the defence of that fort which is of so great importance'.[141] But this 'last minute' support was to prove too late to save the situation which by late May 1643, had become hopeless, as the gentry in the county of Galway joined forces with the town and with the Gaelic Irish under the Confederate flag.

What had finally won over the gentry, who, until now, had been staunch supporters of Clanricarde, was a decision by the clergy that every Catholic in Ireland take

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[137] *Analecta Hibernica,* Volume 4, (IMC, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1932), p. 16-17.
[138] *Ibid.,* p. 18.
[139] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War,* Volume 2, 149-150.
[140] *Analecta Hibernica,* p. 68
[141] *Ibid.*

an Oath of Association which would automatically make them a member of the Confederacy. Clanricarde had disagreed with this. In his view the Oath of Association was largely a declaration of loyalty to the King. He had advised his followers that as they had already taken an oath of allegiance to the King a further oath was unnecessary.[142] This position was refuted by the Bishop of Clonfert, who on 2 March 1643 had directed that; 'Notwithstanding their oath of allegiance, or an oath taken to be faithful in their service to his majesty...they are bound, under pain of mortal sin to take the Oath of Association'. Furthermore within the same document he directed that Fr. Oliver Bourke, who was still a close confident of Clanricarde administer the Oath as required.[143]

Clanricarde was now totally isolated, as his former allies were not just obliged to take the Oath of Association but to actively participate in the defence of the town of Galway and the siege of the fort. It must have been a difficult decision for many of the prominent Old English residents of the town as well as the county, where service and loyalty to Clanricarde and his family went back many generations. Accordingly, in April 1643, they sent an *apologia* to him outlining the key factors which had driven them to their present action entitled Some *Particular Motives of these Troubles in Ireland*. The document lists 15 key issues, many of which would have come as no surprise to Clanricarde. They included the policy of Plantation, denial of education to Catholics, the ban on Catholics holding public office, the attempts to subvert the Irish Parliament and impose direct rule from England, and the punitive laws on openly following the Catholic faith. On more local issues they pointed to the ongoing seizure of their ships, goods and the unwarranted arrest of their merchants (a clear indictment of the actions of Captain Willoughby). But the most telling of the reasons for finally joining the Confederate forces, was the recognition of the impossibility of remaining neutral and coming out of the eventual war unscathed. In clause 12 of the document they observed that:

> All the Catholics of this Kingdom are engaged in this common cause of religion with few excepted, and therefore it would ill become us, being but a handful of their numbers, to expect the fruit of their pains and labor, and not participate of their hazards, losses and dangers.

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[142] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 2, p. 219; O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 256.
[143] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 2, p. 220.

And clause 14, clearly shows that they had weighed up the alternative scenario of supporting the government forces:

> That there is no hope, that upon the general subversion of religion, this town and county should be preserved as a relick and nursery of that which Puritants term popery and superstition

They concluded their statement by adding:

> It is a known maxim that *qui mecum non est, contra me est.* In this war we cannot be admitted neuters, if we fight against the Catholic cause. We must expect the judgment given upon the King of Israel the reason whereof is given in the holy writ to be; *Impio prebes auxilium et cum operantibus iniquitatem amicitia jungeris.*[144]

The town of Galway had steadfastly steered a middle course between their religious beliefs and their loyalty to the king for over 100 years. In considering that 'if you are not with me then you are against me', they had accepted that a position of neutrality was no longer tenable. Thus as the town of Galway irrevocably moved into the Confederate camp, at the same time, it abandoned the pragmatic diplomacy that had enabled it to weather the reformation and all its vicissitudes for over 100 years. Some four decades previously it had conspicuously recognised the accession of James I, while the recusant uprising raged in other Old English Towns, Galway's Catholic occupants continued to openly practise their faith. Despite the Oath of Supremacy, the names of its leading merchant families had continued to dominate the lists of mayors, sheriffs and other civic dignitaries. Throughout the 1620s and 1630s, notwithstanding that the Protestant administration had tightened its control on the everyday affairs of the town, the town had, continued to prosper by absorbing, rather than fighting the Protestant regime. The town had now reached a point where its unique brand of neutrality was no longer an option.

Colonel Bourke, who now commanded the Confederate forces in Galway, was an experienced soldier having served for over 30 years in Spanish service. On taking up command he set about occupying the immediate area around the town establishing garrisons at Clare-Galway and Athenry. Having secured all the viable approaches to the fort by land he then built two bulwarks and batteries to strengthen the seaward defences. One of the bulwarks was built on the western side of the town at Rintinane (currently Nimmo's Pier) and the other across the bay at Renmore point. These earthen works

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[144] *Franciscan MSS*, pp. 240-242.

defended the sea approaches and were to prevent the bringing in of any further supplies by ship. Also a chain or boom was stretched across the harbour mouth but it is believed that this was only for show and could not have prevented any serious attempt to break it.[145]

A steady supply of arms and ammunitions seems to have flowed into the town and county as the Galway merchants set about using their network of contacts on the continent to source arms and ammunition. As an inducement to potential suppliers they were offering terms which guaranteed that no duty or taxes would be paid either on the importation of the arms nor on the export of any goods. In an unusual departure from their traditional role as traders, the Galway merchants also seemed to have planned to set up an arms manufacturing business to relieve their dependency on foreign imports. In a letter from Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding in June 1642 he wrote:

> They [Galway merchants] also bid me have mechanics sent thither to make arms, munitions and other material of war, and promise to give them bed and board until they can support themselves by their work, and that they will be able to sell their arms at their own price, and that they will be naturalised forthwith and shall be exempt all their lives from the horse (house) tax and other duties that the citizens pay... seeing they have very good iron there in great abundance.[146]

There is no evidence that this enterprise was pursued, but the proposal is of interest because the absence of any manufacturing capability other than the basic craft trades would later become a serious weakness for the town. The demand for staples, which had been the backbone of Galway's wealth for centuries, would come to be replaced by a demand for provisions and manufactured goods to supply the growing colonial and Far Eastern markets where staples such as hides and furs were already to be found in in abundance.

In the meantime the fate of the garrison was sealed. Some time earlier Willoughby, clearly in desperation, had sent a raiding party of 50 men across to the western side of the bay to scavenge for provisions but they had been captured by soldiers from the town and interrogated. As a result it became obvious to all concerned that the fort could not hold out for much longer.[147] An attempt was made to run the blockade by

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[145] P. Walsh, 'Rinmore Fort: A Seventeenth Century Fortification at Renmore Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 41, (1987-1988), p. 121.

[146] *Franciscan MSS*, p. 156; Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 30-31.

[147] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 1, p. 158.

Captain William Brooke but in a letter to Clanricarde dated 8 June 1643 he related how he 'was shot at from the bulwarks lately made... I was forced to swing away some further distance'. Before retreating entirely, he attempted to send supplies in by small boats under cover of darkness but this attempt was beaten off by the townsmen.[148]

Clanricarde at this point made a last ditch attempt to resolve the fate of the fort by diplomacy. The first meeting with the General Assembly of the Confederates, to try to agree a cessation of arms, was imminent. It was clearly not to his advantage to lose, a major military installation to the Confederates, at this critical point in time. He had earlier attempted to persuade the Lords Justices to give him command of the fort and relieve Willoughby who had hardly contributed to any peaceful resolution of the siege and had 'exasperated [the town] by his beating upon their walls and piercing their houses for the space of almost three months before'.[149] This offer had not been taken up by the Lords Justices who, did not want to see the fort fall into the Clanricarde's hands.[150] His overtures to Lieutenant-General Burke to allow him to assume command of the fort had been equally rebuffed. His letter to Ormond dated 20 June 1643 summarised the hopelessness of his position.

> If the fort be taken, and not recovered by my treaty, and that the Cessation should not hold, I am like to run a very strange and sad fortune here, and yet I know not whither else to go, or how to maintain myself.[151]

In fact both the town of Galway and the Confederate forces would have been more than prepared to place the custody of the fort in Clanricarde's hands but on terms which were clearly not acceptable to him. He would have been required to take the Oath of Association and appoint an Irish governor and garrison and give an undertaking to 'exclude the ships of the enemies from the bay of Galway, and security for free exportation of native commodities and importation of merchandise from abroad'.[152] Clearly at this critical time in his negotiations with the General Assembly, this concession would have been impossible. On 20 June 1643, the fort surrendered. This surrender was

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[148] P. Walsh, 'Renmore Fort', p. 121; Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 2, p. 289

[149] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 1, p. 159.

[150] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 259.

[151] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 2, p. 289.

[152] *Ibid.*, p. lxxiv.

timely for the Confederate forces because the following day the strong naval force ordered by Parliament in May to relieve the fort, arrived in the bay. Too late to reverse the military situation, the ships were used evacuate the garrison and Protestant civilians who wished to leave.[153]

For the townspeople of Galway the military victory, and its significance in terms of the ongoing negotiations between the Confederate General Assembly and the Kings Commission headed by Ormonde and Clanricarde, was secondary to the realisation that after 75 years of suppression by the Protestant administration, they were once more free to go about their everyday lives and to follow, freely, their religious beliefs.

An Irish Catholic Town

Since the beginning of the uprising in October 1641, the archives of the corporation of Galway had recorded no commentary whatsoever concerning the turbulent and violent conflict between the town and the fort. Indeed over the preceding four decades of its history, in which the Corporation had been effectively sidelined by the English administration, there is little or no commentary to be found beyond recording the annual elections and the passing of amendments and additions to the local byelaws. It could be argued that the archives were not the proper place for recording commentary on the political affairs of the town or that mindful of the restrictions imposed on the elected officials by the Oath of Supremacy, it was deemed prudent not to criticise nor antagonise the English authorities. Whatever the reasons, all that was to change on Sunday 25 June 1643. On that day the Statute Book recorded;

> Mass was said in St. Francis, his Abbeye, and Father Valentyne Brown then preached theare. Upon which day Captain Anthony Willoghbe surended the fort, and parted away the same day in the Bonaventure, comaunded by Captain Richard Swanley, Vice Admiraaal , the Providence, comaunded by William Brookes, Rear Admiral, and in two pinnaces and in one barke lent them for their passage from the town.[154]

On 15 August, on the feast day of the Assumption it recorded a procession of Carmelites, Eremites of St. Augustine, Franciscans and Augustinians to celebrate the 'restauration of St. Nicholas'.[155]

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[153] For a detailed account of the terms of surrender of the fort see: Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 121.

[154] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 492

[155] *Ibid.*

Throughout history iconography has played a major role in expressing both the propagation and suppression of religious and civic ideals. The capture of the fort, built on the ruins of the Augustinian monastery, and at the same time the recovery of St. Nicholas Church as their spiritual home must have had a profound effect on the people of Galway. The fort, erected in 1603 had served as a reminder to the inhabitants of the town of the reality of the English administration's domination of their everyday lives. St. Nicholas' Church had been the focal point of religious and secular lives for nearly 300 years before the Reformation. It is not surprising therefore, what followed was a period of intense celebrations. But the reality was that as Galway had now committed itself to the Confederate cause it would need to put itself on a war footing to defend itself against the inevitable counter attacks from the Parliamentary forces. Advances in siege warfare had made this necessary.[156] At the same time the fort, reckoned at the time to be the 'second most important in the kingdom', was razed to the ground by order of the Council of Eight. Although the fort could theoretically have provided additional defence against attacks from the east it was too far from the town to supply in the event that it became besieged. In any event, as Captain Willoughby had found out to his cost, having battered the walls on the southern side with his ordnance for months, the three metre thick walls had remained intact, including one continuous barrage of 172 shots. Thus the town had little to fear should potential besiegers occupy the site.[157]

Galway's military success, though a strategic victory of some importance to the Confederates was, in the summer and autumn of 1643, overshadowed by conflicts of interest within the Confederate forces. From 1642, the Confederates had actively engaged in international diplomacy in direct violation of the rights of Charles I as King of Ireland. This involved the setting up of diplomatic missions abroad and receiving accredited diplomats at the Confederate seat of government in Killkenny.[158] In so doing Ireland became part of the wider struggle in Europe between the Hapsburg and Bourbon

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[156] Ibid., pp. 492-494; Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 122.

[157] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 122; O'Sullivan, 'The Fortification of Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 16, Nos. I & 2, 1934, p. 45; P. Lenihan, 'Galway and the 'New' system of Fortifications, 1643-50', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 48, (1996), p. 74.

[158] J. Ohlmeyer, 'Ireland Independent: Confederate Foreign Policy and International Relations During the Mid-Seventeenth Century', in J. Ohlmeyer, (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660,* pp. 89-90.

dynasties as well as becoming potentially a major prize for the Papacy, namely the establishment of a Catholic State next door to Protestant Britain. In May 1643, the French court sent M. La Monarie as its envoy to Kilkenny, with ambassadorial powers and M. Fuysot, a Burgundian was sent from the court of Spain. But, of more significance was the greater involvement by the Vatican in the affairs of the Confederacy. In July 1643 Pope Urban VIII appointed a Papal Delegate, Father Pietro Francisco Scarampi, who came not only bearing a plenary indulgence for all those who had taken up arms in defence of their Catholic religion, but with more tangible support in the promise of the supply of arms and money.

His arrival in Kilkenny coincided with the ongoing negotiations between the Marquis of Ormonde and Viscount Mountgarret to agree a one year cease fire. Charles I's war with the Parliamentary forces in England was at a stalemate and in exchange for a contribution of money, supplies and above all manpower, he was offering the opportunity of significant constitutional reforms in Ireland which included freedom of worship for Catholics and major land reforms. The Confederates had every reason not to trust Charles. It was well known that he had no sympathy with the Catholic cause and that, in the event that he won the armed conflict with Parliament, he would still need the support of his Protestant supporters to hold onto power. This support would be at risk should he make any significant concessions to Catholics.[159]

Notwithstanding the very real suspicion of Charles 1 harboured by both the Old English and the Gaelic Irish factions of the Confederacy, the bonds of their relationship were still very loose and amounted to no more than the 'Oath of Association' that they had taken a year earlier. The Old English of Galway and the towns of the Pale had, in many ways been driven into the arms of the Confederacy by the unremitting anti-Catholicism of the Protestant-dominated administration. For them, the defeat of the King's armies in England would result in the victorious Parliamentary forces being able to focus their full energies on suppressing the Confederate armies leaving no room to negotiate any concessions which would allow spiritual or political freedom. Supporting the King would allow them to rebuild and consolidate and thus secure considerable extra leverage in any future peace talks. Belling was a strong supporter of this position and

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[159] Queen Henrietta Maria to Hugh Burke. *Franciscan MSS,* p. 138.

argued that 'They should afford his Majesty all the support in their power, as any disaster to the royal cause would tend eventually to the ruin of the Irish'.[160]

The Gaelic Irish however were far less optimistic about the King's future goodwill towards them. First and foremost, unlike the Old English, they had, not, for some 400 years, had any control over their own destinies and had no reason to trust the English whatever the outcome of the English Civil War. Moreover the ultimate goal of achieving independence as a sovereign state, much as the Scots had so recently achieved, was to them too much of a prize to give up lightly. Scarampi's arrival in Killkenny at this crucial point in the proceedings seems more than coincidental. As the Papal Delegate he exhorted the Confederates 'not to recede an inch from the 'vantage' but to prosecute the war and insist on such terms as a weak and beleaguered government could not dare to refuse'.[161] Thus possibly for the first time, but certainly not for the last would 'England's difficulty be Ireland's opportunity' become a rallying call for those seeking independence.

The Parliamentarians in England had yet a different view as to the course of the war, and in September 1643 they voted in both houses:

> That the Houses doe hold that a present cessacion of armes with the rebels in Ireland is destructive to the Protestant religion, dishonourable to the English nation, prejuditial to the interest of all the three kingdoms; and therefore do declare they neither doe nor can consent or approue of any treaty of a cessation with the rebels, pretended to be begun by the Kings commission

In advising the Lords Justices in Ireland they offered an alternative, aimed at highlighting the dangers to the Protestant community in Ireland. In their view one more year of hostilities was more likely to make their condition (the rebels), more desperate than one years cessation. 'in some places they are starving and eating one another, and no where do they gain ground except by their enemies negligence'.[162] The irony of two implacable enemies , both advocating a continuance of hostilities for almost diametrically opposite reasons is difficult to avoid. But notwithstanding this, Ormonde reached agreement with the Confederates on 15 September 1643 that there would be a complete cessation of hostilities for a year.[163]

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[160] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 2, p. xci.

[161] Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 74.

[162] *Analecta Hibernica*, p. 87. The full transcript of the twenty point submission is recorded in *Analecta Hibernica*, pp. 84-87.

[163] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*, Volume 2. pp. 365-368.

The armistice was not intended to resolve any of the substantive issues which had brought the various strands of the Confederate forces together. Charles I had not made any commitment to legitimise the Catholic Church in Ireland nor to remedy the complex issues of land ownership, created by the successive waves of Plantation policies over the previous 100 years, both of which had been at the heart of the uprising in 1641. Moreover it provided political ammunition for the Parliamentary interests in that it demonstrated irrefutable evidence of Charles I' collusion with the Catholics. This evidence greatly facilitated the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant between the English Parliament and the Scottish Covenanters which had been under discussion for some time. On the Scots' side this agreement was primarily a religious covenant but for the Parliamentarians its main purpose was a military alliance which would greatly enhance their chances of success in their war with Charles I. On 25 September it was ordered:

> That the Commissioners of both Houses, now in Scotland, do take the Covenant,
> at the same time when the Kingdom of Scotland shall take it: And that Letters be
> writ to them to this Purpose.[164]

One immediate effect was that as most of the rank and file soldiers in Ormond's army in Ulster were Scots, they immediately fell in on the Parliamentary side and from that point on, Ulster was effectively a parliamentary stronghold fighting both the Royalist and Confederate forces. In addition many prominent Protestant military leaders had serious reservations about the Royal cause including Inchiquin in Munster, Coote in Connacht, and Thomond in Clare. Thus with the Confederates gaining no real concessions and the Protestant camp divided, it is difficult to see what real benefit accrued to either side from the truce. Negotiations between the Confederates and the King (represented by Ormond) were to continue on and off until just before the King's execution in January 1649, and during the intervening period, the diverse and at times contradictory aims and objectives of the Confederates were to create deep divisions which contributed to their ultimate defeat.

At the outset the Confederate demands were relatively simple in outline. They wanted to secure political independence by the setting up of a new parliament which dealt directly with the King, as was the case with the English and Scottish parliaments. In other

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[164] *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 3, 1643-1644*, http:www.//.british history.ac.uk, p. 254.

words they wanted to abolish Poynings Law which had been imposed on all Irish parliaments since 1494. They also wanted the right to freely worship as Catholics along with the abolition of the Penal Laws which had prevented them from holding office, and permanent recognition of their title to their land holdings. The Kings' problem in agreeing to any of these demands was that he would almost certainly lose the support of his Protestant supporters in Ireland who had enjoyed considerable wealth and power as a result of these restrictions on the Catholic populations of both the Old English and the Gaelic Irish. Moreover the repeal of the Penal laws would give rise to almost insurmountable constitutional problems. Although he could tolerate Scottish Presbyterianism, recognising the rights of Irish Catholics and thus the recognition of the jurisdiction of the Papacy in their affairs was quite another matter.

Many of the members of the Supreme Councils which, at various times were in negotiation with Ormond, had no desire either to allow the Church to regain its power and authority which it had lost following the reformation. The Old English in particular saw a clear distinction between the abolition of the Penal Laws, allowing them religious freedom, and the restoration of the Catholic Church as an independent institution exercising authority in its own right and, more importantly opening up the question of ownership of vast areas of land held by the Church prior to the Reformation. Nearly half of the members of the Council were landowners and other members who were, merchants, lawyers, professional soldiers, also had some interests in lands as well. Thus the landed interest, directly or indirectly, was predominant in the Confederate government.[165] It has been suggested that the announcement of the appointment of a Papal Nuncio to the Confederation at Kilkenny may have increased their anxiety to reach agreement with Ormond before the influence of the Clerical factions within the Confederacy became too strong.[166] Their fears were well founded. On 12 November 1645, the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini arrived in Kilkenny. His arrival and subsequent involvement in the affairs of the Confederation exposed the underlying suspicion and

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[165] D. F. Cregan, 'The Confederate Catholics of Ireland: The Personnel of the Confederation, 1642-1649', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 116 (November 1995), p. 502.

[166] J. Lowe, 'Charles I and the Confederation of Kilkenny, 1643-1649', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 53 (March 1964), pp. 5-6.

distrust between the Old English and the Gaelic Irish and the conflicts of interest which existed.

Conflicts of Interest

On 30 July 1646, a negotiated peace settlement between Ormond and the Confederate delegates, was published by Ormond in Dublin and by the Confederate Council in Killkenny on 3 August. Although not in any way conceding the substantive religious matters it went a long way towards meeting the main concerns of the Old English. It safeguarded their rights to a place in the public life of the country, reversed Stafford's confiscations and provided a general pardon for all that had occurred since the outbreak of the rebellion. Although it did not touch upon the freedom of a future Irish parliament 'it left room for hope of improvement'.[167]

Not surprisingly, Rinuccini was totally opposed to any agreement which excluded the restoration of Papal authority and in particular the return of Church lands and property. Although he had some reasons to believe that these objectives could be realised by standing firm, he clearly had either not understood or had ignored the political realities of this position. It would have been impossible for the King's Protestant supporters to accept these demands and, as already stated, it would not have been to the benefit of the principle Confederate negotiators. Nonetheless just prior to the publication of the settlement the Confederates had enjoyed some measure of military success. In June O'Neill's northern forces had decisively defeated the Scots at Benburb, and in July his forces had captured the Thomond stronghold of Bunratty. No doubt buoyed by these two events, Rinuccini had used a previously arranged legatine national synod at Waterford to reject the peace. The synod declared that all who supported the peace were judged to have broken the Oath of Association and that if any of those who had negotiated the peace were to go to Dublin to assist Ormonde in its implementation they would be excommunicated.

This opposition to the peace treaty had already been anticipated by the negotiators on both sides. On 6 August Ormond sent Dr. Roberts, Ulster-king-at-arms to proclaim the peace at Waterford and Kilkenny. He was well received in Kilkenny, Fethard and Cashel

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[167] Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 320.

but was 'absolutely hunted from the towns of Waterford and Clonmel'.[168] On 20 August Dr. Roberts arrived in Limerick and attended by the Mayor proceeded to publish the peace. But Walter Lynch, the warden of St. Nicholas in Galway was sent to Limerick to preach against the Peace. As a result the Mayor was deposed and replaced by Alderman Fanning who declared the town for the Nuncio.[169]

On 14 August, Clanricarde wrote to General Preston, commander of the Confederate forces in Connacht telling him to proclaim the peace throughout the province. In the letter he recognised that Preston might face some difficulties in implementing this instruction and clearly foresaw that the issue would exacerbate the tensions between the Old English and Gaelic Irish communities.

> Where the terms are vague, Sir Robert Talbot can inform you as to the particular instances undertaken to be made…if it be objected that better terms in the matter of religion might have been obtained, he can tell you that concession was made on every point except the express giving away of churches, which no man could think a reasonable work; and they, [the Catholic leaders] themselves waived that point. I fear the old national feuds will be kept up, under the guise of zeal for religion.[170]

Preston however uncertain as to where his army's loyalty lay, could not give his support to the Commissioners, much to the relief of Rinuccini who, along with support from O'Neill and his army was now effectively in control at Kilkenny. On 18 September Rinuccini had the members of the Council who had supported the peace initiative imprisoned and a new council sworn in with him nominated as president.

The position of the people of Galway at this time is unclear in that no mention was made of it the Corporation books. The fact that Walter Lynch had successfully persuaded the people of Limerick to prevent the Peace being published suggests that there was a strong possibility Galway went the same way. The reception which was accorded to Rinuccini by the town the following year supports this view. Hynes makes an unsubstantiated claim that Galway followed the example of Waterford 'the same week

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[168] Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 158.

[169] S. O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway, 1647-1649', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 23, (1948-1949), p. 29.

[170] The Earl of Clanricarde to General Preston, 14 August 1646, Dublin, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1633-1647*, p. 492.

but with some opposition'.[171] However Meehan, in contrast, claims that, 'Galway, with twelve noblemen and gentlemen, refused to receive it'.[172]

In any event, the stance taken by the Nuncio served to illustrate the widening gap between the Catholic Old English, -mainly aristocratic landowners- who had supported the Peace, and the townspeople. Mention has been made earlier that the ethnic mix in Galway had changed considerably over the first half of the seventeenth century, and certainly from the time the town declared for the Confederacy in 1643, the population both within the town and the surrounding suburbs would have been swollen by large numbers of Gaelic Irish particularly from Connemara. Whatever their social and cultural differences may have been they were both committed to Catholicism and, with nothing much to lose, far more inclined to follow the guidance of their clergy. The Old English residents of Galway were at the same time fiercely loyal to the King as indeed were the majority of the people in the other Old English settlements. Rinuccini must have been mindful of the fact that any attempt to disturb this balance of loyalties could lose him valuable support. In a long apologia titled *Solemn Protest of the Clergy's faith to God and Fidelity to the Sovereign*, the Ecclesiastical Congregation spelt out their loyal intentions towards the King. In particular the apologia made reference to rumours that: 'A virulent poison is infused into the whole people, to make them believe that we wish to introduce a foreign prince into the kingdom, under the mark of religion'. This no doubt was a reference to a book by the Irish Jesuit, Conor O'Mahony, *Disputatio apologetica et manifestativa de iure regni Hiberniae pro catholicis Hibernis contra haereticos Anglos,* which argued that no heretic monarch could enjoy the right of allegiance from Catholic people.

In the book O'Mahony attacks all the English in Ireland Old and New and urges the Gaelic Irish to rebel against Charles I and to elect a new King from their own ranks. The book was originally published in Lisbon in 1645, and copies had been circulating in Ireland for some time. In the autumn of 1647 a copy came into the hands of the Confederates and was burnt in Kilkenny by the public hangman 'its sentiments to close to

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[171] M. J. Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini, Nuncio Extraordinary to Ireland, 1645*-1649 (Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1931), p. 92; O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 29.

[172] Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 159.

what men feared'.[173] A search for copies was ordered throughout the country and as a result in Galway in September 1647, John Blake, the Mayor at the time roundly condemned the book and threatened any person within the jurisdiction of the town to 'scorching and revenging fire' if they were to be found in possession of a copy.[174]

The apologia also took pains to defuse any suggestion that the Nuncio was in any way biased towards supporting the Gaelic Irish forces headed up by O'Neill, particularly after he had imprisoned the Old English supporters of the treaty at Kilkenny for the document concludes;

> We further reiterate the Oath of Association authorised by the whole kingdom and every branch thereof, and we vow to harbour no antipathy or unnatural distinction between the ancient Irish and the old and new English. We will endeavour to unite all Catholics against the heretic.[175]

Throughout the winter of 1646-47 the disharmony between the Old English and Gaelic Irish which clearly concerned Rinuccini, became more apparent as relations between O'Neil and Preston worsened. Rinuccini wanted to mount an all out attack on Dublin but, although he favoured giving O'Neil overall command, knew that Preston and his officers and men would not serve under Gaelic Irish command. His concerns over the two commanders' attitude to each other was such that he ordered them to sign a mutual reconciliation and swear to obey the Nuncio in working together for the Catholic cause.[176] He also feared that Preston might reach a separate agreement with Ormonde, and under threat of excommunication ordered Preston to retire to winter quarters. In the face of these widening divisions amongst the Confederate forces, the Nuncio reluctantly called a new general assembly which met on 10 January 1647.

Although the records of the town of Galway's involvement during this period of the mid-1640s are sparse, the members of the town's hierarchy nonetheless took a leading role in the administration at Kilkenny. Hardiman notes that amongst those attending the assembly in January were the following prominent Galwegians, namely, Sir Richard Blake who was the speaker, Patrick D'Arcy who presided at the meeting in much the

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[173] Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 324.

[174] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 496-497.

[175] Extract from a Copy of a Solemn Protest of the Clergy's Faith to God and Fidelity to the Sovereign, 10 September 1646, Waterford, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1633-1647*, pp.507-509.

[176] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 125.

same way as the Lord Chancellor would in Parliament, John Bermingham, Francis Blake, Dominick Bodkin, Edward Brown, Geoffrey Browne, Christopher French, James French, Patrick Kirwan, Martin Lynch, Nicholas Lynch, Roebuck Lynch and Anthony Martin.[177] Patrick D'Arcy and Geoffrey Browne had also been amongst the Commissioners who had agreed the peace terms with Ormond in 1646.[178] The Galway delegates were clearly very much involved in the Confederate cause but it is not clear as to where they stood in relation to the failed treaty with Ormond, especially D'Arcy and Browne, considering the prominent role they had played in the negotiations. D'Arcy was, for some reason, not imprisoned along with the rest of the Council in 1646. It is quite possible that this was because of his detailed knowledge of the law and the need for the Council to at all times act within the law. A prime example of this was in the attempt by Rinuccini to appoint new bishops. D'Arcy had contended that the appointment of Bishops was vested in the crown, and that, as the Supreme Council was acting in the King's right, it was for them to make such appointments. Taking away that right would, he argued amount to a breach of their sworn allegiance 'to maintain inviolate all his Majesty's just prerogatives, rights and jurisdictions'. The Nuncio was forced in this instance to delay his plans until he had consulted with Rome.[179] Browne, who was in Galway at the time, was placed under arrest but the citizens refused to hand him over to the custody of Rinuccini.

Events following the meeting of the new Assembly in January 1647 moved swiftly against the fortunes of the Confederate forces. Ormond had by the spring of 1647 given up all hope of reaching an agreement with the Assembly and he had turned Dublin over to the Parliamentary commissioners and sailed for England on 28 June. Rinuccini by this time had left Clonmel, where the Supreme Council had been in session, to journey to Galway. Rinuccini visited Galway on two separate occasions during his stay in Ireland. The first visit was from 28 June to 8 November, 1647, and the second from 21 June 1648 until the day of his departure, 23 February 1649.

The Nuncio held Galway in very high regard not just in terms of its devotion to the Catholic faith but also its geographical location. In his lengthy report to Pope Innocent X following his departure he wrote:

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[177] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 123.
[178] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War,* Volume 5, p. 286.
[179] Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, pp. 182-183.

> I spent nearly the whole summer in visiting the Catholic cities, celebrating services in them, and introducing reforms in conformity with the Roman ritual; and among them all, the only two I should place in the front rank for the reverence they showed towards the Holy See, are Waterford in Leinster and Galway in Connaught.[180]

Later in the report when he was summarising the events which had led to the Supreme Council negotiating a truce with Inchiquin he observed:

> Thinking it was now advisable to leave Maryborough I proposed to proceed to Galway as I thought it necessary to place myself near the sea, so that in case of any disaster I might be able to sail at once, and I knew I could depend as well on the security of the port as on the kindly feeling of the citizens. I confess that when I consider the high office which I held, there was something in the very site of Galway which allured me, placed as it is on the farthest shore of Ireland, that is at the very edge of the old world, I flattered myself that while I laboured and strove there for Catholic religion I should make it serve both as an outwork to Europe and an invitation to America.[181]

Certainly his reception on arriving at Galway at the end of June 1647 would seem to support the affection of the townspeople towards him. He was met on the way from Thomond by the gentry and nobility of the county and the town and received at the gates by Mayor, John Blake, the municipality and the citizens. There they proceeded in procession to St. Nicholas Church where he gave his blessing.[182] He seems to have spent much of his time there during the summer and autumn dealing more with ecclesiastical matters than with the political demands of the Confederation, for on 5 November 1647, just before his departure back to Kilkenny he wrote in a memo to Cardinal Panzirolo:

> Meanwhile I do not see any reason to despair, because despite the machinations of hell, the Catholic religion is openly professed in this city as in Italy; and this summer I have performed my functions and processions in Galway as I should have done in Fermo, whence it may be that God wills that religion shall be strengthened by arms , and provided the end be attained the means signify but little.[183]

Rinuccini's stay in Galway marked the zenith of his power and authority over the Confederate forces and the support he received from the population of Galway at the time served as an indication of their steadfast adherence to their loyalty to Rome as their spiritual home. This loyalty would, in a very short time, cause a violent schism in the

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[180] G. B. Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland, 1645-1649*, translated by A. Hutton (Alexander Thom, Dublin, 1873), p. 523.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 528.

[182] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 31.

[183] Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland*, p. 329.

town as the Confederacy began to disintegrate and as allegiances to Rome or to Charles I began to polarise.

The support for Rinuccini from Galway's elite was real and tangible in 1647. But despite evidence that the Nuncio was politically aware of the conflict of interest between their allegiance to Rome and loyalty to the Crown which had permeated Galway society for generations, he clearly believed that the genuine support and welcome he received in July 1647 was a solid endorsement of his later political stance against any proposed truce with Ormond. The foundation for this belief lay in a letter of welcome given to him by the Corporation on his arrival at the town in July 1647, and signed by most of the town's leading citizens (Figure 5.1).

Following the defeat of the Munster army under General Taffe by the English Army led by Inchiquin in November 1647, events moved quickly to change the course and nature of the Confederate cause and to bring Galway once more centre stage in the conflict. The Assembly was already split on the issue of where to seek help from abroad to avoid further, and probably fatal military defeats. The matter of seeking a foreign Protectorate had been discussed earlier in the year and the choice had been that of either France or the Holy See.[184] The majority of the Assembly favoured France, which they considered, for practical purposes, would be able to offer more help, but envoys were dispatched to Rome, Spain and France, where Queen Henrietta Maria and the Prince of Wales were refugees at that time under the protection of the French Court. However, these attempts at obtaining foreign aid were to be totally negated by rapid changes in alliances between the Confederate forces and the English Army in Ireland.

In April 1648, Inchiquin, who had been at loggerheads with Parliament for some time over his role in Ireland, committed himself and his forces to supporting Charles I against the Independent faction within the English Parliamentary Party. This decision fundamentally changed both the logistical and ideological nature of the conflict. Inchiquin's decision presented serious logistical problems to the Parliamentary Party as they had to re-organise the chain of command and divert military supply lines away from

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[184] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 166.

Sir Valentine Blake	Marcus Blake
Sir Roebuck Lynch	Andrew Lynch
John Blake (The Recorder)	William Lynch
Robert Martin	Andrew Kirwan
John Blake	Anthony Martin
Thomas Martin	Edward Martin
Martin French	James Oge Lynch
Gregory French	Thomas Nolan
Major Robert Martin	Rowland French
Nicholas Oge French	Richard French
Anthony French	Walter Joyce
Dominic French	John Bodkin
Edward Skerret	Captain Marcus Lynch
Andrew Marish	Oliver French
Stephen Marish	Nicholas Lynch
Captain Oliver Nolan	Thomas Browne
Captain Henry Blake	John Joyce

Figure 5.1. List of Signatories Welcoming Cardinal Rinuccini to Galway, July 1647
Source: J.T. Gilbert (ed.), *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland From 1641-6152,* Volume 1,. (Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, Dublin, 1880), pp. 762-763.

the territory held by Inchiquin.[185] It also caused the General Assembly to re-consider their own strategy since they now shared common ground with Inchiquin in their unconditional support for Charles I. Despite Inchiquin's antipathy to the Catholic cause, and the savageness of his anti-Catholic campaign, particularly in the sack of Cashel, they concluded the terms of a truce with him on 27 April 1648.[186] The terms of the truce were vetoed by Rinuccini, and from that point on, the fragile cohesiveness of the Confederation began to disintegrate. Rumours and suspicions began to circulate and Rinuccini, alarmed by stories of a plot against his life, made plans to quit Kilkenny.[187] On the morning of 27 April 1648, he left Kilkenny through an unfrequented gate and headed for Maryborough and the relative safety of O'Neill. He had intended to immediately continue on to Galway but stayed at Maryborough whilst attempts were made by the Supreme Council to reach an accommodation with him on the terms of the truce. This attempt failed and on 27 May 1648, the General Assembly ratified the truce. Despite instructions from Rome, which had instructed him to leave all matters relating to a truce or peace treaty to the civilian authorities, Rinuccini, together with the sub-delegated Bishops of Ross, Clogher, Cork and Down, 'pronounced the excommunication against all who were accomplices in or were adherents to the truce, and an interdict on all cities which should recognise it'.[188] This edict had precisely the effect which no doubt Rome had feared. The Confederation was from that point onwards split apart. This edict divided the clerical parties with one third of the Bishops refusing to accept its validity, and with the Carmelites and Jesuits insisting that the censure, rested on temporal affairs, was null and void, and could be suspended by an appeal made by the council.[189]

Furthermore, Rinuccini was from thereon associated with the political aims and objectives of O'Neill. As he departed for Galway via Athlone he may have been unaware of the serious divisions his actions had created amongst the population of the town. His conviction that the majority of Galway's elite supported his implacable resistance to any

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[185] Order of the Committe of Lords and Commons at Derby House for Irish Affairs, 13 April 1648, R. P. Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1647-1660* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1903), pp. 777-778.

[186] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 38.

[187] Corish, 'The Rising of 1641', p. 329.

[188] Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland*, p. 531.

[189] *Ibid.,* p. 393.

truce was grounded in the welcome he had received a year earlier in June 1647. Notwithstanding the events of the past few months, in June 1648 he wrote to Own Roe O'Neill, sending him a copy of the illuminated address signed by the prominent citizens of Galway from the previous year as evidence of 'how confident he was that when General Neyll appeared there he would be received in that town, notwithstanding all aposers'.[190] The list of signatories to this address (Figure 5.1), was almost certainly intended as a mark of respect by the town's Catholic elite but it by no means reflected their political affinities by July 1648. Notably the list was headed by Sir Valentine Blake who was at the forefront of those supporting the signing of the peace treaty with Ormonde.

Although the Nuncio was being disingenuous in his use of this address as evidence of a strong anti-truce faction within the town, it was clear at this point that there was significant support for both the Nuncio and O'Neill from amongst the town's lower orders and from some important members of the town's elite. This unusual radicalism from a cross section of Galway's population contrasts not only with their relatively benign responses to political change in previous years but also with the general acceptance of the truce proposals by the majority of the populations of the other main Old English port towns. There is no doubt that the presence of the Papal Nuncio and the large numbers of clerics in the town in late 1648 had fuelled the frustrations of many of the population who believed that a successful outcome of the Confederate War would pave the way for a new era of Catholic supremacy and freedom of worship amongst all classes of society.

A Town Divided

On 2 June 1648, the Mayor of Galway, Walter Browne, on the instructions of the Supreme Council and Clanricarde, prepared to proclaim the truce. He was prevented from doing so, however, by the clergy of St. Nicholas who were supported by many of the town's citizens.[191] On 8 June Mayor Browne attempted to officially recognise the truce by issuing a decree signed by amongst others, namely Sir Richard Blake, Sir Valentine Browne and his prominent name sake, Franciscan, Fr. Valentine Browne. But, in an

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[190] Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 1, pp. 762-763
[191] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 214.

example of the divisive nature of any civil dispute within a small community, John Blake, the Recorder, and brother of Sir Richard Blake, together with the Sherriff and most of the Counci,l refused to support it. On the same day, Patrick Lynch, Warden of St. Nicholas, published the censures in support of Rinuccini and threatened to excommunicate the Mayor and his supporters if they did not recant within nine days.[192] There appeared to have been a standoff at that point within the town. The supporters of the truce rejected Lynch's authority to excommunicate them and threatened to appeal directly to the Pope.

As the town moved closer to violence between the two opposing factions Clanricarde, who had so far given no public indication as to his own position on the matter, declared for the truce. In fact in a secret declaration made on 10 June he had accepted his appointment by the Supreme Council as commander-in-chief in Connaught much to the dismay of Rinuccini who had hoped to win his support. On 17 June he had written to Rinuccini advising him that he would seek to find a remedy to the disturbances within the town and although confirming his support of the truce denied that he opposed the Nuncio or the clergy in a question of faith.[193] In pursuance of this intent, on 17 June 1648 at 2 pm Clanricarde held a meeting of ecclesiastics at the Franciscan Monastery in Galway. Patrick Lynch acted to head off this initiative by arranging a similar meeting in Galway on the same day and at the same time. Although Clanricarde's meeting was not well attended it did have the crucial support of the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Kilfenora, and the Bishop of Killala. They wrote to the Nuncio explaining their position and the Archbishop of Tuam forbade the publication of the censure until further notice.[194]

Rinuccini arrived at Galway on 20 June 1648, and on 22 June gave his reasons for issuing the censures. His authority was challenged by the Archbishop of Tuam, who supported by the Bishops of Kilfenora and Killala, suspended the censures in their dioceses. This suspension however failed to get the support of the clergy in Tuam and on 24 June they published their public support for Rinuccini and as a consequence thrust the town of Galway centre stage in the conflict between the Nuncio and the Supreme Council.[195] Clanricarde, aware of the strategic importance of Galway and the growing

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[192] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 40.
[193] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 216.
[194] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 40.
[195] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 216.

threat of civil war, was quick to respond. He offered Rinuccini what amounted to an ultimatum; if he recalled the censures Clanricarde promised that he would secure a suitable apology from the Supreme Council and assist in securing more acceptable terms in relation to the religious issues which the Nuncio was demanding. If Rinuccini failed to show any willingness to cooperate then Clanricarde would immediately march against O'Neill, who represented Rinuccini's only real source of military support.[196] The Nuncio clearly believed that despite these threats, a military victory over the Confederate forces loyal to the Supreme Council and those of the English Army under Inchiquin was possible. In a letter to Cardinal Panzirol he showed confidence that:

> If O'Neil could or would unite with Maguire no one could prevent him from pouring down upon Munster and overwhelming Inchiquin. If God favours our side, religion may be established in its former splendour, and peace be restored to the kingdom, at least as far as the factions of the Catholics are concerned.[197]

No doubt encouraged by this optimism, on 13 July 1648 he convened a national Synod to be held at Galway on 15 August. He appears to have been acutely aware that this would meet with very strong resistance from the Assembly but it would seem that he saw this as a last resort in establishing his authority and 'satisfy the people, the nobles, and many of the Bishops, who are all most anxious for it in the hope that a permanent reconciliation might result'.[198] He had accurately foreseen the reaction to his proposals by the Supreme Council. On 25 July they ordered Clanricarde to use force to prevent the Synod being held and on 28 July the Council issued a proclamation giving its reasons for the prohibition which included a damning indictment of the Nuncio's supporters in Galway. This stated:

> The Synod had been convened at Galway...in a place so inconvenient...where his Lordship, by his and the influence of some seditious clergymen upon a part of the ignorant and misled multitude have already affronted the Magistrate and the best men of that town.[199]

The Nuncio was accused of inciting civil war and all ecclesiastics and laymen were forbidden to attend or in any way support Rinuccini's proposal. To ensure compliance Clanricarde moved his cavalry to block all routes into the town. The result was that nearly

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[196] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, pp. 216-217; Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland*, pp. 414-415.
[197] *Ibid.,*
[198] *Ibid.,*
[199] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 41.

all those who supported the Nuncio's cause were effectively neutralised, although the Mayor of Galway had allegedly sworn that despite the proclamation he would open the gates to the prelates if they could get that far. [200] Walter Browne, the Mayor, was clearly under some considerable pressure at this time since he initially had declared for the truce. And his decision serves to highlight the divisions within the town which ran through all levels of society. After the blocking of the truce in Galway, Sir Richard Blake, one of the signatories to the truce and Sir Valentine Blake, left Galway for Kilkenny but were captured by O'Neill's troops. At the time O'Neill's wife and three year old grandson were resident in Galway and, when the news of the Blake's capture reached the town, the grandson was kidnapped in retaliation. On July 22 the Supreme Council wrote to the Nuncio requesting the release of the Blakes which was granted, and Lady Blake then returned the grandson to the O'Neil family.[201]

Against this background it is not surprising that it would have taken very little to ignite the simmering anger between the two factions in Galway. On 13 August, a Clanricarde supporter insulted one of the Sheriffs and in the ensuing riot that this incident provoked the 'young men' of the town seized the keys and the King's Sword from the Mayor who was at this point, suspected of bowing to the ongoing pressure of the Clanricarde siege to open the gates to his forces. Although the sword and keys were returned fairly quickly, the seeds had been sown for further and more serious civil unrest.[202] Clanricarde was indeed tightening his grip on the town and on the Nuncio's supporters. He had arrested the Provincial of the Friars Minor and in reply to the Nuncio's protest over clerical immunity he warned against any further interference with public and Royal authority.[203] He had however, offered to relieve the town from the siege if the Nuncio repudiated the censures and made a contribution of £2000 towards the costs of supporting his army. At this point the Mayor, exercising his legal authority within the town, made preparations to open the gates and accept the terms of the truce. This

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[200] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 220.

[201] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 41.

[202] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 221; O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 42.

[203] Clanricarde's sudden enthusiasm for the authority of the Supreme Council has been attributed to his conviction that the Kings authority was soon to be restored in Ormond and the Confederation dissolved. See. Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 221.

provoked a violent response from the Nuncio's supporters who immediately rioted against this decision.

The riot on 28 August 1648 was led by a German cavalry officer John Vangyrish, who had enlisted with the Confederate forces in Connacht as their master of ordnance.[204] He once more took possession of the keys and sword and conveyed them to St. Nicholas Church. The seizing of the town's insignia of authority by a foreigner infuriated the pro-treaty supporters who made preparations to storm the church and recover the property. With matters running out of hand, the Nuncio, in an attempt to defuse the situation, ordered the return of the keys and sword to the Mayor. During this confusion it was not surprising that serious injuries would have been inflicted on both sides and in the cemetery outside the church a Clanricarde supporter, Marcus Darcy killed Patrick French, one of the Nuncio's party.[205]

This direct onslaught on the civil administration of the town only served to harden support for Clanricarde by Walter Browne, and he appealed to the Nuncio to allow him to publish the truce to avoid further bloodshed. The Nuncio refused. On 1 September Browne published the truce and paid over half of the compensation asked for by Clanricarde who promptly lifted the siege. But the Nuncio, still confident of his general support in Galway and from the Gaelic Irish, imposed an interdict on all who supported the Mayor. This was defied by the Archbishop of Tuam and, after saying mass in Galway's Carmelite chapel on 8 September 1648, two days later he forcibly entered St. Nicholas to say mass on 10 September. This action was a serious breach of the rights and privileges of the Collegiate Church and on the following day, despite the intense political and religious tensions within the town, the Archbishop was obliged to sign a declaration 'that by doing so, he did not intend to interfere with the liberties of the college'.[206]

On 1 October 1648, the pro-treaty Mayor Walter Browne was replaced by Sir Walter Blake, a supporter of the Nuncio.[207] To avoid further friction on religious matters, the latter persuaded Rinuccini to lift the interdict on the supporters of the truce but formed a military alliance with the Gaelic Irish in Connaught to defend the town and its environs

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[204] P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications', in E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998* (Wordwell, Wicklow, 2004), p. 319.

[205] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 42.

[206] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 246-247.

[207] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 498.

from further attack from Clanricarde.[208] These combined forces led by John Vangyrishe, attacked and captured Clanricarde's castle at Dangan with the object of breaking Clanricarde's control of the west side of the Galway River, but this military action was far too late to save the Nuncio's position.[209]

On 30 September 1648, Ormond had returned to Ireland from France to re-open peace negotiations with the Supreme Council. At this stage, there was little disagreement between the two sides on civil matters or on freedom of worship but the question of the church's jurisdiction remained unresolved. Meanwhile Sir Richard Blake, on the instructions of the Supreme Council, wrote to the Nuncio listing the charges and complaints against him which it had sent to Rome, and advised him to go to Rome to defend himself.[210] A duplicate of this letter was sent to the Mayor and Corporation together with an explicit command that:

> In his majesty's name, and by the authority and command of the said general assembly, to will, require and command you and every member of the said corporation, on your allegiance, and on paine of high treason...not to obey or countenance all or any of the censures, decrees or proceedings of the said lord archbishop of Fermo.[211]

Although this latest threat from the Assembly did not immediately deter the loyalty of the pro-Nuncio faction in Galway, it effectively marked the beginning of the end of Rinuccini's resistance. He continued to receive the public support of Rome for his actions but his support in Ireland crumbled away, including that of his former staunch ally, the Bishop of Ferns, who joined the Assembly in November 1648. By late December Rinuccini concluded that there was no further role for him as Nuncio to the Confederation which was now effectively under the command of Ormond and in his own words 'Could not remain as Nuncio to those who having been master, had voluntarily made themselves the slaves of a heretic'.[212] In a somewhat revealing letter to Cardinal Panzirolo he conceded that:

> The preliminaries of the treaty are adjusted, and I wait only for the final publication, since at this distance and entire separation from the Ormond party, I

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[208] Hynes, *The Mission of Rinuccini*, p. 233.

[209] O'Riordan, 'Rinuccini in Galway', p. 43.

[210] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War*. Volume 7, p. 294.

[211] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[212] Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland*, p. 448.

can readily follow the instructions of His Holiness not to do any positive act or
interfere in any way in a treaty entered into and concluded with heretics.[213]

This was of course a different interpretation on the original instructions from the Holy
See which, as noted previously ordered him not to intervene in matters concluded by the
civilian authorities, but at this late date, Rinuccini was undoubtedly preparing the ground
for his later, and detailed account of his failed ministry.[214]

On 17 January, 1649, the Treaty of Kilkenny was signed between Ormond and the
Confederacy which, allowed for religious toleration for the Catholics but dissolved the
Confederacy.[215] Galway, which had for so long supported the Nuncio, was asked to prove
loyalty to the King by supporting the peace. Although Rinuccini would not go so far as
approving the terms himself he did not object when the treaty was accepted by the town
on 3 February 1649. On 23 February, he sailed from Galway on his ship the *San Pietro,*
and, in the concluding paragraphs of his report to the Holy See on his mission, he gave
testimony to the enduring loyalty of the population of the town, who had once more
continued to steer a narrow course between Rome and the Crown. On being escorted to
the quay by the Mayor, the clergy, the people and the army he recorded:

> The triumph in which I was conducted to the ship amid crowds of weeping people
> was even greater than that which marked my arrival three years before. In this
> case it was a tribute, on the completion of his mission to a poor and persecuted
> minister and could not be ascribed to the hopes of assistance which they then
> entertained. I know not how I can better recompense the inhabitants of Galway for
> the reverence they showed to you Holiness by always showing a bold front against
> every violence which threatened me than by laying their many merits at the feet of
> your Holiness and recording them in the archives of Rome so as to transmit to
> posterity this example of most singular loyalty.[216]

Rinuccini may have left Galway in the belief that its religious devotion to Rome was
secure, but he had also left behind a fundamental change in Galway's social and ethnic
mix. The last vestiges of the total dominance of the merchant elite over the town had all
but disappeared, as the lower orders had, in some cases quite literally, flexed their
muscles in support of the Nuncio in his challenge to the Corporation. A lasting legacy of
Rinuccini's stay in Galway was that the mass of the population, both Old English and

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[213] *Ibid.,* pp. 443-444.

[214] *Ibid.,* p. 531.

[215] For a detailed description of the Treaty see; Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War.* Volume 7, pp.
184-212.

[216] Rinuccini, *The Embassy in Ireland,* p. 544.

Gaelic Irish would now look towards the church for leadership and guidance rather than to the traditional ruling elites. This new relationship was to become even stronger as the effects of the Cromwellian Settlement created a new underclass, which included not just the lower orders of the Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholic communities, but also significant numbers of the old ruling class of both traditions. In the meanwhile the alliance of Old English and Gaelic Irish interests was to be sorely tested, as, along with the ongoing privations which war demands from any civilian population, its physical, commercial and moral structures began to disintegrate as thousands of refugees from the countryside became concentrated in and around the town, seeking its protection. The principal cause of this mass movement of the population to the relative safety of the urban centres like Galway was the arrival in Ireland of Oliver Cromwell and his battle hardened New Model Army.

Oliver Cromwell's forces landed unopposed at Ringsend on 15 August 1649 with an advanced force of 3,000, followed shortly after by General Ireton with the remaining force of 9,000 foot and horse. By the middle of September his army of 4,000 horse and 8,000 foot had assembled in and around Dublin.[217] In addition to the soldiers and cavalry, he had brought with him an extremely powerful siege train, its gunners having honed their skills in the latter part of the English Civil War. It was this technological advantage which made a major contribution to Cromwell's early version of 'blitzkrieg' warfare and which led to Bishop Nicholas French observing, 'Cromwell coming over and like a lightning passed through the land'.[218]

Having consolidated his forces, Cromwell's immediate objective was to enlarge his bridgehead and his first target was Drogheda, some 30 miles from Dublin. The subsequent massacre of the military and civilian populations of Drogheda seems to have served both a political and military objective for Cromwell. The civilian bloodshed, in retribution for the massacre of Protestant settlers at the outset of the uprising, and the slaughter of men under arms after all resistance had ceased, both served as a warning

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[217] R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts and During the Interregnum,* (Longmans, Green, London, 1909), p. 190.
[218] Bishop Nicholas French, cited in; P. J. Corish, 'The Cromwellian Conquest, 1649-1653', in T. W. Moody *et.al.* (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume 3.*

should other fortified towns put up similar resistance. In Cromwell's own account he estimated the number slain at around 2,000 and in justifying his actions he wrote:

> I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.[219]

His ruthless tactics, which included the sacking of Waterford on 11 October 1649, swept away the Royalist opposition. On 21 October New Ross surrendered on favourable terms, and, as a portent of things to come, 500 of the English defenders joined Cromwell's forces. It was at New Ross that Cromwell made an attempt to clarify his moral and religious consciences by stating:

> For what you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any mans conscience, but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealings, and let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of.[220]

The only setback during the course of his campaign was at the siege of Clonmel on 27 April 1650 where he suffered his worst losses in the entire Civil War. It was to be his last military action in Ireland and he left for England on 27 May 1650 on the foot of an impending Scottish invasion of England in support of Charles II. The command in Ireland passed to his son-in-law Henry Ireton.[221]

During the summer of 1650, Ireton took the remaining strongholds east of the Shannon. Carlow fell on 24 July and Waterford on 6 August; Duncannon fell a week after Waterford. In each case the terms of surrender guaranteed the lives of their citizens and the safety of their property from the plunder of soldiers.[222] Over the winter and spring of 1650-1651, Ireton concentrated on closing in on the last remaining Confederate strongholds of Athlone, Limerick and Galway. On June 18 1651, Athlone was surrendered by Sir James Dillon, under what was, by that time, the standard generous terms of surrender in return for not putting up resistance.

By autumn of 1651, Limerick and Galway had become the last bastions of defence against Cromwell's armies. Limerick had been invested since 4 June 1651, and although

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[219] R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts and During the Interregnum*, p. 194
[220] *Ibid.*, p. 201
[221] *Ibid.*, p. 221
[222] Corish, 'The Cromwellian Conquest, 1649-1653', p. 348.

the City was stoutly defended throughout the autumn, the population was starving and stricken by plague. The City surrendered to General Ireton on 27 October 1651. Although most of the garrison and citizens were allowed the protection of the surrender terms, 27 key members of the clergy and laity were excluded, including Hugh O'Neill, who had masterminded the devastating massacre of Cromwell's soldiers at Clonmel. Sent as a prisoner to London, he was released a few months later after intense Spanish diplomatic intervention.[223] With the fall of Limerick, Galway became the last fortified town to hold out against the Cromwellian armies and within the town, the citizens and the prominent refugees from the captured territories, were deeply divided between holding out in the hope of foreign intervention, or settling on the best possible terms in the face of a seemingly hopeless position. As the fortunes of the Confederates deteriorated in the face of Cromwell's brutal prosecution of the war against them, the importance of the town of Galway emerged as the last strategic and political Confederate stronghold to hold out against increasingly overwhelming odds.

From Siege to Surrender

Galway's loyalty to the crown had remained unwavering once it had joined forces with the Confederates, and the town authorities were amongst the first to acknowledge Charles II as the lawful successor to the throne. A testimonial to his gratitude dated 4 February 1650 and received by the Corporation in late August 1650 records that:

> The cittie of Gallway is one of the principal cities that hath eminently continued their loyaltye and devotion to us, so we shall in due time conferre such priviledges and favours upon you as may be lasting monuments of your deserving above other, and of our particular grace and acceptacion thereof.[224]

Charles II's promise to recognise the town's loyalty in a more tangible way in the future, was in fact no more than buying time as he struggled to establish new alliances which would allow him to regain the upper hand in his battle with the Parliamentary forces. The Catholic population of Galway were to see no tangible benefits arising from this document and both Galway, and the Irish Catholic population as a whole, were left in no doubt as to what they might expect by way of royal support for their cause, following the Treaty of Dunfermline in August 1650. In return for Scots support in his ill fated

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[223] *Ibid.,* p. 352.
[224] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 499.

attempt to defeat Cromwell's forces in England, Charles II, revoked the Second Ormond peace treaty of 1649 and, clearly inheriting the perfidious nature of his father, declared his conscientious conviction of 'the exceeding great sinfulness and unlawfulness of that treaty and peace made with the bloody Irish rebels, who treacherously shed the blood and of so many of his faithful and loyal subjects in Ireland'.[225] As well as betraying the loyalty of the Catholic Irish, the declaration effectively ended the legitimacy of Ormond's right to command of the Confederate armies.

Just prior to Dunfermline, the Catholic bishops, including those who had supported Ormond against Rinuccini, had met at Jamestown, County Leitrim. The result of this assembly was to declare that Ormond was no longer acceptable to them as a leader. The initial proposal was that Ormonde should be replaced by a commission approved by the Catholic Bishops, but there was some disagreement about this since Ormond still enjoyed support from key members of the laity. A further meeting of the Assembly was arranged for Loughrea in November under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Blake. There it was agreed that Ormonde should delegate his authority 'to some person faithful to his Majesty and acceptable to the nation to whom they promised ready obedience'.[226] Ormond, who had been waiting on board ship off Gleninagh, on the County Clare coast of Galway Bay, accepted the decision and appointed Clanricarde to succeed him as Lord Deputy. On 11 December 1650 Ormond sailed out of Galway Bay for France, along with Inchiquin, Bellings, Daniel O'Neill and other key Protestant members of the now defunct Confederacy. The assembly then moved to Galway which by the end of 1650 had become the effective capital of the Confederacy.

Since the arrival of Cromwell in Ireland, the town had become a magnet for refugees, not just from Connacht but from the other three Provinces, particularly Munster, as Confederate held territory steadily fell to the Parliamentary forces. But, with an overcrowded and a dangerously unstable population, the ability of the Corporation to maintain civic order had all but broken down by the late winter of 1651. In July 1649, plague had broken out in the town. The first house to be infected was said to be that of Sir Richard Blake, who had presented Rinuccini with the Assembly's notice to leave

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[225] R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts and During the Interregnum*, p. 239.
[226] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

Ireland.[227] The epidemic lasted until the spring of 1650 and had killed many of the indigenous Old English population particularly amongst the lower order and the trades' people.[228] Many more had fled the town for the duration of the epidemic and during the late winter of 1649, the survivors had 'consented to a taxe of twoe thousand marckes sterling towardes the charges of phisitians and providinge of all other necessaries requisitt for the purifing and clensing of the said towne, which was with all earnestnes pursued by these intrusted with that chardge'.[229]

In January 1650, Lord and Lady Fanshawe passed through the town to take a ship to Spain where her husband. Lord Fanshawe, as secretary to Charles II, was to represent the King as ambassador. Lady Ann Fanshawe graphically recorded the scenes of desolation which they encountered on their arrival:

> For the plague had been so hot in that city the summer before that it was almost depopulated and the haven as much as the town. But your father, hearing that by accident there was a great ship of Amsterdam bound for Malaga in Spain, and Cromwell pursuing his conquest at our backs, resolved to fall into the hands of God rather than into the hands of men, and with his family of about ten persons, came to the town at the latter end of [January], where we found guards placed, that none should enter without certificate from whence they came.[230]

They were not permitted to take their horses into the town, so having stabled them in the suburbs they secured the services of an Irish footman to guide them through the town to a merchant's house which they had rented close to the quays:

> He led us all on the back side of the town under the walls, over which people during the plague (which was not yet quite stopped) had flung out all their dung, dirt, and rags, and we walked up to the middle of our legs in them; for being engaged, we could not get back. At last we found the house, by the master standing at the door expecting us, who said, You are welcome to this desolate city, where you now see the street grown over with grass, once the finest little city in the world.[231]

Although the population had been able to return in the late spring, the severe reduction in the population and the arrival of ever increasing numbers of military personnel was turning the town into a citadel rather than the bustling centre of trade and

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[227] J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641-1652,* Volume 2 (For the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, Dublin, 1880), pp. 97-98; C. H. Firth (ed.) *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625-1672,* Volume 1, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1894), p. 261.

[228] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 500.

[229] *Ibid.*

[230] *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Fanshawe* (The Bodley Head, London, 1907), pp. 59-61.

[231] *Ibid.*

commerce that it had been. As the war proceeded the strength of unity of purpose within the town began to weaken and civil unrest was rife. A large part of the mainly lower orders, supported by the clergy, still bemoaned the fate of Rinuccini and wanted a return to a Confederate agenda. The merchant classes and members of the nobility now in the town, backed the terms of the Second Ormond Treaty, and supported Clanricarde. The unknown author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, Commenting on the growing crisis; observed, 'The faction rife there, the eldest folke was for it, and the younger sorte did embrace the true and Catholick principles of the late Lord Nuncio'.[232] Clanricarde saw the danger and moved to promote the election of a military governor to provide some cohesive leadership while also having powers to introduce martial law if required. A number of Candidates were proposed including General Preston, now Viscount Taragh, Bryan Rory O'Neill, the commander of the Gaelic Irish forces in Connacht and Arthur Fox, who had been appointed by the clergy to be the agent in Galway to the Duke of Lorraine. The result, no doubt heavily influenced by Clanricarde, resulted in General Preston being elected. Rory O'Neill remained in command of his Irish soldiers and Arthur Fox appointed 'colonel of the yongmen of the towne, with a flourishing regiment of 1,500 men, verie well appointed'.[233] Having regained some control, Clanricarde had bought some time to organise resistance to the ongoing siege although he had by no means silenced the clerical opposition and it's influence on many of the inhabitants.

By the winter of 1651 following the fall of Limerick in late October, Galway became the last major centre in Ireland outside of Parliamentarian control. In fact it had been largely neutralised since late July 1651 by General Coote, who, with an army of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot, had established a defensive line which extended from the top of Loch an tSáile over St. Bridget's Hill and Bóthar Mór down to the Terryland River effectively cutting the town off from any relief from the east of the country.[234] The Parliamentary reports stated that; 'this side of Galloway was shut up with 3 forts, 13 redoubts, which were almost defenseable, and that Coll. Russells regiment was to be

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[232] Gilbert, *A Contemporary History of Ireland,*, Volume 2, p. 171.
[233] *Ibid.*
[234] J. McErlean, 'Notes on the Pictorial Map of Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 4, (1905-1906), p. 150.

therein quartered'.[235] At the beginning of July, Clanricarde had assembled his army of 2,500 horse and 7,000 foot on the west bank of the River.[236] Although Clanricarde could still re-supply his army from territory still under his command in Connacht, little or no help could be expected by sea, as the approaches to Galway were blockaded by parliamentary ships.[237]

This stand off had continued throughout the autumn and early winter with both commanders unwilling to go on the offensive. Coote's problem was mostly logistical in that he was technically outnumbered by Clanricarde's forces and running low on powder and shot. In a letter from the Commissioners of Parliament to the Council of State on 18 September 1651, it was stated:

> Your horse here being very worn out, and the foot being too few to carry on the war in all places insomuch that Galway could not hitherto (for want of foot) be blocked on all sides...there is a great want of ammunition, there being not in store at present fifty barrels of powder and but a small proportion of ball. Two hundred barrels of powder with match and ball proportionable, is the least that will be requisite to be sent hither.[238]

Coote was therefore biding his time, waiting until he had sufficient manpower and resources to make a successful attack on the town, or alternatively to wait until the defenders gave in to the deprivations and disease in the beleaguered town. He had considered the possibility of encircling the town in early November 1651, but had abandoned the idea because of the difficult terrain and the possibility of suffering a defeat attacking Clanricarde over the river. In a report to Ireton, who had succeeded Cromwell in Ireland he described the difficulties:

> 1. That the bridge prepared for the river at Galway could not be cast over so to passe the water, the enemy having fortified the other side against us.
>
> 2. That the marching from Galway about the Lough by the way of Conge to the other side of Galway was above 60 miles.
>
> 3. That at the entrance of the passage aboue the Lough at Conge (being a passage betweene two Loughs about halfe a mile over) lay Clanricarde with 3000 foote.

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[235] Gilbert, *A Contemporary History of Ireland*, Volume 3, p. 248.

[236] Lord Muskerry to Ormonde, 25 August 1651, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P, 1641-1653*, New Series, Volume 1, p. 187.

[237] *The Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs* (Espy and Cross, Dublin, 1815), p. 139.

[238] R. Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 1 (Sherratt and Hughes, Manchester, 1913), p. 53.

4. That the Castle of Aghanure would oppose our passing the river by boats in the ordinary way after our entring into Couaught.

5. That therefore we were to march 16 miles about, and in the march to passe 8 rivers, the least of them not passable if any raine should fall, and thereby might our army be shut up within waters.

6. That the way from Cong to Aghanure was such that horses could be only led, and from Aghanure to Galway (12 miles) they could not be led, besides that all the country had neither corne nor grasse at this time of yeare, all being now destroyed by the enemie quartering there, and so our foote must march without our horse, and. all provisions and amunition carried on our souldiers backs onely. Therefore was the marching of the army this way laid aside for the present.[239]

Clanricarde on the other hand, despite having a numerical advantage did not command an army with the discipline and training of Cromwell's New Model Army, and he also had an ever increasing deficit of powder, shot and money. In August 1651, in a letter to Lord Fanshawe, he expressed feelings of increasing isolation from the King and also from Ormond, and deep reservations about the morale and discipline of his forces if he committed them to an offensive strike against Coote. He too needed additional resources for any major campaign:

> Since my Lord Lieutenant's departure, at the beginning of December, to this very hour I have been so far from receiving assistance that I have not heard a syllable from him, or any that accompanied him, nor the least knowledge where he doth reside or what he hath in agitation, nor any intelligence at all of His Majesty's successes or condition...Then to our credit be it spoken, though numerous and indifferently well armed, we are so stupid and backward to use in our own defence, so wedded to a little private profit and present ease, though ruined in future, so factious and inclined to emulations, jealousies and distinctions of families and provinces, and the soldiers so given to liberty and rapine for want of certain pay and seasonable provision, that each week produces such unexpected changes as renders it impossible for me to contrive or design any settled course of safety or preservation for them. Yet if some money, arms and ammunition should arrive, none can tell what wonders may be wrought.[240]

Apart from internal discontent within his army, he also had serious problems with his relationship with the town. His staunch support of Captain Willoughby early on in the conflict and his ongoing refusal to join the Confederate forces had led many to question where his real loyalty lay. This had been exacerbated by his military assault on the town which had forced them to proclaim the Kilkenny truce, and brought about the departure of the Nuncio. Clanricarde was also seriously hampered in his military options by the refusal

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[239] Gilbert, *A Contemporary History of Ireland*, Volume 3, pp. 260-261.

[240] Marquis of Clanricarde to Richard Fanshawe , 27 August 1651, *Ormonde MSS* New Series, Vol. 1, p. 195

of the town to allow him to strengthen the defences with his own forces. In doing so they had followed the example of Limerick which denied Ormond the same facility. The election of a military governor for Galway, earlier in the year, had not in any way diminished the distrust that the general population of the town held against Clanricarde.

Galway's obduracy was an expression of local discontent, but it was also a reflection of the political divisions which had persisted throughout the Confederacy since 1641. Clanricarde represented those whose primary motive was to continue the war on behalf of the King's interests in the belief that by diverting large numbers of Parliamentary forces to Ireland, the Royalist forces in England might have a better chance of defeating Cromwell. On the other side were a large and vocal opposition led by the clergy whose aim was to replace the Royalist authority accepted by the Ormonde Treaty of 1649 and return to a Confederate agenda. The clergy's principle objective was to ensure that the Catholic Church's supremacy in Ireland was at the forefront of any policy decisions or any negotiations with prospective allies. It was over this latter issue that Clanricarde finally lost patience with the town and more particularly the Mayor and Corporation.

For a long period the Royalist forces had been seeking assistance from Europe to ensure a military victory over the Parliamentary forces. This posed significant political problems because the two countries most able to provide support, France and Spain, were Catholic. Ormond, being a staunch Protestant, had seen the dangers in this and had warned the King about the likely impact of any such arrangement on the Irish Protestant community, 'without whom your Majesty's work here much less in England and Scotland is not to be done'.[241] In early 1650 however, direct negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine were initiated by Hugh Rochford, a former member of the Confederate supreme council and a leading support of the clerical faction in opposing the 1649 truce with Ormond.[242]

As negotiations with Lorraine to secure aid developed throughout 1650 and into 1651, the town of Galway played a central role in the proceedings. In March 1651, the Duke of Lorraine's terms for the provision of money, men and arms had extended to his

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[241] M. Ó Siorchrú, 'The Duke of Lorraine and the International Struggle for Ireland 1649-1653', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 48, No. 4 (2005), p. 909.
[242] For a detailed study of the Duke of Lorraine's involvement in Ireland see; Ó Siorchrú, 'The Duke of Lorraine', pp. 905-932.

being appointed as Protector of Ireland, and being given control of Limerick and Galway as security. Clanricarde was totally opposed to any terms which would have the effect of undermining the Royal authority, and, on 18 March 1651, convened an assembly with the 'Prelates and Commissioners of Trust and other Gentry and Nobility', in Galway to discuss the proposals.[243] Although the majority of the assembly were in favour of accepting Lorraine's proposals, on 27 March 1651, after a number of exchanges between the convened assembly and Clanricarde, the terms were amended to defer the question of the Duke's offer of Protection for further discussion, and to agree to accept the contribution of £20,000 towards the costs of the war. In exchange the security of Galway and Limerick was agreed, and under the terms, the two towns would be garrisoned by soldiers under the Duke's command. As a condition of this imposition, Clanricarde issued a *Warrant of Freedom* to the town of Galway which released them from any applotments or assessments 'during the time they shall be cautionary'.[244]

Clanricarde appointed Geoffrey Brown and Nicholas Plunket to go to Brussels and meet with Viscount Taffe, and conclude the agreement with Lorraine. Taffe had explicit instructions from Clanricarde that the treaty was not to be signed without the express authority of 'the Queens Majesty, The Duke of York and my Lord Lieutenant [Ormonde]'.[245] However, totally ignoring Clanricarde's instructions and under, it seems, intense pressure from Nicholas French, the Bishop of Ferns, they went directly to the Duke of Lorraine and signed a treaty which closely resembled the original proposals made by the assembly in Galway in March.[246] The treaty agreed:

> In the behalf of the people and kingdom of Ireland. His Highness the Duke of Lorraine shall be received, accepted of, and publicly held for the true and royal Protector of Ireland (which shall also pass to his heirs and successors) all power and authority of governing the kingdom, and all titles lawfully belonging to a royal Protector to be conferred on him, according the conditions to be specially expressed in the subsequent articles.[247]

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[243] *Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde*, (Dublin, 1744), p. 18.

[244] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

[245] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

[246] Ó Siorchrú, 'The Duke of Lorraine', p. 924.

[247] Agreement between The Duke of Lorraine and Lord Viscount Taffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geoffrey Browne Esq. 12 July 1651, *Ormond MSS,* New Series, Vol. 1 p. 173.

Clanricarde received the documents only on 7 October 1651 and, outraged by this breach of trust, on 20 October wrote a severe letter of admonition to Plunket and Brown.[248] On the same day, conscious of the possible effect that a rejection of the treaty might have on vital war supplies, he wrote a long letter to Lorraine which, although repudiating the agreement, was couched in diplomatic terms appealing to the Duke to accept the fact that Plunket and Browne had no authority to act as they did.[249] An even greater threat to his authority and much closer to home, was that during this time the Mayor and the Council of Galway had been in direct communication with the Duke of Lorraine and had sent one of the council, Nicholas Lynch, to meet with the Duke, acknowledge him as Protector Royal of Ireland and, more specifically plead for an early shipment of supplies. The letters subsequently exchanged between the Council and Clanricarde over this matter, clearly illustrated the almost total breakdown in the relationship between the two parties. The Council defended its actions on the grounds that it believed a personal representative would dispel any doubts in Lorraine's mind as to the resolve of the town not to seek any terms from the Parliamentarians and thus speed up the promised aid. Clanricarde accused them of failing to advise him of their intentions by deliberately delaying correspondence to him until Lynch was safely at sea. He bluntly accused them of high treason and, in a terse but nonetheless prophetic letter wrote:

> It is an absolute forfeiture of your allegiance, and all your former charters, grants privileges and estates, so that whether the King recovers his rights, the Parliament continue their victories and successes or the Duke of Lorraine prevails, whosoever hath possession of the town, is free and at liberty to ordain and impose what laws and customs they please upon you without any regard to you former charters or privileges,[250]

Whilst all this was going on, news came through of Charles II's defeat at Worcester in September which effectively brought to an end the 'Wars of the Three Kingdoms'. At this point the last thing that Clanricarde and the Galwegian defenders needed was a continuation of internal strife, as the full force of Ireton's armies had now been directed towards the defeat of the last remnants of the Confederate forces and the capture of Galway. Ireton's opening shots were not mortars or artillery, but letters

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[248] *Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde*, pp. 85-87.
[249] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-92.
[250] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-107.

directed at the town and the military, offering conditional terms of surrender, and outlining the consequences of continuing resistance. On 7 November 1651, in a thinly veiled letter to General Preston (Viscount Taragh), he bluntly threatened him with execution, and in correspondence to the Mayor and Council he sought to sow the seeds of division between the laity, the clergy and the military, reminding them that their dwindling stocks and supplies were unlikely to be replenished as he closed the net around the town.[251]

The reply from the Mayor and Council on 12 November 1651 was defiant, confirming unity of purpose throughout the town's population be they clergy, laity or military. However, they did not entirely close the door on further discussions and invited Ireton to be explicit in his proposed terms.[252] They also took the precaution of advising Clanricarde immediately of Ireton's correspondence, and asking for his assurances that he would keep the western routes open so that they could be certain of obtaining supplies for the town.[253] Viscount Taragh also replied to Ireton in a similar vein, reinforcing the joint resolve of both the civilian and military authorities to defend themselves. He reminded Ireton that at the start of the conflict, Lord Forbes, with substantial naval and land forces had also attempted to take the town and failed.[254]

Such a comparison is unlikely to have impressed Ireton. Forbes was an Adventurer and although he did indeed have a powerful force at his disposal, he needed to overcome and plunder his military objectives quickly to be able to pay his mercenaries. A long siege was therefore out of the question as a strategy for Forbes and in any event, unlike the highly disciplined and trained New Model Army, it is doubtful that he could have kept his force focussed and re-supplied for over nine months. Ireton however had caught the plague in Limerick and died on 26 November 1651. He was replaced by

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[251] Henry Ireton to General Preston (Viscount Taragh) 7 November 1651, *Ormond MSS,* New Series, Volume 1, pp. 225-227.

[252] The Mayor and Council of Galway to the Lord General Henry Ireton, 12 November 1651, *Ormond MSS,* New Series, Volume I, pp. 228-229.

[253] The Mayor and Council of Galway to the Marquis of Clanricarde, 11 November 1651, *Ormond MSS,* New Series Volume I, pp. 228.

[254] Lord Taragh to Henry Ireton, 12 November 1651, *Ormond MSS,* New Series, Volume I, p. 229; Hardiman, *History of Galway,* pp.128-129.

General Ludlow.[255] Viscount Taragh had already lost a series of key battles and had been unsuccessful when in charge of the defence of Waterford. Although he remained at his post until the capitulation of Galway, knowing that he would be executed, he 'slipped away, as Ireton had predicted, in April 1652, to the continent where he died apparently in 1653'.[256]

Hardiman suggested that on the news of Ireton's death 'a momentary gleam of hope passed over the desponding minds of the inhabitants' but the reality was that conditions were deteriorating by the day, as the siege moved towards its seventh month. On 21 November in a letter to Clanricarde objecting to his proposals to host a general assembly in or near the town, the Mayor and Council summarised their present condition:

> As for the Council to be held here or near to us, your Lordship knows the state and condition of the town well enough, and of the country better than we do; as for the town at present our garrison consists of no less than thirteen hundred soldiers with gossoons and other followers, and the inhabitants and residents of all sorts so numerous that we foresee that scarcity of victuals will bring upon us greater danger than we may be able to prevent, which may be also increased through the want of firing, which is such that at present we are constrained to burn chests and useful timbers, and whereas we are to purge the town for sparing sake, it is thought unfit that such a congregation should be brought hither, where also there is a great apprehension of fear of the infection to come along with them that came from Limerick to our west suburbs,[257]

There is no accurate measure of the town's population at this time, but if the plague of 1649 carried away 3,700 persons then it is reasonable to estimate that a population of around 10,000 might have been living within the walls and in the western suburbs.[258] Even allowing for some error in this estimate, poor and possibly non-existent sanitary conditions, starvation and disease would have been taking a heavy toll on the population under the conditions described above.

Clanricarde clearly detected a degree of fatalism in the Mayor's letter and on 29 November 1651, he wrote to the Mayor and Council. This letter was intended to be a morale booster and was designed to stiffen the resolve of the town not to consider

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[255] Ibid., p. 129; R. Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 1 (University Press, Manchester, 1913), p. 95.

[256] Ibid.

[257] The Mayor and Council of Galway to the Marquis of Clanricarde, 19 November 1651, *Ormonde MSS*, New Series, Volume 1, pp. 235-236.

[258] E.P. Duffy, 'The Siege and Surrender of Galway 1651-1652', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 39, (1983-1984), p. 122.

capitulation, but to try to reach common consent on the best way to continue to defend the town until the spring when, he believed, there was every chance that there would be a change in the fortunes of war in their favour. He began by calling on them to convene a meeting

> all of interest and quality they may offer their opinion and advice to us, -what they conceive best for the preservation of all those precious interests, wherein that which is most necessary is to endeavour the gaining and settling an unanimous consent and resolution in the nation to what way so ever shall be agreed upon, and to deliver their sense therein with all freedom and clearness.

He asked that the meeting should take into consideration the likely outcomes should they give in to the Parliamentary forces. He reminded the laity and those with land and estates, that the 'pretended Parliament' of England had already sold all the land of Ireland to Londoners and others who have received their grants and in some cases are already in possession. If they capitulated they could not expect any terms other than to become mere tenants at will to their new landlords. Similarly, he cautioned the clergy to consider that as the Cromwellian armies had swept through the country, Parliament had approved of the destruction of churches and holy places and 'the hanging and murdering in hot and cold blood, prelates and religious persons, and it is evident they will admit no exercise of the Catholic religion'. He emphasised that should Galway surrender under those conditions it would not only encourage the Parliamentarians to prosecute the war more vigorously to bring it to a close, but also discourage opposition in other areas and create severe disunity as officers and men of power struck bargains to secure the safe transportation of their soldiers abroad.

Clanricarde was very close to the mark when he cautioned the citizens of Galway as to their likely fate should they surrender, but he was at the very least deluded or in possession of very poor intelligence, when he forecast a reversal of Charles II's disastrous defeat at Worcester, and the likelihood of significant foreign aid coming from France and elsewhere. He claimed that Charles II, rather than being totally defeated at Worcester, had made a strategic retreat back to Scotland, from where he was planning an invasion of England in the spring. There were serious divisions within the Parliamentary army with the Presbyterians and Old Protestants headed by Coote, and the Independents who had formerly been led by Ireton, imminently about to declare war on each other. On the international front he believed France was about to declare war on England and that aid

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could be expected not just from that quarter, but also from the Duke of Lorraine, who still had an interest in the proceedings and would be anxious to protect his investment to date.

If the citizens of Galway, for want of any other intelligence, were taken in by this optimistic forecast, they must surely have had serious doubts of how close Clanricarde was to the realities of life in the town when he summarised the present position and strategy:

> That Galway being well fortified, victualled and manned cannot be in any danger before that time, if not by treachery ; neither as we conceive can it be besieged until new harvest. If it shall be resolved to have the enemy's quarters near it now destroyed, neither till then can the people abroad be in a worse condition than now they are, and we have at least ten men for one of the enemy's ; and horses and cattle store, if unity and obedience could be introduced instead of jealousy and faction. And a small defeat given them might probably turn the scales.[259]

He stated that by considering his recommendations positively, it would create the necessary positive responses from abroad, and that Galway, for showing this resolve, would be the first to benefit from any future support. And he asked that an instrument be signed by them as evidence of their goodwill and intent which 'would not only be a great satisfaction to us in His Majesty's behalf but also very much dishearten the enemy, give a great and general encouragement to all forces in the kingdom'.[260]

Clanricarde's exhortation to the town to hold out was not reflected in any staunch defence of his own strongholds. A feature of Irish warfare during the early modern period was the interdependence between towns and nearby castles. Castles were situated at strategic positions near the town. A river crossing such as a bridge or ford would protect the approaches to the town and yet others might protect clusters of mills for grinding vital corn to feed the town's population. If or when the opposing forces seemed likely to overrun an outlying stronghold, it was common to remove any ammunition and supplies into the town and to deny the castle to the enemy by demolishing it.[261] The string of castles and strongholds owned and garrisoned by Clanricarde were, in most cases, surrendered to the Cromwellian army with little or no resistance. These included his main

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[259] Propositions of the Marquis of Clanricarde sent to Galway, 29 November 1651, *Ormond MSS*, New Series, Volume 1, pp. 238-240.

[260] *Ibid.*

[261] R. Loeber and G. Parker, 'The Military Revolution in Seventeenth Century Ireland', in J.H. Ohlmeyer, (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660*, (C.U.P, Cambridge, 1995), pp. 81-82.

residences at Portumna, Loughrea, Oranmore and Claregalway, the latter two situated about four miles from the town. They also included Tirellan and Menlough, on the East bank of the Galway River, both of which were less than a quarter of a mile from the town and were a significant threat to any river traffic.

The surrender of Tirellan had particularly annoyed the town's garrison. Not only had the defenders abandoned the fort but they also abandoned all the munitions and supplies which were so sorely needed by the garrison. Bryan Roe O'Neill whose command of some 1,500 Ulster Irish was particularly incensed registered his complaint:

> The leaste this partie could doe (saide he) to expecte untill the enemie came towards them, if not then able to fight, or not expectinge relife, might force as good quarter as they gott by this theire shamfull flight, and that with honor, or why did not they bringe theire armes, and as much bagage as they could carie, havinge sufficient comoditie and leasure to ferie it into the towne ? or why did not they demolish both house and bagage ?[262]

Clanricarde's response to this criticism was that it would have been a pity to have turned the house into ashes when he hoped to get possession of it again. This was not his only strategic error. He had allowed Coote to lay siege to the town at virtually no loss to the Cromwellian forces. In the early stages of the siege he had allowed a small force of some 500 of Cootes men to build three defensive earthworks along their lines and install ordnance:

> under the deputies nose, at his very doore, havinge 5000 men at leaste, and might have 8000 if pleased him, and the enemie had onely 2500, and never gaue, or suffered to giue, the leaste interruption; nay, not as much as one false alarum, all the well affected cryinge out to the contrary.[263]

By late November 1651, Clanricarde had only Aughnanure Castle some two miles from Oughterard on the west bank of Lough Corrib, left under his command, and safe for the time being from any attack.

The Mayor and Council replied to Clanricarde's proposals on 6 December 1651. In replying they:

> resolved unanimously to abide all extremities any way possible to be endured rather than to capitulate with the enemy, although yet we may not limit any

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[262] Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume II, p. 172
[263] *Ibid.*

prefixed time for our holding out, until we shall know the certainty of our provision for which a course of inquiry is already laid down.[264]

Before signing any documents confirming this decision however, they demanded 1,000 cattle and 600 barrels of corn from the stores which had recently been delivered to the garrison on Inis Boffin.[265] They also asked that he take steps to prevent the further flow of refugees into the town, and take action against the theft and extortion of what supplies were being delivered to the town.[266] The lack of a written declaration of their intent to hold out was a blow to Clanricarde, because it left the door open for the town to seek assistance abroad, particularly from the Duke of Lorraine. In replying to the town's demands on 10 December, he reiterated his total opposition to any attempt by them to act unilaterally in the matter of foreign aid. He was particularly displeased with what he saw as an impossible demand for 1,000 cattle:

> you cannot be so ignorant as not to know, besides frequent disobediences and snatching of preys not possible to be prevented, that the enemy's garrisons do so overmaster the country, except this small corner of Ireconaght already so impoverished that it cannot without great difficulty maintain any men upon the passages of the river,[267]

He did, however, promise to give instructions in the matter of the corn supplies and to investigate the charges of theft and extortion they had made

A further letter from Clanricarde on 10 December 1651 addressed to the Mayor of Galway, appears to have been in response to the town's refusal to surrender to Coote earlier.

> was very much to my satisfaction, giving me not only assurance of your unanimous receiving of those base and tyrannical conditions offered to you by the enemy, but your resolutions to hold in opposition to them, at least until the last of March.[268]

On 3 December 1651, the Parliamentary Commissioners instructed Coote to offer the town the same conditions of surrender as had been offered to Limerick. Although

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[264] The Mayor and Council of Galway to the Marquis of Clanricarde, 6 December 1651, *Ormond MSS*, New Series, Volume 1, pp. 242-243.

[265] *Ibid.*

[266] *Ibid.*

[267] Marquis of Clanricarde to the Mayor and Council of Galway, 10 December 1651, *Ormond MSS*, New Series, Volume 1, pp. 243-244.

[268] Marquis of Clanricarde to the Mayor of Galway, 10 December 1651, *Ormond MSS*, New Series, Volume 1, p. 244.

Ireton had made a similar offer in November 1651, a full transcript of the articles was not sent because of his death. Coote was authorised to communicate the articles, but not any details of the concessions granted to Limerick to secure acceptance. The terms offered were conditional on their being accepted by 9 January 1652.[269] These terms were not accepted by the Mayor and Council, and Clanricarde's conciliatory letter seems to reflect this decision although, at the same time, he reiterated his annoyance at the decision by the Mayor and Council to keep open the unilateral negotiations with Lorraine, and the merits of having a united approach to securing foreign aid.

Clanricarde's evident frustration at what to him, was civil disobedience, was increased by having to deal with not one corporate body representing the entire population of Galway, but with a town in disunity, with different factions having a different agendas and objectives. The Mayor and Council may have been the legal representatives, but their decisions would have been influenced by the clergy, the military, the merchant classes, the militant and armed 'young men' and the numerous members of the gentry and aristocracy who had flooded into the town along with refugees from the lower orders.

In looking for the chief cause of this disunity, Clanricarde placed most of the blame on the clergy. Following the fall of Limerick, the execution of the Bishop of Emly had led to a significant exodus of priests taking refuge on the continent. Clanricarde had expressed his hopes that the clerical faction in Galway would follow them. In a letter to Ormond in November 1651 he observed:

> I am informed that the most violent and factious of the clergy that have bred most distractions here are so terrified with the execution of the Bishop of Emly and others of the clergy that they are preparing for an immediate departure, which, if true, I shall yet hope for better days... if the absence and removal of bad infusions do give us the grace of confidence, unity and obedience, and though I cannot draw forces together to give battle to the enemy, yet there is frequently very good service done upon them by several divided parties.[270]

The clergy's influence on the civic affairs of the town was by this time considerable and the more radical clerics were a destabilising factor. However the distrust of Clanricarde

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[269] *Ludlow Memoirs*, pp. 300-301. For a copy of the Articles of Surrender see; Gilbert, *A Contemporary History of Ireland*, pp 241-244.
[270] Marquis of Clanricarde to Ormond, 16 November 1651, *Ormond MSS*, New Series, Volume 1, p. 232.

by a large cross section of Galway's society due to his militant support of the English crown forces at the beginning of the Confederate War must have also contributed to a lack of cohesion between the various factions.

But overriding these two more likely causes of friction was the fact hat the social mix within the town of Galway in the winter of 1651 represented a distillation of the composite make up of the Confederation. Throughout its history, up to and including the second Ormond peace in 1649, the town had never demonstrated a unity of purpose in achieving common goals. Moreover, there were no distinct rival parties distinguished by just racial origin or a single agenda which could be expected to sign up to a common strategy acceptable to Clanricarde. The Oath of Association which they would all have taken had not bound together different parties; it had been taken by individuals binding one another to two common goals being the right to practice their Catholic religion, and allegiance to the King.[271]

Although Clanricarde's accusation that the cause of all the discontent within the town began with the clergy may not have been an even handed appraisal of the total problem, seen from his perspective they were the most vocal in seeking solutions which would protect their own interests. The clergy had their own internal divisions, which had surfaced over the announcement of the second Ormonde truce, with the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Bishops of Killala and Kilfenora, together with the Franciscans, supporting Clanricarde, and the Warden of St. Nicholas and the Capuchins backing the Nuncio. Faced with the persecution and, in some cases, the threat of execution of all clergy, irrespective of their allegiances, by the advancing Cromwellian army, they knew that they would not be included in any terms of surrender by the Parliamentary forces and they had pursued the possibility of the protection of the Duke of Lorraine as the only possible course of action left open to them. To this end, in late 1650, Anthony Geoghegan, Vicar General of Meath assisted by Fr. Bonaventura Ó Mellaghlin, and Father Francis Fox, had, on the recommendation of Rinuccini and Massari, the Dean of Fermo, been entrusted by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome with the task of maintaining good

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[271] For a full discussion see; Cregan, 'The Confederate Catholics of Ireland: The Personnel of the Confederation, 1642-1649', pp. 490-512.

communications to and from Rome and of making contact with the Duke of Lorraine's agents.[272]

The Congregation of Propaganda Fide had been 'founded in 1622 to establish and maintain control, by Rome in the developing European colonies of the New World and had been extended, as a Counter Reformation measure, to include Protestant European countries where there was a Catholic minority under Protestant rule and where the Diocesan structures were fragile such as in Scotland. The fact that Rome had felt the need to establish a similar structure based in Galway, is illustrative of Ireland's unique position of having a Catholic majority under a Protestant minority rule, and the growing threat that this posed to the management of church affairs.[273] Anthony Geoghegan was further tasked with re-establishing the Confederation which had been effectively ended after the Second Ormond peace. His instructions were to frame a mode of government on behalf of the New Confederates, to consolidate the military so as to raise the sieges of Limerick and Galway and:

> to endeavour to keepe both militia and inhabitants of Galwave in due and constante obedience in the kingdome service, as condolinge the previdinge losse that did hange over theire heades, like true and reall Confederats, furnishinge them with this spirituall supplye, as a preservative antydott agamste the mortall poysone of venemous faction.[274]

By the beginning of 1652, with Limerick fallen and Galway failing, Father Anthony Geoghegan, was, nonetheless still attempting to meet his obligations to Rome and in early February had been in correspondence with colleagues in England with intelligence on the state of Galway and the progress of the long awaited aid from the Duke of Lorraine. In a letter to Father William Sheil, in King's County (Co. Offaly), he informed him that supplies from the Duke of Lorraine were being shipped into Inismore carrying wheat rye and powder, and also some news of a frigate with two more transports arriving at Inisboffin. The letter also stated that the Duke had been in correspondence with Clanricarde, exhorting him to hold out with the promise of more relief to come, and that in the meanwhile he should try to obtain the patronage of the King of Portugal. He then

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[272] Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 3, p. xvi.

[273] For an extended study of 'Propaganda Fide' see; M. A., Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation* (Routledge, London, 1999), pp. 178-181.

[274] Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 3, pp. 12-13.

went on to give news of some intelligence he had obtained about international affairs which included rumours of an alliance between Denmark, Sweden and France against England and, conversely an alliance between England and France. His letter concluded with the information that a General Assembly, due to be held in Galway on 6 February, would propose seeking terms with Parliament and; 'Captaine Cleark, a seaman, offers to transport their agents to that purpose and get a Cessation meanetime. Many are against any treaty at all'. In a further letter to a Mr. Haly in England, he repeated the rumours of the Assembly seeking terms with the Parliamentarians.[275] These letters and other correspondence, which were in cipher, were intercepted by Clanricarde who, believing Geoghegan to be involved in a conspiracy involving the Parliamentary forces, had him arrested and, on being refused access to the cipher codes, ordered that he be charged with high treason[276]. This action by Clanricarde was indicative of how deep his suspicions of the clergy had become since, as a lawyer, if he had made a more considered judgement, he would have known that, Geoghegan was not subject to civil proceedings. He was subsequently put on trial by an ecclesiastical court held in Galway on 13 February 1652. Having produced the cipher book so that the court could read the correspondence in plain it was obvious that, although he may have been indiscreet he was not in any way communicating with the enemy. He was subsequently aquitted by the Grand Council and discharged by the Archbishop of Tuam.[277]

Nonetheless, the incident serves to provide further evidence of a town in which the main factions were in serious disarray and the population becoming ever more likely to capitulate as living conditions continued to deteriorate and food and other supplies ran out. Throughout the long siege the defendants had made little effort to engage the enemy, even when Coote's men were vastly outnumbered in the early stage of July-August 1651. One incident however demonstrated what more incisive and forceful leadership might have achieved. Early into the siege the Parliamentary navy had landed 90 men on Mutton Island just west of the harbour and begun erecting half-moons, redoubts and other engineering works so that cannon could be trained on the port and the town. Without

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[275] Anthony Geoghegan to Father William Shiell, 4 February 1652, Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 3, p. 285.

[276] *Ibid.,* p. 54.

[277] *Ibid.,* pp. 55-56.

waiting for orders from Clanricarde, Brian Roe O'Neill took 300 men and, in the face of a heavy artillery bombardment for the naval ships, attacked the new defences. They killed all but one man who escaped by swimming away, destroyed the engineering works, and carried off a considerable quantity of supplies and munitions.[278] This was in stark contrast to the charge of lack of resolve which O'Neil had levied at Clanricarde, later in the year when the Lord Deputy's castles were being handed to the enemy without a fight.

By February 1652, the opportunity for lightning strikes against the by now overwhelmingly superior forces had passed. But as an indication of the desperation which must have then existed, at the end of February 1652, a raiding party of 80 townsmen took it upon themselves to venture outside the town walls and seized 100 head of cattle. On the return journey they were surprised by a Parliamentary patrol which killed 60 of the party and recovered the cattle. At about the same time, two transports carrying corn attempted to run the naval blockade into Galway Bay. One was captured and the other driven onto rocks off the Aran Isles.[279]

By mid-February 1652, the town had all but run out of any likelihood of help either from overseas or from the beleaguered forces in Ulster and Leinster. On 14 February, following a meeting of the Corporation, representatives of the nobility, other influential members of the merchant classes and the clergy, Clanricarde wrote to Ludlow seeking a settlement with Parliament and requested a safe conduct for five commissioners and their retinue. Although the authority for Clanricarde to open negotiations came from the meeting in Galway, it was not exclusively on the town's behalf that he sought terms for he was still acting as the Lord Deputy for Ireland, and thus his letter was carefully worded to that effect:

> Many of the nobility, clergy, and other persons of quality, subjects of this kingdom, with the corporation of Galway, having considered the present state of affairs, and the ruinous effects which this long war hath produced, have solicited me to desire of you a conference for the establishment of the repose of this nation,[280]

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[278] Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, Volume 2, pp. 172-173.

[279] *Ludlow Memoirs*, p. 303.

[280] Clanricarde to Ludlow, 24 March 1652, *Ludlow Memoirs*, p. 305; Note. In a footnote to Ludlow's account the editor notes that Ludlow's dates are incorrect and that the Irish Records show that Clanricarde's letter was written on 14 February 1652.

Ludlow's reply on 24 February rejected any negotiations on the grounds that the terms of any settlement will be decided by the Parliament of England. He accordingly refused any safe conduct but offered to accept the surrender of any individuals 'on such moderat tearmes will yett be condescended unto as men in theire condition can rationally expecte'.[281]

In fact the terms which the Commissioners of Parliament were to impose gave no hope of a negotiated agreement; they were selective and were intent on retribution against defined sections of the Irish population. In reply to a similar request made by Gerald Fitzgerald on behalf of the Leinster Assembly, the Commissioners stated that they would make a distinction between persons that have lived peaceably or who have already submitted to Parliament's authority and protection, and those who have aided and abetted the murders and massacres of the Protestants during the first years of the rebellion; and those still in arms, who continue to oppose the Parliamentary forces.[282] The Commissioners were laying out terms for, in reality, unconditional surrender, leaving little or no room left for any negotiations.

Meanwhile in addition to the deplorable physical conditions in Galway, the fabric of society was breaking down as townspeople moved toward a state of anarchy. It has already been noted that Viscount Taragh was making preparations to flee to the continent, and his departure would have no doubt elicited similar moves from other members of the nobility and prominent members of the laity.[283] Coote's agents must have reported growing divisions within the town when he wrote to Ludlow on 10 March:

> There have been very high contests in the town of Galway, betwixt the soldiery and the town and the Lord Clanrickard joyning with the souldiery, pressing the towne not to submit without capitulating for the nation; which the town hath refused to concur with him in, but onely to capitulate for themselves, and leave the country to themselves. [284]

As the mechanisms of civil government were collapsing and the exodus from the town included many influential people, both townsmen and prominent refugees from the other three provinces, Clanricarde, realised that there was very little time left if he was to

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[281] *Ludlow Memoirs*, p. 306; Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 3, pp. 58-59.

[282] Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 3, p. 61.

[283] Hardiman records that; 'The principal part of the nobility and men of rank, then in the town, took shipping in the Bay and left the kingdom in despair'. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 131.

[284] *Ludlow Memoirs*, p. 307.

secure a negotiated settlement or be left with accepting terms of surrender under any conditions. He still remained firmly of the view that any settlement involving the town of Galway should be part of an overall settlement which included the forces in Leinster and Ulster. He must also have realised that holding out would almost certainly result in widespread loss of life and destruction of property for the townspeople, for which he would ultimately have to take full responsibility. He presented two stark alternatives; surrender the town to the Parliamentary forces on conditions which he alone would approve or 'stande out against that power to the extreme hazarde of both life and fortune'. In asking them to consider these alternatives he gave them his view if they decide to stand and fight they should not, at this juncture, make that decision on the expectations of assistance from the remaining forces in Ulster and Leinster.[285]

He must have been aware, from previous experience that calling for a collective view from all the factions from within the town would end in stalemate, such was the diversity of opinion amongst them. The anonymous author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* wrote that;

> every man anxious for his own particular interest; old and young citizens did not agree; civil and martial were at odds; men and women in contestation nay, one family could not conform themselves to one and the same sense, so strong were the ingredients ministered by the pseudo-council of Clanricarde to the townsmen and militia.[286]

Moreover it was well known by this time that the Parliamentary Commissioners had prepared a scale of offences which would determine how, more or less favourably, individuals could expect to be treated following their surrender. At the top of that scale were all Jesuits, and priests involved in any way in the rebellion. Whereas groups or individuals with fewer demerits could expect some degree of more reasonable treatment, the clergy could expect none and therefore would be the least likely to agree any course of action but to stand firm. Clanricarde's proposition was therefore put to the clergy for a decision 'within three howers' before he addressed the 'townsmen and others', and the Grand Council.[287]

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[285] Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Ireland,* Volume 3, p. 71.
[286] *Ibid.,* p. xv.
[287] *Ibid.,* p. 72.

Of the 126 representatives of the clergy who considered the position, 120 voted against any surrender and six voted for it including the Archbishop of Tuam. Notwithstanding the probability that the majority of the lower orders would have supported the majority decision of the clergy, Clanricarde proceeded to ignore this overwhelming consensus and moved to authorise the Mayor and Corporation to commence negotiations with Coote for a settlement, before retiring to his stronghold at Aughnanure.[288].

There had of course been no truce or armistice agreed with Coote while the defenders of Galway were considering their options. Coote continued to press the siege and was making preparations to complete the circumvallation of the town by crossing the Galway River. This would close off any remaining hope of supplies coming into the town or persons leaving it. On 19 March the Parliamentary Commissioners ordered Sir Hardress Waller to reinforce Coote's army with foot soldiers and ordnance out of Limerick. Hardness was also told to expect 300 barrels of powder with ball and match, shipped from England for onward transport to Galway.[289] It is probable that a combination of intelligence and observation would have alerted both Clanricarde and the town to these developments. At this point the numerical and logistical advantage which Clanricarde may have enjoyed earlier in the siege was certainly lost, and his decision to allow the town to seek terms may have been influenced by the knowledge that should Coote attempt a river crossing he would either have to commit his forces, with the possibility of being defeated, or retreat.

Following the authority granted them by Clanricarde to seek terms, the Mayor and Council moved swiftly to contact Coote, who, with equal alacrity offered them the same terms as he had offered them on 3 December 1651, which were identical to those offered to Limerick in October of that year. There was a time limit on these original terms which had expired on 9 January 1652, but Coote, clearly anxious to end hostilities, waived this limitation. In doing he effectively exceeded his authority and the Commissioners of Parliament were quick to exploit this breach when they subsequently refused to ratify the terms of the original surrender. The Articles of Agreement between Coote and the town of

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[288] *Ibid.*
[289] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, pp. 146-147.

Galway were concluded on 5 April.[290] The signatories to the agreement were representative of the prominent families of Galway who had built the wealth of the town and determined the course of its history over the centuries. They were: Sir Robuck Lynch Bart., Sir Valentine Blake Kt. and Bart., Sir Richard Blake Kt., Sir Oliver French Kt., John Blake Esq., Arthur Lynch Esq., one of the sheriffs of Galway, Thomas Lynch and Dominick Blake of Galway, burgesses, signing for and on the behalf of themselves and the Mayor, sheriffs, burgesses and commonalty of Galway, and of the freemen, natives, inhabitants and residents thereof. As an early sign of the new order about to descend on them, the Rt. Hon. Sir C. Coote Kt. and Bart., Lord President of Connacht, signed for Parliament, from Clanricarde's former stronghold of Terrilan.

The terms were remarkably lenient considering the time, energy, cost and loss of life to the Parliamentary Forces. All persons who could prove to belong to the town, freemen and families, tenant's servants and other, would have their lives and liberties and the choice of leaving to go to any other part of the country or overseas within six months of the start of the agreement. The clergy, not surprisingly had more harsh terms imposed on them. They were given quarter for their lives but had to leave the country within six months, and their movements in the meantime would be severely restricted. The Corporation Charter was guaranteed as was property ownership, except that if any property was subsequently sold, one third of the price would be paid to the State. There was also an indemnity granted to all participants in the armed conflict from any prosecution for capital and other offences but there were some notable exceptions. At the outset of the Rebellion of 1641, the massacre of the Protestant community had been seen by the English, not as an act of war, but as an unprovoked act of genocide against an unarmed civilian population, particularly in Ulster. The depositions taken from the survivors and witnesses had highlighted specific individuals who could not expect any quarter. The terms of the treaty for Galway excluded:

> Brian Roe, Mahon More, Stephen Lynch, Dominic Kerwan, and Walter Martin, who had their hands immediately in the effusion of the blood of Capt. Clarkes men, and such other person or persons as shall be hereafter found by good proofs to have had their immediate hands in any particular murder of the English or

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[290] A full transcript of the Articles of Surrender is included in appendix i

> Protestant people before the corporation entered into acts of hostility (first) in this war, which was on the 19th of March 1641[-2].[291]

On 6 April 1652, Coote had written from his new base at Tirellan Castle to the Commissioners for Parliamentary affairs in Ireland, informing them of the details of the treaty and asking them to ratify the agreement. This letter was delivered to the Commissioners, some four days later, on the evening of 10 April. The terms were considered during an all night session and the following morning a number of serious objections to the terms were returned to Coote for consideration. The main objections were that they were not prepared to grant *carte blanche* residency in Galway to all qualified citizens, and reserved the right to expel anyone they thought might threaten the security of the garrison. They insisted that one third of all property and land had be transferred to the state with immediate effect and insisted that former residents who had fled the town in sympathy with the Parliamentary forces be restored to their former property. These and some other minor amendments were despatched, *post haste* back to Coote.[292] Although communications had improved considerably, with the major part of the country now in the hands of the Parliamentarians, the reply from the Commissioners arrived too late and on 12 April 1652, Colonel Peter Stubbers, with a regiment of 10 companies of foot, marched into the town to impose a military government despite the fact that the parliamentary commissioners had no intention of ratifying the original terms.[293] In placing the problem squarely on the shoulders of General Coote, they instructed him to inform the town council of the contents of their objections and:

> to let them know, that until they have assented to the substance and matter of the Resolves, we cannot assent unto nor approve of the said articles; and, because the well ordering of many other affairs may depend much upon the result of this business we desire your Lordship to let them know, that it is expected they do declare themselves and their sense concerning the said articles in writing, to be delivered to your Lordship within six days after this comes into your hands, otherwise we shall hold ourselves disobliged of the consent we gave, and is mentioned in the said Resolves.[294]

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[291] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Appendix Number V, p. xxx.

[292] The Commissioners of Parliament to General Coote, 11 April 1652, Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, pp. 165-167

[293] *Ibid.*, p.186.

[294] The Commissioners to Parliament to General Coote, Kilkenny, 20 April 1652, Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, p. 176.

Whilst washing their hands of any direct responsibility for what amounted to a serious breakdown in communications between themselves and their military commander, the Commissioners did at least make an attempt to exonerate Coote when, in reporting the hiatus in securing final agreement to Parliament they stated:

> We shall only add that Sir Charles Coote is very sensible of those Articles of Galway as they are ; but he assures us his zeal to have your work and great charge put to a short issue, was the occasion of those concessions, and if he had not taken the opportunity then offered, he conceived there was great probability that more forces would be brought into the town, so as it might have kept all your forces this summer in those parts to attend that service.[295]

The insistence by the commissioners that the Corporation sign up to the revised articles was not resolved 'within six days' and indeed the entire circumstances of the surrender and the terms of surrender continued to dominate Galway politics for the remainder of the 1650s.

Within the town and between the Council and Clanricarde, there was much acrimony. The clergy, and the Gaelic Irish saw it as a betrayal, since, apart from being given quarter for their lives, they faced expulsion from the town and in the case of the clergy, exile. To the author of an *Aphorismical Discovery*, Clanricarde was seen as being complicit in underwriting the terms of the surrender and retreating to his castle at Aughnanure, thus leaving the final decision in the hands of the Council. The unknown author added:'if this will cleere the sorditt behaviour of the present deputy peere herin, noe man can taxe Pilate'.[296] Another contemporary writer, Dr. Teighe Egan, railed at Clanricarde for ignoring the vote of the majority of the clergy and common people, for his abuse of the Nuncio and for 'adheringe unto the Marquesse of Ormonde, a Presbyterian, against the Confederates'. He also accused prominent members of the town , namely (Sir Robert Lynch, Sir Valentine Blake, Sir Richard Blake and Sir Oliver French) of failing and betraying him and being in breach of their Oath of Association to the nation.[297]

That the prominent citizens of Galway would be party to the surrender is consistent with the priorities of the merchant classes who had dominated the governance of Galway for so long. They had been steadily converting the vast fortunes they had made

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[295] The Commissioners to Parliament to Parliament, Kilkenny, 6 May 1652. *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, p. 186.

[296] Gilbert, *Contemporary History,* Volume 3, p. 7.

[297] *Ibid.,* p. 73.

as merchants, into property and land over the relatively peaceful first four decades of the seventeenth century. In 1641, they owned 222,910 statute acres in county Galway, and a further 86,000 acres in county Mayo. More than half of this total landholding was in O'Flaherty country, whilst a further 56,000 acres was in the lordship of Clanricarde. The most prominent landlords were Sir Richard Blake, Sir Thomas Blake, Sir Dominick Browne and Sir Robuck Lynch.[298] Whilst the war had severely disrupted their ability to prosper from trade, the defence of Galway and that of large swathes of Connacht over much of the Confederate Wars meant that, even though they may have surrendered the governorship of the town to the Parliamentarians, the terms of the surrender had enabled them to keep their landholdings intact. Even after General Coote had told them of the amendments to the agreement, the Parliamentary Commissioners, writing to the Council of State, reported:

> The main article, concerning their residence in the town and the enjoyment of their houses and estates, they as yet adhere unto, which will make the place very chargeable unto you to keep, until the Parliament's pleasure or your advice be known therein. Sir Charles Coote seems to be confident that the Galway men will declare, that if the Parliament order that no Irish or Papists be admitted to reside in any garrison in Ireland, that then they conceive themselves bound to observe such a law, and that they shall not insist upon Articles to free themselves from such a general law.[299]

Clearly the sub-text of this report to the Council of State offers some clues to the eventual outcome of property rights under the Commonwealth, but in the interim, the belief that the merchant classes would be willing to sacrifice the interest of the clergy and Gaelic Irish to protect their wealth, gives some credence to the suspicions of the time that this sell out was more than a possibility long before the ultimate surrender of the town in April 1652.

One of the foremost contemporary writers of the period, Roderic O'Flaherty, alleges that there was indeed a conspiracy and, in supporting his allegations he reproduces a letter dated 20 May 1656 from Dublin Castle to the Commissioners for Adjusting

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[298] S. Mulloy, 'The Transfer of Power, Galway, 1642-1702' in G. Moran and R. Gillespie, (eds.), *Galway History and Society* (Geography Publications, Dublin, 1996), p. 220. For a detailed account of the extent to which Galway Merchants acquired land and property in Connacht see; B. Ó Bric, *Galway Townsmen as the Owners of Land In Connacht, 1585-1641,* (Unpublished MA Thesis, University College Galway 1974).
[299] Commissioners to the Council of State, Kilkenny, 6 May 1652, Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, p. 192.

Claims of the Irish at Athlone, asking that they give due regard to the following information. The letter stated:

> The Council having, of late, received large testimony of the singular good services by *Mr. Dominick Bodkin, Mr. Nicholas Oge French,* and *Richard Kirwan,* (inhabitants of the town of Galway) for and on behaulfe of the English interest during the late Rebellion, not a little conducinge (as we are informed) to the advantage of the state, though *tis probable) they had, by such their ample testifying of their affeccions to the English, prejudiced their private interests, and contracted a malice (from those of their own naccon, among whom they now live) which may prove dangerous to them. Their lordships have therefore thought fitt, hereby to recommend the consideration of their merits to you.[300]

The letter was quoted as being from the *Original Privy Council Book*, A.D. 1656. O'Flaherty goes on to state that 'these men were well recompensed for their singular good services. Thomas Lynch Fitzambrose, Matthew Browne, and Lieutenant Charles Browne, also received ample awards'.[301] This correspondence certainly points to the fact that the Parliamentary forces had allies within the walls. As previously stated, Coote seemed to have remarkably good intelligence about conditions within the town but none of this is conclusive evidence that the individuals named were directly involved in the surrender. But there was nothing exceptional in appeals to the Commission for Adjusting Claims, from individuals claiming that they had been sympathetic to the Parliamentary forces. For example, the Commissioners heard that Piers Creagh of Limerick was hated by his countrymen for his former inclination to the English Government, and that Robert Plunket had given information against several prisoners now in Marshalsea. The list was extensive, as people sought to mitigate the worst effects of the post war retribution exacted in the Act of Settlement.[302] In the event only eight of the towns dignitaries were prepared to sign the amended articles none of whom were mentioned in the Privy Council book memo. A further 104 townsmen refused to agree any changes to the original articles, whilst a further 81 were listed as absent.[303]

There is no direct evidence to prove that Clanricarde was in any way involved in the final surrender other than having endeavoured to reach a consensus within the town

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[300] R. O'Flaherty, *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*: J. Hardiman, (ed.) (Dublin, Irish Archaeological Society, 1846), p. 244; J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (P.M. Haverty, New York, 1868), p. 92.

[301] *Ibid.,* p. 92.

[302] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 91-92.

[303] See Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Appendix V, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, for a full list of those names, returned by Coote to the Commissioner, 26 November, 1652.

and then authorising the Mayor and others to negotiate with Coote. He did not take part in any talks nor was he one of the signatories. Clanricarde had been left with a very narrow window of opportunity if he was to carry on the war. The population of Galway was exhausted and could not last out for very much longer. As the royalist Lord Deputy, had he signed a surrender document for Galway, then he would have been bound by the terms of surrender and the war would effectively have been over. Remaining on the west bank of the Galway River, detached from his armies in Ulster, Munster and Leinster, was no longer an option. By leaving the town to make its own terms, he was no longer morally obliged to remain defending the western walls, and not being a signatory to the surrender terms, was free to move his forces elsewhere.[304]

On 11 April 1652, on the eve of the surrender of Galway, he wrote to Lieutenant General Ferrel and others and with what may have been an oblique reference to the failure to rally the town in a united effort to continue resistance, he stated that:

> it is apparent to all men that faction, diuision, and disobedience in many, and treacherie in others, want of resolution, and an ill grounded self intrest in others, hath giuen us sufficient scope, without any the leaste blemishe in our honor or duetie, to withdrawe his Majesties authoritie and our owne person out of those confusions and disorders that hath hitherto been predominant amongest us.

Having made clear what he saw as the underlying reasons for the present condition, and having already informed Farrall that he had, the previous day, despatched the Earl of Castlehaven to France to seek support, he furthermore noted:

> And in expectation of such a generous resolution, wee shall verie speedily repaire to a more comodious place for giuinge and receauinge of intelligence from the seuerall provinces, and upon the first aparance of any considerable forces, together to apeere personally in the heade of them, and soe wee presume the forces of that province are alreadie together, or readie to be drawen unto the fielde, and doe expecte that you keepe not onely constant correspondence with us, but with the comannders in chiefe of the other provinces, that there maye be noe delaye of seruice where occasion shall most be offered.[305]

The Earl of Castlehaven, reflecting on his mission for Clanricarde, revealed that Clanricarde had expected Galway to fall and that he planned to carry on the battle 'to make a mountain war and to give the rebels trouble for some time'.[306]

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[304] Duffy, 'The Siege and Surrender of Galway', p. 140.
[305] Gilbert, *Contemporary History,* Volume 3, p. 77.
[306] *The Earl of Castlehaven Memoirs,* (Espy and Cross, Dublin, 1815), p. 140.

Although the surrender of Galway in April 1652 may have taken the Parliamentary forces by surprise, the town had been at war for over a decade. During that time it had successfully fought off numerous attacks from well armed and well supplied forces, and the merchants had somehow managed to sustain its commercial ties with the continent. Some of the leading citizens had played a major part in establishing the Confederacy, providing the diplomatic expertise both at home and abroad. For that was the real strength of the town; not as a military garrison but as an international trading port. As demonstrated, the merchants had acquired considerable wealth from this activity and re-invested it in property and land. Many of the scions of these wealthy families had been educated at the Inns of Court in London, and, ironically, towards the end of the Confederate wars, would have known many of the members of the purged 'Long Parliament', known as 'The Rump', who were sitting in London deciding their fate.[307] The lower orders, who stood neither to lose or gain much materially, had fought on to preserve their spiritual inheritance. But there was only so much that can be endured for so long, from famine, disease, and deprivation. These factors would have so reduced their physical will to resist that, despite the violent reaction of the clergy, and the threats of excommunication, defeat was, for all sectors of Galway society, inevitable.

Occupation and Expulsion

With the surrender of Galway, the Parliamentary army had secured all of its main military objectives. Armed bands of men, known as Tories, continued to wage a guerrilla war for some time, from their strongholds in the bogs and mountains. Guerrilla warfare was not suited to the large scale military actions that the New Model Army had been trained for; nor was it equipped to fight in the inhospitable terrain of the Irish countryside. A parliamentary report illustrated the problems facing the army:

> [They are] except those in their towns and garrisons in Connaught, in woods, bogs, and other fastnesses of the greatest advantage to them, and from which there was no dislodging them. They describe the country as almost everywhere interlaced with great bogs, with firm woody grounds like islands in the middle, approached by a narrow pass where only one horse could go abreast, easily broken up, so as no horse could attack them; but in and out the Irish could pass over the

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[307] Cregan, 'The Confederate Catholics of Ireland', p. 504.

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> wet and quaking bog by ways known only to themselves, whereby they could attack or escape at pleasure.[308]

Not being able to reduce the enemy by direct military action, the New Model Army was, equipped with the tools to carry out a 'scorched earth' policy to deny the insurgents access to livestock and crops. This tactic was not a spur of the moment reaction to changed circumstances, but had been a tried and trusted military option in the past and clearly one which had been included in Cromwell's campaign planning. In a Parliamentary report it was stated that along with a supply of swords, pikes, powder, shot bandoliers and match handed out to Parliamentary soldiers at Waterford were included 'eighteen dozen of scythes with handles and rings, forty reape hooks, and whetstones and rubstones proportional and with these the soldiers cut down the growing crop, in order to starve the Irish into submission'.[309]

The heavily defended island of Inisboffin, off the Connemara coast held out until 14 February 1653, but, after 11 years of warfare 'a stillness as of death reigned over the island'.[310] Sir William Petty calculated that at the start of the Confederate War in 1641, the population of Ireland was 1,466,000 persons made up of 1,100,000 'Irish' and 366,000 'British'.[311]. During the 11 years of war the total number of people killed by 'Sword, Plague Famine, Hardship and Banishment' amounted to 616,000 of which 504, 000 were 'Irish' and 112,000 were 'British'.[312] Although the assumptions upon which these estimates were based have been questioned by modern historical analysis, nonetheless they remain all that is available from contemporary sources and it is on that basis that they are quoted in this work.[313]

During the summer and autumn of 1652, as Galway began to come to terms with the full implications of surrender, its occupants also had to contend with a diminishing

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[308] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 72.

[309] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[310] W. F. T. Butler, *Confiscation in Irish History* (The Talbot Press, Dublin, Second Edition, 1918), p. 116.

[311] Petty made no distinction between the more complex cultural diversity of the Old English and Gaelic Irish, and the English Protestants and Ulster-Scots Presbyterians.

[312] W. Petty, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, Together with The Observations upon Bills of Mortality by Captain John Graunt*, Volume 1, C.H. Hull, (ed.) (Cambridge University Press, 1899), pp. 149-150.

[313] See R. Gillespie, 'The Irish Economy at War, 1641-1642'in Ohlmeyer (ed.) *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660*, p. 161; Foster, *Modern Ireland,1600-1972*, p. 107, Corish, 'The Cromwellian Regime, 1650-1660', p. 357.

supply of foodstuffs. The full impact of the scorched earth policy added additional suffering to a population that had been brought almost to the edge of total extinction by the siege. To add to this misery, the plague had broken out once more and was raging throughout Galway, Dublin and many other garrison towns. It is noted that reports at the time make no mention of a country-wide epidemic which may have been a reflection of the massive depopulation in the countryside referred to earlier.[314]

But if starvation, pestilence and disease were not enough, the Commissioners in Dublin had started to put country wide interim assessments into effect, to raise revenue for the ongoing costs of the soldiers' pay pending a more general assessment and settlement. On 10 May it was ordered that the citizens of Galway would pay £400 per month, to be reviewed in November.[315] The charge was collected weekly and in a manner deliberately designed to terrify the population into paying up.

Each week, on a Saturday morning the soldiers would march through the town, with drums beating and bugles sounding. They would enter the houses where payment was due and point their muskets at the occupants, threatening death if the money was not paid up. If no money was left in the house then the soldiers would carry away household effects and even the clothes off the occupants' backs, to be sold in the market place.[316] Under these circumstances it was not surprising that many householders left the town with what goods they had left rather than be reduced to absolute poverty. This had the effect of throwing the burden of finding £400 per month onto an ever diminishing population. On 15 March 1653, the Commissioners of Revenue at Galway were instructed to suspend the collection. However, this did not let the town off the levy for the Commissioners were also authorised to sequester the uninhabited houses and lands and dispose of them in lieu of payment due.[317]

The behaviour of the soldiers was not exclusively directed at ensuring payment of their weekly dues. A general reign of terror seems to have been authorised by the military governor, Colonel Stubbers. Hardiman relates that churches were converted into stables,

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[314] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 1 p. 241; Prendergast, *The Cromwellian, Settlement of Ireland* p. 177.

[315] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 1, p. 194.

[316] C.P. Meehan, (ed.), *The Portrait of a Pious Bishop* (J. Duffy, Dublin, 1848), p. 123.

[317] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 174-175; Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, pp. 326-327; *Cambrensis Eversus*, Volume 3, Part 1, p. 189.

and the looted chalices and other sacred vessels used as common drinking cups. Graves were robbed in the search for valuables, and the Mayor and Aldermen, despite having been specifically protected under the articles agreed with General Coote, were harassed and arrested for protesting against these treaty violations.[318]

There is little doubt that the ongoing harassment and breaches of the original treaty were in some part tacitly condoned by the Commissioners as part of the continuing campaign to force the corporation to agree to the amended articles of drawn up in April 1652. Following a direct appeal from the Mayor and Corporation to the Commissioners in Dublin, asking them to instruct Stubbers to abide by the agreement, the Commissioners' reply, sent via Colonel Stubbers makes their position clear.

> We have had application made unto us by divers persons, in the behalf of the town of Galway and the persons concerned in the Articles upon the surrender of Galway, to whom we could give no positive answer until we had received their acceptation of the conditions of the said surrender, as the same were qualified and limited by the Commissioners of Parliament, on the behalf of the Commonwealth, a copy of which qualifications and limitations we have sent you here enclosed, and desire you to call such of the said persons as are concerned in the said Articles, and desire to have any benefit by them, before you, and to tender unto them the enclosed qualifications to be subscribed by them, testifying their acceptation of the same, and that you do return unto us the said subscriptions, and likewise the names of such of them as refuse to subscribe the same, and you are hereby authorised to signify to all such persons as shall so subscribe the said qualifications and limitations and to accept thereof, that all such persons respectively shall have the benefit of the said Articles of Galway, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Articles and of the said qualifications and limitations. [319]

In October 1652, the amended Articles were signed, but under circumstances that reduced the official acceptance of the revised terms to farce. Only eight townsmen signed the amended documents none of whom were signatories to the original agreement. A further 104 townsmen refused to sign the document and 81 were noted as being absent.[320]

A notable incident which took place between December 1652 and January 1653 serves to illustrate the extent to which the rule of law in Galway had been suspended by Sir Charles Coote and replaced by summary justice. The defeat of the Confederate forces in Munster had resulted in the arrest of Lord Mayo, who having been exempted from the

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[318] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 134-135.

[319] The grievances of the County of Galway, 31 August 1652; The Commissioners to Colonel Stubbers, Drogheda, 2 September 1652, Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 1, pp.270-272.

[320] A full list of names of the three groups are included in Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Appendix V, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

general articles of surrender in May 1652, had been charged with the murder of around 100 Protestant refugees in Shrule in February 1643. As Sir Theobald Bourke, heir to the then Lord Mayo, he had been escorting the refugees with instructions from his father to hand them over to a Galway escort for safe conduct when they were attacked.[321] On 31 December 1652, the case opened at the County of Galway court house with Coote and 10 other Commissioners including Colonel Stubbers, acting as both judge and jury. Evidence in Lord Mayo's defence, was produced which included eye witness accounts that he tried to protect the refugees, although threatened with his life, and a letter from Dr. Maxwell, the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, though by this time deceased, thanking him [Lord Mayo], for 'the acts of kindness and assistance' he had received from him and his father. Despite this evidence, and although only six commissioners found him guilty, Lord Mayo was sentenced to death on 15 January 1653, and executed by firing squad on 15 February 1653. Later described as a 'mockery upon the forms of justice', Coote then seized his estates estimated at over 50,000 acres and 'his orphaned child allowed a miserable pittance of £30 per year'.[322] It was clear from this action that the ordinary citizens of Galway, particularly the lower orders, could expect no respite from this reign of terror.

A number of sources illustrate the extent of the desperate conditions of the population in and around Galway during 1654-55, and the relentless oppression by the Parliamentary forces. In his analysis of the surviving records Hely-Dutton has noted:

> Upon surrender, there was a dearth in the country, by means whereof many thousands died; and by a second plague that came upon the town and country, Gods severity punished their ill doings with death, plague and the sword and many that lived had no means to support themselves. Colonel Peter Stubbers, governor of Galway, upon information that multitudes of vagabonds and idle men were in the country, obliged and ordered them to be shipped to Barbados.[323]

The Commonwealth Records at the time state that Stubbers had been authorised to transport 'three score Irish women that are vagrants, idlers and wanderers' but contemporary records suggest he may have significantly exceeded his orders and in doing

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[321] *Ibid.*, pp.16-17

[322] O. J. Burke, *Anecdotes of the Connaught Circuit From its Foundations in 1604 to Close Upon the Present Time* (Hodge Figgins and Co., Dublin, 1885), pp. 39-45; Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 2, pp. 310-311.

[323] H. Dutton, *A Statistical and Agricultural Survey of the County of Galway* (The Royal Dublin Society, Dublin, 1824), p. 282; Cromwell was around this time launching his Western Design of the Caribbean to break the Spanish trade monopoly in the area, and Barbados was being used as a base from which to recruit the forces need to attack Spanish possessions, principally Hispaniola, (Haiti and The Dominican Republic).

so added to the growing labour shortage[324] Hardiman records that upwards of 1,000 people were seized 'without discrimination of rank or condition and that the scarcity of labour became a matter of general complaint …that the wages of the common labourer, independent of meat and drink, had risen to £4-13s.yearly and that of an ordinary women servant as high as 30s yearly'.[325]

On 21 June 1654, Colonel Stubbers received further orders giving him sweeping powers to clear the town 'of such inhabitant's therof as shall be by him and the said officers' adjudged to be dangerous and active persons'. Although the terms of the treaty were still not concluded, his orders allowed for the properties so vacated to be disposed off at seven years the rental value. At the time it was reckoned that the value of property was equivalent to 10 years rental; in effect the terms of surrender concerning property rights had been swept aside.[326] In November 1654, the owners of property and lands in and around Galway made a last ditch attempt to secure ratification of the original treaty of surrender, and accordingly Sir Richard Blake presented a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council requesting that they give consideration to this request.

The reply, when delivered in July 1655, some six months later, left no doubt in anyone's mind that the Commissioners had no intention of allowing the town of Galway to remain, in any way, occupied by a Catholic population. In clause V of the original terms the following was agreed that:

> All persons…shall enjoy their respective estates and interests to themselves and their heirs forever, in all and every the houses, estates, lands tenements and hereditaments, which in the said town, and in the old and the new liberties…unless it be on just grounds and good proofs of their future misdemeanour.

But in the same clause there was a condition which excluded property which was 'contiguous to any castle, fortification or straight within the dominion, or conceived to be necessary for any particular plantation'.[327] The Commissioners, in their reply invoked this exclusion claiming that 'the town is, and hath been, and, as they judged it, most fit to be continued as a garrison, place of strength and fortification, and also fit and is so intended

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[324] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 2, p. 432.
[325] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 134.
[326] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 2, pp. 431-432.
[327] .Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. xxx

to be a plantation for persons of the English nation'. Having stated their case, the Commissioners then gave directions that the all 'Recusants' having real estate within the town or contiguous to the town remove themselves, by 1 November 1655. Those who refused were to be forcibly ejected by the military.[328] The insistence by the Corporation to ratify the articles and particularly Article V, had finally forced the Commissioners to give the matter some consideration, and in doing so the understanding of the implications of exclusion clause had ironically shown them the way to totally disregard the spirit and intent of the 1652 agreement. What is more the valuation which was now to be put on the houses and lands was at 1654 prices, significantly less after two or more years of post war decline and decay.

By the time this decree was made in the summer of 1655, corporate authority in Galway had been seized from the Old English hierarchy and replaced by New English Protestants. The Corporation archives recorded:

> That the English inhabitants of Gallway, did on 29 September 1654, petition the Right Honourable, the Lord Deputy and Councell that the government of this towne by the charter might no longer be in the handes of the Irish and Papists, but that it might be put in the handes of the English and Protestants. Which was granted and by virtue of a spetial order in that case the officers above mentioned was dismissed and new ones chosen, as in the next apeare.[329]

Hardiman recalls that only one former member of the Corporation changed his principles and religion. Marcus Lynch Fitz-Thomas became a sheriff under the new regime but was ostracised by his friends and 'died of a broken heart occasioned by remorse and shame'. Colonel Peter Stubbers, the military governor of the town replaced Thomas Lynch Fitzambrose as Mayor.[330] Marcus Lynch Fitz-Thomas became the last member of the Old English families of Galway to hold any public office for the next 30 years.

On 30 October 1655, Stubbers executed his orders to clear the town except for the sick and bedridden. On 7 November 1655, Sir Charles Coote received the thanks of the government for the success of the operation with a request; 'that he would remove the sick and bedridden as soon as the season might permit, and take care that the houses while empty were not spoiled by the soldiery'.[331] This final instruction appears to have either

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[328] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 2, pp. 533-534.
[329] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 501.
[330] Hardman, *History of Galway*, p. 136.
[331] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 175.

been ignored or unenforceable, for contemporary accounts suggest that the town was, by the winter of 1655, depopulated of the civilian population and on the way to being destroyed by the garrisoned soldiers:

> The whole town for the most part fall into decay. About this time you may see whole families destroyed and streets not having six families, and that soldiers or poor bakers that ought content themselves with one cellar, had great houses to live in till they burnt all the lofts and wainscots and partitions therof, and then remove to another house till they made an end of all the town, and left them full of excrements and filth, that it was poison to enter any of the said houses.[332]

By autumn of 1656 the town was effectively sealed off from the Old English and Gaelic Catholic populations and what little trade still remaining was re-located to outside the town walls. On 1 September Colonel Stubbers ordered 'the weekly markets of the said city of Galway to be, till further order, kept in such convenient place without the city as he shall judge most fit and commodious'.[333]

By the spring of 1657, and no doubt more than aware that Galway was rapidly becoming a liability rather than an asset, Henry Cromwell wrote to John Thurloe, Secretary of State to the Protectorate. Whilst admitting that many of the houses had become ruinous he proposed that now the town was totally depopulated of the former residents, it was in a much better position to attract New English Protestants on the grounds that 'the place becomes better secured, and merchants have a more hopeful gain of trade than when the interest of the town was in the Irish and other Papists that lived there'. He suggested to Thurloe that consideration be given to offering a substantial part of the town of Galway to the City of Gloucester, in discharge of agreed damages of £10,000 which was owed to them as war reparations following the end of the English Civil War. In his letter Henry Cromwell stated:

> In our apprehension, there never was a fitter time than now for such an undertaking. And forasmuch as the plantation and settling manufactures in that town is not a work for any private interests, but a society to undertake; considering likewise of what publick advantage Londonderry was, not only to the civilizing and securing Ulster, but the whole nation, when in the late rebellion only that place and Dublin stood free from the power of the Irish rebells; we submit it to his highness's wisdom, of what consequence this place may be, if well planted, or as may otherwise be held fit. This may happily not only secure the publick peace of Conaught, but subdue the spirits of the discontented Irish and other papist inhabitants within that province, which is now more than ever to be taken care of,

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[332] T.C.D. MSS 886, (I. 4. 11), ff. 45v, 46.
[333] Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 2, p. 620.

> seeing so many proprietors, sword-men, and other dangerous and disaffected persons are transplanted thither from all other parts of this nation.[334]

Thurloe and more correctly Oliver Cromwell must have felt very positive about this proposal for in May 1657 he sent the following reply:

> Your lordship writt to me the other day concerneinge the cittie of Glocester's plantinge at Galloway. This day the parlament have passed a bill for their satisfaction in that place, and 2 miles about it.[335]

SOCIAL ORDER: THE CORPORATION AND COMMONALITY

The Corporation

At the beginning of the 1640s the town of Galway was a prosperous and thriving port town with an established network of European trading partners and a developing transatlantic trade with the colonies of the West Indies and the Eastern seaboard of North America. The Corporation had over the previous 30 years, come to terms with the restrictions arising from the strict imposition of the Act of Supremacy and had even succeeded in electing Patrick French as a Catholic mayor in 1633. He had faced up to the electoral challenge by the Protestant aldermen who intended to oppose him by stating that he was 'as good a subject to his Majesty as they were…and others of higher spirit yielded and gave up their places'.[336] This appears to have been the only exception to the rule although there is no doubt that most of the other office holders were Catholic. Despite the growth in Galway's population fuelled by the relaxation of the formerly, strictly observed exclusion of the Gaelic Irish, the Old English families still held the reigns of power. Figure 5.2 lists the Mayors and Sheriffs from 1640 until 1654, when the New English Protestants seized control following the surrender of the town to General Coote.

In the early 1640s despite the growing unrest within the town, the Corporation found time to attend to matters of pomp and ceremony, and update the bye-laws governing the order of rank in station and public meetings, within the county of the town. Apart from 'the young men', all attendees were obliged to wear their robes of office and obey the following order of precedence:- 1. Mayor, 2. Recorder, 3. Mayor of the Staple,

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[334] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 6, January 1657-March 1658* (1742), pp. 209-224. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report. Date accessed: 8. February 2010.

[335] R. Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, Volume 2, p. 620.

[335] *The State Papers of John Thurloe*, pp. 260-272.

[336] TCD MSS 866,fol. 32v.

Date	Mayors	Sheriffs	
1640	Francis Blake	Francis Athy	Geffrey Blake
1641	Walter Lynch Fitz James Fitz Ambrose	John Martin Fitz Geffrey	Matt. Martin Fitz Nicholas
1642	Richard Martin Fitz Oliver	Domnick Skerret	John Bermingham
1643	Sir Valentine Blake	Oliver Óge French	John Kirwan
1644	James Darcy Fitx Nicholas	Domnick Darcy	Robert Martin Fitz Jasper
1645	Edmond Kirwan Fitx Patrick	Dom. Browne Fitz Nicholas	Martin Kirwan Fitz Andrew
1646	John Blake Fitz Nicholas	Domnick Blake Fitz Robert	Nicholas Bodkin Fitz David
1647	Walter Browne	Domnick Martin Fitz Thomas	Peter Browne Fitz James
1648	Sir Walter Blake	Martin Blake Fitz Andrew	James Blake Fitz Nicholas
1649	Thomas Lynch Fitz Marcus Fitz Martin	Stephen Lynch Fitz Nicholas	Anthony Lynch Fitz John
1650	Sir Oliver Óge French	James French Fitz Edmond	Peter Lynch Fitz Anthony
1651	Richard Kirwan Fitz Thomas	Thomas Lynch Fitz Patrick	Arthur Lynch Fitz Stephen
1652	Michael Lynch Fitz Stephen	Alex Lynch Fitz Andrew	William Martin Fitz Stephen
1653	Arthur Lynch Fitz Anthony	Nicholas French	Arthur Lynch
1654	Thomas Lynch Fitz Ambrose	Richard Lynch	Anthony French Fitz Peter

Figure 5.2: List of Mayors and Sheriffs. Galway Corporation, 1640-1654
Source: J Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway*, pp. 216-217

4. Aldermen that bore office by their seniority, 5. Sheriffs for the time being, 6.The Captain of the young men, 7. Lawyers that were recorders with their gowns, 8. Aldermen peers, according to their seniority, in their gowns, 9. The Coroner in his gown, 10. The Chamberlain and escheator, in their gowns, 11. Lawyers and barristers, in their gowns, who did practice according to their seniority. 12. Constables of the staple, or late sheriffs, 13. All other sheriffs that bore office, according to their antiquity, 14. The four captains of the four quarters, 15. Burgesses, according to their seniority of houses keeping.[337]

Apart from lawyers and barristers, no other professions are specifically mentioned and it is presumed that those regarded as such fell within the general title of 'Burgesses according to their station'. In June 1647 they determined the robes which were to be worn at the funeral of civic dignitaries and their wives. For example at the death of an Alderman or his wife, past Mayors and Aldermen were to wear red gowns and the currently elected Aldermen and Sheriffs were to wear black gowns. Similarly at the funeral of any current Recorder or any past Recorders, the Mayor and Aldermen were to attend in their red gowns.

None of the processes by which most of the various office holders attained their position could, by any stretch of the imagination, be termed democratic. The Aldermen were elected annually by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, who had formerly been Mayor, this group being known as the 'short council'. From the list of elected Aldermen, one or two were shortlisted to replace the new Mayor or an Alderman in the event that either died in office.[338] The town council for the year was comprised of 18 Aldermen, 15 Burgesses and four Councillors 'learned in the law'.[339]

The range of appointments both in terms of the legislative members of the council, the full time officers of the town's defences and the various officials concerned with the collection of taxes, acts as a pointer to the strength and importance of Galway at the beginning of the 1640s. After July 1643 when they joined the Confederation, a number of the town's officials became senior members of the Supreme Council, in particular,

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[337] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 215. This is an extract from Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, pp. 493-494. Gilbert notes that this was an undated document found between the leaves of the Manuscript for 1643 and 1644.

[338] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 215; TCD MSS 886 (folio 36v).

[339] For a full list of the elected members see; Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 492-493.

Richard Martin, who was Mayor in 1642, and also took a prominent part in both the national and regional governance of the Confederacy.

The duties of the Mayor and Corporation had not changed significantly since medieval times, details of which have been dealt with in a previous chapter. They remained responsible for the collection of local taxes, the maintenance of the town's walls and streets (*murage and pavage*), the regulation of the markets, trades and crafts and the maintenance of law and order. Although the structure of the Corporation remained intact throughout the Confederacy and even after the surrender of the town in 1652, overall control shifted to the unelected Council of Eight during the Confederate War and then to the Parliamentary military governor of the town until the Restoration.

Nonetheless the archives of the town indicate that some degree of control remained with the Corporation until 1654. They appeared to be instrumental in the collection of revenue to pay for the reconstruction of the town's defences particularly on the vulnerable east walls, where any major onslaught by the Cromwellian forces might be expected, the details of which are dealt with later. They also gave some attention to the neglected civic buildings. In 1645, under the direction of the Mayor, Edmond Kirwan, and as an indication of the Corporation's confidence in its newly won independence, work was restarted on the Thosel (Town Hall), which had been partially completed in 1639, following the demolition of a number of houses to the east side of St. Nicholas Church.[340]

There is evidence of tax collection on behalf of both the town and the Confederacy. In 1646 John Blake, the Mayor, on the orders of the Supreme Council despatched six soldiers to be cessed upon the houses of Ullicke Burke and others in the Barony of Dunkellyn at the rate of three pence *per diem* plus meat and drink, until monies due by them were paid. In June 1647 the Corporation approved a general rate of £2,400 sterling to be 'farmed from the town' and paid in instalments between August 1647, and May 1648 towards the upkeep of the Confederate army in Connacht. On the same day, the Corporation appointed a sub-committee, headed by the Mayor to decide how the revenue was to be raised. Another sub-committee was appointed to review corporation

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[340] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* pp. 489; 494.

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expenditure for the previous year and agree a new budget for the year, 1647-1648.[341] As an indication of the sums involved and, as an illustration of the wealth of the town at the time, the equivalent value of £2,400 would have been £280,000 in the year 2008. [342]

There was also some degree of civic responsibility in the social needs of the town as demonstrated during the plague which raged during 1649-1650. This plague had decimated the population and emptied the town. The Corporation had responded by voting in an emergency tax of '2,000 markes sterling towards the charges of phisitians and providinge of all other necessaries requisite for the purifying and clensing if the said towne'. This involvement in social welfare was no doubt brought about because the traditional provision of medical assistance for the sick and destitute by the religious orders, had all but disappeared as the Protestant Reformation forced the expulsion of many of the orders and destroyed their hospices.[343]

The possibility of corrupt elections arose in 1650 when the Corporation saw fit to issue a edict 'touching the suppression of seeking votes for the election of Mayor, Sheriffe, or any other office within this town' and should they or any of their friends be found out 'as foresaid shall never bear office within this town'.[344] The archives offer no further detail of the need to issue this edict, but, as the town entered the 1650s, and as the Cromwellian armies closed in, it is hardly surprising that the normal standards of behaviour expected during more stable times were breaking down. A footnote in Hardiman's *History* at the time, thought to have been copied from a contemporary source throws some light on the breakdown of order and is thus quoted here in full:

> 'The following curious description is taken verbatim from a manuscript written at this period. - 'The ensuing things brought no good success to the town, but rather ambition, discord and discredit; viz. knights, lawyers and bomery-masters: knights brought pride, lawyers intricacy and licentiousness, where all matters formerly were tried and determined by two honest burgesses or friends; and bomery-masters brought discredit in the highest degree. In old times they would rather hang themselves than break or discontent strangers, but it is now made a common trade, to the great dishonour of the good and famous report evermore held of this

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[341] *Ibid.,* pp. 494-496.

[342] Lawrence H. Officer, 'Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to Present,' MeasuringWorth, 2009. http://www.measuringworth.com/poweruk/. Accessed 18.02.2010. This is only for a general comparison. There were significant differences between the English and Irish economies at the time and very little data exists on the pre 1660 Irish economy. See; L.M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', in T. W. Moody *et.al.* (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume 3*, pp.387-407.

[343] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 500.

[344] *Ibid.*

> town. They are also infected with pride, none being accounted worthy of good marriage or portion, however so well bred or educated, unless he had a Stone house or good estate: likewise in the said town the sin of lechery abounded.[345]

The precise definition of 'bomery master' is obscure but they were likely to be speculators, since, common to all wars, shortages would have created a growing class of traders involved in a lucrative black market, and where the traditional values of the medieval guilds and the comprehensive trading standards enforced by the Corporation were swept aside.

From 1650, and through the entire siege of 1651-1652, the archives remained silent about the activities of the Corporation other than the sparse announcements concerning the election of officials. Then on 29 September 1654, the archives recorded the following:

> Memorandum: That the English inhabitants of Gallway, did on the 29th of September, this yeare, petition the Right Honorable the Lord Deputy and Councell that the government of this towne by the charter might not be any longer in the handes of the Irish and Papists, but that it might be put into the hands of the English and Protestants. Which was granted, and by vertue of a spetial order in that case the oficers above mentioned was dismissed and new ones chosen, as in the next will apeare.[346]

Having deposed the Catholic mayor and Corporation Colonel Peter Stubbers, the military governor took over the duties of the Mayor with Robert Clark taking one of the vacancies for Sheriff and Marcus Lynch the other. Thereafter from 1654 until 1660, the town archives are silent as to any business transactions other than recording the appointments of the mayor and officials (Figure 5.3).

The Commonality

The order of precedence detailed above lists 'Burgesses' as the lowest order within the hierarchy, but the description offers no further clues as to who may have occupied this strata or what their occupations, trades or crafts may have been. Surprisingly, two disciplines, namely, scholarship and medicine, failed to receive any specific mention at all, let alone be accorded any official status, although scions of the

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[345] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 126; This observation is believed to have been written in 1661 by Geoffrey Lynch Fitz- Dominick, a copy of which forms part of TCD MSS 886, fol. 39. (P. Walsh, 'An Account of the Town of Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 44, (1992), p. 51.

[346] .Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 501.

Date	Mayors	Sheriffs	
1654	Colonel Peter Stubbers	Paul Dodd	Marcus Lynch Fitz Thomas
1655	Lieut. Col. Humphrey Hurd	John Camel	John Mathews
1656	Paul Dodd	John Peters	Mathew Forth
1657	Gabriel King	Jarvis Hind	Thomas Harvest
1658	Sir Charles Coote	John May	Richard Ormsby
1659	John Mathews	Richard Bernard	William Speed
1660	John Morgan	George Scanderbegg-Bushell	John Pope

Figure 5.3: List of Mayors and Sheriffs. Galway Corporation. 1654-1660
Source: J Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway*, p. 217

Galway elite were represented in both of them. The lack of official recognition of lay teachers within the hierarchical structure of the town is even more remarkable, given that Galway was the most important centre for lay schools in Ireland at the time. These schools had counted amongst their alumni some of the most influential members of the town's hierarchy. As well as educating what Hardiman referred to as 'the learned triumvirate' of Dr. John Lynch, Roderic O'Flaherty, and Duald MacFirbis, others included Francis Browne, Patrick D'Arcy, Sir Richard Blake, Dr. Kirwan, Edmund De Burgo, Peter French and John O'Heyne.[347] The title 'Doctor of Medicine' or Doctor of Physick', was a university award and continental medical schools, particularly at Montpelier and Paris were popular with Irish Catholic students at the time. [348] The *Archives of the Town* first mention the title 'phisitian' in 1650, in connection with the health measures taken to clear the town of the plague. However it is noted that Iriell Tully of Galway, physician, is mentioned in a deed of mortgage by John Blake in February, 1627, as is Thomas Lynch, Dr. of Medicine, included in a Chancery Inquisition relating to Walter Blake in October. 1627.[349] Although both these records pre-date the period under review they point to prominent members of the hierarchy providing medical services to the town. The omission of these prominent professions from the ranking system of the mid-seventeenth century Galway society points more to a residual adherence to medieval pomp and ceremony, rather than to any disregard for the importance of these professions in the life of the town.

The changes in the demographics and social conditions within the town have been touched on several times during the course of this chapter. It has been observed that in the early 1640s, social conditions were stable and the town in general was reaping the rewards of nearly four decades of peace and prosperity. During the course of the Confederate wars this social stability was gradually eroded and by the end of the siege, in 1652, any sense of a cohesive community had all but vanished. The nobility and the merchant classes had abandoned the lower orders to their fate in the hope of salvaging some part of their accumulated wealth. By the early 1650s the commonality had fallen

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[347] O'Flaherty, *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, p. 421.

[348] J. P. Murray, *Galway: A Medico Social History* (Kenny's Bookshop. Galway), p. 30.

[349] Blake, *Blake Family Records*, pp. 35-36.

back on the only resource left to them and had placed their faith in the hands of the clergy in the hope of a last minute reprieve from a sympathetic Catholic foreign power.

There had been little understanding amongst the general population that within the context of mid-seventeenth century European politics, the fate of Catholic Ireland, was a minor issue. Both France and Spain were economically crippled after years of fighting each other, and neither could risk antagonising the new Parliamentary regime in England. Negotiations for relief and assistance from the Duke of Lorraine had failed to materialise, save for some small shipments of arms and provisions, and following the surrender of the town, the clergy, who were their last remaining source of support, were expelled and given six months to leave the country. Because the base line for retribution by the Parliamentarians following the Act of Settlement was the seizure of land and property, the lower orders, who owned little more than the clothes on their backs had barely escaped with their lives. The town, cleared of it's former inhabitants, including most of the 'knights, lawyers and bomery-masters', was now ready for a New English Protestant community to occupy the empty houses and recover the town's trade and enterprise. The initial wave of incoming new residents were not the industrious, commercially orientated 'corn seed' colonialists, as envisaged by the early seventeenth century 'social gardeners' like John Davies. They were for the most part soldiers who had been billeted in empty houses and in some cases whose arrears of pay were being met by the issue of debentures and the allocation by lot, of property and land. Apart from their military training, those that had been working in civilian life prior to coming to Ireland might have been able to provide the town with some of the basic trades required to sustain an urban infrastructure, but these skills fell well short of any replacement for the guild merchants, traders, lawyers and others who had brought wealth into the town over the previous decades. This process was not, of course, unique to Galway and had been carried through in most of the other Old English urban centres following their capitulation during the course of the Cromwellian invasion. As Prendergast observed:

> The consequence of clearing the towns of their inhabitants was to leave them ruinous: the few English were not enough to occupy them, and the deserted houses fell down, or were pulled down to use the timber for firing. Lord Inchiquin, President of Munster, was charged in 1647 with having given houses in the city of Cork, and farms in the suburbs, to his own menial servants, as barbers, grooms, and others. His answer was, that upon the expelling of the Irish out of Cork, it was to the benefit of the State that he should place any persons in the houses on the

> sole condition of upholding them, which otherwise, being waste and uninhabited, would have fallen to the ground; and though by this means many of the houses were preserved, yet for want of inhabitants about three thousand good houses in Cork, and as many in Youghal, had been destroyed by the soldiers, finding them empty, and for want of firing in their guards.[350]

The English parliament was not ignorant of this degeneration in Ireland's urban landscape as a letter from Nathaniel Brewster to Thurloe in October 1656 illustrates:

> The principal seaport towns of this country are sadly decayed and unpeopled, being likely to continue so until better encouragement be offered to planters, especially merchants; the want of which renders many beautiful strong towns to be but sad spectacles.[351]

The extent to which the new inhabitants of the houses in Galway were owner-occupiers, tenants or merely billeted soldiers is unclear although, as discussed later, by 1657, a substantial number of the houses within the town had been assigned to New English proprietors. They may or may not have be owner-occupiers and there is evidence that, even though some of the soldiers may have been allotted property in lieu of pay, most of the rank and file soldiers lacked sufficient capital to establish themselves either in urban or rural settings, and many of them sold their shares or interest to their officers or to property speculators.

The change in the demographic profile of the town did not go unnoticed nor unrecorded by the now dispossessed Catholics. Hardiman notes that Lieutenant Colonel Humphrey Hurd, who was appointed Mayor in 1655, was originally a carpenter, and one of the Sheriffs, John Mathews, a weaver:

> They also inform us, with marked feelings of contempt and indignation that Cromwell's soldiers, with all cobblers, butchers, bakers, soldiers and mechanics were at this period indiscriminately made free of the corporation; while the former respectable natives and gentry were turned out of the town, and stript of all their possessions, which were seized upon by those rapacious invaders.[352]

Dr. John Lynch, a native of Galway, whose father had founded the Grammar School in 1615, in dedicating his great work *Cambrensis Eversus* to Charles II, wrote in 1662:

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[350] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,* pp.171-172; Although many medieval wooden houses were destroyed for firewood in other Irish towns, Galway was a least spared much of this vandalism because much of
the built infrastructure was stone.
[351] *A collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 5: May 1656 - January 1657* (1742), pp. 502-514. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report, p. 508.
[352] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 217.

> One of the conditions of the peace concluded with your Lieutenant in Ireland was, that the Parliament which was to be held in the first instance should be free. But this Parliament is not free, but enslaved, because it brings slavery, not liberty, to the nation; and, by hurling our nobles from their ancient opulence and power, and transferring their places to cobblers, weavers, smiths, quarrymen, pedlars, girdle-makers, and others of the same servile rank, they anxiously desire to make Ireland a theatre and arena of slavery, merely changing the personages; changing, not removing, the slaves; metamorphizing slaves into masters, and masters into slaves.[353]

Viewing this observation from a later, more egalitarian age, there may seem to be not much wrong in spreading the wealth of a nation more evenly over the entire population, but the Cromwellian settlement was less about equality and more about the ethnic cleansing of a whole society, irrespective of their rank and privileges. In the case of Galway, the resettlement of the town with former soldiers who were largely disinterested in formulating and organising a long term plan for its future prosperity meant that the prospects looked very bleak. As Hardiman remarked:

> The trifling trade which recently remained had by now entirely ceased; and the town, thus circumstanced, resembled a rich bee-hive plundered of its treasures, while its industrious people lay smothered and destroyed.[354]

It was not just the dispossessed former inhabitants of Galway, nor those exiled overseas like Dr. Lynch, who feared for the future of the town. The Protestant inhabitants of Galway who had settled in the town prior to the outbreak of the Confederate wars were equally concerned. The Reverend Reuben Easthorpe, who had already acquired land and property in the suburbs, wrote to Henry Cromwell on 17 July 1657:

> Poor Galway, sitteth in the dust and no eye pitieth her; her merchants were princes and great amongst the nations, but now the city which was full of people is solitary and very desolate. Pity I beseech you, these ruins.[355]

He added that there was a need 'for honest men from England to come and settle' and though he had heard that the inhabitants of Gloucester were to have houses in Galway, he voiced the opinion that few would come.[356] Henry Cromwell had already visited Galway the previous year and had come to much the same conclusion about the prospects of the

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[353] J. Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus,* M. Kelly, (ed.), Volume I, (The Celtic Society, Dublin, 1848), p. 29.

[354] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 127.

[355] British Library *Lansdowne MSS.,*(B.L. Lansdowne), 822 F. 158).

[356] *Ibid.*: R. Howes, 'Gloucester and Cromwellian Ireland', in *Glevensis, GADARG,* No. 37, 2004, pp. 39-40. Note Reuben Eastropp, had taken over three parcels of land formerly owned by Oliver Martin, Francis Skerrit and Sir Dominick Browne, and some of the fishing rights on the River Galway from James D'Arcy; Hardiman, *History of Galway,* Appendix VI, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

town, but was more optimistic about the likelihood of attracting the 'right type of settler'. In October 1656 in a letter to Thurloe he observed:

> I have been to Galway, and had a full view of that town, which is considerable both for the western trade, and of as great strength as any towne I know in these three nations; and would , if fully planted with English, have a very great influence for the awning the Irish in this province. I have formerly written to you, that some London Merchants or others might be treated with for the inhabiting there; which is full of well built and fair houses but very much going to decay for want of inhabitants.[357]

The idea that the future prospects of Galway would best be served by the planting of a ready made business community was therefore already in the minds of the administration when the opportunity of offering this opportunity to the City of Gloucester was first mooted.

The Gloucester Proposal

In order to understand how this proposition came about it is necessary to outline briefly Gloucester's role in the English Civil War and the subsequent agreement by the Cromwellian parliament to compensate the city for the damage it sustained while resisting the royalist forces in the early stages of the war. Between 3 August and 5 September 1643, the City of Gloucester held out against the Royalist forces of Charles I until relieved by the Parliamentary forces led by the Earl of Essex, (ironically, as already mentioned, the Earl of Clanricarde's half-brother). To deny the enemy shelter during the siege, the City destroyed some 241 houses belonging to 85 individuals to an estimated value of £28,720.[358] After the defeat of Charles II at the battle of Worcester in 1651, the Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester sent a petition to Parliament claiming compensation for their losses. On 22 September 1653, Parliament passed the third reading of the Act of Satisfaction distributing large tracts of forfeited land in Ireland in order to settle the claims of those who had advanced money to meet army pay, arrears, to discharge other military pay demands, and to encourage Protestants to settle in Ireland. A clause was added to this bill, promoted by John Crofts, a member of Parliament for Gloucester which read:

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[357] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 5: May 1656 - January 1657.*
[358] Howes, 'Gloucester and Cromwellian Ireland', p. 38.

> That, in Consideration of the Losses sustained by *Anthony Edwards*, one of the Aldermen of the City of *Gloucester*, and *Thomas Witcomb* of the said City, and many others, named in a List, delivered in to the Committee of the late Parliament for *Irish* Affairs, by suffering their Houses voluntarily to be burned, and their Goods and Lands destroyed, for the Service of the Parliament, before the late Siege of the said City of *Glocester*, by the late King's Forces, such Part and Share of the said forfeited Lands, as shall be valued at Ten thousand Pounds, according to the Rates set upon those Lands, appointed by this Act to be set forth unto the Adventurers for *Irish* Lands; be set-forth, and sufficiently conveyed unto the said *Anthony Edwards, Thomas Whitcombe*, and their Heirs, in Trust, for the Use of themselves, and all others named in the said List, to be divided amongst them or the Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns of them, or any of them respectively, according to their several and respective Losses, and Sufferings, mentioned in the said List:[359]

The clause only just scraped in as the house was divided on the matter but the Speaker gave his assent in its favour.[360]

The Mayor and Council of the City of Gloucester at first appeared to be receptive to the proposition of taking ownership of a substantial part of Galway. There were some topographical and strategic similarities between the two locations as can be seen from comparing John Speed's plans of both places published in 1610 (Compare Figures 5.4 and 4.9). They were both well defended, walled 'Port Cities' built with their western walls protected by a river over which they had command of the crossings. This strategic location prevented circumvallation, a significant feature of early modern siege warfare. Whilst Gloucester provided a deep inland port which connected to the major towns and cities of the English midlands and north, Galway offered the opportunities for European trade and, importantly for future growth and exploitation, an ideal point of embarkation for the expanding markets of the West Indies and North America.

But whereas there may well have been potential commercial opportunities in taking over and rebuilding Galway's lucrative import and export trade, the reality was that the citizens of Gloucester were not themselves enthusiastic about moving from the comparative comfort and safety of their home town. As well as being offered property in Galway in settlement of their losses during the siege of Gloucester, the city council had also acquired title to other lands in Counties Laois and Kildare, following the Act of Settlement. They had bought out the claims of individual 'Adventurers' from the city in

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[359] *Journal of the House of Commons: volume 7: 1651-1660*, (1802), pp. 322-323, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report. (Date accessed: 8 February 2010).
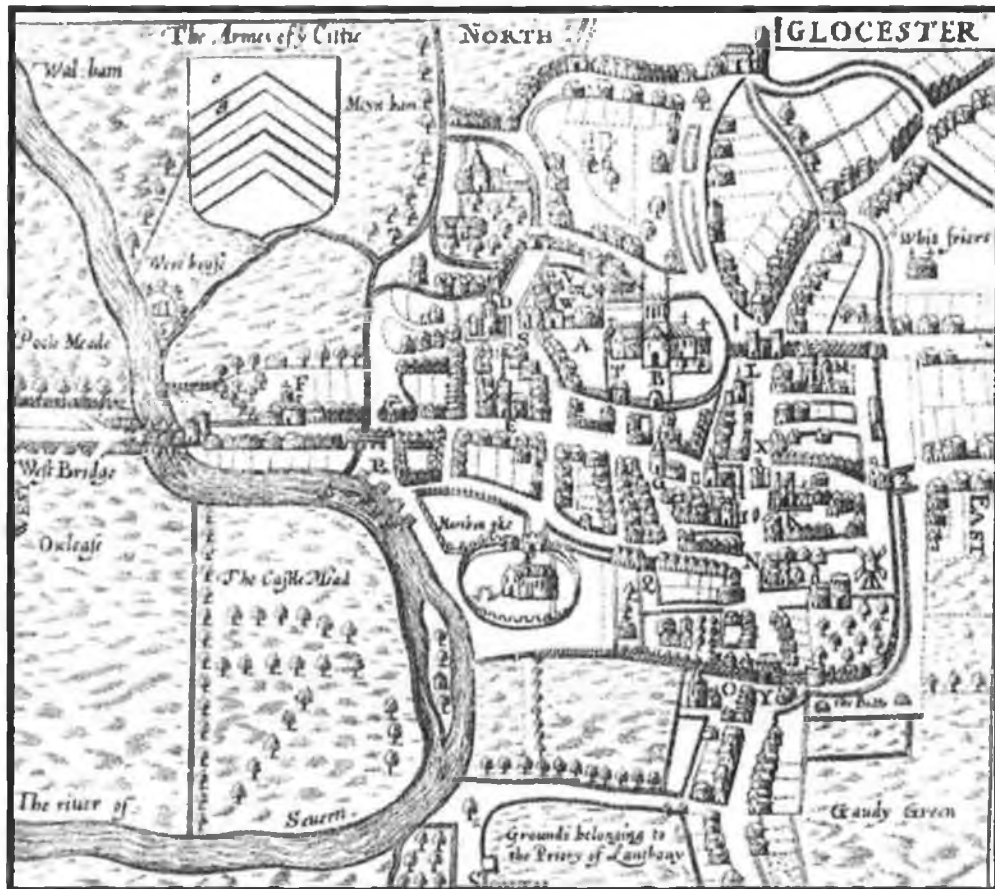[360] *Ibid.*

Figure 5.4: Map of Gloucester by John Speed, 1610
J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*

1656, and in 1657 the Mayor of Gloucester, Luke Nourse, appointed Vincent Godkin to take possession of the lands allotted to them in the Barony of Stradbally, Co. Laois, and if he recovered all the lands he was to have the lease of them for 21 years.[361]

As well as being content to just to take the benefit of rent from the lands in Laois and Kildare, rather than occupy it, they also showed a similar lack of interest in taking an active part in the post war reconstruction of Galway. At a Gloucester City Council meeting on 22 July 1657, Thomas Whitcombe, one of the trustees granted ownership of the forfeited lands and houses in Galway by Parliament in September 1653, conveyed the responsibility to Dr. Thomas Charges and Captain Geoffrey Ellis with the instructions to meet with Vincent Godkin, Surveyor-General, and to prosecute their claim over the property.[362] A valuation of the allotted properties, amounting to £9110. 8s. 0d., had already been made by Godkin and published on 15 February 1657. But this did not result in any positive action by Gloucester City Council to progress their claim.[363] In August 1658, the council indicated that they were considering selling their allotment of houses in Ireland and in the spring of 1659 they were actually proposing to sell the houses to Sir Charles Coote, now the Lord President of Connaught. In 1660, Thomas Whitcombe and Captain Ellis as trustees proceeded with a plan to sell the property and although writing to all concerned, nothing came of it.[364]

Notwithstanding the apparent lack of enthusiasm for a significant proportion of the population of Gloucester to move *en masse* to Galway, the residential areas of the town which were to have been allotted to them had been identified and valued by Vincent Godkin, the Surveyor General and published on 15 February 1657. In the event there is no evidence that the City of Gloucester received any material benefit from its association with Galway. At the time, had they prosecuted their claim vigorously, it might have been a bargain despite the dereliction of the place. Henry Cromwell thought that it was a bargain. Writing to Secretary Thurloe in connection with similar transactions concerning Dundalk, he observed that 'if any should apply to his highness and the council about a

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[361] Common Council Minute Book <u>Gloucester Record Office (hereafter (GRO).</u> GBR 3/3, f. 37, 22 August 1657.

[362] (GRO), GBR B 3/3, Common Council Minute Book, f/32: See appendix ii for a complete list of Vincent Godkin's assessment, extracted from Hardiman's *History of Galway*, Appendix, VI, pp. xxxvi-xlii.

[363] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* Appendix VII, p. xlii.

[364] GRO, GBR B3/3, f.35, 26 August 1658, f. 95, 18 January 1659, f. 98., 28 March 1659.

grant for Dundalk, be very wary what you do, Galway being already gone for a song'.[365] John Prendergast, in writing the conclusion to this last episode in Galway's pre-eminent position as a major Irish port town observed that although the Commissioners for Ireland had suggested that the full scale plantation of Galway might have produced another Derry:

> It is a comparatively easy thing to unsettle a nation or ruin a town, but not so easy to resettle either when ruined. And Galway, once frequented by ships with cargoes of French and Spanish wines, to supply the wassailings of the O Neils and O Donels, the O Garas and the O Kanes, her marble palaces handed over to strangers, and her gallant sons and dark eyed daughters banished, remains for 200 years a ruin; her splendid port empty, while her 'hungry air'; in 1862 becomes the mock of the official stranger.[366]

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Edward MacLysaght, in his *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* observed:

> that the walled towns and cities of Ireland represented commerce; and commerce cares little for right and wrong, but cares a great deal for peace, law and order The cause of peace law and order – of despotism, too, had men been able to see a little beyond their noses – seemed to the mercantile interest to be bound up with the cause of the Crown[367]

The port town of Galway fitted this description perfectly. Before the massive disruption to its overseas trade, Galway, at the beginning of the 1640s, was thriving as it reaped the fruits of the long peace during the 1620s and 1630s. Gerard Boate, commented:

> Next to Dublin is Galloway, the head city of the province of Connaught, to be reckoned, as well as bigness and fairness as for riches; for the streets are wide and handsomely ordered; the houses, for the most part, built of freestone; and the inhabitants, *much addicted to trade into other countries, especially into Spain, whence they used to fetch great store of wine and other wares, every year* [writer italics].[368]

Documentary evidence of Galway's trading activity during the 1640s and 1650s though fragmentary has been touched upon throughout this narrative. The Galway merchants' highly developed network of European trading partners proved vital in

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[365] *A collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 6: January 1657 - March 1658* (1742), pp. 33-42.

[366] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 176.

[367] E. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork University Press, Cork, 1950), p. 18.

[368] Cited in J. Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, M. Kelly, (ed.), Volume 1 (The Celtic Society, Dublin, 1848), p. 55; Boate's *Ireland's Natural History was* dedicated to Oliver Cromwell and was written after the 1641 uprising in Ireland. Boate's work contained detailed information about Ireland that he received from his older brother, Arnold who was Physician General of Cromwell's forces. It was hoped that the book would attract English planters to Ireland.

maintaining a steady flow of ordnance, weaponry, powder and shot for both the defence of the town and provisioning the Confederate armies in the field, throughout the Confederate Wars. Thus in November 1641, The *Elisabeth and Francis* belonging to Robert Clark, sailed for France with a cargo of staple exports from Galway including hides and tallow. The cargo also contained a consignment of wool being smuggled out to avoid the restrictions on exports of wool from Ireland to the Continent.[369] The *Elisabeth and Francis* returned in February 1642 laden with salt, powder and arms.[370] In June 1642, A Galway owned ship arrived in Galway Bay conveying a 'great quantity of powder and munitions for onward supply to the Munster and Ulster armies',[371] and during Lord Forbes' abortive attack on Galway he was alleged to have seized a Galway merchant man with a cargo value at over £6,000.[372]

As the Cromwellian forces closed in, and the port was blockaded by the Parliamentary navy, the flow of exports and imports reduced to a trickle and the heavily defended island of Innis Boffin, lying some 10 miles off the Connacht coast became the only safe harbour for Confederate ships. Despite these restrictions, some ships managed to breach the blockade and one such incident indicates that the Galway merchants were still engaged in some continental trade into the 1650s. Lord and Lady Fanshawe, after surviving their stay in plague ridden Galway, sailed to France in February 1651 on board a Dutch merchant ship. In her diary Lady Anne Fanshawe wrote:

> The natives seem to me to a very loving people to each other, and constantly false to strangers, the Spaniards only excepted. The country exceeds in timber and seaports, and great plenty of fish, fowl, flesh; and by shipping wants no foreign commodities.[373]

During the voyage to Malaga the ship was attacked by Turkish pirates as Lady Fanshawe noted:

> When we had just passed the Straits, we saw coming towards us with full sail a Turkish galley, well manned, and we believed we should all be carried away slaves. For this man [the Captain] had so loaden his ship with goods for Spain that his guns were useless, though the ship carried sixty guns. He called for brandy, and after he had well drunken, and all his men (which were near two hundred), he

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[369] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 153, 155.

[370] TCD, MS, 831 fo: 155.

[371] *Franciscan MSS,* p. 150.

[372] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 118.

[373] *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Fanshawe,* p. 63.

called for arms and cleared the deck as well as he could, resolving to fight rather
than lose his ship, that was worth thirty thousand pounds.[374]

Although it is clear from this narrative that the ship was carrying a substantial cargo, it was not necessarily all from the port of Galway, for it was usual at this time, for traders to call at several ports, to off load and take on board cargo. The Dutch in particular had developed an extensive merchant marine fleet for this purpose and a significant volume of international trade was carried in 'Dutch Bottoms'. Nonetheless, it was unlikely that the ship had visited Galway just to transport Lord and Lady Fanshawe to Malaga. It is far more likely that, despite ongoing hostilities, Galway merchants were continuing to maintain their trading links with Spain.

TOPOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION

Maps and Plans

The only contemporary surviving plan of the town of Galway during the 1640s and 1650s is the Pictorial Map of Galway (Figure 5.5.). Of the two surviving copies, one is held in the Special Collections section of the James Hardiman Library NUI, Galway, and the other in the manuscripts department Trinity College Dublin.[375] The map was printed in the Low Countries during the reign of Charles II, (1660-1686), and it is, as its title makes clear, a *delineation historica*, an 'historical delineation' of the town. For example the map depicts the monastery of St. Augustine surrounded by the citadel. The citadel was demolished in 1643 by the inhabitants following the defeat of Captain Willoughby by the Confederate forces who also destroyed the abbey in 1645 to prevent it being used by any attacking forces.[376] Yet it also includes details of the siege line erected during the period of the Cromwellian siege from 1651-1652 which of course post dated the aforementioned demolition of the citadel and abbey.

In terms of scale, because the map is a 'bird's eye' view of the town the perspective is foreshortened the further one goes away from the town.[377] The map itself consists of nine sheets each sheet measuring two foot six (76.2 cms.) by one foot six (54.72 cms.) with the

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[374] *Ibid.*

[375] T.C.D. MSS. 1209.73

[376] O'Sullivan , *Old Galway*, 262.

[377] E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. *xxvi*.
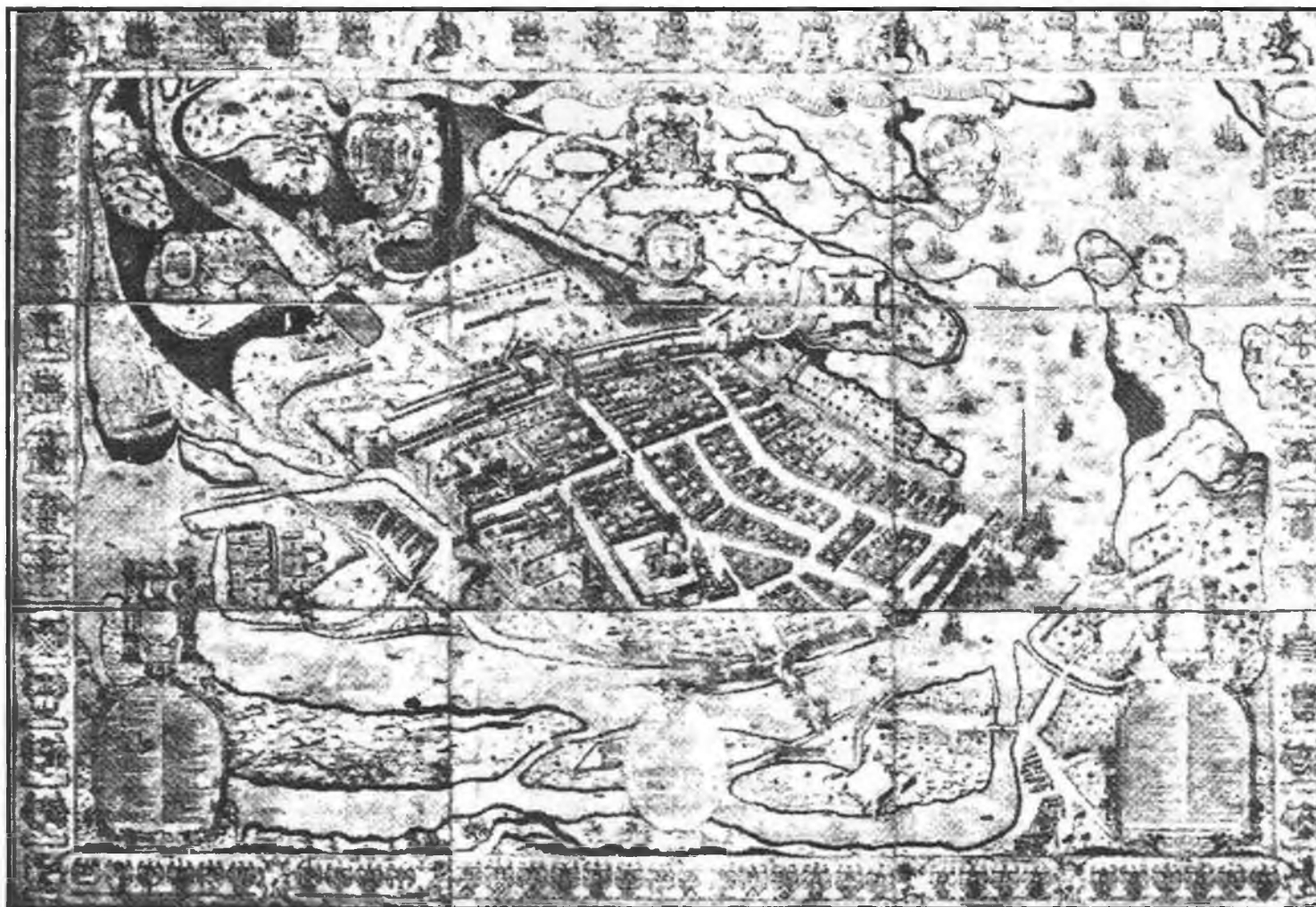
Figure 5.5: The '1651' Pictorial Map.
Source: W. F. Trench, 'Notes on the Pictorial Map of Galway',

three top sheets depicting four separate images of Charles II. Like most other maps of the period the orientation places north to the left hand side.

The map is generally referred to as 'The 1651 Pictorial Map' due to James Hardiman's account of its origins when he first drew attention to its existence in his *History of Galway*. Hardiman states that;

> In the year 1651 the Marquis of Clanricarde, then Lord Deputy of the kingdom, entered into a treaty with the Duke of Lorrain, to obtain twenty thousand pounds for the king's service in Ireland; for this sum, he agreed to give the City of Limerick and the town of Galway as security; and directed his commissioners, Lord Viscount Taffe, Sir Thomas Plunket and Geoffrey Brown, Esq, 'particularly to describe unto the Duke, the value of the security, the strength and situation of the places and the goodness and conveniency of the harbors', for this purpose a map of the town was made, which, after the restoration, (when the antient inhabitants were restored, by the Crown, their freedoms and estates) was finished blazoned and described by the Rev. Henry Joyce, then warden; and afterwards elegantly engraved, at the expense of the Corporation, and dedicated to King Charles II.[378]

No corroborating evidence has ever emerged from the surviving documents to connect this map with the Lorraine negotiations. Nor was mention made of its existence in either the *Clanricarde Memoirs* nor in De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana,* the sources referred to by Hardiman.[379] That is not to say that Clanricarde's delegates to the Duke of Lorraine had no illustrative depictions of Galway to press their case. John Speed's *Plan of Galway 1610,* (Figure 4.9) was in general circulation at the time and, although not as detailed as the '1651' map, could well have been the model on which the later map was based. Also available would have been the 1625 map (Figure 4.14), which, although essentially a military map may well have assisted Lord Taffe in describing the town to Lorraine. Although some caution is therefore advised in referencing the map as an accurate depiction of mid-seventeenth century Galway, nonetheless, along with the references to places and buildings detailed in Hardiman's *History of Galway,* it provides a valuable guide for many, otherwise unidentifiable, place names and features which have survived to the present day' (Figure 5.6).[380]

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[378] Hardiman, *History of Galway, p.23.*

[379] W. F. Trench (ed.), Notes on the Pictorial Map of Galway. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Volume 4, Number1, (1905-6), p.43.

[380] Hardiman, *History of Galway* 27-30; P. Walsh, in, G. Moran and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Galway History and Society,* p. 31.
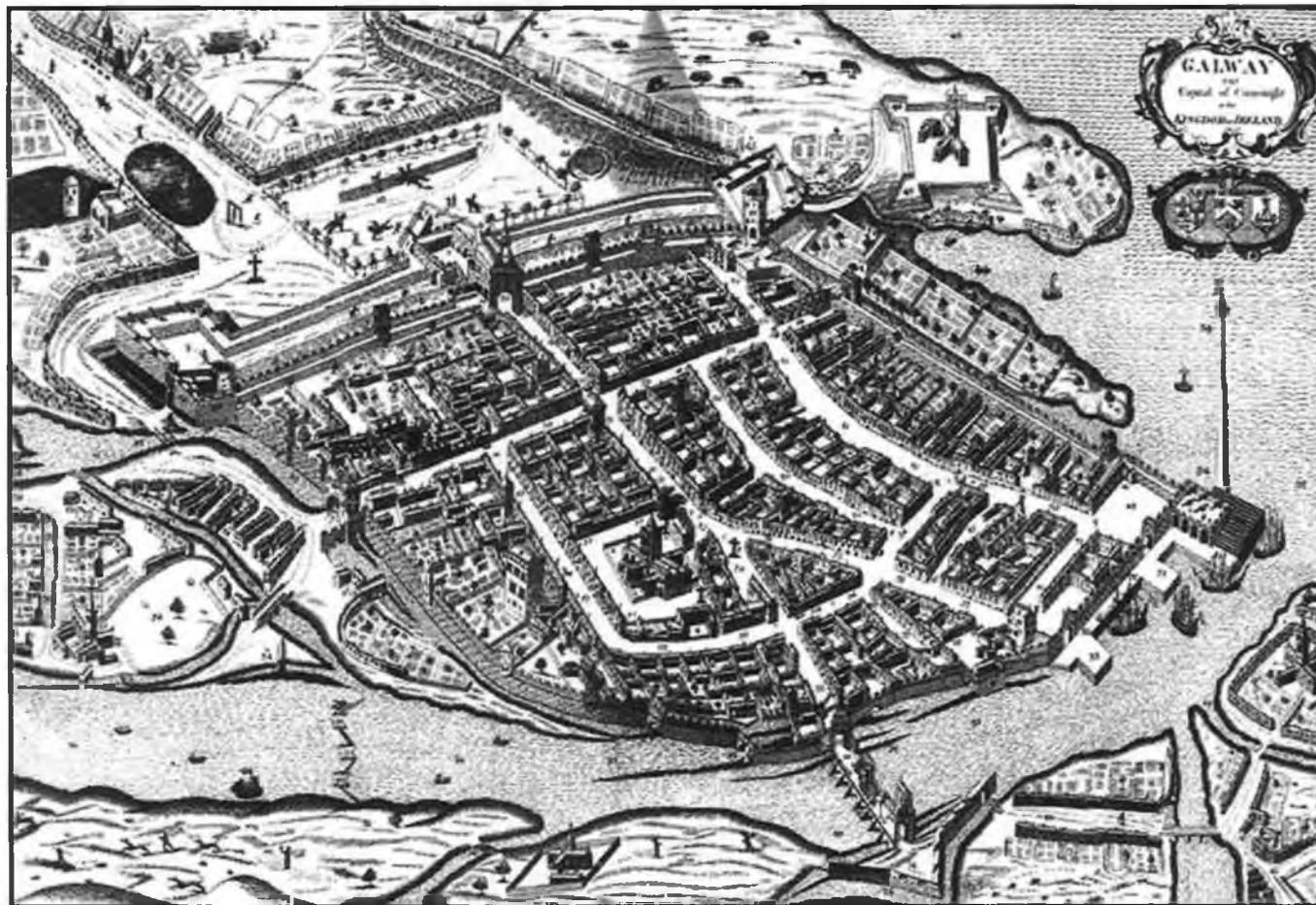
Figure 5.6: The Pictorial Map of mid-seventeenth century Galway
Source: Authors photograph from J. Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway,* pp. 31-32

Whilst the cartographic value of the map offers an invaluable aid to a better understanding of the built environment of the town in the 1650s, the 'text' of the map, including the elaborate cartouches and emblems which form its borders act as a commentary on the social order which prevailed in the town prior to the Cromwellian conquest when the Catholic elite were at the height of their powers. It is in fact a classic example of 'how the rules of social order appear to insert themselves into the smaller codes and spaces of a cartographic description'.[381] Hardiman's statement that following the Restoration the map was 'elegantly engraved at the expense of the Corporation and dedicated to Charles II' is highly speculative. The illustrations and cartouches glorify the fourteen ancient tribes of Galway. Their mansions and castles are illustrated on the map as are, for example the fourteen religious houses and convents. It is highly unlikely that the New English Protestant Corporation of the 1660s would have expended what would have been a substantial amount of public funds in completing and publishing a map which was representative of the social order and hierarchical structures of a society which they and their political masters had dismantled and banished during the latter stages of the Cromwellian occupation of the town.

Some examples of the overall reliability of much of the detail shown on the map were revealed during the archaeological investigations of the city between 1987 and 1998.[382]. A three-storey tower-house known as Blake's Castle was excavated during the investigation, and was located at the bottom of Quay St. The location corresponds to the site of the mansion house of Sir Richard Blake, knight, annotated 'Y' on the Pictorial Map (Figure 5.7). The house originally measured 14m by 8,87m externally with the southern wall, fronting onto Quay Street, remaining largely intact.[383] The tower house has been extensively restored and is adjacent to the modern Juries Inn (Figure. 5.8). The investigation included a large scale excavation of Merchants' Road in 1987 and 1989 and has the distinction of being the first urban excavation carried out in Galway City. During the excavation part of the town wall, 70m long and 7m high together with the remains of two fourteenth century mural towers and a seventeenth century outer town wall and

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[381] J. P. Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', *Cartographica*, Volume 26, Number 2, (Summer 1989), p. 6.

[382] E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998.*

[383] M. Casey 'Key Street Excavation' in, E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 81.
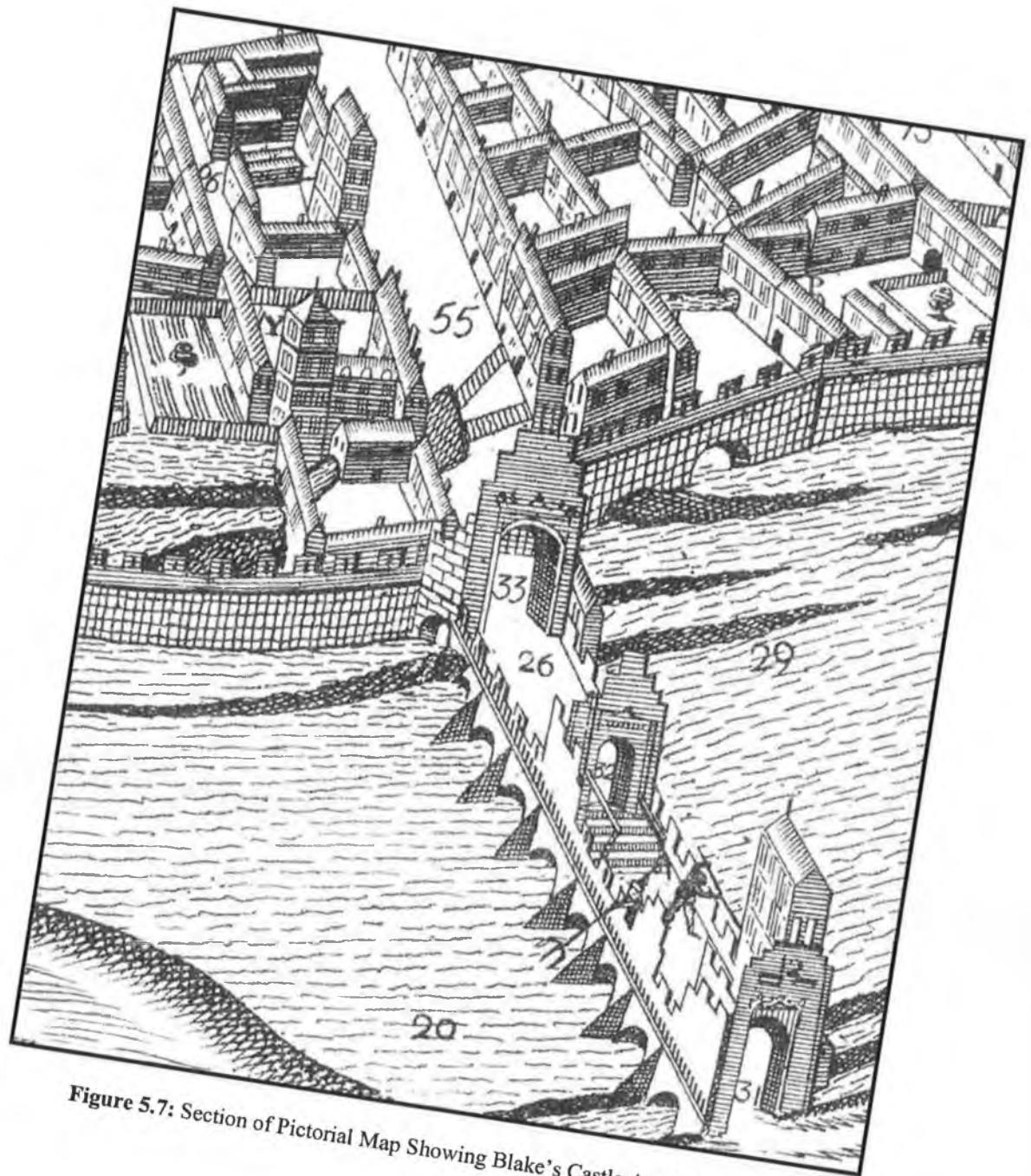
Figure 5.7: Section of Pictorial Map Showing Blake's Castle Annotated 'Y'

Figure 5.8: Blake's Castle, Quay Street, after restoration

Photo: J. Towler

bastion, were recorded.[384] The excavations included the uncovering of the base of Penrice's Tower, annotated No. 18 in section 1 of the Pictorial Map (Figure 5.9).

If there are differences between the modern plan and the Pictorial Map they relate to possible differences in the given names of the structures. The plan indicates the 'New Tower' set into the upper part of the South Bastion whereas the Pictorial Map suggests this was called the 'Shoemakers Tower' labelled No. 19 in the index. The 'New Tower' is numbered 20 in the index and is located to the south of the South Bastion. Penrice's tower has undergone numerous name changes since it was first located on a map as noted by site the archaeologist:

> This tower is named 'Pipers Toure' on Browne's map (1583), 'Pipe Tower' on the 1625 map of the town and 'Penrice's Tower' on the pictorial Map. It is named 'Black Hole' on the 1747 map of the fortifications, possibly as a reference to it being used as a prison by the garrison stationed in the adjacent barrack complex. It is named 'Tower' on the OS town-plan (1838-9) but is marked 'site of' on the plan of the 'Castle Barracks' (1886) prepared for the War Department.[385]

There are numerous other points of comparison which point to the Pictorial Map being a reliable reference when attempting to reconstruct some aspects of life in mid-seventeenth century Galway. Without any archaeological evidence the conspicuous sites of St. Nicholas Church, Lynch's Castle and The Long Walk, enable a modern observer to navigate within the medieval townscape. Two water colours, (Figures 5.10 and 5.11), based on the '1651 Pictorial Map', offer an imaginative reconstruction of the mid-seventeenth century quays adjacent to the Spanish Arch which remains as the only intact segment of the Towns medieval defences to survive to the present day (Figure 5.12).

Houses and Buildings

Although the proposal to re-settle Galway with a readymade English urban community was not implemented, nonetheless, by 1656, most of the Old English and Irish Catholic inhabitants had not only been evicted from their homes but from the town as well. Some of the buildings had fallen into disrepair through dereliction and wanton vandalism by the military, and legal ownership of the properties had been transferred to new English owners, many of whom were military personnel, who had taken land and

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[384] G. Walsh. 'Merchants Road Excavation' in E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 15.
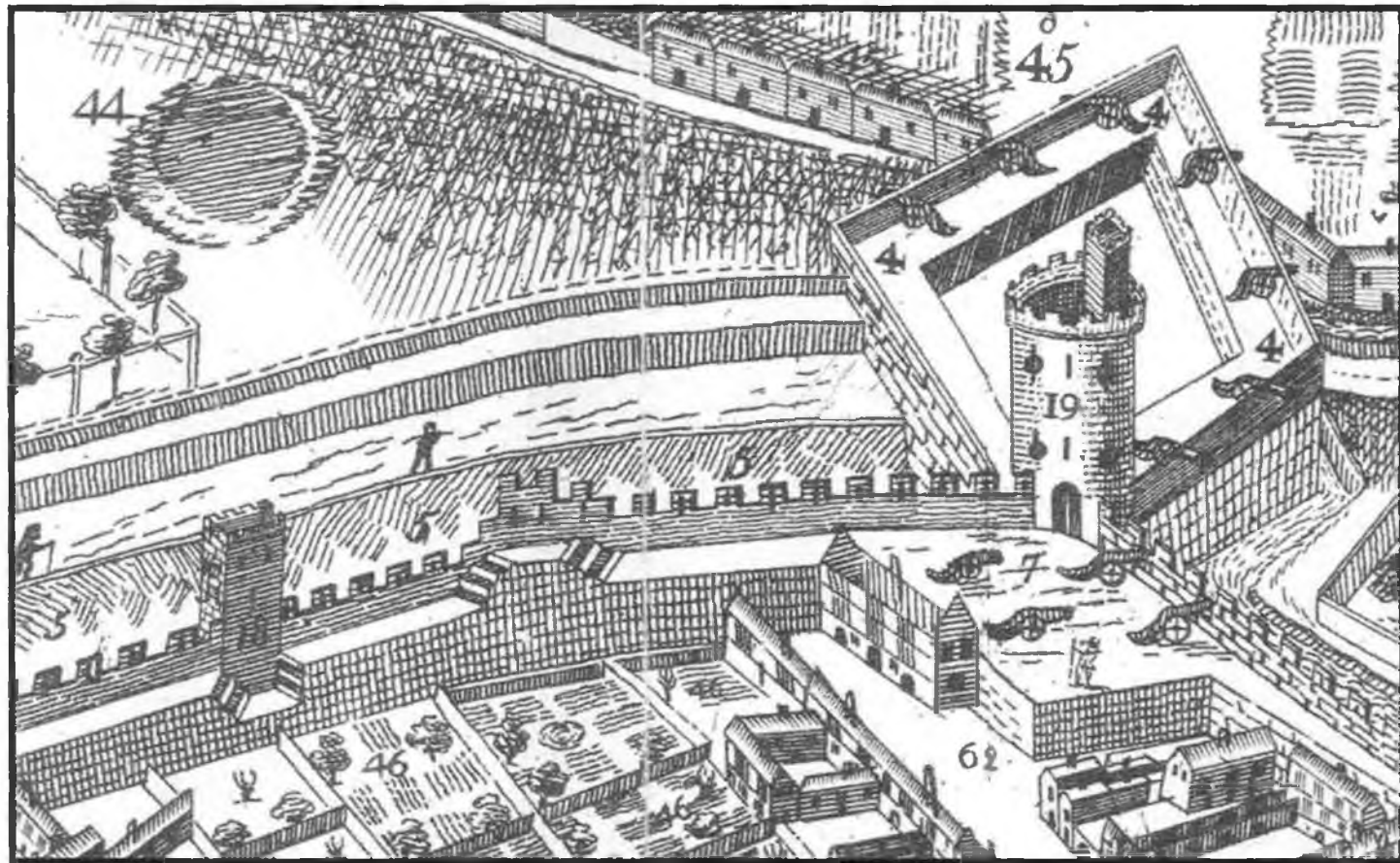[385] *Ibid.*, p.20.

Figure 5.9: Section of Pictorial Map Showing Location of Penrice's Tower (No. 18 to left of picture)

Figure 5.10: View Up-River from The Docks. Galway 1650

Reproduced by kind permission of Dickie Byrne

Figure 5.11: At the Spanish Arch.

Reproduced by kind permission of Dickie Byrne

Figure 5.12: Section of surviving town wall

Photo: John Towler

property in lieu of pay. The appendix to Hardiman's *History of Galway* includes a survey and valuation of the houses in Galway which had been earmarked for settlement by the people of Gloucester.[386] Though only dealing with part of the town, the survey allows for an analysis of the houses and building types within the town during the mid 1650s, a valuation of the various properties, and, in conjunction with the 'Pictorial Map' offers an insight into the general layout and construction of the town.

The houses surveyed were situated 'in Flud St., Key St., Middle St., Little Gate St., South side of High St., and the lanes and parts thereunto adjoining' (Figure 5.13) Although impossible to measure accurately the sample appears to account for between one quarter and one third of the total housing stock within the walled town. The bias towards three storey buildings as illustrated in Figure 5.14 (a) possibly reflects the location of the buildings along some of the principle streets of the town. The Pictorial Map suggests that the majority of principal dwellings were rectangular in plan and built with their frontages parallel to the street, with, in the case of most of the three story houses, substantial plots of ground to the rear. Many of these plots contained secondary buildings described in the survey variously as a 'dwelling house', 'back-house' and 'dwelling house backwards'. No clear indication is given as to the exact nature of these buildings but the Pictorial Map illustrates that most of the houses fronting the streets had a large arched entrance to the side leading into what appears to be a warren of smaller dwellings. The buildings to the rear of the main dwelling were mostly one storey houses and may have been occupied by employees or servants of the principle householder, or by tenants in rented accommodation (Figure 5.14 (b)). It is possible that some of the buildings may well have been used for storage, given that many of the houses would have been owned by merchants, and other buildings used for stabling. At least 12 three storied building were recorded as being to the rear of main dwellings, and, as the 'Pictorial Map' illustrates, built at right-angles to the main dwelling thus forming a courtyard.

The survey records 192 buildings within the designated area of which the majority, 82 (43%), were three storied, 45 (23%), two storied and 65 (34%), one storied. (Figure 5.14(c)). The Pictorial Map suggests that within the blocks formed by the surrounding streets and lanes, all the buildings facing the streets adjoined each other in a

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[386] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Appendix 1.
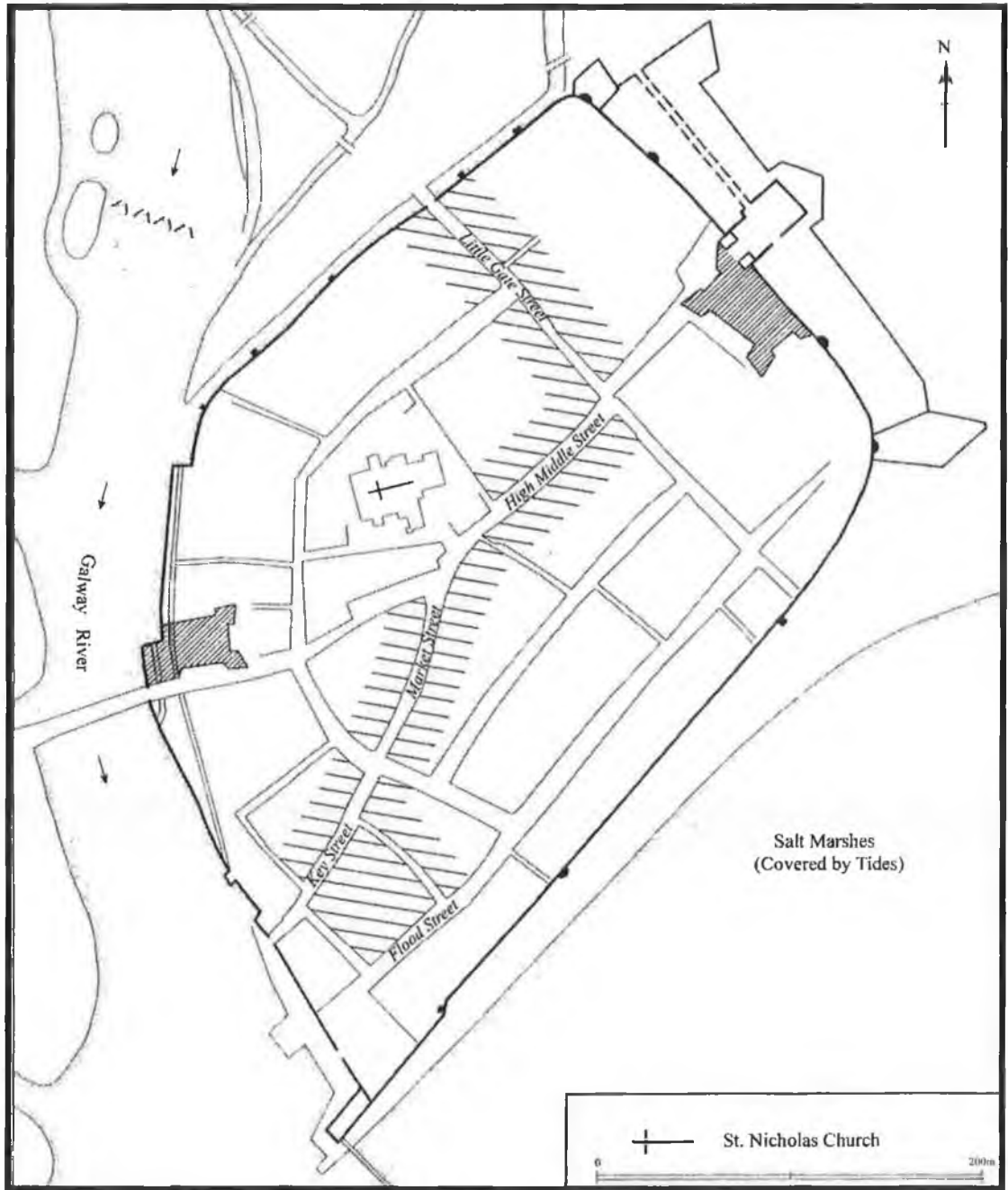
Figure 5.13: Proposed Area of the Town of Galway Allocated to Gloucester, 1657
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway,* Appendix VII, pp xxxvi-xlii
Map outline drawn after P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh
(eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1988* (Wordwell Ltd., Wicklow, 2004), p. 327.

Figure 5.14 (a): Principal Street Front Dwellings. Galway 1657
Source: J Hardiman. *History of the Town of Galway*, Appendix VII, pp. xxxvi-xlii

Figure 5.14 (b): Back Houses and Buildings, Galway 1657
Source: J Hardiman. *History of the Town of Galway*, Appendix VII, pp. xxxvi-xlii

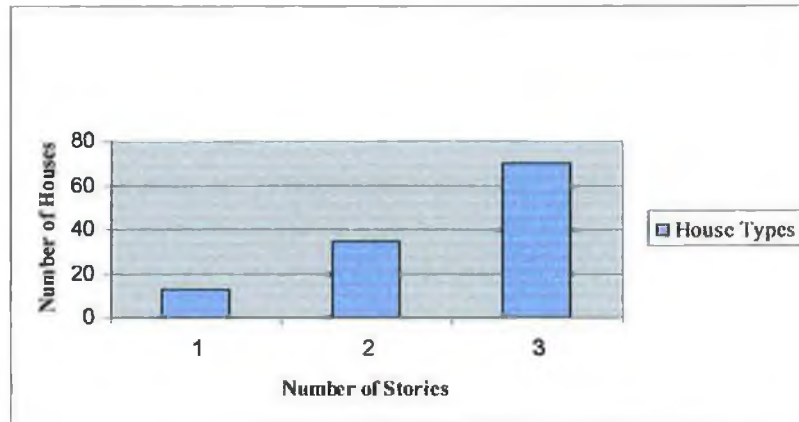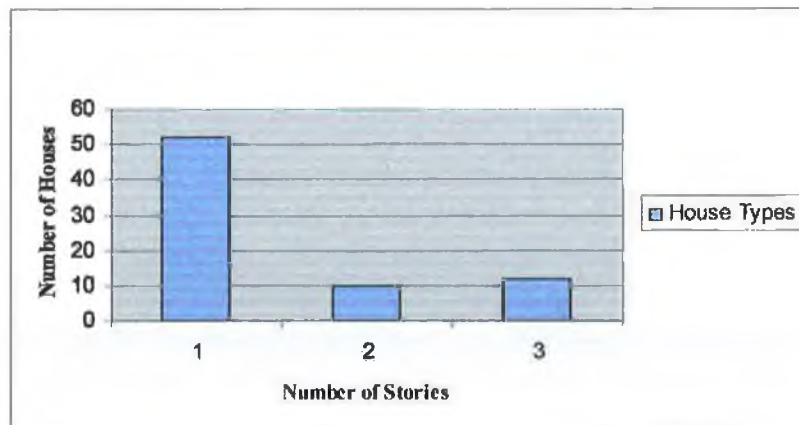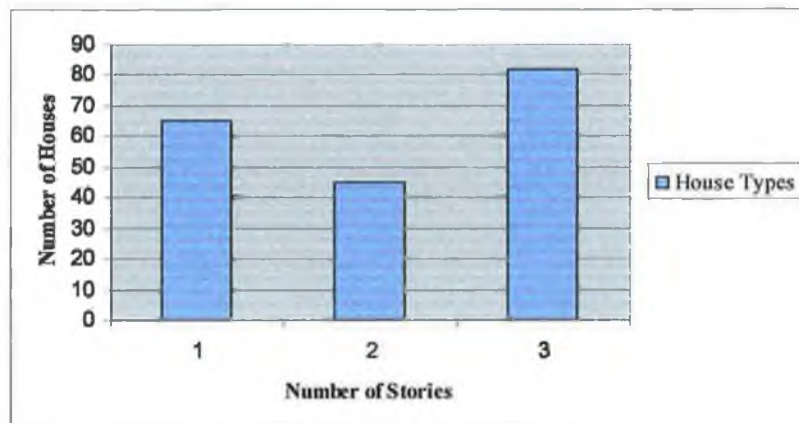**Figure 5.14 (c):** Total Buildings, Galway 1657
Source: J Hardiman. *History of the Town of Galway*, Appendix VII, pp. xxxvi-xlii

continuous terrace. A contemporary description confirms this layout. In 1654 Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala was in Galway, hiding in 'safe' houses avoiding the Cromwellian soldiers who had orders to arrest him on sight. Because soldiers often burst into houses unannounced he was obliged to take refuge in the topmost stories beneath the tiles. According to his biographer:

> Sometimes he was forced to go out onto the roof, and whilst his pursuers were gaining on him, to descend into a neighbouring house by the dormant-window. For, as most of the houses in Galway are connected, a person can safely walk on the roofs, and thus pass from one house to another; and, as the interiour walls support the roof, parapets rise on the outside, under cover of which it is easy to find shelter.[387]

The 'dormant' (dormer) windows were set into the roof, and some of the three storied houses in the pictorial Map depict this feature.

The majority of the principal houses were slated. This was for more than aesthetic reasons, for fire would have been a major hazard in a high density built environment such as Galway. In 1622, Cork was practically gutted, as fire swept through its mainly thatched housing. Subsequently the Cork Corporation ordered that no new houses could be built with thatch to help prevent a re-occurrence of the disaster.

The fact that by the mid-seventeenth century most of the houses of Galway were built of stone with slated roof, supports the descriptions of Galway, quoted throughout this narrative of an extraordinarily well built town, the quality of which was not to be seen throughout most of Europe. Most European towns had grown from small medieval hamlets where the houses were highly combustible, being built using wooden frames, walled with wattle and daub and roofed with thatch. By the mid-seventeenth century many of these hamlets had grown into densely packed urban centres and numerous devastating fires were recorded throughout the period, including the Great Fire of London in 1666.[388] Galway was practically destroyed by fire in June 1473, when almost the entire town was raised to the ground, and Hardiman observes that from this event, Galway began a housing program which was to result in it 'ranking amongst the most considerable in the kingdom'.[389] An indication of the awareness by the Corporation of the

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[387] Meehan, (ed.), *The Portrait of a Pious Bishop,* p. 123.
[388] M. McCarthy, *The Historical Geography of Cork,* pp. 364-365.
[389] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 66.

ever present danger of fire is to be found in the *Archives of the Town*. In 1512, during the Mayoralty of James Lynch Fitzmartyn, it was decreed: 'that no corne be burned nor scorched within any house or within this town, for escheuinge the danger of fyre, on payne to losse 6s. and 8d'.[390] An even more important statute governing building regulations, which had a profound effect on the layout and architecture of the town, was enacted in 1522. This statute was clearly intended to be both a defensive move to head off enemy attempts to fire the town by lobbing incendiaries over the walls, but also to further prevent the spread of fire within the town by establishing an effective fire wall along the main streets:

> It ys ordered and established, and confirmed for ever, that no man shall buld, make or repayre anny straur or tache (thatched) house, for fear of fyre and burninge, no nigher the town walles then fourteenth fottes, unless they be covered with sklattes (slates) and that to be the heades of the strettes, as to saye, the both sides of the great gate, and the both sides of the neue toure, and both sides of the litill gates excepte both the great stone houses, as Marten and John Lynch [h]is houssis, and also John Cayre [h]ys housse to be excepitid, if he cover the same with sklatts.[391]

It is clear from subsequent descriptions of the town that this order was rigorously enforced and that Galway's marble clad, three storied mansions, built along the wide, paved streets must indeed have been an impressive sight to a visitor. It is also not surprising that, although the outer suburbs were regularly set alight by would be invaders, no serious outbreaks of fire occurred within the town since the mid-sixteenth century. Not even following bombardments from Clanricarde, Lord Forbes and especially Captain Willoughby.

Street numbers did not exist in mid-seventeenth century towns. Whenever merchants decided to identify their place of work they used signs hung outside the main entrance. The lack of street names and numbers in the 1657 Survey and Valuation prevents even a limited attempt to match the descriptions with the buildings depicted in the 'Pictorial Map'. Nonetheless one building, formerly belonging to the deposed Mayor, Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose is identifiable as it has survived down to the present time. After Mayor Lynch was deposed, his successor, Colonel Stubbers also took possession of his house. Colonel Stubbers was, as already demonstrated, a ruthless man and was

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[390] Gilbert, *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 395.
[391] *Ibid.*, p. 399.

thought to have been a signatory to the death warrant of Charles I and even being a halberdier or axe carrier at the King's execution. There had been two masked executioners, one severed the King's head with an axe while the other held it up, streaming with blood, but both men had insisted that their identities be kept secret. After the Restoration Stubbers vanished without trace and there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the tale. Nonetheless his family retained ownership of the property until 1932, when it was sold and subsequently converted into a public house known, appropriately as The King's Head. Its present address is number 15 High Street and, along with the address and the description contained in the 1657 Survey and Valuation it is thought safe to identify it on the Pictorial map as the likely property in question (Figure 5.15). The Survey and Valuation describes the property as being a three storied slated house with a yard, with another backward slated three storied house and a further two and a half storied slated house. This was obviously a substantial property in the heart of Galway and was valued at £192 based on six years rent at £32 per annum, placing it amongst the most expensive houses in the survey (Figure 5.16).

The Survey and Valuation gives annual rental valuations of property in a range from as little as eight shillings per annum for a single story thatched house to a substantial property valued at £38 10s. 0d. which had been formerly owned by Edmond Kirwin but, at the time of the Survey and Valuation was registered to Captain Bridges. This property was described as 'A stone house backwards, slated, three stories; also a dwelling house, slated three stories, with a yard and thatched house backwards, one story' The distinction between a 'a stone house' and a 'dwelling house' is unclear but suggests again that the building complex may have included residential accommodation alongside some warehousing facility. Figure 5.17 illustrates the range of property valuations within the Survey and Valuation and indicates an average rental value of around £11 p.a. or £66 if the six year rental computation is used.

Although fine built stone mansions were to be found in most towns and cities of note by the mid-seventeenth century, slate roofed, stone dwellings, as already noted, appear to have been the norm within the walled town of Galway. The ownership of these houses may have been the result of the rigorously enforced town statutes which, up until the mid-seventeenth century had restricted residence within the town to the Old English,

Figure 5.15: Illustration of the House of Thomas Lynch FitzAndrews (The Kings Head)
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of the Town of Galway,* pp. 31-32

Figure 5.16: Kings Head Pub Galway
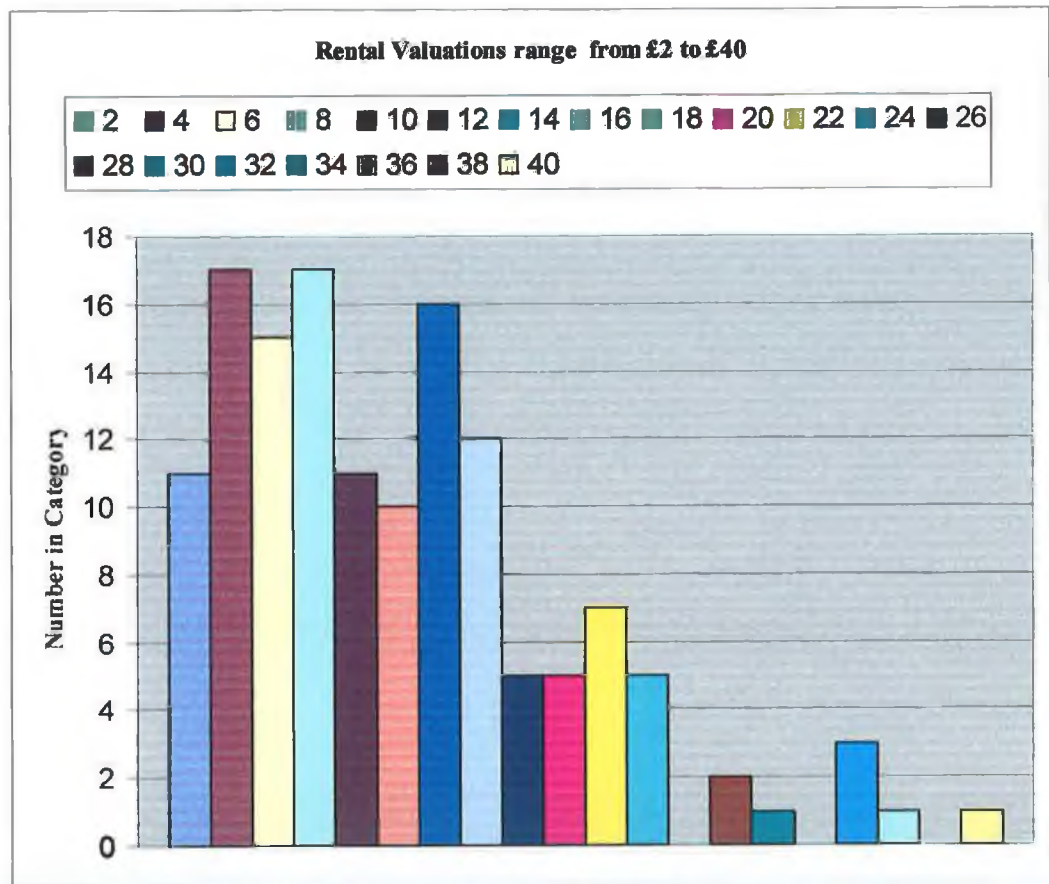**Photo:** John Towler

Figure 5.17: Distribution of Houses by Rental Values, Galway, 1657
Source: J Hardiman. *History of the Town of Galway*, Appendix VII, pp. xxxvi-xlii

and permitted only Old English residents to engage in any form of commerce or industry. This would have allowed for a mainly middle class population to develop within the limited space of the walled town which could afford the high prices demanded for the limited housing available. The Gaelic Irish and the lower orders of the Old English population were housed in the extensive suburbs of the town particularly to the East, as can be seen from the 'Pictorial Map', and these houses, or more likely cabins, probably conformed to the 'wattle and daub' type. The ease at which they were burnt down by successive invaders has already been noted.

An analysis of the various building types defined in the Survey and Valuation and their probable locations, reveals that there was no clearly identified spatial division of the population by class within the walled town other than the obvious differences between house types and position in relation to the street front. The 'cluster' development of principal street front houses backed by one or more secondary dwellings or buildings points to those of the lower orders who did live within the town being accommodated in tenements. This is supported by evidence discussed previously, of tenements in Flood Street being willed to Andrew Blake in 1616 by his father Robert Blake.[392] In the 1657 Survey and Valuation, which includes buildings in Flood Street. there is a three storied slated dwelling house valued at £23 pa., registered to an Andrew Blake in 1640 and, following confiscation, to Henry Waddington.

At the beginning of the 1650s, the Survey and Valuation details suggest that the demographic profile of Galway was not yet defined by urban spaces. However the town archives have shown that the social ladder was rigorously defined by statute and precedent. These statutes determined that the ethnic diversity of the population was heavily biased towards an Old English community with some Gaelic Irish element introduced through marriage, and probably as servants or labourers. The increase in young male Irish students has previously been discussed. Although most of the population was Catholic, a minority of New English residents most of them in military and civil service would have made up the Protestant community.

The total population living within the town in the middle of the seventeenth century can only be a tentative estimate from the sparse records available. The Survey and

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[392] Blake, *Blake Family Records*, p. 247.

Valuation records 192 dwellings although not all of these would have been residential. The sample appears to represent about one third of the town's total building as represented by the 'Pictorial Map'. Allowing for 10% of the buildings surveyed to have been non-residential, a total of around 500 dwelling houses is suggested. Various multipliers have been used for this period by historical geographers to arrive at a computation for population based on housing density. Mark McCarthy used a factor of 6.5 in arriving at his estimate for Cork City although this was for an earlier period following the Catholic expulsions in the mid 1640s.[393] There is some evidence, presented earlier, that the more compact intra-mural area of Galway was more densely populated than Cork and other walled port towns such as Limerick with a greater number of families living in stone built three story tenements. A mean household size (MHA) of eight has previously been used to estimate Galway's population at the beginning of the seventeenth century and there is no reason to amend this MHA for the mid-century.

Using these various assumptions a population within the walled town of 4000 is suggested for circa 1651. The intra-mural population of Galway in 1600 has already been estimated as circa 2,400 so, given four decades of relative prosperity and growth, followed by a decade of war and plague, an increase in the population of around 65% may be challengeable, but not implausible. The figure for the suburbs can only be guessed at because there is no data available to support even the most speculative of estimates. The Pictorial Map indicates significant ribbon development of single story cabins or houses to the north and east of the town and within the northern suburbs, there appears to be evidence of the construction of a number of two storied, stone built, slate roofed buildings, similar to those depicted on the 'Pictorial Map' within the town. This suggests that the relative safety of the west bank of the River Galway was considered to have been a good location for the development of middle class suburbs. When considering the total population of Galway and its environs, a figure of circa 7,000 is suggested for the mid-seventeenth century.

Estimating the population at the end of the 1650s is more problematic. The period from 1640 onwards was marked by numerous depopulating factors not the least being two visitations of the plague and the nine month siege ending in March 1652. The Catholic

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[393]McCarthy, *The Historical Geography of Cork,* pp. 315-317.

survivors of these disasters were then systematically evicted from the town leaving only Protestant civilians and the military in possession. An estimate of the population in 1679 is put at 3,000 so that given even a modest recovery after the Restoration; the population in 1659 could have fallen to below 2,000.[394] One of the unknowns is the extent to which the Cromwellian soldiers had 'families' living with them, and whether or not, despite the prohibition, Catholics were allowed to stay on in the tenements.

The rate of population decline back to the levels estimated for the beginning of the seventeenth century is not dissimilar to that of the walled town of Limerick. In 1600 Limerick's population was estimated to have been *circa* 3,600 and the 1659 census recorded a population of 3,605. Both towns shared near identical fates during and after the Cromwellian sieges and both were visited by the plague.[395]

The Fortifications of Galway: 1643-1652

Although the street plan of Galway between 1640 and 1660 remained more or less the same as that depicted on maps earlier in the century, the town's defences were considerably strengthened following the seizure of St. Augustine's fort in 1643 and the town's declaration of support for Charles I against the Parliamentary forces. A description of the town in 1642, written by Richard Bellings, secretary to the Supreme Council of the Confederation serves as a valuable assessment of the town and its defences just prior to the taking of St. Augustine's fort, and also as a testimony to the magnificence of Galway's architecture:

> Lochcurb, some foure miles from Gallway, powers itselfe foorth into a river, and when it hath runne thus about three parts of the way, it gathers into a lake againe, and then divides itself into two branches, whereof the greater falls violently, and with much noyse, through a rockie channell, by the westerne walles of the towne, under a bridge of stone into the sea, the lesser having surrounded a spott of ground where the mines of a fayre monastery dedicated to St. Francis are to be seen, and, washing the northern wall of the towne, is receaved into it for the use of their mills, and having performed that worke meets the other at the bridge, which nature hath placed as the limit beyond which the sea seldome flowes. To the south, att noe great distance from the towne, upon an eminent neck of land that shoots out into the sea stands the forte built upon the ruines of a monastery dedicated to St. Augustine, regularly fortifyed. The space beweene the forte and the towne is, for the most part, overflowen every tide, so as it might be said the waters concurred on all sides to the defence of it, save to the eastward, where it was as strong as a large drye ditch, and a thicke high wall, flancked with towers, could make it. The walls about the rest of the towne were

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[394] Murray, *Galway: A Medico Social History*, p. 32.

[395] L. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', p. 390: E. O'Flaherty (ed.), *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, Number 21, (Royal Irish Academy, 2010). These estimates seem to have included some suburban population so they may mot be directly comparable with Galway although both towns appear to have suffered a population decline of some 50% by 1659.

> likewise high and firmly built, and most parts of them broad enough for three to walke abreast, and both they and the houses in the towne were of marble, with which they are abundantly furnished from the quarryes neere adjoining.[396]

Figures 5.18 and 5.19, illustrate Galway's defensive strengths and weaknesses as it prepared to defend itself against future attack from Parliamentary forces. Figure 5.18 shows the difficulty of attacking by land to the north and west of the town over boggy marshland and rivers, and, it was securely defended from any seaborne invasion from the south. It was to the high ground to the east that it was at its most vulnerable and in 1643 the East Gate defences were vulnerable to any sustained attack from the new siege weapons being deployed by the English armies (Figure 5.19). Thus in the early autumn of 1643, the town set about strengthening the eastern walls and defensive structures. As recorded in the archives of the town:

> This yeare, the east south rampier of Galway, beginning at the bullworke of the east gate and drawing down from thence to the little bridge leading to St. Augustines Abbeye, begun and considerablie proceeded inn ould time by this Corporation, was this year recontinued and raised to a good height...This year, the walle at the kaye, beginning at the worke made in the Moyoraltie of William Martin, leading from thence south west to the river in the place called Walleshead, was built at the publique and common charge of this towne.[397]

The building of a new linear wall out from the east gate towards the site of the Augustine Abbey and Fort may have been a continuation of work which had commenced at an earlier date, possibly before the beginning of the century.[398] Although the proposed new curtain wall would have sealed off the south east wall and considerably shortened the length of the defences on the east side of the town (Figure 5.20), it would have been vulnerable to any forces which seized the high ground around the Augustinian Monastery site. This brings into question the logic behind the earlier destruction of the fort. The building of the new wall was abandoned soon afterwards, but it highlighted the need for a complete reappraisal of the town's defences if it was to successfully meet the challenges of the advances in siege warfare now being introduced by Cromwell's New Model Army.[399]

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[396] Gilbert, *The Irish Confederation and War, 1642,* Volume 1, pp. 96-97.

[397] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, p. 492.

[398] P. Walsh, 'Galway, a Summary History, p. 319.

[399] P. Lenihan, 'Galway and the 'New' system of Fortifications, 1643-50', pp. 74-75.
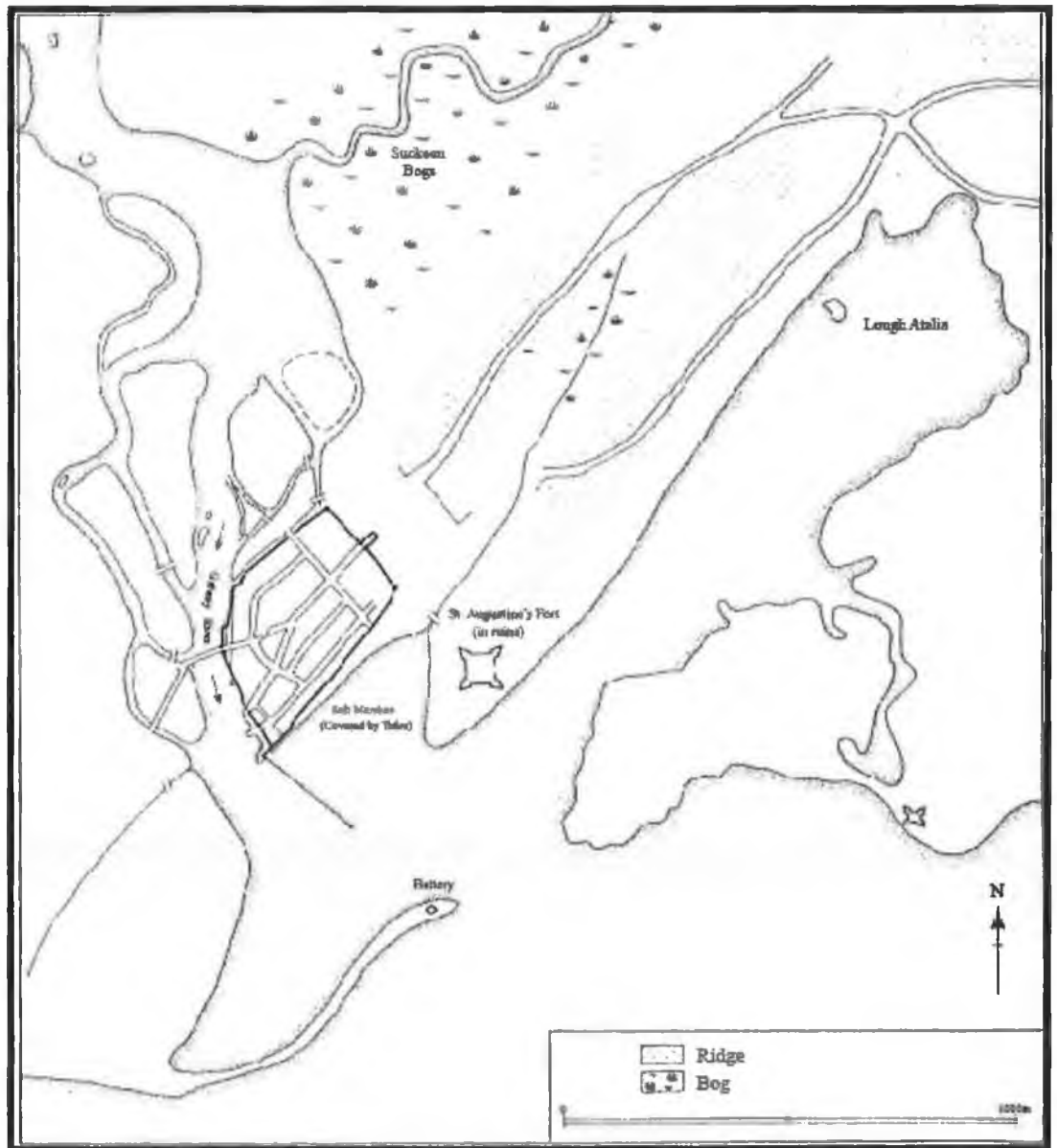
Figure 5.18: The Topography of Galway and Environs; Circa 1641

Map outline drawn after P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1988* (Wordwell Ltd., Wicklow, 2004).

Figure 5.19: Town Walls and Fortification of Galway. 1643.

Map outline drawn after P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1988* (Wordwell Ltd., Wicklow, 2004).
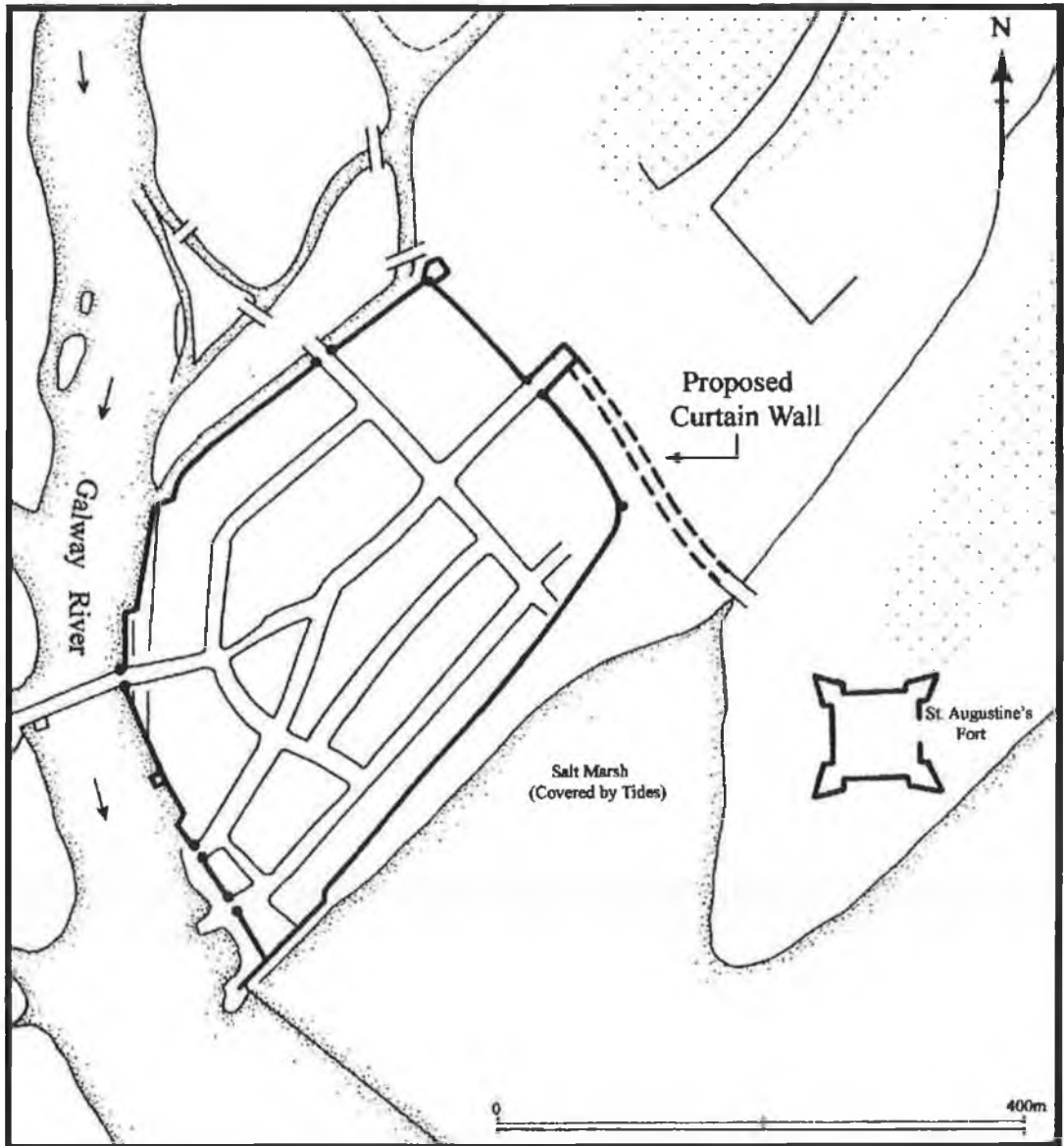
Figure 5.20: Proposed New Curtain Wall from East gate. August 1643.
Detail suggested by P. Lenihan, "Galway and the 'New' system of Fortifications, 1643-50", pp. 74-75

Work carried out on the defences between 1645 and 1651 pointed to a major improvement in building and design by someone conversant with modern military engineering. Lenihan suggests that John Vangyrish, who had been in the town since 1645 and had led the pro-Nuncio riots in August 1648, might well have been a candidate, as he had the requisite military background and training.[400] The new works involved the building of substantial stone faced bastions to re-enforce the eastern defences. The work was undertaken in two phases; the first commenced in 1646 and was built around the Lion's Tower and the second in the following year around the New Tower (Figure. 5.21). The town archives recorded the authorisation of this work to be completed 'at the publicke and common charge of the Freemen and Commons of this towne'.[401] Work on the North Bastion and Middle Bastion was not completed until 1650-1651. This delay has been attributed to the outbreak of the plague which, as already recorded lasted from July 1649 until March 1650.[402]

By the time the defences were completed in 1651, Galway was not only the best defended town in the Confederacy, it was also, along with Limerick, one of the last remaining strongholds to offer resistance to Cromwell's armies. When General Coote finally arrived on the outskirts of Galway in late July 1651, he had made no attempt to challenge these defences, but instead set about blocking off access from the country to the east by building a series of earthworks interlinked with citadels from Loch a' tSáile across to the Suckeen River, and also had captured Clanricarde's old stronghold of Tirellan [Terryland] Castle (Figure 5.22). Coote's defences are depicted quite clearly in the upper left hand side of the original map omitted from Hardiman's 1820 copy and marked '21', *Obsidionis Crumuelistae Liniamenta qua Galvia semel capta fuit* (Figure 5.23).[403] The Pictorial Map depicts substantial ribbon development of the suburbs between Coote's siege line and the heavily defended Eastern bastions of the town. Although contemporary accounts make no reference to them, it is highly unlikely that they were abandoned intact

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[400] *Ibid.,* pp. 79-80; P. Walsh, 'Galway, a Summary History', p. 319.

[401] Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, pp. 494-500.

[402] P. Walsh, 'Galway, a Summary History', p. 320; For a detailed account of these works see; P. Lenihan, 'Galway and the 'New' system of Fortifications, 1643-50', pp. 68-91.

[403] W. F. Trench, (ed.) 'Notes on the Pictorial Map of Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 4, No.1, (1905-6), p.43.
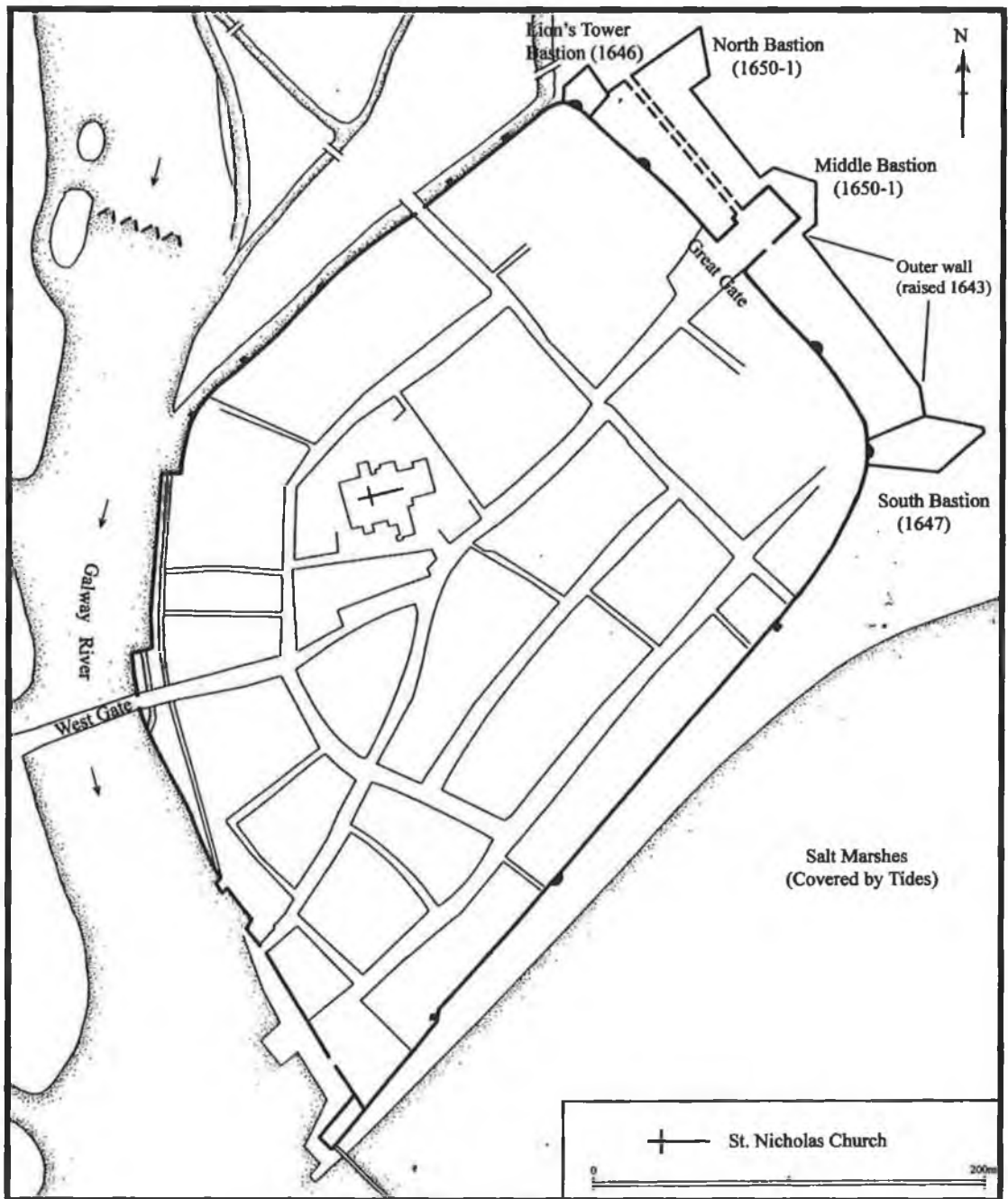
Figure 5.21: Fortifications of Galway 1645-1651.
Map outline drawn after P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1988* (Wordwell Ltd., Wicklow, 2004).
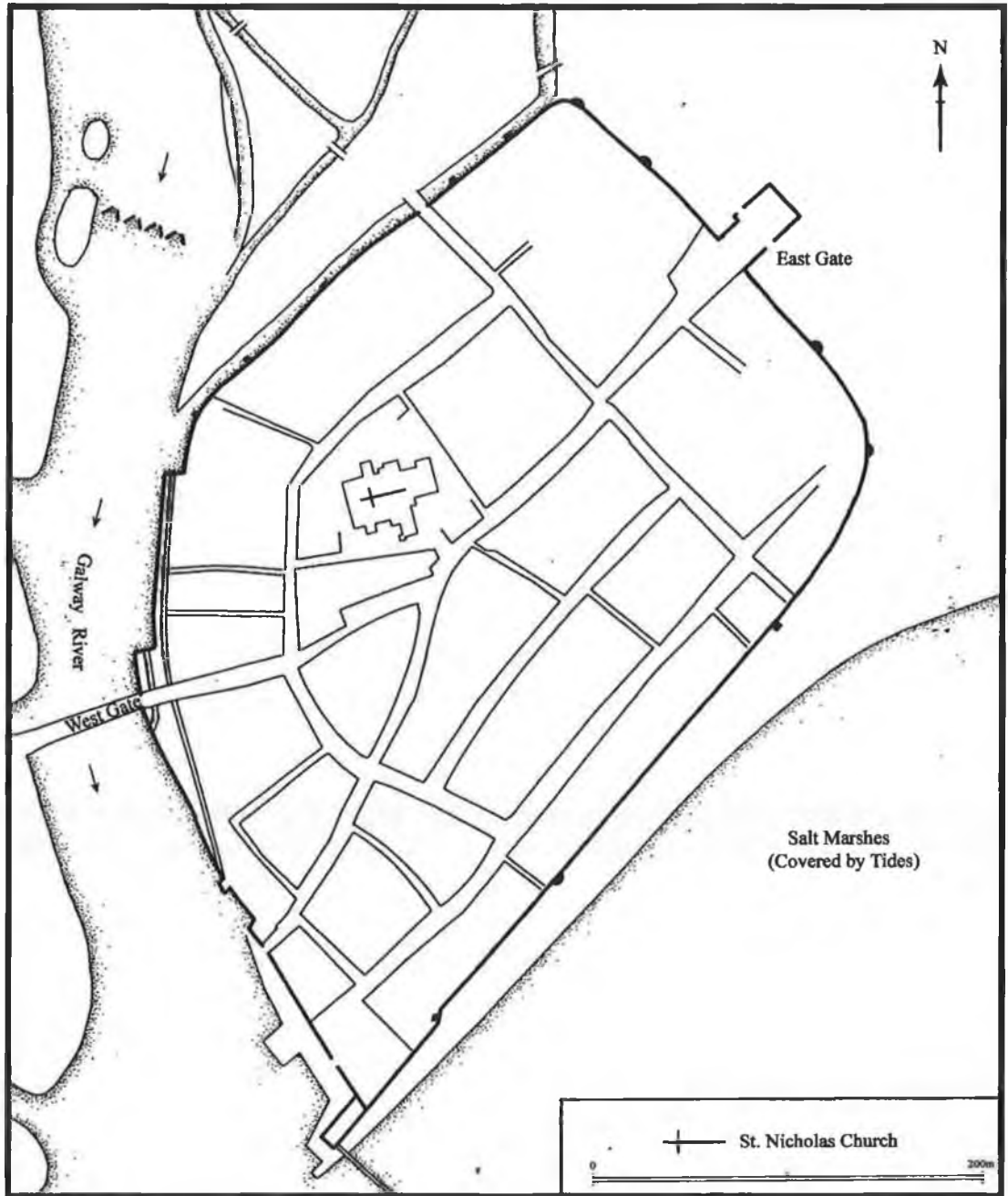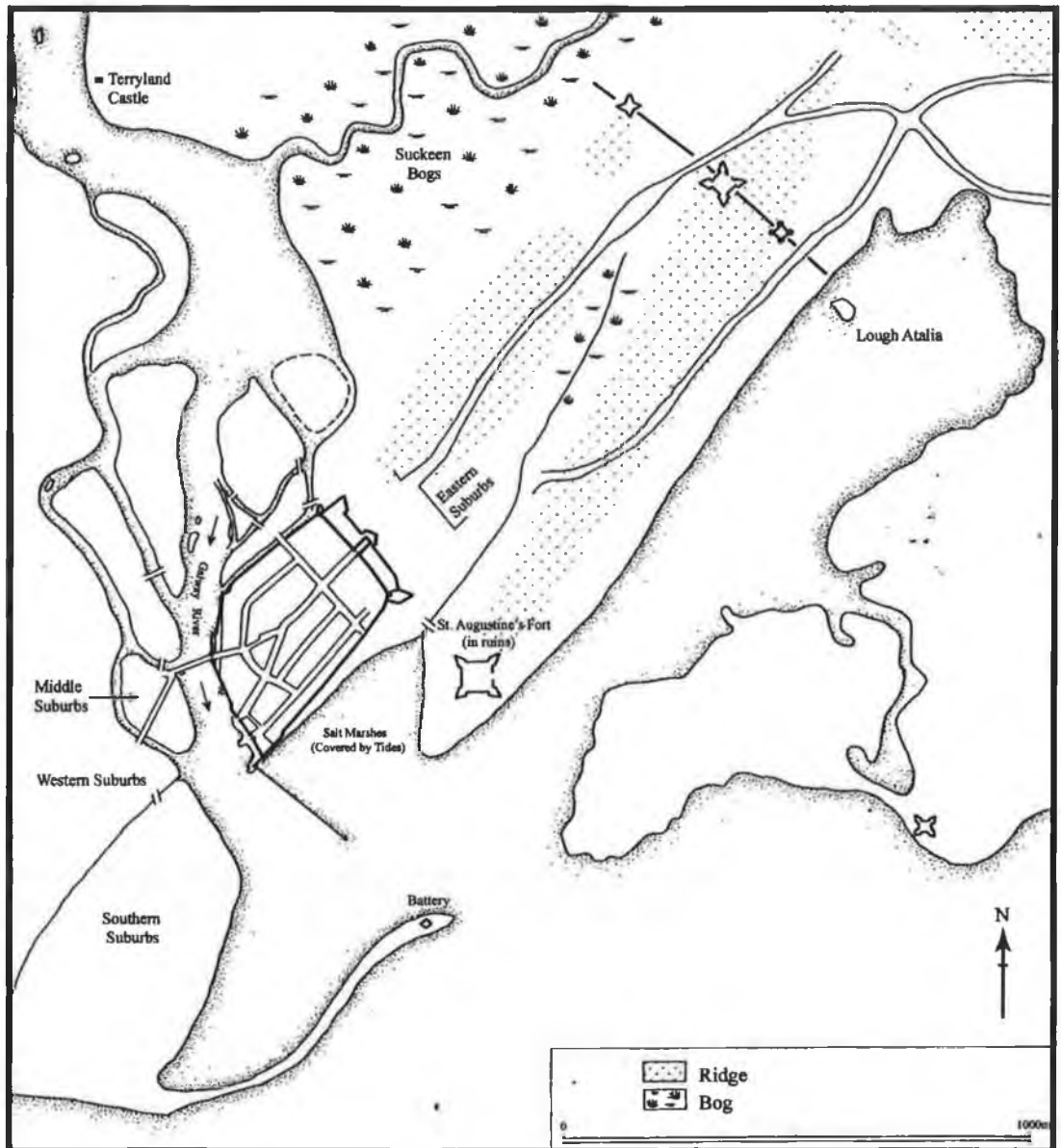
Figure 5.22: Location of General Coote's Siege Line August1651-April 1652.
Map outline drawn after P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1988* (Wordwell Ltd., Wicklow, 2004).
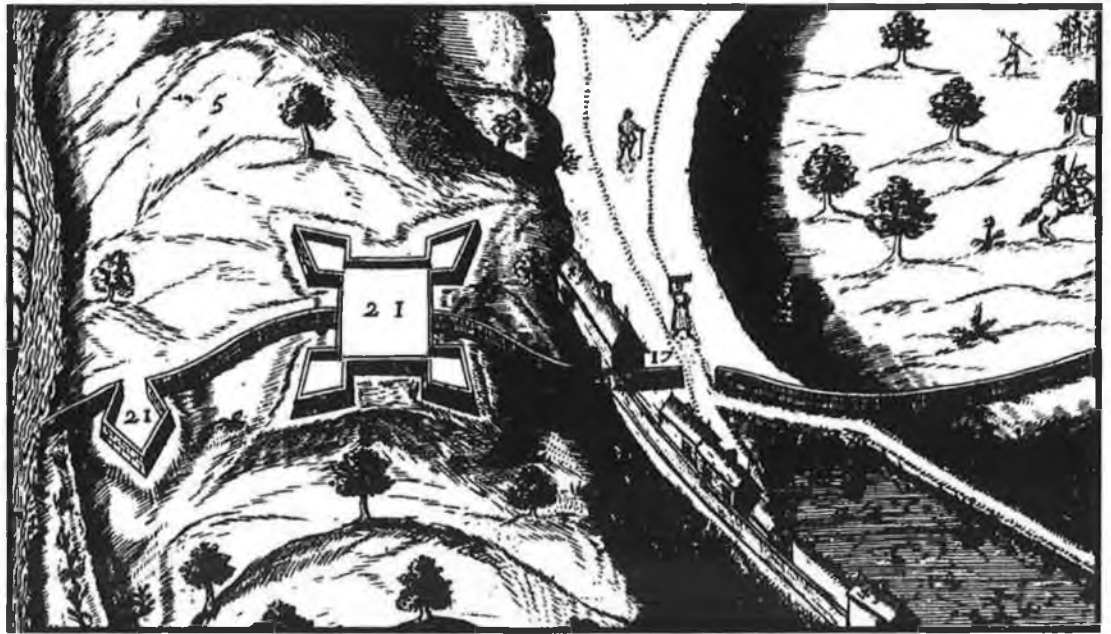
Figure 5.23: General Coote's Defences.
Source: W. F. Trench, 'Notes on the Pictorial Map of Galway',

for Coote to use as both accommodation and cover for his soldiers, and in all probability they were destroyed as part of the overall defence planning in 1650-1651.[404]

Having captured the town and its defences intact, the Parliamentary army had gained a vital strategic foothold in the West. They had driven out most if not all of the Gaelic Irish and in the implementation of the Act of Settlement most of the Catholic Old English residents would follow. To ensure the safety of their garrisons within the town they proceeded to build two new citadels within the town walls. The first, on the eastern side of the Great Gate was known as the Upper Citadel, and the other beside the west bridge, the Lower Citadel (Figure 5.24). In the course of this building work, some of the houses had to be demolished and others were incorporated into the structures. As can be seen from Figure 5.24, the outer corner bastions projected out onto the streets. Part of the south western bastion of the Upper Citadel was recorded during the excavations within the walls during March and April 1989.[405]

Although only fragments of these major fortifications have survived to the present time, photographic and archaeological evidence has allowed a glimpse of the built quality of these defences and the obvious civic pride that the designers and builders had in their work. The Lion's Tower Bastion remained substantially intact into the twentieth century and its remains were finally demolished in 1970. The excavations for the Eyre Square Shopping Centre in the late 1980s revealed the foundations of the massive diamond shaped South Bastion. A stone plaque bearing the Galway coat of arms, and inserted into the wall of the Lions Tower Bastion has survived to the present day and is kept at the Galway City Museum (Figure 5.25).

The question remains, in view of the eventual capitulation of Galway, as to whether the enormous costs that the town expended on these fortifications were worthwhile. They certainly bought time for Clanricarde to try to secure foreign aid, which, if forthcoming, might have changed the outcome of the war, or at least led to a negotiated peace. Although the eventual fate of the Catholic population was that of eviction from the town, there were no mass murders or retribution as happened in Drogheda and Wexford. Had the town been less well defended, Coote might have been

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[404] Lenihan, 'Galway and the 'New' system of Fortifications, 1643-50', **p. 84.**

[405] M. Clyne, 'Barrack Lane Excavation', *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, pp. 104-108.
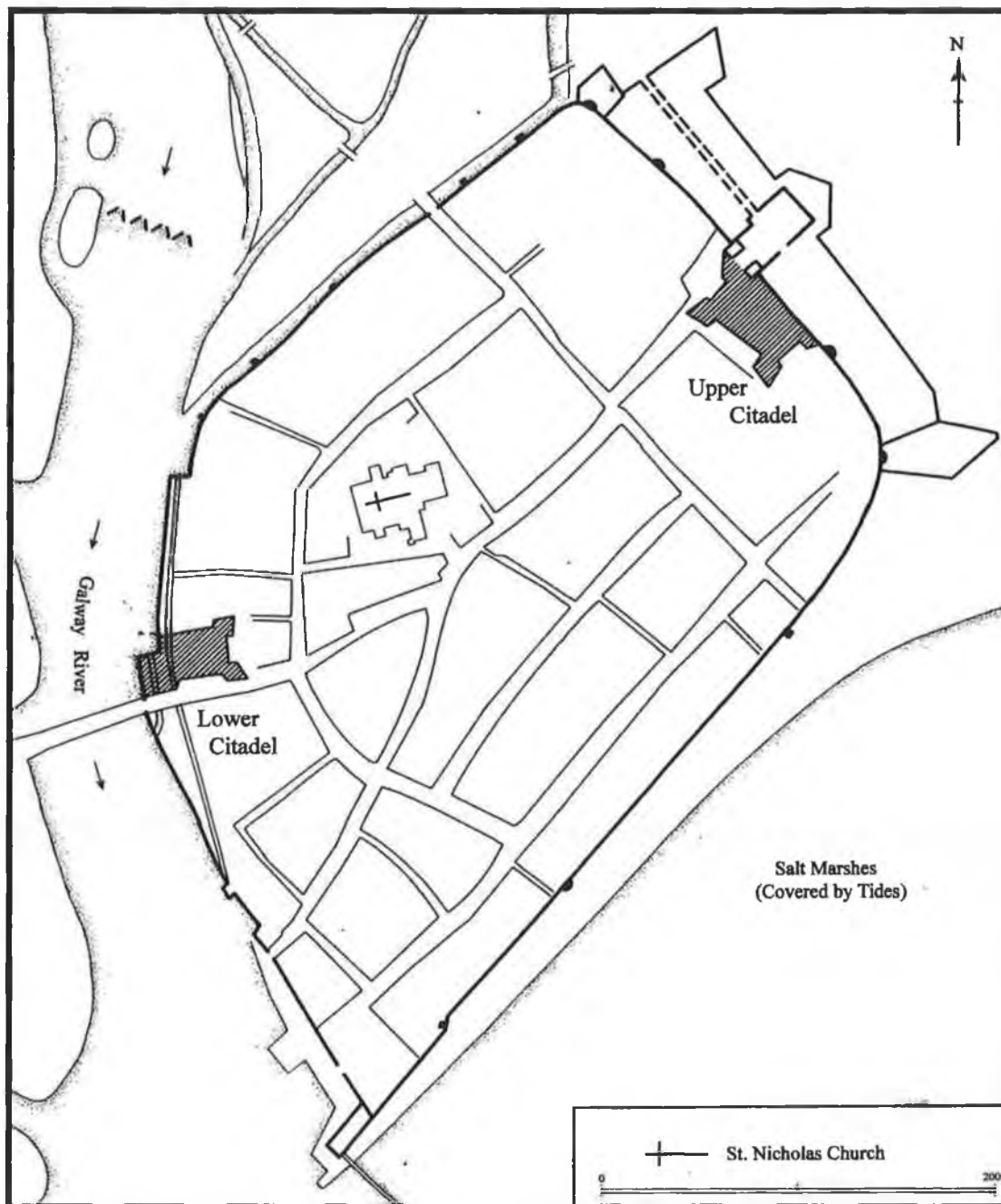
Figure 5.24: The Cromwellian Citadels 1652.
Map outline drawn after P. Walsh, 'The Town Walls and Fortifications' in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1988* (Wordwell Ltd., Wicklow, 2004).

Figure 5.25: Wall Plaque. Dated 1647 from the Lion Tower Bastion,
The inscription reads: THIS FLANKER AND WORK WAS BUILT IN THE YEAR OF JOHN BLAKE FITZ NICHOLAS ESQVIRS MERALTY DOMINICK BLAK AND NICHOLAS BODKIN SHERIFS VPON THE COMMON CHARGES OF THE CORPAT(I)ON AND COMONALITY.

Courtesy of Galway City Museum

tempted to make an all out attack in the autumn of 1651, which might have resulted in such atrocities.

CONCLUSION

During the opening stages of the Ulster uprising, the town of Galway and much of the county of Galway remained very much detached from the violence to the north. The town, in so far as it took any side at all, supported the Parliamentary garrison with supplies into 1642. By the spring of 1642, the majority of the Gaelic Irish and Old English, in the provinces of Munster and Leinster had joined in the rebellion and were moving towards a Confederate opposition to Parliamentary rule.

That Galway and the greater part of the county of Galway remained neutral during this period was entirely due to the earl of Clanricarde. Although he was subordinate to the President of Connacht and was not directly in charge of the Parliamentary forces within St. Augustine's fort, his personal power and authority held sway in both camps. He was a staunch Catholic, but an ardent Royalist, who viewed the uprising as a rebellion against the monarchy. This split loyalty was no better illustrated than by his continuing support of Captain Anthony Willoughby throughout the conflict between the town and the fort, up to and including Willoughby's ignominious departure from Galway in June 1643. At the same time he had no qualms about castigating Willoughby for his involvement with Lord Forbes who was not acting out of loyalty to Charles I, but as a mercenary with a Parliamentary commission which did not have the seal of royal approval.

Despite Clanricarde's best endeavours, Galway effectively joined the Confederate cause following Willoughby's departure. Within a very short while it was to play a major role in the affairs of the Confederacy, with some of its leading citizens, such as Sir Francis Blake, taking prominent positions on the Supreme Council. As the fragile alliances within the Confederacy fell apart, over the question of supremacy between the Crown and Rome, the town of Galway, reflecting the pragmatism that had served it so well over the preceding centuries, offered shelter at various times to the bitter opponents within the Confederacy, the Protestant earl of Ormonde and the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini.

As the Cromwellian forces swept through the country in 1650-1651, Galway became the capital of Confederate Ireland, as the principle towns of Munster and Leinster surrendered. The population swelled with refugees, many of whom were prominent

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members of the Old English and Gaelic Irish hierarchy. While the sea routes were still relatively safe from the Cromwellian navy, the port of Galway continued to allow free movement to and from the continent. Ships brought in much needed supplies of arms ordnance and provisions and allowed prominent refugees to escape to the safety of the France and Spain. The sea routes also allowed Clanricard to continue diplomatic endeavours to secure a 'white knight' who might provide an eleventh hour rescue to his beleaguered forces. In the event, no help was to arrive and the town's surrender in 1652, marked the end of Galway's pre-eminent position in Ireland's urban landscape.

Throughout this chapter, although the expression 'the town of Galway' has often been used as a title, in no way does it imply either a singularity of purpose or the identification of common goals throughout the population. The single binding thread was loyalty to the Crown, and the acknowledgement of the supremacy of Rome in all matters spiritual, which after 1643 was the basis of the Oath of Association. Differences of opinion as to how these conflicting objectives were to be achieved, resulted in, at first, a breakdown in the orderly day to day running of the town, and later in a complete schism as the population polarised into two camps, the first supporting the primacy of Rome and the second, the King's supreme authority in his Irish Kingdom.

Since the beginning of the Reformation, the Catholic population of Galway had daily faced this dilemma and had, over the decades, accommodated the growing incursion of Protestant domination into their daily lives, so that they might continue to follow their religious beliefs and practices. They had made concessions, accepted the dilution of their charter rights and, albeit grudgingly, stepped aside from holding any office, which required the taking of the 'Oath of Supremacy'. But overall, the population had gone about their daily lives in relative harmony with each other and the English Protestant civil and military authorities. Sir Thomas Rotherham, the military governor of the town until 1641 was a Freeman, an ex-Mayor, and it seems a respected member of the community. This was in stark contrast to the enmity between his son Anthony, who replaced him, and the townspeople. Once Galway abandoned its long term tradition of appeasement and was drawn into declaring itself for the Confederacy, it lost the last vestiges of its independence and thereafter was subject to the fortunes of war over which it had little control. As the course of the conflict unfurled, the blurred edges between the protagonists and their allies

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began to clear, and by the fall of Limerick, in October 1651, the battle lines were clearly drawn.

The Confederacy's Protestant leaders, amongst them Ormonde, Inchiquin, and Belling, had fled to the Continent in late 1650. Ormonde had lost the authority of the King in August 1650, when Charles II revoked the second Ormonde treaty as part of his deal with the Scots. He lost the support of the Bishops, because he continued to ignore the Catholic interests.[406] Although the Bishops wanted to re-establish a clerical led Confederacy, they reluctantly agreed to accept the earl of Clanricard as Ormond's nominee for Lord Deputy. They feared that if the King's overall authority, however tenuous, was not acknowledged, following Ormond's departure, the majority of the Catholic laity might proceed to seek terms with the Parliamentary forces. Clanricard had never joined the Confederacy and, though Catholic, continued to put the King's interest ahead of that of Rome. By the fall of Limerick most Protestant English who may have initially joined the Confederacy in support of the Royalist cause, were either dead, in exile or had joined the Parliamentary cause. The force besieging Galway between August 1651 and March 1652 was thus composed of English Protestant Soldiers with one objective being the defeat and occupation of the last town of any importance held by Catholic rebels.

Within the besieged town, although religious diversity was largely confined to Catholicism, there was no unanimity of purpose. The clergy and those supporting Clanricarde's Royalist agenda both wanted to continue the siege so long as there was any hope of a last minute reprieve from Europe. Both had sought help from the Duke of Lorraine but with different objectives. The clergy wanted the Duke as a 'Protector' under whose umbrella they could re-establish a Catholic hegemony allied to Rome. Clanricarde wanted the Duke's financial assistance and resources to defeat the Cromwellian army and secure the supremacy of Charles II. In the middle were the Old English Catholic merchants and their supporters, representing the backbone of the port town, which had grown wealthy as a result of their trading activities. To them, a 'blood sacrifice' to secure an ideal made no sense. But a deal to surrender the town in exchange for their liberty and the retention of their land and possessions was consistent with the pragmatism which had

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[406] The representative committee of Bishops, Raphoe, Clonfert, Cloyne and Ferns.

preserved their way of life for so long. It was on those terms that the siege was ended in March 1652.

In evicting the Old English Catholics from the town and replanting it with Protestant, mainly military personnel, the Parliamentary forces, achieved one of their primary objectives, namely, the ethnic cleansing of the urban spaces. But in the immediate aftermath of victory, by ruthlessly pursuing this policy, they failed to anticipate the resultant scale of the collateral damage. The real value of the town was not its 'fine marble clad buildings' but the closely knit extended families of traders and merchants which reached into Europe and beyond, to the developing colonial territories of the West Indies and North America.

Even when it was recognised that the town was rapidly falling into ruin, it was concern for the built fabric of 'fine marble clad building' which exercised the minds of Henry Cromwell and the English administration and not the sterility of its commercial activity. Recognition of this came too late in the day to reverse the decline in Galway's pre-eminence in the Irish urban landscape. It also came too late for the Cromwellian administration to put any alternatives in place, as the rule of the Parliamentary party in England crumbled to be replaced by the Restoration of Charles II in May 1660.

Chapter Six

Restoration Galway

1660-1700

INTRODUCTION

Following the death of Oliver Cromwell on 3 September 1658, his eldest surviving son and successor Richard Cromwell, struggled to maintain the fine balance between the civilian and military authorities and the radical and conservative constituencies which made up the Commonwealth. In May 1659, the surviving members of the English Rump parliament seized control and Richard Cromwell fled into exile in France. Although the Army took back control in October 1659, the reversal was short lived and by early 1660, consensus republicanism in England had effectively collapsed. The eventual restoration of the monarchy was not inspired by any popular uprising or revolution, but from a fear by moderate Parliamentarians that without a stable government, the radical elements within the civilian and military might gain power. General Monck, who was commander of the Commonwealth forces in Scotland, though a conservative republican was also a Presbyterian and as such was clearly concerned at the threat which radical Puritanism posed to the stability of the state.

On 1 January 1660 he moved his highly trained and loyal army into England and arrived in London on 3 February. He initially attempted to secure a settlement between the divided parties within the Republican elements, a move which was resisted by the Rump Parliament which attempted to demote him. Monck retaliated by arranging to bring back the mainly Presbyterian members of parliament who had been forcibly removed from the Long Parliament by Parliamentary forces on 6 December 1648. On 16 March 1660, supported by an overwhelming majority, the restored Long Parliament was dissolved and on 25 April, a newly convened parliament, with the support of Monck's military backing began the negotiations to restore Charles II to the throne. For the majority of the English population, the Restoration brought with it a long period of relatively stable government, and allowed for a dramatic expansion in trade and commerce, particularly with the expanding colonies of the West Indies and the eastern seaboard of North America.

In Ireland, political events mirrored that of England. Following the recall to England of the Lord Lieutenant, Henry Cromwell, in May 1659, a power struggle ensued amongst the senior army officers. The conflicts of interest were not just concerned with ideology but, for many senior officers, the security of the vast estates they had acquired.

On 6 December 1659, Colonel Theophilus Jones seized control of Dublin Castle and Sir Charles Coote and Lord Broghill secured the garrisons of Connaught and Munster. On 15 February 1660 they defeated an attempted counter coup by Sir Hardress-Waller, who, as one of the regicides who had sentenced Charles I to death, had every reason not to align himself with any move towards the Restoration. The, military led coup, was then opened up to include representatives of counties and boroughs to a Convention of Estates in Dublin in late February 1660.[1] In March, a document was published in Dublin, signed by 'thousands of good people and soldiers of the kingdom'. It asked Charles II to return, begged his forgiveness, 'but stipulated for a general indemnity and the payment of army arrears'.[2] Although Coote proceeded to make some private approaches to Charles II in support of the Restoration, no further progress was made in Ireland until General Monck had secured the King's return following the Declaration of Breda on 4 April 1660. On May 14, the King was proclaimed in Dublin. In September 1660, Coote and Broghill were rewarded for their loyalty by becoming respectively the Earls of Mountrath and Orrery and by the end of 1660 had been appointed Lords Justices to administer the affairs of Ireland.

Following the Restoration, there was a general expectation by the Confederate Catholics that, by having loyally supported the King, they could expect to have their property rights restored and be given guarantees of religious toleration, in line with that which had been agreed with Ormond in 1649. Conversely, Protestant soldiers and adventures who had fought for the Crown prior to 1649, were equally determined to keep their lands and property and live in Ireland as Protestants under a Protestant-controlled administration. This chapter examines how the outcomes from these conflicting and incompatible claims impacted adversely on the social and economic recovery of the town of Galway during the latter half of the seventeenth century. How the exclusion of the Catholic Old English from any involvement in the management of the town's corporate affairs by the minority Protestant community, impeded the ability of Galway's trading

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[1] J. P. Prendergast, *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1690* (Longmans, Green, London, 1887), p. 15.

[2] J. G. Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660-85', in T. W Moody, F. X, Martin, F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume III, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), p. 422.

community to adapt positively to the threats posed by English mercantile policies such as the Cattle Acts, and to the opportunities presented by the emerging colonial markets of the New World.

RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION: 1660-1690

Political Realities

Hardiman, in the introduction to his chapter dealing with the Restoration and the Williamite Wars, summarised the hopes and aspirations of the dispossessed Old English population of Galway:

> On the Restoration of Charles II, such of the new settlers in Galway as were distinguished for the violence of their principles, or their hatred of the royal cause, apprehending prosecution and punishment, suddenly disappeared; while as many of the old natives, as survived the past scenes of destruction, hailed with joy an event from which they expected, according to the king's repeated declarations, not only the termination, but also the reward of their manifold sufferings, and particularly the restitution of their usurped privileges and estates.[3]

During the early stages of the Reformation, the former Old English residents had every reason to hold high expectations of retrieving their lands and properties or, at the very least, to be fully compensated for their loss. On 30 November 1660, the Kings Declaration for the Settlement of His Kingdom in Ireland was published in which clause 18 stated:

> Provided always, that whereas the corporations of Ireland are now planted with English, who have considerably improved at their own charges, and brought trade and manufacture into that our kingdom and by their settlement there do not a little contribute to the peace and settlement of that country, the disturbing or removal of which English would in many respects be very prejudicial, that all such of the popish religion, of any corporations in Ireland, who have been for public security dispossessed of their estates within any corporation, shall be forthwith reprised in forfeited lands, tenements and hereditaments, near the said corporations.[4]

This general declaration was followed up in April 1661, by a more specific directive to the Lords Justices for Ireland, from Charles II, which not only sought to overturn the expulsion orders executed in the 1650s, but also tacitly recognised the damage that these

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[3] J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time,* (Folds and Son, Dublin, 1820), p. 140.

[4] R. P. Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland. Preserved in the Public Record Office. 1660-1662* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1905), p. 104; *Act of Settlement, 1662* (CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: http://www.ucc.ie/celt). Accessed on 30.07.2010.

exclusion orders had inflicted on trade and commerce. In writing to the Lords Justices concerning trade in Ireland Charles II observed:

> Divers of our subjects who formerly lived in Limerick, Galway, and our other towns were expelled therefrom, and are still, by reasons only of their race and religion, prevented from returning there. This is bad for our trade, as it drives many of our traders abroad, where they engage in trade to the enrichment of Foreign Princes. Those who had formerly the right to trade in these parts shall continue to have that right and without making any national distinction between our subjects and that of our kingdom or giving any interruption upon pretence of difference of judgment or opinion in matters of religion, but that all act and deal together as becometh our loyal and dutiful subjects. Mayors, Sheriffs, and other officers of our cities, towns, and corporations shall take notice of this order and it shall be published in the different cities.[5]

Shortly after this public declaration, the hopes of the former Old English inhabitants of Galway received a significant boost when Charles II indicated that he was prepared to recognise the original terms of the surrender of the town to Coote's forces in April 1652. On 17 June 1661, in a letter to the Lords Justices he made his intentions clear:

> The inhabitants of Galway, encouraged by our letter, held the town for nine months against the enemy; and Galway was the last town of consequence that held out against the usurped power. By the articles of surrender of 5 April, the inhabitants, freemen and natives were to enjoy their respective freedoms, houses and estates. We confirm that concession to them. You shall see they have possession of these freedoms, privileges, houses and shall grant them additional favours as they may claim under the peace of 1648. As we hear that some of the inhabitants especially deserve our favour, you shall find out who they are and treat them as if they had been specially mentioned for good treatment in our declaration. Full clauses for favourable execution.[6]

The opportunity to reclaim ownership and governance of the towns now occupied by New English Protestants prompted an immediate response from the Old English. On 18 July, 1661 a petition was presented to the Lords Justices and Council from the Catholic leadership representing not just the former inhabitants and freemen of Galway, but also of Limerick and other towns and cities in Ireland. The petitioners included the eminent Galway lawyer Sir Richard Blake, who had been Chairman of the General Assembly of the Confederation, and Patrick Darcy, another pre-eminent lawyer and a former member of the Supreme Council. Other petitioners included Sir Dominick White, Dr. Thomas

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[5] The King to the Lords Justices Concerning Trade in Ireland, 22 May 1661, *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1660-1662,* pp. 338-339.

[6] The King to the Inhabitants of Galway, 17 June 1661, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1660-1662,* pp. 356-357; The term 'full clauses for favourable execution' at the end of the King's instructions, occurs frequently at this time and refers to the compensation procedures for dealing with Cromwellian soldiers and Adventures, affected by such decisions.See *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1660-1662,* p. 179.

Arthur, Patrick Kirwan and Nicholas French.[7] At the meeting with the Lords Justices Sir
Richard Blake outlined the main points of their claim and the Lords Justices cross-
examined the petitioners so as to establish unequivocally, the extent of their claims. The
meeting records the following:

> They told us that they expected to be restored to those cities and towns as they
> were before the rebellion and to their rights in having their parts in choosing
> magistrates of those places. And, being demanded whether they expected the
> return of all Popish natives and freemen generally into the cities and towns,
> whatsoever their actings have been since the 23 October 1641, it was answered
> that they expected their return generally.[8]

Having established that the demands amounted to nothing less than a return to the status
quo enjoyed by the Old English corporations prior to the Confederate Wars, the Lords
Justices and council wrote to Nicholas, the Secretary of the Council of State, advising
against implementing the King's intentions set out in his letter of 17 June 1661. An
extended review of the need to retain Protestant control of the towns and cities concluded:

> As to Galway we remembered that they (the townsmen) could not be retained in
> obedience by all the power and endeavour of the Marquis of Clanricard. We
> considered that that the reason why the Papists inhabitants were not allowed back,
> is not difference of nation or religion, but because indeed they had been involved
> in the guilt of rebellion...The restoration of these Irish Papist inhabitants would, if
> accompanied by a restoration of their privileges in cities and corporate towns, give
> them the right to elect all the citizens and burgesses for those places in future
> parliaments, and how such a parliament would behave towards the King's army
> and whether there shall be any army or no, or how such army shall be maintained
> besides other obvious consequences – all we can say is that we hope they will be
> prudently foreseen than sadly felt. On the whole we feel that the restoration of any
> Papists except such as are innocent and therefore within the provisions of the
> Declaration (and for many of these provision has already been made in Cork,
> Waterford, Limerick, Galway and other towns) will be attended with many high
> inconveniences and be of dangerous consequences to the King and to the peace of
> Ireland. We have thefore respited the execution of the King's letters and lay the
> matter at his feet asking for his advice.[9]

Raising the possibility that allowing Catholics to regain control of the towns could lead to
future majority control of an Irish parliament set more than a few alarm bells ringing
within the English Protestant community and, as events were to prove, pressure was put

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[7] Lords Justices and Council to Secretary Bennett, 18 July 1661, R. P. Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State
Papers Relating to Ireland. Preserved in the Public Record Office. 1663-1665,* (His Majesty's Stationery
Office, London, 1907), pp. 195-196.
[8] Lords Justices and Council to Secretary Bennett, 18 July 1661, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1663-1665*, pp. 195-
196.
[9] *Ibid.*

on the King to moderate any attempts to recognise the support of the Catholic population during the interregnum.

While the King's intentions and the Protestant concerns on property restoration rights were being considered by English officials in Dublin and London, the lack of clarity resulted in an outbreak of disputes within the towns. Hardiman observed:

> The King's declaration, also, as might reasonably have been expected, occasioned several animosities and disputes between old natives, who reclaimed their properties, and such of the new comers as remained in the town, and who, depending on the partiality and protection of the existing government, resolved to run all hazards rather than tamely surrender their newly acquired possessions.[10]

In quoting one example, Hardiman reveals what may have been a deliberately high profile attempt by the Old English community to establish a test case, using the authority of the Charles II's letter of 17 June 1661. The case, recorded in detail by Hardiman concerned the property of Edward Eyre, the recorder for Galway and its former owner Robert Martin.[11] In a sworn testimony to the Irish Commons on 27 July 1661, Edward Eyre stated that Martin had called to his house and stated that he had an order from the King to have his property returned to him. On ascertaining that the order was not confirmed by the Lords Justices, Eyre informed Martin that in which case it was not worth three pence to him. In the ensuing heated argument, Martin claimed that Eyre had not only refused to obey the King's order but had stated that the King was not the only chief governor of the kingdom. This led to Martin accusing Eyre of treason, and in retaliation, Eyre, using his powers as the Recorder had Martin arrested. Thereafter matters escalated to the point that Eyre was summoned by the Attorney General to appear before the Commons to answer the complaints levelled at him by not only Martin, but, by this time several other of the Old English, including Nicholas French, who had been one of the Petitioners on 17 July. Hardiman recorded that Eyre: 'having received some handsome encomiums for his loyalty and integrity was unanimously acquitted'.[12]

It is inconceivable that both the Protestant administration in Dublin and the Old English former residents of the towns did not see the outcome of this case as a watershed in the ongoing resolution of the post-Reformation settlement. Although the Catholic

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[10] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 142.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

claims on their former properties were not denied outright, the carte blanche demands made in their petition in June 1661 for to full restoration of rights held before October 1641 failed. Indeed it is difficult to imagine that the petitioners themselves had any realistic hopes of obtaining such a fundamental dilution of Protestant land ownership and that it was more likely the start point of their negotiating strategy rather the end objective.

Although opposition to any concessions to the Catholic community were relentlessly pursued by the Protestant lobby, nonetheless the Irish Act of Settlement of 1662 confirmed the King's intentions outlined in November 1660, and Commissioners were appointed to investigate claims of 'Innocent Papists'. The Act contained 11 classified offences which excluded any possible consideration for restoration. Amongst these were:

1. Those who were of the rebels' party before the cessation of September 15, 1643.

2. Those who enjoyed their estates real or personal within the rebels' quarters, an exception being made in favour of the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal who were expelled and driven into the quarters of the rebels.

3. Those who had entered the Roman Catholic confederacy before the peace of 1646.

4. Those who joined the Nuncio against the King.

5. Those who having been excommunicated for adhering to the King owned it an offence and were relieved from the ban.

6. Those who derived title from any person guilty of the above crimes.

7. Those who pleaded the articles of peace for their estates.

8. Those who being within the royal quarters during the war communicated with the King's enemies.

9. Those who before the peace of 1646 or 1648 sat in any assembly of the Confederate Roman Catholics, or acted under orders from them.

10. Those who empowered agents to treat with foreign papal powers or brought foreign forces into Ireland.

11. Those who had been Woodkernes or Tories before Clanricarde left the Government.[13]

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[13] Instructions incorporated in the Act of Settlement, 1662, No. 11, *Irish Statutes, i. 269.* R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under The Stuarts and During the Interregnum, Volume III, 1660-1690* (Longmans, Green, London, 1909), p.21.

Bagwell has observed that by applying the above criteria it 'would seem hard for any Irish Roman Catholic to prove his innocence' however he added that, 'after 20 years there was little or no direct evidence, and if the presumption from residence was disregarded the great mass of the Irish would be restored, controlling future Parliaments and getting all the sea ports in their hands'.[14]

The likelihood that the Act of Settlement might result in a Catholic majority within the key urban settlements and sea ports of Ireland may not have been foreseen when the Act was drawn up, but, once the Commissioners of the Act of Settlement became aware of the possibility, they moved quickly to persuade the King to modify his original proposals in such a way as to ensure that a Protestant majority remained within the corporations, cities and towns. On 21 July 1663, the Commissioners of Settlement alerted the Lord Lieutenant to their concerns:

> We the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement observing that upon the restitution of innocent Papists, His Majesty's letters have been produced unto us often of late, some for the restoring of all natives and inhabitants of some corporations to have their houses and lands being therein, as namely those of Kinsale and Youghal, some for restoring sundry persons to their houses and lands in 'spetie' within corporations, as namely within the corporation of Kilkenny, and some for restoring particular persons in their houses and lands in corporations, which, as we humbly conceive, will be such an inlet of Papists into corporations as the Act seems to provided against think well to inform you of the matter that you may take such steps for stopping this course of action as you think fit.[15]

Following receipt of the above recommendation Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant,[16] acted swiftly, and on 5 August 1663 wrote to the King's secretary, Bennet alerting him to the danger of proceeding to implement the terms of the Act of Settlement in its present form and advised him that:

> We therefore on 27 July ordered the Commissioners to cease restoring any Papists who were natives or inhabitants of any corporations to their houses or lands in corporations until we might, as now we do, represent the matter to your Majesty and receive your pleasure therein.[17]

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

[15] The Commissioners of Settlement to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, 21 July 1663, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1663-1665*, pp. 194-195:

[16] The Marquis, James Butler had been created a Duke by Charles II and appointed as Lord Lieutenant in 1662.

[17] The Lord Lieutenant and Council to Secretary Bennett, 5 August 1663, *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1663-1665*, p. 194.

In the Act of Explanation passed in 1665, the exclusion of Catholics from reclaiming or even repurchasing their houses in the towns and corporations was passed into law. This exclusion at the same time repealed the King's power to restore innocent Papists to their houses in corporations, and specifically cancelled out the effect of the King's letter of June 17 1661, which had been produced by Robert Martin in his claim for the return of his property.

Following the passing of the Act of Explanation, the former Old English residents and freemen of Galway had, for all practical purposes, exhausted all the legal avenues that might have allowed them some degree of involvement in the town's affairs and for the remainder of the 1660s, the town of Galway remained exclusively under the control of the Protestant beneficiaries of the Act of Settlement. Throughout this period the Protestant ascendancy had been copper fastened by the Duke of Ormond, who, as Lord Lieutenant, was an implacable supporter of the Protestant cause, and, furthermore had little reason to harbour any sympathy for the Catholic cause following his removal by Rinuccini as leader of the Confederacy in 1649. Ormonde had been a staunch Royalist and was undoubtedly part of Charles II's inner circle since leaving for France. But even he was not immune to the intrigues played out in a court system which was a fertile breeding ground to sow rumour and suspicion. Chief amongst those who plotted against him was the Duke of Buckingham who, with the assistance of the Earl of Orrery had attempted to have Ormonde impeached for financial mismanagement, so as to succeed him as Lord Lieutenant. This attempt failed but Charles II's confidence in Ormonde had been damaged and he was dismissed from office on 13 May 1669, an event which was not received with universal approval. Samuel Pepys commented at the time: 'It is a great stroke to show the power of Buckingham and the poor spirit of the King; and little hold that any man can have of him'.[18]

He was replaced by Lord Robarts who, having failed to impose his authority was superseded in May 1670, by Lord Berkeley who had been appointed President of Connaught in 1666. This change in governance marked a period of increased toleration towards the Catholic Church which included closer co-operation between the government and Rome. The Vatican made a number of new appointments which included that of Peter

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[18] Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts,* p. 88.

Talbot as Archbishop of Dublin, and under Berkleys' brief but moderate period of office, a general synod of the Irish bishops was held in Dublin in 1670.[19] The relaxation of the oppressive subjugation of the Catholic population served to reignite the hopes of the Catholic freemen and property owners of Galway. Moreover by the beginning of the 1670s, there was a growing realisation amongst the Protestant administration that the prohibition on Catholic merchants from trading from their former towns and residences had resulted in a significant downturn in economic activity. Prevented from engaging in trade from their home bases, many merchants had moved their activities to Europe where they had an established network of family and other interests. Any diminution of trade through Irish ports was bound to impact on royal revenues and on 26 February 1671, Charles II wrote to John Berkeley and the Council in Ireland with his concerns. Although reluctant to reverse the clauses in the Act of Explanation which expressly forbade the re-admittance of Catholics into the towns and corporation, the letter recognised that as a result of this prohibition:

> Irish Roman Catholic subjects inhabiting in that our Kingdom are also enforced to follow other callings and ways of livelihood more disadvantageous to them selves and less useful to the public good than those they were bred unto, to the great decay of trade, lessening of our revenues, impoverishing our said subject, to our very great detriment and considerable loss and damage to our Kingdom.[20]

The letter then proceeded to instruct Berkeley to proclaim a General Licence which had the effect of reversing Section 36 of the Act of Explanation and would permit Catholics to purchases or hire houses within the corporate towns and cities of Ireland. The former residents of Galway lost no time in registering their intention to take full advantage of this concession. Not surprisingly the Protestant-controlled corporation of Galway, led by the Mayor, Richard Ormsby, were very reluctant to allow any Catholics entry back in to the town but, served with the King's proclamation they had little choice but to process the requests. One such application from Marcus Lynch Fitz-Peter has survived and is reproduced here:

> In obedience to his Majesties gracious order of 26 February, 1671, for the restitution of all the natives and freemen of the corporation of His Majesty's

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[19] J. G. Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660-1685' in T. W Moody, F. X, Martin, F. J. Byrne, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland, Volume III, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009), p. 431.
[20] M. J. Blake, *Blake Family Records, 1600-1700* (Elliot Stock, London, 1905), pp. 101-102.

> Kingdom of Ireland to the exercise of their respective freedoms within the said corporations, with all the privileges and immunities thereunto belonging, as in and by the said Order may more at large appear, I, Richard Ormsby, Esq. Mayor of the town of Galway, do hereby certify to all whom it might concern that Marcus Lynch fitz Peter of Galway, merchant, is a native and freeman of the said corporation of Galway and that he is hereby acknowledged and admitted to act and do to all intents and purposes as belongeth to a freeman of the said corporation; and that the said Marcus Lynch hath on the 1st April 1672 taken before me the oath of allegiance and freemen of the said corporation of Galway. In witness whereof I have hereunto put mu hand and fixed the Mayoralty seal of this corporation. Richard Ormsby, Mayor. [seal affixed].[21]

There is little doubt that the formality of the proceedings in the above transcript disguised an undercurrent of hostility by both sides. The Catholics on the one hand were forced to re-apply for the rights as freemen which they and their families had enjoyed for generations prior to the Cromwellian conquest, and the New English Protestants were forced into re-admitting Catholics into the town threatening their security of property rights which the Act of Satisfaction had granted. The transition to open hostility was not long in coming. On 25 July 1672, an election was to be held for a new Sherriff to replace one that had died. A number of Catholics attended the meeting at the Thosel claiming the right to vote as Freemen. A general period of disorder ensued after which the Mayor cancelled the meeting with no election taking place. Both sides then promptly appealed their case to the lord Lieutenant. The case for the Mayor and Common Council stated:

> That the petitioners, being assembled in Tholsell to choose a sheriff in place of one lately deceased, caused proclamation to be made that all entitled to be restored or admitted as freemen by virtue of his Majesty's letter and his Excellency's proclamation, should on proving their right be admitted to take out copies according to the custom and bye-laws of the corporation, that thereupon a great multitude tumultuously demanded to be admitted to vote at the present election without producing or taking out copies of their freedoms, pretending they were free by birth, and not obliged to observe the laws and customs hitherto used, that the petitioners were thereby disabled from proceeding with the election, being unable to admit the said multitude to a vote, being ignorant of their rights or pretentions thereto, especially as the said multitude endeavoured to impose one of themselves, not nominated by the Common Council, contrary to all laws and customs of the corporation, so that the Mayor was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and praying that, as the Act of Explanation empowers the Lord Lieutenant and Council to make rules, &c., for regulating corporations, he would, for the prevention of future disorders, as the time for electing their magistrates is 1 August next, ascertain such rules for the election of magistrates and officers, and such method for ascertaining and restoring the former natives, as may best

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[21] Blake, *Blake Family Records, 1600-1700*, pp. 102-103.

comport with his Majesty's interest and service, and the safety of the garrison there.[22]

The Catholic's case was submitted by Marcus Browne and Jasper Lynch on behalf of themselves and the Roman Catholic natives and freemen of Galway:

> The petitioners and old natives, are by the corporations and customs of the said town freemen thereof, and enabled to vote in the Tholsell, but were disturbed in their freedoms by the late usurped powers, that his Majesty by his proclamation signified that they should be restored thereto, but notwithstanding at a Tholsell last Thursday for electing a new sheriff, their votes were denied by the Mayor, Recorder, and some of the Aldermen, and praying, that, as the petitioners have no thought of voting for any as Mayor or officers not approved of by the Government, and as Thursday next is the day for the election of a mayor, the petitioners may have the benefit of the proclamation, and that such course may be taken for the contempt of the proclamation as his Excellency shall think fit.[23]

The legitimacy of the Catholic claims is unclear because although the licence to re- admit Catholics as freemen authorised by Berkley was non-exclusive, it required that any former freemen who wanted to exercise their rights, had to do so by swearing an oath of allegiance before receiving a certificate from the Mayor. This had clearly been the case in the example of Marcus Lynch, and although no other documentary evidence is to hand, it is unlikely that he was on his own in obtaining formal evidence of the restoration of his rights. The legal position of other Catholics within the town is also unclear, since they may have gained residency rights by other means prior to the granting of the General Licence in February 1671. On 8 November 1670, the Lord President of Connaught, John King, First Baron Kingston, signed a permit addressed to all officers, civil and military in the town of Galway to: 'Permit Thomas Blake fitz John and his family, consisting of one man servant, to reside in this town till further order'.[24] So it seems that on 25 July 1671, the throng of Old English Catholics seeking to register their rights to vote in the elections may have consisted of those who had some legitimate proof their right to vote, legitimate residents of the town holding civil permits and others who clearly believed that the licence to regain their status as freemen was, at this point, unconditional.

The two conflicting accounts and claims came before the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council for consideration in late July and it is hardly surprising that a decision was

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[22] The Mayor and Common Council of Galway to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, 17 August 1672, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1672*, (www.british-history.ac.uk, date accessed; 22 March 2010).

[23] Marcus Browne and Jasper Lynch to the Lord Lieutenant, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1672*.

[24] Blake, *Blake Family Records*, p. 101.

made in favour of the Protestant Mayor and corporation of Galway. That the Lord Lieutenant had been obliged to execute the King's orders was one thing, but dealing with the consequences which included the potential for serious civil unrest was another. Also, uppermost in Berkeley's mind may well have been his imminent replacement by the Earl of Essex, and the resultant lack of political will to arbitrate on a matter over which he would have no further control. Accordingly on 29 July 1671 he sent an order to the Mayor and Common Council of Galway requiring that:

> Gregory Constable, Alderman, be chosen as Mayor, and Thomas Andrewes and William Hill as sheriffs for the ensuing year, and John Vaughan as sheriff in room of a deceased sheriff, and further ordering, that, if any persons in a tumultuary or disorderly manner oppose the said election, the Mayor and Governor take care that the peace be preserved, and that the names of such persons be returned in order that they may be proceeded against. 29 July. Dublin.[25]

While these arguments and counter-arguments were being considered in Dublin, the tensions between the Catholic and Protestant population of Galway increased as the annual elections for the Mayor and other officers, traditionally held on Lammas Day, 1 August, fell due. On 1 August 1672 the Catholics attempted to gain admittance to the Tholsel but they were prevented from so doing by the Protestant controlled garrison. A long and detailed account of these proceedings was sent in the form of a petition to Lord Essex, who had assumed his duties as Lord Lieutenant on 6 August 1672. In the account signed by 'the ancient natives, freemen and inhabitants of Galway', they claimed that when they arrived at the Thosel their way was barred by two or three files of soldiers who had been sent from the fort. After allowing the Mayor and his entourage to pass the soldiers closed ranks and attacked the petitioners 'in so much as several pikes have been broken in the petitioners pates, and particularly in the petitioner John Bodkin's pate, and also those of Francis Blake of Moynes, Andrew French of Kargine and Lawrence Deane'. The election of Mayor and Sheriffs for 1672-1673 was then made, not by a general vote of the freemen but by a private election of the town Council. Richard Ormsby, the retiring

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[25] The Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Mayor and Common Council of Galway, 29 July 1672, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1672*.

Mayor declared that Gregory Constable was chosen Mayor for the next term and Thomas Andrewes and William Hill, Sheriffs.[26]

The petition went on to highlight a number of accusations against the integrity of the elected officials and other appointees concerned with the collection of revenues which included one which alleged that a Captain James Browne said that despite the King's proclamation 'who can make them free without an act of parliament', which if it were true, might have led to Browne being accused of treason.[27] These statements were witnessed in the form of unsworn affidavits by Captain William Hamilton and Lawrence Deane who added that on the afternoon of 1 August 'a great fire was made in the High Street opposite the sheriffs and John Clerk's houses, believed to be a sign of joy for the expulsion of the said old natives'.[28]

The lighting of bonfires and firing of canon had become very much a part of a Protestant tradition in demonstrating against Catholics by the 1670s. Two dates in particular had become particularly important. 5 November had been adopted from the English tradition to celebrate the deliverance of James I from assassination by Guy Fawkes and others, but more importantly for the 'Protestant interest' in Ireland, was 23 October 1641, the anniversary of the Uprising.[29] It was reported that Dublin had celebrated 5 November in 1655 with 'the noise of great artillery and the blaze of bonfires before everyone's door, to the great content of the Protestants and the shame of the Catholics'.[30] By an Act of Parliament of 1662, 23 October 1641, had become a holy day in the Protestant calendar and clergymen were directed to deliver a lengthy description of the outbreak

> which laid stress on the many thousands of Protestants who were massacred attributed to...a carefully conceived conspiracy orchestrated by malignant and

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[26] The Ancient Natives, Freemen and Inhabitants of Galway to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1672*; J.T. Gilbert, *Archives of the Town of Galway, H.M.C. Tenth Report,* Appendix, Part V, p. 503.

[27] *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1672*, pp. 493-553.

[28] *Ibid.*,

[29] The 'Protestant interest' was a term generally used by Irish Protestants to describe themselves and in this context is used to describe settlers who had arrived in Ireland between 1550 and 1660. J. Kelly, 'The Glorious and Immortal Memory: Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660-1800', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 94c, No. 2, (1994), p. 25.

[30] T. C. Barnard, 'Crises of Identity among Irish Protestants, 1641-1685', *Past and Present*, No. 27 (May, 1990), pp. 55-56.

> rebellious papists and Jesuits, fryers, seminary priests and other superstitious orders of the popish clergy.[31]

By 1670 the combination of the firing of guns, ringing of bells and the firing of illuminations during these celebrations had become flashpoints for violence and were later to be banned by the Dublin government following the accession of James II.[32] Thus the nature of the celebrations on 1 August 1673 in the streets of Galway would have sent a clear message to both the Catholic community and to the authorities in Dublin of the Protestant determination to resist any attempt to dilute their total control in Galway.

Following the receipt of this petition, Essex ordered that Richard Ormsby and William Sprigge the Recorder, together with the named Aldermen in the petition respond to the accusations within 10 days of being ordered to do so. Notwithstanding the complaints made by the petitioners, Essex also confirmed that the results of the election were to stand 'having found no cause at present to vary from the directions given by the said letters'.[33] In the event the order for Ormsby and others to explain their actions was not dealt with until May 1673, when, following an appearance before the Lord Lieutenant and Council it was found that the petitioners claims were groundless and they were 'exonerated from further attendance concerning the complaint against them'.[34]

This rejection of the Catholic petitioner's claims in 1673 was not entirely unexpected because in September 1672, the introduction of the New Rules for the better regulation of the corporation of the town of Galway and the electing of magistrates and officers there' had been brought into effect by Essex and the Privy Council.[35] These New Rules addressed most of the fears that the Protestant community had expressed concerning the involvement of the Catholic community in the affairs of the corporation.

The new rules were:

> 1. That upon all elections to be hereafter made after the 31 October, 1672, of any person or persons as Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder or town Clerk, the names of the persons so elected shall forthwith be presented by the corporation to the Lord Lieutenant and Council Board to be approved of by them ; if not approved of a

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[31] Kelly, 'The Glorious and Immortal Memory', p. 27.

[32] T. C. Barnard, 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 106, No. 421, (October, 1991), p. 893.

[33] Order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, 9 August 1672, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1672.*

[34] The Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Earl of Arlington, 30 May 1673, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1673.* (www.british-history.ac.uk, date accessed; 22 March 2010).

[35] Dublin, 23 September 1672, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1673,* p. 650.

new election to be made in 10 days time ; All officers annually chosen to be first elected on the Monday next after Midsummer Day; and to enter upon the execution of their office as formerly.

2. The Warden of the College of St. Nicholas to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant.

3. No person to be elected either Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, Aldermen, town Clerk, or members of the Common Council shall be capable of holding any such office until he shall have taken the oath of supremacy, and the oath of allegiance; but the Lord Lieutenant to have power to dispense with the taking of the oath of supremacy in particular cases, if he for some particular reason think fit to so dispense.

4. To avoid tumult and disorders arising from the popular election of magistrates the elections of Mayor, Sheriffs, town Clerk, and all other officers of the town of Galway, to be made only by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Common Council by the greater number of votes of such; and no freeman or other person who shall not be of the Common Council shall have any vote in the election of Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, town Clerk, or other officers in said town of Galway ; And no matter in any wise relating to the affairs of said town shall be debated or propounded in the Tholsel or General Assembly of the said town, until the same shall have first passed the Common Council of said town.

5. All foreigners, strangers, and aliens, as well others as Protestants, who shall be merchants traders, artizans or artificers, who are at present residing and inhabiting within the town of Galway, or who shall hereafter come into said town with intent there to reside and inhabit, shall (on their request made and on payment of a fine of 20 shillings) be admitted Freemen of the said town of Galway during residence there, and shall enjoy all privileges and immunities of trading, in as large a manner as any Freeman might have by virtue of his freedom : provided always that such persons to be admitted freemen shall take the oath of allegiance.

The new rules effectively barred Catholics from any involvement in the corporate affairs of the town, since they would have to take the Oath of Supremacy to do so. However Charles II's concerns about the negative effect on trade caused by the continuing ban on Catholic merchants using the town as their base was addressed by allowing a general licence to trade to all 'foreigners, strangers and aliens' as long as they paid an entry fee of 20 shillings and took the Oath of Allegiance. This may have been much less than the return to the freedoms the Old English Catholics had enjoyed prior to 1652, but under the circumstances could well have been seen as a small step forward in regaining their former status, just as the Protestants would equally have seen the New Rules as a victory over Catholic aspirations.

In promoting these new rules, Essex was in fact merely bringing Galway and indeed Limerick, into line with what was, by the 1670s, the norm in the other former Old English towns and cities. Since taking over as Lord Lieutenant he had spent a

considerable amount of time in finalising a common set of standards for governance throughout the main towns and cities and the New Rules were the result of these endeavours. It may have been that the vociferous claims by the Catholic population of Galway for a restoration of their old privileges that had spurred Essex on to develop this standard format. In sending a copy of the rules to the Earl of Arlington on 1 October 1672 Essex observes:

> Some of the Rules for corporations are by this post transmitted to your Lordship; those for Gallway and Limmerick are the same, only with this addition that for election of Magistrates it shall be by the Mayor, Aldermen and common Council and not by popular vote...We have declared it only in the rules for these two City's, in regard that in all the other City's of note the constitution of them is so already. In Galway it has been controverted whether the Freemen in general have a vote in the election of Magistrats or no; so to settle all we have given the rule.[36]

The establishment of the New Rules was at best a compromise which would allow for the re-admittance of Catholics as freemen to the towns, as decreed by the declaration of Charles II in February 1671, and at the same time copper-fasten Protestant control of the corporations by including the endorsement of the Privy Council in the selection of officials. This major change in the relationship between local and central government in Ireland went mostly unchallenged by the Protestant communities as they secured their primary goal of the establishment of a Protestant monopoly over local affairs. But politically, the Privy Council had effectively removed one of the last vestiges of the semi-autonomous city state as they increased national authority over local government.

It is unclear as to the extent to which the Earl of Essex was the architect of these radical new measures. In taking up office on 6 August 1672, he hardly had the time, to assimilate the issues and publish a legally binding piece of legislation. It is more likely that the drafting of the legislation to implement the King's declaration had been underway for some time and that the arrival of Essex as Lord Lieutenant had provided the political will to finalise and implement the proposals. Officials in Ireland were evidently aware of the intention to appoint Essex as Lord Lieutenant and had taken care to make sure that he was fully briefed on the importance of matter. On 4 June 1672, the Earl of Orrery had sent a detailed letter to Essex urging him to find a solution which would benefit the

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[36] O. Airy, (ed.), *The Essex Papers, Volume 1, 1672-1679* (The Camden Society, Westminster, 1890), pp. 30-32.

commercial and trading interests of Ireland by readmitting the Catholic merchants without undermining Protestant control.[37] On taking office Essex made it his main priority, but in writing to Arlington on 17 August 1672, he complained it had been seven years since proposals to make changes to the Corporate corporations had first been mooted and 'in this short space of time, which now being but six weeks, I fear through hast I shall commit some errors, tho I take the best care I can to avoid them'.[38] Essex followed this letter up with a further letter to Arlington on 24 August which included what appears to be a final draft of the New Rules and with observations concerning the various clauses. On one issue he was very clear and that was the negative effect of any proposal to readmit Catholics to any role in local government would have not just on Protestant morale, but also on trade. In making these observations Essex wrote:

> I really do believe that if Romanists bee admitted to ye magistracy in Corporacions, it will upon ye bee a hindrance to trade; For I am confident 'tis not in jest that I hear from all hands that if this should once bee allowed many wealth Trading Protestants would upon that score withdraw themselves and their stocks.[39]

During the late 1660s Charles II's publicly declared interest in alleviating the total exclusion of Catholic from the towns and corporations was aimed at bringing back the international trading expertise of the Catholic merchants and thus improving revenues. But at the same time he was holding private talks with King Louis XIV of France, the terms of which had undoubtedly influenced his policy of a more tolerant attitude towards Catholics in the three Kingdoms and particularly in Ireland where Catholics were in the majority. The result of these negotiations was the Treaty of Dover signed, in May 1670. The details of the treaty and its very existence were so secret that it was concealed not just from other European states but also from most of the senior ministers and advisers to both the Monarchs.[40] Its main provisions were for the two countries to declare war on the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces and destroy it as a European Power and for the public profession of the Roman Catholic faith by Charles II. The motives for Charles II making this extraordinary pact have been discussed by a number of historians over the

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[37] Airy, (ed.), *The Essex Papers*, pp. 5-7.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[40] R. Hutton, 'The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1668-1670', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 29, No. 2, (1986), p. 297.

years without any clear agreement being reached. Much off the original documentation has been either lost or destroyed although an English copy of the treaty, retained by Sir Thomas Clifford, the King's secretary to the negotiations has survived down to the present time amongst the papers of the Clifford family.[41] Despite the intense secrecy surrounding the negotiations it is inconceivable that Charles was not assisted in his endeavours by some members of his inner circle and in particular, Henry Bennet, Baron Arlington, his senior Secretary of State. At the conclusion of the Dover Treaty, the French gave Arlington a special award for his endeavours.

The King's secret agreement to embrace the Catholic Religion in no way manifested itself in increased toleration for Catholic practices in Ireland and in particular any return to the challenge to his supremacy by the clergy which was led by the Nuncio during the Confederate wars. The eventual concessions made to Catholics in the New Rules, included the requirement to take an oath of allegiance before being re-admitted as freemen. Those who did so were almost exclusively the laity and in granting this conditional concession a wedge had been driven through any possibility of a unified attempt by the Catholic clerical hardliners to take advantage of any future relaxation of anti-Catholic measures. This policy of divide and rule was, moreover, not exclusively applied to Irish Catholics. There had been a general increase in dissent amongst hard line non-conformist Protestants in England and Presbyterians in Scotland during the 1660s, and this dissent had been effectively contained by granting some concessions to the moderates whilst clamping down on the more extreme elements. During the lead up to the conclusion of his negotiations with France, Charles had explicitly instructed Essex's predecessors, Robartes and Berkley to divide Catholics by dealing favourably with those who openly recognised Royal authority.[42] This had never been an issue with the Old English Catholic Merchants who, apart from a brief period in the Confederate Wars, had consistently operated within this dual framework. The New Rules for towns and corporations would seem therefore to have achieved their political objectives during the early 1670s without stimulating any degree of political or social unrest. They had allowed for the return of Catholic commerce and industry within the town on the basis that the

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[41] *Ibid.,* p. 298.
[42] *Ibid.,* pp. 315-316.

improvement in trade would reverse the decline in revenues to the state and, at the same time retaining Protestant control of the towns affairs.

A Marginalised Provincial Town

Up until the Restoration, Galway had maintained its prominence as a major Irish provincial capital. Its political and strategic importance during the Confederacy has been demonstrated and, although disrupted by the war, it had continued to operate as an important trading centre, reputed to be the second in Ireland next to Dublin during the first half of the seventeenth century[43]. Thereafter its importance declined significantly relative to Dublin and Cork and during the latter half of the seventeenth century it was overtaken as a place of commercial importance by Limerick and Waterford. The Protestant community in Galway seemed far less interested in commerce than the Protestant controlled major centres of Munster and Leinster, and, despite the best intentions of the 'New Rules', disputes over property rights, and a generally obstructive corporation made it difficult for Catholic merchants to re-establish themselves. As the general condition of the town and its buildings deteriorated during the 1670s, matters were considerable worsened when Charles II, granted much of the towns wealth and revenue earning capacity to a court favourite.

His legal right to make this gift came about as a bi-product of the Act of Settlement 1662 and the Act of Explanation 1665. The corporation's support of the Confederacy between August 1643 and the Second Ormonde Truce of 1648 had included the mortgaging of almost all of the corporation property and the corporation and market duties to meet their share of the cost of the war. The corporation customs, for example, had been mortgaged to Nicholas Blake and others for £2000 and the market customs to John Blake for £400.[44] After the Restoration the holders of these mortgages were found to be 'forfeited persons' and thus the beneficial interest became vested in Charles II. In May 1673, whether it was for services rendered or merely a gift is not clear, Charles II wrote to the Earl of Essex directing that he had made a grant to Colonel James Hamilton, Groom of the Bedchamber:

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[43] L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691' in T.W Moody, *F.X, Martin, F.J. Byrne*, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland, Volume III*, pp. 390-391.

[44] A detailed account of corporation property mortgaged off before 1652 is furnished by Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 146.

> In fee simple, of the towns, lands and hereditaments in the liberties of Galway and the counties of Wicklow, Queens County and Longford...to be held at the present rents. And further directed him to cause such commissions to be issued as may be necessary for ascertaining title of the Crown to the said premises[45]

The Earl of Essex, clearly foreseeing that this grant would place further obstacles in the way of any improvements to the town's financial woes, held back from implementing the directive until the corporation of Galway had been informed. They immediately sent a petition to the Earl of Essex:

> Praying for the a stop to the grant to Colonel Hamilton of the whole revenue of the said town, till the petitioners have been heard, as well on behalf of his Majesty's interest in the said revenue as on behalf of the said town, and such favourable representations thereof made to his Majesty, as may be most for his Majesty's interest and services, and the advantage of the said town.[46]

As this correspondence was being exchanged Colonel Hamilton lost a leg while engaged in a sea battle with the Dutch fleet and died from his wounds on 6 June 1673. His widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton proceeded to obtain confirmation of the grant from Charles II. On 5 December 1673, he granted her letters patent not only to the forfeited property of Galway corporation but also 'all the estate, right, title and interest in the corporation customs, market and other duties which had been granted to the town in the reign of James I in 1610, and now also forfeited'. This grant was enrolled by her in the Irish Court of Chancery on 9 December 1673.[47] Galway corporation immediately set about preventing her from taking collecting any revenue from her grant and, following a period of legal representation from both parties, on 19 October 1674, the Lord Chancellor granted Mrs. Hamilton an injunction against Galway corporation obstructing her receiving the charter customs and market and other duties.[48]

The Earl of Essex, who was duty bound to execute the King's wishes and to uphold the law of the land, nonetheless saw it as his duty to highlight the threat to Galway's safety and future prosperity and on 23 January he wrote to Arlington:

> As to the affair of the town of Galway, betwixt it and Mrs Hamilton, I cannot but tell you that I apprehend this grant will be the ruin of that town. It was once a

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[45]The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 3 May 1673, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1673.*

[46] The Mayor, Sheriffs and Burgesses and commonality of Galway to the Lord Lieutenant, 15 July 1673 *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II 1673.*

[47] M. J. Blake, 'Galway Corporation Book 'B'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 5, No. 2, (1907-1908), p. 84.

[48] *Ibid.*

> considerable place of trade, and one of the principal strengths of the Kingdom; it
> has furnished all the province of Connaught (it being the only frequented port
> these) with foreign commodities; but now I hear the merchants are all leaving the
> place, and the gentlemen of that country are forced to send away as far as this city
> (Dublin) for those things whereof they used to be provided from thence.[49]

The loss of the town's revenues was not the principle cause of the town's misfortunes, but it was a major contributory factor in an ongoing litany of neglect, mismanagement and social upheaval following on from the Cromwellian occupation and settlement. It was also a vivid reminder of the reality of living under a monarch who believed he had the divine right to dispose of the goods and chattels of the country as he saw fit. It was also a reminder to the Protestant community of their own vulnerability to the whims of an absolute monarch. Hardiman, in summing up this less than fruitful incident in Galway's history observed:

> The reader will not be surprised that the same king…after spilling their [the Old
> English Catholic] blood and wasting their treasures in his cause, would equally
> disregard the interests of their successors in the corporation, who, he was well
> aware, became his friends merely from necessity, and would remain so only as
> long as it was consistent with their interest.[50]

In 1675 the corporation decided to act to regain some control over its fortunes. Having exhausted all the legal routes they were left with the costly option of buying out Mrs. Hamilton's interest. Theodore Russell, who had been elected Mayor in September 1674, offered to take on this responsibility and also to start proceedings to obtain a new corporation from Charles II because at this time, the very existence of the 'corporation of Galway' rested on the whim of the King. Russell had been a Colonel in the Cromwellian army which had captured Galway in 1652, and having amassed a fortune since the end of the war was in a position to raise the required funds. In return for his services the corporation agreed that he would continue to be elected mayor each year and that, until such time as he was reimbursed the charter customs would be paid over to him. In addition he was to be paid all his expenses in procuring a new charter plus a one off sum of £300. In 1675, Russell paid Mrs. Hamilton £2500, and received from her an assignment of the charter customs and other duties. At the same time she sold her

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[49] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 146.
[50] *Ibid.,* p. 145.

remaining interests in the corporation lands that she had acquired from the Kings grant to John Fitzgerald.[51]

On 14 August 1676, a new charter was granted by Charles II to 'The Mayor, Sheriffs, Free Burgesses and Commonality of the County of the town of Galway'.[52] The charter endorsed the transfer of the rights of the customs duties from Mrs Hamilton to Theodore Russell and endorsed the compensation plan agreed between Russell and the corporation. But other than those specific items the new charter did little more than reiterate the New Rules for Boroughs, imposed by Essex in September 1662. Moreover the conditions imposed under the charter for election to the various corporation offices continued to effectively exclude Catholics. No person could hold any public office unless they took both the Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of Supremacy unless given special dispensation by the Lord Lieutenant. No Freeman who was not a member of the Common Council could vote in election of the Mayor or other corporation officers. But the charter continued to allow Catholics and others to be involved in trade and commerce as Freemen, within the town provided they took the oath of allegiance and pay a fee of twenty shillings.

This partial easing of restrictions on the former Catholic population of the town was not to last. A year later, in September 1678, a wave of anti-Catholic hysteria swept through England and into Ireland. Anti-Catholic feelings were never far from the surface amongst the Protestant populations of both countries but on 28 September 1678, one Titus Oates swore on oath before London magistrate Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, that he had evidence of a Catholic plot to murder Charles II, set fire to London and bring in a Popish army. Although Oates was later found to have lied, there were immediate and in some cases fatal sanctions taken against Catholics in England. They were banned from coming within ten miles of London and Westminster and in Dublin a bounty was put on the heads of any soldiers and officers who 'having taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, hath since been perverted to the Popish religion or hear mass'.[53] The life of the Duke of Ormonde, who had replaced the Essex as Lord Lieutenant in August 1677, was also

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[51] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 147.

[52] A transcript of this charter is included in Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Appendix viii, pp. xliii-liv.

[53] Lord Lieutenant and Council, 20 November 1678, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P, 1641-1653*, New Series, Volume 2, (Historic Manuscripts Commission. Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by Mackie and Co. Ltd., London, 1902), p. 356.

thought to have been threatened and immediate steps were taken to exclude all Catholics from the garrison towns. On 20 November 1678 Ormonde issued an exclusion order

> for the better security of his Majesty's garrisons in the towns of Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal and Galway, We do hereby order and command that the market and fairs, usually held in every of the said towns, be from henceforth (until further order from this board) held and kept in some convenient places without the walls of the said several towns, and that no person or persons of the Popish religion, be suffered to reside or continue in the said towns, or in any other of the corporations of this kingdom wherein any garrison is kept, who have not for the greatest part of twelve months now last past inhabited within some one of the said towns, or corporations ; and also that no such persons, be suffered to come to any fairs or markets within this kingdom armed, with swords, pistols or any other weapons, or fire-arms whatsoever.[54]

Although this exclusion order did make an exception in the case of those Catholics who had been permanently resident in the town for over year as at the 31 March 1679, even this exception was withdrawn as Ormonde further directed that:

> All Papists, inhabitants out of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmell and Drogheda, except some few trading merchants, artificers and others necessary for the said towns and garrisons the same being the principal in the kingdom where the Papists are most numerous [55]

Expulsion of Catholics from urban centres and the prohibition of Catholics from public office had, by the late 1670s, become commonplace throughout Ireland. The expulsions took place against a background of anti-Catholic hysteria throughout Charles II's 'Three Kingdoms', and, as noted, all Irish port and garrison towns, including, the principal urban settlements of Dublin and Cork, were affected. But in Connaught, and particularly in Galway, the expulsions had had a particularly devastating effect because, Catholics far outnumbered Protestants, and their exclusion from the towns and from the markets had an immediate effect on the local economy. Ormonde was aware of this population imbalance, when in writing to the Early of Danby in February 1679, concerning the state of the towns defences, he notes that; 'Galway, the only important sea town in Connaught where there are more Irish and fewer English then in any other of the provinces, and where an invader may soon fortify himself, and, as I am told, secure his ships'.[56] His

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[54] Exclusion of Roman Catholics from Garrison towns, 20 November 1678, *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.

[55] Order from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to Chief Magistrates, 31 March 1679. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P.* New Series, Volume 5, (Historic Manuscripts Commission. Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by Ben Johnson & Co., York 1906), p. 29.

[56] *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde,* New Series, Volume 2, pp. 114-115.

priority at that time was to strengthen the security of the town and he was clearly not overly concerned about the economic impact of his expulsion orders in late March of that year.

Initially the corporation also seemed oblivious to the financial implications of the exclusion orders as they went about their business, although there were early signs that some of the Protestant citizens were anxious to have Catholic re-admitted. At a common council meeting held on 18 April 1679 it was noted that certificates had been signed by Protestant residents on behalf of some Irish inhabitants that they were, under the rules, 'useful to the garrison and fit to live in the town'. These certificates had not been granted with the consent of the Mayor and Council and possibly to head off any rumours of disloyalty reaching Ormonde, the Council resolved to write to Sir Oliver St. George, asking him to inform Ormonde of the facts.[57] At a further meeting on 13 May 1679 a number of former residents had applied to be re-admitted. The surnames of the applicants are strikingly familiar, as former members of the merchant classes. Amongst the applicants were Christopher Lynch, Henry Lynch, Thomas Browne (listed as a cooper), Peter Blake, Valentine French and Dominick Lynch, Patrick Blake and Valentine Browne. The council resolved that they were, 'not fitt traders to stay in towne or any wayes useful to the Garrison'. Curiously, one of the applicants, one Widow Margrett Lynch, described as a dealer, was found to be, 'a fitt woman to stay in towne'.[58]

Throughout the summer and early autumn of 1679, the corporation records demonstrate that the Mayor and Council of Galway continued to resolutely exclude the mostly, Old English Catholics, from returning to the town. This enthusiasm for the strict observance of the orders was not shared by many of the Protestant population as their empty properties formerly rented out to Catholic tenants, began to fall into ruin and the economic activity of the town continued to worsen. James Hardiman, somewhat uncharacteristically, bluntly summarised the sorry state of the town as:

> Being deprived of its former respectable population, and possessed by a set of men
> their very opposite, both in principles and character, who were bred to a military

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[57] Blake, 'Galway Corporation Book', 'B', p.10.
[58] *Ibid.,* p.11.

life, and mostly ignorant of any other pursuit, commerce entirely declined, and even the buildings...were falling to the ground.[59]

In late July 1679, Protestant proprietors within the town wrote directly to the Duke of Ormond, requesting that he re-consider the strict observance of the exclusion orders. The petition observed that:

> By reason of the removal of the market and Irish inhabitants, a great parte of the howses of the said towne are fallen downe for want of inhabitants and praying thereupon that such Irish of the said towne as should give securety for their loyaltie and peaceable deportment might be restored.[60]

It is significant that the lead petitioner was John Sandes who was agent to the Duke of Ormonde for several of the forfeited houses within the town, and, it is assumed that the other proprietors named in the petition had a reasonable expectation that the support of Sandes would encourage a favourable response from Ormonde. The petition included the names of some 56 former inhabitants sponsored by leading members of the town's Protestant community who were prepared to stand as security for the applicants (Figure 6.1).

It is noted that by the late 1670s any distinction in official papers or reports between the Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholic communities had all but disappeared, being replaced generally with the term 'Catholic' and occasionally 'Irish Catholic'. It is, however, patently clear from the list of names in Figure 6.1, that by far the majority of the applicants for re-admission were members of the Old English merchant families who had dominated Galway's affairs until the Cromwellian expulsions. The Cromwellian forces had labelled these families 'The Tribes of Galway', which, although intended to be a derogatory comment on the solidarity of these families during the Confederate Wars and the siege of Galway, the label had, over time, become adopted by the Old English as 'an honourable mark of distinction between themselves and their oppressors'.[61] On the evidence of the family names of prospective applicants in Figure 6.1, it would seem that no Gaelic Irish Catholics were included.

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[59] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 149.
[60] Blake, Galway Corporation Book, 'B', pp. 25-26.
[61] Hardiman, *History*, p. 6; The Kirwan family were, exceptionally, of Irish origin, but by the mid-seventeenth century their descendants had become totally assimilated into the Old English 'Tribes'.

Applicants	Sponsors
Valentine Ffrench	Frederick Trench, Esq.
Nicholas Lynch fitz	
Vallentine Browne	Abraham Cowell
Nicholas Lynch fitz Edmond	
James Lynch fitz Jonackin	
Nicholas Lynch fitz Ulick	
Martin Butler	
Patrick Lynch fitz Ulick	William Sprigg Esq. Thomas Rutledge, gentleman
James Bodkin fitz Dominick	
Jonack Athy	
Henry Blake fitz Nicholas	
James Lynch Fitz Arthur	
Edward Lynch fitz Ulick	
David ffahy	Francis Foster Esq.
George Halloran	
James Browne fitz Geffery	Charles Holcroft Esq.
John Lynch fitz Michael	
Martin French fitz Robert	
Steephen Lynch fitz Domnick	
Francis Kirwan fitz Clement	
Francis roe Lynch	
Nicholas roe Lynch	
Mathew Joyes	Thomas Rush
Thomas Joyes	
Dominick Joyes	
Nicholas Stanton	
Patrick Lynch fitz William	Francis Foster Esq.
Nicholas Lynch fitz Marcus	
Anthony French	Sir Samuel Foxon, Knt.
Marcus Kirwan fitz Domnick	
Nicholas Kirwan	
Bartholomew Lynch	
Ignatius Lynch	
Augustine Joyes	
Walter Joyes, and Francis Terny, his servant	
James Bodkin fitz Andrew	
James Skerrett fitz Domnick	
Thomas Skerrett fitz Domnick	
Thomas Skerrett fitz George	
Thomas Tarpy	
Peter Blake fitz Henry	Francis Foster
Francis Lynch fitz Ulick	
Patrick Blake fitz James	
Peter Canavan	
John Brown fitz Peter	
Stephen Bedoe	

Figure 6.1: List of Former Catholic Galway Residents and Sponsors seeking reinstatement as Residents. August 1679.

Source: M.J. Blake, Galway Corporation Book B", *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 96-99.

The names of the Protestant sponsors, with the exception of William Sprigg, the Recorder, do not appear to have taken any senior role in the governance of the town during the 1660s and 1670s (Figure 6.2). Nor do their names appear in a comprehensive list of members of the corporation and other dignitaries, included in the *Archives of the town of Galway* in 1672 (Figure 6.3).[62] The notable omission of any members of the corporation supporting the rehabilitation of Catholic merchants may have been more pragmatic than sectarian. Office holders needed to demonstrate total allegiance and loyalty to the King and the Protestant cause and leaving the support of the applicants to those in the Protestant community who were not formerly involved in local politics may have been one solution. However, as noted below, there were growing divisions within the Protestant communities in Ireland concerning their ongoing relationship with their Catholic neighbours where in Connaught, Catholics outnumbered Protestants by as much as 15:1.

Ormond initially supported the petition and the Privy Council made an order that would allow for the re-admission of qualified Catholics back in to the town. But there was significant opposition to any relaxation of the exclusion orders irrespective of the economic damage they had caused. In late July 1679, Henry Coventry wrote to Ormond conveying the King's unwillingness to make any concessions

> Upon reading to His Majesty in Council a petition of several Protestant proprietors of houses in Galway to your Grace representing the great decay of trade in that town by reason of the removal of the Catholic inhabitants…His Majesty was pleased to declare that his former directions for removing Irish Papists from inhabiting in corporations having been grounded upon an address of the House of Peers here, his Majesty thinks not fit at present to make any alteration therein.[63]

On 5 August Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin and the Lord Chancellor wrote a lengthy letter to Ormonde, which, whilst expressing surprise that Charles II had chosen to override Ormond's directive, advised caution in taking the matter further. He pointed out that as things stood Ormond could safely defend his initial support because he had responded to a petition sponsored by the Protestant community of Galway. Continuing to press the matter could be politically dangerous and Boyle's advice was for Ormond to

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[62] Gilbert, *Archives of the town,* p. 503.
[63] Henry Coventry to Ormonde, July 25 1679, *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde,* New Series Volume 5, p. 163.

Date	Mayors	Sheriffs
1660	John Morgan	George Scanderbegg-Bushell, John Pope
1661	John Eyre	John Murray; Robert Brock
1662	Henry Greneway	Benjamin Veale; Walter Bird
1663	Edward Eyre	Richard Walcott; John Barrett
1664	John Morgan	William Fleming; Thomas Semper
1665	Col. John Spenser	Robert Warner; George Young-Husband
1666	The same	George Davison; William Jackson
1667	The same	Christopher Surr; James Berry
1668	The same	Richard Bernard; John Jull
1669	John Peters	William Hardiman; Robert Mathews
1670	John May	Robert Warner; Abraham Cowell
1671	Richard Ormsby	John Greary; John Vaughan
1672	Gregory Constable	Thomas Andrews; William Hill
1673	The same	Thomas Revett; Thomas Cartwright
1674	Col. Theodore Russell	Thomas Buck; Marcus Harrington
1675	The same	John Flower; Thomas Poole
1676	The same	John Clarke; Richard Browne
1677	The same	John Clarke; Richard Browne
1678	The same	Thomas Staunton; John Amory
1679	The same	Thomas Staunton; John Amory
1680	The same	Thomas Simcockes; Samuel Cambie
1681	The same	Thomas Simcockes ; Samuel Cambie
1682	The same	Marcus Lynch; William Hoskins
1683	The same	Thomas Yeadon; William Hoskins
1684	The same	Thomas Yeadon; Thomas Wilson
1685	The same	Richard Wall; Thomas Wilson
1686	John Kirwan Fitz-Stephen	George Staunton; Jonathan Perrie
1687	The same	James Browne Fitz-Geoffry; Marcus Kirwan Fitz Dominick
1688	Dominick Browne	Francis Blake Fitz-Andrew; Dominick Bodkin Fitz Patrick
1689	The same	Francis Blake Fitz-Andrew; Dominick Bodkin Fitz Patrick
1690	Arthur French	William Clear; Oliver French
1691	Sir Henry Bellasyse, bart.	John Gibbs; Richard Wall
1692	Thomas Revett	John Gibbs; Richard Wall
1693	Thomas Revett	John Gibbs; Richard Wall
1694	Thomas Simcockes	Thomas Coneys; Francis Knapp
1695	Thomas Simcockes	James Ribett Vigie; Francis Knapp
1696	Thomas Cartwright	James Ribett Vigie; Marcus Lynch
1697	John Gerry	Jarvis Hinde; Marcus Lynch
1698	John Gerry	Thomas Poole; Jarvis Hinde
1699	Thomas Andrews	Thomas Poole; Samuel Simcockes
1700	Richard Browne	Robert Blakeney; Samuel Simcockes

Figure 6.2: Mayors and Sheriffs of Galway, 1660-1700.
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of The Town Galway,* pp. 217-221.

Name	Office
Gregory Constable	Mayor
William Sprigg	Recorder
Thomas Andrewes	Sherriff
William Hill	Sherriff
Col. George Lesson	Governor
Richard Ormesby	Mayor of the Staple
Dr. James Vaughan	Warden
Col. John Spenser	Alderman
John Morgan	Alderman
Gabriel King	Alderman
John Eyres	Alderman
Edward Eyres	Alderman
John May	Alderman
Sir Oliver St. George, Knight and Baronet	
Sir James Cuffe	Alderman
John Shadwell	Alderman
Robert Clarke	Alderman
John Geary	Constable of the Staple
John Vaughan	Constable of the Staple
Sir Henry Waddington, Knight	
Sir Edward Ormesby, Knight	
Robert Warner	Burgess
George Davison	Burgess
Richard Walcott	Burgess and Clerk of Thosel
Henry Hayward	
James Bulteele	
John Bullinbrooke	
Walter Hickes, Master of the Guild	
James Brown	
Thomas Revett	

Figure 6.3: Constitution of Galway Corporation. 1672.

Source: J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway,* p. 503.

reply to Henry Coventry explaining his reasons for his initial support but 'not with any shew of insisting upon the weight of them until His Majesty's pleasure be farther known, for this would look like a kind of arguing His Majesty's orders upon the Address of the Lords'.[64] It is clear from further correspondence between Ormonde and Coventry in August 1679, that during the summer months of 1679, there had been an attempt by some members of the Protestant community in Ireland to undermine Ormond's reputation at the Court by accusing him of 'falsely and maliciously representing them', which in writing to Coventry, he vigorously denied.[65]

The is no doubt that feelings were running very high at the time amongst the staunchly Protestant members of Charles II's court and the Earl of Shaftesbury in particular had been critical of Ormond's apparently moderate attitude towards the Catholic community during the course of the 'Popish Plot'. In a speech to the House of Lords on March 25, 1679 he had made an oblique reference to the inherent dangers posed by any degree of toleration towards Catholics. In his speech, the main theme of which was the general security of the realm, he touched upon the vulnerability of Ireland at the time:

> My Lords, give me leave to speak two or three words concerning our other sister, Ireland. Thither, I hear, is sent Douglas's regiment, to secure us against the French. Besides, I am credibly informed that the papists have their arms restored, and the Protestants are not, many of them, yet recovered from being the .suspected party. The sea towns, as well as the inland, are full of papists. That kingdom cannot long continue in the English hands if some better care is not taken of it.[66]

Ormond's son, Thomas Butler, the sixth Earl of Ossory took grave exception to this speech and although Shaftesbury had not mentioned Ormond by name, Ossory had delivered a highly emotional and intemperate speech in his fathers defence. He was subsequently reprimanded by the House of Lords, and on 25 May 1679, Ormonde sent a note of apology to Shaftesbury for his son's over-reaction, ending: 'I take the liberty to believe that, supposing the case your own, your Lordship would have the same indulgence for a son of yours'.[67] Another charge was that he had given the Catholic

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[64] Primate Boyle to Ormonde, 5 August 1679, *Ibid.,* 169-170.

[65] Ormond to Henry Coventry, 24 August 1679, *Ibid.,* p. 190.

[66] W. D. Christie, *A Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1667-1683, Volume 2* (MacMillan and Co., London, 1871), Appendix VI, p. cii.

[67] *Ibid.,* pp. 337-338.

community 21 days to surrender their Arms thus giving them warning them so that they may hide their weapons. This criticism levelled at Ormonde had also been levelled at Essex during his tenure and indicated a total lack of understanding by critics in England, of the logistical problems faced by succeeding Lord Lieutenants, in the administration of a 'Colony' where Protestant were outnumbered by Catholics by as much as 15:1. In Ormond's case, he argued that Catholics could not be quickly disarmed and Essex complained 'that the army is so small as tis impossible for them to doe ye worke'.[68]

Nonetheless, despite the diplomatic niceties the episode demonstrated that there was a clear danger that, in supporting the relaxation of the exclusion orders in Galway, no matter how sound the reasoning, Ormond was vulnerable to further attacks on his governance in Ireland. Thus on 20 August 1679, Ormonde wrote to the Mayor of Galway rescinding any previous orders allowing for the return of the Old English Catholics into the town notwithstanding that that they had obtained the necessary certificates from the Judges of Assizes and sworn the requisite oath of allegiance.

The attempt by a number of the Protestant inhabitants of Galway to rehabilitate some of their Catholic neighbours points to a developing rift between the Protestant hardliners holding political power within the town and a more moderate liberal faction. The moderates had expressed serious concerns over Galway's trade and commerce if the Catholic community continued to be excluded from the everyday commerce of the town and from occupying the rapidly deteriorating housing stock. It has been noted that there was awareness at the time of Galway's economic decline throughout the Protestant community in Ireland. Ormond's predecessor Essex had expressed his own concerns when implementing the New Rules, and he had attempted to introduce some balance by allowing Catholics some freedom to carry on trade. He recognised that these provisions might not be sufficient to protect them from a Protestant-controlled local government which was determined to keep them out. In expressing his concerns he noted:

> In some of ye Corporacons (in which ye number of Protestants is great) many of
> ye Papists are still kept out and hindered from their freedoms, as particularly in
> Cork, which is now wholly inhabited by Protestants, and ye auntient Natives or
> Freemen are either dispersed in ye Country abroad, or doe only inhabite in ye

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[68] Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts, Volume 3*, p. 128; *Essex Papers*, p. 134.

suburbs without ye walls, but ye Trade is almost wholly carried on by ye Protestants.[69]

In citing Cork as an example Essex's observations highlights the growing disparity between the prosperous and predominantly Protestant-occupied urban spaces of Munster and Leinster and that of the marginalised and less attractive province of Connaught in which Galway represented the only town of any significance to which aspiring Protestant merchants might be attracted. Cork in particular had, by 1675, become, next to Dublin, the second most important city in Ireland and, as Essex observed, its commercial and trading enterprises were held firmly in Protestant hands. Limerick and Waterford, which had been of less importance commercially than Galway prior to the Cromwellian Wars, had, recovered enough by the 1670s to have overtaken Galway. Although both of those towns were controlled by the Protestant community, the council books of both towns record the re-admittance of Catholics as freemen during the 1670s.[70]

Apart from the decline in the demand for staples which had dominated Galway's commercial activities for so long, the new Protestant community lacked the commercial expertise in which their Old English counterparts had excelled. Under these circumstances it might seem that the reticence to re-admit the Old English traders into a much diminished marketplace was driven by commercial as well as sectarian imperatives, but if that was so what would explain the Protestant sponsorship of so many prominent Old English Catholics in their petition of 8 August 1679?

One reason might have been that Protestant society, represented by both the military and the various strands of the Protestant church, had not shared equally in the benefits which colonialism and settlement had brought them. Those that had acquired land and property had generally benefited as long as their acquisitions continued to be financially productive. Others had prospered through gaining lucrative positions within the burgeoning offices of State, including customs and excise, justice and other administration appointments.[71] In addition, at local level, there were a number of well remunerated positions within the corporation, obtained either by election or appointment.

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[69] *Essex Papers*, p. 315

[70] Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660-85', p. 452.

[71] For an indication of the extent of these appointments under Charles II, see 'The Establishment of the Civil Affairs in Ireland, 1 April 1662', *Cal. S.P. Ireland 1660-1662*, pp. 524-528.

In nearly all of these appointments entrance was not only exclusively restricted to Protestants; but more particularly those members of the Protestant community who held the reigns of power. Thus not only were Catholics excluded from this elite group, but also marginalised Protestants including non-conformists and those without property or other sources of income. It is therefore not surprising that amongst the general Protestant population of Galway, there would have been those who would stand to benefit from promoting the re-admittance of Catholics into the town. Apart from re-occupying their empty and in some cases derelict properties, the potential improvement in trading conditions would have brought benefits to the wider community and opened up the possibility of broadening the electorate at some point.

Notwithstanding the restrictions imposed by the Mayor and Council, an unauthorised trade in goods and services seems to have existed alongside the regulated commercial activities in the town, for in November 1679 the Protestant guild merchants found cause to complain to the Mayor, Theodore Russell about these activities. Their petition stated:

> Contra [ry] to the Law and Laudable Customes of [this] corporation, and contrary to his Majesties Char [ter] granted to the said corporation several intru [ders] and unfreemen and others who keep se [rvants] not fitly qualified doe daily intrude on our pr[ive]leges by thrusting themselves and theire servants into our said corporation, and keep open shop wi [thout] authority...may it please your Worshipp [e] to take speedy course to order redress to your petitioners herein.[72]

Although there was undoubtedly a 'black-market' in goods and services within the town to avoid local taxes and duties, it is not credible that, within the walled and garrisoned town of Galway, non-approved (i.e., unfree or non-guild) traders managed to carry on business without some support from the Protestant community in buying those goods and services. The exclusion of the Catholic population from residency and the banning of the staple markets which served that community would have severely restricted trading opportunities for the authorised merchants and the economic adage of 'too many traders chasing too few customers' would have had impacted adversely on prices. Economic as much as sectarian influences would have undoubtedly prompted the merchants to insist on the strict application of the law. The petition could hardly have come as a surprise to Galway's governing body. Of the 31 signatories to the petition (Figure 6.4), 18 were

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[72] NUIG James Hardiman Library, Galway Corporation, Liber 'B', p. 39.

Name	Office
Charles Holcraft	*Mayor of the Staple*
Edward Eyre	*Recorder of the Staple*
Thomas Cartwright	*Alderman*
Thomas Stanton	*Constable of the Staple*
John Vaughan	*Burgess*
John Clarke	*Member of the Corporation*
John May	*Alderman*
Samuel Camby	*Sheriff*
William Hoskins	*Burgess*
John Gerry	*Master of the Guild*
Thomas Buck	*Burgess*
Thomas Andrewes	*Alderman*
R.M. [ ]	
William Stanley	
Edward Morgan	*Member of the Corporation*
[ ] Thomas Simcock	*Sheriff*
John Pryor	
Jerome Russell	*Member of the Corporation*
John Longe	
George Burwash	
John Scott	*Sword Bearer*
Marrcus Lynch	
Richard Wall	
R. Warrington	
Jo. Elmor	
George Lynn	*Member of the Corporation*
Wm. Hardwick	
Robert Shaw	*Town Clerk*
John Lattimer	
Thomas Beroe	
Martin King	*Member of the Corporation*

Figure 6.4: Signatories to the Petition to Prosecute Illegal Trading in Galway, 1679.

Source: NUIG James Hardiman Library, Galway Corporation, Liber B, p. 39.

members of the corporation and their names are included on the list of members and officers of the corporation in 1681 (Figure 6.5), including that of Robert Shaw who was the town Clerk in 1679. Some of those appearing the petition, were part of a new group of Protestant settlers who had emigrated to Galway following the Reformation to exploit the potential trading opportunities of the port town.[73] Part of the attraction would have been the vacuum in the competition for business, implied by the Act of Settlement and Explanation, and it is not surprising that they would have resisted any attempt to dilute that advantage.

Another factor which no doubt influenced the Protestant trading community of Galway in insisting on the rigorous application of the exclusion orders was that although re-opening the markets and allowing the Catholic community back into the town would have resulted in a significant increase in trading volumes, from the Protestant perspective, it was unlikely that much, if any, of this increased activity would accrue to them. From an economic perspective this might have appeared to be unduly pessimistic. The general Catholic population in the suburbs and surrounding areas outnumbered the Protestants by as much as 15:1, and lifting the restrictions to allow Catholics to re-enter the town would have seemed to make economic sense, considerably expanding the market opportunities for all traders.[74] But the Protestants' fears were that much of this increased trade would have been taken up by the Catholic merchants and traders with no real net gain to themselves. The likelihood of this bias towards Catholic traders had already been observed by Essex when implementing clause five of the 'New Rules' governing the conditions under which Catholics were allowed to trade within the corporation towns. He wrote to the Earl of Arlington on 28 October 1673 outlining his concerns:

> For when I am informed who ye Persons that are admitted to live in Corporacions, by what Licences enabled so to doe, and what stock they employ in Trading, I shall then be prepared to judge wch of them are fitt to enjoy this Priviledge of being continued Inhabitants therein. This only I must acquaint yr Lop as a reall Truth, that there is no nation under Heaven where ye Comon people of ye Romish Religion are so absolutely led by their Priests as is this Kingdom, for tis most certain that in those Corporacions wch are placed in Countrys inhabited for ye generalitie by Papists, if there be any one of that religion who sells any commoditie, no Protestant of ye same Trade can subsist or live in Ye towne wth

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[73] N. Canny, 'Galway: From the Reformation to the Penal Laws' in D. Ó Cearbhaill (ed.), *Galway Town and Gown, 1484-1984* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1984), p. 27.
[74] Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts*, p. 128.

Amory, John; Constable of the Staple	Latten, John
Amory, Robert	Lessone, George, Col.
Andrewes, Thomas; Alderman	Lynn, George
Bayly, Nicholas, Sergeants Mace	Marshall, Thomas; Lieut. Col.
Bayly, Nicholas; Maj.	Mathews, Robert; Alderman
Bingham, John	May, John; Alderman
Bramston, Col.	Meni, Patrick
Browne, Richard; Burgess	Mitchell, John; Ensign
Buck, Thomas; Burgess	Morgan, Edward
Bullinbrooke, John	Murray, John
Cambie, Samuel; Sheriff	Newcomen, Thomas, Knt.
Cartwright, Thomas; Alderman	Ormsby, Gilbert
Clarke, John; Burgess	Ormsby, Joseph
Clarke, Judah	Parr, Peter
Collier, William; Sergeants Mace	Plumer, Richard
Coote, Richard	Poole, Thomas, Burgess
Cowell, Abraham	Revett, Thomas, Mayor of Staple
Crawly, Thomas; Capt.	Rush, Thomas
Cromwell, Vere Essex, Col.	Russell, Jerom
Davison, George; Alderman	Russell, Theodore; Mayor
Dawes, Henry	Savill, Henry; Lieut
Dooly, Roger	Scott, John; Swordbearer
Dyer, William; Sergeants Mace	Shaw, Robert. Town Clerk
Eyre, Edward	Shaw, William
Eyre, John	Smyth, Bernard
Faire-Service, John.	Sprigg, William; Recorder
Flower, John; Burgess	St. George, Arthur,; Capt.
Gerry, John; Alderman {Coroner]	St. George, George; Capt
Gyles, George; Ensign	St. George, George; Knt.
Hamilton, James	St. George, Oliver, Knt.
Hamilton, William	St. George, Oliver. (Mr.)
Harrington, Mark; Burgess	Stanton, Thomas; Constable of the Staple
Hemming, William; Alderman	Stubber, Edward
Hill, William, Alderman	Syncockes, Thomas; Sherrif [Water Baliff}
Hillow, Alexander	Vaughan, James; Dr.
Hind, Jarvis	Vaughan, John; Burgess
Holcraft, Charles, Capt.	Vero, Thomas
Holcraft, Gerrat	Waddington, Henry, Knt.
Hoskins, William	Warner, Robert; Alderman
Hull. George	Warner, William
King, Gabriel, Alderman	Widdrigton, Robert
King. Martin	Williams, Thomas
Lamphier, Humphrey; Sergeants Mace	Wlliot, William

Figure 6.5: Members of the Common Council, Galway August 1 1681.
Source: NUIG, James Hardiman Library, Galway Corporation Liber 'B', p. 165.

him, for ye Priests doe enjoyne ye people not to buy any thing but of those of their own religion.[75]

Of all the corporation towns in Ireland, Galway would have been the most likely candidate to match this description. For as well as the general Catholic population of both Old English and Gaelic Irish descent, the trading families of the 'Tribes' had a long history of using family connections to further their economic interests and it is most unlikely, in the event that they were re-admitted into Galway, that they would willingly engage in trading activities with their Protestant counterparts. This may not necessarily have been the case if their re-admission had been with Protestant support, and it is possible that the sponsors of the petition to Ormonde in August 1679 may well have considered this possibility when lending their support. Although there may have been some sound economic reasoning arguing for a more tolerant policy toward Catholic involvement in urban trade and commerce, in the late 1670s and early 1680s, these were far outweighed by the expressed fears of hardline veterans of the Confederate and Cromwellian campaigns who felt that that allowing Catholics back into the corporation towns under the terms of clause five of the New rules 'threatened to sink the flagships of Protestant Ireland'.[76]

These protagonists of an exclusively Protestant urban Ireland might well have been proved right had the outcome of the Williamite wars in the 1690s been different, but at the beginning of the 1680s most of the corporation towns and sea ports were firmly in the grip of the Protestant community. More importantly in many of the major urban centres, Protestant merchants and traders having taken over the reigns of commerce and industry had also been successful in establishing new markets and market opportunities, which were not interdependent on the Catholic community around them. Dublin had already established a Protestant monopoly on trade by the beginning of the Cromwellian rule, and by the 1660s Cork, Waterford and Limerick had established similar, though not as extensive patterns of growth. Some of the key reasons for Galway's failure to follow this pattern are examined later but during the early years of the 1680s, despite economic decline, the town remained firmly in the control of the ruling Protestant corporation as

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[75] *Essex Papers*, p. 136.

[76] T. C. Barnard, 'Crisis of Identity among Irish Protestants, 1641-1685', *Past and Present,* No. 127 (May, 1990), p. 79.

they went about their business. Living, as they were, in an isolated outpost of Protestant Ireland, and surrounded by a numerically superior, yet excluded Catholic population, paralleled in many ways the conditions under which the now excluded Old English had lived their lives for the previous two centuries. The crucial difference however was that Galway was no longer a semi independent city state perched at the westerly edge of Western Europe, the corporation was now but one link in an administrative chain, which was under the firm control of a powerful central government, and its freedom to manage its own affairs had become increasingly dictated to by the economic and political policies of Dublin and Westminster.

During the early 1680s there is evidence that despite formal prohibition, Catholic merchants had been unofficially returning to the town and recovering their business interests. There seems to have been a tacit approval by the corporation to this breach in the exclusion laws, for Hardiman records that the Catholic merchants and traders had petitioned the Lord Lieutenant and Council for a reduction and settlement of the charter duties. The corporation books record that on 30 September 1684, the corporation agreed to a meeting with 'the petitioners to make an accommodation with them on behalf of the corporation touching the peticion by them preferred to the Lord Lieutenant and Council for the said reducement'.[77]

In allowing a greater involvement in the commercial life of the town by Catholics, the corporation was undoubtedly bowing to the realpolitik of the times. By the early 1680s, most of the former urban settlements of the Old English, although controlled by Protestants had a sizeable Catholic community as well. Letters written by John Brennan, the Archbishop of Cashel, in the late 1670s and early 1680s, reveal that in 1678 there were four parishes in the City of Waterford, as well as houses of Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits and that of the estimated population of 5000, at least half were Catholic.[78] It is probable that Galway, surrounded by its predominantly Catholic suburbs, would have followed much the same pattern. Although there is not the same quality of evidence as in Waterford for the involvement of the Religious in Galway, an increase in their numbers

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[77] NUIG James Hardiman Library, Galway Corporation, Liber 'C', p. 39
[78] Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660-1685', p. 452.

may have prompted the Warden of St. Nicholas to publish the following declaration on 2 April 1684:

> We the warden and vicars of the Collegial Church of St. Nicholas, being met in Chapter...have ordered...that none of us, nor any of our successors, shall ever give to any friar, or friars, of what condition or quality. Soever precedent of place, or the power of beginning any ecclesiastical offices *pro vivis aut defunctis* in secular houses belonging to this parish of St. Nicholas of Galway, or any other parish annexed to it, when the clergy secular and regular are assembled to perform the same.[79]

The Protestant community in Ireland had good cause too feel some degree of insecurity. By the early 1680s a power struggle had developed between the supporters of Charles II's and their determination that his Catholic younger brother, James would succeed him on his death, and Protestant hardliners led by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had attempted to prevent the succession by promoting an Exclusion Bill in Parliament. Charles II had thwarted this attempt by dissolving Parliament on 7 April 1681, having secured a financial settlement from France under which he was to receive £400,000 over the next three years.[80] Three months later Shaftsbury was arrested and although released following his trial by a Whig-dominated court, fled to France in late 1682 where he died shortly afterwards. In early 1683, a plot to kill Charles II and James, on their way back from the races was foiled, when they returned to London early following a serious fire in the town of Newmarket. Although the extent of support for the plan (The Rye House Conspiracy) has remained uncertain, Charles II used the episode to remove his main political opponents. Amongst them were the former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Essex, who escaped the executioner by cutting his throat with a razor and Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney who although not active in the murder plot vocally upheld what they saw as their right to challenge the power of the King. They died with the distinction of being the last English aristocrats to be executed for their opinions.[81]

Apart from the obvious threat to radical Protestantism, Charles II's other political objective was to restore fully the principal of rule by absolute monarchy. In England, the only group which was resistant to that objective was the municipal authorities,

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[79] E. MacLysaght, (ed.), 'Report on Documents Relating to The Wardenship of Galway', *Analecta Hibernica*, Volume 14, (1944), p. 36.
[80] G. Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd Edition (O.U.P, Oxford, 1956), p. 103.
[81] Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, p. 108.

particularly the City of London. These authorities, both in England and Ireland, not only controlled parliamentary elections but also a large part of the judiciary through the elections of sheriffs and juries and above all were the main source of income to the exchequer. But the municipalities had one great weakness in that they derived their power from their charter, which could be revoked if it could be proved that they had acted beyond their powers. Over the remaining months of 1683, Charles II's lawyers set about finding the necessary lapses and errors in municipal governance which resulted in the surrender of rights in the corporation towns of England and Wales. The vulnerability of the Irish charter towns to similar treatment would not have been lost on the Protestant corporation of Galway.

Ormond had been in England from the end of April 1682 until the beginning of August 1684, leaving his son the Earl of Arran acting as his deputy. Events in Ireland had not outwardly been much affected by the turmoil in England other than the heightened tensions amongst the Protestant community but when Ormonde returned to resume his duties the relative security of his position was to be fatally affected by increased influence over Irish affairs by James, Duke of York. James wanted to separate the command of the army from the political duties of the Lord Lieutenant and to replace some of Ormond's key military appointees with Catholic officers of his choice. Charles II, in acknowledgement of the great service and loyalty given to him by Ormonde wrote on 19 October 1684, to give Ormonde advanced warning of these intentions:

> I find it absolutely necessary for my service, that very many, and almost general, alterations should be made in Ireland, both in the civil and military parts of the government; that several persons who were recommended and placed by you (and who were fit to be so at that time) must now be removed, which, I think, would be too hard to impose upon you to be the director of. For which reason, and others of the like nature, I have resolved to put that government into another hand, and have made choice of my lord Rochester, who is every way fit for it, and in one respect fitter than any other man can be, which is, that the near relation he has to you makes your concerns, and those of your family, to be his, and he will have that care of them which I desire may be always continued.[82]

Although Ormond was given the opportunity to settle his affairs in Ireland in his own time, in reality the proposals to replace him were well advanced. On 15 January 1685 the Earl of Rochester was formerly appointed Lord Lieutenant for Ireland and on the same

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[82] His Majesty's Letter to His Grace, The Duke of Ormonde, 19 October 1684, T Carte, (ed.), *Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, Volume 5, New Edition (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1851), p. 166.

day Justin MacCarthy and Richard Talbot were appointed Lieutenant Generals to command two regiments of Ormond's army in Ireland.[83] The appointment of Robert Talbot in particular must have appeared as 'the writing on the wall' to Ormonde. Under Ormonde's command the army was well trained, properly paid and above all Protestant to the core. No officer or soldier was permitted to muster without carrying a certificate vouching that they had received the sacrament of communion 'according to the discipline of the Church of Ireland'.[84] Robert Talbot was a prominent member of the Old English Catholic community and had been a vehement campaigner against the injustices of the Act of Settlement and the Act of Explanation. In 1670 he had forwarded a lengthy petition to the Attorney General detailing these complainants. Clause Six of the petition concerned one, Philip Hoare, who, although being declared 'innocent' by the rules of the Act of Settlement had his decree made void in favour of Sir George Lane, who as private secretary to Ormonde, had obtained a grant of 11,000 acres of Hoare's land in Dublin and Wexford.[85] In the course of prosecuting this claim Talbot had libelled Ormonde by accusing him of unfairly using the legislation to secure the land as an act of patronage. In fact Ormonde had already introduced legislation which specifically excluded decrees in the Court of Claims which had been obtained by either perjury of bribery. For this slur on Ormond's character Charles II had Talbot imprisoned for a while in the Tower of London 'for using threatening words touching the Duke of Ormond'.[86] Against this background, Talbot's appointment to command a regiment in Ormond's Protestant led army following on from his own dismissal as Lord Lieutenant would have been a bitter blow indeed.

On 6 February 1685, Charles II died suddenly from a stroke and the Duke of York succeeded him to the throne as James II. The news was received as a matter of extreme joy within the Catholic population of Ireland and with a corresponding air of despondency amongst the Protestant community suddenly facing an uncertain future. On 11 February

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[83] London 15 January 1685, *Cal. S.P. Domestic, Charles II, 1684-1685*, pp. 271-306.

[84] Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant and Council, 7 November 1681, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde*, Volume 2, p. 361.

[85] H. F. Hore, 'Richard Talbot, Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, Vol. 5, (1857), pp. 278-279; Report of Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney General Touching the Act of Explanation, 1 February 1671, Carte, *Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, Volume 5, pp. 105-124.

[86] Hore, 'Richard Talbot', p. 278.

1685, in one of his last acts in office as Lord Lieutenant the 75 years old Duke of Ormonde proclaimed James II as the sole and rightful heir to the throne and gave:

> Public notice hereof to all his Majesty's subjects; and do require all mayors, sheriffs, and other his Majesty's officers to cause the same to be proclaimed in all the cities and towns corporate in this Kingdom. And all officers, both civil and military, and other his Majesty's subjects are to be assisting in the performance thereof with all due solemnity.[87]

On the same day and, no, doubt to preserve some stability within the country, he issued a further proclamation, 'that all men being in office of the Government at the decease of the late King his Majesty's brother, shall so continue until further directions'.[88] Although there is no record in the surviving archives of Galway corporation that indicated that the accession of James II was publicly announced in the town, it is presumed that it was so made. Compared to the elaborate declarations of loyalty to the crown, expressed by earlier corporation edicts, the absence of any formal declaration by the Protestant Mayor and council in this instance is noted.[89] Hardiman's account is equally barren of any formal acknowledgement of this fundamentally important change in the fortunes of the Protestant population of Galway other than commenting that: 'On the accession of James II, to the throne, the hopes of the proscribed Catholic natives of Galway once more revived and they ventured more freely to approach the town'.[90] Despite the absence of any documented display of jubilation by the Catholic community in Galway there is no doubt that the proclamation was warmly and no doubt jubilantly, welcomed. The prominent County Galway landowner and Catholic Royalist, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, in his classically styled narrative of the resurgence of Catholic power and influence in the late 1680s wrote:

> But it was with no simulated joy the Cyprians [Irish], exulted, in the assured hope, that their Sovereign, sprung of their own most ancient royal race, tied to them both by blood and by religion, would forthwith restore to the heavenly powers their temples and altars, and also to the natives their properties and estates, of which they had been, for so many years, so unjustly despoiled.[91]

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[87]Ormonde, Order in Council, Dublin, 11 February 1685, Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde,* Volume 2 (Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1899), p. 361.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] NUIG James Hardiman Library, Galway Corporation, Liber 'c', p. 50.

[90] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 150.

[91] C. O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus* (Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin, 1850), p. 15.

Doubtless his contemporarys in and around the town of Galway would have shared similar feelings and certainly similar expectations of the return of their lands and properties.

The Catholic Ascendancy

Fears of an immediate Catholic backlash following James II ascendancy were significantly tempered by the appointment on 19 February 1685 of Michael Boyle Archbishop of Armagh and, Arthur Forbes, Lord Granard, Marshall of the Army, as Lords Justices with all the powers that had been granted to the proposed successor to Ormond, the Earl of Rochester, by Charles II just prior to his death. There is no doubt that in appointing these two prominent Protestants, James was hoping to dampen any undue fear from the Protestant community[92] This must have been of some concern to James II because the State Papers at the time contained an unusual number of reports from English ports, giving details of increased passenger traffic from Ireland.[93] However it is more likely that the appointments were intended to soften the blow to the Protestants of James II's radical overhaul of the command of the Army. On 7 March a comprehensive list of new appointments was issued which had the effect of placing key regiments of horse and foot under the command of James II's own personal appointees. Principal among these were the appointment of Richard Talbot as Colonel of the regiment of horse formerly commanded by Ormond's son Richard, Earl of Aran, and Justine MacCarthy taking command of the regiment of foot formerly under the command of the Duke of Ormond.[94] Significantly, James II had followed these appointments up with a further instruction to the Lords Justices that he was absolving a number of the new appointees including Talbot and MacCarthy from taking the Oath of Supremacy prior to mustering.[95] This action was clearly taken to ease the path of some of the more die-hard Catholics into military service but the implications of a similar dispensation on civilian position would not have been lost on the corporations of Galway and the other corporation towns.

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[92] The King to the Attorney General 19, February 1685, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James II, 1685,* pp. 1-60.

[93] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James II*, February 1685, pp. 1-60.

[94] Commissions to Officers in the Army of Ireland. 7 March 1685, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James II, 1685*

[95] The King to the Lords Justices of Ireland, 12 May 1685, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James II, 1685*

Of far more importance to the immediate future of both the Protestant and Catholic civilian populations, was the implementation of the directive, authorised by James II on 23 March 1686, to re-admit all Catholic merchants, traders and dealers back into the corporations 'without tendering the Oath of Supremacy, or any other oath, other than the oaths of fidelity and freemen'.[96] A copy of this directive was despatched from Dublin on 22 June 1686 and delivered to Colonel Russell, the Mayor of Galway on 25 June 1686. Hardiman's observation that it 'was received with some dismay', though obviously an assumption, may well have been accurate.[97]

On 29 June 1686, the order was read to the Common Council at Galway and recorded in its minutes. In acknowledging the instructions Colonel Russell, informed Clarendon that whilst any native or inhabitant would be admitted as Freemen whenever they wished, it was not the custom of the town to elect freemen to the Common Council until the first Monday after Michaelmas.[98] The directive was received with a similar lack of enthusiasm by some of the other corporations on Clarendon's mailing list.[99] The Mayor of Dublin gave the same excuse for the postponement of elections to the Common Council of Catholics. On 2 July 1686, Christopher Crofts, the Mayor of Cork, sent a long and detailed reply to Clarendon asking for clarification on a number of issues before they could proceed to implement his instructions. The Cork Catholics had refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, having produced one 'of their own framing', and the Mayor wanted confirmation that this was acceptable. On a wider issue affecting not just Cork but all the affected towns, he asked for clarification as to who actually was qualified to seek admission as Freemen. In particular were Freemen from other towns, (Croft listed Kinsale, Youghal and Limerick), now free to openly do business in Cork, and would the

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[96] Circular to the Corporate towns of Ireland in Favour of the Catholics by the Lord Lieutenant, 22 June 1686, *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon from 1687-1690*, Vol. I (Henry Colburn, London,1828), p. 462; The King to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 23 March, 1686 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic,* 1686-1687,Galway Corporation Book C, p. 114

[97] Hardiman, *History of Galway,*p. 150.

[98] J. Rabbitte (ed.), 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4, (1922-1923), p. 105.

[99] They included: Cork, Waterford, Youghal, Kinsale, Londonderry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, Belfast, Charlemont, Strabane, Clonmell, Athlone, Navan, Dublin, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Dundalk, Wexford, New Ross, Catherlough, [Carlow], Wicklow, Naas, Sligo, and Athenry.

freedom extend to 'all tradesmen of mean callings, as butchers, bakers, shoemakers'.[100] There is no doubt this threat to the monopoly of trade enjoyed by the Protestants of Cork, was felt in all the other towns on the list.

Whatever Clarendon's personal misgivings might have been in carrying out the King's will, he was clearly not prepared to be thwarted by obdurate Mayors and Common Councils picking over the fine detail of the directive. Clarendon's reply to Colonel Russell, sent by return on 2 July 1686 left no further room for misinterpretation or for prevarication. In noting that the usual time for elections to the Council was the first Monday after Michaelmas he observed:

> Though it be ye usual tyme yet you are not obliged by oath to a certain day exclusive of all other tymes in any extraordinary case such as this; Wherein his Majestie expressly Comaunds due performance; Wherefore we have thought fitt to signifie to you that his Majestys pleasure is that no delayes should be interposed in this matter....And in regard you are shortly to march with your Regiment to your Rendezvous at Athlone We thinke fitt that in ye meantime you appoint Mr. William Hil or Mr. Thomas Staunton to be your Deputy Mayor in your stead until ye tyme of your return unless you have just exception against eyther.[101]

The response to Clarendon's unequivocal rebuke was for the Council to speedily implement the re-admission of Catholics as Freemen and members of the Common Council. During the first two weeks of July 1686, over 160, mostly Old English Catholics, were sworn Freemen of the town.[102] In a letter from Clarendon dated 20 July 1686, he gave approval for John Kirwan to be elected Mayor for the coming year, the first Catholic to hold this office in Galway since 1654,[103] By 1 August, 1686, family members of the Old English 'Tribes' were effectively back in control of the town of Galway for the first time since 1654 (Figure 6.6), and to complete the virtual takeover of the town by the 'Old Guard', on 6 August 1686, the Earl of Clanricarde was made a Freeman of the town and appointed governor.[104].

One of the first matters which the newly elected corporation attended to was the state of the town's finances. In a preamble to the Lord Lieutenant's earlier letter to

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[100] The Mayor and corporation of Cork to the Lord Lieutenant, 2 July 1686, *Clarendon Correspondence*, pp. 472-473.

[101] J. Rabitte, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 11, (1919-1921), p. 105.

[102] A list of the names are entered into Rabitte, 'Corporation Book 'C'' pp. 107-111.

[103] Rabitte, 'Galway Corporation Book 'C'', p. 122; Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 219.

[104] Rabitte, 'Galway Corporation Book 'C'', p. 123; J. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 151.

Sir Henry Lynch	Sir Valentin Blake
Colonel Garret Moore	Gerald Dillon
John Browne	Peter Martin
Robert Blake	Robert ffrench
Marcus Kirwan	Joseph Ormsby
Thomas Yeeden	Charles Morgan
Thomas Revett	James Browne
Ambrose Lynch	John Gery
Dominick Browne	James Darcy
Thomas Lynch	Nicholas ffrench, jnr
Charles Daly	John Kirwan
John Clarke	Martin Kirwan
Andrew Og Blake	Samuel Cambie
Stephen Deane	Lawrence Deane
Thomas Poole	John May
James Deane	Thomas Wilson (Sherriff)
Richard Wall (Sherriff)	Dominick Bodkin
Richard Lynch	Nicholas Lynch
Walter Blake	Richard Blake
Oliver Martin	George Browne
Robert Kirwan	George Stanton
Richard Browne	James Browne FitzEdwards
John Lynch	Valentin Browne
Thomas Stanton	Thomas Deane
Thomas Lynch Fitzpeter	ffrancis Lynch Fitzgeorge
Isodor Lynch	Richard Plumer
Marcus Lynch	John Joyce
Bartho Butler	Thomas Simcockes
Richard Thomas	Martin King
John Vaughan	Robert Shaw
Clus Theol	Thomas Andrewes
William Hill (Deputy Mayor)	William Sprigg (Recorder)

Figure 6.6: Members of the Common Council, Galway, 1, August, 1686.
Source: NUIG James Hardiman Library ,Galway Corporation Liber, *'C'*, p. 121.

Russell on 3 July 1686, Clarendon had informed him of a petition that he had received from the Catholic community of Galway, alleging that he (Russell) had embezzled and misapplied the towns revenues, In making it clear that Russell would have to stand trial to answer these charges, Clarendon had further disbarred him being re-elected Mayor for the coming year, as he had been for the previous 11 years under the terms of his agreement with the corporation in 1674.[105] Pursuant to that objective a select committee was formed to examine the revenue accounts since March 1684 'and also all other sums of money not received by Colonel Russell in payment before 25 March 1684, and to return a true state of the case to the Mayor and Comon Councell'.[106]

During the autumn of 1686 the corporation moved to repeal acts passed by Russell and his inner circle which were for the most part designed to enrich themselves at the expense of the town. The lucrative deal that Russell had struck in buying out the interest in the corporation, market and petty duties from Mrs. Hamilton in 1674 was audited previously in June 1682 where it was clear that substantial sums of money had been paid to him and others.[107] He had also been drawing a stipend of £200 *per.annum*, throughout his 11 years tenure as Mayor, despite a resolution passed by the Common Council in 1679, 'that whomsoever shall be elected for the ensueing yeare shall serve in the said office of Mayoralty without salary'.[108] Hardiman asserts that Russell had this clause inserted into the proceedings because he feared he might lose the election and thus, if the office had no beneficial value, prospective candidates would withdraw.[109] Although there is no evidence from the corporation records that this was the case, his annual stipend from 1679 until 1685 was clearly unauthorised. Even though he must have realised that the directives from Clarendon concerning the admittance of Catholics into the Common Council and read into the corporation records on 29 June 1686, would result in his downfall, nonetheless during the same session, a number of new leases of corporation property were passed including one for land and property in the East suburbs in his favour, for a term of 99 years. By the late autumn of 1686, the corporation had passed legislation to make null and void all previous payments to Russell and had also put a stop

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[105] Rabitte, 'Galway Corporation Book 'C'', p. 105.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[107] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 147; Rabbite, 'Corporation Book 'B'', p. 62.
[108] Rabbite, 'Corporation Book 'B'', p. 20.
[109] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 147.

to the leasing of any further property beyond a term of one year.[110] By the beginning of 1687, although there were still Protestant English names appearing on the lists of those attending Common Council meetings, political control of the town was totally back in the hands of the Old English Catholics.[111]

The political changes in Galway are able to be charted through the carefully recorded proceedings of the corporation, but it is less easy to assess the impact of those changes on the commercial religious and social life of the town. Hardiman observes that:

> Multitudes of the former natives and their families flocked to the town, and were restored to their properties and freedom...to the inexpressible mortification and grief of the Protestant inhabitants, who were quietly obliged to submit to this extraordinary change of affairs.[112]

Although the legislation allowed for the return of an Old English dominated Catholic hegemony within the town, it by no means included any right to regain possession of their properties, ownership of which had been legally granted to the new Protestant owners by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. Nonetheless there was a high expectation amongst the Catholic community that land and property seized during the Cromwellian settlement, would be restored to their original owners. These high expectations may have been viewed, as Hardiman supposed, with a considerable degree of trepidation by the Protestant community, but just how they would react to any such proposal had been of major concern to the Protestant administration in Dublin.

The Earl of Clarendon, who had albeit reluctantly implemented the King,s orders, had nonetheless voiced his concerns that the property and other rights, guaranteed by the Act of Settlement should be secured so as not to unsettle the Protestant landowners, and merchants, who, in towns like Cork, Waterford and certainly Dublin, were the backbone behind Ireland,s economic success during the previous two decades. He was particularly alarmed at the way in which the Earl of Tyrconnell had proceeded, with zealous enthusiasm, to purge the army of Protestant officers and soldiers throughout the Spring and Summer of 1686, and he feared that, given Tyrconnell's outspoken opposition to the Act of Settlement, he would attack Protestant commercial interests with equal fervour. In one particular incident Clarendon noted that 400 men of the elite Guards Regiment had

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[110]Rabbite, Corporation Book 'C', p. 124.

[111] See Common Council members. Gilbert, *Archives of the town of Galway*, pp. 507-509.

[112] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 152.

been dismissed on one day, and in another, a newly appointed Catholic Officer, Nicholas Darcy, with no previous military experience, had dismissed 40 men who had admitted to not saying mass; 'without certificates of what pay was due to them; a method that will occasion great trouble and perplexities, which might have been avoided by regularity'.[113]

Clarendon's fears were graphically expressed in correspondence to his friend and fellow member of the newly formed Royal Society, the diarist John Evelyn. On 7 August 1686, in expressing his frustration at Tyrconnell's bombastic methodology he wrote:

> Here is a great man who storms, foams, swaggers, swears and rants…he thinks to overthrow governments and nations by his look and wind…But he frights the honest industrious English husbandmen and farmers, the improvers of this and all other improvable countries. Many of these men are gone and many more are packing up to follow, some for England and some for the plantations, where they think they can thrive most and be most secure in what they rent or buy.[114]

Although some of the 'English husbandmen and farmers' had acquired land as a result of the Act of Settlement, many more were part of a wave of colonisation during the mid-seventeenth century which extended beyond the western shores of Ireland to the new colonies of North America and the West Indies. They were in many instances, tenant farmers, who had brought their skills to Ireland and profited by improving the land they leased or rented. Very few of the Protestant business community in the corporation towns had acquired property in the immediate aftermath of the Cromwellian settlement. Many of the newly arrived Protestant merchant class during the 1660s and 1670s had been attracted to Ireland by the developing colonial trade. In many instances these later settlers rented, rather than purchased, premises which may have included warehousing and retail establishments. The depressed condition of Galway's housing stock, noted earlier, suggests that the occupation of empty properties may not have been as extensive as it was in the expanding cities and towns of Dublin, Cork Waterford and Limerick. Alarmed at the reports of unrest coming to him from many parts of the country, Clarendon wrote to James II, 14 August 1686, outlining what he saw as the key issues which needed to be addressed, to allay the growing apprehension within the Protestant community.

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[113] The Earl of Clarendon to the Earl of Rochester, 4 July 1686, *Clarendon Correspondence*, pp. 476-477.
[114] Earl of Clarendon to John Evelyn, 7 August 1686, W. Bray, (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, Volume III*, (George Bell and Sons, London, 1887), p. 281.

Clarendon advised James II that excessive and oppressive measures against the Protestant civilian population similar to that of the army purges had the potential to trigger an exodus amongst those whose mobility was not restricted by having large amounts of capital invested in land or property. He warned the King that by allowing the rumours to spread of a re-examination of the Act of Settlement had the potential to trigger civil unrest throughout the country, which could lead to outbreaks of violence against the Protestant community similar to that witnessed in 1641. This may have seemed an exaggeration on the part of Clarendon but in expressing such fears he asked of the King: 'When we are told plainly that we have no right to our estates, what violence may we not expect from those who have now power to take what they think their own, and which they have been so long injuriously kept out of'.[115] The rioting and violence in Galway and other charter towns in early 1671 over the proposals to reverse clause 36 of the Act of Explanation allowing Catholic back into the town, may have been seen by Clarendon as justification for this alarmist position. In support of his argument he reported that in several places the former landowners had forbidden tenants to continue to pay their rents to the new Protestant owners, and that the Catholic clergy were active in persuading people to discontinue paying their tithes to Protestant ministers.[116]

He was also conscious of a growing tendency by Catholic extremists like Tyrconnell to identify the Protestant community in general as Cromwellian and thus, by association, with the so called 'Usurpers' who had executed Charles I. In refuting this alleged slur on the present Protestant population in Ireland, Clarendon reassured the King that very few of the original Cromwellian soldiers and adventures were now left in Ireland, having sold up their holdings to; 'a new sort of people who are always to be found when fortunes are to be made, and who never had anything to do in the rebellion'. He confirmed that the bulk of the Protestant population was now (in the mid 1680s), made up of these new settlers, many of whom had supported the Royalist cause in the English Civil War, the '49 interest', soldiers who had supported Charles I up until 1649 and the descendants of the English planters from Elizabethan times, adding that; 'these men carry out six parts of seven of the trade of this kingdom'. In making this observation,

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[115] The Earl of Clarendon to the King, 14 August 1686, *Clarendon Correspondence*, pp. 534-537.
[116] *Ibid.*

Clarendon took care to make clear that he had not included 'the Scotch, because I am not yet so well informed of them as I will speedily be'.[117]

The assertion of Clarendon to James II that by the mid-1680s the Protestant population of Ireland had been very largely purged of, 'the fanatics of Cromwell's brood, and the offspring of those who served in the rebellion against your sacred father' was not necessarily the case in Galway.[118] It has already been noted that Colonel Peter Stubbers, one of the alleged executioners of Charles I, who had inflicted a reign of terror on the Catholic populations of both the town and the surrounding country side, after Galway's surrender in 1652, vanished without trace. However, a number of prominent members of Galway Corporation (listed in figure 6.5) were veterans of the Cromwellian conquest and had achieved a measure of wealth not by fruitful enterprise or trade but by acquiring forfeited property and land either by seizure, buying property cheaply from dispossessed Catholic townsmen and landowners and subsequently abused their public positions in acquiring corporation land for their private use. Theodore Russell was one of the more prominent members of Galway's Protestant community who activities as Mayor have been described earlier. He had been a Colonel in Cromwell's army and had taken part in the siege and subsequent surrender of Galway. Curiously despite his dubious activities when serving as Mayor, in 1677, at the special request of James, Duke of York (afterwards James II) he was commissioned as a Colonel to one of the regiments forming the garrison at Galway.[119] Edward Eyre was another former Cromwellian who became wealthy at the expense of the former Catholic inhabitants of the town. He came to Ireland in 1649 and served with the Cromwellian Army settling in Galway during the 1650s. Over the next few years he acquired an extensive property portfolio in Galway and the surrounding areas including what was to become Eyre Square. Amongst many properties he acquired was the town house of Robert Martin the account of which is dealt with earlier. As well as serving as MP for Galway in 1661, he was mayor of Galway in 1663 and Mayor of the Staple in 1663. In 1670 he acquired a 99 year lease on extensive lands

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[117] *Ibid.*

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] M. J. Martin, 'Galway Corporation Book B' *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 5, (1907-1908), p. 143.

belonging to the Corporation for the sum of three pounds per annum.[120] His elder brother John, was also a member of Galway Corporation in the 1680s, and had served as 'a soldier of fortune' in Cromwell's army as a colonel under General Ludlow. He was elected Mayor of Galway in 1661 and served as an MP alongside his brother from 1661 to 1666. In addition to these duties he also was a member of the commission appointed in 1657 for settling the lands and houses in the counties of Galway and Mayo.[121]

Other members of the Galway's Common Council in 1681 who acquired forfeited lands and property during the Cromwellian occupation of Galway included: Thomas Stanton who acquired land in the liberties in 1657, Sir Henry Waddington who got several forfeited houses and a plots in Galway in 1657 for a yearly value of £32, and Gabriel King who was Mayor of Galway in 1657 and served alongside John Eyre as a commissioner for settling lands and houses in Galway and Mayo.[122] One member of Galway's Common Council in 1681 who seems to have recognised the need for encouraging trade in Galway was Charles Holcroft. He had been one of the signatories to the surrender of Galway in 1652 and also served as a commissioner for settling lands and houses at Loughrea. As well as serving as High Sherriff for County Galway, he was Mayor of the Guild of Merchants during the 1660s and 1670s. In 1679 he was one of the signatories which supported the application by former Catholic freemen to resume trading in the town (Figure 6.1), recognising the importance re-connecting the town to the extensive international trading networks of the former Old English merchant elite. That this positive move failed was an indication of the low priority attached to trade by the majority of Galway's Protestant ruling class who, on the evidence available seemed content to live off the proceeds of their land and property acquisitions.

Clarendon's support of the Protestant community played into the hands of Tyrconnell in persuading James II that the Lord Lieutenant was not truly representing the King's interests in Ireland and in particular, by his recommendations to ratify the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, was biased towards the Protestant cause in Ireland. In putting his case to James II, Tyrconnell had the benefit of being advised by Richard Nagle,

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[120] M. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Eyre Documents in University College Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 20, (1942-1943), pp. 57-61.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 62

[122] J. Rabbitte, 'Galway Corporation Book C with Introduction and Notes' *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 11, (1919-1921), 83-85.

considered to be the ablest of the Irish Catholic barristers. In a long and detailed letter to Tyrconnell in October 1686, Nagle refuted Clarendon's claims that it was essential for James II to ratify the Acts of Settlement to allay Protestant fears and prevent an exodus of Protestants from Ireland. Nagle argued that Protestants who had no significant estates in Ireland, which included many traders and merchants, were not in any way concerned, and that those who had estates secured in law were hardly likely leave with no other place to go to. On the other hand, issuing a proclamation securing the Act of Settlement would dishearten Catholic merchants who had fled abroad from returning, and more importantly leave the minority Protestant community in control of the greater part of Ireland's resources. His letter to Tyrconnell also underlined the long term vulnerability of the Catholic population in that, as matters now stood, James II's Protestant daughter Mary would succeed to the throne on his death. Nagle ended his report by recommending that, as there were a number of legal arguments which demonstrated that the Acts, as they stood had not been properly put into effect, the whole matter should be addressed by an Act of Parliament.[123]

On 8 January 1687, Clarendon was summarily recalled and replaced by Tyrconnell, as Lord Deputy, but with powers almost identical to that of Lord Lieutenant.[124] In some quarters Tyrconnell's appointment triggered some of the extremes of responses that Clarendon had predicted. In Dublin it was reported that many Protestants made preparations to leave, trade was severely disrupted and money became extremely scarce. The panic amongst the Protestant population was further fuelled by rumours that Tyrconnell planned to put an immediate stop to anyone leaving Ireland with goods and effects and: 'Great sums were transmitted into England, so that guineas were at twenty-four shillings apiece, and exchange at twelve per cent'.[125] There is also evidence in the late 1680s of significant numbers of Protestants fleeing Cork, as Catholics took control of the city and its environs.[126] No such evidence of similar unrest is apparent in Galway at this time as the corporation went about its business. It is unlikely that the

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[123] Richard Nagle to the Earl of Tyrconnell, 26 October 1686, *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series Volume 7, pp. 464-470.

[124] The Earl of Sunderland to The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1 January 1687, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James II, 1686-1687*.

[125] *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series Volume VIII, p. 347.

[126] M. McCarthy, *The Historical Geography of Cork's Transformation*, p. 680.

relatively small Protestant population of Galway would have seen the appointment of Tyrconnell as any more of a threat than the execution of Clarendon's directive of June 1686 admitting Catholics as freemen and members of the corporation. There had been no purge of Protestants from the corporation membership and the names of former prominent Galway Protestant Aldermen such as George Stanton Thomas Revett and Jonathan Perrie, are still shown as being active on the Council in May 1687.[127]

In April 1687, Tyrconnell proceeded to move ahead with his plans to remodel the corporations so as to secure a Catholic majority both at local level and in the Irish Parliament. Objections by some corporations to allowing Catholics to be admitted as freemen and councillors under Clarendon's regime had clearly been noted by Tyrconnell. The key to controlling the political will of the corporations lay in their charters, which effectively defined their legal existence. Although it was within the King's power to alter these charters at will, Tyrconnell issued a *quo warranto* which had the effect of requiring corporations to prove that they had been exercising their powers in accordance with the rules of their charter. In effect, the corporations had to either defend their record or surrender their existing charter and plead for a renewal of their rights. J.S. Clarke noted that; 'It was morally impossible any corporation could be so cautious in all his actings, as not to give some one blot which a Sharpe witted Lawier would not fail to hit'.[128] The City of Dublin contested the warrant and sent their Recorder, Sir Richard Rivers to petition James II directly, but the King refused to meet him. Other corporations either surrendered their charter voluntarily or put up a token resistance. Galway put up no resistance and on 6 May 1687, the Common Council at Galway recommended the appointment of Ignatius Browne and Gregory Nolan as solicitors to pursue the renewal process and voted to levy a sum of £150 on the freemen of the town to defray the expenses of the action.[129] It was noted that throughout the Kingdom generally: 'It cost no great trouble except at Londonderry (a stubborn people as they appear'd to be afterwards) who stood an obstinate sute, but were forced at last to undergo the same fate with the rest'.[130]

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[127] J. Rabbitte (ed.), 'Galway Corporation MS. C.' *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2, (1924-1926), p. 20.

[128] J. S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second, Volume II* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London, 1816), p. 97.

[129] Rabbitte, 'Galway Corporation MS. C.', p. 20.

[130] J.S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second*, p. 97.

By the time Tyrconnell was appointed Lord Deputy, the corporation of Galway had proved itself to be solidly in support of James II's domestic policy in Ireland. The apparent absence of any serious social unrest following Clarendon's departure and the almost seamless transition to Catholic control of the corporation had been noted by Tyrconnell when ratifying the appointment of Thomas Lynch as the new Recorder to the corporation. In the Council meeting on 22 April 1687, a letter from the Lord Deputy recorded:

> After our hearty comendacions wee having bin given to understand that such person as wee should recommend to you to be by you chosen Recorder of that Corporacion would be acceptable to you. Wee thincke fitt hereby to signify to you how well satisfied wee are with your carriage in this and many other particulars and believing a member of you owne will be most agreeable to you.[131]

On 27 March 1688, the charter granted by James II to the corporation of Galway was publicly proclaimed and the named officers, Aldermen and Burgesses sworn in.

At a local level, the charter ensured that the town would remain under Catholic control but James II's primary intention along with similar charters granted to the other corporations was to ensure that in any recalled Parliament, the corporation would return a Catholic majority; one which would carry through other major reforms, notably a review of the Act of Settlement so as return a large proportion of the Protestant held estates to Catholic ownership.

Although there were some New English Protestants nominated to the new Galway corporation, for the most part, the Old English Catholics were confirmed in their posts. Of the 26 Alderman appointed to the position 'during their respective lives' only seven, (26%), appear to be English of which only two, William Hill and Thomas Revett, appeared in the list of corporation officials in 1672 (Figure 6.3).[132] The two new Sheriffs, James Browne and Marcus Kirwan, were also nominated from Old English Catholic families. sixty free burgesses were appointed of which 44 were represented by Old English family names and 16 (36%) were Protestant. Whereas this distribution of power may, from one perspective, seem to have been heavily biased towards securing a Catholic majority on the corporation, given that, in Galway the Catholic population was estimated to have outnumbered the Protestants by as much as 15:1, then the distribution might well

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[131] Rabbitte, 'Galway Corporation MS. C.', p. 17.
[132] Abstract of the Charter of James II, to Galway; Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 153-154.

be seen as being more representative of the population in general. In other newly appointed charter towns with larger Protestant populations the distribution appears to have recognised this. In Dublin, the corporation awarded in November 1687 gave the key appointments exclusively to Catholics; 10 of the 24 Aldermen (41%) and 15 of the 48 Burgess (31%) were Protestant. In Belfast, a Protestant merchant, Thomas Pottinger, was appointed Mayor and 50% of the Burgesses were Protestant.[133]

A Religious Revival

Despite their worst fears the Catholicism of military, judicial and administrative appointments by James II had not been extended to include any unduly harsh sanctions against the Church of Ireland. Apart from James II's policy of not filling Church vacancies, the general policy seems to have been not to antagonise the Protestant community with anything approaching the harsh penal laws imposed on the Catholic community during the previous two decades. At a local level, the newly appointed Catholic corporation used their powers to set about restoring the dominance of Catholic institutions which had been so much part of urban life before the 1640s.

Amongst the powers granted to Galway corporation in the new charter of 1688 was the appointment of the Wardenship of the Church of St. Nicholas. The new charter granted: 'The mayor, sheriffs, free burgesses and commonality, and their successors, for ever yearly on the feast of St. Peter, to elect and remove the warden and vicars, with all such rights as were enjoyed relative to them on the 23 October 1641'.[134] The iconic nature of St. Nicholas to the Catholic community; its physical presence dominating the town and surrounding area, and the politico-religious significance of its tenure was not to be overlooked by the new corporation. On 1 August 1688, the corporation proceeded to elect the new clergy. Apart from being elected by a Catholic-dominated corporation, the names of the new appointees reflected the return to power of the tribal hegemony of the Old English. Henry Browne was chosen Warden for the year and Michael Lynch, James Fallon, John Bodkin, Jerome Martyn, Nicholas Nolan and Thomas Lynch elected Vicars.[135] At this time the beneficial interest in the lands and other properties belonging to

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[133] J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91* (Routledge, London, 1969), pp. 35-36.

[134] Abstract of the corporation of James II, to Galway; J.Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 153-154.

[135] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 248; Rabbitte, 'Galway Corporation MS. C.', p. 73; E. MacLysaght, 'Report on Documents relating to the Wardenship of Galway', *Analecta Hibernica*, Vol. 14, (1944), p. 158-

the St. Nicholas Church were vested in John Vesey, the Archbishop of Tuam. Although the corporation wrote to John Vesey, on the day of the new appointments requesting that he transfer the possessions to the corporation, he refused to comply and filed a bill in Chancery 'relief against their encroachments'.[136] The matter dragged on through legal channels until a further appeal by the Warden directly to King James II in 1689, resulted in Lord Clanricard ordering that the Church and possessions be handed over to the corporation. Hardiman noted that 'he [the Warden] enjoyed it but for a short time: after the surrender of the town to General Ginkel, in 1691, it was again restored to the established clergy'.[137]

Many of the banished religious orders did not avail themselves of the opportunity to return during the late 1680s. Their buildings had been mostly destroyed by this time and their members exiled abroad or transported to the colonies. The Dominican monastery had occupied a strategic site overlooking Galway to the West and had been occupied for a time by Lord Forbes during his failed attempt to invest the town in 1642. Although richly endowed by the Old English hierarchy, it was they who destroyed the buildings in 1652 to prevent them falling into the hands of General Coote and his besieging forces. The Augustinian friary located close to the south curtain wall of the town had, as noted, suffered a similar fate during the Confederate Wars. The remaining members of the Order had moved into the town during the siege but were expelled as part of the general purge of clerical orders during the late 1650s. The Capuchins made a resolute attempt to return to Galway and on 1 August 1689, they petitioned the corporation to be re-admitted to the town 'in as full and ample a manner as their predecessors'.[138]

The two main Convents that had developed roots in Galway during the 1640s were those of the Poor Clares and the Dominicans. The Franciscan Nuns of the Convent of St. Clare (The Poor Clares), many of whom were daughters of Old English Galway

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159. In a footnote to his *History of Galway*, p. 254, Hardiman records that; 'none but those of the 12 or 13 families were allowed to vote'.

[136] Hardiman, *History*, p. 248; Rabbitte, 'Galway Corporation MS. C.', p. 74; For a detailed account of the complicated history of the Wardenship of St. Nicholas see; Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Rabitte, 'Galway Corporation Book 'C'', pp. 234-247.

[137] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 249.

[138] J. Rabbitte (ed.), 'Galway Corporation MS. 'C''. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol.16 (1934-1935), p. 68.

merchants who had originally occupied lands on Oilean an Altanagh (Nun's Island), granted to them by the corporation of Galway in 1649.[139] Although most of the Sisters fled to Spain following the Cromwellian evictions, two of them, Mother Gabriel Martin and Sister Ellis Font, remained behind and had subsequently attempted to re-establish their claim to the land on Nun's Island before the Loughrea Commissioners. However, during the late 1650s the land had passed into the hands of John Morgan, a Cromwellian soldier who served as Mayor of Galway in both 1660 and 1664. Following the Restoration, Sisters Ellis and Elizabeth Skerrett rented the Convent back from John Morgan, and with more Sisters returning, resumed their community life. The Convent was included in the grant of corporation lands to Lady Hamilton in December 1673 and it is recorded that the Abbess, Mother Elisabeth Skerrett, travelled to London and was successful in leasing the property from her on the same terms as that granted by the corporation in 1649.[140] The nuns continued to live quietly in Galway throughout the remaining years of the seventeenth century until forced once more to leave following the end of the Jacobite War. That these daughters of the Old English 'Tribes' had somehow managed to remain as a community more or less intact since the Reformation points to the influence that these families exerted at a local level, despite not being in a position of authority until the late 1680s. The Dominican order which was established in Galway in 1643, was also largely composed of daughters of the Tribes but had remained quite small in number and, on being expelled in the 1650s, 14 sisters had fled to Spain, mainly to Toledo and Bilbao. They did not return until 1686 when Mother Juliana Nolan and Mother Maria Lynch re-established the order in Galway, joined, it is thought by a small group of so-called Tertiary's who had remained in Galway, in seclusion, in their family homes. Some evidence of this was uncovered in the 1920s when a copy of a Eucharistic prayer to St. Thomas, signed 'Bridget Kirwan, Galway, 5 November 1682' was found in the folds of a very old chalice veil by a Sister at the Dominican Convent of Taylors Hill.[141] The Galway Dominican Convent was refounded in 1686 until the closure orders of 1698.

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[139] Gilbert, *Archives of the town of Galway*, p. 498.

[140] H. Concannon, 'Historic Galway Convents', *An Irish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 38, No. 152 (December 1949), p. 444.

[141] *Ibid.,* pp. 67-68.

By the beginning of 1688, to most Catholics, an era of continuing peace and prosperity appeared to be within their grasp. Having regained control of the corporation towns the next step was the election of a new Parliament in which a Catholic majority would seek to address the long running disputes over the land settlements of the 1660s and 1670s, and restore the disposed Catholic landowners to what they saw as their legitimate claims to the land and estates seized from them after the Cromwellian wars. The only dark cloud on the horizon was that James II's second wife Mary of Modena was childless. She had already given birth to five children all of which had either been stillborn or died very shortly after birth. If James II were to die without an heir his natural successor would be his daughter Mary from his first marriage. Mary had been raised as a Protestant and was married to William, Prince of Orange. In January 1688, it was announced that Mary of Modena was pregnant once again, news that lifted the hearts of the Catholics and received with dread by the Protestants:

> This was looked upon by many to be a mean design, it being so passionately desired by all the Catholics, who ever since the King came home would drink Hans-enkelder, even two years before to many's knowledge, the thoughts of a Protestant successor being more terrible than doomsday, and what rendered it more suspicious was the confidence that the Papists had that it was a boy.[142]

On June 10 1688, Mary gave birth to a son. As Clark has observed, in the seventeenth century people would believe anything.[143] Catholics looked upon the event as a miracle but rumours abounded amongst the Protestant English public that it was a changeling, brought into the Queen's bedchamber in a bedpan. Nonetheless, the child, James Francis Edward Stuart was acknowledged as the rightful heir to James II.

When the news reached Dublin on 4 July 1688 the extent of the celebrations was illustrative of the significance and importance of the event to the Catholic community. The London Gazette reported :

> As his Excellency passed through the City, the Conduits ran with wine, and the Steward of his Excellencies Household scattered money largely amongst the people who assembled in great crowds for this occasion…The whole City in the meantime trying to express their part of the Publick joy by Bonfires, ringing of bells, and other outwards Marks or inward joy and Satisfaction.[144]

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[142] *MSS of Marquesss of Ormonde,* New Series, Volume 8, p. 352.

[143] Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714,* p. 127.

[144] *London Gazette,* issue 2363, 12 July 1688.

Although the news must have travelled onwards to Galway at around this time, there is no contemporary record contained in the corporation archives recording similar celebrations and it is also notably missing from Hardiman's account. Nonetheless, the occasion was to become a watershed in the somewhat uneasy co-existence of the two Galway communities as the already strained relationship between James II and William of Orange turned to open hostility and revolution in England by the Protestant supporters of William of Orange.

On Monday 15 November 1688, William of Orange, with a force of 200 troop transports escorted by 49 warships, landed in England at Dartmouth, Exmouth and Torbay without any opposition.[145] The operation has been characterised as a military operation rather than a popular insurrection. There was no effective opposition to his force and James II fled to France on 24 December 1688. Because James had not in fact abdicated, his departure created a constitutional crisis over who, if anyone should take his place. In the absence of a legally summoned parliament this question was to be decided by an assembly which met in early February 1689.[146] Although the departure of James II may have been welcomed by Protestant interests in England, in Ireland the situation was considerably more volatile as both Protestants and Catholics feared an immediate armed assault on their communities.

A Town At War Again

On 8 December 1688 Tyrconnell, as Lord Lieutenant received rumours of Catholic and Protestant outrages and atrocities that had begun to circulate throughout the island but especially for him, close to home on Dublin. There was every danger of an outright civil war breaking out as armed Protestants occupied Trinity College and the Earl of Meath's Liberties, and loads of arms were delivered to the Mass Houses of Cook Street and St Francis's Street.[147] Tyrconnell, in his haste, further added to Protestant fears by issuing out commissions to raise 20,000 men. At the same time, in an attempt to calm the situation he asked the Archbishop of Dublin to pass on his assurances of safety to the

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[145] *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde,* New Series, Volume 8, 355; Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714,* pp. 136-137.
[146] Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714,* p. 144.
[147] *MSS of Marquesss of Ormonde,* New Series, Volume 9, p. 357

Protestant community during morning services.[148] He also issued orders to embargo all shipping to prevent a general exodus of Protestants back to England but the exodus had already began with the Earl of Meath and other notables leaving at this time along with 'crowds of women and children'.[149] In Ulster many rural dwellers abandoned their farms for the safety of the towns or fled to England. On 10 December 1688, in what was to become an enduring iconic symbol of Protestant resistance, Tyrconnell was 'brought news that Londonderry (Derry) had shut her gates against the Earl of Antrim, who, with four or five companies of his newly raised men went to quarter there'.[150]

A number of Protestant defence associations were formed in the immediate aftermath of the revolution in England notably at Sligo, the only other town of any significance in Connaught next to Galway, On 4 January 1689, The association declared that Sligo:

> Being the only considerable passé and key of that county especially from the north to Connaught thought convenient in the absolute defence of their present Majesties and the Protestant religion to issue their declaration and possesse themselves of it, declaring it was not their intents to molest or trouble any of their fellow subjects of what persuasion soever that peaceably and quietly demean themselves according to the law establisht, but defend the Protestant religion.[151]

Following this declaration they established a substantial force of some 600 horse and 600 foot under the command of Lord Kingston and set about building defences against expected attack from Catholic forces.[152]

In Galway, although there is no evidence of any civil unrest breaking out during the late autumn of 1688, in September 1688, the corporation began to take action to repair and improve the town's defences. A month earlier James II had ordered Tyrconnell to send him three regiments of Irish soldiers to bolster his army in England. As a result, the military garrison in the town had been withdrawn by Tyrconnell to replace the regiments sent to England, and the corporation were required to fill the gap from the civilian population. At first the requirement to turn out for 'watch and ward' was on a voluntary basis but the obligation to do their duty was met with considerable resistance by the

[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *Ibid.*
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] M. Ó Duígeannáin, 'Three Seventeenth Century Connaught Documents', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Volume 17 (1936-1937), pp. 154-155.
[152] *Ibid.*

population and many of them refused take their turn on the gates and walls. On 15 October 1688, the corporation responded by passing a statute, effectively conscription, making it obligatory both within the town and the eastern and western suburbs, it stated:

> Any person or persons that shall hereafter refuse or neglect to watch and doth not come to the Upper Citadel immediately after the drum beats and in the suburbs at the hour appointed by the respective constables…shall forfeit half a crown a peece to be levied by distress.[153]

The order made allowances for those who could not perform their duties because of ill health or other reasons, but only on condition that they send a substitute in their place. Failure to comply with this exception would also incur a fine of half a crown,[154]

On 2 December 1688, Galway's military obligations were formalised following a directive received by the Mayor, Dominick Browne, from the Privy Council and signed by Judge Dennis Daly. Dennis Daly was one of three Catholic lawyers who had been appointed to the judiciary by James II in 1686 to replace three Protestant judges serving in the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer. Clarendon described Daly as 'one of the best lawyers of that sort but of Old Irish Race and therefore not to be a judge'.[155] Although details of Daly's early career are obscure, he was nonetheless a member of Galway's Old English Catholic community. His mother was the granddaughter of James Darcy, Vice President of Connacht in the late sixteenth century and he had trained to be a lawyer under his great uncle, Patrick Darcy.[156] As well as being a privy councillor he was also the unofficial leader of the 'New Interest' group in Irish politics whose land acquisitions since 1660 were dependant on the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. Although opposed to the outright repeal of the acts favoured by Tyrconnell, by 1688 he had become one of Tyrconnell's close confidents and advisors.

The order from Daly effectively put Galway on a full time war footing by establishing three companies of foot soldiers consisting of 200 men and a troop of horse. The cost of supporting this militia appears to have been borne by the town and the names of the officers appointed were from the now familiar ranks of the 'Tribes' and also from

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[153] Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 14, Numbers. 1 and 2, (1928-1929), p. 18.
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] *Clarendon Correspondence*, p. 357
[156] E. Kinsella, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Volume 3, p. 16.

the still loyal Protestant members of the corporation including Thomas Stanton and John Stanton (Figure 6.7). On 6 December 1688, at a Public Assembly held at the Thosel, a further six companies of foot were established. This additional force was to supplement the established garrison (Figure 6.8).[157] In addition to strengthening the military presence in and around the town the corporation also turned to examining the town's defences which had been neglected and fallen into disrepair following the Restoration in 1660.

On 22 December 1688, the Mayor had received a directive from Tyrconnell to overhaul the ordinance in the arsenal of the town and undertake whatever work was necessary to have them properly mounted in their positions on the town walls and it was ordered that 'the said work for preservation of the towne be forthwith begun and forwarded with all speed imaginable, which sum of fifty pounds shall be allowed the Chamberlain on his account by the Corporacion'.[158] In 1687, Lord Dartmouth, Master General of the Ordinance presented James II with a report commissioned by Charles II in 1685 in which amongst other matters directed:

> That some officer of your Majesty's Ordnance in England may be commanded into Ireland to take a remaine of all ordnance, ammunition, and other habiliments of war that are in any town, garrison, castle or fort in that kingdom.[159]

Commissioners were appointed to undertake this inventory which included Thomas Phillips, one of 'his Majesty's engineers'.[160] Part of this work included an 'Abstract of all the ordnance in His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland', and the details pertaining to Galway illustrate the defensive capability of the town during the refurbishment programme outlined above (Figure 6.9).

The main body of the report addressed the state of the defences of Ireland's 12 key garrison towns and fortifications and included: Dublin, Duncannon, Cork, Waterford, Kinsale, Limerick and Island of Scattery, Athlone, Derry, Culmore, Belfast Carrickfergus and Galway. Thomas Phillips produced a detailed account of the work needed to bring

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[157] Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 14, Numbers. 1 and 2, (1928-1929, p. 23.

[158] *Ibid.*

[159], Report by Lord Dartmouth and Thomas Phillips to James II. 24 March 1686, *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde* Volume 2, p.309.

[160]. *Ibid.,* p.310.

Officers	Troop of Horse
Sir Walter Blake, Captain of Horse	
Thomas Stanton, Lieutenant	
Symon Kirwan, Cornet	
Richard Browne, Quarter Master	
Mayor Dominick Browne, , Captain	**Company of Foot**
Alderman Thomas Simcockes, Lieutenant	
Geoffrey Blake Fitz Walter, Ensigne	
Alderman John Kirwan, Captain	
Alderman John Gerry, Lieutenant	
Marcus Lynch Fitz Nicolas More, Ensign	
Alderman John Stanton, Captain	
Nicholas Lynch Fitz Ambros, Lieutenant	
Thomas Blake Fitz Francis, Ensigne	

Figure 6.7: Officers in Command. Galway Town Militia, December 1688.
Source: Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 14, Nos. 1 and 2, (1928-1929), p.21.

Officers	Command
Sir Walter Blake, Captain	Company of Foot
Thomas Stanton. Lieutenant	
Oliver French Ensigne	
Alderman John Kirwan, Captain	Company of Foot
Alderman John Gerry, Lieutenant	
Samuel Cambie, Ensigne	
William Blake, Captain	Company of Foot
August Joyes, Lieutenant	
Geoffrey Blake Ensigne	
Alderman George Stanton, Captain	Company of Foot
Marcus Lynch Fitz Nicholas, Lieutenanr	
Thomas Blake Fitz ffran[cis]. Ensign	
Thomas Simcockes, Captain	Company of Foot
Peter Browne, Lieutenant	
James Kenny, Ensigne	
Nicholas Lynch Fitz Anthony, Captain	Company of Foot
Marcus French Fitz Peter, Lieutenat	
Marcus Kirwan Fitz ffran[cis] Ensign	

Figure 6.8: Officers in Command. Galway Companies of Foot, December 1688.
Source: Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 14, Numbers. 1 and 2, (1928-1929), p.23.

Iron Ordnance	Quantity	Brass Ordance	Quantity
12 Pounder	7	Demy Cannon	1
Culvering	3	Calvering	1
Demi-Culvering	4	Saker	1
8 Pounders	13	Falcon	2
6 Pounders	15	Petards	1
Saker	21	Mortar Pieces	2
Minion	11		
3 Pounder	12		
Falconet	3		
Sling Pieces	6		
Mortar Pieces	6		

Figure 6.9: The Ordnance at Galway, March 1686.
Source: *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde,* Volume 2, pp. 334-335.

Galway's defences up to a state of readiness (Figure 6.10) and included the following observations:

> It is to no end to fortify, or take in the whole circuit of the place, it being irregular, and when done there are several grounds that command it. It is humbly proposed, that the upper citadel, be enlarged according to the draught and survey of the town, and that a small redoubt, be built upon the Green Hill, and another upon Mutton Island, the latter to be built first, all of which will amount to a least £25,418 10s 0. The country all this way is wild and barbarous, especially towards the west part, and all the sea coast is full of small harbours and creeks, fit to entertain pirates and for those who shall endeavour to run the custom of their goods, it being not to be prevented, but by a sea guard, which I humbly leave to better consideration.[161]

Phillip's recommendations were not subsequently put into effect and at the beginning of 1689 the corporation commissioned a survey of the gates, walls and fortifications to establish what needed to be done and at what cost.[162]

During the months of January and February 1689, in a clear indication that the town was being prepared for a possible siege, the corporation put into effect a number of measures to improve the security of the town. Following a recommendation from the Earl of Clanricard, Governor of the town, they agreed that; 'when he think fitt pull down or cause all the houses, thacht cabins neere and adjoining the walls of this towne to be pulled downe.[163] The main gateways into the town were provided with new locks, and iron grates (portcullis), were manufactured and fitted to Abbey Gate, Key Gate and Bridge Gate. Work was put into place to ensure that the drawbridges at St. James Gate and West Gate were properly garrisoned and, with clear memories of the siege of the town in 1651-1652, the forts in the eastern liberties, built by the Cromwellian forces to isolate the town from the remaining countryside were ordered to be demolished.[164]

Although the principal members of the corporation appeared to have been highly committed to ensuring that the town was capable of withstanding a possible siege this enthusiasm does not appear to have been shared by many of the Common Council who had been conspicuous by their absence from the meetings convened to agree the proposed defensive work and to approve of the costs of those works. This absence gave more than a

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[161] *Ibid.,* pp. 317-318.
[162] Rabbite, Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 15, Numbers 3 and 4, (1931-1933), pp. 85-86.
[163] *Ibid.,* p. 86.
[164] *Ibid.,* p. 87.

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The foundation of the main wall of the citadel, being in compass 3,330 feet, the depth 16 feet, one with the another, the breadth 12 feet, which makes in all 639 floors or squares, containing 1,000 Feet each, being rocky, at 30s per square is	958
For building the main wall of the rampart, being 3,300 feet about, 30 feet high, and 10 feet thick, makes 22,704 perches at 10s per perch amounts to	11,352
The charge of sinking the graft, being in length 2,560 feet, 90 feet wide and 20 feet deep, containing 4,608 squares at 20s per square comes to	4,608
For draw bridges and gates	200
For store houses and officers lodgings	2,000
For palisadoes and sentry houses	500
For platforms and carriages	1,000
For making 60 arches under the rampart at £60 each arch, amounts to	3,600
The total charges of the citadel amounts to	24,218

Figure 6.10: Phillips Estimate for the Fortifications of Galway 1686.
Source: *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde,* Volume 2, pp. 317-318.

hint of a town that was at odds with itself over the strategy to be adopted should Galway find itself fighting a rear guard action on behalf of the forces of James II. The destructive and eventually pointless defence of Galway during the Cromwellian siege must have been foremost in many of the minds of the veterans of the siege and also a new generation of Galwegians who had, by the late 1680s, achieved some degree of civil and religious freedom working within what was still essentially an English framework of central and local government.

By the mid 1680s, despite the religious and occupational restrictions imposed by the Protestant English administration, many Galway merchants and traders were once more engaged in re-establishing their trading links with Europe and with the expanding colonial provision trade. Moreover, many Galway townspeople had acquired substantial land holdings in Connaught following the Act of Settlement. and were opposed to the growing demands by many of James II's supporters to repeal the Act of Settlement as a primary objective of the proposed new Parliament. Around 130 Galway townspeople had been granted over 98,000 acres of land in Connaught representing about 14% of all transferred land and 22 townsmen had each acquired holdings of over 1000 acres including Sir Richard Blake's substantial estate exceeding 10,000 acres.[165] As well as the lands transferred under their own name they had also used their inherited wealth to purchase land assigned to those transplanted from other areas of the country. With so much to lose, it is not surprising that some of the Galway landowners might have been wary of committing themselves fully in the months leading up to outright war between William III and James II. The subsequent repeal of the Act of Settlement was strongly opposed by many of the Galway landowners described by O'Kelly as 'The men of the 'New Interest' preferring their private gain before the general interest of Religion and Country'.[166] So strong was this opposition that James II had come to regard Galway as 'the weak spot in the Jacobite resistance'.[167]

Whatever the reasons there may have been for non-attendance, the degree of absenteeism was considered serious enough for the corporation to issue a directive making it compulsory for all council members to attend all future meetings and that

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[165] List of Transplanted Irish, 1655-1659, *MSS of Marquess of Ormonde,* Volume 2, pp. 114-176.

[166] C. O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, (Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin, 1850), p. 71.

[167] Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91.*

'every person or persons so summoned that shall fail to appear shall forfeit ye sum of two shillings and sixpence sterling for every tyme offending'.[168]

There was clearly a need for Galway corporation to ensure that, as William III prepared to invade Ireland, and despite the hostile attitude of the landowners, the principle citizens and especially the Common Council were unanimous in their resolve to hold the town for James II in any future conflict. Some of the Council members may have been swayed by William III's declaration on 22 February 1689, offering pardon and toleration for Catholics who laid down their arms and submitted to him, and military action and confiscation of estates for those that resisted.[169] But on the national front Tyrconnell was actively mobilising his forces throughout Ireland and, with French support, the imminent arrival of James II in Ireland, pointed to the prospect of a military victory which would secure the gains made by Galway's Catholic community in the previous five years. This was not the time for faint hearts or complacency, as the order for compulsory attendance made clear. In early 1689, Colonel Alexander MacDonnell was appointed the military governor of the town, replacing Clanricard. He had gained considerable military experience fighting in the Continent, and although his background was that of a Leitrim landowner, he had local connections being the brother–in-law of Thomas Nugent.

During the spring and summer of 1689, MacDonnell, with the backing of the corporation made every effort to secure the town's defences. Over the decades since 1660, unofficial modifications had been made in the town walls to allow easier access to the suburbs immediately outside the walls. On 27 May 1689 the corporation ordered:

> That such owners of howses, Waste plots, or Mills, that have made holes in ye
> walls of this towne doe within eight days at their owne costs and charge stopp and
> fill upp the said holes on ye penalty of five pounds.[170]

In June 1689 Mac Donnell, reported to the Galway corporation that the network of ditches around the base of the walls of the town required attention and the corporation's response to alleviating this problem illustrates their ongoing determination to rigorously enforce

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[168] Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 15, Numbers 3 and 4, (1931-1933) p. 88.

[169] Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91*, p.56.

[170] Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 15, Numbers 3 and 4,.p. 92.

what amounted to martial law on the population to commit wholeheartedly the defence of the town. The Council ordered:

> That every inhabitant or Master of a family and shop or cellar keepers inhabiting or dwelling with this towne suburbs and Liberties therof shall once every week…give one day's worke towards scouring and cleaning the several ditches round about or within the walls of this town until the worke be finished as the Governor thinks fit.[171]

The labour force included a group of some 200 Protestant prisoners including a troop of horse under the command of Sir Thomas Fielding, who had been captured on their way north while passing through Galway. They had been tried and sentenced to death by Judge Peter Martin, and although the sentence was never carried out, their incarceration in Galway had become something of a cause célèlebre amongst the Williamite forces.[172]

Throughout the remaining months of 1689 and early 1690, much of the business dealt with by the Common Council concerned itself with town's defences and in dealing with the ever growing needs of the garrison. In particular the business of quartering the soldiers, never welcome in any war, was becoming more onerous for the householders. On 15 October 1689 the Council ordered that no persons, other than the town officials were to be exempt from providing quarters and those who refused to cooperate were subject to heavy fines.[173] In April 1690, tensions between the military and civilian population were highlighted in an incident in which a Captain Hubbert Dillon was accused of wounding Oliver ffrench who had been appointed by the town to quarter officers and men. The common council made a formal complaint to the military governor and placed all further quartering duties in the hands of the town Sheriffs 'to prevent ye like disorders in future'.[174] The ongoing tensions between the townspeople and the military reflected the growing lack of support for another long drawn out military stand-off which had so crippled Galway in 1651.

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[171] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

[172] H. Murtagh, 'Galway and the Jacobite War', *Irish Sword,* Volume 12, Number 46, (Summer 1975), p. 3: J. Childs, *The Williamite Wars In Ireland 1688-1691* (Continuum Books, London, 2007), p. 197.

[173] Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Volume 16 (1934-19350, pp. 69-71.

[174] *Ibid.,* p. 76.

Little mention is made of the Protestant population within the town at this time and although the war 'of Two Kings' has been characterised as a conflict between Protestant and Catholic interests, many Protestants had continued to support James II as their rightful King during the late 1680s. At the opening of the Jacobite parliament in May 1689 there were five Protestant lords and four bishops who took their seats. Raymond Gillespie observed that it was not that they felt particularly secure under the Jacobite regime 'but rather they felt unwilling to abandon their loyalty to what they regarded as their rightful King'.[175] At the Galway common council meeting held on 1 August 1689 to re-elect the town,s officials, although dominated by Old English Catholics, English, Protestant, names appear such as Jonathan Perrie, Thomas Simcocks, John Gery and William Cleere. There is no reason to doubt that they, along with some members of the Protestant communities in other towns may have shared similar feelings of loyalty towards James II. On 26 April 1690 any lingering hopes that Galway's Protestant community may have had in their role in society was dashed by a direct order from the Privy Council to the Common Council which stated:

> You are on sight herof to put out of ye Court of Aldermen and Comon Councell such protestants and disaffected men as shall appear to you to be such and this ordrd by ye King in Councell: you are to send me personally their names.[176]

There is no doubt that Protestant supporters of James II were becoming more isolated within the largely Catholic communities such as Galway as the war progressed, and those who had stayed loyal to James II became more anxious about their future. Their position became even more threatening following William's defeat of James II's forces at the Battle of the Boyne in June 1690 and the subsequent capture of Dublin. Protestants who had continued to hold office under the Jacobite regime were accused of collaboration and it was proposed to prosecute some of them for treason. [177]

By the late 1680s, the town council and other civic institutions had been effectively purged of any Protestant participation and the Protestant population 'removed

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[175] R. Gillespie, 'The Irish Protestants and James II, 1688-90', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 110 (November 1992), p. 128.

[176] Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'' *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* Volume 16 (1934-19350, p. 78.

[177] J.G. Simms, 'The War of Two Kings', T. W. Moody *et.al.* (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume III,* p. 499.

to the western suburbs, for the better security of the town'.[178] Once more the corporation and the main public offices of Mayor and Sheriffs were all occupied by members of the Old English Catholic hierarchy. In July 1690, as the Williamite forces consolidated their victories in Ulster and the North East, the relative safety and protection of the town became a magnet for the population scattered in the countryside. On July 18 1690, the Common Council issued the following order designed to stem the flow of refugees and the additional burden they would have on the town's resources:

> Whereas this towne of Gallway is in imminent danger to be besieged and a great many inhabitants and other that live therein have not provisions to subsist themselves and families; and a great many idlers and other sturdy beggars who flock out of the county are not useful or necessary to ye garrison...It is now ordered by unanimous consent that all such inhabitants as have not or not able to buy provisions for themselves and families for three months and all loose and dangerous persons and idle people and sturdy beggars and others not useful...do forthwith withdraw and remove themselves out of this town.[179]

Throughout the following months a number of additional orders were made which could be classified as emergency regulations. They included the regulation of prices to prevent profiteering and the rationing of resources so that there was an equal distribution throughout the town. Shortages had already been noted of raw materials and it was ordered that:

> The great want the inhabitants and soldiers are in for want of shoes, clothes and tallow for candles and that the Governor be pleased to require Mr. Arthur Nagle, Collector to furnish the shoe makers with a reasonable stock of leather. The clothiers with wool and the chandlers with tallow at the King's rates in order to furnish the inhabitants and Garrison.[180]

Salt came in for particular scrutiny and control as it was a vital ingredient in the production of most of the staple products which underpinned Galway's economy. The production of hides, barrelled beef and mutton, butter, and barrelled fish were all dependant on regular supplies of salt from the continent, mostly France. Probably fearful of the war disrupting supplies, the common council ordered an inventory of all stocks within the town, and put in place controls to regulate its sale and distribution.[181]

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[178] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 155.

[179] J. Rabbite, 'Galway Corporation Manuscript 'C'', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 19 (1940-1941) p. 163.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[181] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.

Towards Siege and Surrender

While Galway was preparing for a probable siege, by August 1690 Williams's forces had reached the outskirts of Limerick. Any hope that William may have had of forcing the town into an early capitulation were dashed by the destruction of his heavy artillery and ammunition trains in a daring attack by Patrick Sarsfield, a charismatic military leader who commanded respect amongst both the old English and Gaelic Irish soldiers.[182] Not wanting to continue into the winter months, William lifted the siege of Limerick at the end of August and returned to England giving some relief to the surviving western garrisons at Athlone and Galway. The relief was short lived because soon after William left for England the key ports of Cork and Kinsale fell to the Duke of Marlborough in a well organised attack supported by Dutch and Danish soldiers. By the end of October, 1690, only the western coast of Ireland was open to Jacobite forces.

The fall of the two southern ports effectively severed the main communication links between Ireland and France and left only Limerick, Athlone and Galway as the only remaining fortified towns of any consequence in Jacobite control; and only the ports of Limerick and Galway were open to bringing in fresh supplies and reinforcements. Limerick was strategically better placed than Galway to re-supply the Jacobite army's defensive line which ran along the western shores of the Shannon to Athlone. As they also held all the crossing points along the middle and lower Shannon, they were able to carry out raids against the stretched and thinly defended areas of the Williamite army's winter quarters and retreat back across the Shannon to safety.[183] Re-supplying the army out of Limerick along this defensive line was possible by shipping along the Shannon to Athlone. Galway, on the other hand was 60 miles from Athlone and all supplies had to be carried overland. This would have presented huge problems even in the summer months and in practice was impassable during the winter except for lightly laden garrans or pack horses.

On the other hand the port of Limerick lay 60 miles from the Shannon estuary and had two main disadvantages. The narrow entry into the estuary was relatively easy to blockade and losses to shipping might be expected. Having run the blockade the channel

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[182] Sarsfield's father was Old English and his mother was a daughter of Rory O'More, one of the Gaelic Irish leaders of the 1641 uprising.
[183] J. Childs, *The Williamite Wars In Ireland 1688-1691*, (Continuum Books, London, 2007), p. 281.

down river on the tide was easy enough but ships had to wait for infrequent easterly winds to return. The entrance to Galway from the sea had no such limitations. The open roads into the port of Galway have been described by a number of observers during the course of this narrative and blockading the many entrances into the bay through the Aran Islands had proved nigh impossible without tying up a substantial flotilla of warships. There were several safe havens for shipping on the Clare coast east of Black Head, and ships could leave regularly in fair weather.

The advantages of Galway against those of Limerick had not escaped the Comte de Lauzun, who had arrived in Ireland in March 1690 in command of a mixed force of some 6,600 soldiers comprising Walloons, Dutch, Germans and Swiss together with Irish and English volunteers.[184] After the Battle of the Boyne he had marched his surviving force of 3500 soldiers and eight field guns to Limerick, and following an inspection of the fortifications which were unfinished had declared the town untenable. In a despatch which he would later have cause to regret making he maintained that:

> It is unnecessary for the English to bring cannon against such a place as this. What
> you call ramparts might be battered down with roasted apples.[185]

Apart from the security of the town, he was concerned about the logistical problems of returning to France via the Shannon and the difficulties feeding and quartering his army. In writing to the Marquis de Louvois, the French minister for war he was concerned that apart from the navigational problems, he had calculated that it would take four days for the infantry to reach the embarkations points for the troop ships, during which time the soldiers would be vulnerable to enemy action. Ships coming into Galway Bay could anchor off close to the town and under the protection of its artillery.[186]. The problems of embarking from Limerick had not escaped Sir Cloudisly Shovel, commander of the English fleet who commented at the time:

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[184] Childs, *The Williamite Wars In Ireland 1688-1691*, pp.196-197.

[185] R.H. Murray (ed.), *The Journal of John Stevens, 1689-1691* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1912), p. 101; O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus, p. 65;* Childs, *The Williamite Wars In Ireland 1688-1691*, p. 241.

[186] Comte de Lauzun to the Marquis de Louvois, 10 August 1690; A Mulloy, (ed.), *Franco- Irish Correspondence, December 1688-Febuary 1692, Volume I,* (Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1893), p. 83.

> The reason they left Limerick is that they expected to be beaten out of Ireland, and Galloway was more commodious for their shipping off; for 'twas very troublesome to get from Limerick aboard ships with an army.[187]

A further problem faced by the Comte de Lauzun was the availability of mills around Limerick which could only provide about one third of the bread he needed to feed the soldiers. Although he had distributed a quantity of quoin stones to improve the position he believed, as it turned out incorrectly, that Galway would be better provided to meet these requirements.[188] On 2 August 1690 he left Limerick for Galway. [189]

The French archives record that on arriving at Galway, the military governor refused to admit him or his soldiers for fear of receiving the same treatment as that of Limerick where it was alleged the French soldiers plundered, robbed, and raped with impunity, as well as on the road to Galway.[190] There is no verification of this account in the Galway archives but John Stevens recorded in his diary:

> This day also the French forces departed for Galway to the great satisfaction not only of the inhabitants, but of all the garrison that remained in town.[191]

At this stage in the war the benefit of a strategic alliance between the French and Jacobite forces only existed in the minds of the political and military leaders. For the common French soldier and the lower orders of the civilian population there existed a feeling of mutual hatred and distrust. On commenting on the remnants of the French army at Galway, Southwell wrote:

> They [the French] abhor the country and nation, and the wants they undergo, and there is no love lost. And the people of Galway now force them to encamp without the town, in miserable huts, for their tents were lost at the Boyne. Nor are any of them, except the Colonels, suffered to come within the walls.[192]

It is highly probable that when Lauzun arrived at Galway, the town was already at breaking point as it was now the focus of thousands of soldiers and civilian refuges

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[187] Sir Cloudisly Shovell to the Earl of Nottingham, August 25 1690, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of Allan George Finch.* Volume 2 (HMSO, 1922), pp.429-430.

[188] Comte de Lauzun to the Marquis de Louvois, 10 August 1690; A Mulloy, (ed.), *Franco- Irish Correspondence,* pp. 83-84.

[189] Sir Robert Southwell to the Earl of Nottingham, 4 August 1690, *Finch Manuscripts.* Volume 2, p. 396.

[190] Memoir concerning the Affaires of Ireland, October 1690, *Franco- Irish Correspondence, December 1688-Febuary 1692, Volume 3,* p. 146-147; G. Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, Volume I* (London, 1693), p. 116.

[191] Murray (ed.), *Journal of John Stevens,* p. 163.

[192] Sir Robert Southwell to the Earl of Nottingham, 17 August 1690, *Finch Manuscripts.* Volume 2, pp. 416-417

fleeing in advance of the Williamite forces. Lauzun had been accompanied on the journey to Galway by Tyrconnell, who, on his arrival, had been feted by the corporation as an honoured guest. O'Kelly recalled that;

> It is remarkable that *Coridon* (Tyrconnell) and his friends lived at this rate, when the soldiers of the Army wanted bread, the common sort of people were ready to starve. And indeed the whole nation reduced under the greatest hardships that mortals could suffer.[193]

At the time of Lauzun's arrival the soldiers in the town were living on an allowance of two loaves per week for each man, and those working on the fortifications were given some strips of raw beef to divide between them 'which was only fit for the dogs and the poor people of the town gathered outside the sinks of houses devouring the dirty waste'.[194] As the conditions within the town of Galway deteriorated, a French fleet of fifteen warships, nine frigates, and seven five ships arrived in the Bay to take away the French troops, as well as Tyrconnell, and the Earl of Abercorn; Tyrconnell leaving, the twenty year old Duke of Berwick, on of James II's natural sons in command of the Jacobite army.[195]

At this juncture Tyrconnell was convinced that the war would ultimately end in defeat for the Jacobite forces. His problem was that the tenacious defence of Limerick by the mainly Irish elements led by Sarsfield had, at the very least, postponed any final victory by William III, and may have opened up an opportunity to negotiate better terms and conditions for particularly the Catholic 'New Interest' in which he was a major partner. Any successful pursuit of this strategy would now depend on continuing French aid and assistance to the beleaguered forces so that William III would be more likely to offer generous terms rather than pursue a costly war of attrition.

Parallels between 1691 and 1652 are difficult to avoid. In 1651-1652, both Galway and Limerick were central to Clanricard's strategy of buying time by persuading the two towns to resist the siege tactics of Cromwell's army. In 1691, Although Athlone had yet to be overrun, Limerick and Galway were all that stood in the way of a complete

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[193] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 113.
[194] Murtagh, 'Galway and the Jacobite War', p. 4.
[195] *Franco- Irish Correspondence, December 1688-Febuary 1692, Volume I*, p. xliii: Childs, *The Williamite Wars In Ireland 1688-1691*, p. 259. Sir Robert Southwell to the Earl of Nottingham, 17 August 1690, *Finch Manuscripts*, Volume 2, pp. 416-417.

route of Jacobite forces and Tyrconnell must have had this in mind as he set sail for France to brief James II and Louis.

The difference between 1651 and 1691 was that the strength of will within the town of Galway to oppose the Williamite forces was not anywhere near as resolute as it had been against Cromwell's forces in 1651. At that time, most of the ordinary population lived in fear of the unknown consequences of Protestant domination and, urged on by a powerful clerical presence, were resolved to fight to the bitter end. During the intervening decades, despite the suppression of a religious presence, the town had regained some of its prosperity and the countryside around had reaped the benefits as agricultural produce, particularly livestock, formed the backbone of Galway's share in the growing provisions market. A new generation of the lower orders had grown up within albeit modest circumstances, enjoying some of the benefits of this peaceful era and to many, the complex constitutional and religious issues behind the 'War of Two Kings' meant very little.

Moreover two common threads linked the resistance of 1652 to that of 1691, Both Clanricard's strategy and Tyrconnell's were dependant on the continuing financial and material support of the French, and holding together the often fractious relationships between the Old English and the Gaelic Irish leaders which weakened the Jacobites ability to field a strong and unified fighting force. Against this background and as both the Jacobite and Williamite forces wintered out in preparation for a spring offensive, any strategy which depended on Galway resisting a prolonged siege while Tyrconnel sought better terms from William III became less likely as disillusionment with the Jacobite cause by Old English merchants and landowners grew as many of them stood to lose considerable land holdings if the repeal of the Restoration land settlement was enforced.

The repeal of the Restoration land settlement had been a pre-condition for many dispossessed Catholic landowners in Ireland to support James II, but in Galway by 1689, more than 50% of the land in the county was already owned by the 'New Interest' men many of whom were members of the towns leading Catholic merchant families. Although the repeal had been passed by the 'Patriot Parliament' the act had been rigorously opposed by amongst others, Judge Dennis Daly of Galway who argued that they had a

legitimate right to the land they had bought and that the men from whom King James took estates could not be expected to fight for him.[196]

In 1689, the authorities in Galway had moved to put the town on a war footing and introduced emergency measures to improve the defences and ration supplies, but there were early signs of a lack of will to prepare the town for yet another long and costly siege if a satisfactory settlement could be agreed with the Williamite forces. On 5 October 1689; part of a despatch from General Schomberg to William III indicated that some initial moves may have been underway to explore the possibility of some mutually acceptable terms between the town of Galway and William's forces:

> this evening I received a letter from Colonel Lloyd from Sligo and observe that we ought to do something on the Shannon towards Jamestown, and I am resolved to send there tomorrow evening, Colonel Russell, who knows that country well, with 200 of the Enniskillen dragoons and 200 mounted grenadiers to advance as far as Athlone, and at the same time to see if he can treat with Colonel Macdonnell, who commands Galway since Lloyd believes that he [Macdonnell] will treat with me on fairly easy terms for the surrender of that town; I do not, however, feel sure of it myself.[197]

It is not known if this particular meeting took place but the move would have been consistent with Williams's early attempts to induce the Irish Jacobites to surrender on the basis that that they could keep their estates and continue to enjoy the private exercise of their religion. The last thing he wanted was to engage in a full scale war in Ireland which he saw as a side show that would divert his forces away from the war in the Netherlands against the French.[198] But in 1689 the defeat of James's forces was by no means certain and it was unlikely that even the disaffected Galway merchants and landowners would have risked making any peace overtures at that time.

A year later many supporters of James II would have had good reason to believe that surrender on favourable terms would be better than a bitter war of attrition. By September 1690, James's forces had been routed at the Battle of the Boyne, Dublin Cork and Kinsale had fallen, Limerick was under siege and the French forces under Lauzun had

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[196] W. King, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's government* (London, 1692), p. 54.

[197] 'The Duke of Schomberg to William III', W. J. Hardy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William and Mary. 13th Feb., 1689-April 1690.Preserved in the Public Records Office* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1895), p. 300.

[198] J. G. Simms, 'Williamite Peace Tactics', in *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 8, No. 32, (September 1953), pp.303-304.

abandoned Ireland as a lost cause. The irony of leaving via the port of Galway would not have been lost on the town‚s corporation, which in the main was made up of the Old English hierarchy. Nor would the knowledge of their growing unease have been lost on the Williamite forces especially General who had lately assumed command of the Army. In September 1690, a report from Würtemberg noted:

> A Catholic gentleman was sent to Gallway 14 days ago in great secrecy to sound the most important men whether they would be willing to make terms. He returned yesterday and had sounded almost all the leading officers, all of whom had declared that, if the amnesty were made more explicit to the effect that they should retain their estates and live in peace as in the time of King Charles, they all wished to submit, particularly the governor of Gallway. A courier has therefore been sent secretly to London to report to that effect; a stroke of the pen can therefore end this war. In any case they must be in a very miserable condition.[199]

The 'Catholic' gentleman' may well have been a Catholic barrister John Grady of 'Cobray' in Co. Clare. He had been a member of Tyrconnel's peace party sent out of Limerick to William's camp at Goldenbridge to see what terms could be obtained for the landed Jacobites and had been employed thereafter as an intermediary between the Williamite and Jacobite forces. After the first siege of Limerick ended he was sent to England and following an extensive interview by Hans Willem Bentinck, William's Dutch advisor, returned in October 1690, as part of a more concerted effort by William to reach a negotiated settlement with the Jacobites rather than pursue a ruinous war.[200]

In the meanwhile the 'miserable condition' of the citizens of Galway in the late autumn of 1690, had been exacerbated by a breakdown in military discipline. Despite the best endeavours of the corporation the careful measures taken to preserve stocks of food and raw materials to withstand a long and protracted siege had been negated as warehouses and shops were broken into and looted by the garrison.[201] Stores were requisitioned by the military but O'Kelly observed that these were often diverted for the private use of prominent citizens: 'This plunder was daily committed under pretence of supplying the King's stores, yet the misfortune was, the nephews and nieces, the friends and favourites of *Coridon* [Tyrconnell] got the greater part of the spoil'.[202] The Marquis

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[199] 'Lieutenant- General Würtemberg' to William III; K. Danaher and J. G. Simms, (eds.) *The Danish Force in Ireland, 1690-1691*, (H.M.C, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1962), p. 79.
[200] Simms, 'Williamite Peace Tactics', pp. 309-310.
[201] H. Murtagh in 'Galway and the Jacobite War' in *Irish Sword,* Vol. 12, No 46 (Summer 1975) p. 4.
[202] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 100.

D'Albeville, writing from Limerick, 6 November 1690, attempted to convey to Tyrconnell a sense of the breakdown of military discipline and the effect it was having on the morale of the citizens of Galway and Limerick:

> Many Colonels have theirs, followers and tenants with the cattle they robbed up and down the country, are upheld and maintained by their regiments, soldiers in the cities are become generally sutlers, in imitation of the French, selling brandy, beer, bread, butter, tobacco, beef and mutton, so that the fortifications go on slowly, wanting men to work.....In the cities, the soldiers thrust the citizens out of their beds, with their wives and children, though in hot fevers, all their houses destroyed in an incredible manner, their wainscots and planks pulled up to make fire.[203]

Despite Daleville's concerns, he appeared to have, in the event, little real sympathy for the civilian population, as their support for the war effort became not surprisingly, less than enthusiastic as the winter wore on. He concluded his report to Tyrconnell by adding: 'Many of them, I must confess, deserve it, for never men appeared so refractory of all orders of the government as those of this city and of Galloway'.[204]

Of much greater concern to the Galway merchants was the damage being done to their trade with the Continent and the Plantations of the Caribbean and North America. The few foreign ships which now called at Galway, having run the gauntlet of the tightening naval blockade, ran the risk of having their goods seized, and if compensated at all, paid for in the worthless copper coinage now circulating within the dwindling Jacobite-held areas. Warehouses of goods ready for export were also targeted as O'Kelly observed:

> A Factor who had his goods ready to be brought on board a vessel hired to the purpose, must have the affliction to behold his warehouse broke open, and all the intended freight (which he had acquired with so great pains and expense), snatched from him in a moment, for which he had the value given him in copper which would not yield him the price of a shoe-buckle in any foreign country.[205]

It is little wonder that faced with losing all the gains that they had made from working alongside the post Reformation, Protestant regime, the Galway merchants and landed interests would be more than amenable to surrendering the town on terms which would leave them with much of their acquired wealth and privileges.

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[203] Marquis D'Albyville to The Duke of Tyrconnell, November 6, 1690, *Finch Manuscripts*, Volume 2, p. 478.
[204] *Ibid.*
[205] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 100-101.

In late October 1690, O'Grady returned to Ireland from England with, it appears a brief to secure a more specific commitment from Galway's leaders. On 29 October 1690, Würtemberg informed the King of Denmark:

> The Catholic gentleman whom Lieutenant General had sent to Galway has returned and has produced a power of attorney from the government that King James left behind, consisting of twelve persons of whom nine, along with the governor of Galway, have declared that if aid from France (with which they are being cajoled) does not arrive soon they intend to lay down their arms and evacuate the fortress on condition that they should retain their estates and the exercise of their religion as in King Charles's time. Lieutenant –General has sent him to Dublin to Lord Sydney who has at one sent him …to the King. So we are waiting to here in the near future what decision will be taken. It is certain that without aid from France they cannot hold out for long.[206]

By late October 1690, any attempt to keep the Williamite peace overtures secret would have been most difficult as the divisions widened between the hard-line stance taken by the supporters of Patrick Sarsfield (who had, as a result of his personal contribution to the defence of Limerick, become, *ipso facto,* the leader of those opposed to any deal with William III), and the so called 'Peace Party' led by Tyrconnell. Whilst Tyrconnell was away in France briefing James II on the military position and seeking reassurances of continued support from the French, he had left the young Duke of Berwick, James II's illegitimate son as his deputy and Commander General, in charge of the army. Berwick was assisted by an Army council made up of Daniel O'Brien (Lord Clare), Pierce Butler, (Viscount Galmoy), Scottish Major General Thomas Maxwell, Major General Dominick Sheldon and Patrick Sarsfield. In charge of civilian affairs were the Marquis d'Albeville, Lord Riverston and Sir Patrick Trant, the Chief Commissioner of the Revenue. During Tyrconnell's absence Sarsfield and his supporters initiated moves to undermine the supporters of the 'Peace Party' and a deputation was sent to France to persuade James II to remove Tyrconnell as the Vice-regal. Their main complaints were that Tyrconnell was too old for the job, in poor health and that his lack of military experience had delayed crucial strategic decisions in what had been a swiftly moving military conflict.[207]

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[206] Lieutenant- General Würtemberg to King Christian V. 29 October 1690 *The Danish Force in Ireland, 1690-1691.*

[207] J.S. Clarke, *The Life of James II, Volume II* (London 1816), pp. 422-423.

In addition to attempting to undermine Tyrconnell's position with James II, Sarsfield's group also set about weeding out the supporters of the peace initiative. Sarsfield persuaded Berwick to remove Lord Riverston as the minister for war and to replace Alexander McDonnell as the military governor and Mayor of Galway. Another Galway man, Judge Dennis Daly was arrested on a charge of keeping private correspondence with the enemy and on 10th November he was imprisoned in jail at Galway.[208] The purges may well have extended to include other senior officers in the Jacobite army. In his despatches Würtemberg, briefing Harboe on aborted winter campaign to cross the Shannon observed;

> Intrigues with the Irish are being pushed forward, promising them great things if they come to terms, and this has caused such mistrust among them that seven of their colonels have been placed under arrest; the effect of this must soon appear[209]

The order from the Duke of Berwick to remove McDonnell as Mayor and Governor was received by Galway corporation in mid-October. The corporation's immediate response was to appeal the decision directly to Berwick. At the Common Council meeting held on 23 October 1690 it was ordered that:

> An address be made to the Duke of Berwick and the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioner to show reasons why Colonel MacDonnell should not be removed from being Mayor of Galway.[210]

The Galway corporation books continued to list McDonnell as Mayor until the end of November 1690. On 8 December 1690, by special order of the Jacobite government he was removed from office and Arthur French was elected and sworn in for the remainder of the year. The spirited, albeit failed attempt by the corporation to retain McDonnell as Mayor, is indicative of the general mood of the corporation at that time towards securing a negotiated peace rather than pursuing a course of resistance, which, by the end of 1690, was totally dependant on the French. It was unlikely that MacDonnell did not have the support of other Council officers and other high profile members of

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[208] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 104-106.

[209] Lieutenant- General Würtemberg to Harboe, 7 January 1691, *The Danish Force in Ireland, 1690-1691*, p. 96

[210] Rabitte, 'Galway Corporation Book 'C'', in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 19, pp. 169-170.

Galway's leading citizens. At the same time as the appointment of Arthur French as Mayor, Colonel Henry Dillon was appointed the new military governor.

The isolation of the key members of the 'Peace Party' was short lived. Tyrconnell returned to Ireland landing at Limerick on January 14 1691 having been appointed Lord Lieutenant by James II. Berwick was relieved of his temporary command and sailed for France on 24 January 1691. Tyrconnell had brought back with him an Earldom for Sarsfield (now the Earl of Lucan) in a hoped for attempt by James II to heal the wounds between the two adversaries. But the majority of the senior army officers had little faith in Tyrconnell's military expertise and even Tyrconnell's own supporters were advising him not to get involved in military affairs. As the schism between Tyrconnell and Sarsfield widened, Fumeron the French Commissary thought it was essential to send over to Ireland a French general and some qualified seniors officers 'to prevent things getting worse'.[211] The French general appointed was St. Ruth, an experienced soldier who had fought with Irish regiments in Europe. Fumeron reported to Louvois that the news that St. Ruth was to have sole command of the army 'pleases almost everybody, even those who are for Lord Tyrconnell but know well that he does not understand war'.[212]

In the meanwhile work continued on improving Galway's defences. On 25 January 1691, French engineers arrived at Galway from Brest bringing with them in addition to arms, grain and flour, building materials including iron, steel, rope, harness, tools, back baskets, straps and sacks.[213] On 7 April 1691 Fumeron examined Galway's defences in the company of Tyrconnell and reported back to Louvois that the defences were in fairly good order with a double wall of masonry facing the most likely point of attack (this was presumably the landward side to the east). The rest of the walls he found not to be in good order but they were surrounded by the Galway River and the sea. He also observed that an island (presumably Mutton Island) just seaward of the town might be used by an attacking force and he proposed that it be defended by a half-moon redoubt. He recommended a number of additional improvements to protect the south-eastern approached which included raising a redoubt to a height of about 28 feet and a covered passageway of approximately 40 yards long. The new defences were to be supervised by

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[211] J.G. Simms *Jacobite Ireland 1685-1691* (Routledge London, 1969), p. 195
[212] *Ibid.*
[213] *Franco- Irish Correspondence*, p. xliii.

a French engineer (M. La Combe) who had estimated that between 800 to 900 men could complete the works by 15 June 1691. The refurbishing of Coote's siege line which had been started the previous autumn was abandoned at this time in favour of reinforcing the site of the fort overlooking the town, which had been occupied by English forces for the first four decades of the century until it was demolished in 1643. Fumeron suggests that these new fortifications may have been designed by Noblesse, another French engineer working on the defences at the time. A Jacobite plan (Figure 6.11), drawn at or around this time illustrates these new works and also reveals a major change to the plan of the outer wall close to the south bastion which has been straightened and joined to the north face of the bastion (compare with Figure 5.5).[214]

In the same correspondence Fumeron commented on the natural defences of the Galway. The surrounding hinterland, which he described as the worst in Ireland, consisted of only marshlands and mountains which were so poor that without supplies a besieging army could not expect to last for more than two weeks in the open. The port, on the other hand, had a deep harbour which allowed for ships to enter and exit very easily, and being sheltered, ships could anchor throughout the winter and were safe in all weathers. He was, however, critical of the total lack of facilities for tending to the many sick soldiers in the garrison and also for the lack of wood to make bread (presumably to fire ovens). He concluded his report to Louvois by requesting a sum of 30,000 Francs with which he believed if well managed would provide for both hospitals and food Fumeron's report appears to have been an objective summary of Galway's capability to the expected siege but his somewhat optimistic view was based on the assumption that the defensive works were completed.[215]

Meanwhile on May 9, a French convoy reached Limerick bringing with it St. Ruth and two other experienced officers, lieutenant generals d'Usson and de Tessé. Although Tyrconnell still considered himself to be the commander-in-chief of the army, he had little or no control over the various army factions aligned against him and by the end of May 1691, having no power to even create colonels, submitted to the inevitable, leaving

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[214] P. Walsh, 'Thematic Overviews' in E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998,* p. 330. Evidence of this work was found during the excavations in this area and shows that the wall was refaced at this point.
[215] Fumeron to Louvois, Galway. 7 April 1691, *Franco- Irish Correspondence,* p. 263.
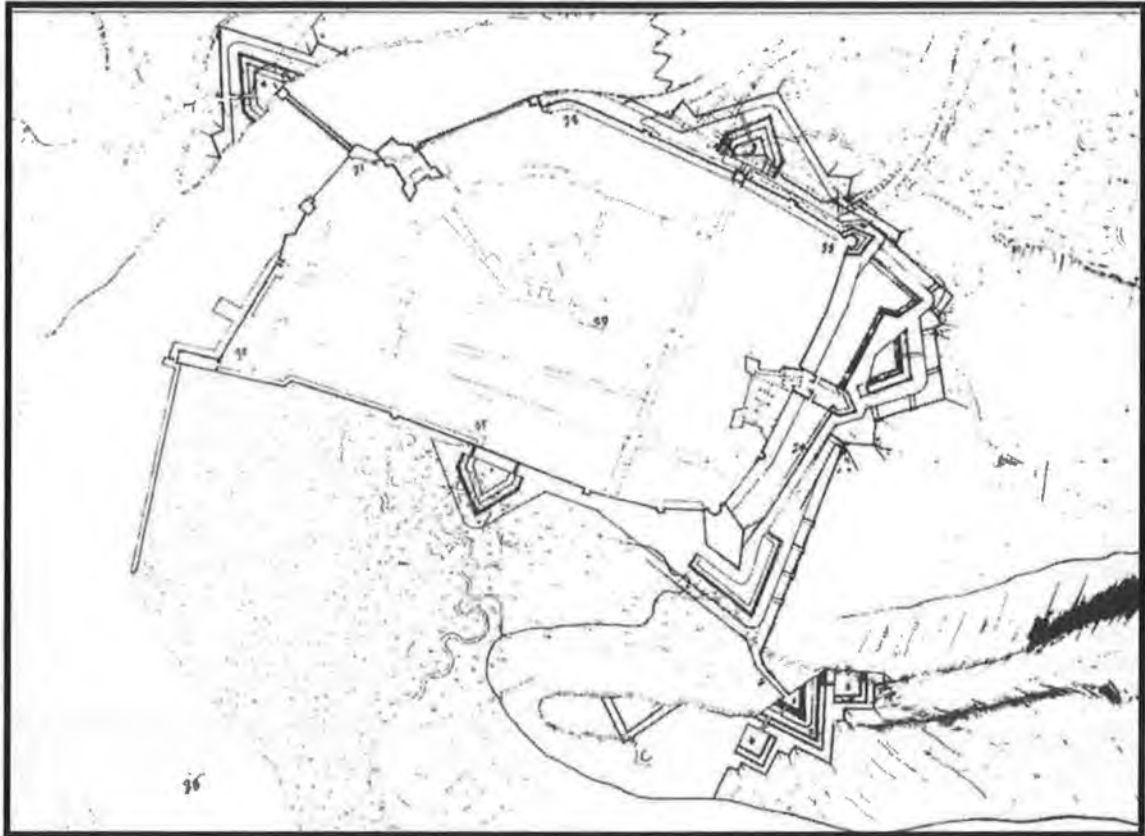
Figure 6.11: Jacobite Plan of the Fortifications at Galway, June 1691.
Source: BL. King's Top. LIII.36.

all military matters to be dealt with by St. Ruth.[216] Sarsfield also had problems with the new leadership, having hoped for a more senior position after his success at Limerick and, not surprisingly, intelligence concerning these divisions were well know within the Williamite army. George Clarke wrote to Nottingham that:

> Since the coming over of Marshal St. Ruth, there have been great divisions amongst them; for he commands here for the King of France, and Sarsfield and Clifford, upon pretence of sickness, as is thought, keep at portumna, and have not as yet been with the army. Those that St. Ruth, brought over with him are to take the places of such as refuse to serve for the King of France, according to the best notices we have from thence.[217]

Despite these difficulties, St. Ruth immediately set about re-organising the army and, according to O'Kelly: 'rested not night and day but galloped between Limerick, Athlone and Lanesborough ordering the country horses and the spare cavalry to be employed about carrying provisions'.[218] His main objective, by mid-June was to prevent the Williamite forces under from taking Athlone and securing a major crossing point over the Shannon. Despite St. Ruth having a numerically superior force to that of , Athlone fell on 30 June after a a ferocious artillery bombardment which breached the walls on the western side of the Shannon, followed up by an assault into the breach by experienced grenadiers who had forded the river to get around the destroyed central arch of the bridge. The ferocity of the artillery bombardment was recorded by John Stevens who was in the front line at the time:

> The enemy in the meanwhile bent thirty pieces of a cannon and all their mortars that way, so that what with the fire and what with the balls and bombs flying so thick that the spot was a mere hell upon earth, for the place was very narrow which made the fire scorch, and so many cannon and mortars incessantly playing on it there seemed to be no likelihood of any man coming off alive.[219]

An estimate of the total amount of ordnance fired on Athlone during the siege amounted to 12,000 Cannon Ball, 600 Bombs, 50 Tons of Powder, and an unknown quantity of stones fired by mortars onto the town.[220]

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[216] Clarke, *The Life of James II, Volume II*, p. 452.

[217] George Clarke to Nottingham, 27 May 1691, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William and Mary. May 1690-October 1691.Preserved in the Public Records Office* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1898), p. 390.

[218] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 117; There is an excellent account of the mustering of Regiments at Athlone in Murray (ed.), *The Journal of John Stevens, 1689-1691*, pp. 198-207.

[219] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[220] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 115.

The loss of Athlone has also been attributed to a breakdown in command and communications between St. Ruth, and d'Usson, who had been in overall command of the defences, and an alleged lack of resolve, by Major General Maxwell, the military governor. The ramparts on the western side of the town were still intact as Ginkel's grenadiers forced the breach into the town. St. Ruth had noted this earlier and had ordered d'Usson to demolish the ramparts to allow reinforcement to be sent in strength should they be needed. d'Usson neglected to carry out these orders and was able to occupy the town and take the western ramparts, thus preventing any chance of St. Ruth using his numerically superior forces to mount a counter attack.[221]

Whatever the reasons for its loss, St. Ruth was forced to withdraw to Ballinasloe on the road to Galway so as to regroup his forces and mount a defensive line to counter the Williamite army's' advance. Unlike the Boyne, the defeat at Athlone had not resulted in a rout of the Jacobite army, and although Ginkel's army was better equipped and numerically stronger, St. Ruth had the advantage of being able to choose the ground upon which to fight a set piece battle. At Aughrim, five mile west of Ballinasloe he found a site which commanded the Athlone-Galway road through which would have to take his forces whether he decided to march on Galway or swing towards Limerick.[222] St. Ruth began his preparations of the ground on 3 July 1691 and was in his chosen positions by 8 July, four days before finally engaged on 12 July, giving him a tactical and strategic advantage which he hope would counter Ginkel's superior strength.[223] A Williamite officer outlined St. Ruth's position:

> The enemy were very advantageously posted, with a large bog and entrenchments made before them, we having but two passages, one on the right, the other on the left. That of our right had the Castle of Aughrim well manned by the enemy with two pieces of canon, trenches lined behind and before it with foot, and several squadrons of horse dragoons...They had taken all imaginable care to level the ditches from before their camp, to march with full battalions of foot and squadrons of horse through any defiles to us and their trenches.[224]

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[221] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus* pp. 121-122.

[222] Childs, *The Williamite Wars In Ireland 1688-1691,* pp. 329-330.

[223] R.H. Murray (ed.), *The Journal of John Stevens, 1689-1691,* pp. 212-213.

[224] Major Robert Tempest to Sir Arthur Rawdon in E. Berwick (ed.) *The Rawdon Papers* (London, 1819), pp.352-353.

St Ruth's choice of ground also suited the Irish regiments in his army whom he knew fought much better from breast works than from open formations.[225]

Although had expressed some concern over the disposition of the Jacobite army, on the morning of July 12 1691 he moved his forces out of Ballinasloe where they had been encamped, moving them into position to engage the Jacobite army. For most of the afternoon the battle ground was fiercely disputed by both sides and a clear victory by either side was far from certain. As Würtemberg observed:

> Our right could not dislodge the enemy from the castle and the bog was very difficult to pass, which was regretted because the enemy could all the more easily bring all his force against our left wing.[226]

Towards evening at around 5 pm launched a major infantry attack across the bog which was repulsed by a combined force of Jacobite cavalry and infantry with heavy losses.[227] At this point Ginkel's forces faced possible defeat. Würtemberg reported that:

> The enemy advanced upon them very fiercely with horse and foot...Colonel Foulck's Regiment lost two flags and two English colonels were taken prisoner. The battalions on the left wing also attempted to make their last effort at this time; the enemy did the same.[228]

managed to save his surviving foot soldiers by directing twelve, 12 pounder guns onto the attacking Jacobite forces thus allowing his infantry to retreat back from the bog and out of the range of musket fire from the castle.

Although was being forced onto the defensive he ordered a cavalry charge to try to take the pass which ran by Aughrim Castle. St. Ruth, on the other hand, sensed victory and having sent orders for his own cavalry to hold the pass at all costs moved his position to direct his own batteries onto the enemy lines. It was this move which was to cost him his life and, as a consequence, brought about a reversal of fortunes which resulted in a devastating defeat for the Jacobite army. George Story recalled the events from the Williamite side at this moment:

> Mons. St. Ruth when he first saw our foot in the centre repulsed, in a great ecstasy, told those next him, *that he would now beat our Army back to the gates of Dublin.* But seeing our horse press over towards the Castle, he ordered a brigade of his own Horse to march up; then riding to one of his Batteries, and giving

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[225] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland* , p. 122.

[226] Würtemberg to Christian V, *Danish Forces in Ireland*, p. 122.

[227] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, pp. 129-130.

[228] Würtemberg to Christian V, *Danish Forces in Ireland*, p. 122.

orders to the Gunner where to fire, he was marching towards the place where he us endeavouring to come over, but was killed with a great shot from one of our Batteries, as he rod down the Hill of Killmoden.[229]

St. Ruth was decapitated and his death left the Jacobite army without any co-ordinating leadership. The cavalry retreated in the face of Ginkel's counter-attack leaving the infantry to face a combined cavalry and infantry assault. What followed was carnage as recalled by O'Kelly:

> The Foot, who were engaged with the enemy, and knowing nothing of the Generals death or the retreat of their cavalry, continued fighting till they were surrounded with the whole *Cilician* [English] so that most of them were cut off and no quarter given.[230]

Estimates of Jacobite losses vary. Würtemberg puts the figure at 7,000 dead although estimates vary considerably between Jacobite and Williamite accounts.[231] Würtemberg ended his report by adding: 'If night had not fallen the carnage would have destroyed all their infantry. We are going to attack Galway'.[232] His last remark would have echoed Ginkel's thoughts. The decisive defeat of the Jacobite army at Aughrim marked the end of any real hope of victory over William's forces and in particular left the way open for Ginkel to now focus his entire resources on securing the last two remaining Jacobite strongholds - first that of Galway and then Limerick.[233]

Hardiman recalls that the noise of the cannon fire from the battleground at Aughrim was heard at the gates of Galway and though the town made ready to resist the inevitable arrival of Ginkel's forces: 'many were so panic-struck that they would have compromised for their safety by immediately surrendering, almost on any terms'.[234] Hardiman may well have expressed the fears of the lower orders within the town but there is every reason to suspect that amongst the leading members of the corporation and the hierarchy, the main objective of any resistance to Ginkel's forces was to secure the best possible terms before surrendering the town. Nor did it suit Ginkel's strategy to engage in a long drawn out siege similar to that of 1651-52. This would have taken the conflict into

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[229] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 133.

[230] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 132.

[231] J.T. Gilbert, *A Jacobite Narrative of the War In Ireland, 1688-1691* (Irish University Press, Shannon, 1971), pp. 147-148; Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 138.

[232] Würtemberg to Christian V, *Danish Forces in Ireland*, p. 123.

[233] For a detailed account of the Battle see; J. Jordan, 'The Battle of Aughrim: two Danish Sources' in, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 26, Nos. 1&2, (1954-19550, pp. 1-13.

[234] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 156.

the winter and on into 1692, and possibly delaying any attempt at taking Limerick. William wanted to finish the war in Ireland as quickly as possible so that his forces could be sent to the continent where he and his allies were facing severe pressure from Louis XIV.

had good reason to believe that he could avoid a protracted siege by approaching the town with a sword in one hand and generous terms of surrender in the other. He had been encouraged in this belief by the activities of the members of the Peace Party in late 1690 which had led to the arrest by Berwick of Judge Daly and the removal of Alexander Mac Donnell as governor of the town. For several months past he had been receiving peace overtures, instigated by Daly which, whilst implying that an accommodation could be reached, also assured him that the town was well capable of resisting a military assault. It also implied that the Garrison was manned by 5,000 well armed men, was amply stocked with stores and that the defences, which had been recently improved, were well nigh impregnable.[235] Although he was not at all convinced of the truth of this statement, he had been considering delaying his move to Galway until he had brought up his heavy cannon from Athlone. In the meanwhile he had moved his camp to Athenry some 17 miles east of Galway.

As well as assembling the military strength to successfully overrun the garrison at Galway, Ginkel had earlier entered into a form of psychological warfare by publishing a proclamation offering generous terms of surrender to the remaining Jacobite army in the field. The terms, issued on 7 July 1691, after the fall of Athlone, had been agreed by the Lords Justices earlier and left to to decide on the appropriate moment to use them. Rather than being a blanket offer, the terms drew a distinction between private soldiers and officers. Privates would be pardoned if they surrendered within three weeks, and payment would be made for their horses' arms and equipment. Officers would only qualify if, as well as surrendering themselves, delivered any towns, forts or garrisons in their charge or a substantial part of any regiment they commanded. extended these terms to include the leaders of the civilian populations of Galway and Limerick if they could prove they were instrumental in bringing about the surrender of their town.[236] These proposals, although

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[235] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 159.
[236] Simms, 'Williamite Peace Tactics', pp. 314-315.

agreed in principal by the Lords Justices, were by no means acceptable to the majority of Protestants, particularly those who believed that the terms could seriously impair the forfeitures they might expect following the cessation of hostilities. Ginkel's pragmatic response was that if necessary the Irish should be given a free pardon if it meant ending the war, since: 'one month of war cost more than all the forfeitures were worth'.[237]

In early July 1691, he even considered that a naval blockade would be enough to secure the surrender of Galway since although the West bank of the Shannon had not yet been breached, and Athlone and Limerick still held firm, for the defenders in Galway, the sea road into the bay was the only realistic route for reinforcements and supplies from France. On July 6, writing to in a letter to Coningsby, he observed:

> Vexed that the fleet is not yet at Kinsale. If it had now appeared before Galway and the townsmen had so little inclination to give up the town, they would have done so as the garrison is very small and all the enemy's army is near the spot; and more especially if the Admiral had power to treat with them.[238]

On 8 July 1691 his hope of a successful naval blockade of Galway were bolstered when he received a copy of a directive to Admiral Russell from the Lords Justices which gave Russell sweeping powers to negotiate with Galway's military and civil leaders.

> We have this day ordered him [Russell] to sail to Galway and we have sent him power to treat with the governor or the people in the garrison with such advantageous terms as if they have any inclinations to save their lives and estates, will invite then to submit.[239]

There is no doubt that at this crucial stage in the Williamite advance, every effort was being made to end the war as quickly as possible and the early capitulation of Galway to a naval force, would not only have cut off a vital supply route for the Jacobites but also allow to focus all his reserves on the capture of Limerick. The Earl of Nottingham accordingly wrote to Admiral Russell on 10 July 1691, reinforcing the urgency of the task: 'The speedy taking of Galway [he noted], is of vast importance to their Majesties

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[237] to Coningsby [One of the Dublin Lords Justices], 24 July 1691 *H.M.C, Fourth Report*, p. 322.
[238] *Ibid.,* p. 321.
[239] Lords Justices to , 6 July 1691, *Ibid;* Sir George Clarke Correspondence, 1690-1694, Trinity_College, Dublin, (hereafter TCD), MSS, 749, Volume viii, f. 831; Lords Justices to Admiral Russell, 8 July 1691, *Finch MSS,* Volume 3, p. 148.

service and therefore must be promoted by all means that will consist with the safety of the fleet'.[240]

Despite the urgency of the orders, Russell was unable to comply with them due to bad weather and the fleet did not arrive at Galway until after the capitulation In the meanwhile Ginkel was left with no alternative but to pursue his land assault on the town.

On 18 July 1691, on returning to Athenry from a reconnoitre of Galway Ginkel met with a party of Protestants led by a Mr. Shaw who had escaped out of Galway possibly with the assistance of Arthur French, the Mayor.[241] They provided him with up-to-date intelligence on the military position in Galway and, more importantly, the conflicts of interest between the defenders. They informed him that the garrison was manned with only seven regiments of inadequately armed soldiers, poorly provisioned, and that the work on the new defences on Fort hill were not fully finished. Any realistic defence of the town would have to rely on the support of the townsmen, who they said had apparently hidden their weapons and were unlikely to resist any siege. A great deal of hope was also being placed on the arrival of Balldearg O'Donnell and his force of Ulstermen who were attempting to relieve the town by advancing through Connaught 'without whom they were not in condition to make resistance'.[242] A similar account to Story's concerning the situation in Galway at the time was contained in a report to Ginkel from a Captain Morgan, who had met up with a party of Protestant whilst on patrol on the Clare side of Galway Bay. He reported that they had escaped from Galway yesterday [19 July 1691]:

> They say that the Mayor and some of the townsmen are imprisoned for endeavouring to surrender the town to us. They further say that they are afraid the French Faction is strong there, though they say we have a good faction there. The Garrison is mot more than 1,000 strong but they are expecting the O'Donnell brigade.[243]

D'Usson, in the meanwhile had attempted to rally his defences. On 19 July 1691, in what was now a familiar occurrence for Galway residents living outside the town, he gave orders to burn down the eastern suburbs of the town to deny Ginkel shelter. This

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[240] Nottingham to Admiral Russell, 10 July 1691, *Finch MSS,* Volume 3, p. 150.

[241] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland,* p. 151; O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus,* pp. 137-138; This was Robert Shaw the Town Clerk.

[242] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland,* p. 151.

[243] *Clarke Correspondence,* Volume 9, f. 908.

action was apparently executed with some gusto by the soldiers because most of the houses that were destroyed had formerly belonged to New English residents.[244] at this point pressed home his advantage and having approached as near as he could without coming under artillery fire, sent a trumpet to the town offering them the benefit of the Lords Justices declaration outlined above if they would surrender without any further trouble. The initial response from Dillon, the military governor of the town was to send a reply back to Ginkel to the effect that 'Monsieur d'Usson who was the Commander in Chief was of the same opinion with himself and the rest of the officers, and that they were resolved to defend the place to the last'.[245]

moved very swiftly to make best use of this intelligence and on the night of 19 July 1691 he launched a crossing of the Galway River some two miles upstream from the town. The force, under the command of Major General Mackay consisted of one Dutch and one Danish regiment of foot and four squadrons of horse and four squadrons of dragoons. They met a token resistance of a party of dragoons who, having fired at them veered off, leaving the force to secure the west bank and effectively ending any hope of O'Donnell relieving the town.[246] Early the following morning, 20 July 1691, he launched an attack on the still incomplete defence works on Fort Hill. The attacking force, which consisted of 200 grenadiers and 800 fusiliers, managed to surprise the garrison of some 500 men by reaching the foot of the outworks before being discovered. Despite some resistance the grenadiers managed to throw in their grenades and the Jacobite forces retreated via the covered way back into the fort.[247]

d'Usson, was at this point coming under considerable pressure to surrender both from the corporation and other prominent members of the Galway community from within the town or ensconced in their extensive landholdings in Connaught. In reality he was faced with an impossible task. Unlike the mainly Old English residents of Galway, he had no vested interests to protect. His objectives in prolonging the defence of Galway were to continue to tie up the Williamite forces in Ireland and thus maintain the pressure

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[244] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 164.

[245] *Ibid.*, p. 162

[246] Würtemberg to Christian V, *Danish Forces in Ireland*, pp. 125-126; Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland,*, pp. 162-163; O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 136.

[247] Würtemberg to Christian V, *Danish Forces in Ireland*, pp. 125-126; Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, pp. 162-163.

on their forces facing Louis XIV in Europe. He had written to Tyrconnell saying that he needed 1,500 more men to hold Galway and was told they could not be spared. Similar letters to Sarsfield had not even been opened and in writing to Louvois he complained that: 'Sarsfield does not hold me in high regard'.[248] In a somewhat desperate attempt to uphold his authority he had argued in favour of continuing the resistance, stating that a relief force was expected to arrive over the bay from the Clare coast. He ordered the arrest of the Mayor, Arthur French, for despatching the town clerk with a message for , but, it was illustrative of the total collapse of his authority that, despite being under guard, French was later released without d'Usson's knowledge.[249]

Following a council of war which Dillon held without consulting d'Usson it was decided that further resistance was pointless. d'Usson was informed of the decision to capitulate on the grounds that the walls were too weak and could be breached within twenty-four hours, the troops had no spirit, there was a shortage of gunners and hardly any ammunition, and there was no will amongst the townspeople to resist. d'Usson, though he had no choice reluctantly conceded and at about 10 am on 20 July 1691, Dillon sent a messenger to Ginkel requesting safe conduct for some representatives to meet with him to discuss the terms of capitulation. Ginkel agreed and a cease-fire was declared. The relief of the townspeople was graphically described by Story who observed:

> Those in the town crowded in great numbers upon the walls, and our soldiers
> going to the outside of the Irish works, enquiring each for their friends and
> acquaintances in one another's Army.[250]

O' Kelly supports the view that the townspeople were more than relived that their leaders had sought terms rather than expose them to further hardship and deprivation.[251] For the lower orders the cessation of hostilities would at best, allow for a return to more stable day to day living conditions and, for the predominantly Catholic community, a return to practising their religion in, at the very least the conditions that existed towards the end of the reign of Charles II. For the military personnel and the civilian hierarchy, the cessation

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[248] P. Wauchope, *Patrick Sarsfield and the Williamite War* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1992), p. 238: R. Doherty, *The Williamite War in Ireland, 1699-1691* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1998), p.184.
[249] Würtemberg to Christian V, *Danish Forces in Ireland* p. 125; P. Wauchope, *Patrick Sarsfield and the Williamite War*, p. 228
[250] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 164.
[251] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 138-139.

of hostilities was a prelude to some hard bargaining to draw out the best possible terms for themselves. Although militarily, the position of the Jacobite defenders was untenable, there was a general understanding that William III wanted an early end to the conflict and that had been given considerable scope by the Lords Justices to secure an early end to the conflict.

Capitulation

In the early afternoon of 20 July 1691, hostages were exchanged between the town and Ginkel's camp to enable the negotiations to begin. On the Williamite side were Lieutenant Colonels Purcell, Coote and the Marquis de Reheda and from the town garrison, Lieutenant Colonels Lynch Burke and Reilly.[252] Amongst the negotiators were Judge Denis Daly, who had been an advocate of the Peace movement almost from the beginning of the war and Richard Martin who had availed of the peace terms offered by on 7 July 1691 and brought over a considerable number of his Troop of Horse. In a certificate granting him a free pardon in 1695, Colonel Richard Coote stated that 'he saw him constantly in the general's tent in the camp before Galway during the time the articles were making, and is satisfied that he was instrumental therein'.[253] Judge Daly had been given a passport to visit Ginkel on 15 July 1691 and evidently brought with him invaluable information about the state of affairs within the town. On the eve of Galway's capitulation, Ginkel wrote to Coningsby that 'Judge Daly has done good services. He has told G of all the intrigues'.[254]

The negotiating party from the town had to refer back to the principals within the town several times. The main sticking point was that had initially wanted to include only the military and civilian personnel within the town at the time of the cessation of hostilities but many of the most influential and wealthiest members of the community who had not been present insisted on being included. In particular the case was pressed for Clanricard's brother, Lord Bophin. He had been captured at the Battle of Aughrim, but

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[252] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 164.

[253] W.H. Hardy, (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William and Mary. 13th Feb., 1694-April 1695 .Preserved in the Public Records Office.* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1906), p. 506-507.

[254] to Coningsby, 21 July 1691, (Historic Manuscript Commission, Fourth Report, 1874), p.322.

his regiment formed part of Galway's garrison.[255] As the negotiations proceeded Ginkel became more impatient and following an overnight recess the following morning, 21 July 1691, he ordered that eight guns and four mortars be trained on the town in a bid to hasten the deliberations. A short time later the town's negotiators signalled that they were ready and the Articles of Capitulation were duly signed.[256]

The articles, which came into effect on 26 July 1691, allowed Ginkel's forces to enter and occupy the town, take over all the military installations including all stores of provisions and ammunition. The French contingent under d'Usson, and all other foreign forces were given safe conduct to go to Limerick with their arms, bags and baggage and Ginkel personally equipped d'Usson with horses and carriages for his own equipment. The remainder of the garrison were given the choice of 'going home to enjoy the benefit of this capitulation or to march to Limerick with their arms, six cannon, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted and bullet in mouth and as much ammunition and provisions as each officer and soldier can carry'.[257]

As far as the civilian population were concerned Articles, Eight and Nine were the most important. Article eight stated:

> That the Governor, Constable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Alderman, Burgesses, Freemen and Natives of Galway and the inhabitants thereof, or the reputed ones by any former corporation of King James II, granted before his abdication, or any of his ancestors, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, felonies premunires, and all manner of offences committed since the beginning of the said James reign to the date thereof.[258]

And Article Nine:

> That all and every of the Garrison, Officers, Governor, Constable, Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Burgesses, Freemen and Inhabitants aforesaid shall enjoy and possess their estates real and personal, and all other liberties and immunities as they held under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherwise by the laws of this Kingdom, freely discharged from all Crown rents, quit rents and all other charges to the date hereof.[259]

In addition the clergy and laity were to be allowed to privately practise their religion and the Catholic lawyers of the town the freedom to practice their religion as they had in the

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[255] Simms, 'Williamite Peace Tactics', p. 316.

[256] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, pp. 164-165.

[257] *Ibid.*, p. 167; Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. liv,

[258] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. liv, Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 167.

[259] *Ibid.*

reign of Charles II. Officers whose regiments were in the garrison while they may have been absent were also to have the benefit of the articles provided they submitted to the governor of Galway within three weeks. Or, alternately they were allowed safe conduct to Limerick.

The general impression from the English side was that Ginkel had been far too generous in granting the above terms. There is no doubt that in his anxiety to move on to Limerick before the winter season set in he had gone a long way to meeting most of the Jacobite negotiators key demands. His correspondence with William III shortly after the event indicated that he recognised the apparent generosity of the terms but at the same time hoped that the circumstances under which he found himself be taken into account. On 22 July 1691 he wrote:

> I arrived three days ago, at this town, and attacked it. The enemy, finding themselves surrounded, beat the chamade. With the approval of the Duke of Würtemberg and the other generals, I granted them a parley, the terms of which I have sent to Lord Portland, and hope, considering all circumstances, you will approve them.[260]

And in a further letter on 8 August 1691 he referred to the Kings letter to him stating that he was glad that his conduct at the siege of Athlone had met with his approval and hoped that the reduction of Galway, which he thought right to undertake, 'will also be pleasing to his Majesty'.[261]

Ginkel had never been given a clear cut decision by the Lords Justices as to just how far he could go to secure a peace settlement and the terms which he had been given by the Lords Justices were intended to be no more than a tentative feeler to gauge the strength of the peace movement within the Jacobite camp. Ginkel had been given the authority to negotiate peace terms as far back as February 1691, but the Lords Justices had left it to him to judge the most appropriate moment to make any peace overtures. Although there was general acceptance within the Williamite camp that an end to hostilities by a negotiated treaty was strategically and economically the most prudent way forward, there never had been a consensus within the various strands of the Williamite camp as to just how far Ginkel could go to secure such a peace. An understanding of the overall strategy of the Lords Justices can be read into Coningsby's correspondence to

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[260] Ginkle to William III, 21 July 1691, *Cal. SP Domestic, 1690-1691*, p. 455.
[261] Ginkle to William III, 8 August 1691, *Ibid.*, p. 475.

Nottingham in February 1691. This makes it clear that whatever terms Ginkel might initially offer to the Jacobite forces to induce them to enter into a treaty would not be binding unless given a final blessing by William:

> You know how little inclinable I am to show any favour to the Irish, more than what is absolutely necessary for our own sakes, but I protest I see, every day, so many difficulties and uncertainties in our management, that I cannot help wishing the war was ended upon any terms. Were we all of a mind, there would be no need of this; but when I see the falseness and backwardness of a great many people from whom other things may be expected, it makes one tremble. These were the inducements to the General to publish the declaration... We did not by any means think it prudent to put out a general amnesty in the name of the Government till we had tried their temper by this paper, which gives them all the hopes imaginable, and yet does not engage the King in anything. If there be any amongst them this way inclined, they will take this occasion to show it, and if the number appear to be considerable enough to answer the ends expected from them, finishing the war, I mean, you may then, if the King pleases, give them a general pardon by way of declaration, or otherwise conclude it by way of treaty, which is certainly the better way. [262]

In the short term the end of end of the hostilities in Galway allowed Ginkel to focus on the last remaining Jacobite stronghold of Limerick and saved Galway from the ruinous consequences of late seventeenth century siege warfare.

Not surprisingly criticism was levied from both the Williamite and Jacobite sides on the signatories to the Treaty. Ginkel's over generosity has been noted, but on the Jacobite side the signatories led by the Governor Henry Dillon, and the Earls, Clanricard and Enniskillen also came in for some criticism for failing to prolong the siege so that Tyrconnell had time to strengthen the defences at Limerick while awaiting the promised reinforcements of French soldiers and munitions. Jacobite opinions on this matter however were divided by contemporary reports. The unknown writer of the *Jacobite Narrative* reported:

> The Duke of Tyrconnell had great expectations that Galway would make a long resistance, which would be to his advantage; for thereby he hoped that the campaign would be so far spent that the besieging of Limerick could not be undertaken that season. But the town being so speedily lost gave him a deep wound of sorrow.[263]

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[262] Coningsby to Nottingham 17 February 1691, *Cal. SP Domestic, William and Mary, 1690-1691*, p. 265.
[263] Gilbert, *A Jacobite Narrative of the War In Ireland, 1688-1691*, p. 152.

Whereas O'Kelly offers a different view in which he claims that d'Usson, although willing to carry on the fight believed that the capitulation had the support of the majority of the population who:

> Did not much dislike the townsmen's inclination to treat with Ororis [], and it is likely that those who were for a treaty and submission to Theodore [William III], were the more encouraged to propose it, because they knew very well that their acting after that manner would be countenanced by Coridon [Tyrconnell], and, perhaps, no way displeasing to Amasis [James II] himself; and it seems they had some ground to think so, for Amasis [James II] wrote afterwards to Dusones [d'Usson], giving him thanks for his moderation at Paphos [Galway], and his early surrender of the place, before the garrison or inhabitants 'should be reduced to any hardships.[264]

James II's memoirs, as recorded by Clarke offer an alternative view of the surrender of Galway which, in most respects is in accord with that of the *Jacobite Narrative*. Bearing in mind that the landed interests in and around Galway had, according to the terms of the treaty, held onto all of their post Restoration holdings, James II observed:

> It was not to be expected that after this defeat [the Battle of Aughrim], Galway could make any great resistance, however it might have retarded the enemies progress some days, and given time to perfect the fortifications of Limerick; which with the help of the rainy season...would have saved it that campaign, but my Lord Clanricard and others considering nothing but their own security, made such hast to surrender it, that they could not wait the coming up of the enemies cannon.[265]

At 10 am 26 July 1691, as agreed by both parties, the garrison marched out of Galway to be replaced by the Williamite forces of Ginkel. Although some of the garrison took up the offer to change sides, and others, under the terms of the Treaty went home, the majority of the soldiers followed d'Usson and Dillon to join Tyrconnell at Limerick[266] Story estimated that the garrison mustered: 'not more than 2,300 men, indifferently armed and worse clothed'. Moreover on arrival at Limerick on 11 August 1691, Fumeron reported that the force consisted of 308 officers and 3,073 soldiers of whom only 1,134 were bearing arms.[267] At 12 noon, General Ginkel marched into Galway, having been met at the East gate by the Mayor and Aldermen with the Recorder delivering a congratulatory speech to honour the occasion.[268]

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[264] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 138-139.

[265] Clarke, *The Life of James the Second*, Volume II, p. 459.

[266] O'Kelly, *The Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 140.

[267] Story, *A True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 173.

[268] *Ibid.*:Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 162.

The evidence surrounding the capitulation of Galway to the Williamite forces, culminating in a civic reception for the victors, points more to a pre-planned takeover of the town rather than a desperate last minute measure taken at the point of Ginkel's artillery. The intrigues and interventions by prominent members of the Galway hierarchy much earlier in the campaign had certainly led Ginkel to believe that he would only meet with a token resistance before terms were agreed. When William Robertson, the Deputy Paymaster of the Army took an inventory of the stores left behind by the Jacobite garrison he recorded several un-mounted guns of which two or three were made of very fine brass. There was also a good store of ammunition left behind as well as 800 hogsheads of meal, sixty barrels of salt and other articles of value.[269] Fumeron's probably accurate report on the state of the Galway garrison hardly reflects on any real effort by the Jacobite forces to defend the town. d'Usson's plea for reinforcements to Tyrconnell and Sarsfield had been turned down, not because there were no reserves to spare; most of the remaining Jacobite front line forces were stationed in and around Limerick. Sarsfield's apparent refusal to even open d'Usson's letters points more to a belief that Galway was already a lost cause; without the support of the townspeople, the additional resources would not have materially affected the outcome of a determined assault by Ginkel.

The decision not to re-enforce Galway may not have been based entirely on a tactical decision to concentrate all available resources on the defence of Limerick. James II had observed that a more rigorous defence of Galway might have bought enough time to delay the assault on Limerick until the spring of 1692. With the new defences completed and the arrival of additional manpower and resources from France, a considerable number of William III's forces would have been tied down in Ireland. This would have seriously impaired Williams's ability to contain the French forces on the continent and added significantly to what was already a financially ruinous war.

In July 1691, Ginkel was in no position to mount an offensive against a determined defence at Galway. His siege guns would have to be hauled up from Athlone together with huge supplies of powder and shot. It might have taken at least ten days to

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[269] *Ibid.*

breach the main walls and that would only have gained him entry into the town.[270] The writer of the *Jacobite Narrative* noted the inner defences:

> It [Galway] is pretty strong by situation, but might have been a noble fortress with an indifferent expense, which had been neglected during the war, as other works of moment were. The houses are built like castles for strength, so that a smart resistance may be given to the enemy even after entering the town.[271]

Taking and occupying Galway, through heavily defended narrow streets could only have been done at an alarming attrition rate to Ginkel's forces and would have almost certainly have taken the war into the next year. Ginkel, as a seasoned veteran of the European conflict, must have been aware of this possibility and the ultimate ease at which he had achieved his objectives at Galway were almost certainly reflected in the subsequent settlement of the siege of Limerick.

Simms suggests that the outcome of the siege of Limerick was a psychological rather than a military victory for Ginkel. Like Galway, the walls were not breached, other than the island of English town in the middle of the Shannon. Although there were references to food shortages, contemporary writers on both sides agreed that provisions could have lasted for a considerable time.[272] In short Limerick was not reduced to a condition of unconditional surrender and neither was Galway. Other than the significant additional strength of the Limerick garrison to that of Galway, the parallels between the two outcomes are difficult to ignore. The more than generous settlement obtained by Galway defenders could not have failed to influence Tyrconnell and Sarsfield in Limerick; and the decision not to re-enforce the Galway garrison may well have placed the town in the position of being a stalking horse to tease out the extent to which Ginkel might go if Limerick were to lay down its arms in similar circumstances.

The capitulation of Galway has never ranked amongst the iconic events of the Williamite victories in Ireland. The battles of the Boyne and Aughrim and the second Siege of Limerick, may have remained enduring milestones towards defining the terminal date for the beginnings of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland but for the surviving Catholic Old English landed interests, descendants of the once all powerful 'Tribes', of

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[270] P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest* (Pearson Education, Harlow, 2008), p. 187; Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, p. 234.

[271] Gilbert, *A Jacobite Narrative of the War In Ireland, 1688-1691*, p. 151.

[272] J.G. Simms, 'The Surrender of Limerick, 1691', in *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 2 (1954-1956), p. 23.

Galway, it offered an opportunity for them to emerge from the conflict relatively unscathed by the three years of war. The fatal flaw in their negotiated settlement was that although the military articles were fairly clear cut, the civilian terms were not only badly drafted but were conditional, not just on the assent of their Majesties William and Mary, but on the agreement of the Irish Parliament in which their Majesties had merely given an assurance that 'they shall give their assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament for that purpose'.[273] Leaving the settlement to be finally agreed by a Parliament which, though obliged to keep faith with their Majesties, were intent on exploiting any legal loopholes to avoid its implementation was a formula for disaster; and may have set off some alarm bells amongst the legally trained scions of the Old English, particularly in Galway. For some of the hard-line Protestant's even legal loopholes were irrelevant. On the Sunday after the Treaty of Limerick was signed (of which Galway's version was inextricably linked), the Lords Justices went to Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin to hear a sermon from Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath. Referring to the Catholic community in general Dopping maintained that 'with such faithless people no faith need be kept'.[274] Although William III had him removed from the Privy Council, in the end it was not the Kings spirit but Dopping's which prevailed and within nine months Dopping was restored to the Privy Council.[275] If that declaration was not enough to excite the suspicions of Galway's Catholic community, the capitulation of Galway was celebrated by the striking of a medal to celebrate the event (Figure 6.12). The inscription below, translated from the Latin, grossly exaggerates the extent of the military action but at the same time conveys a sense of Protestant triumphalism in the message.[276]

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[273] Clause XVI, 'Articles of Galway exemplified and confirmed by their Majesties King William and Queen Mary', in Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. liv.

[274] Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, p. 310; *Cal. SP Domestic, William and Mary, 1690-1691*, p. 28; The Earl of Nottingham to the Lord Lieutenant, 1 September 1692, *Cal. SP Domestic, William and Mary, 1690-1691*, p. 430.

[275] Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, p. 310.

[276] On the top of the reverse are the arms of Galway fixed against two palm branches placed on a satire between a cap and a bible, the emblem of liberty and religion. The bottom is ornamented with two laurel branches twined together, and the inscription reads 'Galloway, the last refuge but one of the rebels and the French is, after much slaughter, surrendered, with all its magazines and ships, to the great William III, the restorer of religion and liberty', Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 163.

Figure 6.12: Commemorative Medal. Surrender of Galway, 21 July 1691.
Source: J. Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 163.

The Emergence of a Protestant Hegemony

Following the capitulation of Galway and the re-establishment of an English Protestant military government, the complex alliances between the various interest groups within the town changed. During the three years of warfare the general population of Galway had been broadly divided in four groups. The first of these was the beleaguered Protestant community who had weathered out the conflict in the hope of a eventual Williamite victory; then the protagonists of the so called 'Peace Movement' led by the mostly Old English members of the Council. Thirdly the mainly Gaelic Irish supporters of James II who, having few material possessions to bargain with, had little to lose in continuing the fight as long there was a reasonable chance that French aid would turn the tide of Ginkel's advance; and lastly the French civilian and military community who had been sent to Galway to bolster the lack lustre defensive capability of the garrison. Following the end of hostilities the French were permitted to leave the town under the terms of the Treaty as were as many of the military and civilian population who chose to take the guaranteed safe passage to Limerick. The remaining population returned to the religiously defined demographic profile of pre-war Galway; the English Protestant community and the Gaelic Irish and Old English Catholics; although by the last decade of the seventeenth century, this latter distinction had, for all practical purposes, blurred to the point that, to most observers they were identified as 'The Irish'.[277]

Almost within a week of the treaty being signed, trouble erupted between the Catholic and Protestant communities over the election of a new Mayor. Those Catholics who had been eligible to vote prior to the Capitulation and had held office since the renewal of the towns charter in 1688, insisted under the terms of the articles that they had a right to vote, whereas the Protestant community claimed otherwise. Bellasyse, no doubt seeking to avoid confrontation between the two sides, arranged a compromise which involved the two electorates holding separate elections and which resulted in Bellasyse being elected as Mayor by both sides. This was clearly a matter of political pragmatism on the part of both the Protestant and Catholic civilian electorate. As Bellasyse explained in his reports to Ginkel:

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[277] Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest*, p. 196.

> Last Saturday being the day of choosing a mayor for this place, the papists pretended by the capitulation a right of election and the Protestants refused to admit them. [Presumably to the Thosel]. So proceeded to an election apart and both of them chose me. The problem was that if a Papist mayor was elected the Protestants would not obey them and vice-versa.[278]

On being elected he immediately appointed as his deputy, a Protestant, Thomas Revett, who had been Deputy Mayor and Mayor of the Staple in 1685 just prior to the re-emergence of a Catholic majority on the Council in 1686.[279] Civilian unrest continued after the election, exacerbated by the fact that Bellasyse was by no means even handed in his dealings with the unrest and his evident extremism contributed to the problem and in a report to Ginkel for example he had written that: 'he kept a watchful eye on the Papists'.[280]

Under the terms of the agreement many of the Catholic gentry in the town were permitted to carry arms and the ongoing tensions between the mainly Catholic population and the military reached a point where Bellasyse, the governor applied for an order to hold courts-martial for inflicting summary punishment on anyone disturbing the peace.[281] A more impartial report on the unrest at Galway came from a Colonel Toby Purcell who was in the town during the first few days of its occupation by the Williamite garrison. Writing to Ginkel on 2 August 1691 he placed most of the blame for the unrest squarely on Bellasyse's shoulders for allowing what few scarce supplies were available in the town to be effectively requisitioned by force for himself and his garrison. As a result local suppliers had effectively boycotted the town. In his report Purcell stated:

> Not a drop of beer to be had for the town (except what is intended for the governor's use). Nor will the people open their shops nor bring in provisions till they have something of a proclamation in encouraging them too, and prohibiting the soldiers from within and without the town from offering any injury to the people.[282]

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[278] Bellasyse to Ginkel, Galway, July 31; 4 August 1691, *Clarke Correspondence*, Volume 10, ff 944 and 970.

[279] Galway corporation MSS, C, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 12, Nos. 1&2, p. 1.

[280] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 163.

[281] *Ibid.*

[282] Toby Purcell to the Lords Justices, Galway, 2 August 1691, *Clarke Correspondence*, Volume 10, f. 957.

Further civil unrest followed later in the month when, on 25 August 1691, three men were convicted by court martial for stealing dragoon horses and were subsequently hung. In his report to Ginkel Purcell wrote:

> There was a priest at their meeting, but they did not condemn him, because the executing a priest would have made a might noise at the time. I took this opportunity to disarm the Papists of this town, and shall do the same in the country as soon as the commission of array arrives, and that the justices of the peace come into the country.[283]

Bellasyse was exactly the type of Protestant identified by Bishop Dopping, who cared nothing for upholding the spirit of the Treaty and were determined to overturn the proposed Articles on the slightest pretext. Bellasyse overreached his authority later in the year when he attempted to impose a levy on the local Catholic population near Athenry to compensate some merchants who had been robbed in that locality. On this occasion his orders were appealed to General Ginkel and his decision reversed, but his actions served as a portend of what was to follow as the new Protestant regime, though in the minority tightened its grip on the Catholic population.

Bellasyse was of course not alone in testing every weakness in the nascent and fragile relationships between the two communities as defined by the terms of the Treaty. The Protestant community which took back the reins of power after the end of the war no longer held out any hope of continuing the colonisation process which had started in the Elizabethan era and gained momentum during the early years of the seventeenth century. The Anglicisation and conversion to Protestantism of the native population, a core objective of the Colonial proponents of the word and sword, like Spenser and Davies had failed. There were to be no more waves of New English colonists arriving to bolster the numbers of the Protestants, although the province of Ulster continued to attract Scots settlers for some time later.

The role of Bellasyse and those who would follow him were to tighten their grip on all aspects of life within the country so as to deny the Catholic population any access to the means whereby they might reasonably have expected to regain the dominant role in society that they held at the start of the century, and had briefly returned to under James II. To achieve this objective and as the core strands of the Treaty were unravelled and

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[283] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 164.

then reneged on, restrictions were introduced by Parliament designed to exclude the Catholic community from participation in the new Protestant state. Introduced gradually over the course of the 1690s, the 'Penal Laws' as they came to be known, affected every aspect of life in the community. In public office, Catholics were not allowed to stand for parliamentary elections, nor sit on juries; nor could they serve in the army or navy or in any civilian defence force such as constables or civil guards. In the corporation towns such as Galway, all the hard won gains of the 1680s were reversed as Catholics were not allowed to serve in any capacity on corporations and were excluded from certain trades. Of special interest to the Galway landowners were the measures designed to limit the extent to which they could expand their landholdings and secure them for future generations. They could not buy land in any large measure nor could they bequeath their holdings as one entire estate if their beneficiaries were Catholics. In those cases the land had to be equally divided amongst all the offspring. In education, Catholics could not be school masters or private tutors. These were the main exclusion clauses but over the life of William III, numerous additional laws were introduced to further restrict Catholic participation in the ordinary and in some cases not so ordinary every life in Ireland.

At no time were all the laws rigidly applied and enforcement varied throughout the country. The Protestant minority came to regard the laws as 'a reserve of power, an armoury of weapons to which they might resort at need'.[284] There was, however, sufficient enforcement to ensure that the underlying intent of the laws was adhered to. In Galway and other corporation towns no Catholics were re-admitted to the corporation after 1691 (Figure 6.2 above). It is to be noted that Marcus Lynch served as a Sherriff from 1696-1697. This scion of the one of the prominent Tribes of Galway was an early example of an apostasy which was to become a common occurrence during the following century as Catholic families in Galway and elsewhere strove to maintain their landholdings and a foothold within the corridors of power.

Although the restrictions on official appointments, education and religious observance were onerous, they did not apply equally to, nor did they affect, all classes of society. For the lower classes within Galway's Catholic population, the imposition of restrictions on religious freedom had the most impact. Not being admitted as Freemen

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[284]Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, pp. 311-312.

they had never shared in the governance of the town, and very few were engaged in the sort of trades that the penal laws prohibited Catholics to engage in. Education was a luxury and thus the denial of a Catholic tutor or teacher was irrelevant. Catholic worship, guaranteed by the Treaty was continued throughout the 1690s, and even though the bill to banish Bishops and the clergy was approved in 1697, it was aimed more at suppressing the Catholic elite than those of the lower orders. Laws passed at the same time also excluded Protestants who married Catholic wives from holding public office and confiscated half the property of Catholic women who married Protestants. None of this much affected the ordinary population of the town and in Ireland generally it was believed that over 1,000 priests went quietly about their business, and over 4,000 monks and nuns continued to follow their religious orders.[285]

For the Catholic elite of Galway, the protection of their landholdings was paramount. Along with the beneficiaries of the later Treaty of Limerick, all those who submitted to the terms of the capitulation were to be allowed to keep their estates, and if they had already been seized they were to be given back. Claims to receive the benefit of the articles were heard by the Irish Privy Council in 1692 and 1694 but because of the inevitable controversy surrounding the claims the hearings were suspended in 1694 until the Irish Parliament ratified the Treaty in 1697. From the end of 1697 until 1 September 1699, claims were heard by a special court of nine judges.[286] Altogether 1,283 adjudications were conducted most of which were admitted. The vast majority of the claims were based on the Limerick articles but in 77 cases, the claims related to the Galway articles, predominantly from family members of the 'Tribes' including French, Lynch, Blake, Browne, Bodkin, Darcy, Joyce and Kirwan.[287] A limited number of persons (28), received a special pardon by Royal favour during this period and a further 37 by special warrant. Of special interest were the pardons accorded to several prominent members of the Galway community for their services during the War. They included, not surprisingly Dennis Daly, whose citation read:

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[285] *Ibid.*, p. 311

[286] J.G. Simms, Irish Jacobites; Lists from TCD MS. N. 1.3, *Analecta Hibernica,* No. 22, (1960), pp. 14-15.

[287] List of the adjudications at the council board. (claims under the articles of Limerick and Galway), *Ibid.,* pp. 89-129.

> Adjudged within the articles of Galway, by which articles those thereby provided for are to have a general pardon for all crimes committed from the beginning of King James's reign to the date thereof, and by that by a promise made under the hand of General Ginckle dated the 26 July 1691 at his Majesty's camp near Galway he was to enjoy his estates to him and his heirs free from all forfeitures as the Protestants of Ireland enjoyed theirs.

Also included were Francis and Martin Blake and John Browne 'by his Majesty's favour, he behaving himself with tenderness towards the Protestants'. And Patrick French: 'By his being instrumental in the surrender of Galway to their Majesties'. Captain Richard Martin, who had surrendered his troop of horse to Ginkel in early July 1691, also received a royal pardon. [288]

While many members of the 'Tribes' and their families were able to avoid the inevitable hardships of a new wave of Protestant rule by escaping to their country retreats, life was not so easy for the lower orders who had to endure the hostile environment of a Protestant-dominated civil administration supported by an often unruly garrison. By 1693, the quality of life in the town had so deteriorated that the rate that persons were leaving had reached a point that if it were to continue would depopulate the town. As a result, in April 1693, a general assembly was convened which, whilst suspending the granting of passes to leave the town, also introduced disciplinary measures to curb the excesses of the garrison. [289]

During the remaining years of the 1690s the political control of the town fell to a small but powerful political elite, dominated by Protestant families of the Eyres, Shaws Revetts, Ormsbys, Simcockes and Stauntons. In the county, political control was firmly in the hands of the St. George family. They occupied all the key positions within the corporation and as well as denying involvement to Catholics in the political life of the town effectively barred Catholics from trading within or near the town. In 1696 a By-law was enacted in which:

> No person but a freeman keep open shop in Galway or the liberties thereof, or sell or expose to sale any wares therein, except on market days and paying quarterly. [290]

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[288] *Ibid.,* p. 133.
[289] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 167.
[290] Ibid., p. 221.

Hardiman recorded that the Roman Catholic inhabitants petitioned the Lords Justices and council against it, but without effect. The ban continued to be rigidly enforced for many years after and was one of the principal causes of the decay of the town. It was not by any means the only setback to post war economic recovery. The other main cause was that apart from restrictions placed on the Catholic trading community, the trading conditions which had for so long provided Galway merchants with a commanding position in relation to both the European and Atlantic trade had changed. Since the late 1670s the share of Irish imports and exports through the port of Galway had been steadily declining. By the mid-1680s Cork, Limerick, and Waterford along with Dublin were the four most important ports Irelandtaking by advantage of the development of the provision trade and fundamental changes to trading methods between Irish ports and their continental neighbours.

TRADE AND COMMERCE:

An Overview of Galway's Position within the Wider World

Ireland at the beginning of the 1660s was still very largely an agrarian society which was practically self supporting. The rural community made their own shoes from the hides of their cattle and clothes from the wool of their sheep. The average man, including the gentry, had little or no assets except land and the stock it supported, and the value of the land was very low due to the sense of insecurity which decades of land seizures and warfare had created. The normal rate of interest for a mortgage on unencumbered land was 10% and it was impossible to borrow money in Ireland at less than eight per cent: 'when Colbert got all he wanted at five and a half and in Holland four per cent was quite usual'.[291]

Ireland's external trade was still mostly geared to the export of staples such as hides, wool, salted beef, fish, live cattle and sheep. There was very little by way of manufactured goods although there is some evidence that Galway's merchants had developed a small niche market in the export of linen and fine wool; Irish mantles for example were seen as high status items both locally and abroad.[292] They clearly had a

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[291] E. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd Edition (Cork University Press, Oxford, 1950), p. 9.

[292] A. Hartnett, 'The port of Galway: Infrastructure, Trade and Commodities', in E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 305.

significant monetary value for it was the custom in Galway that on the death of a Freeman or merchant, his heirs donated his second best cloak to the Warden of St. Nicholas , and, if he was to be buried within the body of the church: 'his best cloak or mantle or the just value thereof towards the reparacion aforesaid'.[293] But other than a few exceptional items Galway's external trade was largely dependant on the export of staple products to its overseas markets in exchange for a variety of essential staples including salt and iron, and luxury items such as wines and spices. Market conditions and the product mix of imports and exports were however changing rapidly as the expansion of major towns and cities in Europe and Britain influenced the growth of regional trading centres. More importantly, the development of the Caribbean and North American colonies opened up new market opportunities for the importation of tobacco and sugar in exchange for provisions and manufactured goods. Tobacco in particular was in regular use in mid-seventeenth century Ireland and, along with snuff, was universally in use by all classes of society and, amongst the lower orders by both sexes.[294]

Significant increases in the demand and supply of products both at home and abroad represented a challenge to the erstwhile supremacy of the port of Galway over most of its Irish rivals save Dublin. As the most westerly European port of any significance it was ideally situated to exploit the growing Atlantic trade but its geographical location, at the same time, presented difficulties in the export of live cattle to England, which, by 1665 had become the mainstay of Ireland's export trade. The opportunities facing the Galway merchants were thus to capitalise on their strategic geographical advantage in relation to the Atlantic colonial markets, adapt their trading methods to meet the growing needs of emergent European regional centres and, after 1667 endeavour to capture some part of the provisions trade following the imposition of the Cattle Acts. The Galway merchants were thus faced with addressing not just one market opportunity but several, spread over three distinctive geographical areas, the characters of which are summarised as follows.

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[293] R. O'Flaherty, *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, p. 237.
[294] MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 10.

Europe and The Colonies

Following the Restoration, the exclusion of the Old English merchant classes from living and operating from their traditional locations within the town of Galway did not prevent them from continuing their trade links with European markets or exploiting the growing transatlantic trade with the colonies of the Caribbean and North America. The New English Protestant community lacked both the expertise and the international business connections to take over the wide and often complex trading links established over the previous centuries by the 'Tribes' with their European partners. The cultural, religious and political affinities between the Old English and their mainly Catholic, French and Spanish trading partners would also have presented an almost impenetrable barrier to Galway's Protestant community. A further obstacle would have been adapting to the trading methods of the Old English Galway merchants as they went about their business. It was customary for them to accompany their cargoes from port to port selling staples such as hides furs and tallow as they went and buying, in exchange, wines, salt, iron and other goods including luxuries This trading method had been largely abandoned by most other trading nations and other Irish ports by the mid 1660s but it remained the standard practice in Galway until the end of the seventeenth century.[295] The success of this method of trading was based on carrying small quantities of cargo to a number of ports which served local hinterlands. The small cargoes enabled the trader to dispose of them quickly and in exchange buy similar small cargoes of goods which could be sold with similar ease to their outlets in Galway and elsewhere. This trading method had worked well as long as the overall volumes of trade between the participating countries had remained relatively low and dispersed. The increased volume of trade following the Restoration was accompanied by the growth of regional centres serving areas where the demand was greatest and, as a result, making it more economical to ship larger volumes of goods to fewer major ports. This resulted in the emergence of super ports within the European markets, notably, in respect of Galway's trade with the continent, La Rochelle, which became a magnet for Galway merchants both as a market for Irish goods and a source of

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[295] L.M. Cullen, 'Galway Merchants in the Outside World, 1650-1800', in D. Ó Cearbhail (ed.), *Galway Town and Gown, 1484-1984* (Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1984), pp. 6-7.

supply.[296] These more concentrated trading developments also gave rise to the growing use of credit facilities to facilitate the transactions ,since large volume exports and imports could no longer be bought and sold as quickly as previously.

Apart from the lack of business acumen and market intelligence it is also doubtful that all but a few New English settlers in Galway would have had the necessary working capital to fund these trading ventures or the contacts to guarantee credit facilities. The difficulties and the expense of borrowing money have already been noted. Acquiring creditworthiness involved the trader having a trusted reputation in the port or ports he called at or, as was the case amongst some of Galway's Old English merchants, having family members living abroad who would underwrite any credit required. Thus as the 1660s arrived a picture emerges of Galway's Old English merchants continuing to engage in trade with the continent though excluded from participating in the affairs of the town. In turn this meant that the port of Galway was deprived of much of the economic benefits that this trade would have generated. An example of the extent to which Galway's merchants were involved in trading with the continent is illustrated in an extract from the port records of La Rochelle in the late 1670s. In 1671, a vessel was chartered by Dominique Bodkin of Galway to take a cargo to Galway and return laded. In 1672 Dominique and Martin Bodkin sold a Galway vessel to Jean Butler. In 1678, Ambrose Lynch of Galway chartered a vessel with a view to travelling either to Sligo or Galway. The dominant trading house in Galway throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century were the Kirwan's and in particular John Kirwan. In 1671 a vessel was chartered for Thomas and George Staunton and John Kirwan to take a cargo of salt to Ireland.[297] Thomas and George Staunton were both prominent members of the Protestant English community in Galway and were members of the town council. That they were engaged in a trading partnership with John Kirwan indicated that despite official posturing, a degree of realpolitik existed between the two communities.

Galway was the first Irish port to play a significant role in the Caribbean.[298] By the Restoration a substantial provisions trade had been established. The two main requirements sought by the colonists were man-power and the provisions necessary to

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[296] *Ibid.*

[297] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[298] T. Truxes, *Irish American Trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), p.17.

sustain the growing population. By the 1660s the English Caribbean supported a large population of Irish servants and indentured labourers and in Montserrat they represented the majority of the population before the introduction of slave labour from Africa. Tobacco was the main export but in the main the quality was poor. Product from Barbados returned little profit and although the Irish-dominated island of Montserrat was reputed to have produced the finest quality throughout the Caribbean, none could compete with the produce of the Chesapeake region of the east coast of America.[299]

The move away from uncompetitive tobacco production to sugar during the mid seventeenth century created a surge in demand for provisions as small independent settlers, many of them former indentured servants producing a limited amount of produce, were overtaken by large plantations, cultivated exclusively for the production of sugar cane. The plantation owners at the time believed it made economic sense to ship barrelled beef, butter and fish across the Atlantic rather than divert expensive manpower and resources away from the cultivation of lucrative sugar crops. As land available for agriculture became scarcer, the price of provisions rose rapidly. Barbados, the first island to change to sugar production, had, by 1670, become totally dependant on imported provisions.[300]

By the 1660s, spurred on by the introduction of the Cattle Acts, competition began to emerge from the southwest ports of Kinsale, Youghal and Cork. Galway already had considerable experience in the provision of salted beef and fish to victual the garrisons posted to the town dating back to the late sixteenth century.[301] During the Cromwellian period the port was used extensively to ship provisions out to supply Cromwell's 'Western adventure' in the Caribbean along with prisoners and indentured servants.[302]

At the Restoration, and despite the difficulties caused by the disruption and destruction of nearly 20 years of warfare there seemed to be every chance that Galway could restore its fortunes and in particular benefit considerably from its early entry into the Atlantic provisions trade. The Atlantic trade in particular was relatively free of any trade restrictions imposed by English mercantilist policies. The Navigation Acts of 1660

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[299] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[300] *Ibid.*

[301] *Cal. State Papers Ireland, 1574-1585,* pp. 224,228,299,331.

[302] R. Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth, Volume II* (Sherrat and Hughes, Manchester, 1913), pp. 432-433.

and 1663 had not prevented Irish ships being owned or manned by Irish crews and allowed for the shipping of commodities directly to Ireland. The Act of 1663 had restricted direct exports from Ireland to the colonies to horses, provisions and servants. The original intent of the English parliament was to restrict direct imports into Ireland as well but the relevant clauses were not introduced until 1671; they lapsed again in 1681 and were not introduced again until 1685. Their effect on Irish colonial trade is thought to have been limited. Evasion was widespread and in any case, with the exception of smaller ports like Galway, a considerable amount of Irish trade was conducted on account of English merchants.[303] In Galway significant volumes of trade continued to be undertaken by local merchants until the end of the 1600s It is possible that the Navigation Acts may have been some hindrance but more likely that the Galway merchants long history of avoiding and often evading trading restrictions would have minimized the impact of the Acts.

There is a scarcity of documentation dealing with Galway's colonial trade for much of the latter half of the seventeenth century, but some surviving private documents allow an insight into the involvement of the Old English merchants who set up businesses in the Caribbean following their forced exclusion from the town. In 1668 two merchants, brothers John and Henry Bake, left Galway and established plantations; Henry to Montserrat and John to Barbados.[304] The contents of the correspondence demonstrate the importance of the tobacco trade at this time and also that the profits that were generated made a crucial contribution to the failing fortunes of the Blake family of Galway. A memorandum dated 25 January 1673, from Henry Blake at Montserrat lists a number of debts to be paid and included the entry 'Paid by my brother Nicholas to Patrick Blake fitz Nicholas, which was credited with 33 roules of tobacco I sent'.[305] An undated letter from Henry, believed to have been sent in early 1673, indicates that as well as provisions, finished hides continued to be a major export commodity. Writing to his cousin Patrick Browne fitz James, described as a merchant of Galway he observed: 'Glorious looks for such leather as yours are; that being an odd commodity here, they do not know the price

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[303] L.M. Cullen 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', p. 399; A.E. Murray, *A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations Between England and Ireland from the Period of the Restoration* (P.S. King, London, 1903), p. 41.

[304] M.J. Blake, *Blake Family Records, 1600-1700*, pp. 106-117.

[305] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

thereof, yet they suppose it to be about six stivers per skin'.[306] Making a decent living in the Caribbean was not an easy option. John Blake, writing from Barbados in July 1676 to his brother Thomas in Galway, apologised for only being able to remit £25 for the relief of his children. He complained about poor crops and other setbacks and the possibility that he might abandon his plantation in Barbados. He had by this time bought out his brother Henry's plantation in Montserrat, Henry having returned to Ireland that year. He ended his letter to his brother with this poignant post script:

> If further employment will not come upon me more than now I have, I am resolved to remove hence to Montserrat, and there to settle myself for some years to the end I may in time gain something for to bring me at last home.[307]

His closing comments act as a reminder that John, along with many thousands of other Old English and Irishmen scattered throughout the English colonies and beyond, were not there entirely by choice and lived in hope of returning at some point to their homes and families.

The record of transactions which took place to ensure that John Blake's brother Thomas received the £25 allowance towards John's children's upkeep illustrates that a banking system involving bills of exchange was in use by Galway merchants using agents in Dublin, London and the Caribbean at this time. In John Blake's letter on 28 July 1676 he informed Thomas that 'I have ordered my correspondent at London, Mr. Nathaniel Bridges to remit you £25 for the relief of my children'.[308] Probably due to the long delays to transatlantic mail, it was not until 3 November 1676 that Thomas wrote to Nathaniel Bridges:

> Sir, My brother John Blake wrote me of the 28 July last out of Bridge in Barbados advising me he ordered you to remit me £25. I pray you be pleased send me a sure bill of the same for this town of Galway if it can be provided, if not it shall not be amiss for Dublin.[309]

On 11 November 1676, Thomas Blake received the following correspondence from Robert Bridges at Dublin:

> At the request of my cousin Nathaniel Bridges of London, I send you the enclosed letter which came in his covert; and ordering me to remit you £25 for the account

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[306] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[307] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[308] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[309] *Ibid.*

of Mr. John Blake of Barbados. I here inclosed send you a bill for £25 drawn per Abel Ramm on Nicholas Lynch at six days sight, which I pray get accepted and paid and pass you the same to the said John Blake his account, giving me a line of your receipt.[310]

The details of this particular transaction indicates that Galway merchant families like the Blakes were reliant on the banking systems of London and Dublin for some part of their trading activities and drawing the bill of exchange on Nicholas Lynch in Galway suggests that the Lynch family were using part of their wealth to establish an early banking system to service the needs of Galway's merchants and traders.

The principal exports to England from Irish ports following the Restoration were live cattle, sheep and other livestock. The rapid growth of some English cities, particularly London during the first half of the seventeenth century, had outstripped the capacity of the English cattle breeding counties and young Irish cattle were in high demand for fattening. Cattle and cattle products, such as hides and beef were, along with sheep, the mainstay of the Irish economy and determined, to a very large extent the daily lives of most of the Irish rural population, not least in the Galway hinterland and much of Connemara. In the absence of fences and enclosures, the herding of predominantly Kerry Blacks[311] involved the employment of large numbers of herdsmen minding the cattle throughout the day and bringing them into the safety of enclosures at night.[312]

The transportation of these cattle to England involved the deployment of a significant fleet. According to one account, in the early 1660s as many as 100 purpose built ships were employed in the transport of cattle valued at £132,000 *per.annum.*[313] The principal sea routes engaged in this trade were Dublin to Chester, Youghal to Somerset and Donaghadee to the North-West of England. In the latter two locations, the growth of the English textile industries created larger local markets for agricultural products which in turn boosted the demand for Irish cattle.[314] The extent to which the port of Galway was

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[310] *Ibid.,* pp. 117-118.

[311] A proclamation issued by Ginkel in Co. Galway in 1691 refers to 'sheep, black cattle and horses' apparently implying thereby that no other cattle were to be found in the west. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 167.

[312] *Ibid.,* pp. 167-168.

[313] C.A. Edie, 'The Irish Cattle Bills: A Study in Restoration Politics', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* New Series, Vol. 60, No. 2 (1970), p. 10; W. Petty, 'The Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1672', *A Collection of Tracts and Treatises Illustrative of the Natural History, Antiquities and the Political and Social State of Ireland,* Volume II (Thom and Sons, Dublin, 1861), p. 54.

[314] Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', pp. 391-392.

engaged in this activity at the beginning of the 1660s is unclear. Sending economic shipments of cattle via the long and often stormy sea route to England may have been a deterrent, as the costs of freight and insurance would have been prohibitive. Attempts to ship Irish cattle from the east coast ports to Rotterdam in the late 1660s had failed for this very reason.[315] It is possible that live cattle for export were bought by dealers at cattle fairs and driven to the east coast ports for the short passage to England. Driving cattle over long distances was not unknown. In 1665, some Irish drovers, having failed to sell their cattle in Carlisle, drove them as far as Norwich, (a distance of some 230 miles) hoping that the market there was more favourable.[316] More likely, the high demand for cattle products such as hides, finished leather tallow and salted beef by Galway merchants would have taken up a substantial amount of the annual production around the town's catchment area. Galway's trading activities not being dominated by the sale of live cattle, not only cushioned it from the worst effects of attempts in the 1660s to prohibit the exportation of Irish cattle into England, but provided it initially with a competitive advantage as the economic effects of the Cattle Act. Of 1667 created a short term slump in ports which had been heavily dependant on this trade.

The Cattle Acts were the culmination of several years of political pressure from English landowners to stop the Irish cattle trade. They believed that the importation of cheap Irish cattle was directly responsible for the falling rents on their lands and used their growing political power in parliament to force through the legislation. Before the passing of the Act, the earlier attempts to stem the flow of live cattle exports to England had been rigorously challenged by the Duke of Ormonde, who, as a major Irish landlord foresaw the potential damage to Irish economic interests. He had also been extensively briefed by his eldest son, the Earl of Ossory who as Lord Lieutenant had summarised the implications of the 1663 Act on the Irish economy. His submission in November 1664 highlighted the immediate problems Irish cattle breeders were facing. Irish cattle breeders had traditionally only reared their cattle for two years before shipping them to England to be fattened. They had no resources to fatten cattle for another three years and the killing

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[315] Murray, *History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland*, p. 32: G. O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (A.M. Kelly, New Jersey, 1972), p. 158-159.
[316] L.M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800* (The University Press, Manchester, 1968), p. 33.

and salting the underweight cattle was not an economic proposition.[317] In August 1663, prior to the introduction of the first prohibition, the Earl of Anglesey had also written to Ormond warning of the consequences of the prohibition and recommending that it be suspended while alternative markets could be explored. He had proposed that the delay would allow breeders to convert to stall feeding of beef to be shipped out of Ireland between March and June: 'when beef is here at the dearest, and to be barrelled up for foreign and sea trade'.[318] Ossory's submission to Ormonde on 9 November 1664 also revealed some details of the extent and importance of the cattle trade to both the English and Irish economies, the importance of English ports like London and Bristol as an entrepôt for manufactured goods and luxuries and the increased dependency on banking and bills of exchange to facilitate trade. Ossory reminded Ormonde of:

> The trade of Ireland depending chiefly on the credit it had in England from whence they fetched all their fine cloth, fine stuffs, stockings, hats and all things necessary for the wearing habits of their nobility and gentry, and likewise most of their Canary wines and all their East India commodities; and the way of traffick of the Irish being to fetch those commodities from London upon credit for half a year, and then send thither either ready money for those commodities or bills of exchange.[319]

Charles II also had his own misgivings that his customs and other Irish revenues would suffer as a result of the embargo. That the Acts were passed at all is evidence less of any concerted attempt to subordinate Ireland's economic interests to that of England's but more an example of the emergent conflicts of interest in Restoration politics. The expenses of Charles II's court and the ongoing cost of the war against the Dutch had left Charles totally dependant on the subsidies granted by parliament. The Lords, many of whom had Irish lands and titles, had objected to the proposals from the outset, but their chief concern in objecting to the bill, was that it contained a clause with would have denied the right of the King to subsequently suspend or even abolish the Act. They saw this 'nuisance' clause as evidence of parliaments ongoing determination to challenge the royal prerogative and to use its rising social and economic status to gain power at the expense of the Crown. Since Charles had chosen to assent to the Act in full, the Lords

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[317] *The Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, Volume 4, p. 235.

[318] *H.M.C. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, Volume 3, p. 72.

[319] *The Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, Volume 4, p. 235.

withdrew their opposition but in the realisation that the inclusion of the 'nuisance' clause opened up the way for further, and potentially more serious challenges.

The effect of the Act on Irish trade created an immediate, though relatively short term downturn in the Irish economy. Its longer term effect was to force the supply chain away from the shipment of live cattle to England towards the provision of salted beef and pork and later butter, for export to Europe and more importantly to feed the growing populations of the Colonies. This development had an immediate beneficial effect on Galway's trading fortunes in that, not being as dependant on the live cattle trade as its competitors on the east and south east coasts, it did not suffer from any significant short term economic downturn, and was, initially at least, a market leader in the supply of provisions to the colonial markets. In particular the Cattle Act of 1667 has, for the most part, been examined in the light of its real and imagined impact on Ireland's short to medium term economic prosperity and has been credited by some earlier economic historians as being the catalyst for the growth of the Irish provisions trade.[320] The provisions trade was, however already thriving, in Galway and some Irish landlords saw the Acts as an opportunity to expand their exports of salted beef to France and to the Caribbean and North American colonies.[321]

The long term effect of England's mercantilist policies on Ireland as a thriving political and economic partner was quite another matter. The apparent ease in which the supporters of the Cattle Acts had forced the Bill through the English parliament despite rigorous protest from Ireland's landed interests was to lead to far more fundamental changes in Ireland's relationship with England in later years. The genesis of the Act of 1667 lay within a Bill of 1663 being an 'Act for the Encouragement of Trade'. The Act contained a clause which proposed that a duty be levied of 20s on every head of cattle between the 24 August and the 20 December and 10s on every sheep. During the third reading of this Bill in the House of Lords, on July 24, 1663, the Earl of Anglesey, had highlighted the implications of this clause on the general health of the Irish economy and in particular on the New English settlers and their relationship with what they considered to be their motherland. In Clause Six of his submission he argued:

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[320] Murray, *History of the Commercial Relations between England and Ireland,* pp. 33-35; O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, pp.161-162.
[321] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800,* p. 33.

> Because, in the restraint laid on importation of Irish cattle, common right and the subjects' liberty is invaded; whilst they, being by law native Englishmen, are debarred the English markets, which seems also to monopolise the sale of cattle to some of his Majesty's English subjects, to the destruction of others.[322]

The underlying implications of Anglesey's protest were clear. The majority of the cattle affected were reared on lands now owned by English settlers who had obtained land in Ireland either by purchase or as a reward for payment for military service. In return they had a reasonable expectation of earning a good living by selling their agricultural produce into not just Ireland but most importantly into the profitable markets of England's growing urban centres. Moreover these settlers represented the bedrock of English colonial policy in Ireland. Since the Elizabethan plantation of Munster and as articulated by Spenser and then Davis that policy was to transplant the seeds that would grow into an Anglicised Protestant population which would, in time even out the demographic imbalance between themselves and the Catholic Irish community. Anglesey clearly saw the dangers in imposing economic sanctions on the 'seed corn' of England's colonial policy in Ireland

The prohibition had the effect of depriving these 'English' subjects of the privileges enjoyed as of right by their kith and kin living in England. Anglesey's protest was to be echoed in future generations of English colonists who were to establish English settlements in the Americas. In the meanwhile, Ireland's relationship to England was not that of a sister Kingdom but that of 'A colony or conquered territory and her fortunes more and more subject to the authority of the Parliament at Westminster, in which she had no representation'.[323]

Economically, the short term effect of the Cattle Acts was to galvanise the merchants in Irish port towns like Galway Dublin and Cork which had an already expanding provisions trade into producing barrelled beef on an industrial scale and seeking new markets for their produce in Europe and in particular in the English colonies of America and the Caribbean. The residuals of this process mainly tallow and hides represented additional opportunities to extract some added value from the killed cattle and the processes of killing, salting, packing selling, and transporting of beef, and beef

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[322] J. E. T. Rogers, (ed.), *A Complete Collection of the Protests of the Lords with Historical Introductions,* Volume I, 1624-1741 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1875), pp. 27-28.
[323] Edie, 'The Irish Cattle Bills: A Study in Restoration Politics', p. 5.

products provided employment opportunities across a wide spectrum of society in centres like Galway. The reduction of land use for the breeding of cattle produced further and ultimately more lucrative alternative sources of revenue for the Irish landowners and merchants. Breeding live cattle almost exclusively for export had meant that very few cattle were fattened, or bred for milk. Following the introduction of the Acts, cattle were fed and bred to produce a better quality meat for export and to produce improved and richer milk for dairy products.

The result was that by 1669, Irish beef, butter, tallow and hides were rivalling English produce on the Continental markets.[324] The production of wool also increased as land formerly used to raise cattle was converted from cattle pasture to sheep pasture.[325] Although the export of wool to anywhere but England was expressly forbidden (An Act of 1662 made it a criminal offence and exports to England could only be made under licence and payment of a fee of two shillings a stone), the huge increase in wool production in Ireland enabled Irish merchants to undercut the price of English wool by as much as 50%.[326] As prices were driven down below what was considered profitable levels, Irish merchants found clandestine ways of shipping wool to the continent and, more importantly, turned to developing woollen products, particularly frieze for export to England, the Continent and the Plantations. Frieze was a rough woven material used in the manufacture of basic products such as clothes including cloaks, stockings and blankets. Petty had estimated when he wrote his *Anatomy* in 1672 that home consumption of the products from this largely cottage industry consumed three quarters of the entire wool production of Ireland.[327] As surpluses of wool continued to accumulate throughout the 1670s and 1680s more of the home spun finished product became available for export The manufacture of frieze for export attracted immigrant weavers from England many of whom settled in the Dublin liberties while the manufacture of fine broadloom cloth on an

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[324] Murray, *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland,* p. 34.
[325] O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 146.
[326] Murray, *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland,* p. 38.
[327] Petty, *Political Anatomy,* p. 366.

industrial basis was encouraged by investment capital provided by wealthy investors such as the Duke of Ormond.[328]

Despite the disruption to trade created by the Navigation and Cattle Acts During the 1660s, the war with the Dutch and the ongoing suppression of the Catholic population of the town, the port of Galway continued to maintain its position as one of Ireland major trading ports as its predominantly Old English merchants classes built on their already established trade and family connections in Europe and the New World.

In December 1670 Thomas Martin of Galway, described as a notary public petitioned the King to appoint Stephen Lynch as the trade consul in Ostend. The background to the petition was that merchants trading out of Irish and English ports and into the Flemish ports of Ostend, Bruges and Nieuport, had been forced to pay exorbitant extra taxes and charges by the local authorities, charges which Dutch merchants, their chief competitors, avoided paying due to the direct intervention of the official Dutch consul. An extract from the petition, which is quoted below illustrates the extent to which trading relationships between English and Irish-based merchants had developed by the 1670s and, more particularly for this study, the dominant role that Galway's Old English merchants played in international trade. The petition, dated 1 December 1670, read:

> We the undernamed merchants and masters of ships belonging to London, Bristol, Dublin and Galway, do declare for truth Stephen Lynch, merchant, His Majesty's subject and resident at Ostend, is a person of worth and credit there, knowing in their language and much esteemed by that Government and every loyal subject and may be a very fit person to be nominated and deputed as 'Councell' for our nation in them poarts.[329]

Apart from Thomas Martin, the petition was signed by 17 merchants, seven of whom included members of the Galway families of French, Lynch and Deane.

Despite the dominant position of Galway's merchant classes in the growing foreign and transatlantic trade, it is apparent from the documentary evidence above that their trading activities were not exclusively tied in to the port of Galway. By the 1670s evidence began to emerge of a decline in the ports relative trading position in relation to

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[328] Simms, 'The Restoration, 1660-1685', p. 444; Articles of Agreement between George Mathew on behalf of the Duke of Ormond and William Middleton of Dublin, Clothier, *H.M.C. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, Volume 3, p. 348.

[329] Certificate and Declaration by Thomas Martin and Others, 1 December 1670, R. P. Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland. Preserved in the Public Record Office. September, 1669-December, 1670. With Addenda, 1625-70* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1910), p. 316.

its rival ports on the south east and south west coasts such as Dublin, Cork and Waterford and its near neighbour Limerick. The end of the Dutch wars in 1667, and the development of the Irish provisions trade from those ports were major factors in this development. From the 1670s, Irish exports to the continent, particularly France showed steady growth although England remained the main source of imports for mainly the port towns situated on the eastern and south eastern coasts. There was at the same time a steady move towards the centralising of trade towards Dublin and Cork and Waterford, although by the beginning of the 1680s, the port of Belfast had grown to such an extent that in some commodities it ranked third overall next to Dublin and Cork. Despite the trend towards centralisation and the advent of large single cargo trading, Galway's trading community continued to thrive during the 1670s and 1680s and although, the percentage share of imports and exports declined overall during the period compared with the substantial growth of Dublin and Cork, nonetheless, trading figures for the export and imports of staples products in the 1680s showed that the port continued to rank amongst the top five ports of Ireland until the outbreak of the war in 1689.

Exports and Imports: 1660-1680

The cessation of the livestock trade with England and the rapid development of alternative sources and outlets of income by Ireland's landowners and merchants were critical factors in defining the growth of Irish port towns during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The successful re-gearing of the Irish economy which more than offset the initial downturn in trade is illustrated by comparing a selected range of exported staple products between 1665 and 1669, when alternatives to the trade had started to produce tangible results.

Figures 6.13 (a) and 6.13 (b) illustrate the volumes and values of exports of selected staples during this period. The comparison reveals the significant reduction in cattle exports between the two periods. On the assumption that two and a half barrels of beef equalled one ox or cow, the equivalent exports of cattle and beef fell by almost 64% in the period (69,210 to 24,662).[330] This fall in exports of cattle was more than offset by

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[330] *Cal. SP Ireland 1663-1665*, pp. 694-698; *Cal. SP Ireland, September 1669-December 1670*, pp. 54-55; R. Dunlop, 'A Note on the Export Trade of Ireland in 1641, 1665 and 1669', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 22, No. 8 (October 1907), pp. 754-756; Canny, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1600-1800*, p. 35; There is a discrepancy between two sets of data used in this comparison. The *Cal. SP Ireland, September 1669-*
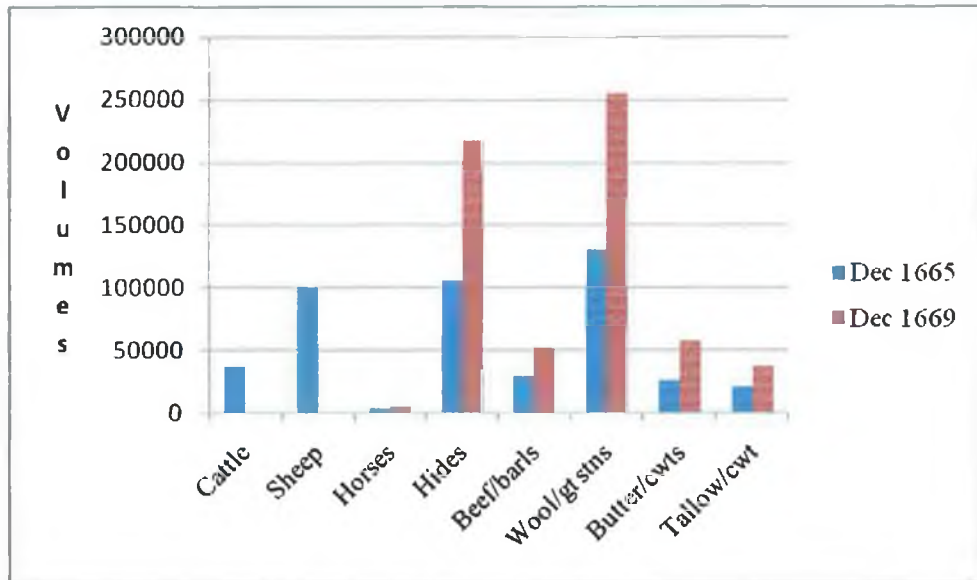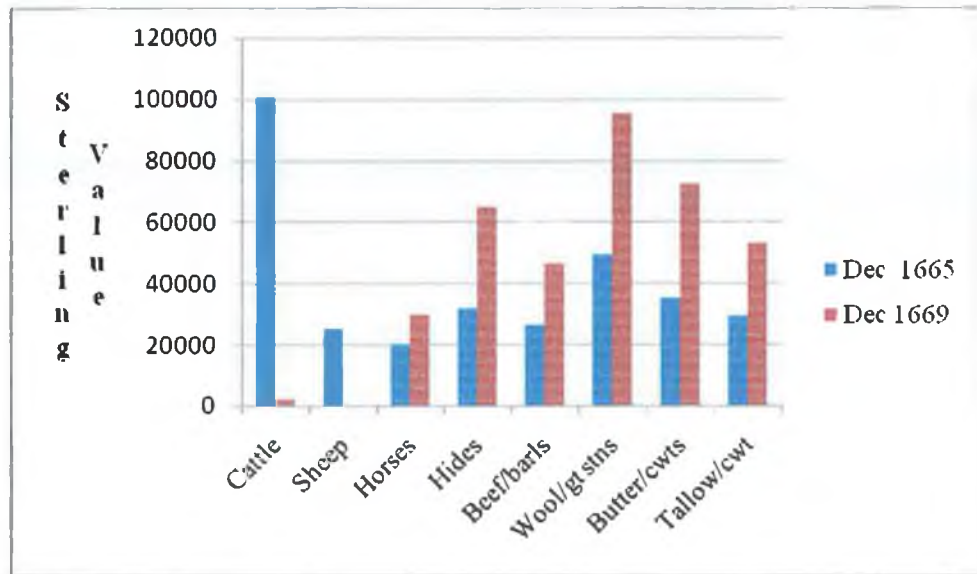
Figure 6.13 (a): Comparative Volumes of Selected Exports from Ireland years 1665 and 1669
Source: *CSP Ireland, Charles II, September 1669-December 1670*. pp. 55-55: R. Dunlop, 'A Note on the Export Trade of Ireland in 1641, 1665 and 1669', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 22, No. 8 (October 1907), pp. 754-756

Figure 6.13 (b): Comparative Values of Selected Exports from Ireland years 1665 and 1669
Source: *CSP Ireland, Charles II, September 1669-December 1670*. pp. 55-55: R. Dunlop, 'A Note on the Export Trade of Ireland in 1641, 1665 and 1669,' *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 22, No. 8 (October 1907), pp. 754-756

the increase in volumes of butter and wool. Butter exports rose by 119% (26,413 cwt to 58,041 cwt) and wool by 94% (131,013 great stones to 254,760 great stones). Overall the value of these staple exports increased by 16% from (£315,395 to £365,880). The total increase in value of all exports between 1665 and 1669 was 20% (£401,586 to £481,381).[331]

Data allowing for a comparative analysis of Galway's share of this trading activity during the 1660s is not available, but it is possible to gauge Galway's overall trading performance against that of other ports in Ireland during the period, by analysing the surviving port records detailing the custom and excise revenues collected on goods moving through the ports during the period.

Figures 6.14 (a) and 6.14 (b) illustrate the percentage of customs paid on exports leaving Ireland through the major ports during the years 1664 and 1668. Though by this time Galway was no longer 'second to Dublin' in importance, it was nonetheless still ranked amongst the top 10 exporters in the country and had held its position albeit with a loss of a 1.3 % share of total exports between 1664 and 1668. The emergence of Cork Youghal and Waterford as main exporting ports after Dublin reflects the growing importance of the provisions trade, particularly in Munster, following the imposition of the Cattle Acts.

Galway's prominence as a major port for imports faired less well during the 1660s. Although still ranked third after Cork in 1664 with a 7.0% contribution to total custom revenue (Figure 6.15 (a)), revenues fell dramatically by 1668, leaving the port in seventh place with its custom contribution reduced to 4.9% (Figure 6.15 (b)). Although no detailed examination of this trend is possible, the growth in the size and importance of Cork, during the 1660s played a major part in diverting inbound trade away from traditional markets like Galway. Although Dublin's customs revenue fell by 2.8% during the period, Cork's share rose by 3.4% to 12.6% of total customs paid. Again caution

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December 1670, indicates that 37,544 were exported in 1665 whereas the *Cal. SP Ireland 1663-1665*, pp. 694-698, suggests a figure of 57,544. The latter figure has been used since in all other respects figures between the two documents tally.

[331] The calculations of the values of product between 1665 and 1669 have been extracted from Dunlop, 'A Note on the Export Trade of Ireland in 1641, 1665 and 1669'. In making these calculations Dunlop based his assumptions on the values of exports calendared in December 1665, see *Cal. SP Ireland 1663-1665*, pp. 694-698.
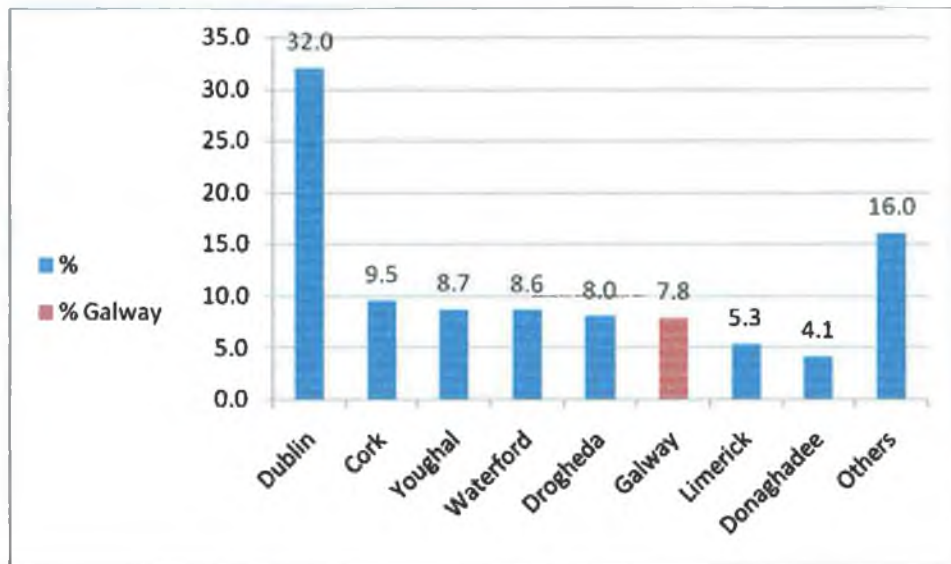
Figure 6.14 (a): Percentage of Customs Paid on Exports at Irish Ports, December 1664
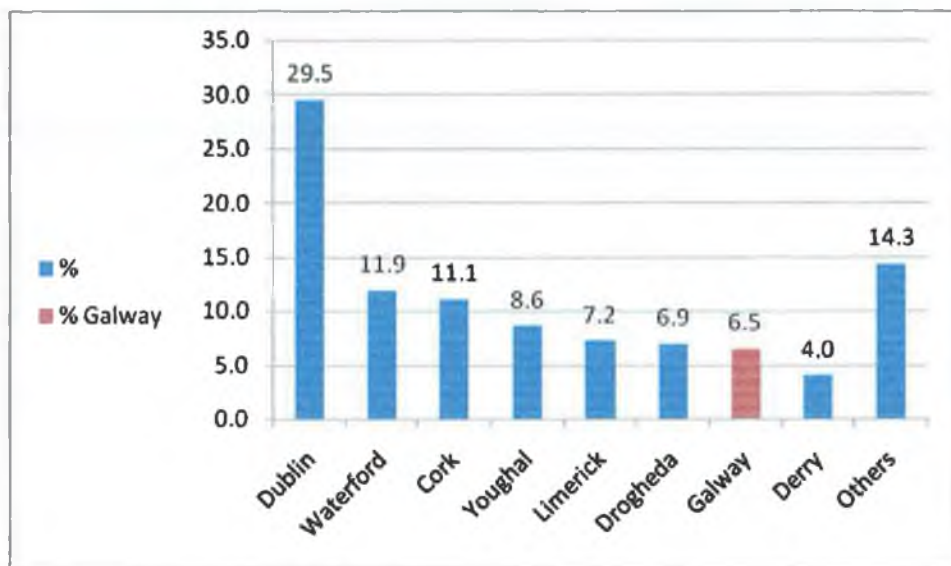**Source:** *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1663-1665*, p. 460.

Figure 6.14 (b): Percentage of Customs Paid on Exports at Irish Ports, December 1668
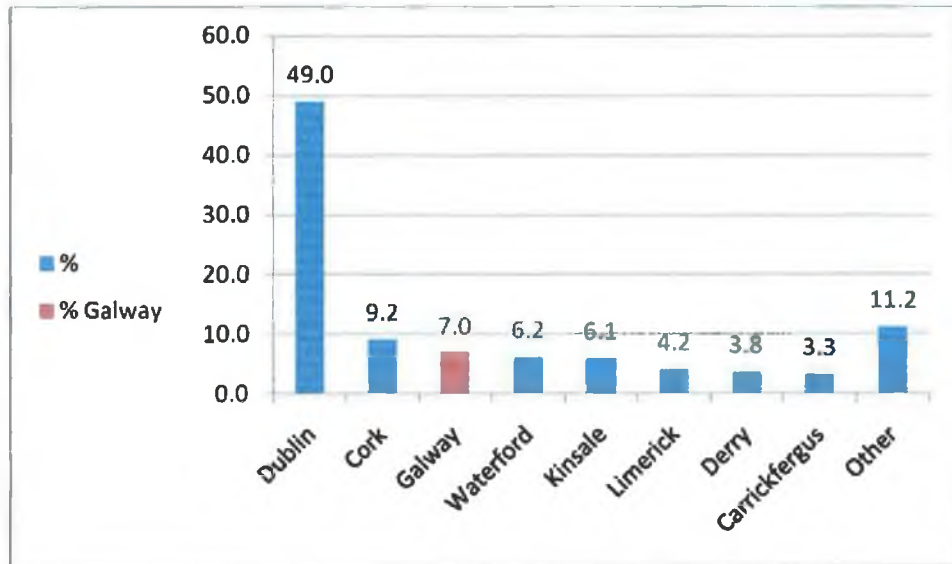**Source:** *Cal. SP. Ireland*, 1668-1670, p. 672.

Figure 6.15 (a): Percentage Paid to Customs on Imports at Irish Ports, December 1664
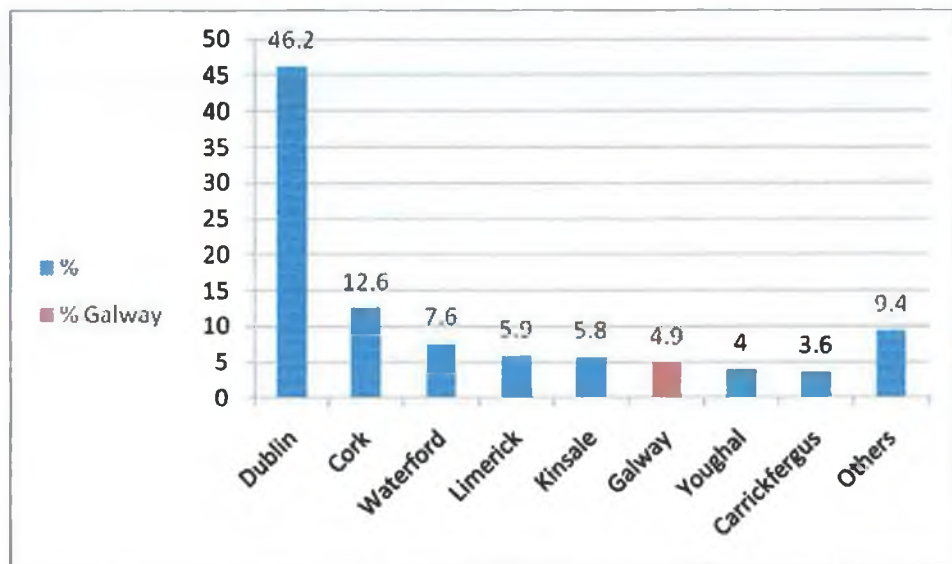**Source:** *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1663-1665*, p. 460.

Figure 6.15 (b): Percentage Paid to Customs on Imports at Irish Ports, December 1668
Source: *Cal. SP Ireland, 1669-1670*, p. 672.

needs to be used in taking these figures at face value. As the port of Cork's infrastructure expanded and improved so did the mechanisms for exacting customs and preventing smuggling. Conversely the more remote creeks and harbours of the Irish West coast continued to offer ample scope for customs and excise evasion throughout the seventeenth century.

Excise duties were also collectable on imports and a summary of these payments for the years 1664 and 1668 allow for a similar comparative analysis of Galway's trading performance in the mid to late 1660s. In an attempt to prevent evasion of excise duties an Act for the settling of the Excise of 1662 decreed:

> No ship shall be laden or unladen at any wharf except she were first entered in at the Custom House and be so laden or unladen except in daylight and at places where the custom houses are or at places prescribed by the Lord Lieutenant and Council on the application of the Commissioners of Excise.[332]

Galway was one of the listed ports under the Act and the designated places were at the customs house within the town and the quays.[333]

In 1664 the port books recorded excise on imports at Galway amounting to £2,760, representing 9.4% of the total for the year with only Cork (10%) and Dublin (39%), recording higher values (Figure 6.16 (a)). By 1668, Galway's share had fallen to £1,747 or 5.6% of total excise collected, with Galway falling to fifth place in the table behind the Waterford and Limerick (Figure 6.16 (b)).

The total customs and excise revenues, generated by the port fell from £6,608 in 1664 to £4,863 in 1668 (Figures 6.17 (a) and Figure 6.17 (b) but its accumulative contribution to the Irish revenue between 1664 and 1670, representing 7% of total revenue placed it third in importance to the Irish exchequer after Dublin and Cork and equal to Waterford (Figure 6.18).

By the 1680s any residual impact on the Irish economy following the Cattle Acts had been largely offset by the development of the provisions trade, particularly butter, and the production of wool, which had increased substantially following the cessation of live exports of sheep in 1668. Butter and wool production had, by 1683, become the mainstay of the Irish economy. Butter continued to be the principal export accounting for 25% of

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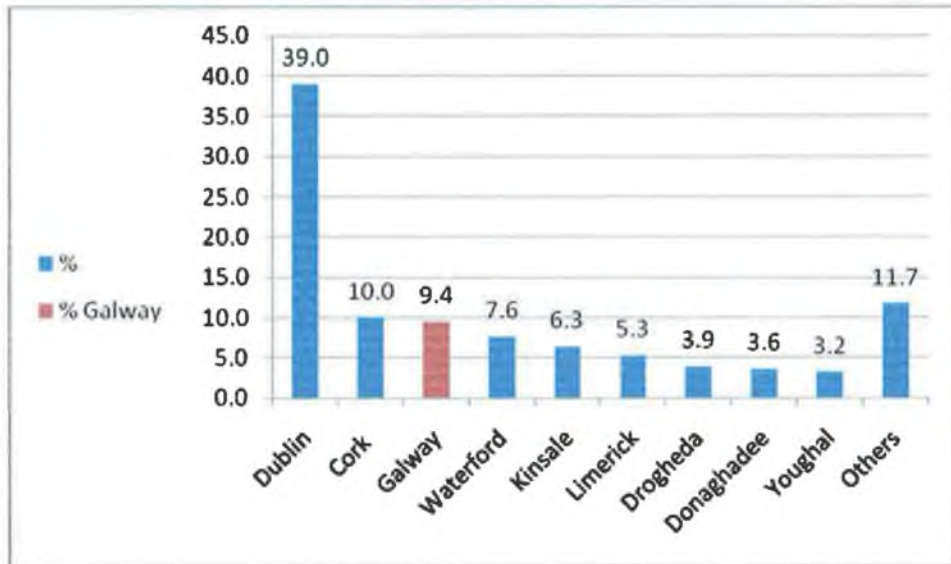[332] *Cal. SP Ireland, 1660-1662*, pp. 592-594.
[333] *Ibid.*

Figure 6.16 (a): Percentage Share of Excise Collected at Irish Ports, Year Ended December 1664
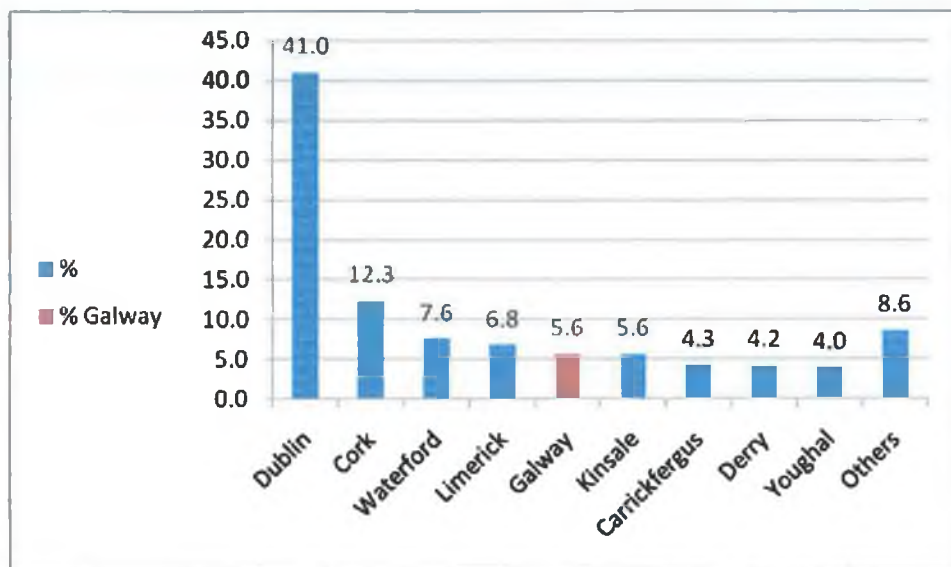**Source**: *Cal. SP Ireland. 1663-1665*, p. 461

Figure 6.16 (b): Percentage Share of Excise Collected at Irish Ports, Year Ended December 1668
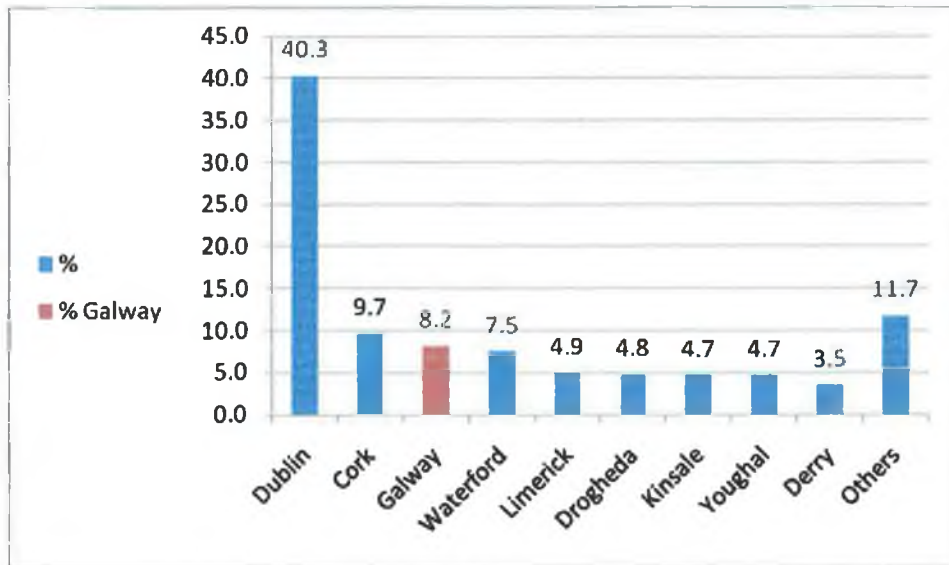**Source:** *Cal. SP Ireland, 1669-1670*, p. 673

Figure 6.17 (a): Percentage Share of Custom and Excise Collected at Irish Ports, Year Ended December 1664
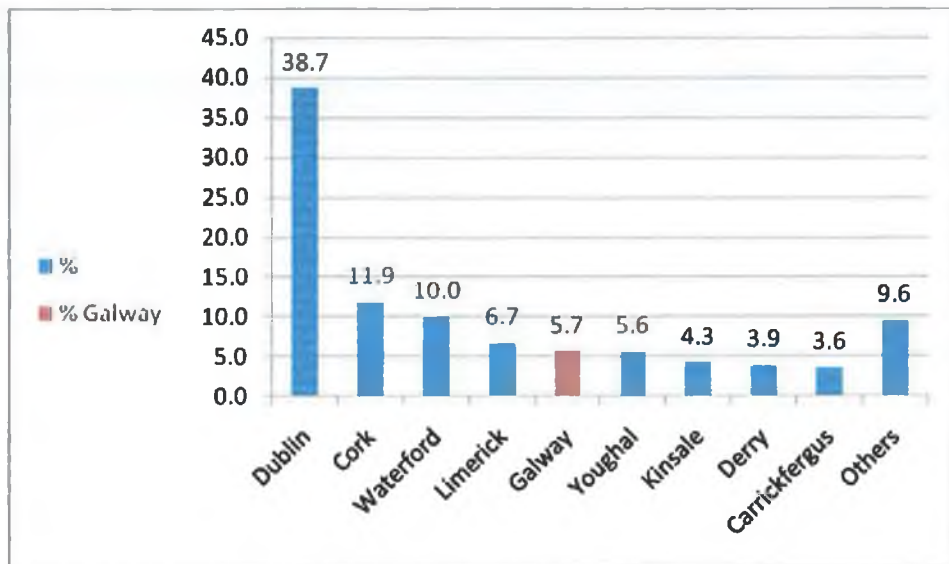**Source:** *Cal. SP Ireland, 1663-1665*, p. 461

Figure 6.17 (b): Percentage Share of Custom and Excise Collected at Irish Ports, Year Ended December 1668
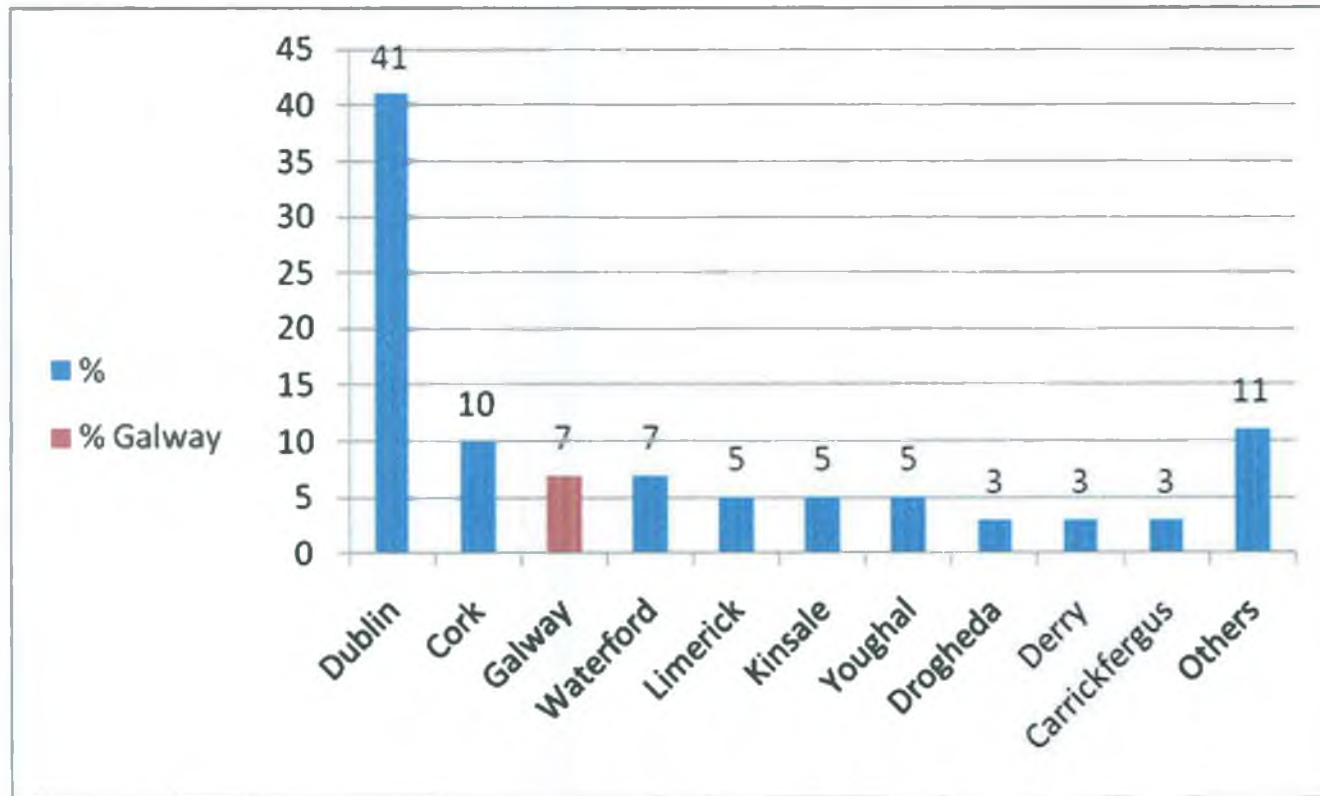**Source:** *Cal. SP Ireland, 1669-1670*, p. 673

Figure 6.18: Percentage Share of Cumulative Revenue Collected at Irish Ports, 1664 to 1670
Source: Memorandum on the Yield of the Irish Customs: *Cal. SP Ireland, 1669-1670*. p. 683

the value of all exports followed by wool which accounted for a further 15%. Overall the value of all Irish exports grew by 18% between 1669 and 1683 (i.e. from £481,381 to 570,343).[334]

Exports to England and the Continent: 1683-1686

Galway's share of the barrelled beef and mutton market was one of mixed fortunes. Although the hinterland surrounding Galway had long provided a supply of cattle for the hide and tallow industries, much of the land was unsuitable for large scale beef production and pasture for dairy produce. Galway's modest share of exports of barrelled beef, mutton and butter to England and the continent in the 1680s partially reflected this geographical and resource deficit. Figures 6.19 (a) and Figure 6.19 (b) illustrate the principal destinations for barrelled beef and mutton during the period 1683-1686. Scotland and Denmark were also in receipt of some beef products but the minimal quantities do not merit inclusion here. The figures also exclude exports to the plantations which are dealt with separately below. France was the principal destination for all exports of Irish barrelled beef and Galway was the principal exporter to that country between 1683 and 1686. Of the 20,550 barrels exported to France in 1683, 3,632 barrels or 17.7% were shipped through the port of Galway.[335] The extensive network of Galway merchants trading in France, and particularly North West France, may have been an influencing factor in Galway's domination of this sector of the export market. Of the 150,920 barrels of beef and mutton exported to the four countries between 1683 and 1686, Galway's share amounted to 17,656 barrels or 11.7%. Exports to France from Galway amounting to 14,167 barrels during this period represented 80% of its total export market.[336] It is noted that whilst Galway's main competition for trade during the 1660s and 1670s had come from principally Dublin, Cork, Youghal, Waterford, and Limerick. Belfast had emerged as a significant new competitor by the 1680s.[337]

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[334] *Cal. SP Ireland 1663-1665,* pp. 694-698; *Cal. SP Ireland, September 1669-December 1670,* pp. 54-55; Imports and Exports of Ireland 1683-1686: BL Additional Manuscripts, 4759.

[335] Appendix ii.(a), *Exports of Barrelled Beef and Mutton from Ireland,* 1683, BL Add. MSS, 4759.

[336] Appendix ii, (a,b,c,d) *Exports of Barrelled Beef and Mutton from Ireland,1683-1686,* BL Add. MSS, 4759.

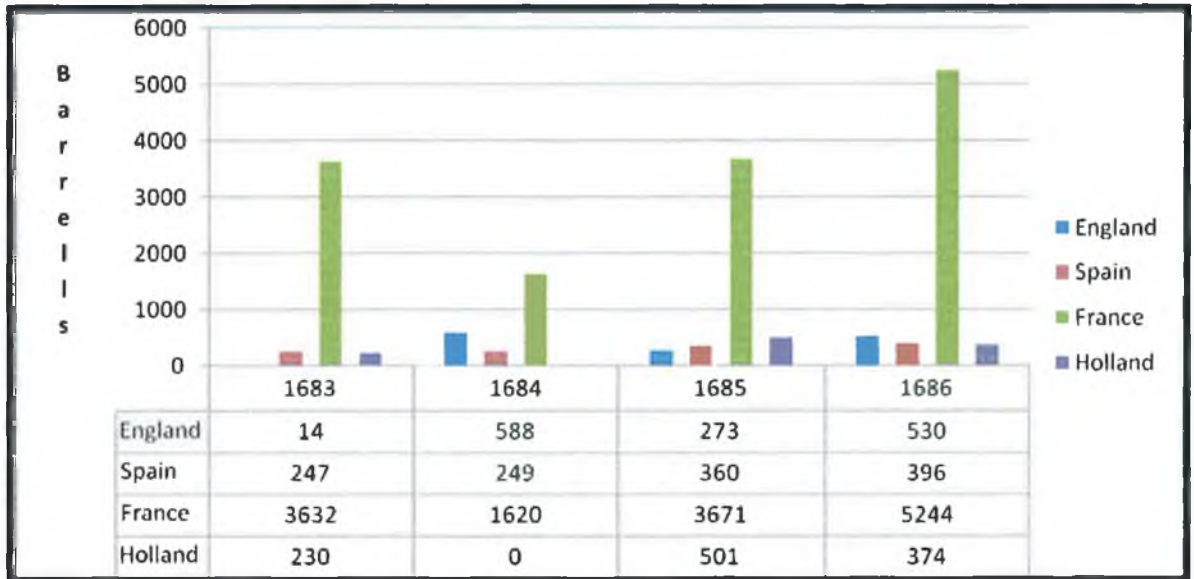[337] Appendix ii, (a,b,c,d) *Exports of Barrelled Beef and Mutton from Ireland,1683-1686,* BL Add. MSS, 4759.

Figure 6.19: (a) Exports of Barrelled Beef from Galway, 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

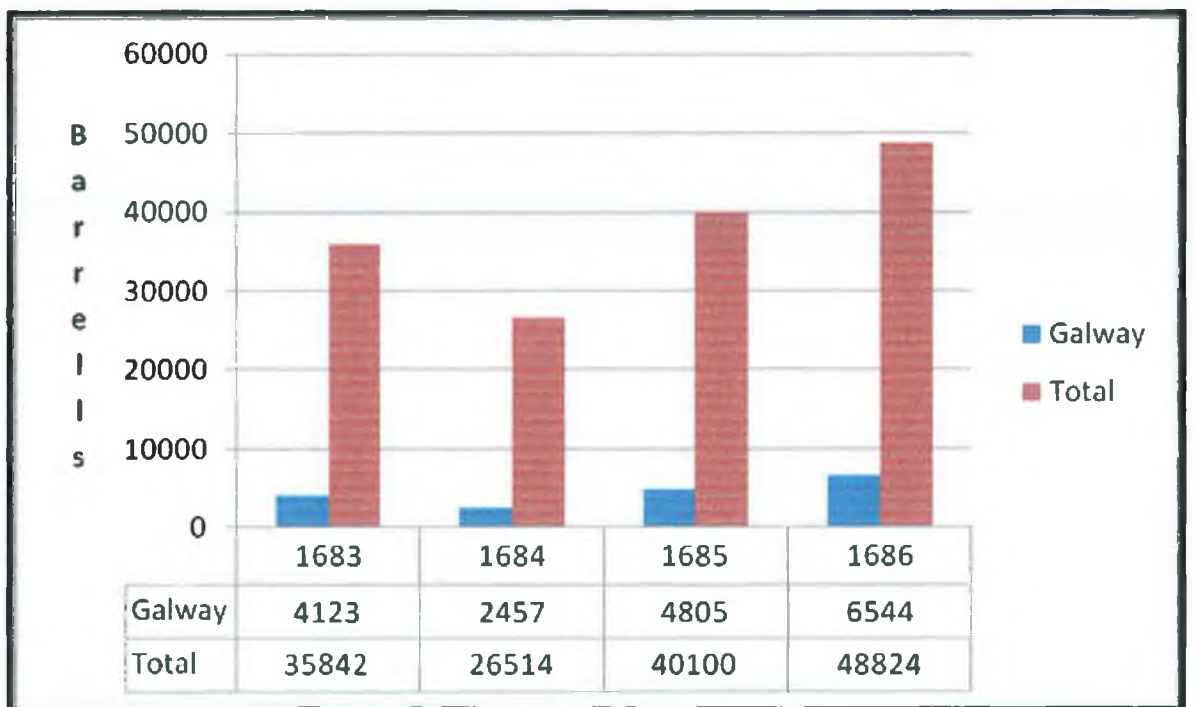|	1683	1684	1685	1686
England	14	588	273	530
Spain	247	249	360	396
France	3632	1620	3671	5244
Holland	230	0	501	374

Figure 6.19 (b): Exports of Barrelled Beef from Galway as a Proportion of Total Beef Exports, 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

	1683	1684	1685	1686
Galway	4123	2457	4805	6544
Total	35842	26514	40100	48824

The production and export of butter was the mainstay of the Irish economy during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The export markets included England, Spain, Holland, the plantations of North America and the West Indies and France which was the main importer and attracted competition from most of the Irish ports, including those serving the expanding agricultural communities of the Scots Ulster plantations. In 1683, total exports of butter from Ireland to all destinations amounted to 136,972 cwt, of which 99,161 cwt (72%) was shipped to France.[338] Figure 6.20 illustrates the volumes of butter shipped from Irish ports to France between the years 1683 to 1686. It is noted that shipments of butter through the port of Galway during the period amounted to less than one percent of the total.

The reasons as to why there was an almost complete absence of activity through the port of Galway of Irelands largest and most lucrative export commodity requires some analysis and explanation. The emergence of market leaders such as Youghal, Belfast and Derry alongside some of Galway's more traditional trading competitors such as Cork, Waterford and Limerick offer some clues. During the years 1683 to 1686, Belfast and Youghal accounted for over 50% of all butter shipped to France. These two ports served hinterlands which not only contained rich pasture land for dairy cattle but were also densely populated with, in the case of Belfast, Ulster Scots and Youghal, English settlers, both of whom had the skills and knowledge to produce both high quality beef and dairy produce. William Temple had observed that following the introduction of the Cattle Acts

> The breeders of English cattle had turned much to dairy, or else by keeping their cattle to six and seven years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the beef trade abroad.[339]

The quality of the butter produced by the English dairy farmers of Munster differed greatly from the traditional Gaelic Irish product: 'butter made very rancid by keeping in bogs' referred to by Petty.[340] The butter for export was often termed 'English' butter, referring to the manner in which in which it was produced and stored rather than 'the type

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[338] BL Add. MSS, 4759.

[339] W. Temple, 'An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland', pp. 14-19, in *The Works of Sir William Temple, Volume II* (Hamilton Weybridge, London, 1814).

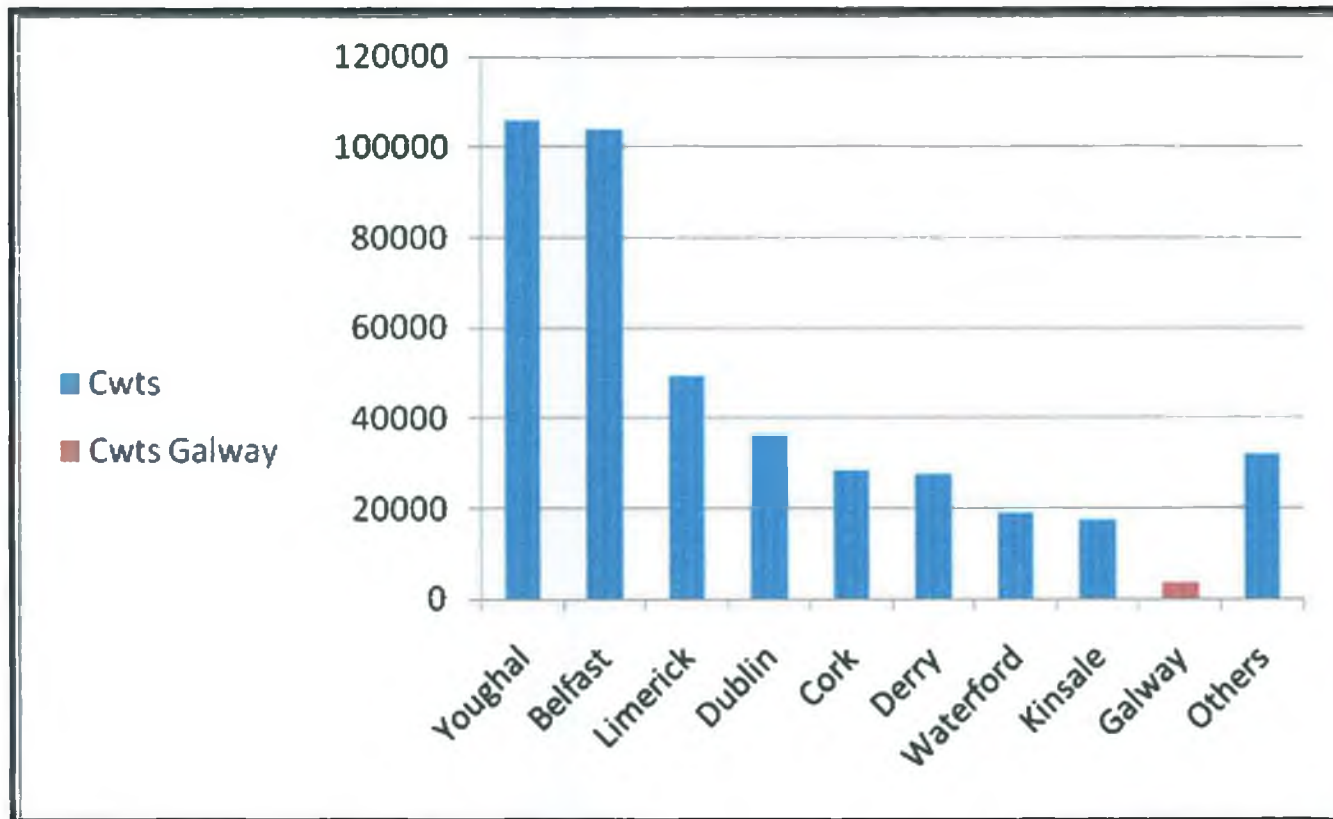[340] Petty, *Political Anatomy* p. 355.

Figure 6.20: Exports of Butter to France 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

of farmer (or cow) which produced it'.[341] The most important distinction between so called 'bog butter' and 'English' butter was that the latter was heavily salted and packed in hardwood barrels to preserve it on the often long sea voyages to the developing markets of the English plantations.

The volumes of butter produced in Munster allowed the merchants of principal port towns like Youghal and Cork to organise dairy production so as to secure not just economic quantities for export but also control prices and thus secure acceptable profit margins. This was achieved by contracting with large dairy farmers to take their whole annual production at a fixed price.[342]

Although it was the principal port in Connaught the port of Galway was served by an agricultural hinterland populated almost exclusive by Gaelic Irish and transplanted Old English. Though having adapted cattle rearing successfully into barrelled beef production during the 1670s, a combination of unsuitable land and little or no tradition of dairy farming other than for local consumption, probably accounted for the singular lack of success in breaking into the butter market. Levels of production from widely scattered small producers would not have allowed for the economies of scale enjoyed by the Munster merchants.

Despite the lack of success in developing dairy products for export, the region continued to produce high quality salted and tanned hides, a product which had been central to Galway's success as a trading port, providing generations of Old English merchants with much of their wealth. Although Spain had been traditionally one of Galway's main importers of hides, by the 1680s, the trade was largely concentrated in North West France, and also England towards the latter part of the decade. Figure 6.21 (a) and Figure 6.21 (b) illustrate the importance of this staple commodity to Galway's economy during the mid-1680s, but the significant shortfall in the export of tanned hides against that of salted hides illustrated in the figures exposes a critical weakness in the ability of the town to produce added value product through the development of secondary

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[341] D. Dickson, 'Butter Comes to Market: The Origins of Commercial Dairying in County Cork' in P. O'Flanagan and C. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Geography Publications, Dublin, 1993), p. 369.
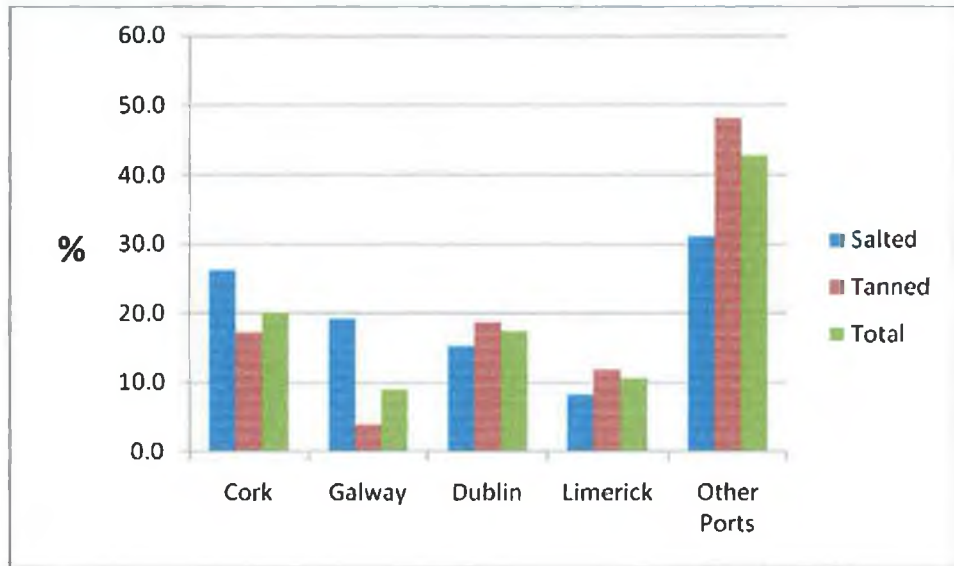[342] *Ibid.*

Figure 6.21 (a): Percentage Share by value of Exported Salted and Tanned Hides to France 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686
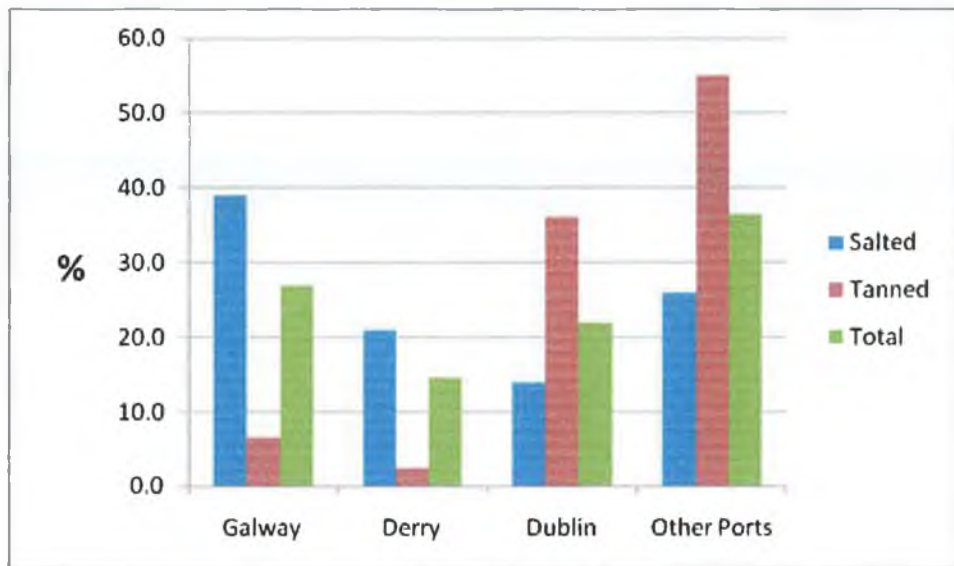

Figure 6.21 (b): Percentage Share by value of Exported Salted and Tanned Hides to England 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

industries. In 1683 salted hides were valued at 6s 8d each and tanned hides at 17s 6d.[343] Between the years 1683-1686, Galway, Cork, Limerick and Dublin exported over 70% all salted hides to France, with Galway's share valued at £13,432 or 19.3% of the total. In the same period the value of its tanned hide exports was £5,488, or only 4% of the total. A similar pattern emerges with exports to England. With a share of 39% of the value of all salted hides shipped (£4,540), Galway was a clear market leader but its share of 6.5% of the tanned hide (£480) reduced its overall value of hide exports to £4960 or 26.9%.

The significant difference in the ratio of salted to tanned hides between that of Galway and its main competitors warrants some discussion because, as figures 6.21 (a) and (b) demonstrate, there was a considerable amount of added value being lost to an already depressed economic area in and around Galway. A number of possible reasons may have contributed to the disparity. The lack of expertise and skills to produce tanned hides can be ruled out because although the quantities were small, some tanned hides were being exported and in any case the town of Galway had a long history of producing tanned hides and indeed finished leather products. Testimony to the importance of the leather industry to Galway's economy is to be found in street names such as Shoemaker's lane and Glovers or Skinner's street which were recorded in the 1651 Pictorial Map.[344] Further evidence of a vibrant leather industry was discovered during the archaeological excavations in Galway in the mid 1980s which uncovered some 268 pieces of worked leather and scraps and off cuts during excavations at Barrack Lane, Merchants Road, Middle St. and Key St.[345]

A more likely reason was that whereas salted hides could be considered almost a cash crop, the production of quality tanned hide was a long and protracted process and it often took up to 18 months or more to produce workable leather before any return could be expected. Mention has already been made of the exodus of capital and business expertise from the town as a result of the expulsion of Old English Catholic merchants from Galway in the 1660s and 1670s and the subsequent shortage of investment capital would have impacted on most business in Galway including that of tanning. Moreover the

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[343] BL Add. MSS, 4759

[344] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 28.

[345] C. Gleason and D O'Rourke, 'Leather' in E, Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien, P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 541.

production of the finished hides was a craft industry made up of numerous small business more concerned with supplying the local market needs; a petition concerning the transportation of 'Raw Hide' in 1611 comments on the numerous tanners in Galway at that time.[346] These tanners would have purchased only small quantities of hides to meet their individual needs unless they had been contracted to produce specific orders for the export trade. The significant volumes of exported tanned hides from Dublin and Cork suggest that production of tanned hides was being organised on an industrial scale by the 1680s and would have been part of a general development of secondary industries in these rapidly growing cities as they moved from being entrepôt ports to commercial and industrial centres.

Unlike sheep, which were for the most part bred to produce wool, hides were a bi-product of the cattle industry. After the Cattle Acts, cattle were largely reared and fattened to provide beef for the provisions trade. Cattle buyers bought stock from small farmers at the markets and then sold the stock onwards into a supply chain which included ancillary activities such as skinners, butchers salters and tallow makers. At any point in this process it would not have been uncommon for speculators to attempt to forestall or corner the market so as to maximise their profits when selling on their stock. Forestalling had long been recognised by corporations such as Galway as a threat to the craft guilds and merchants who made up the towns trading population, and there had been numerous statutes and by-laws enacted over time to prevent the practice.

Setting aside financial and commercial conditions it is also likely that by the 1680s, the deforestation of much of the hinterland around Galway had severely restricted the supple of oak bark, an essential ingredient in the tanning process. Deforestation throughout Ireland was already a serious problem for many industries relying on oak such as charcoal production, barrel-making and shipbuilding, so that high prices for the bark plus the high costs of transport would have severely restricted any volume production of tanned hide in and around Galway.

Following the ban on exports of live sheep to England, Irish sheep flocks were greatly expanded. Irish wool had been in great demand both in England and on Continental Europe since the sixteenth century but, exporting wool from Ireland to

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[346] *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p.206.

anywhere other than to England had been prohibited since Tudor times although from time to time licences were issued permitting a limited amount to be exported to selected continental destinations. In 1661, following the Restoration the position was reviewed and so that proper controls could be exercised over the trade, licences were issued to selected ports in Ireland authorising them to export wool only to selected English port. The Irish ports were Dublin, Drogheda, Carrickfergus, Londonderry, Limerick Kinsale, Cork, Youghal, Waterford Wexford and Galway. They in turn could only deliver the wool to London, Bristol, Minehead, Westchester, Liverpool, Barnstaple, Exeter, Southampton and Plymouth.[347] At the time of this licence renewal the value of Irish wool on the continent was as much as four times that obtained from legitimate trading and thus the profits from smuggling, for some, outweighed the risks of being caught.[348]

Although wool was produced on the continent, particularly in France and Spain, the quality was poor. In refusing to grant a licence for exporting to Europe in 1661, Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State observed:

> The Dutch, having now great quantities of Spanish Wools, cannot make cloth of it unless they may have English or Irish wool to mix with it.[349]

Following the Cattle Acts, exports of Irish wool to England, illustrated above in figures 6.13 (a) and (b) continued to increase and in 1671 amounted to 352,306 great stones.[350] Figure 6.22 compares the exports of wool from Galway with other licensed Irish ports for 1671. The ports of Youghal, Dublin, Waterford and Cork were the principal exporting ports with more than 80% of the total, compared with Galway's share of 3.7% (12,892 gts.). 1671 was an exceptional year for Irish wool exports during the second half of the seventeenth century. During 1671 wool exports exceeded that of 1669 by 38% and that of 1686 by as much as 33%. This spike in wool exports may have arisen as a result of market conditions rather than any abnormal increase in annual production. As a durable staple commodity, wool, if stored in dry conditions, could be stockpiled, and released into the market in times of rising prices. During the late 1660s and into the 1670s wool prices had remained buoyant holding their price at around 7s 6d per gts. With the prospect of

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[347] *Cal. SP. Ireland, 1660-1662*, p. 398.
[348] *Ibid.*
[349] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[350] *Cal. SP Domestic, 1671*, p. 507.
Note: Great Stones, hereinafter expressed as (gts) equalled 18 pounds to the stone
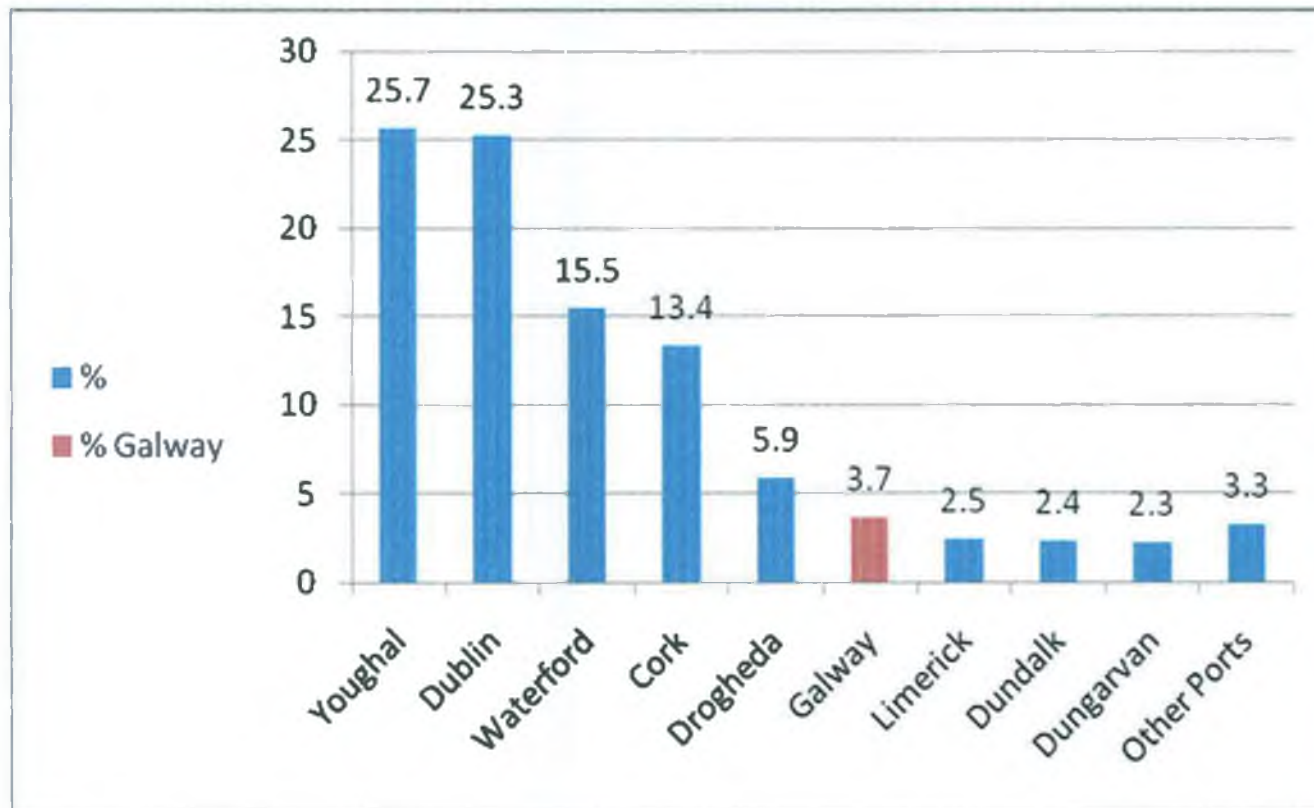
Figure 6.22: Percentage Share of Exports of Wool from Ireland to England, 1671
Source: *Cal. S.P. Domestic, 1671*, p. 507

war with the Dutch looming and the inevitable disruption to shipping as a result, it seems likely that there may have been both an increase in demand for wool, caused through panic buying in England and a desire to clear stocks of wool in Ireland. In 1673, correspondence between Col. Richard Laurence, who was a member of the Council of Trade and Captain George Mathew indicate that wool had been stockpiled in England, 'great quantities of which lies both in the north and west of England unsold; and hard to sell wool in England for ready money; and while the Dutch war continues, I fear will be so'.[351]

By the 1680s wool exports had stabilised, with the ports of Dublin, Waterford Cork and Ross accounting for over 80% of all exports (Figure 6.23).[352] Over the four years from 1683 to 1686 exports of wool from Galway amounted to less than 5% of the total, (35,947gts of 724,110gts). In examining Galway's relatively poor performance in yet another key export area, a number of influencing factors need to be considered.

Unlike the production of staples such as butter, beef and hides examined above, wool production was least likely to have been affected by limitations on supply. Although the upland areas of Galway and Mayo may have not been suitable for intensive dairy farming, or for fattening cattle, they were an ideal environment for sheep grazing. Thus there was much less likelihood that the exports of wool from Galway were inhibited by problems of supple. Irish sheep were for the most part of the long woolled type and when grazing on pasture which was both grassy and of rough scrub, tended to lose a great deal of wool if they became entangled in briars or thorn. Much of the hinterland around Galway consisted of this type of pasture and as a result sheep had to be clipped twice a year, in the spring and autumn to minimise losses but again it is unlikely that this alternative to the more regular annual spring shearing in many other parts of Ireland, would have had any significant bearing on Galway's overall share of the total market. [353]

The export of wool as with the export of all the staple products dealt with above required adequate working capital to finance the various stages of the supply chain. Individual flocks of sheep were small and tended by shepherds either on their own account, or as hired labourers for tenant farmers. Exporters' agents bought mostly small

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[351] *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde,* NS, p. 333.
[352] BL Add. Manuscripts 4749.
[353] MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 173.
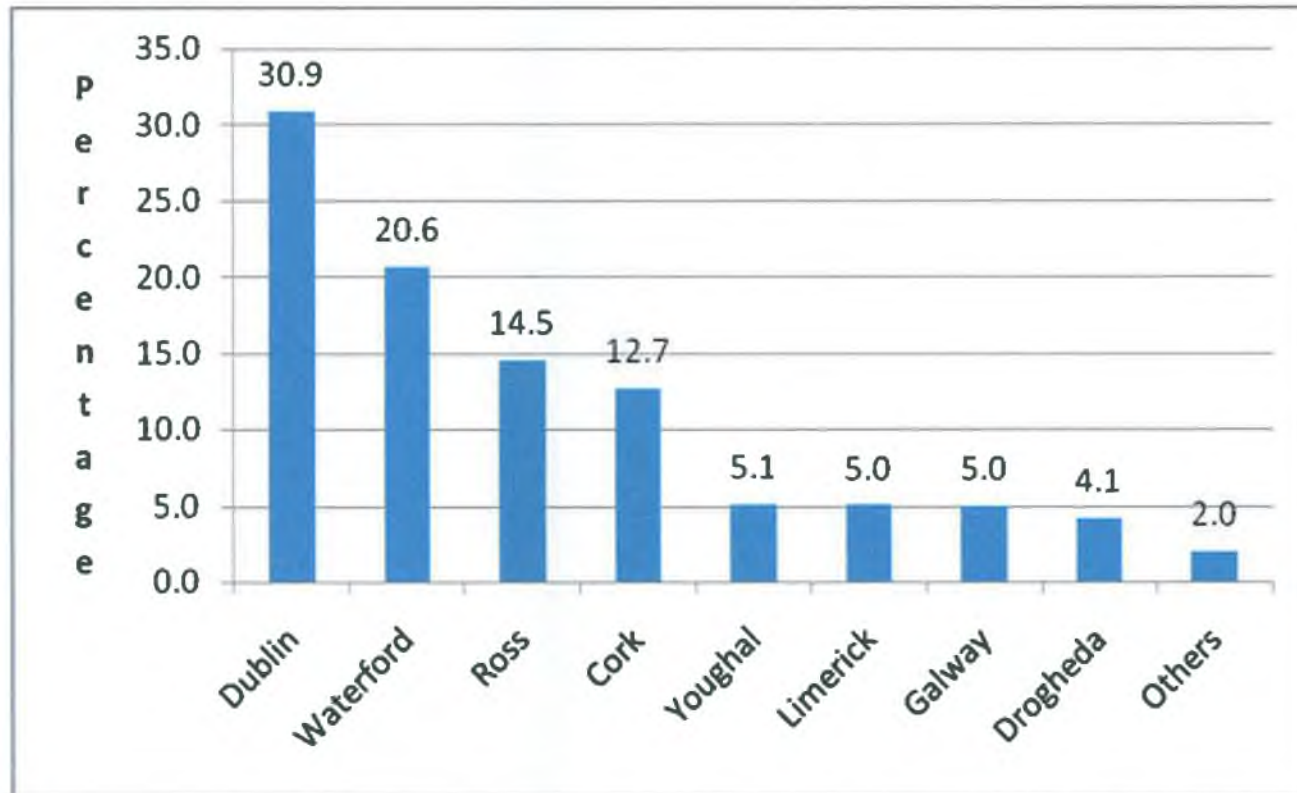
Figure 6.23: Percentage Share of Total Value of Exports of Wool from Ireland to England 1683-1686

Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports of Ireland 1683-1686

consignments at the local markets or directly from the shepherds until such time as an economic shipment had been assembled. The cost of freight, insurance and the payment of the customs and licences also had to be met. An illustration of the likely shipping and other costs is illustrated in the following extract concerning a shipment in 1673:

> The usual duties and fees paid at the Customs house to bring the wool aboard the ship.
> > *Per stone*
> > Prime duty, 15d
> > Licence, 4d
> > Fees for licence, 1500 stones, £1 5s
> > *Petty duty*
> > Searcher, 4d per bag
> > Cranier, 4d per bag
> > Weigher and parceler at scales, 2d per bag
> > Writing the entry, and cocket fees of the whole parcel, £6. 1s
> > Gabridge at Dublin, 4d; but at Waterford, according to the distance to the ship.[354]

The various charges levied on the wool consignment as it passed through the customs procedures may well have been fixed rates applied at all the licensed ports and thus common to all shipments no matter from where the port of origin was. The cost of transporting the goods was a different matter and clearly depended on the length of the voyage and the inherent dangers of the passage, as a continuation of the above extract illustrates:

> We usually pay for freight from Dublin to Bristol 5d. per stone, sometimes 6d., and the same to Minehead if the ship belong not to that port, but if she do, they will carry as cheap as to Bideford or Appledore, which is 4d., sometimes 3d., per stone; but Waterford being a shorter cut, it is probable you may agree cheaper; but never pinch freight to miss a good vessel. I had rather give some vessel 6d. than others 4d. per stone; let your vessel be stiff and staunch, reputed a good sailor, with an honest and skilful master, well acquainted with the coast, and well manned, otherwise your goods may sink in a storm while others get safe to shore, or be taken by a pirate while others escape.[355]

The limited choice of ports of entry in England was a deciding factor when arranging shipments of wool. Passage from Waterford apparently incurred less costs than Dublin when shipping out to Bristol. Liverpool may well have been an option for Dublin and was almost certainly the best option for Drogheda and Dungarvan. In the case of embarking from the port of Galway, ships faced a journey of 550 nautical miles to Bristol or 622 nautical miles to Liverpool. Thus it is likely that the pro-rata shipping costs from Galway

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[354] Colonel Lawrence to Captain Mathew: *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde, NS, Volume 3*, p. 335.
[355] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

to the designated English ports would have been substantially more than from the ports on the eastern and south-eastern seaboards. Leaving aside the minimal quantities of wool shipped through the port of Sligo, it is difficult to believe that the shipments of wool through the port of Galway between 1683 and 1686 reflected the annual output for much of Connaught. The costs of overland shipments to the Dublin Cork or Waterford would have negated savings in shipping and insurance costs and in any event long distance commercial road transport was still non-existent throughout most of Ireland until the end of the seventeenth century.

A shortfall in investment and working capital in Galway as a result of the ongoing exclusion of the Old English Catholic merchant classes from active participation in the town may well have contributed to Galway's relatively poor performance in the export of other staple goods but there are more compelling reasons which may explain the shortfall in the exports of wool. Despite the penalties which such activity incurred, a considerable quantity was shipped to the continent and particularly to France, where there was not only a ready market but where Galway merchants had established a firm trading base particularly in La Rochelle. Evidence of Galway merchants diverting wool exports to France exist from at least the early part of the seventeenth century and included one recorded incident, which took place at the outbreak of the Confederate wars, described in some detail in the previous chapter.[356] But by the mid-1680s, the scale of smuggling through Galway had been uncovered during what seems to have been a general survey of the management of the Customs along the western coast by the Revenue Commissioners led by Lord Longford. On 18 August 1683 he reported from Galway that:

> There are no patent officers here that any way check the collector, nor does Russell, the customer, in the least, he minding nothing of the business. He has practised many years the taking of any sham security for wool to the great injury both of England and Ireland. The wool being generally carried to France from this port, and the security when sued proving insufficient. Two ships since our time laden with wool were bound for London out of this port, the bonds of which he took. The persons bound were none of the proprietors nor men of any substance. He refused the perusal of the bonds when desired, and has really forfeited his place over and over in law, and by his behaviour has greatly inconvenienced his Majesty's revenue. Mr. Meine, the collector of this port, is a man very partial to the late Farmers, to the great prejudice of his Majesty, both in the growing

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[356] TCD. MS, 831 fo: 153, 155

revenue, and by hindering the recovery of what might have been had for his Majesty of the late Farmers' arrears.[357]

This particular accusation against the Galway customs implies that wool shipments which had cleared the port bound for England were being diverted to France, but smuggling of unrecorded shipments of wool was also taking place.

Whatever measures may have been taken at the time is unclear but smuggling must have continued in subsequent years for on 17 May 1688 the Revenue Commissioners for Ireland were authorised by the Lords of the Treasury in London:

> For the better guarding the western coasts against wool stealers and for better securing the Customs...you are authorised to provide and man three boats and to appoint their stations at such places and with such wages as you have advised. You are also hereby to cause the salaries of the six boatmen at the Isles of Aran, Galway River and Scattery [to be sunk] and to apply what the boats there can be sold for to the cost of the above said boats hereby to be established.[358]

The measures taken above point to large scale corruption within the various strands of the customs service centred on Galway Bay which would have allowed for significant quantities of wool to have been shipped directly to the continent.

The customs officials may have been the weak link in preventing illegal exports of wool but their beneficial interest could only have come from being paid off by the smugglers. On July 12 1688, in correspondence to the Lord Deputy of Ireland from the Treasury Lords, details of Galway merchant John Kirwan's role in the smuggling was revealed.[359] On August 20 1688, a further letter from the Treasury Lords to the Lord Deputy stated:

> In ours of July 12 last, we informed you of the Kings unwillingness to pardon John Kirwan. Since then, the King has received fresh complaints [concerning the transportation of wool]. It is his pleasure that you forthwith prosecute said John Kirwan.[360]

The Revenue Commissioners resolve to enforce the customs controls over the exportation of wool in the late 1680s was reinforced by the general downturn in the Irish economy as the political uncertainties created by the accession of James II had led to an exodus of Protestant capital and expertise and a downturn in the general economy. Wool was the

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[357] *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde, NS, Volume 7,* p. 142.
[358] *Calendar of Treasury Books,1685-1689,* p. 1910.
[359] *Ibid.,* p. 1997.
[360] *Ibid.,* p. 2049.

only commodity which held its price during those uncertain times.[361] In September 1688, as customs revenues continued to fall, the commissioners introduced what amounted to an amnesty for anyone engaged in the smuggling of wool provided that they gave information leading to the seizure of the ships concerned and the prosecution of those involved.[362] As well as these measures in 1689, at the request of the Revenue Commissioners, a Mr. Thomas Pitt, a Customs officer at Exeter was sent to Ireland in order to prove the falsification of hands and seals to forged certificates for the export of wool.[363] Against this background it seems reasonable to conclude that the interpretation of any official records of exports from Ireland at this time must include a *caveat* as to the extent to which they were affected by smuggling activities. Specifically, in the case of Galway, the comparatively poor performance of its export trade in wool against that of other major Irish ports may be more than partially attributed to illegal and therefore unrecorded exports to the continent.

The consumption of wool for home use may also have restricted the amount of raw available for export. The largely Gaelic Irish population of Connaught would have placed a comparatively heavy demand on wool for the production of frieze based clothes, cloaks and stockings. There were some exports of frieze out of Galway. Frieze was exported in small quantities to the plantations though France remained the main market. Quantities were comparatively small. Of the 1,996, 989 yards exported from all Irish ports to France between 1684 and 1688 only 150,308 yards (7.5%) left from the port of Galway.[364]

Exports to the English Plantations

The port of Galway had been engaged in supplying the English plantations of North America and the Caribbean since the early seventeenth century and particularly during the Cromwellian occupation, shipping out not just provisions, but indentured servants and prisoners to meet the growing demand for labour. By the 1680s, the transatlantic provisions trade had become highly competitive and although Cork and Dublin were the market leaders, Galway had managed to retain a substantial share in the

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[361] *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde, NS Volume II.* p. 307.
[362] *Ibid.,* pp. 385-387.
[363] *Calendar of Treasury Books1685-1689,* p. 1786.
[364] BL ADD. MSS 4759.

shipment of staple products, particularly barrelled beef and mutton. Figure 6.24 (a) highlights the principal commodities shipped to the English plantations in 1683.[365] Barrelled beef and mutton represented the most important commodities accounting for 81% of the principal exports and 62% of all provisions and other commodities exported to the Plantations in 1683 valued at £44862.[366] No butter was exported from Galway during the year although some cheese was included. Galway was the main supplier of salted herring and eel to the plantations although at 15s per barrel, this produced little extra revenue compared to beef and butter.

Although the value of Dublin and Cork's combined exports accounted for nearly 65% of the total illustrated in Figure 6.24 (b), Galway at 10.6% appears to have retained a credible market share when compared with the remaining other exporting ports. The presence of Galway merchants living and trading in the plantation colonies particularly in the Caribbean may well have contributed to this figure. The record of exports from Ireland to the plantations in 1684 show that barrelled beef and mutton remained the mainstay of all exports to the plantations for 1684, with the ports of Limerick and Kinsale shipping similar volumes of the product to that of Galway (Figure 6.25 (a)). Although Cork retained its dominant market share of 44.6% of the value of principal commodities exported, Galway's share had slipped to 6.8% (Figure 6.25 (b)).

Imports from England and the Continent: 1683-1686

Salt was the most important import into Ireland. Without adequate supplies it would not have been possible to produce the majority of the staple products on which the economy depended. These included salted hides, butter and barrelled beef and mutton, eels and herrings. By the 1680s France became the main source of supply for this product and between the years 1683-1686 regular consignments were delivered to some 20 ports around Ireland (Figure 6.26 (a)). Ten ports accounted for 60% of all salt imports during the four year period with Cork Dublin and Galway making up over 40% (Figure 6.26 (b)). These three ports also recorded over 50% of all exports of hides during the same period

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[365] The manuscript sources for the English Plantations do not differentiate between North America and the Caribbean.

[366] BL ADD MSS 4759.

	Beef/Mutton		Butter		Cheese		Corn		Herrings/Eels		Frieze	
	Barrels	£'s	Cwts	£'s	Cwts	£'s	Barrels	£'s	Barrels	£'s	Yards	£'s
Port												
Cork	18278	13709	1093	1230	78	59	0	0	0	0	6280	314
Dublin	7170	5378	630	709	256	192	493	185	32	24	1363	68
Galway	4221	3166	0	0	120	90	133	50	282	212	2648	132
Youghal	2516	1887	182	205	0	0	115	43	0	0	0	0
Waterford	1987	1490	854	961	111	83	189	71	0	0	1429	71
Others	3183	2387	482	543	195	146	247	92	107	80	4693	235
Total	37355	28017	3241	3648	760	570	1177	441	421	316	16413	820

Figure 6.24 (a): Principal Exports to English Plantations 1683
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts, Imports and Exports of Ireland 1683-1686
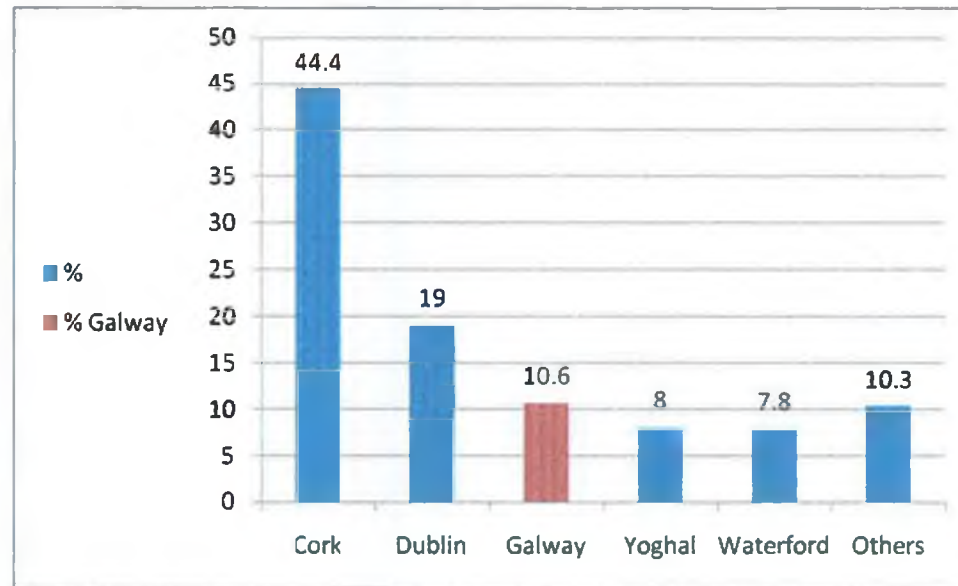
Figure 6.24 (b): Percentage Share of the Value of Exports to English Plantations 1683
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts: Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686

	Beef/Mutton		Butter		Cheese		Corn	
Port	Barrels	£'s	Cwts	£'s	Cwts	£'s	Barrels	£'s
Cork	15717	11788	1623	1826	48	36	0	0
Dublin	4848	3636	228	256	54	40	493	184
Waterford	3399	2549	176	198	105	78	189	71
Galway	2615	1961	37	42	53	40	133	51
Kinsale	2593	1944	82	92	0	0	0	0
Limerick	2419	1814	138	155	140	105	73	27
Yoghal	1252	939	46	52	28	21	115	43
Belfast	990	742	0	0	42	32	163	61
Other Ports	1959	1471	203	229	104	78	125	47
Total	35792	26844	2533	2850	574	430	1291	484

Figure 6.25 (a): Principal Exports to the English Plantations, 1684
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts, Imports and Exports of Ireland 1683-1686
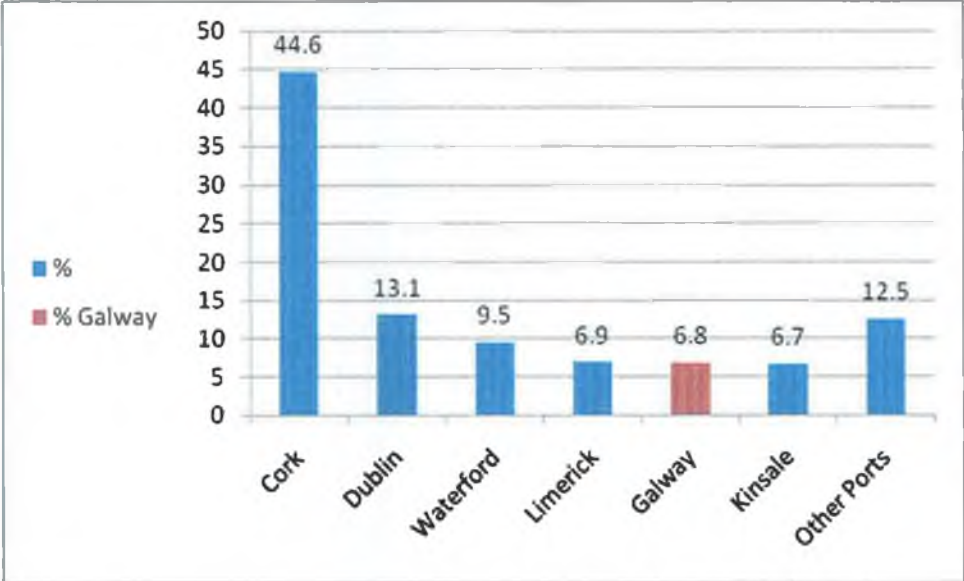
Figure 6.25 (b): Percentage Share of the Value of Exports
from Ireland to English Plantations 1684
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts, Imports and Exports of Ireland 1683-1686

Year Ended December 1683			Year Ended December 1684			Year Ended December 1685			Year Ended December 1686		
Port	Bushels	%	Port	Bushels	%	Port	Bushels	%	Port	Bushels	%
Galway	45523	24.0	Dublin	39321	18.9	Dublin	48492	18.0	Dublin	36744	13.7
Cork	24992	13.0	Waterford	25200	12.1	Galway	47097	17.6	Galway	34129	12.8
Limerick	23840	12.5	Cork	20116	9.6	Cork	41498	15.4	Limerick	33492	12.5
Dublin	20819	10.9	Youghal	17380	8.3	Derry	21093	7.8	Cork	26820	10.0
Youghal	13720	7.2	Kinsale	15749	7.6	Youghal	19642	7.3	Ross	16758	6.2
Ross	8318	4.4	Galway	14378	6.9	Limerick	14991	5.6	Kinsale	14081	5.2
Drogheda	7660	4.0	Derry	14009	6.7	Ross	13503	5.0	Drogheda	13462	5.0
Waterford	6639	3.5	Ross	13700	6.6	Kinsale	10676	4.0	Belfast	13436	5.0
Baltimore	6580	3.5	Limerick	10606	5.1	Waterford	10261	3.8	Youghal	12254	4.6
Belfast	6304	3.3	Coleraine	8025	3.9	Sligo	8117	3.0	Waterford	11894	4.4
Others	26122	13.7	Others	29875	14.3	Others	33737	12.5	Others	55340	20.6
Total Ports	190517	100.0	Total Ports	208359	100.0	Total Ports	269107	100.0	Total Ports	268410	100.0

Figure 6.26 (a): Imports of Salt from France 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts Imports and Exports 1683-1686
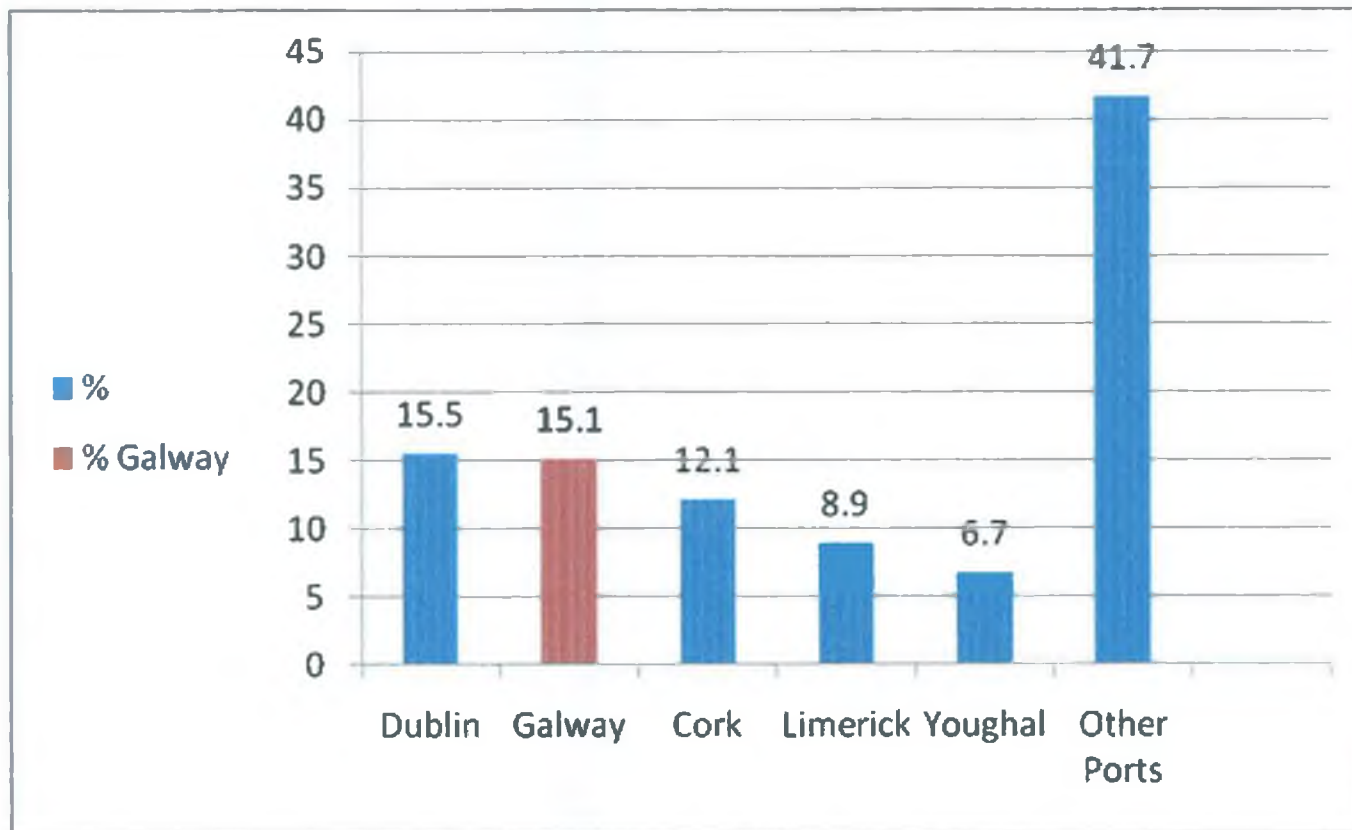
Figure 6.26 (b): Percentage Share of Total imports of Salt from France, 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts Imports and Exports 1683-1686

(20%, 17% and 15% respectively) thus pointing to a close correlation between the consumption of salt and the production of hides (Figures 6.21 (a) and (b)).

The quantities involved suggest that there was a significant amount of warehousing to store the salt within the immediate vicinity of the quays in Galway as imports amounted to an average of around 1,000 tons of salt per annum between 1683 and 1686.[367] Since salt was the basic ingredient for so much of Galway's staple industries, selling and distribution would have represented a major element of the towns economic activity.

Wine had, along with salt, been the major import into Galway during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century and was the source of much of the wealth accumulated by the Old English Catholic merchants. The impact on trade following the expulsion of the Catholic merchants from the town after 1660 has been commented on earlier, as has the increase in Catholic merchants working from continental bases. By the 1680s Dublin and Cork had become the two main commercial and financial centres in Ireland with Belfast emerging as a significant third major town for both exports and imports. By the 1680s imports of wine into Ireland were mostly shipped into Dublin with only small quantities being recorded for imports into Cork and other less substantial ports. In 1684, the port books recorded an exceptional year in which, of a total of 6,931 gallons of Spanish wine shipped to Ireland, 3,403 gallons (50%) were landed at Galway.[368] No shipments were shown for Galway for 1685 or 1686. Quite why there should have been an isolated yet substantial import of Spanish wine into Galway during 1686 is unclear but the return of Catholic merchants to Galway with strong family ties to wine merchants operating from their continental bases cannot be excluded.

Although wine had ceased to be a major import into Galway by the late seventeenth century the port still received regular consignments of brandy from France albeit nowhere near the quantities shipped to Dublin and Cork. Figure 6.27 (a) illustrates the annual receipts into Irish ports during the period 1683-1686. It is noted that although the levels of imports into the port during 1683-1684 represented some 7.6% of the total, an increase of nearly 170% in overall brandy imports into Ireland from 1683 to 1686 was

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[367] A bushel amounts to approximately 60lbs of salt.
[368] BL ADD. MSS 4759

1683			1684			1685			1686		
Port	Brandy/gals	%	Port	Brand/gal	%	Port	Brandy/gal	%	Port	Brandy/gall	%
Dublin	14279	32.9	Dublin	17720	22.9	Dublin	48303	41.5	Dublin	30744	26.4
Cork	6378	14.7	Cork	10400	13.5	Cork	18002	15.5	Belfast	16718	14.4
Belfast	4418	10.2	Limerick	6538	8.5	Belfast	11316	9.7	Cork	13996	12.0
Galway	3265	7.6	Galway	5858	7.6	Limerick	6560	5.6	Limerick	11977	10.3
Derry	2866	6.6	Dungarvan	5323	6.9	Derry	4672	4.0	Drogheda	6211	5.3
Kinsale	2333	5.4	Belfast	4953	6.4	Galway	4065	3.5	Kinsale	6146	5.3
Limerick	2052	4.7	Derry	4441	5.8	Drogheda	4015	3.4	Youghal	4798	4.1
Ross	1922	4.4	Ross	3668	4.7	Youghal	3979	3.4	Galway	4511	3.9
Other Ports	5829	13.4	Other Ports	18384	23.8	Other Ports	15372	13.2	Other Ports	21395	18.4
Total	43342	100.0	Total	77285	100.0	Total	116284	100.0	Total	116496	100.0

Figure 6.27 (a): Imports of Brandy from France into Ireland, 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

not reflected in similar increases into Galway. In overall terms the ports share of brandy imports almost halved to 3.9% and accounted for a mere 5% of total imports of Brandy over the four year period (Figure 6.27 (b)).

The influence of smuggling on the official statistics for the period is not overlooked. Evidence of large scale corruption by customs officials at Galway has already been discussed and there is no reason to believe that this was confined exclusively to wool. On the evidence from the surviving documentation, even if only half the true imports of wines and brandy were legally brought into the port, the overall volumes of these consumer goods point to an ongoing decline in economic activity within the town and the surrounding areas.

Imports from the English Plantations: 1683-1686

The most important import into Ireland from the English plantations in the early 1680s was tobacco. Since the 1671 Navigation Acts, direct imports into Ireland from the Plantations had been forbidden but when the Act expired in 1680, direct imports were resumed with substantial quantities being sent to Galway. The port was also a major destination for cotton and indigo (Figure 6.28).The presence of Old English Galway merchant families such as the Blakes in the West Indian plantations would have greatly influenced the choice of Galway as the destination port, where other members of the family had interconnecting alliances with both English merchants in Galway and the finance house of Dublin and London. The strength of these interconnecting relationships was tested when the Navigation Acts were re-imposed in 1686. Direct imports of colonial goods to Ireland were once again prohibited, and tobacco had to be shipped direct to England from the colonies before being re-exported to Ireland. In 1686 of 3,058,007 lbs. of tobacco exported into Ireland from England, 398,698 lbs. (13%) was taken into the port of Galway. In the long term the re-imposition of the Acts barely affected many of the Irish port's economies because, by the late 1680s, most Irish trade was being conducted on the account of British merchants. For the Old English Catholic merchants of Galway who had successfully held onto their virtual monopoly of trade to and from the port since the Restoration, the effect of the re-imposition of the Navigation Acts marked the beginning of the end of their domination of the mercantile activities of the town. The centralisation of Irish trade to Dublin and Cork, already of significance during the 1680s,
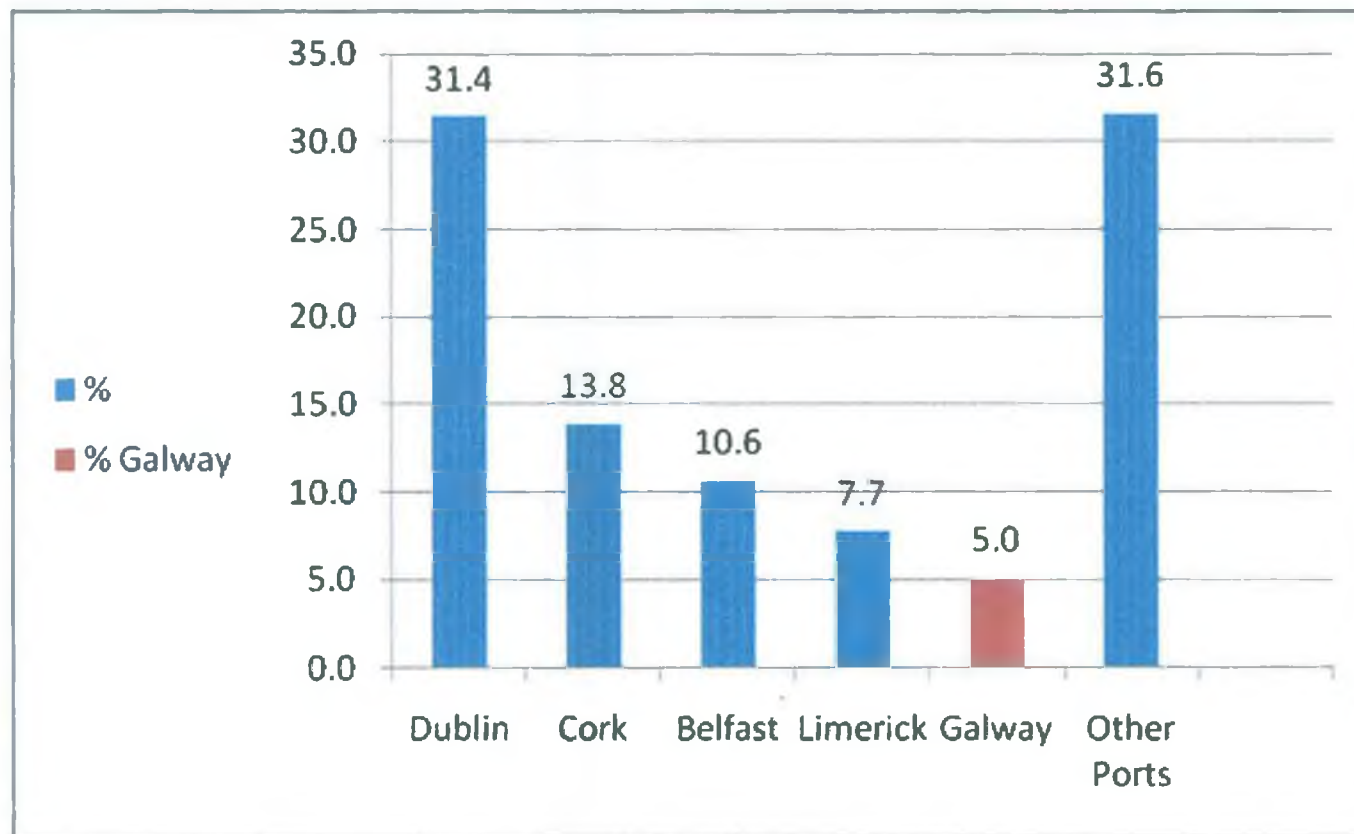
Figure 6.27 (b): Percentage Share of Total Imports of Brandy from France into Ireland, 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

Port	Cotton/lbs	Port	Indigo/lbs	Port	Tobacco/lbs
Dublin	3200	Galway	3754	Cork	788346
Galway	1698	Cork	3695	Belfast	360413
Limerick	532	Dublin	1375	Galway	358578
		Waterford	440	Dublin	299033
				Limerick	218033
				Kinsale	157307
				Youghal	115600
				Other Ports	168845
Total	5430		9624		2466155

Figure 6.28: Imports to Ireland from the Plantations 1683
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts 4759, Imports and Exports 1683-1686

Year	Total £s	Galway £s	% of Total
1683	105397	1359	1.28
1684	116072	1617	1.39
1685	88398	1413	1.59
1686	85390	964	1.12

Figure 6.29: Importation of 'Smallwares' into Galway 1683-1686
Source: BL Additional Manuscripts. 4759

was to be greatly increased in the last decade of the seventeenth century, as the Irish economy recovered from the devastating effects of the war.[369]

Imports of Smallwares from England: 1683-1686

In addition to the primary imports and exports which formed the basis of Galway's economic activity, the importation of so called 'Smallwares' offers an insight into the social development of the town (Figure 6.29). Comprising such items as groceries, haberdashery, ironware, and millinery, the items were a measurement of the social development in the town and suburbs, driven by a rise in the number of English Protestant families living in the town as well as the resident middle class families of Catholic merchants, traders and craftsmen. The imports, which accounted for less than 2% of all of Smallwares imported into Ireland over the four years analysed, provide a comparative measure of Galway's overall decline in it economic and social status. Galway's reliance on other English imports throughout the second half of the seventeenth century was minimal reflecting mostly the self sufficiency of the economy in Connaught insofar as basics such as clothing, shoes, furniture and agricultural tools were produced in 'cottage industries'. The almost total absence of any secondary industries in Connaught obviated the need for industrial commodities such as coal or iron.

Post War Recovery: 1692-1700

The outbreak of the war in 1689 inevitably caused disruption to Irish imports and exports and the collateral damage inflicted in the countryside by both sides severely disrupted internal trade. But unlike the Nine Years War which ended in 1603 and the Confederate Wars of 1641 to 1653, the last major war of the seventeenth century on Irish soil lasted only three years and resulted in significantly less economic and social disruption than did the previous conflicts. The speed at which the Williamite forces overran much of the Irish countryside following William III's arrival in June 1690 meant that by the autumn of 1690, the north of the country and the east as far as the Shannon, were no longer active war zones other than from raiding parties of raparees. Though hardly a return to peacetime conditions, this meant that the occupied countryside was no

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[369] Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', pp. 399-400.

longer subject to the 'scorched earth' policy which the retreating Jacobite army had engaged in and which had contributed to the loss of thousands of General Schomberg's army as well as the civilian population. The Marquis D'Albeville in an extensive report to James II described the extent of the devastation that the policy had wrought on both town and country as the army seemed to have been allowed to 'run amok' during the late autumn and winter of 1690:

> The whole country that remains yet to us, is laid waste, without village or house, no victuals to be had in the country anywhere, and but very little in the cities, where all the houses, especially here at Limerick, are pulled down by the soldiers, burning and selling all the timber, so as that they want now themselves house room, and this hitherto don in the face of the Governor and government. All ploughing is abandoned, the officers and soldiers having seized upon the poor people's garrons, robbing and taking away the very roots they have for their livelihood, soldiers rob one another, and the very shoes of one another's horses; whole houses pulled down to get a little iron; and were it not for the prise of iron Masterson had brought to Gallaway as he came from Scotland, our horse could not have appeared in the field all the last summer. The desolation is great and general; our conduct as bad as bad can be; no discipline, no obedience in officers or soldiers; no vigorous resolution in military or civil affairs.[370]

Despite the collateral damage described above, unlike the 1650's when plague along with starvation had decimated the population, civilian losses were minimal although there was considerable social upheaval as refugees fled the immediate areas of armed conflict.[371]

The most damaging impact on both internal and external trade arose from the consumption of livestock by both the military and civilian population, although this may have been exacerbated by the appearance of distemper in 1688.[372] The bi-products of cattle; hides, tallow and barrelled beef were amongst the mainstays of the Irish economy, and, for the port of Galway, these products were a staple export to France and to the American and West Indian plantations. The shortages became so acute that severe restrictions were placed on exports and special licences were needed for shipments to the West Indies. In 1691, domestic reserves were so depleted that a six month restriction was placed on the export of beef, butter and pork. This had a disproportionate impact on Galway's export trade which was already seriously damaged by the ongoing war with its

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[370] Marquis D'Albeville to James II, November 6 1690, *Finch Manuscripts*, Volume II, p. 473.

[371] Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691', p. 407.

[372] *Ibid.*; Truxes, *Irish American Trade 1660-1733*, p. 25.

chief export market, France[373] Despite the setbacks of the war, stocks recovered well and by 1698, Irish beef exports in general the had recovered to their pre-war levels.[374]

Despite the shortages and the ever present dangers of naval blockades, the trade in hides may well have continued between the Galway merchants and their French counterparts as the war progressed. Although supplies of new hides may have been seriously affected by the events of 1689-1690, treated hides stored in warehouses were continuing to be transported to France; possibly using the empty cargo holds of outbound French supply ships. In February, 1691, Coningsby, the Irish Paymaster General complained to Nottingham about this ongoing trade and the fact that it was providing additional revenue to fund Jacobite war effort. He suggested an increase in the naval blockade :

> It would put an end to the succour from France; for my notion proves entirely true, that it is not the King of France who supplies the Irish, he not being at one penny's expense to do it, but it is the advantageous trade hither for hides and tallow that does it, and while the merchants can make such vast advantages with so little hazard, they will furnish them to the end of the world, for the profit is at this time about *cent per cent*, and the trade with Ireland is better than the trade with the indies, and so will continue as long as their cattle hold out.[375]

Since Cork and Kinsale were still in Jacobite hands at this time it is likely that trade links were still ongoing at these ports. As Galway had been a major pre-war supplier of hides to France, it is more than likely that the Galway merchants were heavily involved in this wartime activity.

By 1692 however, stocks of hides and other bi-products were exhausted and animal stocks in general had reached a point that the Earl of Nottingham wrote to the Lords of the Treasury 'desiring leave for some time to transport horses, mares, cows, hogs and sheep from England and Scotland into Ireland, duty free'.[376] Indeed for the first two to three years after the end of the war Ireland was heavily dependant on imports of all kinds from England whilst the economy recovered. Figure 6.30 reflects this imbalance of imports over exports and the subsequent recovery towards the end of the decade. Of

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[373] Truxes, *Irish American Trade 1660-1733*, p. 26.
[374] *Ibid.*
[375] Coningsby to Nottingham, 17 February, 1671, Dublin, *Cal. SP. Domestic, William and Mary, 1690-1691*, pp. 241-248.
[376] Nottingham to the Lords of Treasury, *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 9. 1689-1692*, pp. 1445-1458.

Year Ending	Exports to Ireland	Imports from Ireland
1693	152,392	49,915
1694	146,567	114,905
1695	199.114	83,876
1696	232,472	246,899

Figure 6.30: Exports and Imports between England and Ireland 1693-1696
Source: BL Additional MSS, 20,710; BL Sloane MSS, 2902, ff 140

particular importance was the recovery in the export of wool to England, next to butter, its most profitable staple. Shipments increased from a low of 38,864 gt. stones in 1695 to 299,336 gt. stones by 1699 as sheep flocks, replenished from English imports were re-established.[377]

In the last years of the seventeenth century Ireland along with England, enjoyed an economic boom was fuelled in part by a rise in property and commodity prices and a substantial depreciation in the Irish coinage.[378] The extent to which Galway shared in this prosperity is not recorded. As the counties of Galway, Mayo and Roscommon were spared the worst ravages of the war, and as the town was barely damaged by the short siege prior to its capitulation, it is likely that the port enjoyed some share in this economic recovery.

TOPOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION
Maps and Plans

Mention had been made earlier of the survey of Galway by the military engineer Thomas Phillips in 1685 as part of a general review of Irish defences commissioned by Charles II but executed during the early months of the reign of James II. In the course of his survey Phillips drew a plan and prospect of Galway which accurately recorded the topographical features of the town and its environs as well as including an outline of his proposed alterations detailed in Figure 6.10. The plan (Figure 6.31) is considered to be the first ground-plan of Galway which accurately represents the topography of the town and its immediate suburbs and is considered to compare favourably with that of the modern Ordnance Survey maps.[379] The plan shows that the town remained totally enclosed by the outer walls throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century thus restricting the internal built environment with little or no change to the street plan depicted on the 1651 Pictorial Map (Figure 5.5). Cross referencing the Phillips map to that of the 1651 Pictorial Map and using the descriptions given in the index to the Pictorial Map printed in Hardiman's *History of Galway,* allows for a comprehensive study of the layout and composition of Galway in the late seventeenth century.[380]

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[377] Exports of Irish Wool to England, BL Sloane MSS, 2902, ff.293.
[378] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 41.
[379] Walsh, 'Galway, a Summary History', p. 281
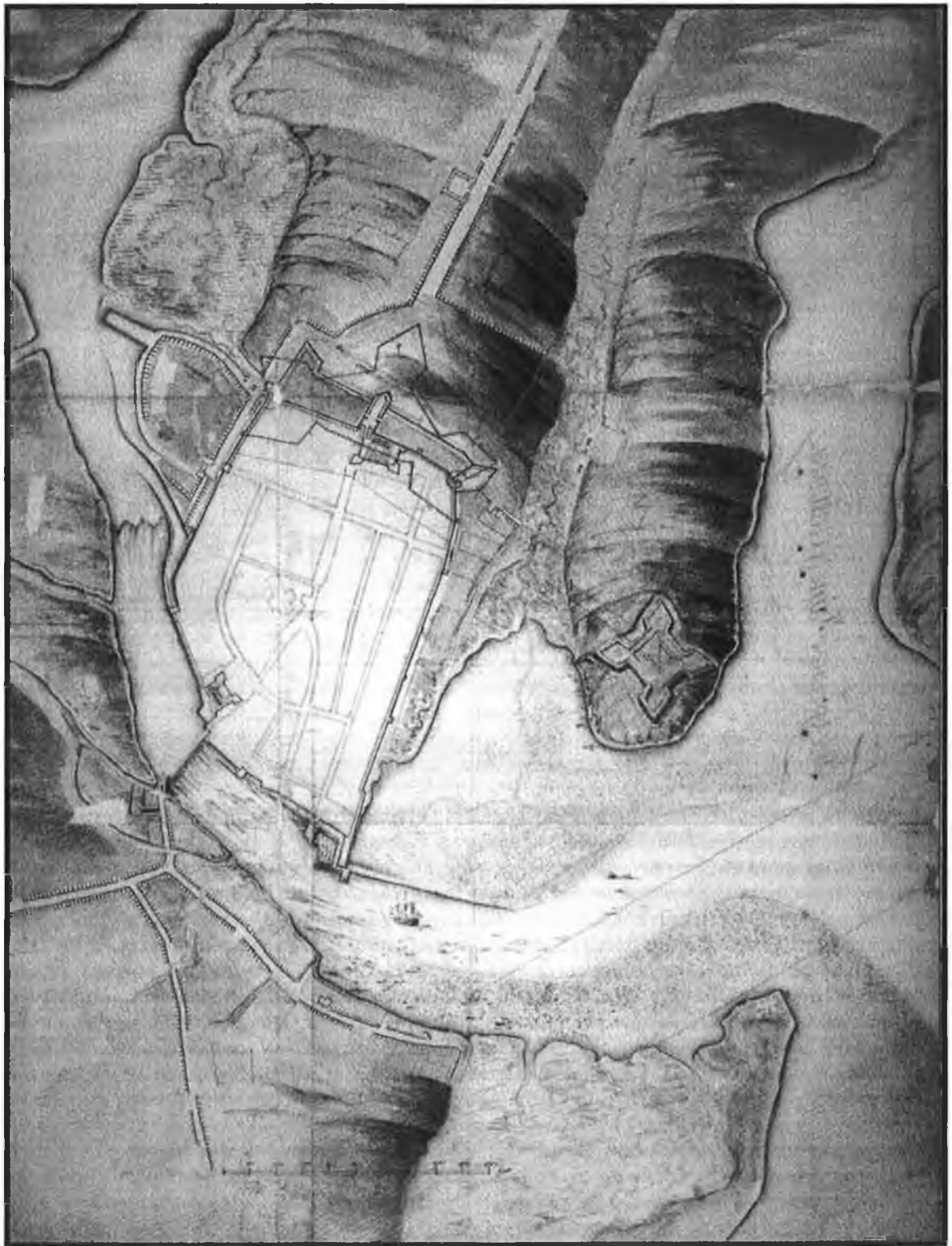[380] Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 27-31.

Figure 6.31: The Ground Plan of Galway by Thomas Phillips, 1685
Source: NLI MS 2557.28

The layout of the main streets remained unchanged since the 1650s, while the Cromwellian forts (middle background and left foreground) and St. Nicholas Church (middle middle ground) provide accurate location sites. Phillips proposed improvements to strengthen the defences on the East Gate and wall are shown in outline on the Plan superimposed over the fortifications to the East gate, Lions Tower Bastion and South Bastion erected between 1645 and 1651 (Refer to figure 5.18 above).

Of particular interest is the development of the town's suburbs. Phillips used a number of schematic conventions to denote topographical details particularly in the representation of roadside dwellings, and garden plots.[381] Figure 6.32 (a) illustrates a line of cottages extending along the high ground to the east of the town walls (middle and left background), with cultivated fields and gardens reaching down the northern and southern slopes, banking onto the marsh land (left background and right background). Of particular interest is the rectangular remains of the Cromwellian fort erected by General Coote along the siege line of 1651 (middle background).This detail was also illustrated on the Pictorial map (Figure 5.20) and that illustration included a number of single storied cabins abutting the walls of the fort.

No attempt seems to have been made to reclaim the salt marsh lands which lay between the walls and the ruins of the fort (right middle ground); although immediately below the South Eastern wall there is a patchwork of cultivated land extending down to the shoreline. On the Pictorial map this small development is depicted as a series of formal gardens. Also clearly visible in figure 6.32 (a) is a continuous row of cottages extending from the north-east under the walls of the town leading to the northern suburbs, built in the grounds of St. Francis Abbey, the ruins of which are depicted facing the Little Gate exit from the town (left middle ground).

Suburban development is also in evidence on the West bank of the Galway River (Figure 6.32 (b)) along a network of roadways beginning at the Western end of the West Bridge and extending southwards and ending at the start of marsh lands west of Rintinnane point (left and middle foreground). Access to the West Bank would have been via the West Gate drawbridge which is strangely omitted from Phillips *Plan*. Two other maps of Galway were made shortly after Phillips produced his detailed version. The

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[381] P. Walsh, 'Galway, a Summary History', p. 281.
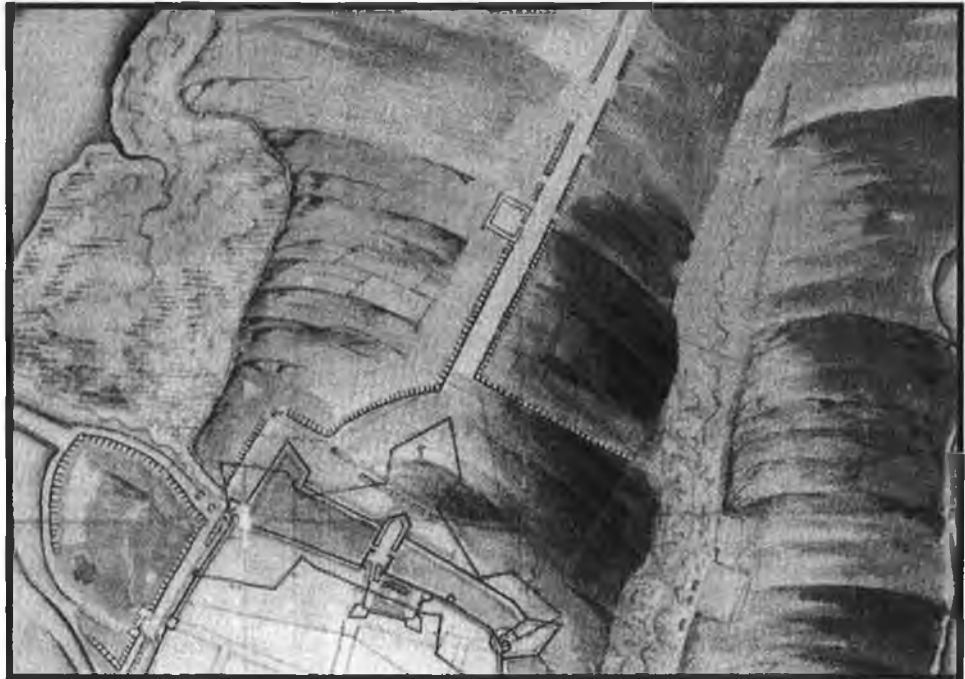
416

Figure 6.32 (a): Development of Galway's Northern and Eastern Suburbs 1685
Source: *The Ground Plan of Galway by Thomas Phillips*, NLI MS 2557.28
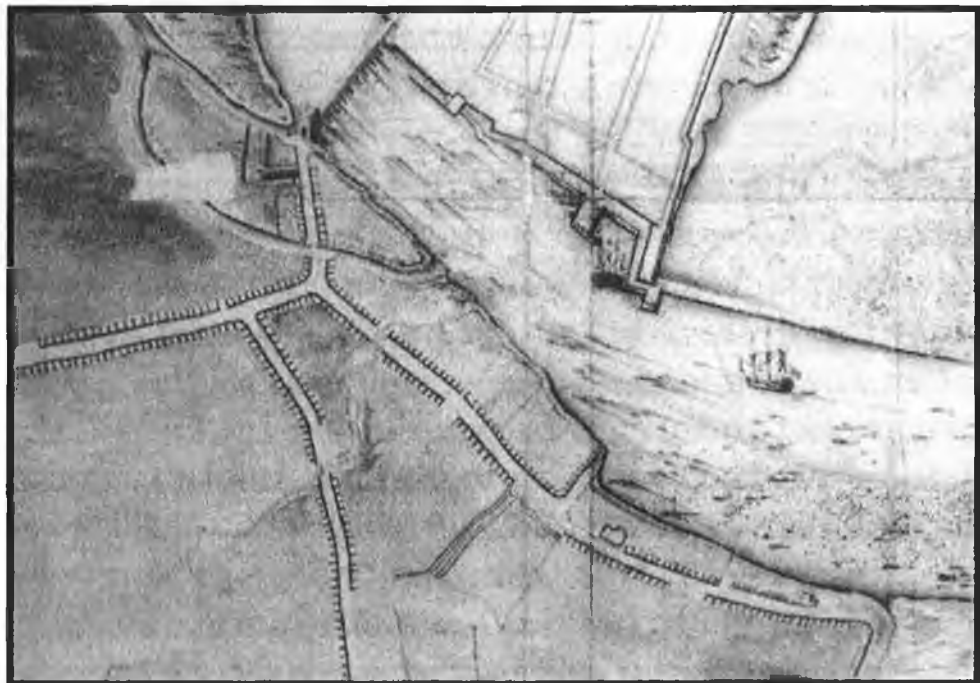

Figure 6.32 (b): Development of Galway's Western And Southern Suburbs, 1685
Source: *The Ground Plan of Galway by Thomas Phillips*, NLI MS 2557.28

Jacobite plan (Figure 6.11) and The Williamite Plan (Figure 6.33), illustrate the defensive works described earlier but although both affirm the now familiar street layout of the town, neither adds to the detailed topographical content of the Phillips map.

Houses and Buildings

Unlike the stylised 1652 Pictorial Map, Phillips topographical plan offers few clues to the types of housing within the walls of Galway in the mid-1680s, although it is unlikely that there had been much change in the house types and their distribution to that of the sample detailed in the *Survey and Evaluation of Galway 1657* (Appendix 1.) and summarised in figures 5.12 (a-c). Some improvements and repairs to houses which were damaged during the Cromwellian siege and by the subsequent occupation by General Cootes soldiers may have been undertaken in the 1660s, but the ongoing uncertainty over land and property rights, prevented any real improvements being made by the time of Phillips visit in 1685 when he observed:

> Galway is a place of indifferent trade, having gone much to decay by its having a very bad road without it, but being a place of indifferent strength, and the chief port of this Province, it therefore requires some care to be taken of it, that it might not be liable to a surprise.[382]

Since many of the Old English merchants had by the 1680s acquired or built residences outside of the town, many of the fine old mansions never returned to single occupancy after the Restoration, and were converted into tenements.

Suburban housing outside the walled town consisted largely of single storey cabins or cottages. Documentary evidence illustrating the predominance of this housing type can be found in the surviving deeds, and copies of deeds of the Eyre Family.[383] The relevant documents are those which relate to Edward Eyre who rose to prominence in Galway's Protestant community following the Cromwellian occupation. In the 1660s he was the MP for Galway and was at the centre of the landmark property dispute between himself and the former owner of his town Mansion, Robert Martin. Eyre became one of the most prominent and powerful of the New English Protestants in Galway and throughout the 1660s and 70s held numerous civic appointments on the town council

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[382] *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde,* NS, Volume 2, pp. 317-318.

[383] These documents came into the possession of University College Galway in the early 1940s and were subsequently calendared by M. Hayes-McCoy and published in the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* over succeeding years.
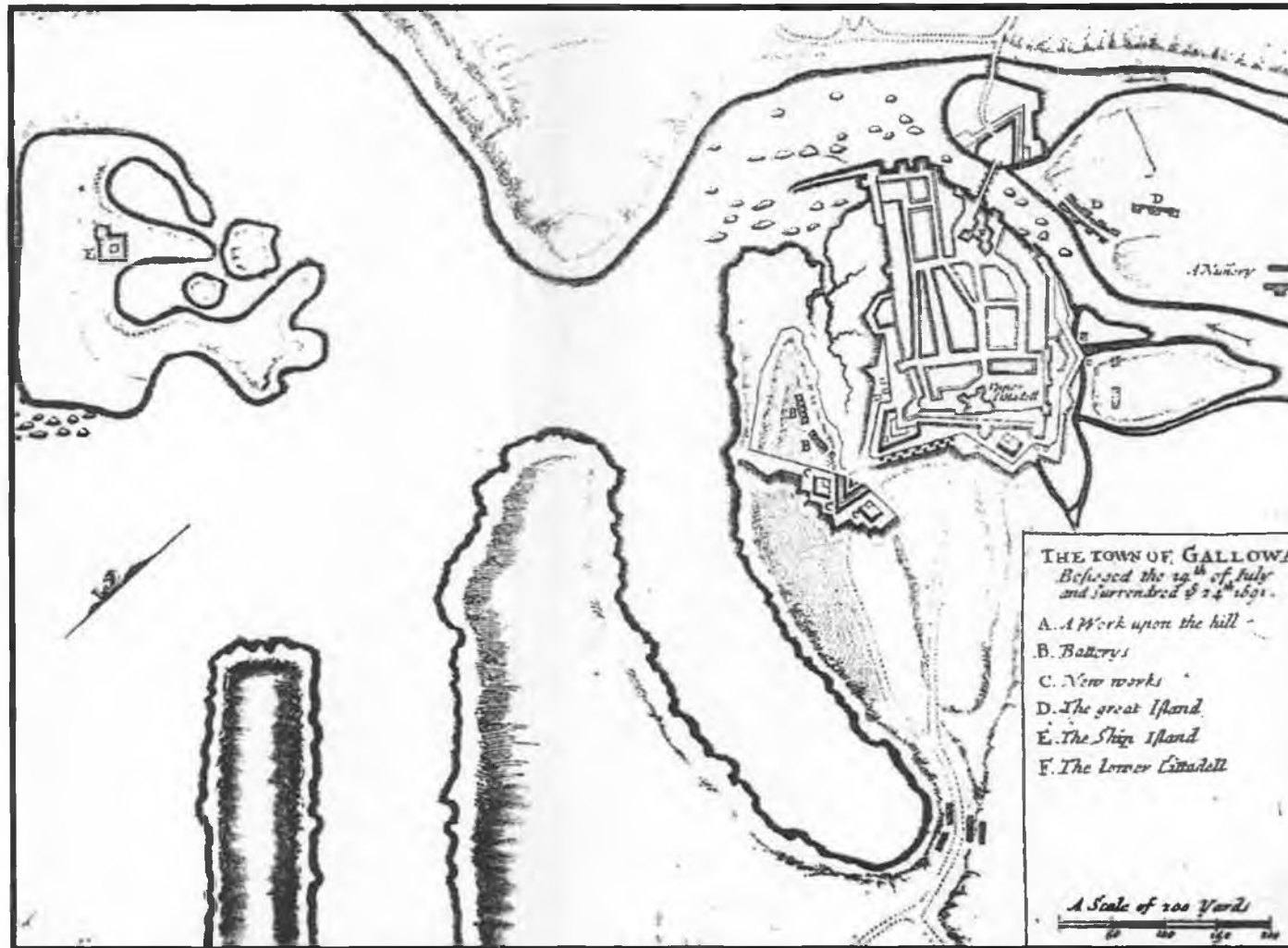
Figure 6.33: The Town of Galway Besieged, 19 July 1691
Source: G. Story, *An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, Part 2*, p. 172

including that of Mayor of the Staple. He used his position and power to obtain large grants of corporation property and in 1670 these included a 99 years lease at a yearly rental of £3 on a number of sites which included:

> The void place opposite Barrachalla alias wood-quay along the river to Suckeen and to the stone gate and causeway about the cabins on the south side, leaving a sufficient highway, not exceeding twenty foot, between it and the opposite cabins. The lower part of the green {Eyre Square] from the east side of the flankers pointing to the causeway leading to Fort Hill. The waste place on the backside of Thomas Williams garden, bounded by the pool on the Southside, round the jetty of stones that joins with the place called the exchange on the key on the west side, and bounded on the southeast, eastward, with the bounds of Fort-hill...and the cabins under the citadel on the market place in the east.[384]

Most of this property lay outside the walls of the town. The jetty of stones referred to in the lease extended from the Blind Arch [Spanish Arch] along to the middle of the Long Walk. This property is depicted clearly in Phillips *A Prospect of Galway* (right fore ground).[385]

Thomas Philips's *A Prospect of Galway,* (Figure 6.34) is the only objective pictorial record of the town of Galway to survive from the late seventeenth century.[386] The spire of St. Nicholas is clearly visible rising out of the centre of the town (middle middle. ground) and acts as a location point when comparing the Prospect with the Plan. The main quay immediately left of the town wall conforms in every respect to that of the 1651 Pictorial Map, (middle foreground).The outline of the destroyed citadel on Forthill (right foreground) starkly illustrates its proximity to the town and the threat that it had posed to the population during the outset of the Confederate Wars in the 1640s. The very tall three storied town houses, many of which were built higher than the town walls are more than just residential properties but clearly form an integral part of the town's defences abutting the walls in some places and, particularly along the river frontage, forming part of the defensive structure of the wall itself. The irregularity of the height of the houses in Phillips Prospect and the numerous roofing styles, many of which are built sheer to the guttering, convey a sense of realism to the town's roofscape in contrast to the

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[384] M. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Eyre Documents in University College Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Volume 20 (1942-1943), pp. 58-59.
[385] *Ibid.,* p. 59.
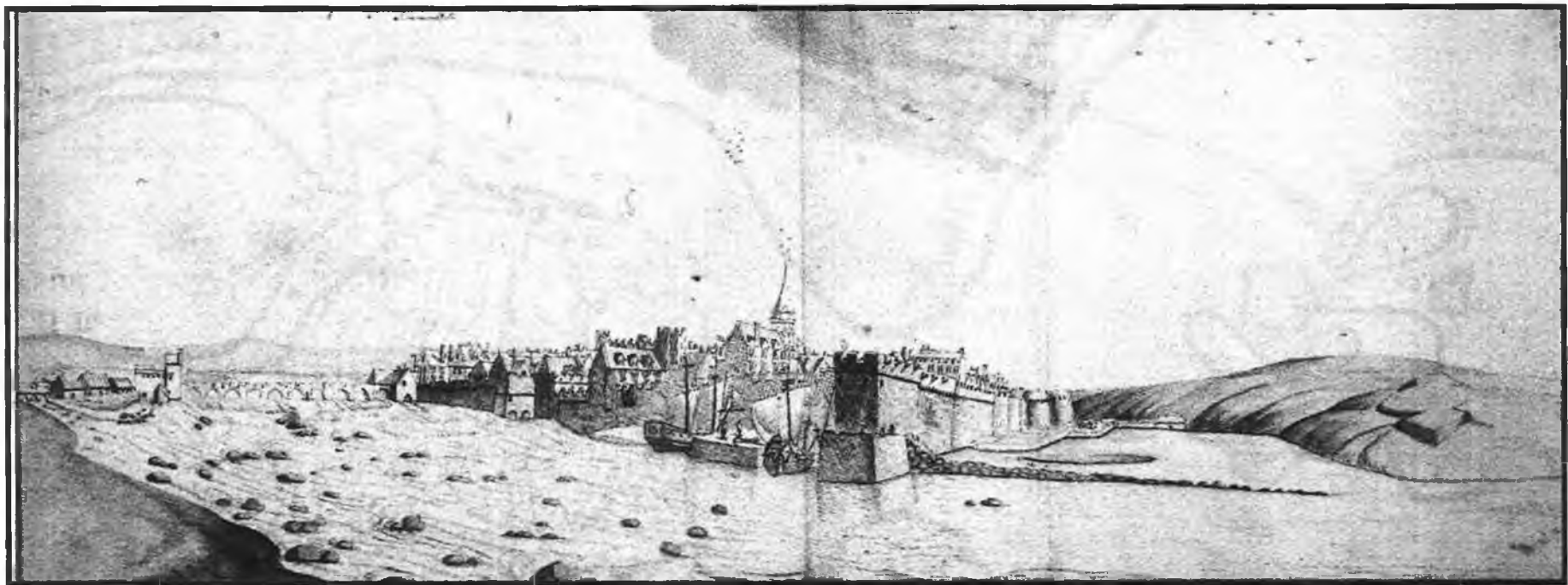[386] Walsh, 'Galway, a Summary History', p. 281.

Figure 6.34: Thomas Phillips Prospect of Galway
Source: NLI MS. 2557.29

pronounced, crennellated regularity of the walls and houses depicted on the *Pictorial Map*.[387]

Though the general appearance of the town may have lost some of it's opulence over the years following the Cromwellian occupation in the 1650s the structures had remained very much intact, and their appearance still impressed the visitor. According to John Dunton in a letter written some time during the late 1690's, he observed of Galway:

> There were three handsome monasteries here but they are utterly demolished; the town has one large church dedicated to St. Nicholas. It has some bells in it which are a great rarity in all the country churches here. The houses of this town are all strongly built of stone arched withinside and floored to the uppermost stories with clay, except in some few houses where they use boards for flooring; the transoms of their windows are stone also instead of iron or wood, so that the inside looks like a close prison. It has a pretty quay, and vessels of good burthen lie in so near it that one may easily step into them.[388]

This description could well have served as a descriptive footnote to Thomas Phillips Prospect drawn over a decade earlier and Dunton's observations serve as a fitting tribute to quality and durability of many of the buildings which had survived more or less intact over the turbulent years of the seventeenth century.

The Prospect shows a 90 degree view of the town illustrating its western and southern aspects, and a closer examination of some of the detail offers further evidence of suburban development of mostly single storied cabin like structures in contrast to the multi-storied mansions and town houses within the walls. In figure 6.35 (a), single storey cabins are clearly discernable to the right of the guard house on the west bridge (left background) and evidence of similar structures are to seen beneath the wall of the South Bastion of the east wall (Figure 6.35 (b). In Phillips illustration all the cabins are shown to have one or more chimneys which suggest that the buildings had been erected as purpose built dwellings rather than temporary shelters The will of Edward Eyre confirms ownership of a number of cabins in the suburbs further suggesting a degree of permanence for these structures. The use of the word 'cabin' in this context is a misnomer. In modern terminology they would have been akin to cottages and similar in design and construction to the many single storied, whitewashed thatched houses which

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[387] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[388] The Letters of John Dunton, Bodleian Library, Oxford, (Rawlinson D. 71) Cited in MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 328.

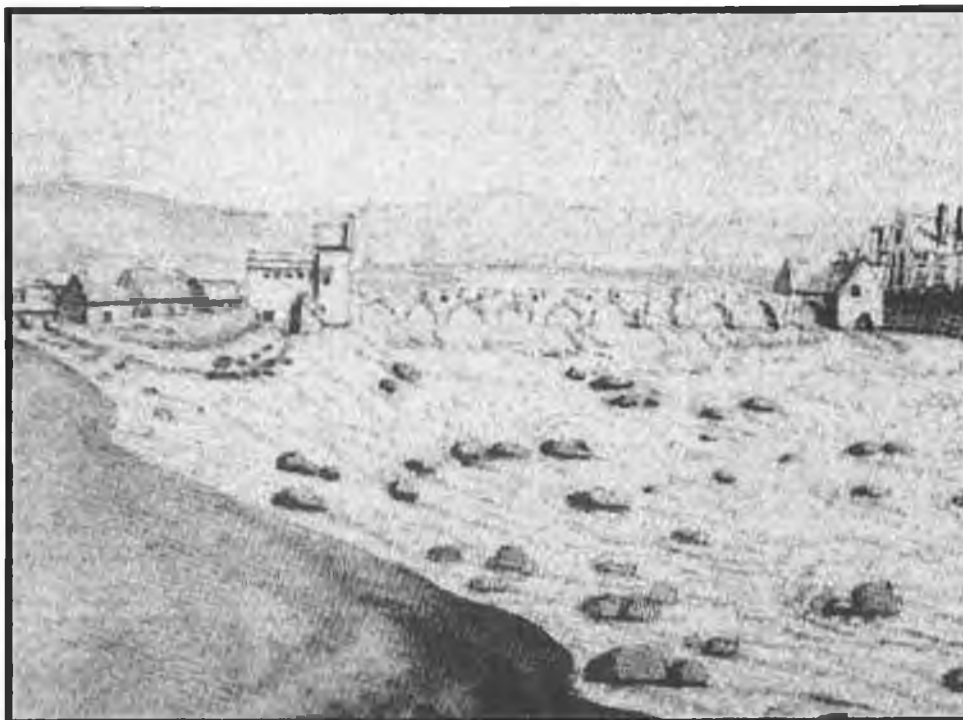**Figure 6.35 (a):** Detail of Cabins Western Suburbs of Galway, 1685
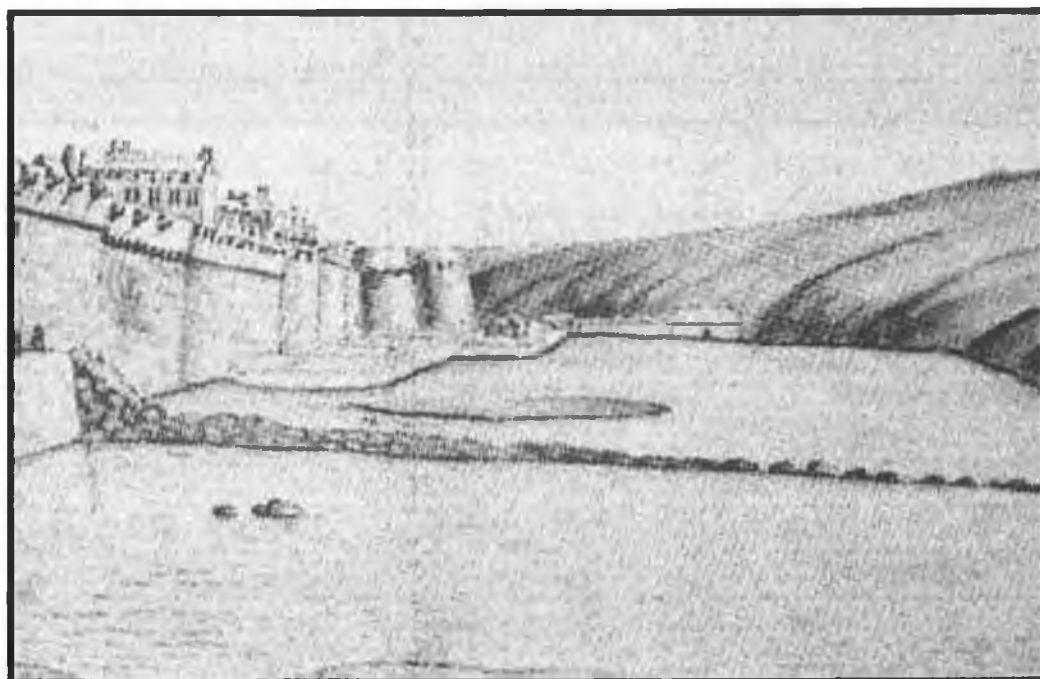**Source:** *A Prospect of Galway, by Thomas Phillips, 1685,* NLI MS 2557.29

Figure 6.35 (b) Detail of Cabins Beneath the South Bastion, Galway, 1685
Source: *A Prospect of Galway, by Thomas Phillips, 1685, NLI MS 2557.29*

were common throughout Ireland up to the end of the twentieth century. Buildings of a more temporary nature may well have been erected on the outskirts of the built-up suburban areas, particularly during and after the 1689-91 War. In previous conflicts the relative safety of the town had offered some degree of security to many rural dwellers dislocated by the conflict, particularly by the 'scorched earth' policies carried out by the warring parties; and it has been noted that many Protestant families were left homeless following the corporations decision in 1689 to burn down their homes in the eastern suburbs to deny refuge to General Ginkel's soldiers. There is no doubt that reconstruction work was undertaken to rebuild the destroyed housing stock in the suburbs during the 1690s, as Galway, like all of the other major Irish urban settlements, settled into a period of post war recovery. The population of Galway, unlike that of most other major Irish urban communities had little choice but to rebuild and extend its urban settlements since population growth of any magnitude within the town was limited by the relatively small area of available land within the town walls. In the late 1690s all the major Irish urban settlements were still bound by walled defences but none so restricted as Galway, which, with only eleven hectares of available space within the walls, was the smallest.[389]

An estimated population of *circa* 3,350 lived within the town walls in 1651.It can be hypothesised that the total population, including the suburbs was around 7,000. By 1679 the population living within the walled town may have declined to less than 3,400 since most of the Catholic population had been excluded following the alleged Popish plot to murder Charles II [390] By the 1680s the suburbs had expanded considerably. The population living outside of the walls included not just families that had been forced to leave but also an influx of a growing number of landless rural dwellers in the wake of the Cromwellian and post Reformation settlements.

Although no accurate census survives to confirm the suburban population an estimate may be made by reference to Phillips's plan of Galway. Phillips used a series of regularly spaced pen strokes to illustrate the ribbon development of cabins extending out from the walled towns. By assuming that the space between two strokes represented a

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[389] This compared with Dublin (20ha), Drogheda (43ha), New Ross (39ha), Waterford (23ha), and Limerick (28ha), P. Walsh 'Galway, A Summary History', in E. Fitzpatrick, M. O'Brien and P. Walsh, (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations in Galway City, 1987-1998*, p. 274.

[390] J. P. Murray, *Galway: A Medico Social History*, p. 32; Order from the Lord Lieutenant and Council to Chief Magistrates, 31 March 1679. *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde*, NS Volume 2, p. 258.

from the walled towns. By assuming that the space between two strokes represented a cabin and that the average occupancy was eight persons, a theoretical suburban population of around 4520 may have lived outside the walled town in the mid-1680s (Figure 6.36).[391] The suburban and urban populations may thus have amounted to a figure approaching 7,900 during the mid-1680s.

Suburbs	Houses	Population
Western	220	1,760
Eastern	205	1,640
Northern	85	680
Southern	55	440
Total	**565**	**4520**

Figure 6.36: Estimated Population of Galway, 1686
Source: Estinated from The Ground Plan of Galway by Thomas Phillips, 1685

By the 1690s Galway's standing as a major Irish exporting port had been overshadowed by the dominance of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford and the growing importance of commercial centres in the North East such as Derry and particularly Belfast. The growth in population of these port towns reflects this economic activity. The export trade was almost entirely dependant on the production and processing of staples such as hides and on provisions like barrelled beef and butter and above all on the shipments of wool and all of which required a considerable number of skilled and unskilled workers. Galway, on the other hand, despite a declining share of the export market in staple goods was believed to have had a population greater than Limerick and Waterford and by the 1690s the combined population of the walled town and the suburbs may have approached 12,000.[392]

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[391] McCarthy uses a multiplier of 6.5 in arriving at the population of Cork in the 1650s while E. McLysaght quotes as many as 'nine or ten': M. McCarthy, 'Historical Geographies of a Colonised World: the Renegotiation of New English Colonisation in Early Modern Urban Ireland, c 1600-10', *Irish Geography*, Vol. 36 (1), 2003, pp. 315-317: MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 66.

[392] MacLysaght, *A Transplanted Family in the Seventeenth Century*, (Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1935), p. 58.

Outside of Connaught there had been a steady process of urbanisation throughout the course of the seventeenth century and by 1685 more than 100 towns had the status of a corporation, with charters allowing for market rights, and in some cases parliamentary boroughs. By contrast there had been little urban development in Connaught. Small towns such as Athenry Tuam and Ballinasloe were in reality no more than villages and the only two other centres of any consequence in the province were Castlebar and Sligo. Migration to the more densely populated areas of the country was extremely rare amongst the rural populations and in any case was not only limited by a poor and in most areas non-existent road network but was also extremely dangerous. Armed bands continued to terrorise the countryside in the 1690s. MacLysaght gives an account of a Reverend James Alexander of Raphoe who failed to take up his appointment as a Presbyterian minister in Sligo on the grounds that 'the road was so infested with Rapparees that he dared not do so'.[393]

Thus for many, Galway represented the only urban settlement of any consequence in the West offering some degree of security to a dislocated rural population and it is likely that as well as the neat and orderly urban development of cottages illustrated by Phillips, less permanent shelters housed a large part of Galway's population living outside of the walled town.

CONCLUSION

Between 1660 and 1700 the relative importance of the port town of Galway in Irelands urban landscape diminished against that of its long established rivals and the emerging new English commercial centres particularly those in the North East. There is evidence that despite the exclusion from the town's civic affairs, Galway merchants continued to maintain their trade links with Europe, particularly France; and also with the Plantation settlements of North America and the Caribbean. But most of this trade was centred on the traditional staple markets, particularly hides and tallow and as the Cattle Acts of the 1660s forced Irish agricultural interests to move into the provisions markets, Galway's contribution in this growing export market fell well short of the market leaders.

This failure cannot be attributed solely to a failure on the part of the towns trading community. The hinterland surrounding Galway was not readily suitable to changing from cattle breeding to dairy farming nor, it would seem, was there the expertise to

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[393] MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 275.

develop the dairy industry on the industrial scale seen in the South West and North East. The few trade statistics available for any objective analysis seem to support the view that there is a strong correlation between the growth of port towns like Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Derry and Belfast, their productive agricultural hinterlands and the arrival of New English colonists bringing with them the capital and expertise needed to develop the land and stock.

The question of the availability of investment capital cannot be ignored. The ongoing uncertainty over land ownership which dominated political and economic affairs during the latter half of seventeenth century Ireland, had depressed land prices and resulted in high interest rates. What little capital that was available came almost entirely from England and, understandably went into ventures where the investors had some confidence of a return The Protestant dominated towns of particularly Dublin and Cork were thus the main beneficiaries. By the 1670s, New English settlement into Connaught had practically ceased and the Catholic population outnumbered the Protestants by as much as 15:1. The wealthy Old English merchant families who still owned much of the lands around Galway had capital but this was, as evidenced by their trading connections in Europe, being used to expand their business interest abroad and in the Plantations. it was not being re-invested in Galway's infrastructure.

This deterioration within the town was of some concern to the authorities in Dublin and to local Protestant interests but although some attempts were made to bring back Catholic trade and enterprise during the 1670s it was not successful. The eventual re-occupation of the town by the Old English, during the late 1680s and during the Williamite war allowed for no opportunity to address neither the structural needs of the town nor that of the port facilities. The ease with which Galway was surrendered to the Williamite forces was to allow most of the Old English merchant families to retain ownership of their extensive landholdings. By the end of the 1690s, the town was no longer a focal point for the trading interests of the 'Tribes'. Despite the sectarian divide which had by this time permeated Irish society; Catholic and Protestant merchants had developed strong trading links to profit from the expanding Atlantic and Far Eastern trade routes.

Chapter Seven
Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the port town of Galway was, next to Dublin, one of the wealthiest and most populous urban centres in Ireland. Over the course of the century the fortunes of the town steadily declined against a background of political religious and economic change which dismantled the highly successful social order which had been the cornerstone of the town's success. From 1600 until 1640 the Old English had worked alongside the New English Protestant minority, and had avoided serious conflict by operating a policy of *realpolitik*, in which they surrendered their autocratic control over the town's affairs whilst continuing to amass wealth through their trading activities. During this period the town seems to have prospered as the country in general enjoyed a prolonged period of internal peace.

After the defeat of the Confederacy by Cromwell, English colonial policy purged all the old urban centres of any involvement by Catholics in the both the governance of the town and in its social and commercial life. Though Galway's Catholic merchant class continued to trade in the widening mercantile world, the wealth that they generated was not re-invested back into the town as it had been over past generations. The New English population who had replaced them for the most part had neither the expertise nor resources to replace the exodus of capital and as a result during the 1660s and 1670s the buildings, civic amenities and walls fell into disrepair; evidence also began to emerge at that time of a decline in Galway's trading position relative to the other major urban centres. The development of the provisions trade following the Cattle Acts fuelled the rapid economic growth of other port towns particularly in Munster, with Cork becoming the second most important trading centre after Dublin by the 1680s.

The recognition by the authorities in the late 1670s that some integration back into Galway by the Catholic population was essential to the town's economic health did little to reverse the trend and the resurgence of the Old English control of the town in the late 1680s was too short-lived to make any real and permanent improvements. Following the relatively short but massively disruptive Williamite war, the remnants of the Old English oligarchy were once more excluded from the town. What had once been one of the most important urban centres in Ireland had, by 1700 been reduced to little more than an English garrison town.

THE INFLUENCE OF COLONIALISM.

In examining the underlying causes and events which resulted in the town of Galway's decline from it's pre-eminent position at the start of the century, this study has sought to identify the religious, political, social and economic influences which together contributed to the town's downfall. Though religious conflict is a continuous theme throughout the narrative it should not be seen as the primary source of Galway's ills but rather as a consequence of the societal changes which the English administration saw as essential to their policy of Anglicisation of Ireland.

There is a divergence of opinion amongst modern historians in interpreting English policy in Ireland at the start of the seventeenth century. Pat Nugent has identified two different conceptual frameworks which seek to explain the process of assimilation into the main stream of the English body politic.[1] The first proposes that it was a process of colonisation of Ireland and the first step in British overseas expansion. The second framework, which Nugent acknowledges used colonisation strategies to implement, sees Ireland as an "annexed province of an emerging English/British nation state".[2] The roots of this divergence of opinion can be seen in the interpretation of early proposals for the absorption of Ireland into the English state. Spenser's *View,* Nicholas Canny has argued, was central to a colonial policy in Ireland throughout much of the seventeenth century. However Ciaran Brady believes that the *View* did not represent a consensus of New English Settlers and that more moderate proposals for the settlement of Ireland were put forward by newcomers to Ireland such as Sir Robert Gardner.[3] In examining the proposals of Sir John Davis Orr has observed that whilst Davis included elements of a colonial strategy the objective was to introduce and implement English common law as a foundation stone of a nation state which would over time assimilate [the Gaelic Irish] into English culture.[4] In drawing attention to the divergence of opinion as to the main thrust of English strategy in Ireland, Nugent also points to a middle ground adopted by historical geographers when focussing on county, barony or provincial studies. What

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[1] P. Nugent, 'The Interface Between the Gaelic Clan System of County Clare and the Emerging Centralising English Nation-State in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century', *Irish Geography,* Volume 40, Number 1, 2007, p. 79.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the Development of an Anglo-Irish Identity', *The Year Book of English Studies: Colonial and Imperial Themes,* 13, (1983), pp. 1-19; C. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present,* No. 111, (May 1988), p. 22.

[4] D. A. Orr, ' From a View to a Discovery: Edmund Spenser, Sir John Davis, and the Defects of Law in the Realm of Ireland', *Canadian Journal of History,* Vol. 38, Issue 3, (December, 2003), p. 397

emerges from these studies is that whatever form the colonisation process may have taken, it did not, at least during the first four decades of the seventeenth century, fit smoothly into D. Meinig's definition of "the aggressive encroachment of one people upon the territory of another, resulting in the subjugation of the latter people to alien rule".[5] The cultural diversity within Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century was such that there was no 'one people' and no clear demarcation lines existed between the coloniser and the colonised. Territorially, the Old English and Gaelic Irish occupied distinctly separate spaces both geographically and culturally. Although there might have been a greater degree of unanimity between the Protestant settlers remaining after the Nine Years War and the New English arrivals following the Battle of Kinsale, there were deep divisions amongst them as to how to proceed with the colonisation process and as to the form that their Protestantism might take.

The colonisation process of the Old English began in a benign form long before the more strident methods articulated by Spenser, Davies and others. The medieval town of Galway during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enjoyed many benefits derived from charter rights granted by the English crown. However the introduction of Poyning's Law in 1494 had the effect of moving Galway and all the other Old Irish ports towns and urban settlements into a relationship with England which may be described as internal colonialism or "political and economic inequalities between regions within a given society".[6] Hechter defines this as a relationship between the core and the periphery where, amongst other issues the cores cultural practices such as the legal systems and religious beliefs are distinct from those of the periphery.[7] By the beginning of the seventeenth century, a neutered Irish parliament combined with the growing pressures on the Old English Catholic population moved the process of internal colonialism closer to an overtly hostile colonial occupation by the English Protestants, civil and military.

There is no evidence that the citizens of Galway saw themselves as a conquered or colonised population in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. Despite the restrictions imposed on holding public offices imposed by the need to take the Oath of Supremacy, with one exception, the annual elections for the mayor and other civic

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[5] D.W. Meinig, 'Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion', in A.R.H. Baker and M. Billinge (eds.), *Period and Place: Research methods in Historical Geography,* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), p. 71.

[6] N. Abercrombie *et. al.* (eds.) *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology,* p. 183.

[7] M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism, The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966,* p. 5.

dignitaries continued to return members of the Old English merchant classes until 1654 when the Old English Catholics were expelled from the town.[8] Moreover they hardly saw the presence of English military and civilian personnel as alien, since they saw themselves as a bastion of English presence in an otherwise alien environment. The Old English saw no difficulty in balancing loyalty to the Crown with devotion to the Pope, whereas the New English Protestants considered it abhorrent that they could enjoy a religious affinity with the Gaelic Irish, against whom England had just fought a long and ruinous war with their Continental enemies, Spain and France, and a Pope who had excommunicated their King. What had saved the town of Galway from "aggressive encroachment" had not been some residual affinity to the Old English population by the New English but a pragmatic need not to alienate the population as long as it could be relied upon to hold out against Spanish invasion.

The treaty with France in April 1629 and the opening of peace negotiations with Spain in May 1629 removed any immediate military threat of invasion of Ireland. From that point on the relationship between the English authorities and the Old English citizens of Galway began to deteriorate culminating in their joining the Confederacy in 1641

Galway and many of its principal citizens played a prominent role in the Confederate wars culminating in a bitterly fought and drawn out siege as the town became the putative headquarters of the Confederacy. But Galway's surrender to General Coote in 1652 marked the beginning of a new phase in its history; no longer an English colony in a hostile Gaelic Irish land but an Irish papist town which posed a threat to English territorial ambition. Then benign colonialism turned rapidly and brutally to aggressive encroachment.

Meinig's framework, outlined earlier, offers an appropriate model to identify the component parts of the new colonial process in Galway. As an historical geographer, Meining translated "what happened" to mean 'how have areas changed" and further refines the question to "how do areas under imperial control differ from what they were like before they were brought under such control'[9] He identifies the "essential geographical features of imperialism as a set of processes and patterns and in doing so he makes use of five common categorisations of different aspects of human life, political,

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[8] Sir Thomas Rotherham, Governor of the Fort in 1612.

[9] Meinig, 'Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion', pp. 73-75.

social, cultural, economic and psychological.[10] The narrative history of Galway, when placed within this framework, allows for a closer examination of how, following the Cromwellian evictions and the Restoration, the New Protestant English colonisation of the town of Galway irrevocably changed those aspects of human life which had formed the essence of the towns former economic and cultural pre-eminence.

Political authority exercised over the former inhabitants of the town required the presence of a military governor and other officials supported by the military as "extensions of the central instrument of the imperial state".[11] The removal of the Old English members of the Corporation and replacement by New English Protestants supported by the ruthless military rule of the governor, Colonel Stubbers ensured that the policies and directives of the state were implemented without any reference to the Old English and Gaelic Irish populations and without any fear of non-compliance.

In Meinig's model, political authority included the establishment of a network of routes linking each of the subordinated areas to the imperial capital or core (i.e. Dublin and London). Road communications though notoriously poor throughout the seventeenth century were improved along main trunk routes after the Cromwellian conquest had established a chain of garrison towns which led from Galway through to Athlone and onwards to Dublin. More importantly, Galway was a port town and there were long established sea routes connecting the other port towns of Ireland to Dublin and onwards to the English ports, notably Bristol. The development of more powerful warships' by Cromwell's navy assured greater security along these sea lanes.

In order to exercise political authority, contact between the coloniser and the colonised was an imperative. This contact creates a new social order in which the agents of the coloniser assume a dominant position; what Meinig described as a new ethnic aristocracy, leading to the emergence of a variety of social intermediaries including servants, lawyers, teachers, traders and transporters.[12] There is likely to be created a new social geography which may include bi-cultural localities and separate residential areas. At a more intense level this process may include killings expulsions, relocations, recruitment of labour and the forced migration of prisoners, labourers and servants.

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[10] *Ibid.,*p. 72.

[11] Meinig, 'Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion', p. 72.

[12] *Ibid.*

The expulsion of the Catholic community of Galway in 1654 despite the assurances of the terms of surrender closely follows this more aggressive form of contact. It was ironic that the Old English Catholic community were forced to live in the suburbs which until then had been mainly the preserve of the Gaelic Irish; earlier victims of a colonial process. But having to live outside the town did not prevent considerable interaction between the two communities and "one of the great meeting-places was the main street and the market square, the nexus of so many transactions and interactions".[13]

The rounding up and despatch of untold numbers of both Gaelic Irish and some of the lower orders of the Old English immediately following the occupation of Galway to sustain colonial expansion in the Caribbean was a further extension of the colonial process. The port of Galway had already established strong trading links with the new colonies before the Cromwellian occupation. Its use now as a port of embarkation for colonised peoples shipped forcibly to the subordinated colonies of the New World was an extension of the use of political authority by the English, a policy already executed within Ireland during the transportation to Connaught of displaced peoples from Munster and Leinster.

The influx of New English settlers in the wake of the military occupation of the town appears from the evidence not to have resulted in any significant cultural change in either the new settlers or the old former inhabitants. Meinig's model suggested that ordinarily the greater pressure for change will be upon the invaded people and that some changes may occur "through explicit instruments of the invader (schools, churches, law courts) and much more may develop from the routines of ordinary life".[14] This was an unlikely scenario in Galway. The New English settlers in Galway were exclusively Protestant although there may well have been a tiny minority of Old English Protestants sharing common religious ground.

The Catholic community, which vastly outnumbered the New English, shared neither their schools nor their church. Irish Catholics also vastly outnumbered English Protestants and if there was to be any acculturation it was more likely to have been upon the invader. The most likely contacts which might permit a degree of interchange between the two cultures were those which were made as a means to personal gain.

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[13] Smyth, *Mapmaking, Landscapes and Memory, A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750,* (Cork University Press, Cork, 2006), p. 10.

[14] Meinig, 'Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion', p. 72.

Evidence of Catholic merchants having trading agreements with Protestant partners has been demonstrated in the main body of the narrative but this represented a very small section of each of these societies. Catholics were excluded from nearly all the trappings of power and from the everyday trades within the town for most of the latter half of the seventeenth century. A measure of apostasy may well have occurred where the financial gains accrued from apostasy outweighed the opprobrium of their friends and neighbours. The degree to which the two communities remained distant from each other may be measured by examining the names of the Protestant Corporation of 1681 detailed in Figure 6.5, and the names of the Catholic Corporation of 1686 (Figure 6.6). Although there were a small number of English names appearing in the 1686 list (there was at that time some Protestant support for James II), in the 1681 list Old English names are conspicuously absent. This suggests that the legal strictures on Catholic involvement in the town's affairs coupled with religious bigotry from both sides had created a form of apartheid which militated against any cultural interchange between the two sides. Some cultural exchange might have occurred had the New English been more even handed in sharing the resources of the town and its environs but that was not an objective of the colonial process.

The overriding imperative of the colonisation of Ireland was not to create a 'little England' of an anglicised Protestant Irish community nor an armed fortress against the designs of predatory continental neighbours, but to exploit the resources of the country. These included not just he natural resources of the land, forests, and rivers but also the commercial opportunities afforded by the wealthy port towns which had long contributed considerable sums to the Crown. L.A Clarkson emphasised this distinction when observing that "Irish economic history should be explained in terms of factor endowments and market opportunities, rather than by political preoccupations deriving from Anglo-Irish political conflict".[15] Between 1600 and 1640, although the narrative considers a number of religious and political issues which affected the well being of Galway, the measures which exercised the minds of both the Corporation of Galway and the Crown concerned the royal charters. The division of the revenues generated in the town by its highly successful merchant class were of paramount importance to both James I and Charles I. It is true that the threat from Spain at times deflected attention

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[15] Clarkson, 'The Writing of Irish Economic and Social History Since 1968', *The Economic History Review,* New Series, Vol. 33, No. 1 (February, 1980), p. 101.

away from this central focus, but it rapidly returned to centre stage as soon as the danger was over. In the 1630s, the attempts by Wentworth to ride roughshod over the legally held property of the Old English and Irish landowners in Connaught, many of whom where also prominent townsmen, provided further evidence of the economic attractions of "aggressive encroachment".

After the Cromwellian conquest economic intrusions also involved the confiscation of key facilities and resources including urban properties. In Galway this intervention included the seizure of over a third of the housing stock of the town to recompense the citizens of Gloucester for their losses in the English Civil war. Considerable land holdings in the suburbs of Galway were also forfeited. After taking power the new Protestant leaders of the Corporation systematically plundered the towns resources by diverting funds which were intended to maintain the public buildings and other corporation properties into private use. A prime example of predatory imperial expansion is to be seen in the matter of the town's customs and duties, seized by Charles II as forfeited assets. He first gifted them to a court favourite and then acquired by the Cromwellian soldier Theodore Russell who used the acquisition to remain for 11 years the unelected Mayor of the town. During his time as Mayor he arranged numerous long leases of corporation property for the benefit of himself and his inner circle. It is noted that no major public works were initiated to improve either the civic amenities or the port facilities during the entire course of the Protestant control of the town from 1660 until 1686.

Economic intrusion also extended to the manipulation of trade so as to swing the balance between imports and exports in favour of the English home market. This manifested itself in a range of mercantilist measures such as the Cattle Acts, the Navigation Acts and the Woollen Acts. That the Cattle Acts subsequently worked in Irelands favour does not detract from the core argument that economic manipulation on that scale was within the remit of aggressive colonial policy. The mercantilist policies also finally put to rest any residual notion that Ireland's relationship to England was that of a 'sister Kingdom' rather than a colony or conquered territory and her fortunes became more and more subject to the authority of the Parliament at Westminster, in which she had no representation.[16]

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[16] C.A. Edie, 'The Irish Cattle Bills: A Study in Restoration Politics', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* New Series, Vol. 60, No. 2 (1970), p. 5.

The final element in Meinig's framework posits that in order to continue their domination at minimum cost and trouble, imperial rulers seek the allegiance of the conquered people. The process by which this was to be achieved involved "the manipulation of symbols of authority, power and prestige so as to invoke respect, fear and admiration"[17] Although there was no attempt whatever to seek any allegiance at the lower levels of society, at the highest levels care was taken to co-opt the leading members of Irish society notably the Protestant Duke of Ormonde. More direct attempts were made at local level. In 1679, Galway's New English Protestants faced economic ruin because of the exclusion of the Catholic merchant classes. In writing to Ormonde guaranteeing the security of 56 prominent former Old English townsmen they acknowledged the need to establish at the least a commercial alliance if the town was to remain economically viable.

Paradoxically the exclusion of the Catholic population from the town was, of itself a manipulation of the symbols of authority; in physically dividing the living space of the colonising New English from that of the Irish. The occupation of St. Nicholas Collegiate Church had for decades been an enduring symbol of colonial power. As was the building of the fort in 1603 under the town walls with cannon facing the town as well as the sea which Mountjoy saw as a means to "curb the seditious and factious youths". Later, following the surrender of the town to Coote in 1651, work began immediately on demolishing property so as to build citadels within the walls at the east and west gate. These fortifications had no other purpose than to serve as a threat to any potential insurrection when the majority of the town's population was still composed of Old English/Irish. Other than the military buildings, no public works were built from 1660 until the end of the century nor were any substantial private dwellings erected to house the more affluent New English. On the latter point, much contemporary evidence in the narrative has highlighted the magnificence of the Old English merchants' houses allowing many New English residents to occupy mansions and castles far exceeding their expectations. Taking over the town houses of the former leaders of the community may thus be looked upon as acquiring the symbols of authority from their former owners.

In connecting the earlier Tudor colonial policy of 'Surrender and Regrant' to the totality of property confiscations following the Cromwellian and Williamite conquests,

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[17] Meinig, 'Geographical Analysis of Imperial Expansion', p. 72.

Smythe observes that the 'Surrender' not only included property rights but the Irish way of living; and the attempted 'Regrant "the imposition of the totality of English property, economic, political and cultural norms in their place – that is, a policy of the full Anglicisation of Irish culture".[18]

Meinig's framework outlying the colonial process and its impact on a subjugated society allows for a convenient strategy for description and analysis. Meinig does not rank the categorisation in any order of importance other than defining imperialism as primarily a political phenomenon in that it refers to an unequal power relationship. Nor does he suggest that each condition is sharply distinct from the other. For example, the exercise of an unequal power relationship in removing the Catholic population from the town (political); allowed the New English resident's unfettered access to the town's trades and markets (economic), and at the same time created a divided space between them and the former residents (psychological).

What the framework does not take into account in interpreting the historical narrative are the ways in which a usurped population confronted the impact of colonialism. In this particular instance how the former population of Galway adapted to the changes in their everyday lives and sought alternatives to meet their basic needs. Evidence of adaption to the changed circumstances by the lower orders remain largely obscure, but it is clear from the narrative that the merchant classes, notwithstanding their theoretical banishment from the affairs of the town, remained very much a powerful influence on political affairs and more importantly for the well being of the town and the environs, maintaining and developing the trading links with Europe and the New World Colonies.

LAND, TRADE AND COMMERCE

The merchant classes who formed the backbone of Galway's wealth and prominence as a major Irish port town were part of an informal international trading syndicate in which conflicting political ideologies were not permitted to hinder the smooth flow of commerce. Throughout the first four decades of the seventeenth century, despite the growing intrusion by the English authorities on their personal freedoms and religious preferences, the merchants continued to develop their European trade routes and more importantly open up the new colonial markets of the Caribbean and the Eastern

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[18] Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscape and Memory*, p. 10.

seaboard of North America. Following the surrender of the town to the Cromwellian forces and the expulsion of the merchants from the town, it was clear that they would have to adopt new strategies if they were to protect their amassed wealth and the means which had created it.

Many of the merchants had used the relatively peaceful and prosperous early decades of the 1600s to use their wealth to buy land and property in Connaught. Even after the Cromwellian confiscations 130 Galway townspeople retained over 98,000 acres of land in Connaught, 22 of whom each had holding of over a 1,000 acres including Sir Richard Blake's substantial estate exceeding 10,000 acres.[19] In addition to acquiring land they used their wealth to fund the growing tendency for impoverished landowners to mortgage their holdings rather than sell the freehold. They included, for example, Gaelic magnates such as Turlough O'Brien of Kilshanny in North Clare who mortgaged his land to Henry Blake of Galway.[20] 'Non-local mortgages in the baronies of Corcomroe, the Burren and Inchiquin in North Clare were invariably Galway merchants'.[21] Capital was also expended on developing the European markets and the growing provisions trade to the Caribbean and North American colonies.

Significant trading volumes continued to flow through the port of Galway during the 1660s and 1670s. Although no detail of individual transactions survive, the £11,500 of revenue collected on imports and exports at the port over that period represented nearly eight per cent of the total collected at all Irish ports and was the third highest contributor to the exchequer after Dublin and Cork (Figure 6.18). Although a proportion of this trade would have been shipped on foreign account, a substantial amount of the imports and practically all the exports would have been wholly or partly financed by the members of the Old English Galway merchant class.

There is some evidence that New English settlers in Galway were in partnership with the Old English merchants, and that trading partnerships between home-based English merchants and the Galway merchants were in place. But that apart, what evidence remain points to a continued domination of Galway's overseas trade by the supposedly excluded merchant class. They had a highly developed network of agents in the key Atlantic ports like La Rochelle, Brest and Cadiz, many of whom were scions of

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[19] List of Transplanted Irish, 1655-1659, *MSS of Marquis of Ormonde,* Volume 2, pp. 114-176.

[20] Nugent, 'The interface' p. 91.

[21] *Ibid.*

the main Galway families. Similarly in the Caribbean, particularly Montserrat and Barbados, Galway families had invested some of their fortune in developing sugar and tobacco plantations. The port of Galway was third only to Belfast and Dublin in importing tobacco in the 1680s and even after the re-imposition of the Navigation Acts in 1686 which banned direct imports into Ireland, Galway remained for that year, a major importer of the product. Subsequently the centralising influences of the Navigation Acts moved the tobacco trade to the east coast towns and by 1700 Belfast and particularly Galway, had lost a significant amount of this trade to those ports, particularly Dublin. This is not to say that the Galway merchants had necessarily withdrawn from the market. Their forced exclusion from using Galway as an operating base had by 1700 become an irrelevance in an increasingly international mercantilist world.

Despite success of the Old English merchants in developing the transatlantic trade, by the 1680s the value of exports through the port of Galway principally to France and England was falling behind that of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Belfast. Salted and finished hides remained the principle staple export from the port, along with barrelled beef and mutton. While these were high volume commodities they did not command high prices. The price of beef was too low, "conspicuously so in wartime, but even in peacetime it was not reassuring".[22] The relative decline in the value of Galway's exports compared to that of the other major ports was due to the failure to develop the high value French market for butter and the apparent low volumes of wool exports to England. The butter trade was the main contributor to the value of Irish exports in the 1680s and was recognised as the commodity that made 'the greatest return in moneys'.[23] The figures for wool exports must remain suspect. Evidence was presented in chapter six of Galway merchants being heavily involved in the fraudulent diversion of bonded wool exports from England to France. From this it must be presumed that although the profits from this trade may well have contributed indirectly to the wealth of the merchant community operating in the region, no benefit accrued directly to the Port. That aside, the evidence examined in Chapter Six points to the failure to exploit these market opportunities as being ultimately due less to the disruption and dislocation caused by England's mercantilist policies in Ireland during the latter part of the seventeenth century

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[22] Cullen, 'Economic Trends, 1660-1691' in T.W Moody, *F.X, Martin, F.J. Byrne*, (eds.) *A New History of Ireland, Volume III*, p. 393.
[23] *Ibid.*

than to regional difficulties in producing sufficient surpluses for the export market after satisfying local demand.

POPULATION CHANGE AND URBAN GROWTH

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Galway was seen by most contemporary observers as the second most important port in Ireland after Dublin. In 1652, without reference to population size, Boate ranked the first six towns in Ireland as Dublin, Galway, Waterford, Limerick, Cork and Derry.[24] Some caution is needed when examining contemporary descriptions of Galway. Within the walls, the town was very small and compact; 13 hectares compared with, for example Limerick (28 hectares) or Waterford (23 Hectares). Despite a paucity of statistical evidence, a sure sign of population growth during the first four decades of the century may be found in evidence of significant public and private development. The wealthy merchants had spent their riches building fine three storey mansion houses clad in Connemara marble and the town's archives reveal numerous statutes and bye-laws which maintained the built fabric of the towns walls and pavements in good condition until at least 1640. In 1630, a square plot on the green outside the East-Gate was set aside for public recreation and numerous improvements made to the approach roads and those within the town. In 1637, a town clock was built into the newly erected East-Gate Tower and in 1639 work began on a new town hall.[25]

In 1685, Thomas Phillips's *Prospect of Galway,* (Figure 6.34) illustrates the town as made up of solid stone built houses often built taller than the town walls. This image of wealth and opulence may well have reflected the economic success of the town up to the beginning of the Confederate Wars but thereafter the buildings of the town were no more than a poignant reminder of past glories, a façade rather than an indicator of ongoing economic progress

War, famine, plague and the expulsion of the Catholic community may have reduced the population of the town within the walls to less than 2,500 in 1659. Cork, by contrast, despite the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s recorded a population of 7,457 and Limerick 8,607.[26] By 1700 the total population of Dublin including the suburbs was

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[24] MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 189.

[25] Hardiman, *History of Galway,* p. 105; Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the Town of Galway*, pp. 480- 489;

[26] M. McCarthy, *The Historical Geography of Corks Transformation from a Late Medieval Town into an Atlantic Port City 1600-1700,* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Geography Department University College Cork, 1997); *S.* Pender (ed.), *The Census of Ireland c. 1659 with Supplementary Material from the Poll*

primarily by self interest throughout the course of Galway's history, they were also driven by a highly developed sense of civic pride. Speculation may take no part in historical narrative but the evidence suggests that the dwindling resources available to sustain Galway's economy in an increasingly competitive world would have been better utilised had the New English Protestant beneficiaries held a similar sense of civic duty.

Appendices

Appendix I. Articles of Surrender to Cromwell's Forces, 5 April 1652.
(An exact transcription from: R. Dunlop. *Ireland Under the Commonwealth, 1651-1659,* Volume I, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1913), pp. 163-166.

Articles of agreement made, concluded and agreed upon by and between Col. John Cole, Col. Robt. Russell, Lt.-Col. John Puckle, Major John King, Major Alex. Brayfield, Adjut.-Genl. Holcroft and Capt. Oliver St George, commissioners appointed by the Rt. Hon. Sir C. Coote Kt. and Bart., Lord President of Connaught on the behalf of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England of the one part and Sir Robuck Lynch Bart., Sir Valentine Blake Kt. and Bart., Sir Richard Blake Kt., Sir Oliver French Kt., John Blake Esq., Arthur Lynch Esq., one of the sheriffs of Galway, Thomas Lynch and Dominick Blake of Galway, burgesses, for and on the behalf of themselves and the Mayor, sheriffs, burgesses and commonalty of Galway, and of the freemen, natives, inhabitants and residents thereof of the other part ; bearing date the 5th day of April 1652, concerning the rendition and surrender of the town of Galway as followeth:

1. Imprimis. It is concluded, accorded and agreed by and between the said parties that the town of Galway, the forts, fortifications, artilleries, magazines, ammunition, and all other furniture of war thereunto belonging, shall be delivered unto Sir C. Coote Kt. and Bart. Lord President of Connaught, or whom he shall appoint, for the use of the Commonwealth of England by or upon the 12th inst. at ten of the clock in the morning, in consideration of the Articles hereafter specified.

2. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties that in consideration of the said surrender all persons of what degree or quality soever within the said town shall have quarter for their lives, and liberty of their persons, without any pillage, plunder, or military violence to their persons or goods during their obedience to the laws and government of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England by virtue of the ensuing Articles respectively; and these Articles to extend to all such as are free of the said town of Galway, their wives, widows, factors and tenants in the country or beyond the seas, provided that by freemen it be understood only the native merchants, inhabitants and tradesmen of the said town and not Lords, or any other persons who have not attained their freedom by merit or undergone public offices in the said corporation.

3. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties, that all persons of what quality soever comprehended within the second Article shall have six months' time to depart (if they desire it) with their goods to any part of this nation, or beyond seas, and that they shall have effectual passes for themselves and their goods, and shall be protected in the meantime, and have liberty to sell their estates and goods, provided that ammunition and all arms (save travelling arms which they may carry with them) and other furniture of war be not included in this Article.

4. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties, that the clergymen now in Galway shall have liberty to continue there six months after the conclusion of this Treaty, and shall have effectual passes (when they desire it within that time) for themselves and the goods properly belonging to them, to go beyond seas, provided that during that time they act nothing prejudicial to the State of England, and likewise that the names of all such clergymen shall be made known to the Lord President before the surrender of the said town ; and that all manner of persons of what quality soever, according to the exposition of the second Article shall have indemnity for all past offences, criminal and capital acts and offences done in the prosecution of this war from the 23rd of Oct. 1641 until the conclusion of this Treaty, except Brian Roe, Mahon More, Stephen Lynch, Dominic Kerwan, and Walter Martin, who had their hands immediately in the effusion of the blood of Capt. Clerk's men, and such other person or persons as shall be hereafter found by good proofs to have had their immediate hands in any particular murder of the English or Protestant people before the corporation entered into acts of hostility (first) in this war, which was on the 19th of March 1641[-2]; and that all such persons (excepting before excepted) that for the future shall submit to the government of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England shall be admitted to do, and to live at their homes, or with their friends, and shall have protection during their obedience to the said government to their persons, goods and estates, on the same terms that the rest of the inhabitants of the county of the same condition and qualifications with themselves have, so as the benefit of the protection last mentioned in the Article shall not extend to clergymen further than six months as before mentioned.

5. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties that all persons whatsoever included in the second Article, who are willing to submit to the government of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England (except before excepted in the 4th Article) shall enjoy their respective estates and interests to themselves and their heirs for ever, in all and every the houses, castles, lands, tenements and hereditaments within the said town and the old and new liberties and franchises thereof, so far as the power of the sheriffs of Galway extends, and the burgage lands belonging to the said town without any exemption, diminution, mark of distinction, or removal of persons, or families whatsoever, unless it be upon just grounds, and good proofs

of their future misdemeanor, which may endanger the security of the said town, and in that case such persons to be removed and yet to be at liberty to carry away their goods, and to let or sell their houses and estates, to their best advantage, paying (in case of sale) a third part of the price they make to the use of the State of England; and that no contribution or other imposition be charged upon the said town, or any of the natives, or inhabitants thereof, but in proportion with other the subjects of the said State residing in cities, or towns in England or Ireland, according to their respective fortunes and interests; and that they and every of them shall quietly enjoy two parts of all their real estates, in three parts to be divided, to themselves and their heirs for ever in all other parts whatsoever within this Dominion not before expressed in this Article, paying contribution thereout in proportion with their neighbours under the laws, obedience, and government of the Parliament; and in case any part of their said real estates shall happen to be contiguous to any considerable castle, fortification, or straight within this Dominion conceived to be necessary for any particular plantation, that then such person or persons (proprietors of the same) shall be satisfied and paid (in case there be castles and houses upon the lands so taken from them) the full value of such castles and houses according as indifferent men mutually named by the proprietors and such as shall entrusted by the State shall agree upon ; and upon any difference between them, an umpire shall be named by both parties to determine the same, or the proprietors to be satisfied in other castles and houses of equal value and goodness with their own, and shall have exchange of lands, tenements, and hereditaments of like quantity and value with the lands, tenements, and hereditaments so taken from them as aforesaid ; and both the castles, houses, lands, tenements and hereditaments to be in such county where the said castles, houses, lands, tenements and hereditaments so taken from them lie unless the said county be entirely set apart for a plantation, and then the above satisfaction shall be given to them in the next adjacent county within the said province, that shall not be so entirely planted as aforesaid ; and that upon surrender of the said town, they and every of them shall and may enter into and enjoy the possessions of their real estates (notwithstanding any custodian or leases granted of them) and continue in possession of them, until some persons be appointed by the Parliament or their ministers to dispose of one-third part thereof for the use of the Parliament, as is agreed in the preceding Articles ; and that they and every of them shall enjoy freely all their goods and chattels, real and personal, wheresoever the same shall be (all arms, ammunition and other furniture of war, travelling arms, excepted) to themselves, their executors and assigns ; and for the difference which did arise between the said parties concerning the composition of £5000 demanded and insisted upon, in consideration of the third part of the said goods and chattels, the same is referred by consent of both parties to the Commissioners or other chief ministers of the Parliament in this Dominion, to whom the said town are to make their application for remittal or mitigation of the said composition, or otherwise the said £5000 to be paid to the use of the State of England.

6. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties that the Mayor, sheriffs, burgesses and commonalty of the said town, and their successors, shall have and enjoy all liberties, customs, privileges and immunities granted to them by charter, and shall hereafter be governed by their charter privileges and fundamental laws of England, as in time of peace, until the Parliament Commoner their ministers appointed to that purpose shall confirm, renew, alter or enlarge the same; and that they shall have full liberty to trade at home and abroad as other English subjects have; and that all prisoners being natives or inhabitants of the said town, and soldiers of the garrison of Galway and Isles of Aran in pay, shall be set at liberty without ransom ; and if it shall happen after this agreement any person or persons included in these Articles, or any ship, goods, or merchandise, belonging to them or any of them be taken by sea or land, coming to the said town, or going from it, shall be set at liberty and their goods and merchandise shall be restored to them as aforesaid, provided they act nothing prejudicial to the State and that all ships belonging to any person or persons franchised by them or any of them shall remain to the disposal of the owner, except such ships as by any former Articles are agreed upon to the contrary; and that the disbursements of those, who canted the houses of absentees, shall be secured unto them for the time past, only so far as law and the customs and privileges of the town charter will justify the same.

7. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties that in case of breach of these Articles, or any of them, the same shall not be deemed or construed, but the act of such person or persons as shall be found to be actors thereof, and they only to be proceeded against as the law prescribes. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties that the Lord President shall procure these Articles and all and every particular in them contained and depending on them, within twenty days to be ratified, approved and confirmed by the Commissioners-General or other chief ministers of the Parliament in Ireland; and likewise that the Lord President shall, with as much speed as may be, promise these Articles to be secured by an Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose in England; and in the meantime shall be as inviolably observed and kept to them as if they were enacted in Parliament. It is concluded and agreed upon by and between the said parties, that Sir Valentine Blake, Sir Oliver French, John Blake Esq and Dominick Blake be this day delivered as hostages, and the New Castle over against Tyrriland, and the fort in Mutton Island, to be

surrendered to-morrow by twelve of the clock to the Lord President, or whom he shall appoint for the performance of the surrender.

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