

ELIZABETH I AND IRISH RULE: CAUSATIONS FOR
CONTINUED SETTLEMENT ON ENGLAND'S FIRST
COLONY: 1558 - 1603

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Edmund Spenser, author of *The Faerie Queen* and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, was a public official during the reign of Elizabeth I. He is well-known for his anti-Irish sentiments, which came to the forefront in the latter publication from 1596. In this work, as the character of Irenius, he states that

there be many wide countries in Ireland which the laws of England were never established in, nor any acknowledgement of subjection made; and also even in those which are subdued, and seem to acknowledge subjection, yet the same Brehon law is practised among themselves, by reason, that dwelling as they do whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman among them, they may do what they list.¹

This passage brings up an important question: why would Elizabeth I and her government continue to stay in Ireland? After centuries of English presence they were still unable to gain control of the island.

¹ Josef L. Altholz, ed., *Selected Documents in Irish History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 27.

Many books have been published on Tudor Ireland that cover the topics discussed in this work. However, none of these attempted specifically to answer why Elizabeth I stayed in Ireland. There are numerous studies on Tudor Ireland and the English relationship with Ireland. These studies are Steven Ellis's *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, Nicholas Canny's *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*, R. B. Wernham's *The Return of the Armadas*, and R. Dudley Edwards's *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*. These examples of Irish history cover some of the events in this work, but the authors did not approach the why rather the how.

Historical writings on Ireland began biased, either in favor of the English or the Irish. However, modern researchers should not discount these works because they offer unique perspectives and expose essential sources for this much-studied topic. One of the first books published on the English views of the Irish and Ireland during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs is *Ireland through Tudor Eyes* by Edward M. Hinton, published in 1935. The book attempts to reveal how the Englishmen in Ireland aided in the suppression of Ireland and her people by using reports by famous "Tudor chroniclers" from 1568 to 1616.² Hinton's book provides some of the English opinions of the Irish during the reign of Elizabeth I and into the reign of James I.

A.L. Rowse wrote *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* in 1955. It is the second part of a series called *The Elizabethan Age*. The first of these books, *The England of Elizabeth*, focuses on the political history of the period,

² Edward M. Hinton, *Ireland through Tudor Eyes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), vii.

while *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* centers on the social aspects of expansion into parts of England as well as into Ireland before colonizing in America. Three chapters focus on Ireland: one on Irish society, one on the attempts at colonization, and one on the Seven Years War in the 1590s. Rowse argues that Ireland was in a state of deterioration, both politically and socially. In the chapter on colonization, he states that the English remained in Ireland because of the threat of Spain and “their own impulse and drive, their surplus energy seeking expansion.”³ However, he makes no mention of cultural factors, such as religion, ethnicity and society. In addition, by focusing on an intangible cause, he diminishes his argument. He presumes to be in the mind of Elizabethans, which is not a reliable method for determining causation because a twentieth-century mind greatly varies from that of his sixteenth-century counterparts.

Another work on Ireland published in 1955 was *Ireland since the Close of the Middle Ages* by Hugh Shearman. This work offers an overview of Irish history starting with the Tudors and ending with World War II. While it is a concise history, Shearman shows the political history and how religion played a part in that political history once Henry VIII separated from the Catholic Church and then when Elizabeth I cemented that separation. Shearman writes a summary of historians’ works up to the date of publication. It does not answer the question of why the English remained in England, but it does explain

³ A.L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1955), 126.

Elizabeth I's goals in Ireland. These include her being Head of the Church and installing the plantation system in Ireland.⁴

An sweeping work on Tudor Ireland is Richard Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors* in three volumes. While Bagwell originally published these works between 1895 and 1890, they were reprinted in 1963. This made them available to a new generation of historians, so it can be considered part of the 1960's historiography. Bagwell looks at the political positions and activities in Ireland year-by-year, but he does not explain what led Elizabeth I to maintain control of Ireland despite the rising expense.⁵

In 1966, the Folger Shakespeare Library published *The Elizabethans and the Irish* by David Beers Quinn. He focuses on the relationship between the English and the Irish, specifically on what some English thought of both Ireland and the Irish. However, Quinn differs from Rowse because Quinn also looks at the social history of Ireland. One of his most interesting points is that the English experience in Ireland showed the English how to handle the early American colonies. Despite its broad topic, the book does a good job of relaying the English opinions of the Irish by using a combination of primary and secondary sources. The author wished to show both well-known and new thoughts on the English-Irish social ideals and have future scholars expand on his research.⁶

⁴ Hugh Shearman, *Ireland since the Close of the Middle Ages* (London: George G. Haarrap & Co. Ltd., 1955).

⁵ Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, Vols. 1-3 (London: The Holland Press, 1963).

⁶ David Beers Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966).

Also in 1966, Oxford University Press published a second edition of C. G. Cruickshank's *Elizabeth's Army*. Ireland is not a prominent topic in his work, but it is important to know how the military functioned under the queen. During her reign, the military fought often in Ireland, and the book does provide information on the financial cost of the rebellions in Ireland.⁷

A seminal work on Elizabeth I's reign came in 1968 with Wallace MacCaffrey's *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime*. This study centers on the first years of Elizabeth's reign from 1558 to 1572, the death of the Duke of Norfolk. MacCaffrey chose these years because her reign was still young and uncertain. The book rarely speaks of Ireland, but it shows the fragility of England's government in the early phase of her rule, in part due to the Protestantism of the country.⁸

John J. Silke's *Kinsale: The Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the End of the Elizabethan Wars* takes a different approach from those before him by looking at the incident from Spanish sources. This work allows historians to see the importance of Ireland to Spain and Spain's plan to defeat England. In this way, Ireland was to Spain like the Netherlands were to England.⁹ Spain was determined to maintain control of the Netherlands despite the uprisings against them in the Low Countries of the Netherlands. England intervened on the side of the Protestants just as Spain did in Ireland on the side of the Catholics. These political dealings between Spain and England made Ireland an important

⁷ C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

⁸ Wallace MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

⁹ John J. Silke, *Kinsale: The Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the End of the Elizabethan Wars* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1970), vii.

part of the European political scene during the reign of Elizabeth I. Silke wrote an essential study on the Spanish-Irish relationship that existed during the Nine Years' War.

A work originally published in 1935, and then reissued in 1972, is *Church and State in Tudor Ireland: A History of Penal Laws against Irish Catholics, 1534 - 1603* by Robert D. Edwards. Clearly, by the title, this book deals specifically with the religious turmoil from the reign of Edward VI to the end of Elizabeth I's rule. For Edwards, it was not until the Elizabeth I's reign that the reformation became more forceful. The Irish people's aspiration not to be under the English power encouraged England to enforce stricter laws against Catholics. Edwards argues it was not until the threat of Irish alliance with O'Neill during the Nine Years' War that the laws waned.¹⁰

One of the foremost modern historians on Elizabethan Ireland is Nicholas Canny, and his study, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565 - 1576* attempts to show the English policy in Ireland that originated in 1565. Canny argues that between 1565 and 1576 the English view on Irish rule changed in part from the anxiety of foreign interference. The other important factor for the English, according to Canny, was the loss of money experienced on its rule of Ireland. Sir Henry Sidney's plan was fiscally responsible in both the short term and long term, which would allow Ireland to become self-sufficient with the prospect of being lucrative to England.¹¹

¹⁰ Robert Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland: A History of Penal Laws against Irish Catholics 1534 - 1603*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1972).

¹¹ Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 1576* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1976), 155.

However, Canny does not include the cultural attitudes of the English towards Ireland and the Irish.

Also in 1976, Oxford published their third volume in the series *A New History of Ireland*. This was *Early Modern Ireland, 1534 - 1691* edited by T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne. This work encapsulates one and a half centuries of Irish-English history through twenty-three articles on social, political, religious, and economic circumstances during this period. The book works as a compilation of the current scholarship in 1974. One of the most useful sections is on the coinage and economy of Ireland during the early modern timeframe. It also covers the plantation system in multiple articles as well as the surrender and regrant policy of Henry VIII. The article on the Irish Parliament of 1569 - 1571 reveals the intricacies of the English government in Ireland.¹²

R. Dudley Edwards's *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors: The Destruction of Hiberno-Norman Civilization* is a narrative that extends from his earlier work, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland*; however, the latter volume deals with the political workings in Ireland from the reign of Henry VIII to the beginning of James I's English rule. Three chapters deal with Elizabeth I's issues in Ireland, one of which covers the Papacy and Spain's involvement in Ireland.¹³

¹² *Early Modern Ireland*, ed. by T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

¹³ R. Dudley Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors: The Destruction of Hiberno-Norman Civilization* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1977).

R. B. Wernham's *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558 - 1603* was published in 1980, and it aims to explain the basic principles and events of her foreign policy in a short work. Relations with Spain are a large portion of this book, the author only mentions Ireland in the context of the English-Spanish struggles. Ireland was a vital colony for England because it gave the country a barrier from Spain and other Catholic European countries.¹⁴

In 1981, Wallace MacCaffrey published *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572 - 1588*. This study looks at both domestic and foreign policy. It covers only a short period; because of this MacCaffrey could write on England's relationships with many European countries. Despite his overarching studies he only mentions Ireland in relation to other European countries, specifically Spain. In this case, MacCaffrey sees Spanish intervention in Ireland as "an oblique riposte by Spain to English intervention in the Low Countries."¹⁵

In 1984, *The British Empire, 1558 - 1983* by T.O. Lloyd was published as part of the series *The Short Oxford History of the Modern World*. Despite the vast implications of its title, this work deals little with Ireland. However, the authors mention Ireland in relation to its impact on European powers and to the surmounting cost of the attempted suppression of Irish rebels.¹⁶

An important work from the 1980s is R.B. Wernham's *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588 - 1595*, which was first published in 1984 and reprinted in 1985. In this work, Wernham

¹⁴ R. B. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558 - 1603* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980).

¹⁵ Wallace MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572 - 1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 269.

¹⁶ T. O. Lloyd, *The British Empire, 1558-1983* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

focuses on the war between Spain and England during this time frame.

Wernham focuses primarily on the English policies and views, not aiming to show the European context. He argues this war helped bring about the shifting ideals of the monarchy and general population that would culminate in the English Revolution. Ireland is of course mentioned as a pawn between England and Spain, and how it affected the war. However, this is not the main purpose of this study, and Ireland is only included sporadically.¹⁷

R.B. Wernham's continuation of the previous study came out in 1994, and it covers the final years of Elizabeth I's reign, from 1595 to 1603. *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain, 1595 - 1603* focuses on the shift in the war's location from mainly in the Netherlands to the threat of an attack on England's own soil. The simultaneous events of the war against Spain and the rebellion in Ireland during this time led to a serious concern for the welfare of England. As in his previous work, Wernham chose to show these events through English perspective and policy, not through the European context.¹⁸

Similar to Wernham's *Return of the Armadas*, John McGurk's work, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The 1590s Crisis*, also focuses on the period of the Nine Years' War. However, he looks at it from the perspective of a strictly English-Irish conflict, rather than seeing Ireland as a side note to the English war with Spain. It is a military-based history of the war, specifically

¹⁷ R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588 - 1595* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹⁸ R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain, 1595 - 1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

focusing on the impact of the war “on government and society at the central and local levels in the shires of England and Wales.”¹⁹ In an interesting section, he looks at the welfare of the returned English wounded soldiers.

Steven G. Ellis’s *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447 - 1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* was published in 1998. This study is an expansion of his 1985 work *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470 - 1603*, which was meant as a text for students. He argues that “early Tudor Ireland witnessed a period of expansion and consolidation of English power and influence, followed by a period of internal weakness and political instability which Gaelic chiefs were quick to exploit.”²⁰ He focuses primarily on the political challenges and changes that took place in the English rule of Ireland as well as whether or not they were successful.

James Lydon produced a comprehensive survey of the history of Ireland from ancient to modern Ireland in his work, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present*. One chapter covers the Elizabethan rule of Ireland and includes issues of the Reformation, colonization, and rebellion. While he does not attempt to provide reasoning for the continued English presence in Ireland, Lydon gives an account of the Spanish involvement in Ireland during the Nine Years’ War.²¹

¹⁹ John McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The 1590s Crisis* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), ix.

²⁰ Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447 - 1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (New York: Longman, 1998), xv.

²¹ James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

Beginning a new millennium of Irish history, Susan Bridgen published *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485 - 1603* in 2000. For Bridgen, religion was an important factor in England's involvement in wars throughout Europe, including Ireland. The significance of religion varied. Between the Irish and English, she argues that religion was sometimes used as a reason when that was not necessarily the case. However, after Pope Pius V issued the *Regnans in excelsis* in 1570, which excommunicated Elizabeth I and asked for Catholics to renounce their loyalty to her, religious issues came to the forefront in Ireland.²²

In 2001, Nicholas Canny came out with his study on early modern Ireland, *Making Ireland British, 1580 - 1650*. In this work, he focused on the history of the plantation system beginning under Elizabeth I and ending with the Irish insurgence in 1641. His goal was to reveal how people wanted to change the Irish and their society into what they considered British, and the counter ideal of Irish priests in forming the Irish to be what they believed to be Irish. Canny makes use of Spenser's *View on the Present State of Ireland* as the basis for the plantation system under Elizabeth I. Spenser used religion as a reason for the suppression of Irish society because that society was brutal. For Canny, Spenser's opinions on Ireland reflected those of the general English population.²³

Marcus Tanner's *Ireland's Holy Wars: The Struggle for a Nation's Soul, 1500 - 2000* covers five centuries of Irish troubles. For Tanner, the divide

²² Susan Bridgen, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485 - 1603* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000).

²³ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580 - 1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

between the Protestant New English and Catholic Old English in Ireland was religion. He claims that the Ulster plantation “was a religious, not a racial undertaking.”²⁴ Tanner does not account for the other cultural factors or possible political motivations outside of religion. In this aspect, his work is lacking the depth of the situation in Ireland during this time. He states that the idea of a Reformation in Ireland was seen as the better choice between that and the overtaking of the English in Ireland by the native Irish, which explains why the Old English Catholics accepted the Reformation relatively peacefully.²⁵

One of the most interesting books to come out recently is *Contested Island: Ireland, 1460 - 1630* by S.J. Connolly. He covers many different topics in his study on the development of Ireland including “the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, [and] the...shift in economic activity...to the Atlantic.”²⁶ His main argument is that the Irish were not a people who were consumed by tradition and unwilling to change; rather they continually morphed into what they needed to in response to the changes around them. For Connolly, the fiscal administration of Ireland was “both a symptom and a partial cause of the chronic financial weakness that lay at the heart of the problems of English government in sixteenth-century Ireland.”²⁷

²⁴ Marcus Tanner, *Ireland's Holy Wars: The Struggle for a Nation's Soul, 1500 - 2000* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 11.

²⁵ Tanner, *Ireland's Holy Wars*, 34.

²⁶ S. J. Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland, 1460 - 1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

²⁷ S. J. Connolly, *Contested Island*, 130.

The present study attempts to answer the question of why Elizabeth I and her government remained in Ireland despite the uprisings during her reign and increased cost. Three main factors kept Elizabeth I determined not to lose control of Ireland: economic, cultural, and political. The most important economic reason for residing in Ireland was the prospect of one day ruling over a profitable state. The cultural motivation, probably the most well-known, was the prejudice the English had against the Irish that was embedded in most Englishmen by the sixteenth century. Politically, the English stayed in Ireland for two intertwining reasons, fear of Spain and other Catholic powers and Elizabeth I's ego. Based on letters of Elizabeth I, it is clear that the opinions of foreign powers weighed heavily on her. Elizabeth did not want to suffer the same humiliation as her half-sister, Mary I, when she lost Calais in France.

The first chapter covers the background of the English occupation of Ireland starting with the Bill *Laudibiliter* in the twelfth century through the reign of Elizabeth I, who ascended the throne in 1558. During her reign, three major rebellions occurred from 1569 until her death in 1603. The largest of these was the Tyrone Rebellion, which started in 1594 and ended in 1603. These rebellions kept Elizabeth I's policy unfinished in Ireland during most of her reign.

Chapter Two explains the economic situation of the Elizabethan government's presence in Ireland. The monies spent by the Elizabethan regime to maintain peace continued to grow during her reign. Not only did the government's expenditure rise, but military taxes grew among the counties.

Those counties closest to Ireland were hit the hardest as well as the county Kent. This chapter sets up the importance of the reasons that Elizabeth I remained in Ireland because they were willing to lose enormous amounts of money for the cause.

The third chapter analyzes the cultural aspects of the relationship between the English and Irish. For the early modern English, the difference between themselves and the Irish was societal, but it was also racial. In recent history, the term race has a different definition than that of the sixteenth century. The idea of race has changed throughout the early modern and modern eras. It was not until the late eighteenth century that physical differences became the most important aspect of a person's race. Prior to this, it was a conglomeration of culture, language, government, religion, and physicality.²⁸ "Race" became an "ideological weapon in the sociopolitical realm" by the mid-nineteenth century.²⁹ Post-Darwin thought allowed people to see the different races as stages in human cultural development.³⁰ Prior to Darwin, however, there was already the idea that "each race has a 'moral character, which education can modify, but which it cannot erase.'"³¹ These concepts shape the modern ideology of "race." It was not until the early twentieth century with Rudolf Martin that someone saw race as strictly physical

²⁸ George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1988), 5.

²⁹ Stocking, *Bones, Bodies, Behavior*, 7.

³⁰ Stocking, *Bones, Bodies, Behavior*, 8.

³¹ Claude Blanckaert, "On the Origins of French Ethnology: William Edwards and the Doctrine of Race," in Stocking, *Bones, Bodies, Behavior*, 27.

and the differences between races came from the beginnings of their existences.³²

While the early modern English did not have the modern definition of the term race, there was an ancestral identity that separated the English from the Irish despite their similar appearances. This is evident by the laws against intermarriage betwixt them since the middle ages. It focuses on the writings of Elizabethans to show their opinions of the Irish and argues that prevalent prejudice among the English underlay their need to colonize Ireland. The effect of race on Irish-English relations is an integral part of English motivating factors.

The final chapter analyzes the political motives for the English to stay in Ireland despite increased cost and dissent. This chapter focuses mainly on the Tyrone Rebellion because it was the peak of trouble in Ireland under Elizabeth I. There were two main political reasons: the ongoing rivalry between Spain and England and the ego of Elizabeth I. Elizabeth's sister, Mary, lost the last English stronghold in France, and Elizabeth I did not want the same thing to happen to her with Ireland. Spain, first under Philip II and then Philip III, was a constant problem for the queen and her government. The Spanish continued to use Ireland as a way to get to England, so Elizabeth I could not lose Ireland to Spain out of fear for the safety of herself and her kingdom.

This study relies primarily on published documents. The main primary sources used in this work are the personal papers of Elizabethan gentry,

³² Robert Proctor, "From *Anthropologie* to *Rassenkunde* in the German Anthropological Tradition," in Stocking, *Bones, Bodies, Behavior*, 138 - 142.

nobility, and government officials. In addition, this study uses the State Papers of Ireland and Domestic under Elizabeth I and the Journals of the House of Commons and House of Lords. In addition, numerous secondary sources are used throughout this study.

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH RULE OF IRELAND

The English occupation of Ireland began in the twelfth century after the Pope Adiran IV's Bull *Laudabiliter*. From the beginning, there was a clash between the Irish and those sent to Ireland by the King of England to anglicize the Irish. The apex of English success in Ireland occurred in the thirteenth century and began to decline by the end of that century. English occupation of Ireland remained relatively stable as long as the English lords of Ireland (the English monarchs) did not attempt more control than the Irish chieftains were willing to allow. This remained the course of English lordship of Ireland until the Henrician Reformation, when religion also became an issue. However, the problems escalated after Elizabeth I ascended the throne because her government began to increase its control over the neighboring island.

Ireland as Lordship

England's claim to Ireland started in 1154 with the Bull *Laudabiliter*, in which Pope Adrian IV gave a land grant to Henry II of England.³³ The Pope gave Henry II this land grant with the agreement that the English would bring the Irish Church into accord with the Latin Church. However, Ireland was not under English control until the Treaty of Windsor in 1175 that officially set up the Irish lordship.³⁴ The treaty specified the areas of Ireland that Henry II would directly rule and those that remained under the jurisdiction of the high king of Ireland. Henry II's territory included "Meath, Leinster, and those parts around Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford."³⁵ The main trouble with the enforcement of the treaty was Henry's inability to restrain his settlers in Ireland. These Anglo-Normans claimed land that was not part of Henry II's territories. Because of these problems, by 1177, Henry II abrogated the tenets of the Treaty of Windsor by creating land grants outside his regions of Ireland, thereby taking land from Irish kings without their consent. The same year Henry II made one of his sons, John, lord of Ireland. Because Henry ignored the conditions in the treaty, Irish lords rebelled against the extension of feudalism into Gaelic Ireland and Anglo-Norman settlers felt entitled to fulfill their land grants.³⁶

³³ Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell, eds. *Irish Historical Documents, 1172 - 1922* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), 17 - 18.

³⁴ J. F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 11.

³⁵ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 47.

³⁶ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 48-50.

Throughout John's lordship, he attempted to stabilize the government in Ireland. One of the most important ways he maintained his power in Ireland was through the building of Dublin Castle, beginning in 1204. The Anglo-Norman territory in Ireland also enlarged during his reign, and most Irish leaders agreed to the lordship of John.³⁷ In 1216, King John signed the Magna Carta Hiberniae, which insured the liberties of English lords in Ireland as the Magna Carta did for lords in England.³⁸

The stabilization of the English government in Ireland continued through the lordship of John's son, Henry III; however, with Henry's appointment of his son, Prince Edward, to become lord of Ireland in 1254, the government began to decline. A law passed by the English government during Henry III's reign in 1246 made English laws applicable to the English who were present in Ireland.³⁹ Prince Edward ignored Ireland after his land grant, and this led to many of the problems that occurred during his rule of Ireland. These issues included a growth in unruliness and factional development.⁴⁰ Also during Edward I's lordship was the invasion of Ireland by Scottish leader Edward the Bruce to conquer Ireland for himself. This caused great distress to the Irish and Anglo-Normans in Ireland because Bruce destroyed many of the manors and land that he encountered. This damage was in addition to famines that were hurting the Irish population. Financial troubles in Ireland greatly increased under Edward I. When the Irish Council needed to raise money for an army against Edward

³⁷ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 68.

³⁸ Curtis and MacDowell, *Irish Historical Documents*, 28 - 30.

³⁹ Curtis and MacDowell, *Irish Historical Documents*, 31.

⁴⁰ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 121.

the Bruce, they were unable.⁴¹ Throughout the rest of Edward I's reign, the English debated extending English law to the native Irish. The proposal was brought up originally in 1277, but the measure did not pass until after his reign in 1321.⁴²

Beginning with the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366 under King Edward III, the English government imposed laws restricting Irish culture and the intermixing of English with the Irish both in and out of marriage. The Statutes established the English Catholic Church in Ireland. Another provision within the Statutes was that intermarriage between Irish and English was treasonous, as was producing English-Irish children out of wedlock. These laws made it illegal for an Englishman to speak the Irish language, use an Irish name, or dress like an Irishman. If they did so, the English government would take their land and tenements. It was also against English law for Irish people to speak in Irish if they lived among the English. The English government outlawed Irish games, so they would use English forms of entertainment. The Irish could not enter into a church while any English were inside. Irish minstrels were no longer allowed to come around the English. If anyone broke the laws in the Statutes of Kilkenny, church officials could excommunicate them from the Church.⁴³ Despite the strong language of the Statutes, the king granted exemptions. Even if settlers

⁴¹ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 148.

⁴² Curtis and MacDowell, *Irish Historical Documents*, 31; Curtis and MacDowell, *Irish Historical Documents*, 46.

⁴³ Curtis and McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents*, 52 - 59.

did not receive permission, no one regularly enforced the Statutes, so cultural fraternization continued.⁴⁴

After attempts to subdue Irish problems with an English invasion under Edward III (1327-1377) and Richard II (1377-1399), the Anglo-Irish leaders became a growing authority in the fifteenth century. English assaults on Ireland ceased because they considered the cost too much. This created a competition between the English government and the families of the original Anglo-Norman settlers. To maintain their power, the Anglo-Irish were willing to adopt Gaelic culture, which the English king was disinclined to do. A connection that existed within Ireland consisted of the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic lords, and this became the most important form of government within Ireland during the fifteenth century as the English lordship continued to decline.⁴⁵

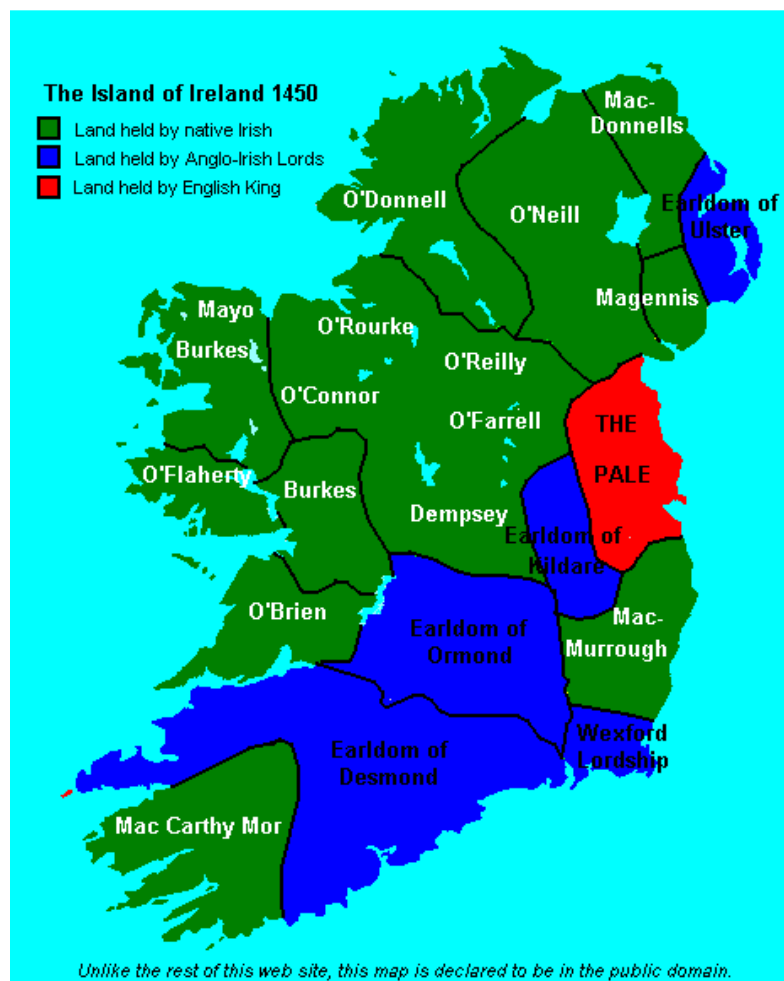
During the fifteenth century, the idea of an “English Pale” within Ireland emerged. This shows the growing idea of the English only having a small portion of the island, while the rest of Ireland was under native control. The lords of the Anglo-Irish land diminished as the Irish reclaimed territory from them, but the English government did nothing to assist them until the king sent Richard, the duke of York, in 1449. The Pale “was established...ringed around with a system of dykes and castles.”⁴⁶ A similar system was used in France after the capture of Calais by Edward III in 1347. Included in the Pale were the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Louth, and Meath. The government system set up in the Pale was based on the English government out of London with “a

⁴⁴ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 187.

⁴⁵ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 239-40.

⁴⁶ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 20.

Parliament,... the king’s Irish Council,... four courts of King’s Bench, Chancery, Exchequer[,] and Common Pleas. The law here was common law; the language English.”⁴⁷ Within this area, the colonists were not immune from attacks from the Irish outside the Pale’s defenses. Just outside of the Pale, there was a border region, over which the English had little control. However, in most of the cities throughout Ireland, English customs, attire, and leisure activities were part of daily life.⁴⁸



Map 1. The Island of Ireland, 1450.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 20.

⁴⁸ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 20 - 21.

⁴⁹ “Historia y Cultura I: Ireland,”

<http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/historical/map1450.gif> (accessed 21 March 2012).

Prior to the Duke of York's arrival, the Anglo-Irish did not have the necessary supplies to retaliate against those invading the Pale and had to fall back on defense.⁵⁰ Despite the unrest in England during the War of the Roses, England passed a few more acts that dealt with Ireland. In 1465, England passed an act that stipulated that Irishmen in "the counties of Dublin, Meath, Uriel, and Kildare, shall go appareled like Englishmen, and wear their beards after the English manner, swear allegiance, and take English surname[s]."⁵¹

Tudor Ireland

Because the Anglo-Irish supported the House of York after Henry VII ascended the throne in 1485, Henry VII imposed more direct English rule than had been done for a century. The Irish backed Lambert Simnel in 1487 and Perkin Warbeck in 1491 when they claimed to be Edward V and Richard of York, respectively. Henry VII accomplished this by appointing Sir Henry Poynings to oversee the Irish Parliament in 1494.⁵² Poynings' assignment included creating increased reliance of the Anglo-Irish on the English government and improvement of the Irish government's fiscal situation. In addition, Poynings led an army for Henry VII to protect the king's interests in Ireland from Yorkist supporters, and the campaign was effective in reducing their power. In 1496, Henry VII gave a former ally of the House of York, the earl of Kildare, his previous "extensive powers and privileges."⁵³ There was one important

⁵⁰ Art Cosgrove, *Late Medieval Ireland, 1370-1541* (Dublin: Helicon Limited, 1981), 45.

⁵¹ Tony Crowley, *The Politics of Language in Ireland, 1366 - 1922: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 16.

⁵² Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland: the Enduring Tradition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 175.

⁵³ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland, 273-274.*

difference in Kildare's power: an act passed that required the king to approve all meetings of the Irish parliament and the bills presented needed sanction from the king before they could pass. Throughout the Irish parliament of 1494-95, laws passed restricting the rights of Irishmen and the chief governors. In addition, an act passed that required Ireland to follow the laws of England.⁵⁴ An act passed that reinforced the Statutes of Kilkenny to avoid further leniency of the Statutes.⁵⁵

The domination Kildare gained after his reinstatement in the government system concerned the English king because of reports that Kildare involved himself with foreign monarchs. Officials in the English administration understood they would need a different way of ruling Ireland to maintain control. This attempted change from reliance on one man to an administrative system came under Henry VIII.⁵⁶ The new king's removal of Kildare from power in 1519 began Henry's search for a new way to rule Ireland. He planned to have a viceroy gain native allegiance through both peaceful and military means. The fiscal situation was also to change structure by the recalculation of the worth of land to reform taxes, the removal of towns' exclusions from taxation, and the seizure of royal lands. However, by 1532, the king had reappointed Kildare as the deputy of Ireland.⁵⁷ In 1537, Parliament passed an act "for the English order, habit, and language."⁵⁸ Henry VIII began a method of sweeping martial involvement, which, of course, was expensive. The king's

⁵⁴ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 275.

⁵⁵ Crowley, *Politics of Language*, 17.

⁵⁶ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 277-278.

⁵⁷ S. J. Connolly, *Contested Island*, 79, 83.

⁵⁸ Crowley, *Politics of Language*, 21-23.

goal of a new type of rule in Ireland did not cease; he became King of Ireland in 1541, five years after he gained his title as head of the Irish church.⁵⁹

Irish Rebellions under Elizabeth I

Soon after the reforms passed in Parliament, Thomas Radclyffe, third Earl of Sussex and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, began to suspect some Irishmen of rebellion, including Shane O'Neill, the Irish Earl of Tyrone, who previously sided against the English in the 1550s. However, O'Neill did not rebel against Elizabeth I until Sussex was no longer the Lord Deputy of Ireland. Shane O'Neill was the "chieftan of the Celts of Ulster," a position he gained after he murdered his elder half-brother and forced his father into the English-controlled area of the Pale.⁶⁰ After many years of Elizabeth I dealing with O'Neill moderately, she decided to change her policies towards Ireland.⁶¹ At first, she used the martial law in violent areas as Mary I had done during her reign. However, this only disaffected the Irish leaders. After Elizabeth's attempts at martial law, she used the policy of composition. This policy included the occupation of Irish provinces by English troops, but there was no longer martial law. The troops were led by Lords President, and these men could receive exemptions from taxations. It was successful in some areas and unsuccessful in others. Composition became part of surrender and regrant. Her policies did not work because she did not oppose the actions the Irish took to avoid her reforms. By 1567, it was obvious to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy

⁵⁹ Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland*, 277-78.

⁶⁰ Ronald H. Fritze, *Historical Dictionary of Tudor England: 1485 - 1603* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 466.

⁶¹ Miles Vincent Ronan, *The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558 - 1580* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), 159.

of Ireland since 1565, that to stop O'Neill, there would have to be a show of force. Not only did O'Neill cause disturbances in Ireland, but he was in contact with the Cardinal of Lorraine and King of France. In a letter to the Cardinal, O'Neill requested "“five or six thousand Frenchmen well armed for the expulsion of the English out of Ireland who are heretics and schismatics and enemies of Almighty God and of the Roman Church, as well as of the French and the Irish.””⁶² The treaties Elizabeth I relied on to maintain O'Neill's position in Ireland no longer worked to quell his hope for an independent Ireland.

While the English planned an attack against O'Neill, he made his own plans to eradicate the English from Ireland. O'Neill not only sent letters to the King of France, but he also sent supporters to the courts of France and Scotland. O'Neill procured funding from both countries so that he would be able to rid Ireland of the English and defend his followers from English retaliation.⁶³ Besides O'Neill's partners abroad, the Earls of Desmond and Thomond had leadership roles in Ireland during this rebellion. In June 1567, the English discovered O'Neill had "“fortified the castles of O'Donnell and Maguire and Dundrum and Lifford, and the Earl of Argyle would be with him in July.””⁶⁴

After the English realized the situation, they decided to wait to attack O'Neill and his followers. Lord Deputy Sidney sent word to the "“sheriffs of the counties of the Pale to summon all lords spiritual and temporal, knights,

⁶² Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 186.

⁶³ Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 187.

⁶⁴ Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 189.

gentlemen and freeholders, and others of the counties to attend the Lord Deputy on 15 August with arms and victuals for seven weeks.”⁶⁵ Following the instructions, men of the Pale went to Dublin to meet with Sidney. In addition, the craft guilds of the Pale financially aided the defense of Dublin and the Pale. Queen Elizabeth I wanted to force O’Neill to attack first so that he would be in breach of a treaty he had previously signed with the queen.⁶⁶

Elizabeth I’s plan succeeded: O’Neill’s allies in the South attacked first, followed by O’Neill himself. At his urging, Irish rebels began attacking Ormond County. Following the uprisings in southern Ireland, O’Neill decided to attack the Pale. On his way, he “burned down the Cathedral of Armagh, and all the houses around, which might be used as a garrison by the English.”⁶⁷ When he came to Dundalk, instead of gaining the victory he hoped for, the English drove him away. He continued to search for support first from the Scots, who refused, and later from the Desmond family. Instead of assisting O’Neill, Desmond pledged his loyalty to the Queen.⁶⁸

O’Neill did not stop trying to find supporters to fight for an English-free Ireland, and his ambition led to his demise. Even though he had been defeated, O’Neill went to the MacDonalds, a rival Irish clan of the O’Neills, for help in raising another army against the English. O’Neill had kept a brother of the former MacDonald chief prisoner for two years, but the MacDonalds welcomed O’Neill into Antrim. They treated him as a guest, but in a drunken

⁶⁵ Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 189.

⁶⁶ Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 189.

⁶⁷ Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 190.

⁶⁸ Ronan, *Reformation in Ireland*, 190.

fight, members of the MacDonalds “hacked and stabbed him to death.” After his decapitated head arrived in Dublin, the English officials displayed it over the castle gate.⁶⁹

With the end of the Shane O’Neill rebellion, the Irish Parliament of 1569 attempted to quell further unrest, especially in Ulster. This Parliament added a preamble of propaganda to the bill attainting O’Neill.⁷⁰ They attempted to change the Irish opinion of English rule in the hope the Irish people would be convinced of England’s right to rule Ireland. For the English to achieve their goal of reasserting their authority, they covered the “queen’s ancient titles to Ireland” and gave “six justifications...beginning with mythological kings of Great Britain.”⁷¹ One of the most important aspects of the bill attainting O’Neill was that Ulster was no longer under the rule of the O’Neill clan and was directly dependent on the monarch. This bill also gave those members of the rebellion who had surrendered early, partiality to receive pardons.⁷²

The end of the Shane O’Neill rebellion brought superficial peace and secretive aggression toward Elizabeth I and England. “Aggressive colonialism” became the new policy in England, which prompted Irish Catholics to look for support from Catholic sovereigns to assist in ridding them of English control.⁷³ The Irish Catholics first looked to Philip II of Spain, who passed along their requests to Mary of Scots. She was a prisoner of Elizabeth I, so she did not have the ability to help the Irish. During this tumultuous time, Pope Pius V

⁶⁹ Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth’s Irish Wars* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 98-99.

⁷⁰ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 121.

⁷¹ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 121.

⁷² Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 121.

⁷³ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 120.

excommunicated Queen Elizabeth I and her subjects. The Pope “declare[d]...Elizabeth heretic and fautress of heretics, and her adherents...to be cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ, and her, Elizabeth, to be deprived of her pretended right to the said realm...; and also the nobles, subjects[,] and peoples of the said realm,... to be forever absolved from such oath.”⁷⁴ With Elizabeth I’s excommunication, Catholics in both Ireland and England began conspiring against her, in favor of Mary of Scots, so the Catholic Church would not excommunicate them as well.

By 1579, the Second Desmond Rebellion started under James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald (a part of the ruling clan of Munster and one of the leaders of O’Neill’s rebellion).⁷⁵ Upon Fitzmaurice’s death, Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, took his place as leader of the rebellion. After the short-lived First Desmond Rebellion, Fitzmaurice travelled around Europe trying to gain support and extend the Counter-Reformation to Ireland. He eventually succeeded in gaining financial support from Pope Gregory XIII, and in July 1579, Fitzmaurice landed “in Dingle Bay with between three hundred and seven hundred Italian and Spanish troops.”⁷⁶ Because this rebellion had the support of the Pope, it quickly gained support from the Irish. August brought the death of Fitzmaurice, and the earl of Desmond took his position as the leader of the rebellion. After an English official, Sir William Pelham, proclaimed Desmond a traitor, he officially became a member of the rebellion. This premature

⁷⁴ Rome: 1570, January-March, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives, Volume 1: 1558-1571* (1916), pp. 319-332. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 10 November 2009).

⁷⁵ James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald is known as Fitzmaurice throughout the rest of the chapter.

⁷⁶ Fritze, *Historical Dictionary of Tudor England*, 139.

declaration irritated Elizabeth I because she thought Desmond would have remained neutral otherwise.⁷⁷

With Desmond now in charge and his resources at the rebellion's disposal, this "Catholic Crusade" continued to create momentum.⁷⁸ During this rebellion, the Elizabethan army did not continuously succeed. Most of this was because Elizabeth I's preoccupation with the Netherlands and her possible marriage. On the other side of the battle, the rebels did not receive the necessary supplies to continue fighting. However, the war lasted for four years. It may be because the rebels had faith that reinforcements would eventually arrive to help them.⁷⁹ The English troops, for reasons as unclear now as they were then, started terrorizing the Irish, both fighters and non-fighters. This increased Irish hatred of both the English and Protestantism. The English reaction to defeat included the destruction of Catholic holy objects, which also added to the Irish anger.⁸⁰

In 1580, Arthur Grey, fourteenth Baron Grey de Wilton, became the new Lord Deputy of Ireland, replacing Sir William Pelham; this change caused even more problems because of Wilton's cruelty. Shortly after his appointment, the Pope sent Italian reinforcements led by Sebastiano San Guiseppe. Guiseppe tried to negotiate a surrender, in which Grey supposedly agreed not to kill the Italian soldiers. Whether or not Grey actually agreed to accept their surrender is unknown, but Grey did massacre about six hundred rebels that included Irish,

⁷⁷ Fritze, *Historical Dictionary of Tudor England*, 139.

⁷⁸ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 140.

⁷⁹ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 140.

⁸⁰ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 140.

Spanish and Papal soldiers. Edmund Spenser, author of *The Faerie Queene*, glorified Grey's behavior as "condemning the archangels of Antichrist to the extreme tortures meted out to them by chivalrous knights."⁸¹ While Spenser supported Grey's actions, Elizabeth I was not pleased with the harsh treatment, including starvation and death, of thirty thousand people in Munster. Public opinion started to turn against Grey.⁸²

Instead of the Desmond rebellion resulting in a treaty and a peaceful relationship between England and Ireland, "destruction and hatred" were the long-lasting consequences.⁸³ This included not only Irish hatred toward the English, but English hatred toward other Englishmen as well. In Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Hooker depicted the Irish as a "wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and unfaithful nation."⁸⁴ Elizabeth I granted amnesty to the rebels seven months after Grey resigned his office. His departure helped relieve the situation in the Pale because he insisted that the Earl of Kildare, an influential person in the Pale, stay in England under surveillance.⁸⁵

While there was no great uprising during the fourteen-year period between the Desmond Rebellion and the Tyrone Rebellion, there was unrest throughout Ireland. Sir John Perrott replaced Grey as Lord Deputy, but it took two years for him to arrive in Ireland.⁸⁶ After the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the English and Irish unified over their hatred of the Spanish. When

⁸¹ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 142.

⁸² Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 142.

⁸³ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 143.

⁸⁴ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 143.

⁸⁵ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 142-144.

⁸⁶ Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, 153.

the Irish finally expelled the Spaniards from Ireland, however, the Irish sense of Catholicism intensified, and the Irish Protestants became increasingly aware of their isolation.⁸⁷

The final rebellion under the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the Tyrone Rebellion started by Hugh Roe O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill, lasted from 1594-1601. Lord Deputy Burgh marched on Newry in July 1597 with "five hundred horse [soldiers] and three thousand foot [troops]."⁸⁸ The rebels gained support from Pope Clement VIII and Philip III of Spain but not enough to avoid losing to the English. One of the final battles came on 24 December 1601 when the English defeated the Irish and forced the Spanish to surrender, but the war was not officially over until after Elizabeth I died.⁸⁹

The long-standing English opinion of the Irish was that they were barbarous and could not prosper on their own. Once Elizabeth started her religious settlement in Ireland, the problem was only exacerbated. In a description from the House of Lords's October 1601 sessions, the Irish rebels were compared to "a Snake cut in pieces, which did crawl and creep to join themselves together again;" the opinion the English had of the Irish is obvious.⁹⁰ The English accepted a cultural group depending on how willing that particular group was willing to assimilate to the English culture.⁹¹ According to Quinn, the goals of the English, if the Irish had not continued armed rebellions,

⁸⁷ Edwards, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 153.

⁸⁸ Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, 203.

⁸⁹ Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars.*, 334.

⁹⁰ Journal of the House of Lords: October 1601, *The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Elizabeth* (1682): 597 - 602. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 4 May 2010).

⁹¹ Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, 8.

would have been much the same as they had had regarding the Welsh. These included

a landowning class robbed of all special privileges as against the Crown, disarmed, and preferably containing no really powerful magnates; a church whose property was at the disposal of the state and whose clergy were willing to act as instruments of royal policy; a uniform system of jurisdiction on English lines, ...together with a system of universal taxation based mainly in landed property, without precluding the representation of landowners and the more wealthy merchants in a not very powerful parliament; a stable population from which movement of individuals or groups, ...had been virtually eliminated by coercion and by the cooperation of the landowners; the maintenance throughout the country of a network of officials of the central administration, assisted as long as was desirable by garrison troops, though gradually turning over some functions of local government to a passive landowning class which was itself capable of imposing social peace by repressive means but which would not turn against the Crown; and the establishment of English as the sole official language.⁹²

With the attempted suppression of the Irish culture, language, and economy, it is no surprise the Irish rebelled against the English throughout the reign of Elizabeth I. In December 1597, Elizabeth I sent the then-current Lord Deputy of Ireland, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, a letter which describes the Irish as “inferior people.”⁹³ As the rebellions continued, the reactions of the English continued to get harsher toward the insurrections. This would eventually lead to an increased difficulty in reaching peaceful terms between the English and Irish.⁹⁴ This can be seen with the end of the Tyrone Rebellion, which did not

⁹² Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, 10.

⁹³ Elizabeth I to Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, 29 December 1597, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1935), 256.

⁹⁴ Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, 12.

end until Elizabeth I's advisors convinced her to begin negotiations with Tyrone after months of commanding her army to corner him.

While Elizabeth I attempted a policy toward Ireland that would allow England to have greater power over their neighbor, the Irish did not react well to her assumption of more power. This led to an overshadowing of her policy by the three major rebellions that occurred over a thirty-year span. These rebellions cost large amounts of money for England to maintain Ireland, yet the English did not question that Ireland needed to remain a part of the English kingdom. The rest of this study reveals why the English were so determined to hold onto Ireland.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND'S ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH IRELAND

In a study of motivations, economic factors should be looked at to determine whether or not they were a valid cause for continued English intervention. However, the English presence in Ireland had never been a lucrative venture, and it remained that way under Elizabeth I. The cost of ruling over Ireland increased throughout the Tudor period, while the monarchs persisted in attempts to reduce the expenditure of ruling Ireland. This was still the case when Elizabeth I ascended the throne in 1558, and her expenses continued to increase throughout her reign. This was due, in part, to the multiple rebellions that occurred between 1569 and 1603. By the 1590s, money spent on Ireland reached unparalleled levels due to the Nine Years' War. Despite the increasing costs to remain in Ireland, neither Elizabeth I nor her government faltered in their decision to continue their reign in Ireland. The English government made little profit from their presence in Ireland compared to the expenses needed to hold onto the island; therefore it was not

an important factor in the English determination to stay. However, one must understand the financial hardships England faced during the rebellions, especially during the Nine Years' War. The reasons to remain had to outweigh the huge financial and human cost throughout her reign. Cultural differences and security from foreign powers were the most important factors in Elizabeth I remaining in Ireland.

From the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I, the revenues derived from Ireland did not cover the costs of running an English government there. The main revenue from Ireland to the English crown was taxation of the English settlers and Irish chieftains living in Ireland. This income from Ireland did increase during the years of her reign, but it never exceeded than IR£15,000.⁹⁵ From 1559-63, the English made only IR£3,964 compared to the costs to cover military expenses, which was IR£40,897 and £23,230 sterling.⁹⁶ From 1563-67, the numbers are similar. These military expenditures were not during a time of conflict in Ireland, and the numbers would only grow as Irish started to rebel.⁹⁷ In the second session of Elizabeth I's second Parliament, prior to any rebellions, Ralph Sadler said, in his speech on the subsidy,

there is another great cause of great moment, of great importance, and that is the matter of Ireland which hath been well remembered here. In deed the Queen's Majesty and her noble progenitors of long time have been at great charges in Ireland whereof hitherto they have had small profit or commodity; and yet of force her Majesty must continue, yea rather increase the charge if she will reap any fruit or commodity

⁹⁵ Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

⁹⁶ Throughout this chapter when Irish and sterling pounds are mentioned, the two figures should be added together to understand the full cost.

⁹⁷ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

thereof, the only way whereunto is to subdue and bring that land to civility and obedience.⁹⁸

Before the rebellions began, the House of Commons was willing to spend money to pacify the Irish. This did not change even as the expenses increased.

For instance, during 1571-75, through the First Desmond Rebellion, the Irish revenues stayed relatively consistent with IR£4,856, but money from England increased to IR£45,497 and £34,123 sterling.⁹⁹ At this point in her reign, the main cause for the increase in English government costs was the military expense related to the first Desmond Rebellion.¹⁰⁰ In the opening speech of Elizabeth's third Parliament in 1571, the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon explained that the queen needed greater subsidies to deal with, among other, "the continual growing expenses by reason of Ireland."¹⁰¹ Irish revenues almost doubled in the years 1575-79 to IR£9,419 and English payments dropped by about 4,000 in both Irish pounds and pounds sterling. In 1579, the Second Desmond Rebellion began, and again, there is an increase in expenditures until 1583 when the English expenses totaled IR£65,129 and £48,847 sterling.¹⁰²

After the Second Desmond Rebellion, military expenditures dropped, but not to pre-rebellion levels. Elizabeth I and her government increased the military involvement in Ireland in order to quell further rebellions, and this is

⁹⁸ T. E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, Vol. 1 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazer, 1981), 142.

⁹⁹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

¹⁰⁰ Journal of the House of Commons, April 1571, 145. www.british-history.ac.uk (accessed 6 June 2011).

¹⁰¹ Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, Vol. 1, 186.

¹⁰² Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

evident in the money spent. For the years 1583-87, the net revenues from Ireland were IR£8,026, but the expenditure there only dropped by about IR£8,000 to IR£57,029 and by about £6,000 sterling to £42,772 sterling.¹⁰³ In February 1585, the House of Commons discussed the “many other extraordinary charges and expenses which she had been at in...the preservation of Ireland, and that her Majesty did specially shun danger from Ireland.”¹⁰⁴ By 1587 - 91, costs for Ireland did drop significantly to IR£39,602 and £29,701 sterling.¹⁰⁵ This is most likely due to the military commitments elsewhere including the war against Spain. During the late 1580s, when the English built up defenses, Ireland was one of the easiest places for the government to stop sending a subsidy.¹⁰⁶ During this same time, the government increased its expenditure from £2,266 to £5,000 monthly for the fortification of a defense force in Ireland.¹⁰⁷

At the start of the 1590s, there was no meaningful change in the English military expenditures in Ireland. However, that changed with the Tyrone Rebellion that began in 1594. In 1593, members of the House of Commons thought that the queen had good reason to request large subsidies. Sir William Moore claimed

that her Majesty had more cause to have the subsidy than H[enry] VIII, E[dward] VI or Queen Mary; for H[enry] VIII his wars continued not, though they were violent for the time. His wars

¹⁰³ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

¹⁰⁴ Journal of the House of Commons, February 1585, 361. www.british-history.ac.uk (accessed 6 June 2011).

¹⁰⁵ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

¹⁰⁶ R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 134.

¹⁰⁷ Wernham, *After the Armada*, 416.

were impulsive and not defensive. He had the suppression of all the abbies, a matter of great riches unto him. He had a benevolence and then a subsidy paid him. Queen Mary had a relief paid her, which she never repaid. But her Majesty that now is, hath been a continual defense of her own Realm and her Neighbours Kingdoms, England, Ireland, France, and the Low Countries; yet repaid the loans, and had not such helps.¹⁰⁸

The seriousness of this conflict is seen with the dramatic increase in cost.

Between the periods of 1591-95 and 1595-99, expenses soared from IR£38,649 to IR£138,368 and £28,987 to £103,776 sterling.¹⁰⁹ In 1599, Ireland drained £30,000 in 7 months according to Sir Roger Wilbraham.¹¹⁰ In the final years of the Tyrone Rebellion, 1599-1603, the expense in Irish pounds from England increased to IR£160,922; however, pounds sterling decreased to £83,334.¹¹¹

The greatest financial burden was the Tyrone Rebellion, not only on the government, but on those paying taxes in England. In order to build armies, England put levies on different counties for troops. Officers tended to get their troops from counties nearest to where they were to fight. They gained the most soldiers from Kent, Lancashire, and Cheshire, despite Kent's location on the eastern side of England. It was also the obligation of the county to pay for the troops levied from that particular county. For example, in 1598, the government required Kent to provide one hundred troops that required weapons. Every section of the county, of which there were five, owed £25 15s

¹⁰⁸ Journal of the House of Commons, February 1593, 479, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 6 June 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

¹¹⁰ Harold Spenser Scott, ed., *The Camden Miscellany*, Vol. 4 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1902), 30.

¹¹¹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 345.

4d.¹¹² From 1595 to 1602, the county of Kent spent £3,323 13s.4d. to supply troops for Ireland.

This amount of reliance on taxation to fund invasions of Ireland led to some “reluctance and refusals to pay military taxes.”¹¹³ One of the most frequent crimes in Kent during this period of Elizabeth I’s reign was people not paying their local taxes. In 1599, there was antagonism toward the crown and its requests throughout the county. Despite the government’s attempts to calm the citizens of Kent, the minimal amount of military expenses they covered did not make them more willing to pay taxes for the military.¹¹⁴

The county of Kent was not alone in paying substantial amounts of money paid to the government for war in Ireland. “In the year 1601-1602...Kent contributed £578 17s 0d to the costs of arming and clothing soldiers. Lancashire paid £1,125 to the exchequer for the same costs, Dorset £650, Glamorganshire £782 10s 0d, Montgomeryshire £140, and Merionethshire £147 10s 0d.”¹¹⁵ Overall, “the cost of the Irish levies alone (at £3 10s. per footman and £30 per horse) amounted to almost £152,000 in local taxation.”¹¹⁶

The difference between Irish and English pounds was the silver quantity. English or sterling pounds had greater amounts of silver than that of Irish pounds. Tudor monarchs debased English and Irish coins during their reigns, while Henry VII ceased to make Irish pounds toward the end of his rule. At the

¹¹² John McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The 1590s Crisis* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 85.

¹¹³ McGurk, *Conquest of Ireland*, 101.

¹¹⁴ McGurk, *Conquest of Ireland*, 100-101.

¹¹⁵ McGurk, *Conquest of Ireland*, 101.

¹¹⁶ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 344.

beginning of Elizabeth I's reign, "base shillings and groats" were sent into Ireland.¹¹⁷ During the 1590s, there was a flood of sterling pounds into Ireland because of coin hoarders trying to help Tyrone's rebellion.¹¹⁸

One way the English attempted to lessen their financial burden was the debasement of Irish coins. In 1601, a proclamation passed on "Enforcing Statutes against Transporting English Coin into Ireland," which explains the reason for keeping English sterling pounds out of Ireland.¹¹⁹ The statute was put forth in order to keep the more valuable coin out of the hands of the rebels in Ireland as possessing sterling coin would help them fight against the English.¹²⁰ However, it cannot be ignored that the coins were debased, at least in part, to save the crown money during its costly war. On 14 January 1600, Sir Wilbraham gave seven results expected from the debasement of coins. They are as follows:

debasement of coin enhances the price of all merchandise, especially foreign merchandise...;soldiers receiving their pay in debased coin will be distressed and discontented, this causes barbarism and idleness in the realm; that the old coin must be decried and disannulled by proclamation; the ancient standard of England was that in one pound weight of silver there should be twelve ounces; freedholders who have lands in demesne will not suffer much harm by debasement, but pensioners, officers, soldiers, and all who live by certain rents will be greatly harmed and exceedingly discontented; [and] it will hasten peace by reason of the poverty of the rebels.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Michael Dooley, "The Irish Coinage, 1534 - 1691" in *Early Modern Ireland*, ed. by T.W. Moody, 412; A groat was worth four English pence.

¹¹⁸ Dooley, "The Irish Coinage, 1534 - 1691," 413.

¹¹⁹ P.L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Proclamations*, Vol. 3 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 234.

¹²⁰ Hughes and Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, Vol. 3, 234.

¹²¹ Scott, *The Camden Miscellany*, Vol. 4, 37-39.

The debasement succeeded because the English sterling payments did decrease by the last years of the war.¹²²

Type of Coin	Worth of Coin
Half penny	1/2 penny
Threepence	3/4 penny
Penny	Basic monetary unit
Half groat	2 pence
Twopence farthing revalued Edward VI shilling	2 1/4 pence
Threepence	3 pence
Groat	4 pence
Fourpence ha'penny revalued Edward VI shilling	4 1/2 pence
Sixpence	6 pence
Shilling	12 pence = 1s
Half Crown	30 pence = 2s 6d
Quarter Angel	30 pence = 2s 6d
Crown	60 pence = 5s
Half Angel	60 pence = 5s
Angel	120 pence = 10s
Half Pound	120 pence = 10s
Ryal	180 pence = 15s
Pound	240 pence = 20s = £1

C. P. Bignell, "Sixteenth Century," http://www.bignell.uk.com/16th_century.htm, 2000. (accessed 16 March 2012).

While the government spent large amounts of money on maintaining rule in Ireland, individual Englishmen did make profits during Elizabeth I's reign. The main country to export items to Ireland was England, and in this way, merchants made money from the attempted colonization of Ireland. As the

¹²² Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 344.

sixteenth century went on, the goods exported to Ireland from Bristol became more diversified. They were no longer mostly foodstuffs and other necessities, but they included luxury fabrics, sewing necessities, dyes, “domestic utensils such as French drinking glasses,” different clothes for both children and adults, and luxury food.¹²³

In addition to the increase in imports, the Irish economy flourished during the Elizabethan period because of “a large influx of English coin with a high silver content in the 1570s and 1580s along with the relative stability of the Irish pound’s exchange rate with sterling between 1561 and 1600.”¹²⁴ The area in Ireland with the most advanced economic system was the southeast, which the English colonized beginning in the thirteenth century. During the years 1594 and 1595, over £1600 gross in merchandise was imported into Irish ports. While this was an economic positive for Ireland, it also meant English exporters made money from the Irish and English in Ireland.¹²⁵

During the final four years of the Tyrone Rebellion, the Elizabethan government spent £1,845,696. In a letter to George Carew, Sir Robert Cecil, one of Elizabeth I’s chief advisors, “estimated that the war cost £300,000 a year.”¹²⁶ Despite the large amount of money it took to continue fighting in Ireland, the House of Commons continued to grant subsidies to Queen

¹²³ Susan Flavin, “Consumption and Material Culture in Sixteenth Century Ireland,” *The Economic History Review*, 64 (2011), 1157.

¹²⁴ Flavin, “Consumption and Material Culture,” 1167.

¹²⁵ Flavin, “Consumption and Material Culture,” passim.

¹²⁶ McGurk, *Conquest of Ireland*, 101-102.

Elizabeth. In 1593, the House had a “speedy agreeing of a subsidy.”¹²⁷ The economic costs were not enough to deter English occupation of Ireland.

¹²⁷ Journal of the House of Commons, February 1593, 468-479. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 6 June 2011).

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH ETHNIC BIAS AGAINST THE IRISH

Prior to the reign of Elizabeth I in England and Ireland, there had been animosity between the English and the Irish. While the English looked down upon the Irish as part of an inferior culture, the Irish embraced their otherness. This English belief existed since the beginning of the English lordship of Ireland in the twelfth century; however, hostility on both sides grew after the English split from the Catholic Church under Henry VIII. After Edward VI and Mary I's reigns, Protestantism under Elizabeth I became a more serious issue for the Irish. This agitation over forced religious change and English governance led to rebellions by the Irish against their Protestant monarch Elizabeth I and her government. The queen and her council had the same prejudices against the Irish that the majority of the English people had during this time, and this is a significant cause for why they remained in the tumultuous island of Ireland.

There were basic cultural differences between the Irish and English peoples that existed prior to the sixteenth century and that originally caused

the English to attempt to “civilize” the Irish. Basic disparities in culture, including language, customs, and religion, between the English and Irish led to the idea of an Irish race long before there was a schism in the Christian Church between Protestants and Catholics. As stated previously, the term race during this time was less-oriented on physical appearance, but rather on societal characteristics, unlike the modern-day idea of race. Religion was a large factor in the rebellions by the Irish under Elizabeth I, but the English considered the Irish as separate from the English long before the Church of England formed under Henry VIII and then again under Elizabeth I. The English conviction that they needed to Anglicize the Irish was one of the factors that motivated Elizabeth to continue to spend mounting costs on maintaining control of Ireland.

The idea that races are not merely different, but that one is better than the other, is not new to historical studies. Race became a means to justify the poor treatment of people who were strange to a certain group. It was the one aspect of a person that could not be changed through conversion or education, and so people began to see it as a way to classify certain peoples as better or worse. This was often used for political or economic motivations. The modern-day idea of race is one that focuses primarily on physical attributes, not the cultural or linguistic differences that were also part of the focus in early modern Europe. Over time, what was seen as cultural deficiencies manifested in caricatures of physical appearance. For example, the portrayals of Germans in political cartoons during World War II show how physical

appearance can be manipulated to show an innate deficiency. However, there is no scientific basis for race, let alone racial inferiority. It became a means to justify society's thoughts and actions.¹²⁸

Among the leading scholars on racism against the Irish is Steve Garner, who wrote *Racism in the Irish Experience*, a sociological work. For Garner, the English presumed that they were “morally superior” to those whose societies had not progressed to the level of their own.¹²⁹ This is what led the English to see themselves as better than the Irish as well as Native Americans and Africans. It was the English “assumption” that the Irish were an uncivilized society that allowed for the “anglicization of Ireland.”¹³⁰ The difference between sixteenth-century racism and today's version of racism is that sixteenth century racism did not depend on the physical appearance of a group of people, but rather, the culture of a group of people. Garner references Hayden White's *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1985), in which White explains that “wild men” have certain characteristics such as “mobile, shifting, confused, chaotic incapable of sedentary existence, of self-discipline, and of sustained labor.”¹³¹ In this way, the English viewed the Irish as “wild men.” “Wild men” is a term for the Irish originally popularized by English author Edmund Spenser in the sixteenth century.

¹²⁸ Stocking, *Bones, Bodies, Behavior*, passim.

¹²⁹ Steve Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 75.

¹³⁰ Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience*, 75.

¹³¹ Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience*, 77.

Another important work on the issue of racial attitudes is Winthrop D. Jordan's *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550 - 1812*. Jordan reveals the attitudes on white men towards Africans, and how these attitudes shifted over time. For Englishmen, the initial difference between themselves and Africans was skin color; however, it was their religion, society, and behavior that led to their belief that Africans were lesser than English. African skin tone was explained as a reflection of their inner nature, so that the English thought Africans' lifestyles brought about their dark skin. For Jordan, perceived "disobedience" and "heathenism" are two of the most important factors in Englishmen determining their superiority to other civilizations.¹³² For the English, physical appearance of Africans could not be separated from their attributes. In this way, the English saw them differently than the Irish because they believed the Irish could be civilized. However, besides the physical differences, there are many similarities between how the English viewed Africans and how they viewed Irishmen. In both instances, there is the attitude of superiority based on culture and society. In the case of Africans, these ideas are intensified due to their physical strangeness.¹³³

Edmund S. Morgan's *American Slavery, American Freedom* explains the similarities between English treatment of the Irish and Native Americans while examining the relationship between slavery and freedom in Virginia. The

¹³² Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550 - 1812* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 23 - 43.

¹³³ Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550 - 1812*, 23 - 43.

English saw both Native Americans and Irish “as the wrong kind of people.”¹³⁴

Morgan believes it was the Native Americans’ ability to fight back that produced harsher treatment of them than the Irish received during Elizabeth I’s reign. For Morgan, the English believed the Irish could be civilized through submission by replacing the wild Irish with Englishmen.¹³⁵

To civilize these “wild men,” the English would have to Christianize them. In order to Christianize them, Englishmen needed to set up a government that could “produce civil behavior.”¹³⁶ If the Irish were not civilized, in English opinion, then the English could become uncivilized merely by being surrounded by the Irish. Physically the Irish were not that different from the English. The current English monarch even had red hair. These similarities led to the exaggeration of the cultural differences, so that the English could see them as a separate people.¹³⁷

By Elizabeth I’s reign, England had undergone major secular and religious changes since the Statutes of Kilkenny. However, the idea of the Irish as less than English was still prevalent. Despite the role religion played in the Irish rebellions under Queen Elizabeth I, differences in religion were not the focus of English public officials during this time. One English official in Ireland was Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland from 1565 to 1578, who later wrote a memoir about his service in Ireland. He aided in the suppression of the

¹³⁴ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 20.

¹³⁵ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 20.

¹³⁶ Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience*, 77.

¹³⁷ Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience*, 78.

First Desmond Rebellion. In Sir Henry Sidney's *Memoir of Service in Ireland, 1556 - 1578*, he references an Irish traitor whose head Sidney received on a pike. He compared the traitorous O'Neill family to that of a hydra that "will breed more heads, and haply as ill or worse than he."¹³⁸ He again refers to the O'Neill family as the mythical hydra later in the work. This is one of the most hateful insults to the Irish because he compares an Irish family with the Ancient Greek reference to the hydra that would not die, but that continued to spout new heads until Hercules defeated it.

Sidney made multiple mention of the word "race," either English or Irish. When speaking of men who gave their loyalty to the queen, he made sure to stipulate that they were "descended of [the] English race."¹³⁹ However, his use of the term "race" does not have the same connotations that it has in today's society. In this context, he seems to be speaking of a person's ancestry as either English or Irish, and is based on a surname rather than physical appearance. Another group of men of English descent pledged loyalty to the English crown, and Sidney noted that these men "detest[ed] and abhor[ed] their degeneration and inveterate barbarity."¹⁴⁰ One of the specific characteristics Sidney mentioned about the Irish is their idleness. He believed that an act passed by the parliament will help end Irish idleness because "no linen or woolen yarn should be transported out of that realm unwrought."¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Sir Henry Sidney, *A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland, 1556 - 1578*, Ciaran Brady, ed. (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002), 54.

¹³⁹ Sidney, *A Viceroy's Vindication?*, 72.

¹⁴⁰ Sidney, *A Viceroy's Vindication?*, 87.

¹⁴¹ Sidney, *A Viceroy's Vindication?*, 78.

Sidney's *Memoirs* reveal his feelings toward the Irish. He mentioned the Irish and their lack of work, but that is the most detailed of his criticisms of the Irish. In part at least, it is their behavior that is one of the causes that led to his opinion of the Irish as a lesser society. He clearly saw them as a separate people because it was important to him to mention whether loyalists are of English, opposed to Irish, descent. For Sidney, these people were more trustworthy than their counterparts who were of Irish descent.¹⁴²

Upper class Elizabethan women also had opinions on Ireland and the Irish. In the correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, they mentioned both the effects on men of serving in the military in Ireland, and the Irish people themselves. Joan Thynne (1558-1612) was the daughter of a previous Lord Mayor of London, and she married John Thynne (1551-1604).¹⁴³ Maria Thynne (1578-1611) was the daughter-in-law of Joan and John Thynne by marriage to their oldest son Thomas. Maria was also the daughter of the Lord Audley, first earl of Castlehaven.¹⁴⁴ Lord Audley and his wife, Lady Audley, spent time in Ireland while Lord Audley was governor of Utrecht and later undertaker in Ulster.¹⁴⁵

In a letter from Joan Thynne to John Thynne in 1580, she stated that service in Ireland, despite the fact that her husband would have two hundred

¹⁴² Sidney, *A Viceroy's Vindication?*, 78.

¹⁴³ Kathy Emerson, ed., *A Who's Who of Tudor Women: H - He*, 2010
<http://www.kateemersonhistoricals.com/TudorWomenH-He.htm> (accessed 13 December 2010).

¹⁴⁴ Kathy Emerson, ed., *A Who's Who of Tudor Women: T*, 2010
<http://www.kateemersonhistoricals.com/TudorWomenT.htm> (accessed 13 December 2010).

¹⁴⁵ TOUCHET / TUCHET LORD AUDLEY GENEALOGY
<http://web.ukonline.co.uk/members/tom.paterson/touchet.htm> (accessed 13 December 2010).

men under him, “will be a great disgrace to you.”¹⁴⁶ Another mention of Ireland came in a letter from John Davies to Maria Thynne on 3 June 1607. John Davies wrote to Maria Thynne asking for a recommendation to gain a position with Lady Audley in Ireland. He told Maria Thynne that Lady Audley was “so distasted with this kingdom as I hear she [was].”¹⁴⁷ However, Davies defends the town he was in by saying “the loving conversation [is] of much good company in as civil a fashion as any in Christendom.”¹⁴⁸ He differentiated between the town he stayed in and the rest of Ireland, which was, unlike that town, uncivilized. However, his statement also implies that Ireland is part of Christendom. Despite the obvious difference between Catholic and Protestant, he simply refers to Ireland as Christendom.

John Chamberlain (1553-1628) was a gentleman in London who wrote frequently to Dudley Carleton, first Viscount Dorchester, who became Secretary of State in 1628 under Charles I. In Chamberlain’s letters to Carleton, he provides information on the happenings in London for his correspondent. Within this correspondence, there are numerous slurs against the Irish. The letters relevant to Elizabeth I’s reign are dated from 1598 to 1603, and during this period, the English were at war with Irish rebels led by Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone. Chamberlain discusses in one letter that “those of Munster have set up a new Desmond ... and persecute our English undertakers that were planted in those parts with all manner of villainy and

¹⁴⁶ Alison D. Wall, ed., *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575 - 1611*, (Stoke-on-Trent, UK: J. G. Fenn Ltd., 1983), 5.

¹⁴⁷ Wall, *Two Elizabethan Women*, 39.

¹⁴⁸ Wall, ed., *Two Elizabethan Women*, 39 - 40.

barbarous cruelty.”¹⁴⁹ On another occasion, Chamberlain wrote there were “petty rebels about Dublin” and referred to one rebel, Fellom Mac-Toole, as a “notable rascal.”¹⁵⁰ Chamberlain again called a rebel against the English crown, Turlough O’Neill, “a bloody rascal.”¹⁵¹

While Chamberlain wrote generally about the Irish in some letters, in others he provided more detailed opinions of the Irish. For instance, he says “that the chief rebels in Munster began to put water in their wine and to proceed with more temper.”¹⁵² Not only does this imply that the Irish had issues with anger, but that they frequently consumed large amounts of alcohol. The combination of which could put the Irish in harmful or unwise situations, which implies he probably did not think they could make wise decisions.

Chamberlain gives another example of prejudice against the Irish comes in the comparison between Hugh O’Neill and a fox. In a letter from 1600, Chamberlain stated “if the earl [Essex] had sufficient forces, or would make the best use of those he hath, it is thought he might give him a blow in his return back, and teach the fox not to forsake his hole, nor go so far from home.”¹⁵³ Foxes were not merely seen as animals then as they are in the present, but as vermin, and fox hunting was a great sport among the nobility during the sixteenth century. By equating O’Neill with a fox, he has insulted him as an Irishman twofold because he is both subhuman and being hunted for

¹⁴⁹ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 8 Nov 1598, in Norman McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1 (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Press, 1939), 51.

¹⁵⁰ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 3 February 1601, in McClure, *Letters* 116-117.

¹⁵¹ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 8 May 1602, in McClure, *Letters* 142-143.

¹⁵² John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 17 Jan 1599, in McClure, *Letters* 63.

¹⁵³ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 22 Feb 1600, in McClure, *Letters*, 87.

sport. Chamberlain links another rebel with an animal when he said that after the death of O'Donnell, a prominent rebel in Ireland, "there was found in him a serpent (as some call it) or rather a worm, with two heads, or eight foot long."¹⁵⁴ In England, it was a long-standing metaphor that the Irish were snakes, so his statement is an example of a wider sentiment among the English. From these comparisons, it is clear that Chamberlain saw the Irish, at least the ones who rejected English rule, as more animal than human.

In 1586, John Hooker, a legal advisor to Peter Carew in Ireland, wrote his *Chronicle*. After he described some of the atrocities committed by Irish rebels, he describes the Irish.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated [ungovernable], barbarous, and unfaithful nation, who...are a wicked and perverse generation, constant always in that they be always inconstant, faithful in that they be always unfaithful, and trusty in that they be always treacherous and untrusty. They do nothing but imagine mischief, and have no delight in any good thing...Their mouths are full of unrighteousness, and their tongues speak nothing but cursedness. Their feet swift to shed blood, and their hands imbrued in the blood of innocents.¹⁵⁵

Hooker gave obvious reasons why he did not like the Irish people, and he also did not see them as Christian. He claimed that "God is not known in their land, neither is his name called rightly upon among them."¹⁵⁶ The first half of this statement implies Ireland is a godless place, but the latter part says the Irish do not worship God in the correct way. Ireland cannot at the same time be both godless and Catholic. Rome considered Ireland a Catholic state that

¹⁵⁴ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 4 Nov 1602, in McClure, *Letters*, 169.

¹⁵⁵ Charles Carlton, ed., *Bigotry and Blood: Documents on the Ulster Troubles* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977), 9-10.

¹⁵⁶ Carlton, ed., *Bigotry and Blood*, 10.

needed to be saved from Elizabeth I's treachery, so the Irish were considered a Catholic people by most of Europe. If Hooker's previous statement is looked at as an insult that is not necessarily a literal belief, he is still greatly insulting the Irish. In a Christian society, the mere idea that a country or its people are not Christian is an offense. Either way, Hooker is revealing his disdain for the Irish and their culture. Hooker continued saying that if the English stop fighting and come to a truce with the Irish, they will "as a dog to his vomit, and the sow to the dirt and puddle, they will return to their old and former insolence, rebellion, and disobedience."¹⁵⁷ Just as Chamberlain made subhuman references about the Irish, Hooker described them as both dogs and cows, neither of which is considered a "noble" beast.

One of the most famous Elizabethan accounts of Ireland came from Edmund Spenser in 1596 with his work *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. This work was set up as a discussion among two characters, Eudoxus and Irenius, about the Irish and Ireland. Throughout *A View*, he made references to the inferiority of the Irish to the English. He discussed the customs of the Irish that "seem[ed] offensive and repugnant to the good government of that realm."¹⁵⁸ One reason they were lesser than their English counterparts, for Spenser, was because Ireland was "for not of one nation was it peopled as it is, but of sundry people of different conditions and manners."¹⁵⁹ He claimed that Scots, Spaniards, and possibly Africans inhabited the island of Ireland. For

¹⁵⁷ Carlton, ed., *Bigotry and Blood*, 10.

¹⁵⁸ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, edited by W. L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 37.

¹⁵⁹ Spenser, *A View*, 38.

Spenser and his contemporaries, these three peoples that he claimed inhabited Ireland were either at war with England (Spain) or seen as inferior to the English (Scots and Africans). Also, in claiming they all inhabit the same island, he implies that they intermix, which is not seen as proper in this time period. Spenser asserted that Ireland was “the most barbarous nation in Christendom.”¹⁶⁰ Whether Ireland is considered a Christian, Catholic, or non-Christian place depended on each individual’s account of the country. In this case, Spenser did see the Irish as a Christian people, despite their culture’s perceived barbarity.

Spenser’s account of Ireland continued with an explanation of how the Old English, who were transplanted to Ireland to colonize and Anglicize the area, became more Irish than English. Through the character of Irenius, Spenser explained that “the chiefest abuses which are now in that realm are grown from the English, and the English that were are now much more lawless and licentious than the very wild Irish.”¹⁶¹ Spenser claimed “some of them [Old English] have quite shaken off their English names and put on Irish, that they might be altogether Irish.”¹⁶² Not only did the Irish remain barbarous despite an English presence there, but they altered the Old English’s “first natures as to grow wild ... [through] liberty and ill example.”¹⁶³

As Spenser continued to discuss how the Old English made themselves Irish, he claimed that the Old English adopted the Irish people’s “evil customs,

¹⁶⁰ Spenser, *A View*, 43.

¹⁶¹ Spenser, *A View*, 47.

¹⁶² Spenser, *A View*, 47.

¹⁶³ Spenser, *A View*, 48-49.

which ye have now next to declare, the which no doubt but are very bad and barbarous, being borrowed from the Irish: as their apparel, their language, their riding, and many other the like.”¹⁶⁴ However, the worst of the Irish customs, to Spenser, was the Old English’s “fostering and marrying with the Irish ... [because] how can such matching not bring forth an evil race.”¹⁶⁵ The Old English adoption of Irish customs showed the contagiousness of these “barbarous” Irish customs and society because the Old English did these things despite their illegal standing in the English government since the passing of the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366. For Spenser, this infestation of Irish culture among the Old English verified the uncivilized nature of the Irish. Spenser’s perception of the Irish is believed to be the prevalent opinion among the English.¹⁶⁶

It seems that to Spenser and his contemporaries the characteristics of Irish life tempted the English the way Satan tempted good Christians; so that Spenser did not view Ireland as a place that should be left to its own devices. The English, in attempting to save the Irish from themselves and their society, could be seduced by Irish customs, but it was the goal of the English to remain strong and anglicize the Irish.

William Shakespeare (~1564-1616), wrote multiple plays with references to the Irish and their society. One play in particular, *Henry V*, was written in 1599 and tells the story of Henry V of England and the Battle of Agincourt

¹⁶⁴ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 48.

¹⁶⁵ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 49.

¹⁶⁶ James A. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 209.

(1415) during the Hundred Years' War. While this play is a history and does not take place during Elizabeth I's reign, it is important to know that contemporary (sixteenth century) opinions of the Irish can be transferred onto the fifteenth century, especially in a play written for both the queen and a general audience of Englishmen. Shakespeare portrayed Makmorrice, the Irishman, in *Henry V* as a bloodthirsty character who despises his own country of Ireland. At the mention of Ireland, he responds, "What is my Nation? [It] is a villain and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal."¹⁶⁷ The popular English opinion of the Irish is reflected in this verse because the Irishman does not even look upon his own people with pride, but with disgust. In most of Makmorrice's speeches, he talks of violence. When he is in disagreement with a Welshman, he retorts, "I do not know you so good a man as myself: so Christ save me, I will cut off your head."¹⁶⁸ In contrast, the Welshman and Scotsman in the same scene were not portrayed with the same bloodlust as the Irishman.¹⁶⁹ At this point in English history, Wales was considered as generally submissive to English rule, and although Scotland was seen as inferior to England, it was not to the same extent as Ireland. Scotland, especially the monarchy, had close ties to France and their royal family, so they were not seen as a barbarous people the way their Celtic neighbors were at the time.

Edmund Campion (1540-1581) was under the patronage of William Cecil, one of Elizabeth I's leading advisors, before Campion went to Ireland in 1569. Once in Ireland, he was the tutor of Richard Stanihurst, who later wrote on

¹⁶⁷ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 50.

¹⁶⁸ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 51.

¹⁶⁹ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 50-51.

Ireland. Campion considered himself Catholic, and he hid from Protestant pursuers in the Pale, eventually escaping to France. It was during this time that Campion wrote *A Historie of Ireland*, which he completed in 1571. He returned to England as a Jesuit priest in 1580, and Elizabeth I had him executed in 1581. Campion differentiated between the Old English and Irish because they were affected similarly by the “licentious and evil custom[s],” but the English were not affected as much as the Irish.¹⁷⁰ Unlike Spenser, Campion believed the Old English and Irish were distinctly different from one another. He admitted “the very English of birth conversant with the brutish sort of that people [Irish], become degenerate in short space, and are quite altered into the worst rank of Irish rogues.”¹⁷¹ Campion’s opinion of the Irish is an important one because, like the Irish, he was a Catholic. He still considered Irish customs and society to be wicked even though he shared their religious beliefs. This reinforces that the English idea of Irish “otherness” was more reliant on their culture as a whole, rather than the specific cultural aspect of religion.

Cultural bias against the Irish can also be seen in government documents such as Elizabeth I’s correspondence and the Journals of the House of Commons and House of Lords. In “The Queen Majesty’s Proclamation Declaring Her Princely Resolution in Sending over of Her Army into the Realm of Ireland”

¹⁷⁰ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 30.

¹⁷¹ Crowley, ed., *Politics of Language*, 30.

(1599), Elizabeth I referred to the Irish rebels as “wicked and barbarous.”¹⁷² In the same speech, she stated one of the English goals in Ireland was “to reduce a number of unnatural and barbarous rebels and to root out the capital heads of the most notorious traitors.”¹⁷³ She again used the terms “barbarous” and “unnatural” in the speech in reference to the rebels’ actions against the English crown. She claimed the Irish rebels were “inveigled with superstitious impressions wrought in them by the cunning of seditious priests and seminaries.”¹⁷⁴ By this point in Elizabeth I’s reign, there was strong animosity between Catholics and Protestants both in England and across Europe. Because the Irish rebels aligned themselves with Catholic Spain against England, the religious differences between Ireland and England were one of the issues at the forefront by 1599. This does not mean, however, that religion was the only aspect of Irish culture that upset the Protestant English and their queen. Two years later, the speaker in the House of Lords brought up the issue of war with Spain and Ireland (as well as the Pope), and he compared the Irish to a serpent. Like Chamberlain, “he [Mr. Speaker] said [the Irish rebels] were like a Snake cut in pieces, which did crawl and creep to join themselves together again.”¹⁷⁵ Analogies of the Irish as snakes were not something said only in private, unofficial documents as seen earlier, but also in Parliament. While the English public held these opinions, so did members of the government. It was not a

¹⁷² Elizabeth I, “The Queen Majesty’s Proclamation Declaring Her Princely Resolution in Sending Over of Her Army into the Realm of Ireland,” in *Elizabeth I and Her Age*, edited by Donald Stump and Susan M. Felch (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), 492.

¹⁷³ Elizabeth I, “Queen Majesty’s Proclamation,” 492.

¹⁷⁴ Elizabeth I, “Queen Majesty’s Proclamation,” 492.

¹⁷⁵ Journal of the House of Lords, October 1601, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 6 June 2011).

stance that members of Parliament or the queen saw as one that would upset her subjects.

Under Elizabeth I, the English attempted to expand their power over the whole island, which led to multiple rebellions during her reign. At the beginning of the reign, she put down the rebellions, especially the First Desmond Rebellion, quite callously. This treatment of the Irish is a principal example of how one society's perception of another influenced their policy. Attempted colonization under Elizabeth I would not be completed until the mid-seventeenth century, and it had detrimental effects on both Elizabeth I's government and its finances.

While English prejudice against the Irish cannot be the sole justification the English chose to remain on the island of Ireland, without that prejudice, it would have been much harder to justify the English discriminatory treatment of the Irish. The process of colonization, in and of itself, must be understood as one that required the colonizers to think of themselves as better than those they colonized. The English wanted to gain land; however, colonization needed a mindset that allowed colonizers, the English, to feel paternalistic and as if they helped the native population by civilizing their culture. This mindset was permeated throughout the English population, from those in the government to those in the lower nobility.

The prevailing attitude of the English towards the Irish during Elizabeth I's reign had been part of English ideology for centuries. Because Englishmen viewed themselves as better than the Irish, it was unlikely for an English

monarch to even consider giving up control of Ireland. The mounting expenses to maintain their presence in Ireland was not enough to quell the English desire to not only continue ruling Ireland, but to attempt colonization. English prejudice against the Irish because of their language, customs, and religion was one of the main factors that led to the English policy of colonization.

CHAPTER V

ENGLISH FOREIGN POLICY & IRELAND

Over the course of Elizabeth I's reign, there were numerous Irish rebellions against the English. These culminated with the final rebellion, which occurred from 1594 to 1603. This rebellion, called Tyrone's Rebellion, or the Nine Years' War, was the longest and most violent during Elizabeth's rule in Ireland. The English government lost enormous amounts of money and troops to pursue her settlement policy in Ireland, especially during the Nine Years' War. Despite these problems in suppressing rebellions, Elizabeth I continued to send troops and ask Parliament for subsidies to continue fighting. This chapter will focus mainly on the Nine Years' War because this was when expenses for Ireland were at their peak. The queen was willing to accept the losses of men and money in order to gain control over her Irish subjects because she wanted to prove England's power to the continental powers of Europe, especially the Catholic states. In this, she was, at least temporarily, successful. After the defeat of the Spanish forces at the Battle of Kinsale, Spain did not interfere in

English matters as it had prior to the onset of the seventeenth century. The fragility of Elizabeth's reign, due to her Protestantism and unwillingness to marry, left England vulnerable to foreign attacks if her enemies perceived any weakness in her governance, including that of Ireland. Ireland became even more important to Elizabeth I and her Council, so that they could maintain the safety of England.

Ireland under Henry VIII

Problems escalated in Ireland when Henry VIII changed his view of the Irish within the English system from the Irish as "enemies" to the Irish as "rebels."¹⁷⁶ At the same time, Henry VIII and his advisor, Thomas Wolsey, decided the Irish lords should not be dealt with militarily, but rather, by allowing them political privileges because it would be both quicker and less expensive. Henry's main concern was to convince the Irish lords to accept him as their sovereign, but he prepared himself to make concessions "concerning the practical exercise of his judicial lordship."¹⁷⁷ Despite efforts to increase English power in Ireland, Henry VIII's early policy led to less control of Ireland because he did not want to spend money and regularly changed his deputies.¹⁷⁸

To combat the problems of his previous policy, Henry VIII began the policy known as surrender and regrant in 1540. The purpose of surrender and regrant was to "incorporate the Gaelic lordships by consent into a new, fully

¹⁷⁶ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 123.

¹⁷⁷ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 123.

¹⁷⁸ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 132-33.

anglicized kingdom of Ireland comprising the whole island.”¹⁷⁹ The surrender and regrant policy had three stages with each Irish lord. By the end of the first stage, the Irish chieftain “bound himself by indenture to recognize the king as his liege lord, to apply for a crown grant of his lands and a peerage, and meanwhile to attend parliament and resist papal jurisdiction.”¹⁸⁰ The second stage consisted of another indenture that reached these terms:

“chief agreed to renounce his Gaelic title...in return for an English one, to accept, assist, and obey the machinery of royal government...throughout his lordship, to do military service and pay rent as specified, to adopt English customs and language, and to encourage tillage, build houses and generally reorganize the socio-economic structure of his territories or more English lines.”¹⁸¹

The final stage meant to solve the problem of rival entitlements through mediation. The policy did not last long initially, being suspended in 1543.¹⁸² On 18 June 1542, Henry VIII became King of Ireland, instead of Lord of Ireland. For the rest of the Henry VIII’s reign, a position in Ireland became coveted by courtiers, which only added to England’s Irish troubles.¹⁸³

Ireland under Elizabeth I

By the time of Elizabeth I’s reign, the English government in Ireland was focused on “the reduction of Ireland to English rule by reform and the gradual extension of common law and English administrative structures.”¹⁸⁴ However, the English also use force to try to quicken Irish reform, so that the Irish no

¹⁷⁹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 150.

¹⁸⁰ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 150.

¹⁸¹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 150.

¹⁸² Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 151.

¹⁸³ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 265.

¹⁸⁴ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 265.

longer trusted English intent. As this policy continued, it became difficult for Elizabeth I to diminish the English presence in Ireland, which did not help native confidence. This led to a “discontinuity of policy” that led to many issues including the possibility of the Old English and Irish peoples joining together against English rule.¹⁸⁵ “By 1579, consensus politics were near collapse and a political climate was emerging which was conducive to the spread of novel ideological forms of opposition,” as Ellis describes it¹⁸⁶

When Elizabeth I ascended to the throne of England, the plan for Ireland was one to limit the costs of English presence in Ireland. The government even ceased to continue the policy of plantation for economic reasons. The aim of the London-based government to reduce administrative costs in Ireland led to increased borrowing by the English government based in Dublin. Unlike the fiscally responsible policies of Henry VIII, the English government under Elizabeth I wanted to expand its control of Ireland quickly, so there became, for the English, desirable positions in Ireland for benefaction. This process, in turn, gave people at court motivation to hold posts in Ireland, which made Ireland another arena for “court faction-fighting.”¹⁸⁷ Throughout the 1560s, Elizabeth’s policy (like her father’s before her) did not produce the results desired despite spending large amounts of money on Ireland. Instead of producing an anglicized native population, the policy united the Gaelic and Old English lords against the English government.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 265.

¹⁸⁶Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 265.

¹⁸⁷Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 265.

¹⁸⁸Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 282.

Elizabeth I's effective power was limited for many years upon her accession to the throne. Many of her councilors advised her to marry as a way to secure her position as queen. In many ways, her place as England's monarch was never truly stable. Between the claim of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth I's decision not to marry during the beginning of her reign, she was more susceptible to foreign intervention. Because of this, she had even more at stake if her enemies saw her as weak in matters within her own kingdom.¹⁸⁹

Among members of Elizabeth I's Council, there was a growing sense of a Catholic conspiracy forming against their queen. For them, the solution to this threat was "the creation of a united and Protestant British Isles which could stand alone ready to resist invaders."¹⁹⁰ In order for this plan to come to fruition, the wars between England and Scotland would need to stop and Ireland "must be peaceful and Protestant."¹⁹¹ In particular, Sir William Cecil's, her principal advisor, concern was only increased by the geography of the situation.

Her elder sister Mary I (1553 - 1558) had lost the last English outpost in modern-day France, Calais. Calais had been part of English territory after the city was captured by Edward III in 1347. At that time, it was not the only English holding in modern-day France; however, by the reign of Mary I, it was the last English strong hold on the European continent. It fell to the Duke of Guise in January 1558, only ten months before Mary I died.¹⁹² Elizabeth I

¹⁸⁹ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 221.

¹⁹⁰ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 221.

¹⁹¹ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 221.

¹⁹² Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 220 - 221.

certainly did not want her family to lose another English territory within two monarchs' reigns.

With the loss of territory across the English Channel, England's borders lay unprotected in the case of attack. If Scotland and England did not make an alliance, the geographic position of Ulster close to England, as well as its history of uprisings, left England extremely vulnerable. France was now linked to the Scottish monarchy, in that "Mary of Guise was Regent of Scotland and her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, was Queen of France." The two Marys wanted to extend their Catholicism to Scotland, which meant their loyalty to the Pope.¹⁹³

After a proxy war with France fought in Scotland ended, Elizabeth I as well as her councilors hoped she and her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots, could each rule their territory on the island in peace. During this period, Elizabeth I attempted to retake Calais in 1563, but her troops were outmatched and withdrew back to England.¹⁹⁴ Mary, Queen of Scots, of course, did not rule the island peaceably with her cousin, but rather conspired against her on numerous occasions eventually leading to Mary's death in 1587.

The first major unrest in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign was the revolt of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald in 1569. He was the leader of the Desmond of Munster. Unlike previous rebellions under Tudor rule, this one was against the English government directly, not just used as an excuse to fight their Gaelic

¹⁹³ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 220 - 221

¹⁹⁴ Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds*, 222 - 223.

enemies.¹⁹⁵ In this case, they rebelled against English laws that led to land owned by these Irish lords being given to Englishmen who claimed the land through lineages “from the earliest Norman landowners of Irish estates.”¹⁹⁶

This rebellion was the first in which Irish rebels attempted to gain support from Catholic Spain and Rome, but they were unwilling to help in the early 1570s.¹⁹⁷

Irish Catholics became more determined when the Pope gave them a legitimate reason to rebel against the Protestant Elizabeth I. Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth I in 1570 with the *Regnans in excelsis*; he

declare[d]...Elizabeth heretic and fautress of heretics, and her adherents...to be cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ, and her, Elizabeth, to be deprived of her pretended right to the said realm,...to be forever absolved from such oath.¹⁹⁸

Unfortunately, by the end of the decade, the divisions of religion in Ireland ceased their ambiguity, and it was no longer possible to have unclear loyalties.¹⁹⁹ This lack of compromise between religion and politics would lead to higher tensions between the Catholic Irish and their Protestant, English queen, so that by February 1593, the English government was aware of the Spanish attempts to gain Catholic Ireland, and the House of Commons paid

¹⁹⁵P.S. Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 196.

¹⁹⁶Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 197.

¹⁹⁷Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 197.

¹⁹⁸ Rome: 1570, January-March, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives, Volume 1: 1558 - 1571* (1916): 319 - 332, <http://british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=92551&strquery=elizabeth> (accessed 10 November 2009)

¹⁹⁹ Thomas G. Connors, “Surviving the Reformation in Ireland (1534 - 1580): Christopher Bodkin, Archbishop of Taum, and Roland Burke, Bishop of Clonfert,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 335.

close attention to what Philip II of Spain did.²⁰⁰ The English were not surprised by the collaboration of Philip II and then his son, Philip III, with Hugh O'Neill, the second earl of Tyrone.

Two of the largest rebellions during this time were the First Desmond Rebellion (1569 - 1573) and Second Desmond Rebellion (1579- 1583) in the province of Munster. James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald led the First Desmond Rebellion, and the Anglo-Irish lords like Dermot MacCarthy and the Earl of Clancarty joined Fitzgerald against Sir Peter Carew.²⁰¹ Carew attempted, through conquest, to take lands that had ancient rights from the twelfth century. Carew, with the help of other New English, defeated the Irish rebels. However, Fitzgerald was able to escape to the continent.²⁰² Upon his return, he began the second rebellion. After the English defeated the rebels with harsh force, the Desmond lands became available for seizure by the New English. This, of course, only alienated the Irish and Old English more.²⁰³

In 1579, Fitzmaurice returned from the continent with troops from Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and he claimed "that European Catholicism of the counter-reformation was the unifying creed in whose cause Irishmen would fight the Tudors and could count on European support."²⁰⁴ Spanish troops were sent to Ireland to lead the rebellion, possibly in retaliation over English

²⁰⁰ Journal of the House of Commons, February 1593, 468 - 479, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 6 June 2011)

²⁰¹ Peter Carew was the nephew of the Master of Ordinance, Jacques Wingfield, and the rebels killed Carew during the battle. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, vol. 3, 61 - 63.

²⁰² McGurk, *The Elizabeth Conquest of Ireland*, 6.

²⁰³ McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland*, 6.

²⁰⁴ Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 211.

involvement in the Netherlands. Not only did Spain give troops to aid the Irish, but they also supplied them with money.²⁰⁵ Over four years (1580-1583), Elizabeth I spent five hundred thousand pounds sterling to put down the rebellion. In order to keep this from happening again, she took two hundred thousand acres of land from lords in Munster and gave it to English settlers.²⁰⁶ During the later part of the sixteenth century, English government officials had little faith in the future presence of England in Ireland. Because of this, many of Elizabeth I's advisors thought the best course of action was to forcibly colonize Munster with loyal Englishmen as opposed to the disloyal Irish lords.²⁰⁷

The Elizabethan policy of colonization was crucial to the anglicization of the Irish; however, Elizabeth I did not want to spend the necessary money to have success. The Lord Deputy at the time, Henry Sidney, was told by her to "reduce military expenditure and exploit crown land more effectively."²⁰⁸ Elizabeth's Lord Deputy beginning in 1584, Sir John Perrot, developed a plan to solve England's problem of the colonization of Ulster that included bringing back the policy of surrender and regrant.²⁰⁹ English focus shifted to the Dutch/Spanish conflict in 1584, and English involvement in that struggle occupied English attention until the mid-1590s when another rebellion broke out in Ireland. The instructions to lord deputies of Ireland continued to be financial reduction and to maintain peace.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth*, 253.

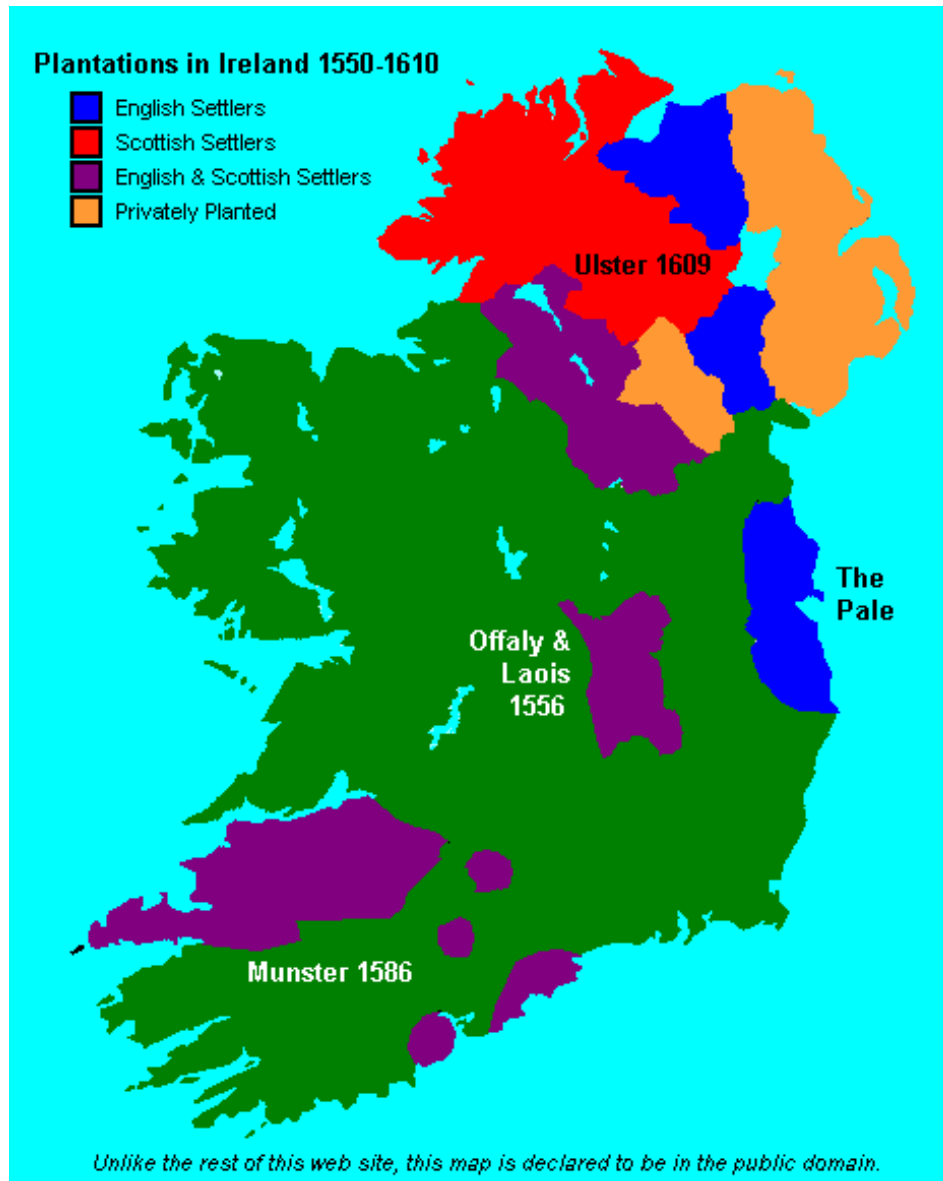
²⁰⁶ Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 211.

²⁰⁷ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 121.

²⁰⁸ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 292.

²⁰⁹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 318-319.

²¹⁰ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 319.



Map 2. Plantations in Ireland, 1550-1610.²¹¹

During the 1580s, Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon and later Earl of Tyrone, began building a personal army against Elizabeth I and her government. He stayed on good terms with her while doing this because he had previously learned political skills from living with the Earl of Leicester and

²¹¹ [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plantation_\(Irland\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plantation_(Irland)) (accessed 15 March 2012).

visiting Elizabeth I's court.²¹² In 1593, O'Neill rose up against the English government when they denied him the title of earl of Tyrone after the death of Turlough O'Neill. At this time, he took the name of "The O'Neill," which was the ancient Irish title of King of Ulster. He gained the support of Ulster chieftains, Philip of Spain and the pope. Despite the efforts of the English, they did not remove him from Ulster as they hoped to do. By 1596, Elizabeth I and O'Neill entered into a treaty. The truce did not last long however, and between 1597 and 1598, the Irish continued to defeat the English in Ulster. During this time, Munster also fought the English with the help of Philip of Spain. Elizabeth placed Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in charge of the military expedition against O'Neill with eighteen thousand troops. Essex was not successful against O'Neill, and contrary to Elizabeth I's orders, entered into a treaty with O'Neill that would last until May 1600.²¹³

Following Essex's removal from his post in Ireland, Elizabeth I sent Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, with an army of twenty thousand in February 1600. Luckily for the English, Mountjoy had the ability to defeat the rebels throughout Munster during 1600. In 1601, Mountjoy focused on O'Neill until the Spanish landed at Kinsale in September of that year. By December 1601, the Spaniards agreed to leave Ireland. This gave Mountjoy the ability to suppress the rebels throughout Ulster, leading to O'Neill's capture in March 1603. Elizabeth I died the same month, but O'Neill was unaware of this, and he accepted the English terms of surrender, which included the "renounce[ing]

²¹² Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 212.

²¹³ Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 212-213.

of his title and accept[ing] the status of landowner under the English crown.”²¹⁴

The Nine Years’ War in Ireland cost Elizabeth I £1,200,000 sterling over a five-year period.²¹⁵ In October 1601, the House of Lords commented on “the continual and excessive charges of the Wars of Ireland.”²¹⁶

Given the Spanish interference in Ireland during the first half of her reign, it was a very real threat that the Spanish would become involved again in the affairs of the English and Irish. One of Elizabeth’s trusted advisors, Sir Francis Walsingham, believed that “upon differences of creed, which fixed a great gulf between the Irish and their English governors...Elizabeth’s enemies proposed to play. They had a fine opportunity to talk about freeing their Catholic Irish brethren from the yoke of the heretic oppressor, and they made the most of it.”²¹⁷ It was imperative for Elizabeth and her government to maintain control of Ireland, so her enemies could not use the island as a way to invade England.

Throughout the 1580s, there was relative peace in Ireland; however, this decade saw different international crises. English relations with the Spanish reached the peak of their hostility during this time. Luckily, the natural disaster that led to the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 left Spain with a diminished navy that would take years to rebuild.²¹⁸

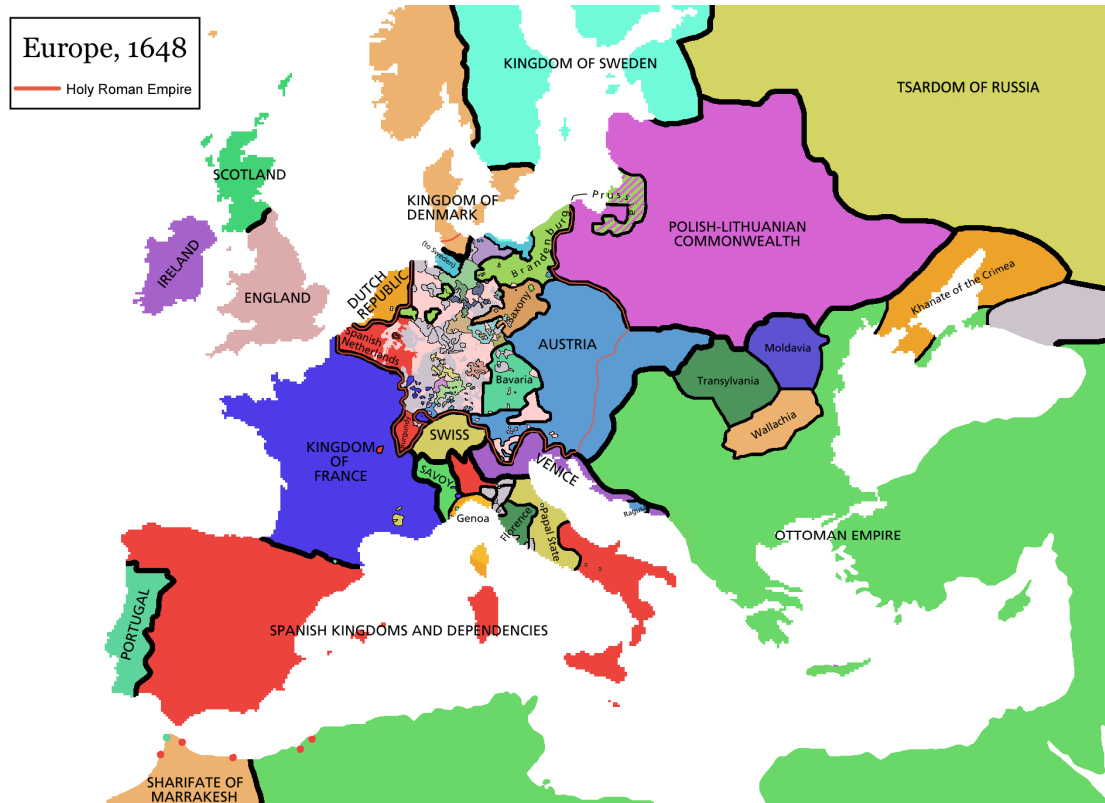
²¹⁴ Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 213.

²¹⁵ Crowson, *Tudor Foreign Policy*, 213.

²¹⁶ ‘Journal of the House of Lords: October 1601,’ *The Journal of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1682).

²¹⁷ Conyers Read, *Mr. Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 359.

²¹⁸ R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas*, 1 - 2.



Map 3. Europe, 1648.²¹⁹

The leader of the Irish side in the Nine Years' War was Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone. The Tyrone lordship was the most powerful in Ireland, and problems arose in 1587 between the English government and O'Neill when the English attempted to reduce O'Neill's power.²²⁰ After the government tried to suppress his power, O'Neill began bribing the English officials so he could continue doing as he pleased. He gained success through the connections he had with important Gaelic and Old English people.²²¹

²¹⁹ <http://www.whitneyannetrettien.com/arscombinatoria/> (accessed 20 April 2012).

²²⁰ Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1993), 85.

²²¹ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 85.

These relationships brought him “influence, military support[,]and ultimately power.”²²² The rights held by O’Neill dated back to the *Ceart Ui Neill*, a late medieval/early modern document outlining the rights of the lords of Tyrone. According to Morgan, the *Ceart Ui Neill* was observed actively during Hugh’s reign as Lord because the document continued to change until 1595. While both the English and Gaelic recognized the lordship of Tyrone, the acceptance of feudal titles was a way to connect politically to England and maintain the rights of the lordship.²²³ Once O’Neill gained his power, he used it callously to decrease the land, wealth, and power of his enemies inside his lordship. Despite the Crown’s wish to decrease the growing power of O’Neill, it recognized that would require an alliance with the MacShanes (another powerful Gaelic clan) that the English government was unwilling to make.²²⁴

By 1594, the tensions between the second Earl of Tyrone and the queen’s government came to a head with a crisis in Ulster from 1593 to 1594. Since O’Neill could not gain what he wanted by asking the English government, he used proxy wars fought by his dependents to achieve his goals and yet destroy his relationship with the English.²²⁵ Tyrone’s charade of acting as if he could not control his dependents was no longer fooling the queen or her council however, this left the queen unwilling to compromise with Tyrone, and this

²²² Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 111.

²²³ Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 85.

²²⁴ Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 111 - 112.

²²⁵ Morgan, *Tyrone’s Rebellion*, 166.

inability to compromise eventually led to the proclamation of Tyrone as a traitor.²²⁶

In 1594, the queen appointed Sir Richard Bingham and Sir Robert Gardiner as lords justice in Ireland. They were supposed to remove Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam from his post. However, he was unwilling to give up his position, and this impeded talks with Tyrone. Because Fitzwilliam did not cooperate with the queen's commands, she was livid with his behavior. He eventually left before 1594 ended, and his replacement was Sir William Russell, a noble inexperienced in governmental duties.²²⁷ Unfortunately, for the queen and her supporters, the appointment of Russell as Lord Deputy and the Earl of Essex led to "one of the most disastrous [governments in Ireland] of the century."²²⁸

Russell encouraged a military resolution, but he received no troops from Elizabeth I. When given the chance, much to the detriment of the queen, Russell did not detain the Earl of Tyrone.²²⁹ Instead, Russell attempted to appease O'Neill by granting him the concession that the English would not rule the province of Ulster without aid from O'Neill. However, Elizabeth I was not pleased with these measures because he went back to Ulster with more power from the English. Russell hoped this method would bring peace to Ulster, but

²²⁶ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 167.

²²⁷ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 168.

²²⁸ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 169.

²²⁹ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 169.

instead, it led to a success for O'Neill. O'Neill's most important gain from this agreement was that communication with London opened again.²³⁰

After Tyrone returned to the North provinces, instead of Russell's goal of peace, the crisis continued to intensify. Despite the traitorous behavior of the Earl of Tyrone, the English government was disinclined to begin a major conflict in Ireland. The Cecils, in particular favored a peaceful solution to the situation.²³¹ Elizabeth I refused to give Tyrone the authority Russell so freely gave in exchange for revenues that were owed her anyway. For Elizabeth, the way European powers perceived her and her country was quite important, and she refused to concede to Tyrone's demands because of the effect it would have on her reputation in France and Spain, in particular. In October 1594, the queen sent orders to the Irish Council explaining that they were to make one more demand for Tyrone's submission in person, or the English government would proclaim him a traitor.

On 21 November 1594, the Council sent to the Earl of Tyrone commanding him to come to Dublin by order of Her Majesty, and in response, the earl of Tyrone said that he had previously explained why he would not travel to the council and that his companion, O'Donnell, and his brother, McCormick, would make amends with those people they have offended.²³² By the middle of November the Lord Deputy Russell asked Elizabeth I to send two

²³⁰ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 171.

²³¹ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 177.

²³² Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, December 1594, 284 - 289, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 11 November 2009).

thousand soldiers and horses to Ireland.²³³ Elizabeth agreed and sent troops under the command of Sir John Norris; however, because of the winter delay, the first group of troops did not arrive until 18 March. In December 1594, Russell sent word to Sir Robert Cecil, one of Elizabeth I's advisors, that Russell stopped appeasing Tyrone, and had tried his best to pull O'Donnell's forces apart from O'Neill.²³⁴ When Elizabeth I made the decision to send troops to Ireland, her government was aware of the chance Spain might be involved.²³⁵

On the rebel side, O'Neill was the leader of the army, and O'Donnell was his second in command in the western part of Ireland.²³⁶ In the summer of 1595, the English troops attacked Ulster from the southeast side to try to capture Dungannon. It was evident by the latter part of 1595 that the divided English army's leadership was affecting the "governmental process."²³⁷ Russell had left the army in the north under the control of John Norris, and Norris complained that Russell did not send to the north the reinforcements or money to the north that had come to Dublin. The Lord Deputy was keen on passing blame onto others in order to save himself, and did this on many occasions.²³⁸ He refused to return to the north because he did not want to be involved in the negotiations that the rebels forced the English into engaging with Tyrone.

²³³ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, December 1594, 284 - 289, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 11 November 2009).

²³⁴ Elizabeth I: volume 177: December 1594, 284 - 289, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 11 November 2009).

²³⁵ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 177.

²³⁶ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 184.

²³⁷ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 186.

²³⁸ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 186.

During this time, the power of O'Neill and O'Donnell as Irish lords increased.²³⁹ Tyrone's military prestige earned him more political authority throughout the north. The Gaelic Irish opinion of O'Neill became that the English Earl of Tyrone who was a traitor, but the Irishman Hugh O'Neill was not a traitor.²⁴⁰ However, most of the Anglo-Irish saw O'Neill's actions as illegal. Because he supported unsavory people, his hopes of support by "law-abiding Anglo-Irish gentry and townspeople" were bound to fail.²⁴¹

In 1595, the two sides considered negotiations; however, the crown required two prerequisites before starting them. Elizabeth I wanted "submissions by the confederates and a formal truce."²⁴² Tyrone submitted on 18th of October 1595, and in his letter, he admitted to his crimes; requested pardons for himself, his family, and his followers; and renounced title of O'Neill. O'Donnell also gave his submission on the 18 October.²⁴³ Because England looked weak to the other European powers already, Elizabeth I was more callous than before as she wanted England to look strong again. She told Lord Deputy Russell, " '[T]he less we afford to such traitors, the more honor our ministers do to us and our estate.' "²⁴⁴ The peace terms drawn up by the crown included a decrease of O'Neill's wealth and status; he could only keep the lands and title of the Baron of Dungannon (his Irish title and property), and

²³⁹ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 187.

²⁴⁰ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 188 - 189.

²⁴¹ Hiram Morgan, "Hugh O'Neill and the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (March 1993): 36.

²⁴² Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 193.

²⁴³ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 193.

²⁴⁴ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 193.

the lands and title of Earl of Tyrone were to be forfeit until he was back in the queen's good graces. Despite her moderation toward the leaders of the Tyrone Rebellion, she decided to execute the lesser nobles involved to prove her point.²⁴⁵

When the English discovered the rebel leaders had corresponded with the King of Spain for assistance, the English reduced their terms for peace to avoid a conflict with Spain in Ireland. In the letters confiscated, O'Neill and O'Donnell told the King Philip II of Spain that they fought for the Catholic Church and offered Ireland to Spain if they would send military support. If the rebels obtained enough guarantees from him, they would not agree to peace with the English. Elizabeth changed her goal of enforcing the peace terms to compromising the terms to gain a quicker peace treaty.²⁴⁶ However, in the spring 1596, O'Neill reneged on a peace treaty with the English. Instead, he committed the confederacy to an alliance with Spain. However, the Irish would not receive aid from the Spanish until 1601 at the Battle of Kinsale.²⁴⁷

Over the course of Robert Devereux's, second Earl of Essex, career in Ireland, his favor with the Queen eventually deteriorated until she had him arrested for treason in 1601. In October 1597, Essex reached Plymouth, and he learned the English had discovered the Spanish fleet and the Spanish had begun setting up defenses. Elizabeth I sent him a letter with instruction on how to pursue the situation. In this letter, she gave him command over the army in

²⁴⁵ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 194.

²⁴⁶ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 195.

²⁴⁷ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 213.

Ireland if he felt the coast of England was safe.²⁴⁸ In the fall of 1598, Elizabeth I appointed Essex to Lord Deputy. Following in July 1599, the Queen sent Essex a letter chastising him for chasing minor nobles, instead of going directly for Tyrone.²⁴⁹ After the stern letter from Elizabeth I, Essex finally went against Tyrone; however, the number of troops was by then greatly reduced and morale was not good. Essex sent Elizabeth a letter explaining his plan, but she did not receive it well because he did not consult her before deciding his plan of action.²⁵⁰ A published prayer, written by John Norden in 1599, prayed for the success of the Earl of Essex in defeating the Earl of Tyrone.²⁵¹ The Earl of Essex parleyed with Tyrone instead of engaging him in battle, which greatly upset the Queen, especially since he did not consult her about the conditions of the truce.²⁵² The arrest of the Earl of Essex for treason was announced on 9 February 1601 and explained why Elizabeth I arrested the former Lord Deputy: Essex had entered into London with armed soldiers with the attempt to harm England and Elizabeth I.²⁵³

After the fall of Essex, Elizabeth I appointed Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, to Lord Deputy of Ireland. Throughout 1600, Mountjoy made

²⁴⁸ Elizabeth I to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, October 28, 1597, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 253 - 254.

²⁴⁹ Elizabeth I to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, July 19, 1599, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 263 - 268.

²⁵⁰ Elizabeth I to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, September 14, 1599, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 270 - 274.

²⁵¹ John Norden, *A Prayer for the Prosperous and Good Success of the Earle of Essex his companies, in their present expedition in Ireland against Tyrone and his adherents, Rebels there* (London: Edward Allde, 1599), 1 - 5 <http://eebo.com/> (accessed 4 May 2010).

²⁵² Elizabeth to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, September 17, 1599, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 274 - 276.

²⁵³ Hughes and Larkin, eds. *Tudor Proclamations III, 1588 - 1603*, 230 - 231.

progress against the rebels. Elizabeth I wrote him to congratulate him on his victories and assure him that he was still in her good favor.²⁵⁴ She later sent him a letter informing him that the Spanish landed at Ireland and reinforcements were on the way to aid him. A third letter encouraged him that he remained in favor at court, and that he maintains her support.²⁵⁵

In October 1601, the House of Lords discussed Philip III of Spain's plans to attack Ireland and England.²⁵⁶ The English prepared themselves for battle against the joint Spanish-Irish attacks well in advance of the Battle of Kinsale. The Battle of Kinsale in December 1601 ended in a key victory for the English over the Irish and her allies, including Spain. Elizabeth I sent Mountjoy a letter congratulating him on the victory over the Spanish and Irish.²⁵⁷ The victory at Kinsale allowed the English to retake control of Munster and the other provinces. However, O'Neill still had control of Ulster province. Elizabeth I did not want to stop fighting until her soldiers could find and kill the Earl of Tyrone. Cecil and other advisors realized the amount of devalued money the war against Tyrone cost. They were also aware that if Tyrone held out until Elizabeth's death and the accession to the English throne of her cousin King James VI of Scotland, James would grant Tyrone more mercy than the queen

²⁵⁴ Elizabeth I to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, December 3, 1600, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 279 - 80.

²⁵⁵ Elizabeth to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, October 4, 1601, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 288.; Elizabeth I to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, c. 1601, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 289.

²⁵⁶ Journal of the House of Lords, October 1601, 597 - 602 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 4 may 2010).

²⁵⁷ Elizabeth I to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, January 12, 1602, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 289 - 291.

would because James communicated with Tyrone throughout the Nine Years' War.

Mountjoy granted mercy to all the lesser people who participated in the rebellion. As the war continued, Mountjoy wanted to start negotiations with Tyrone, and Cecil agreed with Mountjoy. So, in February 1603, probably at the urging of Cecil, Elizabeth I granted Mountjoy permission to negotiate with Tyrone. The terms Elizabeth required of O'Neill were that

O'Neill come personally to accept his pardon;... in the point of religion, he presume not to indent;... he shall publicly abjure all manner of dependency upon Spain and other potentates, reveal all he knows of our enemy's purposes, and refuse the name of O'Neill; and he shall not presume to treat for any but himself and his natural followers of Tyrone.²⁵⁸

On 30 March 1603, Mountjoy offered Tyrone lenient terms because he wished for Tyrone to accept them before learning of the Queen's death and before Mountjoy's probable removal back to England. Afterward, the English placed Ireland under martial law in a step toward the plantation system of assimilation.²⁵⁹

During the Nine Years War, the English faced many challenges in their efforts in Ireland. The biggest problem England and its Irish administration faced were the financial deficits. According to Roger Wilbraham, in seven months during 1599, the Queen spent £30,000 on her fight with the Irish.

Elizabeth I was fortunate that the House of Commons was willing to grant her

²⁵⁸ Elizabeth I to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Richmond, February 17, 1603, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 298 - 301.

²⁵⁹ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 160 - 168.

subsidies to pay for the war.²⁶⁰ The House of Commons believed Elizabeth I more worthy than Henry VIII, Edward VI, or Mary I because England was constantly defending the its realm.²⁶¹ To help with the amount of money spent to fight Ireland, the English government considered debasing the coins in Ireland. At a Council meeting in Ireland, Wilbraham, who was present, concurred that the debasement of coin had both positive and negative consequences. One of the most important effects would be the accelerated armistice with Ireland because debasement could result in the insufficient wealth to fund their rebellion.²⁶² In the official statute, the English government supported the debasement of coin because it does not want rebels in Ireland to gain more money from the English government.²⁶³ In December 1601, near the time of the Battle of Kinsale, the House of Commons granted Elizabeth I “four Subsidies and eight Fifteenths and Tenths” for the war in Ireland against the Irish and Spanish, and it was then approved by the House of Lords.²⁶⁴ In 1602, the Lords of Council agreed that it was the wars in Ireland caused the indebtedness of the government.²⁶⁵

To cover the costs of running the Dublin government, the Lords of Council took out short-term loans from Irish merchants until they received money from England. Because of the loans, when they did receive the money

²⁶⁰ Journal of the House of Commons, February 1593, 468 - 479, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 4 May 2010).

²⁶¹ Journal of the House of Commons, March 1593, 479 - 513, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 5 May 2010).

²⁶² Roger Wilbraham, *The Journal of Roger Wilbraham*, vol. 10 in *The Camden Miscellany*, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902), 36 - 41.

²⁶³ Hughes and Larkin, eds., *Tudor Proclamations III*,, 1588 - 1603, 243 - 235.

²⁶⁴ Journal of the House of Lords, December 1601, 602 - 619, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk> (accessed 5 May 2010).

²⁶⁵ Scott, ed., *The Camden Miscellany*, Vol. 4, 49.

from London, it went right to the lenders. For instance, in September 1595, the treasurer-at-wars waited for the money to pay the soldiers wages from July and August.²⁶⁶

The English government in Ireland also faced problems in getting supplies for the army from across the Irish Sea. In addition, there were bad harvests that led to shortages of food in both England and Ireland from 1594 to 1597.²⁶⁷ As mentioned previously, there were problems in the command of the English army. While the English still considered it a rebellion, they maintained the normal hierarchy of the army officers. When the conflict continued to escalate to war, London officials decided to split the command. In April 1595, Elizabeth I sent Sir John Norris to act as general while Russell was away, and Norris became the head military commander. This muddled with the existing factions: Russell allied with Essex and Norris with the Cecils. William Cecil was Elizabeth's chief advisor until his death in 1598; following his death, his son Robert Cecil took on his father's role in Elizabeth's council until her death in 1603. In addition to the conflict, there was also a large amount of corruption in the English army, for example, officers leaving their posts to earn money in the countryside and carousing with the Irish.²⁶⁸

Despite these problems with the finances and army, the English government did not cease to fight. The most damaging aspect of the Nine Years' War was the amount of debt Elizabeth I was in because the war

²⁶⁶ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 179.

²⁶⁷ Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 181.

²⁶⁸ Elizabeth I to The Lords Justices Loftis and Gardener, the Earl of Ormonde, and the Rest of the Council of Ireland, September 12, 1598, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 260 - 263.; Wilbraham, *The Journal of Roger Wilbraham*, 26 - 30.

continued for nine years. Despite the growing debt, she managed to suppress the rebellion and maintain control of Ireland and the Irish. Besides the hereditary right she had to the Kingdom of Ireland, her most motivating factor was to preserve the image of her reign and country as powerful, not a country that could be defeated by such a “barbarous” people as the Irish. In a letter to the Lord Deputy Earl of Ormond, Elizabeth I explained that she did not want to show mercy to the rebels because “it shall ever appear to the world that in any such sort we will give way to any of their pride, we will cast off either sense or feeling of pity or compassion, and upon whatever price soever, prosecute them to the last hour.”²⁶⁹ She did not want to show weakness by being merciful toward the rebels who rose up against her and her government. In a letter to Essex, Elizabeth I stated that “the eyes of foreign Princes [are] upon our actions.”²⁷⁰

Elizabeth I became involved in the Tyrone Rebellion to maintain her control over Ireland and reduce the power of Hugh O’Neill, second Earl of Tyrone. Hereditary right aside, the main motivating factor for Elizabeth I was to appear strong and in control to her continental enemies, especially Spain. The English opinion of the Irish did not help the situation because the English felt the Irish to be inferior people in both culture and intelligence. When Elizabeth labeled Tyrone a traitor, she did not realize how long this war would actually last. Throughout the war, her army in Ireland suffered because of

²⁶⁹ Elizabeth I to Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, December 29, 1597, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 257.

²⁷⁰ Elizabeth I to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, July 19, 1599, in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, 264.

corruption within the officer corps and rivalries within the political and military hierarchy. It was not until the appointment of Lord Mountjoy that the English side started seeing substantial successes against the Irish confederacy. With the involvement of Spain, it became both a domestic and international issue that Elizabeth I could not cease to fight. The English government in London and Dublin was greatly in debt by the end of the Nine Years' War, but the mounting expenditures did not stop the Queen from sending troops and supplies. Parliament continued to grant her subsidies so that she could continue fighting the rebels. Elizabeth I died with her government in great debt, and the peace treaty was not officially resolved until James I took the throne.

Given that the war was going well for the confederacy from 1594 to 1600, until the appointment of Mountjoy, it might seem to a modern audience like a futile war for the English. However, proving the power of a monarch and her country, especially during the early modern period, was worth the financial and human cost to maintain her place within the European political community. If Elizabeth I had lost the war against Tyrone and Spain, England would have become much more vulnerable to attacks from European powers, especially Catholic powers like France and Spain. Elizabeth I mentioned the importance of maintaining an image of power and control in her government and lands in letters throughout the war, and one of her complaints to Essex was that he did not think of the results of his actions on her public image. It was of critical importance that Elizabeth defeat the confederacy because she did not

know the full extent of the consequences if she were to lose a territory England had controlled for centuries. In this way, she had to maintain her appearance of power and control, so the other countries in Europe would not take advantage of her vulnerable position during the Nine Years' War.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As with other monarchies, there were foreign wars and intrigues during the reign of Elizabeth I. These were vital to the state of England, and by extension, Ireland. Despite the uprisings in Ireland that occurred throughout her reign, Ireland did not occupy a position of prime importance until the last decade of her rule. Even though Ireland was not the English government's top priority, it was mostly due to the significance of other happenings throughout Europe. As the possibility of England losing Ireland increased, England became more serious about the issues in Ireland because the fall of Ireland would have had many larger implications.

Elizabeth I and her government's reasons for continuing to stay within Ireland to maintain control of the rebellious state lay primarily in the social and political spectrums. Both must be considered to understand why the English remained determined to keep Ireland under their control. It is also important to understand the fiscal strain Ireland put on England throughout her

reign. The reasons to stay in Ireland had to outweigh the physical and economic losses. Socially, the English saw the anglicization of Ireland and the Irish as their duty, which stemmed from the English belief that they were superior to the Irish. Most significantly, the political environment, involving Spain and France, kept Elizabeth I resolute in continuing to rule over Ireland.

The long-standing cultural prejudices of the English towards the Irish meant that the English opinion of the Irish was an important factor in the English decision to remain in Ireland. This was not the critical motivation during Elizabeth I's reign, but it cannot be discounted simply because there were graver situations happening in the political spectrum. English prejudice still played a large role in creating the system in Ireland because the English believed they were "civilizing" the Irish. This conviction that the English could "civilize" the Irish was one that penetrated the whole of English society from the government to the general audiences watching Shakespeare's plays.

Because Ireland was part of the English crown, and had been under English lordship since the twelfth century, there was an innate sense among the English that they had the right to the island of Ireland. This made it almost impossible for an English monarch from any time period to consider leaving the island. It would have been a devastating loss to Elizabeth I and her government and would have also left her more vulnerable to attacks from Catholic Spain and France. The situation made it extremely dangerous to lose Ireland, but one cannot ignore that Elizabeth I, known for her vanity, also

likely did not want to be remembered as the monarch who lost Ireland after England held onto it for four centuries.

Elizabeth I attempted the colonization of Ireland, especially at the beginning of her reign, in the hope that it would become peaceful and Protestant. Never was the holding of Ireland as important for the safety of England as it was under the Protestant, single monarch of England. She made no marriage, so there were no alliances gained through familial tie. While such connections did not guarantee peace or security, it did help to have allies bound together by blood.

England's geographic position in relation to the Catholic states around her is yet another significant reason why the loss of Ireland was not an option for Elizabeth I or her councilors. With the close proximity to France (without the defense of Calais) and the straight route Spain had over water to Ireland and England, Elizabeth I could take no chances. When Spain began aiding Irish rebels, she had no choice but to continue fighting. She was engaged in, not only an internal conflict, but an international struggle for the stability of her country.

Because of these circumstances, no English monarch had ever before placed the amount of money or resources into Ireland that Elizabeth did by the time of her death. It is clear that her government accepted the growing expenses because Parliament continued to grant her subsidies to fight in

Ireland. However, this problem would not end cleanly or quickly, and monarchs after her continued to deal with the problem of Ireland.

Shortly after Elizabeth's death in 1603, the Earl of Tyrone surrendered to the English army, which "signalled the completion of the Tudor conquest, but politically it marked not the solution of the crown's Irish problem, but simply the start of a new phase of anglicization."²⁷¹ Even with a new method of anglicization, there remained at least one consistency. This was the reduction of money spent to maintain control of Ireland. By reducing the cost, James I decreased the size of his army within Ireland; while at the same time, he continued to favor New English settlers over the Old English and Irish. This lasted until the next occasion arose for the Irish to rebel against the English crown.²⁷²

The Tudor regime in Ireland ended on a high note with the victory at the Battle of Kinsale, in which they defeated the Spanish, but that success was the exception to the rule in Tudor Ireland. English rule was ineffective in sustaining peace throughout Elizabeth I's reign, and the Stuarts would encounter many of the same difficulties faced by previous monarchs. The continual suppression and ill-treatment of the Irish by the English led to increased animosity. While the intricacies of these troubles will most likely never be fully understood, it is to be hoped that the present study has provided insight into the motivations of the English.

²⁷¹ Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 352.

²⁷² Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 352

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Major Field: History

Scope and Method of Study: An examination of the motivations and justifications of the English to remain in Ireland under the reign of Elizabeth I from 1558 to 1603. While historians have written extensively on Anglo-Irish relations in the early modern period, they focus primarily on the actions of the English in Ireland. This study looks at why the English remained despite increased violence against the English presence in Ireland and the rising expenditure to maintain control of an unprofitable island. The motivations of the Elizabethan government are found in the economic, cultural, and political spheres of early modern Europe. To determine the specific motivations, government documents, personal memoirs and letters of the English, and correspondence of Elizabeth I were used to explain the varying motives and justifications used by the English to preserve their rule of Ireland.

Findings and Conclusions: While there was growing difficulty to continue the English rule of Ireland, the English were determined not to lose the island. Ireland was not a profitable territory for the English government, and the cost of governing increased throughout Elizabeth I's reign due to military expenditure to keep Ireland under control. However, there were important factors that kept England invested in Ireland. The most important was political security. There were political threats from the major Catholic powers, and Spain and the Papal States helped Irish rebels fight against English rule during multiple rebellions. Elizabeth I could not lose Ireland without being surrounded by her political and religious enemies. The second most important factor for the English to continue its role in Ireland was the English cultural prejudice towards the Irish. Since the English first had a political presence in Ireland in the twelfth century, they tried to instill English ways into Irish society. The English believed the Irish were "wild men" that should be Anglicized. The English sought to fix the Irishmen's barbarous society and bring modern civilization to Ireland.

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