‘Distressed Protestants or Irish vagrants?’ Charity and the organisation of relief to ‘Irish’ refugees in England, 1641-1651.

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Abstract

On the evening of 22 October 1641 organised rebellion broke out in Ireland precipitating the displacement of thousands of Protestant refugees. While many remained internally displaced in Ireland, over the course of the 1640s a significant number of these refugees subsequently fled to England, Scotland and the Continent in search of safety, security and relief. Few studies have hitherto considered these refugees in great depth and those which have been conducted make several assumptions about the refugees. Typically, the refugees are treated as a homogenous group of returning migrants and the attitudes of the English towards the refugees is viewed as largely dichotomous; the refugees were considered either 'distressed Protestants' or 'evil Irish'. This thesis extends and challenges the previous historiography, offering a more comprehensive view of the reception of the refugees in England. The focus of the thesis centres on three main research questions: 1) Who were the refugees from Ireland? 2) How was relief in England organised and dispensed? 3) What does the organisation and dispensation of relief reveal about English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland? Local parish churchwardens' and constables' accounts form the principal source base for this research. Quantitative analysis of parish relief in these documents allows for a comparative study of parishes across England, highlighting regional variations in aid and refugee migration patterns – areas of enquiry that have never previously been considered by historians. This analysis also shows how local parish officials were able to balance the provision of aid to refugees with the complex web of local political, economic and social concerns, in the context of the upheaval of the British and Irish Civil Wars. Ultimately, this thesis will reveal that English attitudes towards the refugees were far more nuanced than the dichotomous view of 'distressed Protestants' or 'Irish vagrants'.

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Table of Contents

Abstract 2
Acknowledgements 3
Table of Contents 4
Abbreviations 5
List of Tables 8
List of Figures 9
Introduction 11
I. Historiography 13
II. Methodology 17
III. Sources 22
IV. Terminology 25
V. Structure 32
Chapter One: The 1641 Irish Rebellion: displacement in context 35
Chapter Two: Refugee 'identities' 63
Chapter Three: Rebellion and relief: the national approach to aid in England 97
Chapter Four: Negotiating relief in the midst of war: a regional perspective on the migration of refugees and the organisation and extent of relief 131
Chapter Five: Capital welfare: a metropolitan perspective on refugee relief 174
Chapter Six: 'Distressed Protestants or Irish vagrants?' English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland 213
Conclusion 232
Bibliography 238
I. Primary sources (manuscript) 238
II. Primary sources (printed) 250
III. Sources and calendars 256
IV. Secondary sources 259
V. Electronic sources and websites 300
VI. Unpublished theses 302

Abbreviations

Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum	C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (eds.), *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (3 volumes, London, 1911).
Anon.	Anonymous (author unknown).
BL	The British Library.
BRO	Bristol Record Office.
CA	Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Chester.
Calendar of Carew	J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth* (6 volumes, London, 1867-1873).
Chatsworth	Chatsworth House Archive, Bakewell.
CJ	*House of Commons Journal.*
CLSA	Camden Local Studies and Archive Centre.
DCRO	Durham County Record Office, Durham.
D' Ewes	S. D' Ewes, *The Journal of Sir Simonds D' Ewes: from the first recess of the Long Parliament to the withdrawal of King Charles from London,* edited by W. H. Coates (London, 1942).

HMC, *Montagu*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu* (London, 1900).
HMC, *Ormonde*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde* (8 volumes, London, 1902).
HMC, *Portland*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, Thirteenth Report, Part 1, *The manuscripts of his grace the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (10 volumes, London, 1891).
LA	Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln.
LJ	*House of Lords Journal.*
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive.
NA	Nottinghamshire Archives, Nottingham.
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
NRO	Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies.*
PA	Parliamentary Archive.
Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England	*The Parliamentary or constitutional history of England: from the earliest times, to the restoration of King Charles II* (24 volumes, London, 1761).

PJ	V. Snow and A. Young (eds.), *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament* (3 volumes, London, 1982-1992).
RCBL	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin.
S. L.	Sine loco (without place [of publication]).
SRA	Swedish National Archives, Stockholm
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford.
SUFRO	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich.
TCD	Trinity College Dublin.
TNA	The National Archives.
WSL	William Salt Library, Stafford.

List of Tables

2.1	The percentage of male and female refugees receiving relief alone or as the sole adult with children in six English parishes (1641-1651).	p. 68.
2.2	The number of refugees travelling and receiving relief with spouses and children in six English parishes (1641-1651).	p. 72.
2.3	The number of ministers, ‘gentlemen’ and ‘gentlewomen’ receiving relief in six English parishes (1641-1651).	p. 74.
2.4	Ethnic origins of the surnames of refugees receiving relief in St. Dunstan-in-the-East, city of London (1641-1651).	p. 82.
2.5	Ethnic origins of the surnames of refugees receiving relief in St. Dunstan-in-the-West, city of London (1641-1651).	p. 83.
5.1	The minimum number of refugees receiving relief from parish officials in the city of London (1641-1651).	pp. 182-183.
5.2	Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in the city of London by parish officials (1641-1651).	pp. 184-185.

List of Figures

1.1	St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe churchwardens' accounts (1570-1688).	p. 22.
2.1	Percentage of men, women and children who fled Ireland recorded as receiving one-off payments of relief in six English parishes (1641-1651).	p. 66.
2.2	A model of the process of migration during a period of displacement.	p. 86.
4.1	Map of sample parishes in relation to principal roads which traversed England during the 1640s.	p. 133.
4.2	Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Staffordshire (1641-1651).	pp. 134-135.
4.3	Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Nottinghamshire (1641-1651).	pp. 136-137.
4.4	Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Lincolnshire (1641-1651).	pp. 138-139.
4.5	Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Norfolk (1641-1651).	pp. 140-141.
4.6	Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Suffolk (1641-1651).	pp. 142-143.
4.7	Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Staffordshire (1641-1651).	pp. 150-151.
4.8	Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Nottinghamshire (1641-1651).	pp. 152-153.
4.9	Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Lincolnshire (1641-1651).	pp. 154-155.
4.10	Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Norfolk (1641-1651).	pp. 156-157.
4.11	Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Suffolk (1641-1651).	pp. 158-159.
5.1A	Map of the city of London parishes (1586-1611).	pp. 176-178.

5.1B	Map of the sample parishes selected for analysis in the city of London.	p. 179.
5.2	John Strype's parish map of St. Dunstan-in-the-East (1720).	p. 187.
5.3	Minimum number of refugees from Ireland receiving one-off payments of relief in the parishes of St. Dunstan-in-the-East and St. Dunstan-in-the-West (1641-1651).	p. 190.
5.4A	The weekly distribution of refugees from Ireland receiving one-off payments of relief in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West (25 March 1643-25 March 1644).	p. 191.
5.4B	Monthly distribution of refugees from Ireland receiving one-off payments of relief in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West (October 1641-March 1646).	p. 192.

Introduction

In June 2018 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) published figures showing that 68.5 million people across the globe were displaced from their homes: 40 million internally displaced, 25.4 million refugees and 3.1 million asylum seekers, as a result of conflict and persecution.[1] The displacement of people due to economic distress or political, religious and cultural violence is not a modern phenomenon, but in light of the current global political climate the study of historical refugees has perhaps never been so pertinent.

Since 2011 populist right-wing political parties and figures have gained significant ground in global politics – President Donald Trump (USA), President Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil), the Austrian Freedom Party, the National Front (France), the Australian Liberty Alliance and the Party for Freedom (Netherlands), amongst others. German economists have shown that this rise follows a 140-year trend in which right-wing groups gain political prominence in the ten years following a financial crisis.[2] In the context of the 2008 financial crash, these successes can be attributed, at least in part, to the utilisation of a political rhetoric which has blamed minorities and foreigners for economic instability. This rhetoric has elicited an increase in xenophobia, racial tensions and anti-immigration sentiment across the world.[3] In England and Wales, the number of hate crimes recorded by the police has increased every year over the past seven years, 42,255 cases in 2012/13 to 94,098 in 2017/18. While improvements in crime recording have occurred between these years, the Home Office acknowledge that 'there have

[1] UNHCR Official Website, 'Figures at a glance', <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>, accessed 21.6.2018.

[2] M. Funke, M. Schularisk and C. Trebesch, 'Going to extremes: politics after financial crisis, 1870-2014', *European Economic Review*, 88 (2016), pp. 227-260.

[3] A. Sheehy, 'The rise of the far right', < http://harvardpolitics.com/world/rise-of-far-right/>, accessed 10.1.2019; S. Oxenham, 'What explains Brexit, Trump and the rise of the far right?', < https://www.newscientist.com/article/2095975-what-explains-brexit-trump-and-the-rise-of-the-far-right/>, accessed 10.1.2019.

been short-term increases in hate crime following certain events such as the EU Referendum in June 2016 and the terrorist attacks in 2017'.[4]

The 2016 refugee crisis, which marked the largest mass-scale migration of refugees into Europe since the Second World War, continues to be exploited by various political groups and figures to provoke fears regarding economic and national security.[5] In Britain, many citizens fear the threat that refugees pose to British culture and economic resources. They further fear the possibility that terrorists could arrive into Britain under the pretext of seeking asylum. Since 2014 forty-four refugees or asylum seekers have been involved in thirty-two terrorist plots in Europe.[6] These incidences have legitimised fears of allowing refugees to enter the UK. Historical displacement studies offer the contemporary world a reflective lens through which current attitudes towards refugees can be explored. In Britain and Ireland, such studies have the potential to influence government policy regarding the reception and provision of aid to refugees and asylum seekers. More importantly, these studies offer the chance to educate an anxious and divided society on the long history of refugee migration, asylum and welfare in Britain and Ireland, in the hopes of increasing toleration and unity within local communities.

The current thesis investigates the refugee crisis elicited by the 1641 Irish rebellion, an almost forgotten element of early modern British and Irish history.[7] In 1641 members of the Irish Catholic gentry, fuelled by economic, religious and political resentment towards the English administration in Ireland, conspired to resist the infringement of English Protestants into Native Irish lands and reaffirm the rights of Catholics. The uprising began in Ulster on the evening of 22 October 1641. It spread rapidly across Ireland and transformed into a 'popular' rebellion

[4] Home Office, 'Hate crime, England and Wales, 2017-2018', *Statistical Bulletin*, 20/18 (2018), p. 12.

[5] J. Van Prooijen, A. P. M. Krouwel and J. Emmer, 'Ideological responses to the EU refugee crisis: the left, the right and the extremes', *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9/2 (2018), pp. 143-150.

[6] R. Simcox, 'The asylum-terror nexus: how Europe should respond', *The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, 3314 (2018), p. 1.

[7] J. Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction: a failed revolution?', in J. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 9.

conducted by members of the Irish Catholic population. The 1641 rebellion proved to be a pivotal moment in the history of Britain and Ireland. The question of who should control the army to suppress the rebels proved fatal to the fragile relationship between the King and Parliament, and marked the genesis of the formation of two sides poised for civil war. In the wake of the rebellion, thousands of people from across Ireland were forced to leave their homes and become refugees. While some remained in Ireland, others fled to England, Scotland, Wales and the Continent in search of safety and relief. The arrival of thousands of Protestant refugees into England exacerbated political tensions, highlighting the failure of God's chosen elect – the English – to intervene in the rebellion and save Protestantism from the forces of the Antichrist.

This thesis addresses three principal research questions: 1) who were the refugees from Ireland? 2) How was relief in England organised and dispensed? 3) What does the organisation and dispensation of relief reveal about English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland? By focusing on these three research questions this work challenges the previous historiography and offers a more nuanced and comprehensive view of the reception of the refugees from Ireland.

I. Historiography

Few studies have hitherto considered the refugees from Ireland in significant detail. Keith Lindley was the first to acknowledge the impact of 'Irish' refugees on England and Wales, though his study mainly focused on addressing how popular fears of Catholicism were incited by refugee stories.[8] Kathleen Noonan's unpublished PhD thesis followed with a more comprehensive study on the refugees themselves. Her thesis focused on the dissemination of poor relief to the 'Irish' in the London metropolis in the 1640s. In part, Noonan's aim was to address the absence of Irish migration in discussions of poor relief, as historians such as Joan Kent, Peter Clark, and Paul Slack had only discussed the Irish in

[8] K. Lindley, 'The impact of the 1641 rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-1645', *Irish Historical Studies*, 18/70 (1972), pp. 143-176.

reference to vagrancy and harvest failures in Ireland during the 1620s and 1630s.[9] Noonan's work aptly highlights how the charitable actions of local officials in English parishes – evident in churchwardens', overseers' of the poor and constables' account books – can be used as a mirror to understand the attitudes of the English towards the refugees from Ireland. However, a number of her conclusions are problematic. In particular, while acknowledging the ethnic diversity of the refugees, Noonan erroneously treats the refugees as a homogenous group of 'Irish', arguing that this group formed the first permanent Irish communities in London.[10]

Michael Cooksley and Ian Atherton incorporated analysis of the provision of aid to refugees from Ireland into the purview of a regional study on Staffordshire. Poor relief to refugees was considered in conjunction with the removal of other economic resources from Staffordshire (for the suppression of the rebellion) and the fear of Catholicism, revealing the extent to which the Irish rebellion impacted on the county. Similarly to Noonan, aid was examined using churchwardens' and constables' accounts. Cooksley and Atherton concluded that the extent of relief to refugees was predicated on four key markers: social status, group size, ethnicity and the time of request. Refugees who arrived in England in the winter of 1641/2 received more than those who arrived after the summer of 1642 due to what has been termed 'compassion fatigue'.[11] While these markers certainly had an impact on relief in individual cases, comparative analysis of parish relief across England reveals that these markers oversimplify the complexity of local responses to the refugees.[12]

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[9] J. Kent, *The English Village Constable, 1580-1642: A Social and Administrative Study* (Oxford, 1986); P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Hassocks, 1977); P. Slack, 'Vagrants and vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', *Economic History Review*, 27/3 (1974), pp. 360-379; P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1988).

[10] K. Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree: Irish immigration to London in the mid-seventeenth century, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1989).

[11] See, D. Appleby, 'The culture and politics of war relief in Essex, 1642-1662' (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Essex, 1996), p. 37.

[12] M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), pp. 55-79.

In terms of national procedures for relief, John Young addressed the national impact of refugees in Scotland from the perspective of the Covenanter regime, outlining the administrative structures developed for the provision of aid.[13] For England, Joseph Cope's formative work *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* addressed some aspects of national relief in England, namely the Act of Speedy Contribution and Loan (January 1642). This present thesis, however, offers the first comprehensive analysis of the organisation and functioning of national aid to refugees in England. Furthermore, Cope considered the contributions to the Act of Contribution in comparison to casual outdoor relief in Wiltshire, leading him to conclude that local inhabitants responded more positively to abstract notions of Protestant victimhood than the presence of refugees themselves. He argued that the longstanding stereotype of the Irish, as 'evil beggars', meant that refugees encountered much suspicion in the English localities. Whilst highly informative, Cope's study is limited in its contextualisation of parochial relief in Wiltshire during the British and Irish Civil Wars, resulting in the assumption that relief was limited due to fear of the refugees rather than alternative economic, political, social and topographical factors. This present thesis does not consider Wiltshire as a county case study, though a comparative analysis of parishes in Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and the city of London will show the importance of these alternative factors when considering the organisation and extent of refugee relief in England.[14]

The most recent works on the refugees from Ireland have been conducted by Chris Langley and myself. Langley's 2017 study on relief to soldiers, war veterans and families in Scotland noted how the refugees became competitors for resources, as both soldiers and refugees received relief in the form of one-off payments. Refugees were only a peripheral consideration in Langley's study, though the similarities in charitable response are intriguing. Of particular note was Langley's observation that parish officials relied on one-off payments to

[13] J. Young, '"Escaping massacre": refugees in Scotland in the aftermath of the 1641 Ulster rebellion', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 219-241.

[14] J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009).

prevent wandering soldiers from becoming permanent beneficiaries in parishes, a reliance which is also evident in the care of refugees.[15] Langley's subsequent article, 'Sheltering under the Covenant', focused specifically on the return of refugee ministers to Scotland. His treatment of the ministers, as a means of understanding the nature of seventeenth-century Presbyterianism, demonstrates how investigation into the refugees from Ireland can be used to inform other historiographical debates. Indeed, analysis of refugee identities, migration patterns and refugee welfare conducted in this present thesis investigates overarching themes on the Irish dimension of the British and Irish Civil Wars, through the prism of localised impact.[16]

Finally, my article 'Lodging the Irish' centred on an in-depth case study of refugee relief in the parish of Upton in Nottinghamshire. The case study revealed how the constables of Upton were able to effectively balance relief with the economic, political and social concerns of the parish. One of the key findings of this research was the creation of a system of lodging refugees in the parish, which was used as a means of 'safeguarding the parish's most vulnerable households in order that they did not become further drains on the parish poor rate, at a time when the village had been economically weakened'. The presence of this system of relief challenged Noonan and Cope's assertion that refugees were generally feared by the English due to the cultural stereotype of the 'evil Irish beggar'.

The image of the 'evil Irish beggar' developed during the sixteenth century in response to rising concerns regarding the maintenance of social order.[17] Irish migration to England was not new in the sixteenth century.[18] However, the

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[15] C. Langley, 'Caring for soldiers, veterans and families in Scotland, 1638-1651', *History*, 102/349 (2017), pp. 5-23.

[16] C. Langley, 'Sheltering under the Covenant: the National Covenant, orthodoxy and the Irish rebellion, 1638-1644', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 96/2 (2017), pp. 137-160.

[17] A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London, 1985), pp. 62-65; Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 98; P. Pugliatti, *Beggary and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 1-5.

[18] For the history of Irish migration to England see, D. Beer Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (New York, 1966); P. Fitzgerald, '"Like Crickets to the crevice of a Brew-house", poor Irish migrants in England, 1560-1640', in P. O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage and Identity* (5 volumes, London, 1992), I, pp. 13-35; J. L. Bolton, 'Irish migration to England in

rise of anti-Catholic sentiment after the Reformation, the broadening distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, and fear of vagrancy meant Irish migrants became a popular scapegoat for various social problems in England.[19] The 'evil Irish beggar' thus came to represent a 'manipulative, dangerous person embroiled in criminal activities', and was widely circulated in sixteenth and seventeenth-century print.[20] Thomas Dekker's *The seven deadly sinnes of London* (1606), for example, used the 'Irish beggar' to personify sin. 'Sloth' was depicted being accompanied in a litter by an Irish beggar, while 'War' was described as 'more hated; more beggarly then the Irish'.[21]

The article also found that the system of lodging incorporated other victims of war into its purview, such as maimed soldiers, meaning that the refugees were merely 'a single element in a much wider enterprise of economic sustainability'.[22] This present thesis extends this research further by offering a broader mapping of refugee activity across England.

II. Methodology

Research on the refugees from Ireland in the 1640s follows a long-established historiographical trend which seeks to move away from the Anglo-centricity of British and Irish Civil War studies.[23] In 1975 John Pocock urged historians to stop writing the histories of England, Scotland and Ireland as separate entities and called for studies which joined these national narratives together.[24] The 'New

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the late middle ages: evidence of 1394 and 1440', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32/125 (2000), pp. 1-21.

[19] P. Slack, 'Vagrants and vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', *Economic History Review*, 27/3(1974), p. 365.

[20] B. Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651', *Midland History*, 42/2 (2017), pp. 194-216, quoted at p. 210.

[21] T. Dekker, *The seuen deadly sinnes of London* (S. L., 1606), pp. 29, 39.

[22] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', pp. 194-216, quoted at pp. 214, 215.

[23] C. Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991), p. vii.

[24] J. G. A. Pocock, 'British history: a plea for a new subject', *The Journal of Modern History*, 47/4 (1975), pp. 601-621.

British History' which emerged in the 1990s drew attention to the British and Irish dimensions of the causes and course of the civil wars, by analysing the interrelationship between the three kingdoms.[25] The departure from the centrality of the 'home' nation was not a new phenomenon in Scottish and Irish historiography. In the first half of the twentieth century, for example, Hugh Hazlett and John Lowe published numerous articles regarding Anglo-Irish military engagements and political relations.[26] It was not until the 1990s, however, that both British and Irish historians showed greater awareness of the complex interrelationship between the three Stuart kingdoms.[27] Recent studies have continued this trend, though greater emphasis is now placed on interdisciplinary approaches to historical enquires. Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer's edited collection *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions* is a particularly pertinent example, offering the best-rounded study of the 1641

[25] M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ireland and the monarchy in the early Stuart multiple kingdom', *The Historical Journal,* 34/2 (1991), pp. 279-295; C. Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford, 1990); Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies*; R. Asch (ed.) *Three Nations – A Common History? England, Scotland, Ireland and British History, c. 1600-1920* (Bochum, 1993); J. Morrill (ed.), *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh, 1990); Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction', pp. 1-23; D. Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981); J. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: the Career of Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 12; P. Donald, 'The Scottish National Covenant and British politics, 1638-40', in J. Morrill (ed.) *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context, 1638-51* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 99.

[26] H. Hazlett, 'Financing of the British armies in Ireland, 1641-9', *Irish Historical Studies,* 1/1 (1938), pp. 21-41; H. Hazlett, 'The recruitment and organisation of the Scottish army in Ulster, 1642-9', in H. Cronne, T. Moody and D. Quinn (eds.), *Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd* (London, 1949), pp. 107-133; J. Lowe, 'The earl of Antrim and Irish aid to Montrose in 1644', *Irish Sword,* 4 (1960), pp. 191-198; J. Lowe, 'Some aspects of the war in Ireland, 1641-9', *Irish Sword,* 4 (1959), pp. 81-87; J. Lowe, 'Charles I and the Confederation of Kilkenny, 1643-9', *Irish Historical Studies,* 14/53 (1964), pp. 1-19.

[27] Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration*; M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ulster 1641 in the context of political developments in the three kingdoms', in B. MacCuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 93-106; Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters*; T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland, English Government and Reform in Ireland, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 1975).

rebellion.[28] In this collection, Peter Wilson and Mark Greengrass place the rebellion into its European context by comparing the rebellion to the Wars of Religion and Thirty Years' War. Nicholas Canny, meanwhile, considers the colonial context of the rebellion and William Smyth uses cartography and geography to explore the actions of the Catholic Irish during the rebellion.

The study of the refugees from Ireland follows this shift away from Anglo-centricity, despite the focus on refugee relief in England. While this might appear as 'enriched English history', appropriate consideration has been given to the Irish narrative and aspects of the pan-European context of refugee relief.[29] The purpose of this thesis is to address the three main research questions, as outlined, as analysis of the refugees on a multinational scale would require a much larger project. Robin Collingwood aptly noted that all history is written to answer particular questions and content is determined by how well it serves to answer these questions.[30] 'If we do not accept this principle', Glenn Burgess writes, 'there is no way of preventing a history of anything from becoming a history of everything'.[31]

This thesis also draws upon other methodologies and disciplines including refugee and migration studies and identity theory. Jérôme Elie noted that the field of refugee and migration studies often lacks historical perspective, focusing on current issues which critically link to policy development.[32] Tony Kushner and Peter Gatrell similarly argue that non-historians have demonstrated 'an inability to see history and refugees as linked or relevant', while historians have shown

[28] M. Ó Siochrú and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester, 2015).

[29] J. Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution: Essays by John Morrill* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 245, 252-272, especially p. 260.

[30] R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 29-43.

[31] G. Burgess, 'Introduction: the new British history', in G. Burgess (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603-1715* (London, 1999), p. 4.

[32] J. Elie, ''Histories of refugee and forced migration studies', in K. Long, G. Loescher, E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and N. Sigona (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (Oxford, 2014), p. 23.

'actual resistance rather than simple apathy' towards the topic.[33] This is not to say that the history of refugees and migration is absent, but that historical studies often treat refugees as a distinctively modern phenomenon or situate refugees within larger bodies of historiographical work.[34] This thesis engages with refugee and migration studies by treating the refugees from Ireland as subjects of history rather than solely as an element of a broader historical narrative.[35] Moreover, analysis of welfare in England in the 1640s, the legal status of the 'Irish' refugees, patterns of movement and the reception of refugees all give a historical perspective to what Richard Black calls 'refugee policy studies'.[36]

This thesis also considers elements of identity theory. The concept of 'identity', particularly collective identity, became popular amongst historians during the 1980s and continues to shape historical discussions regarding ethnicity and nationality.[37] Benedict Anderson's idea of 'imagined communities' and Max Weber's consideration of ethnic groups, in particular, have become central to

[33] T. Kushner, *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester, 2006), p. 40; P. Gatrell, 'Population displacement in the Baltic region in the twentieth century: from "refugee studies" to refugee history', *Journal of Baltic Studies,* 38/1 (2007), pp. 43-45.

[34] R. Bessel and C. Haake, 'Population displacement in the Baltic region in the twentieth century: from "refugee studies" to refugee history', *Journal of Baltic Studies,* 38/1 (2007), pp. 43-60; Elie, 'Histories', p. 26; P. Marfleet, 'Refugees and history: why we must address the past', *Refugee Survey Quarterly,* 26/3 (2007), p. 139.

[35] Marfleet, 'Refugees and History', pp. 136-148.

[36] R. Black, 'Fifty years of refugee studies: from theory to policy', *International Migration Review,* 35/1 (2001), p. 67.

[37] P. Burke, *History and Social Theory* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 2005), pp. 58-59; E. J. Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1990); E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); C. Calhoun, 'Nationalism and ethnicity', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 19 (1993), pp. 211-239; A. Ruddick, 'Becoming English: nationality, terminology and changing sides in the late middle ages', *Medieval Worlds*, 5 (2017), pp. 57-69; B. Bradshaw, '*And so began the Irish Nation' Nationality, National Consciousness and Nationalism in Pre-modern Ireland* (Farnham, 2015); M. Stoyle, 'The road to Farndon Field: explaining the massacre of the Royalist women at Naseby', *English Historical Review,* 123/503 (2008), pp. 895-923; M. Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (London, 2005); L. Bowden, 'Rediscovering difference?: nations, peoples and politics in the British Civil Wars', *History Compass,* 4/5 (2006), pp. 836-851.

these discussions.[38] The formation of collective identities is not directly addressed in this thesis, as this would require placing refugees into particular categories of identity without sufficient evidence. Alternatively, in Chapter Two sex, social status and ethnicity are treated as fixed attributes of identity rather than as social categories – criteria which distinguish different groups of actors and can be used to form collective identities – in order to facilitate a statistical analysis of the composition of the refugees from Ireland. Ideas about the 'self' have also been used to consider the ways refugees constructed identity.[39] The concept of 'home' as a symbol of the self is used to highlight a new dimension of refugee identities and show how the experience of displacement altered identity construction.[40]

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[38] M. Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology,* edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich (Los Angeles and London, 1978, originally published 1922), p. 389; B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

[39] P. Jones and K. Krzyzanowski, 'Identity, belonging and migration: beyond constructing 'others'', in G. Delanty, P. Jones and R. Wodak (eds.), *Identity Belonging and Migration* (Liverpool, 2011), pp. 38-53; C. Tilly, 'Citizenship, identity and social history', *International Review of Social History*, 40/3 (1995), pp. 1-17; J. E. Stets and P. J. Burke, 'Identity theory and social identity theory', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63/3 (2000), pp. 224-237; M. J. Hornsey, 'Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: a historical review', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2/1 (2008), pp. 204-222; H. Tajfel (ed.), *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London, 1978); M. A. Hogg and D. Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London, 1988); R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society*, 29/1 (2000), pp. 1-47; F. Anthias, 'Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging', *Translocations: Migration and Social Change*, 4/1 (2008), pp. 5-20; F. Anthias, 'Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality', *Ethnicites*, 2/4 (2002), pp. 491-514. For the construction of 'self' see, S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London, 1980); K. Chedgzoy, 'Cavalier and she-majesty: the cultural politics of gender in Jane Cavendish's poetry', *Seventeenth Century*, 32/4 (2017), pp. 393-412; U. Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe' in Early Modern England: Writing Women's Identities* (Amsterdam and New York, 2010); M. Coolahan, 'Ideal communities and planter women's writing in seventeenth-century Ireland', *Parergon*, 29/2 (2012), pp. 69-91.

[40] S. Ahmed, 'Home and away: narratives of migration and estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2/3 (1999), pp. 329-347; S. Mallett, 'Understanding home: a critical review of the literature', *The Sociological Review*, 52/1 (2004), pp. 62-89; J. Finch and L. Hayes, 'Inheritance, death and the concept of the home', *Sociology*, 28/2 (1994), pp. 417-433; G. Jones,

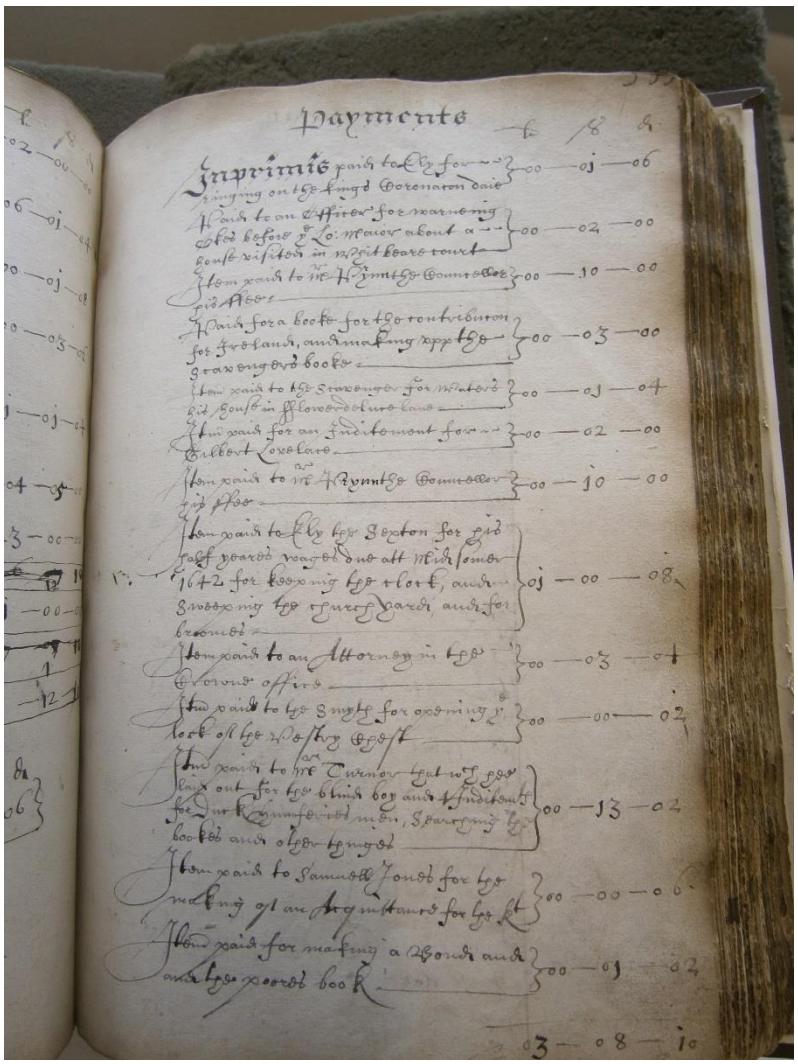
III. Sources

This thesis utilises a variety of sources, including letters, petitions, account books, depositions and quarter sessions court records, collected from repositories across England and Ireland. The main body of sources used to analyse the organisation and dispensation of relief to refugees are local parish churchwardens' and petty constables' accounts. Churchwardens were lay officials responsible for the maintenance of the parish church and the dispensation of poor relief in the absence of overseers of the poor, who were tasked with administering poor relief under the Elizabethan Poor Laws (1601). Constables held a civil position in the parish and were responsible for maintaining peace and order: apprehending criminals, taking them to quarter sessions, punishing vagrants, collecting parish rates and supervising the parish stock.[41] Both sets of officials were charged with keeping account books, which were audited at the end of each year to examine how the poor rate and parish rate were being spent. Figure 1.1 shows the standard layout of a parish officer's account book. Each page is divided into columns and rows. The first column denotes the transaction of the parish officer, while the second column shows the amount of money paid by the parish officer for that transaction in pounds, shilling and pence.

'Experimenting with households and inventing "home"', *International Social Science Journal*, 52/2 (2000), pp. 183-194; W. Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (Harmondsworth, 1986); P. Seaman, 'Rediscovering a sense of place', in C. D. Smith (ed.), *Strangers at Home: Essays on the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming 'Home' to a Strange Land* (New York, 1996), pp. 36-56; D. Wagner, 'The family: no haven', in D. Wagner (ed.), *Checkerboard Square: Culture and Resistance in a Homeless Community* (Boulder, 1999), pp. 45-66; J. Wardhaugh, 'The unaccommodated women: home, homelessness and identity', *The Sociological Review,* 47/1 (1999), pp. 91-109.

[41] J. Kent, *The English Village Constable, 1580-1642: A Social and Administrative Study* (Oxford, 1986); K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982), p. 36.

Figure 1.1: St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe churchwardens' accounts (1570-1688).[42]



Churchwardens' and constables' accounts are not uncommon in England and Wales, but those covering the turbulent years of the civil wars are relatively sparse. Even amongst surviving seventeenth-century accounts it is rare to find a complete set covering the years 1641 to 1653. The constables' accounts for the parish of Earsham, Norfolk, for instance, only cover the years 1642/3 and 1643/4.[43] These sources are also challenging because of the disparity of information recorded. While some entries in the accounts provide the names,

[42] LMA, P69/AND1/B/032/MS02088/001, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe churchwardens' accounts (1570-1688), p. 333.

[43] NRO, MC/15/16, 389X8, Earsham parish papers constables' accounts (1642-1692).

marital status, occupation, migration patterns and extent of material losses of refugees, others only give a brief description of who was receiving assistance. The constables' accounts of Addlethorpe, Lincolnshire, reveal this kind of disparity. In 1646 the constable gave 2s 6d to 'Mary Hall and her 11 children and her Sister and her mayd that came from Ireland by passe who had sustayned the Loss of 1000 pounds April the 20 day'. Conversely, in 1650, 1s was given to '5 Irish people September 2'.[44] These discrepancies are indicative of the general inconsistency between parish accounts across England. Unfortunately, entries with limited information are more common, creating gaps in the data. To ameliorate these absences, it is therefore essential to compare the data of different parishes. In this thesis thirty-five parishes have been considered across the counties of Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, with a further thirty parishes analysed for the city of London. Comparative analysis of these parishes contextualises relief within regional and metropolitan perspectives and thus provides a broader view of the treatment of refugees across the Country.

The accounts have been used to calculate the minimum number of refugees receiving relief in each parish, 'minimum' being the smallest discernible number of refugees receiving relief, and the total aid distributed. In parishes where more than one set of accounts survives the data has been compounded to provide a more accurate figure. The methodology used to calculate these figures has been refined over the course of several years of study and provides the most accurate data possible within the limitations of the source material. Firstly, the years for which the data corresponds follow the early modern calendar which commenced on Lady-Day, 25 March. It is important to acknowledge that not all the accounts specify 25 March as the date that the accounts were initiated. In a number of parishes the start date for the recording of accounts changed each year while others lack a precise date altogether. To allow for a comparative approach it has therefore been necessary to assume that each set of accounts started and finished on the same date. To determine the minimum number of refugees other assumptions have also been made. In entries where a group or 'company' of Irish

[44] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, item 4, f. 3, item 5, f. 1, Addlethorpe constables' accounts (1637-1685).

have been described, without reference to the number of people within the company, a minimum of two people have been recorded. Similarly, where the word 'children' has been used two people have been recorded. Consequently, the figures given are a best estimate for the minimum number of refugees receiving aid. The actual number of refugees receiving financial assistance was certainly much higher. The entries marked 'IN', denoting 'indeterminate', indicate those years for which a figure cannot reasonably be estimated. This is due to the nature of the entries written by the churchwardens, constables or their scribes. For example, in the parish of Fritton, Norfolk, in 1643 a payment of 4s 10d was made to 'divers poore Irishe travil[er]s'.[45] The other shorthand which has been used is 'N/R', meaning 'no record'. These are the years for which no documentation has survived – which is not to suggest that refugees were not present but there is no evidence to confirm whether they received relief.

IV. Terminology

In the contemporary world various definitions of 'refugee' have been used by scholars, politicians and non-academics. The lack of a clear definition and the indiscriminate use of the term, particularly by the media, has resulted in 'refugee' becoming synonymous with other related labels such as economic migrant. Consequently, it is now a highly loaded and problematic term, rousing negative mental associations and stereotypes. It is therefore essential to outline how 'refugee' will be defined in this thesis.

'Refugee' is an English adoption of the French 'refugiés', meaning 'gone in search of refuge'. It is generally argued that 'refugee' was introduced into the English language during the late-seventeenth century, following the influx of Huguenots from France in the 1680s. There is evidence to suggest, however, that the term had earlier roots. A petition to Parliament dated 22 July 1642 from John Deespagne, the minister for the French and Dutch strangers of the Isle of Axholme and Hatfield Chase, described parishioners as 'poore Refugees'.[46] The use of 'refugee' in this document suggests that the term was understood within the

[45] NRO, MF/723/5, Parish records of Fritton, Norfolk, churchwardens' accounts (1615-1663).

[46] PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/130, f. 237, Petition of John Deespagne, minister (22 July 1642).

textual community surrounding Parliament and therefore part of the English lexicon.[47]

Another reference to 'refugee' in English print pushes the dating of the term back even further. Elizabethan poet and statesman Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, noted in his biography of Sir Phillip Sidney how Elizabeth I settled 'poore Refugees' from Holland 'in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton'.[48] While the book was first published in 1652, Greville died in 1628 indicating that the term must have been incorporated into the English language sometime earlier. Greville's use of 'refugee', in reference to those who fled from the Netherlands to England during the reign of Elizabeth, means it is also possible that the word was part of the English language as early as the sixteenth century.[49] This is not to suggest that 'refugee' was in common use in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or that it referred to a specific group of people or state of being. Rather, the introduction of 'refugee' into the English language reflected the increase in displacement across Europe resultant from the Reformation and Counter Reformation.[50]

Phillip Marfleet contends it was not until Charles II granted 'asylum' to persecuted Calvinists from France in the 1680s that 'refugee as a category of persons' was first conceptualised.[51] Therefore, while 'refugee' may not have been

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[47] Oxford Reference, 'Textual Community', <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803103357615#>, accessed 31.01.2019. See also, E. Sauer, *Paper-Contestations and Textual Communities in England, 1640-1675* (Toronto, 2005).

[48] F. Greville, *The life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (London, 1652).

[49] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 198.

[50] H. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 47-50. For exile and displacement in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see, N. Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015); G. H. Janseen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2014); D. Van Der Linden, *Experiencing Exile Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680-1700* (London, 1970); G. H. Janssen, 'The counter-reformation of the refugee: exile and the shaping of Catholic militancy in the Dutch Revolt', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63/4 (2012), pp. 671-692.

[51] P. Marfleet, 'Understanding 'sanctuary': faith and traditions of asylum', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 24/3 (2011), p. 440, 440-455.

used to describe any legal state in the mid-seventeenth century, it can be argued that 'refugee' is an historically appropriate term to use to describe the people who were displaced by the rebellion in Ireland in the 1640s. The parameters of 'refugee', however, still need to be established due to the stratification of the term in modern literature. The definition offered by the 1951 Geneva Convention states that a refugee is anyone who,

> owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.[52]

By this definition geographical boundaries between nations must be crossed by an individual in order to be classed as a refugee. Internally displaced persons who have undergone the same sufferings are not included in this category. The use of this definition, principally by governments, allows for the category of 'refugee' to be narrowed, making it easier to discern and limit who can be ascribed refugee status. For Emmanuel Marx, Kate Tunstall, Gil Loescher, James Crawford and Patricia Hyndman this definition needs revision as the parameters of persecution are too narrow. The definition excludes issues of gender and economic threats to life, such as chronic poverty, malnutrition and hunger. It also requires 'fear' to be measured, fear being a necessarily subjective state of mind.[53] Such a narrow definition presents issues with regards to historical studies. In the context of 1641 the use of this definition would mean disregarding those internally displaced by the rebellion, for whom leaving Ireland was not a possibility or considered a

[52] UNHCR Official Website, 'The 1951 Refugee Convention', <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49da0e466.html>, accessed 31/01/2019. This definition was amended in 1967 to remove the temporal condition 'of events occurring before 1 January 1951'.

[53] E. Marx, 'The social world of refugees: a conceptual framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 3/3 (1990), pp. 190-191; K. Tunstall, 'Introduction', in K. Tunstall (ed.), *Displacement, Asylum, Migration* (Oxford, 2006), p. 2; G. Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis* (Oxford, 1993), p. 5; J. Crawford and P. Hyndman, 'Three heresies in the application of the Refugee Convention', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 1/2 (1989), p. 157.

reasonable solution to the present danger. Incapacity to pay for transportation overseas, the absence of family or friends abroad; who could provide for their relief, and the fear of being captured by rebel soldiers were several reasons why many internally displaced victims of the rebellion remained in Ireland.

A more general definition of refugee as any 'persons who [have] left their homes voluntarily or involuntarily and have not since been able to return' is equally problematic.[54] Such an all-encompassing definition leaves a large gap between the voluntary migrant, the internally displaced and the forcibly expelled. Sub-categorising displaced persons into more stringent groups – economic migrant, political exile, asylum seeker, internally displaced – however, risks imposing motivations for migration and categories of identity onto refugees without sufficient evidence. A broad definition of 'refugee' is therefore necessary to discuss the displacement caused by the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion and subsequent Confederate Wars in Ireland. Consequently, for the purposes of this thesis, a refugee will be defined as:

> anyone internally or externally displaced by a catalyst event, whether for political, religious, cultural or economic reasons, and has yet to re-establish permanent settlement. Permanent settlement being the point at which a period of displacement ends and subsequent migrations are no longer caused by the initial catalyst event.

It is also essential to address the ethnic labels historians have used to categorise the people of Ireland. Generally speaking, 'Native Irish' has been used to refer to those in Ireland who claimed Irish ancestry. This group were predominately Catholic, though there were a small number of converts to Protestantism. This included Murrough O'Brien, first earl of Inchiquin, who despite being from a

[54] Marx, 'The social world of refugees', p. 190. For other definitions of 'refugee' see, J. Durieux and D. Cantor, 'Refuge from inhumanity? Canvassing the issues', in J. Durieux and D. Cantor (eds.), *Refuge from Inhumanity? War Refugees and International Humanitarian Law* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 3-35; M. O'Neill, and T. Spybey, 'Global refugees, exile, displacement and belonging', *Sociology*, 37/1 (2003), pp. 7-12; Tunstall, 'Introduction', pp. 1-13.

Catholic family was raised as a Protestant, being the ward of Sir William St. Leger.[55] 'Old English' refers to the descendants of the Norman conquest of Ireland (1169-1172). This group were also predominantly Catholic and considered themselves loyal English subjects, despite having not resided in England for many generations.[56] The 'New English' and 'Ulster Scots' were the settlers and descendants of settlers of the Tudor and Stuart plantation schemes in Ireland. These settlers were largely Protestant and by 1640 had attained economic and political ascendancy, mainly through land confiscations and suppression of the Catholic religion.

These ethnic labels have long historiographical legacies, but their use can be problematic. These labels divide the population of Ireland into sharply defined ethno-religious groups which upon further analysis do not appear to be as clear-cut. Marriage alliances, for example, blurred the boundaries between the various groups, making it difficult to place individuals into particular ethnic categories.[57] Patrick Darcy, a lawyer and politician, was a member of one of the leading Catholic merchant families in the province of Connaught. His parents were Old English and Native Irish. At the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion Darcy denounced the rebels in Ulster as 'the enemy', like many of the loyal Old English, but later sided with the Confederates and became a prominent member of the Supreme Council at Kilkenny.[58]

Furthermore, these labels make general assumptions regarding how refugees perceived their own ethnic identities and ignore the tensions between self-identification within an ethnic group and external perceptions of ethnicity.

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[55] J. Ohlmeyer, '"Making Ireland English": the early seventeenth-century Irish peerage', in B. MacCurta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and its Consequences* (Dublin, 2011), p. 136; *ODNB.*

[56] A. Clarke, 'Ireland and the general crisis', *Past and Present,* 48/1 (1970), p. 81.

[57] Ohlmeyer, 'Making Ireland English', p. 141; A. Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007), p. 131; R. Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), p. 24; D. Edwards, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations', in A. Ford and J. McCafferty (eds.), *Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 95-126.

[58] *ODNB.*

The title ‘Old English’, for example, affirms the connection to ‘Englishness’ which many of the descendants of the Norman conquerors wished to assert. In reality, this connection was regularly challenged and the Old English were left ‘delicately poised between Ireland and England’, regarded as simultaneously English in Ireland and Irish in England. Simply being resident in Ireland, regardless of the length of stay, could alter the way ethnicity was perceived. Joshua Hoyle was an English-born student at Trinity College Dublin. After the outbreak of rebellion in 1641 he returned to England as a refugee. He subsequently received a position at Oxford University where he was regarded as a foreign Irishman. Edward Dawson, another scholar at Trinity, similarly described himself as ‘Edward Dawson Hybernicus olim Anglius’ (Irish formerly English).[59] Such examples support Karl Bottigheimer’s argument that ‘however Protestant their faith or English their blood, the Protestants of Ireland were brethren only to a degree’, having left England ‘their bond to the nation was diluted’.[60]

A number of historians have recognised the difficulties with these ethnic labels. Aidan Clarke’s critical exploration of the Old English paved the way for revisionism regarding the supposed synonymous relationship between ethnicity and religion.[61] Clarke noted that the traditional ruling elite in Ireland adopted the title ‘Old English’ to maintain political ascendancy without having to convert to Protestantism. A number of this group did convert, however, including James Butler first marquis of Ormonde, meaning that being a member of the Old English was not tantamount to being Catholic. Clarke further highlighted the blurring of political boundaries between the Old English and the Native Irish.[62] Mutual fears of loss of land, privilege and religious persecution, in conjunction with the virulent anti-Catholicism of the Lord Justices in Dublin, resulted in many Catholic Old English joining the insurrection on the side of the rebels in

[59] Ford, *James Ussher*, pp. 130-131.

[60] K. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land: the ‘Adventurers’ in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971), p. 35.

[61] A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (London, 1966).

[62] A. Clarke, ‘Colonial identity in early seventeenth-century Ireland’, in T. W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence: Historical Studies XI* (Belfast, 1978), pp. 57-71; A. Clarke, ‘The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641’, in P. Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to Partition: Essays in Honour of J. L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), p. 29.

December 1641.[63] In a similar vein, Micheál Ó Siochrú more recently revealed that, amongst the Native Irish population, certain Catholic landowners refused to join the Irish Catholic Confederation and remained loyal to the Dublin government. This included Ulick Burke, fifth earl of Clanricarde.[64]

Other studies of the rebellion have also demonstrated the blurring of political, ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries between these groups. William Kelly considered the life of the Native Irish and Catholic Royalist John Barry, while Jane Ohlmeyer explored the complex character of the earl of Antrim.[65] Antrim was not only a turncoat – described by Sir Thomas Wentworth as the Lord who 'hath much of the Irish in him' – but developed such schemes between the three kingdoms that he 'drew Catholic Ireland even deeper into the British political and military arena, and ensured that it henceforth became an important dimension in the larger cross-channel struggle.'[66] Other figures who blurred these boundaries included the Native Irish Protestant Henry O'Brien, seventh earl of Thomond, and James Tuchet, third earl of Castlehaven, who was a New English Catholic.[67] Chapter Two of this thesis affirms the blurring of these boundaries by revealing that the refugees who escaped to England in the 1640s were a mixture of Protestant New English, Ulster Scot, Old English and Native Irish, though some New English Catholics may have also returned to England. These historical labels thus require some revision, although for the purposes of simplicity this thesis will continue to use Old English, Ulster Scot and Native Irish in-line with the existing historiography.

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[63] M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ulster 1641 in the context of political developments in the three kingdoms', in B. MacCurta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1997), p. 106; J. Scott Wheeler, *The Irish and British Wars, 1637-1654: Triumph, Tragedy and Failure* (London, 2002), pp. 47-48; R. Armstrong, *Protestant War: The 'British' of Ireland and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 24-33.

[64] M. Ó Siochrú, 'Introduction', in M. Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis, Ireland in the 1640s: Essays in Honour of D. Cregan* (Dublin, 2001), p. 15.

[65] W. Kelly, 'John Barry: an Irish Catholic Royalist in the 1640s', in M. Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis, Ireland in the 1640s: Essays in Honour of D. Cregan* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 141-157; Ford, *James Ussher*, pp. 130-131; Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration*; J. Ohlmeyer, 'The marquis of Antrim: a Stuart turn-kilt?', *History Today*, 43 (1993), pp. 13-18.

[66] Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration*, pp. 125-126.

[67] Ohlmeyer, 'Making Ireland English', pp. 131-146.

Additional clarification though will be provided for the term 'New English'. By focusing on refugee relief, this thesis challenges the appropriateness of the term due to issues of settlement rights and local poor relief. According to the Elizabethan Poor Laws, certain refugees from Ireland were entitled to be paid out of the parish poor rate if they returned to their parish of birth, parents' birth or previous settlement. Before the sixteenth century, pauper settlement had been regarded solely as the parish of a pauper's birth. This changed in 1503 when Henry VII made the length of residence in a parish coequal to birth in claims of settlement, setting the minimal time required at three years.[68] By the mid-seventeenth century 'length of residence' had become the most common determinant, although the question of how long previous residence needed to be was debatable.[69] It was not until 1662 that the Settlement Act established forty days' residence or an annual rent of £10 as entitlement to settle in a parish. The Act was amended in 1685 and then abandoned due to a lack, or failure, of enforcement. By 1691 the criteria for settlement had changed again, this time from 'length of residence' to settlement by merit.[70] By these criteria, first and second generation planters of the Elizabethan and Jacobean plantation schemes – those born in England or whose parents had been born in England – in theory had legal rights to resettle in England after the rebellion and receive poor relief from parish churchwardens and overseers of the poor. Planters whose families had not lived in England for at least two generations did not possess the same legal rights. Consequently, this thesis will distinguish between these two separate groups of New English by using the descriptors 'first and second generation' and 'third generation plus', rather than creating a new set of labels which could present alternative issues.

V. Structure

[68] 19 Henry VII, c. 12.

[69] J. S. Taylor, 'The impact of pauper settlement, 1691-1834', *Past and Present*, 73/1 (1976), p. 48.

[70] Taylor, 'Pauper settlement', pp. 49-50.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter One will contextualise the displacement of the refugees from Ireland within the history of the 1641 Irish rebellion and subsequent civil wars in England and Ireland. This chapter will provide a background to the rebellion and address the heightened religious, political and social unrest in England which precipitated the rebellion. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the climate into which the refugees from Ireland entered and highlight the overarching political events and religious concerns which affected how the refugees were received in the localities.

Chapter Two subsequently addresses the first research question regarding the identities of the refugees from Ireland. The first section of this chapter highlights the diverse composition of the refugees, in regards to sex, social status and ethnicity, through quantitative analysis of the churchwardens' and constables' accounts of six English parishes. This statistical approach to the documentation has never been conducted before and thus provides new insight into the identities of the refugees. The second section has a greater sociological focus, turning from analysis of fixed attributes of identity to exploring constructions of identity. By reconstructing the migration patterns of three refugees this section considers conceptions of 'home', an expression of identity, offering a new way of exploring the identities of the refugees from Ireland and considering how identity was altered by the experience of displacement.

Chapters Three, Four and Five address the organisation and dispensation of relief to refugees in England. Chapter Three reveals how the national measures for relief attempted by the English establishment – Long Parliament, the King and the rest of the political elite – changed in response to domestic affairs in England. Ultimately, this chapter highlights how refugee relief was gradually decentralised and became a local responsibility, as war in Ireland intensified and political relations between the Crown and Parliament worsened. Chapter Four follows the English establishment's shift away from national relief to local relief by analysing local parish relief in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Staffordshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. Through statistical analysis of churchwardens' and constables' accounts, this chapter addresses the volume of refugees receiving relief, the extent of relief to refugees and the organisation of parish relief. This chapter reveals how parish officers were able to balance the provision of aid to refugees with the political, economic and social concerns of their various parishes, a task which was made

increasingly difficult during the tumultuous years of the civil wars. Chapter Five then considers the volume of refugees, the extent of relief and the organisation of relief in the city of London. This chapter provides a metropolitan perspective on refugee relief and shows how the capital was a microcosm of the variations in relief evident across the rest of England.

Finally, Chapter Six considers the last research question: what does the organisation and dispensation of relief reveal about English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland? This chapter brings the analysis conducted in Chapters Two through Five together to highlight the complexity of the responses to refugees in England. The inhabitants of English parishes were conflicted in how to respond to the refugees. Indeed, the provision of causal relief to refugees throughout the 1640s reflects the tensions which existed between fulfilling a religious duty of care to distressed co-religionists and maintaining social, political and economic stability within parish communities. The presence of refugees was not so much the concern as the nature of their entitlement to resources. Local officials thus manipulated language and utilised the ambiguities of what was regarded as a legal settlement to prevent refugees from becoming permanent beneficiaries in parishes. Overall, it will be concluded that the supposed dichotomous view of the refugees as either ‘distressed Protestants’ or ‘Irish vagrants’ is far too simplistic. In reality attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland were much more nuanced, though often heavily influenced by economic concerns arising from the upheaval of the civil wars.

Chapter One

The 1641 Irish Rebellion: displacement in context

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualise the displacement of the refugees from Ireland within the history of the 1641 Irish rebellion and subsequent civil wars in England and Ireland. By providing this historical background this chapter highlights the cultural, political and religious landscape the refugees entered upon arrival into England, which in turn impacted how the refugees were perceived and received in the English localities. Ever since the outbreak of violence on the evening of 22 October 1641, the Irish rebellion has received rigorous attention from historians. In the 1640s, both the Long Parliament in England and the Irish Confederates sought to codify their version of events to garner support and claim political ascendancy in Ireland.

For the Long Parliament, establishing a 'Protestant' narrative was essential for securing England's future control over Ireland.[71] The first politically endorsed account to be produced was Dr Henry Jones's *A remonstrance of divers remarkeable passages concerning the church and kingdome of Ireland* (London, 1642). Jones was dean of Kilmore and head of the Commission for the Despoiled Subjects, formed in December 1641. The purpose of the Commission was to collect witness testimonies from refugees about their experiences and material losses during the rebellion.[72] Jones's *Remonstrance* contained seventy-eight of

[71] T. Barnard, '1641: a bibliographical essay', in B. MacCurta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1997), p. 175.

[72] See, '1641 Depositions Online', < http://www.1641.tcd.ie/>, accessed 9.1.2019. For nineteenth century studies of the depositions see, M. Hickson, 'The depositions relating to the Irish massacres of 1641', *English Historical Review*, 2/5 (1887), pp. 133-137; R. Dunlop, 'The depositions relating to the Irish massacres of 1641', *English Historical Review*, 2/6 (1887), pp. 338-340. For more recent studies of the depositions see, A. Clarke, 'The 1641 depositions' in P. Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 111-122; P. Corish, 'The rising of 1641 and the confederacy, 1641-5', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland*: *Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (3 volumes, Oxford, 1976), III, pp. 289-316; N. Canny, 'The 1641 depositions as a source for the writing of social history: county Cork as a case study', in P. O'Flanagan and C. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork: History and Society* (Dublin, 1993), pp. 249-308; J. Ohlmeyer, 'Anatomy of plantation: the 1641 depositions', *History Ireland*, 17/6 (2009), pp. 54-56.

these depositions, giving the tract an authoritative edge within a print market saturated with news reports, rumours and speculations from Ireland. The selected accounts were chosen to present to Parliament 'a vision of settler unity and universal victimization', set within the popular narrative of historic popish plots against England and Protestantism.[73] The purpose of this image was to 'solicit the cause of the poor robbed English' to the Long Parliament, to acquire greater relief for the distressed Protestant refugees in Ireland, specifically religious ministers.[74] While this was the stated purpose of the *Remonstrance*, Walter Love argues it was actually designed to further the aims of the Adventurers' Act (19 March 1642); this was the parliamentary initiative that promised grants of seized rebel lands to financiers of the Irish war effort.[75] Karl Bottigheimer rightly refutes Love's assessment that Jones 'cynically [set] out to write a sanguine prospectus' for English land seizures. Indeed, it is highly unlikely that Jones wrote the tract deliberately to achieve this end. Members of Parliament were, however, aware of the significant political advantages which could be gained by publishing the *Remonstrance,* particularly in justifying the raising of funds for the war effort.[76]

The second politically-endorsed account of the rebellion to be published was Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* (1646). This became the official 'Protestant' narrative of the rebellion and subsequently went through ten editions between 1646 and 1812.[77] Similarly to Jones, Temple utilised the depositions to

[73] J. Cope, 'Fashioning victims: Dr Henry Jones and the plight of Irish Protestants, 1642', *Historical Research,* 74/186 (2001), p. 380.

[74] H. Jones, *A Remonstrance of Divers Remarkable Passages concerning the Church and the Kingdome of Ireland* (London, 1642), preface; T. Barnard, 'Crisis of identity among Irish Protestants, 1641-1685', *Past and Present,* 127/1 (1990), p. 51.

[75] W. Love, 'Civil war in Ireland: appearances in three centuries of historical writing', *Emory University Quarterly*, 22/1 (1966), pp. 57-72.

[76] K. S. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land: the 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 47, 62, 64.

[77] N. Canny, 'What really happened in Ireland in 1641?', in J. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 25; Barnard, 'Crisis of identity', pp. 39-83; T. Barnard, 'The uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations', *English Historical Review,* 106/421 (1991), pp. 889-920.

support his version of events.[78] His goal was to write the history of the rebellion before the Catholic Confederacy were able to portray Ormonde's Peace (March 1646) as a victory.[79] Catholic commentators impugned both works as fabrications, due to their close resemblance to the memorialisation of persecuted Protestants in France and the Low Countries. Some suspected that many of the deposition accounts used in print were fabricated, though in reality Jones and Temple had access to more depositions than those that are extant.[80]

A strong 'Catholic' version of events was not fully realised until the 1680s, when the political tumult of the Glorious Revolution (1688-89) facilitated a rewriting of the 1641 rebellion.[81] For Catholics in Ireland, James II was 'the bright star of royalty that hath risen under God to deliver us'.[82] Gaelic poets, such as Dáibhí Ó Bruadair and Diarmuid Mac Sheáin Bhuí Mac Cárthaigh, portrayed James as the divine saviour who would usher in a new era after centuries of oppression by Protestants.[83] Consequently, rather than erase the memory of the rebellion, the events of 1641 were portrayed as merely part of a long journey which would ultimately end with complete Catholic autonomy. For Irish and English Protestants, meanwhile, the political uncertainty of the late 1680s created a strong desire for economic stability. Since the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland

[78] Canny, 'What really happened', pp. 24-25; S. Cooper, 'How were the 1641 depositions manipulated in England to persuade the English masses of Catholic persecution?', *History Studies,* 12 (2011), pp. 28-40.

[79] K. Noonan, 'The cruel pressure of an enraged barbarous people': Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda', *Historical Journal,* 41/1 (1998), pp. 159-162, 164.

[80] M. Greengrass and T. S. Freeman, 'The Acts and Monuments and the Protestant Continental Martyrologies', <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay5#f10>, accessed 4.9.2018; R. Palmer, *The Catholique Apology* (S. L., 1674), pp. 52-64; Cope, 'Fashioning victims', pp. 77-82; M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies,* 13 (2001), p. 64; Noonan, 'The cruel pressure', pp. 152-166.

[81] Barnard, '1641', p. 176.

[82] J. C. MacErlean (ed.), *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair: the poems of David Ó Bruadair, containing poems from the year 1682 till the poet's death in 1698* (3 volumes, London, 1917), III, pp. 78, 128.

[83] B. Ó Buachalla, 'James our True King: the ideology of Irish Royalism in the seventeenth century', in D. G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall and V. Geoghegan (eds.), *Political Thought in Ireland Since the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1993), pp. 26, 28.

(1649-1652), Protestant political ascendancy in Ireland had been underpinned by the perceived blood guilt of the kingdom's Catholic population, who had supposedly massacred hundreds of thousands of English Protestants during the 1641 rebellion, and was used to justify the confiscation and resettlement of Catholic lands. Consequently, by the 1660s Catholic land ownership had dropped from 60 per cent before the rebellion to less than 20 per cent.[84] In rewriting the 1641 rebellion, however, James II's Catholic supporters 'seemed to be undoing the memory that underpinned Protestant economic dominance'. In response, to discredit James II's supporters and reaffirm Protestant economic interests, accounts of rebel attacks on Protestants committed in 1641 were reprinted in pamphlets to remind readers of the eternal depravity of Irish Catholics.[85] The focus on historical continuity meant that the events of 1689 were portrayed as a continuation of the rebellious nature of the Irish, who sought the complete extirpation of Protestantism.

A highly contested and emotive feature of the 1641 narratives, which has dominated much of the historiography of the rebellion, was the alleged full-scale massacre of English Protestants.[86] The first estimate for the number of Protestants killed during the rebellion was given by Archdeacon Robert Maxwell, who suggested a total of 154,000. This estimate achieved authoritative status in July

[84] R. Ansell, 'The 1688 revolution in Ireland and the memory of 1641', in M. Williams and S. P. Forrest (eds.), *Constructing the Past: Writing Irish History, 1600-1800* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 73-74, 92; R. Foster, 'Introduction', in M. Williams and S. P. Forrest (eds.), *Constructing the Past: Writing Irish History, 1600-1800* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 5; P. Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641-1649* (Cork, 2001), p. 111; M. Ó Siochrú and D. Brown, 'The Down Survey and the Cromwellian Land Settlement', in J. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland, 1550-1730* (4 volumes, Cambridge, 2018), II, pp. 584-607.

[85] Anon., *An Abstract of the unnatural rebellion and barbarous massacre of the Protestants in the kingdom of Ireland in the year 1641* (London, 1689); Anon., *A relation of the bloody massacre in Ireland acted by the instigation of the Jesuits, priests and friars* (London, 1689).

[86] A. Clarke, 'The "1641 massacres"', in M. Ó Siochrú and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland 1641: Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 37-51. See also, A. Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 196-197; E. Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 67-76.

1643, when it was incorporated into *A Declaration of the English Commons*.[87] In 1646 Temple revised this figure to 'at least 300,000 British and Protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations', between the outbreak of the rebellion (October 1641) and the Cessation of Arms in Ireland (September 1643).[88] These figures were gross exaggerations. The population of English and Scottish planters in Ulster was no greater than 40,000 by 1641, while in Munster the English settler population only stood at around 22,000 in the 1630s.[89] The number of Protestant deaths were sensationalised to highlight the cruelty of the Irish rebels and justify English retaliation and land seizures.

Oliver Cromwell's campaigns in Ireland (15 August 1649 to 26 May 1650) are often cited as evidence of how these sensationalist accounts shaped English policy and perceptions of the Irish.[90] A letter to the Catholic bishops of Ireland, for example, highlights now the stories of the massacre influenced Cromwell's conception of the rebellion. He clearly blamed the outbreak of the rebellion on the Roman Catholic clergy.

> You, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard-of and most barbarous massacre (without respect of sex or age) that ever the sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in a perfect place, and when, through the example of […] English industry, through commerce and traffic, that which was in the Natives' hands was better to them than if all Ireland had been in their possession and

[87] England and Wales. Parliament, *A declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament concerning the rise and progresse of the grand rebellion in Ireland* (London, 1643), pp. 9-10.
[88] J. Temple, *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646), p. 6; Clarke, 'The "1641 massacre"', pp. 41-42; Clarke, 'The 1641 depositions', p. 111.
[89] L. M. Cullen, 'Population trends in seventeenth-century Ireland', *The Economic and Social Review*, 6/2 (1975), p. 153; M. McCarthy Morrogh, 'The English presence in early seventeenth-century Munster', in R. Gillespie and C. Brady (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 171-2.
[90] T. W. Moody, 'Irish history and Irish mythology', in C. Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism, 1938-1994* (Dublin, 1994), p. 74.

> not an Englishman in it. And yet then, I say, was this unheard-of villany perpetrated by your instigation.[91]

During the nineteenth century interpretations of the rebellion were written within Nationalist and Unionist political frameworks, in an attempt to justify or oppose Home Rule in Ireland. J. R. Prendergast, a Nationalist, used primary evidence to refute the notion of a massacre committed by Catholics. He believed that the 'story of the massacre, invented to serve the politics of the hour, has been since kept up for the purposes of interest. No inventions could be too monstrous that served to strengthen the possession of Irish confiscated lands'.[92] This view was seen by many as a sensible assessment of the rebellion, 'and one with enduring contemporary relevance'.[93] One reviewer observed, 'it is a characteristic of the English nation that whenever a rebellion arises in any district of the empire, their first disposition… is to stigmatise the recalcitrant race with the guilt of every conceivable form of inhuman and unnatural atrocity.'[94]

In stark contrast, J. A. Froude, a Unionist, presented a staunchly anti-Irish perspective of the rebellion. He claimed that the depositions were an authoritative narrative of the events of 1641 and thus showed that the Catholic Irish had massacred English Protestant settlers.[95] For John Gibney, Froude's *The English in Ireland* (1872-1874) was 'undoubtedly composed, at least in part, to draw an extended argument from history against granting any form of "Home Rule" to Ireland'.[96] Froude received significant criticism from contemporaries, not only for the prejudiced tone of his writing but also for the evident political motivations

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[91] T. Carlyle (ed.), *Letters and speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, edited by S. C. Lomas (4 volumes, London, 1904), II, pp. 117-118.

[92] J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (London, 1865), p. 7.

[93] J. Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year: The 1641 Rebellion in Irish History and Memory* (Madison and London, 2013), p. 117.

[94] Quoted in Gibney, *Shadow of a Year*, p. 117.

[95] J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (2 volumes, New York, 1872-1874), I, pp. 66-139.

[96] Gibney, *Shadow of a Year*, p. 118. See also, D. McCartney, 'James Anthony Froude and Ireland: a historiographical controversy of the nineteenth century', *Irish University Review*, 1/2 (1971), p. 241.

behind his argument. For W. D. H. Lecky, Froude's book belonged to 'the class of histories which are written not for the purpose of giving a simple and impartial narrative of events, but clearly and most avowedly for the purpose of enforcing certain political doctrines.'[97] Lecky believed that Froude had placed too much emphasis on the rebellion in his narrative, stating that 1641 was merely one in a succession of violent episodes in Irish history. Lecky further dismissed claims of a general organised massacre; though he acknowledged that 'the rebellion in Ulster was extremely horrible and was accompanied by great numbers of atrocious murders'. [98]

Like Froude, Lecky was a Unionist with a deep mistrust of Irish Nationalism. The intention of his writing, however, was to provide a non-partisan view of the rebellion. Of his efforts he wrote,

> What I have written will be sufficient to enable the reader to form his own judgement of those writers who, by the systematic suppression of incontestable facts, have represented the insurrection of 1641 as nothing more than an exhibition of the unprovoked and unparalleled ferocity of the Irish people. The truth is that the struggle on both sides was very savage.[99]

Lecky's approach to primary source material was problematic. He was cautious of evidence which could be perceived as hearsay or rumour and was consequently dismissive of the depositions. Indeed, neither Froude nor Lecky used the original versions of the depositions in their writings, limiting both assessments of the rebellion. From Lecky's work, however, emerged a consensus amongst scholars in the first half of the twentieth century, that atrocities were committed by both Catholics and Protestants. As a result, the number of those killed ceased to be mentioned and the word 'massacre' disappeared from the lexicon.[100]

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[97] W. E. H. Lecky, 'Mr. Froude's English in Ireland', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 27 (1873), p. 247.

[98] W. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (5 volumes, London, 1879), I, pp. 59-60.

[99] Lecky, *History of England*, p. 89.

[100] Clarke, 'The "1641 massacre"', p. 46; Clarke, 'The 1641 depositions', pp. 111-122; Canny, 'What really happened', pp. 24-42.

It is now generally agreed that the exact number of deaths as a result of the rebellion, including revenge killings committed by Protestants against Catholics, will never be fully determined. The scale of the killings, however, has been modified to a more realistic level.[101] In 1976 P. J. Cornish ended the historiographical silence over the number of people who died during the rebellion and offered an estimate of 4,000 deaths due to violence and a further 8,000 from privation.[102] This became the estimate of choice for many scholars including Philip Robinson, Roy Foster and Sean Connolly.[103] Other recent estimates suggest that around 10,000 men, women and children, both Catholic and Protestant, were killed over the winter of 1641/2 in tit-for-tat atrocities.[104] Disease, starvation and exposure killed many thousands more in the months to follow.[105]

The use of the term 'massacre' has also been qualified by historians. While traditionally 'massacre' was used to refer to the total number of Protestant deaths which occurred over the course of the rebellion, 'massacre' is now used in relation to specific instances of violence. For example, the killing of Catholics at Islandmagee (November 1641) and the drowning of Protestants at Portadown (November 1641) are both described as being massacres. Overall, the historiography of the Irish rebellion has largely moved away from the provocative narratives and debates regarding the events of 1641. Instead, scholars now focus on specific aspects of the rising; such as the political manoeuvres of the elite and patterns of local events across Ulster, and place the rebellion within specific contexts, such as the economic dearth of the 1640s, the multiple kingdoms

[101] Clarke, 'The "1641 massacre"', pp. 46-47.

[102] Corish, 'The rising of 1641', pp. 291-292.

[103] P. S. Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin, 1984), p. 191; R. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 85; S. J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdoms: Ireland, 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008), p. 46.

[104] N. Canny, 'The marginal kingdom: Ireland as a problem in the first British Empire', in B. Bailyn and P. Morgan (eds.), *Strangers within the Realm* (Chapel Hill, 1991), pp. 57-58. For English attacks on the Irish see, K. Nicholls, 'The other massacre: English killings of Irish, 1641-2', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 176-191.

[105] I. Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638-1652* (London, 2007), p. 58, n. 85; M. Ó Siochrú, 'Atrocity, codes of conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars 1641-1653', *Past and Present*, 195/1 (2007), p. 60, n. 17.

perspective and the renewal of Catholic religious and political thinking in Ireland.[106] By concentrating on the victims of the rebellion who fled to England, this thesis aligns with these more recent studies by considering the rebellion through the perspective of welfare and charity.

To many contemporaries, especially the Lord Justices in Ireland, the outbreak of the rebellion was highly unexpected, 'a startling interruption of a mood of peaceful cooperation'.[107] Deep-seated economic, religious and political grievances, however, had been fuelling resentment towards the English administration in Ireland over the course of many generations.[108] At the start of the seventeenth century, the end of Tyrone's Rebellion (1603) and the subsequent flight of the earls (1607) paved the way for greater English administrative control in Ireland. James I took the opportunity to secure his authority by confiscating land in six counties in northern Ulster and sanctioning a policy of plantations.[109] The majority of the land was transferred to English and Scottish undertakers who were charged with permanently settling the land with Protestant planters. One-quarter of the land was given over to 'deserving natives', but crown rents were made substantially higher to give the newcomers an economic advantage.[110] By 1641 around 40 per cent of land in Ireland was held by the New English and

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[106] See, R. Armstrong, *Protestant War: The 'British' of Ireland and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005); M. Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (London, 1994); A. Clarke, 'The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641', in P. Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to Partition: Essays in Honour of J. L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 29-45; N. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001); B. MacCuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993); R. Gillespie, 'The end of an era: Ulster and the outbreak of the 1641 rising', in R. Gillespie and C. Brady (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 191-213; M. Ó Siochrú and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland 1641*: *Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester, 2014); Gentles, *English Revolution*, pp. 33-34, 48-62.

[107] A. Clarke, 'Ireland and the general crisis', *Past and Present,* 48/1 (1970), p. 86; Gentles, *English Revolution,* pp. 49-50.

[108] Moody, 'Irish history and Irish mythology', p. 73.

[109] R. McVeigh and B. Rolston, 'Civilising the Irish', *Race and* Class, 51/1 (2011), pp. 10-12; T. Ó hAnnracháin, 'Plantation, 1580-1641', in A. Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 291-314.

[110] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 86-9; Lenihan *Confederates at war,* p. 3.

Ulster Scots, 30 per cent by the Old English and 30 per cent by the Native Irish.[111] The plantations 'fundamentally realigned political and economic power [in Ireland] and played an important symbolic role in communicating the state's hostility to Irish customs and the Roman Catholic religion.'[112] They were regarded as the best instrument for promoting civility to a people who were seen as culturally inferior.[113] The confiscation of land caused much resentment amongst the Catholic Native Irish and Old English, as many of the best tenancies were given over to the new Protestant settlers.[114] Furthermore, the creation of new boroughs in Ulster facilitated the first Protestant majority in the Irish House of Commons in 1613 (132-100), displacing the Old English as Ireland's ruling elite.[115]

The rebalance of power in the Irish Parliament heightened religious tensions, as Old English and Native Irish Catholics feared the enactment of more severe anti-Catholic legislation. In 1627 the Old English, looking to redress their grievances, approached Charles I with an offer of £40,000 a year for three years in exchange for certain political and religious reforms. The 'Graces' included the suspension of recusancy fines, the abolition of religious tests for inheritance and the right to be appointed to public offices. They also included the promise to

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[111] Gentles, *English Revolution*, pp. 36-37; Lenihan *Confederate Catholics*, p. 7; Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 3.

[112] J. Cope, 'The Irish Rising', in M. J. Braddick (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2015), quoted at p. 79. See also, H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, The Reformation, and Social Change* (Indianapolis, 1967), pp. 409, 413-414. For an examination of earlier plantation attempts see, Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, pp. 7-29; M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986); D. Edwards, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations', in A. Ford and J. McCafferty (eds.), *Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 95-126; N. Canny, 'The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30/4 (1973), pp. 575–598; Canny, 'The marginal kingdom', pp. 35-66.

[113] Canny, 'English colonization', pp. 575-598; Canny, 'The marginal kingdom', pp. 35-37.

[114] Gillespie, 'End of an era', p. 195; Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 3.

[115] After significant tumult between Catholic and Protestant representatives in the Irish Commons James I eliminated some of the newly created boroughs in order to reduce the Protestant majority. When the next Parliament was called in 1614/15 the majority had fallen to 108-102.

extend an English statute to Ireland (1624) which guaranteed security of title to anyone who had possessed his estates for sixty years or more. Charles agreed to the reforms in the hope that such funds could be used to renew hostilities with Spain, his attack on Cadiz in 1625 having been an expensive failure. The English Privy Council agreed to introduce the 'Graces' to the Irish Parliament, provided that recusancy fines were retained and Catholics were prevented from entering public office.

An Irish Parliament was not called until 1634. Consequently, between 1629 and 1632, in the absence of a Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Justices Adam Loftus and Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, introduced harsh measures to attack Catholic landed interests and religious practices in Ireland. In particular, this included the confiscation of Irish estates which allowed Boyle to become the largest land owner in all three kingdoms.[116] For John Reeves, 'Ireland was an arena in which they [Boyle and Loftus] could express the religious intensity of their souls'.[117] When Sir Thomas Wentworth was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1632 these measures were somewhat moderated, but the anxieties of Catholics remained.[118] When the Irish Parliament was called in 1634 Wentworth refused to grant two of the Graces, most notably the guarantee of titles to Catholic landholders in Connacht. In response the Catholic representatives in the Irish Commons refused to pass any bills introduced by Wentworth and the session ended without the Graces being confirmed. Over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, recurrent attempts at persecution kept alive a sense of grievance amongst the Catholic population of Ireland. The undermining of the

[116] See, N. Canny, 'The attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: an exemplar of "British History"', in J. F. Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 157-186.

[117] J. Reeves, 'Secret alliance and Protestant agitation in two kingdoms: the early Caroline background to the Irish rebellion of 1641', in I. Gentles, J. Morrill and B. Worden (eds.), *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 25.

[118] Cope, 'The Irish Rising', p. 79; H. F. Kearney, *Stafford in Ireland, 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Manchester, 1959); T. Ranger, 'Stafford in Ireland: a revaluation', in T. Aston (ed.), *Crisis in Europe 1560-1660, Essays from Past and Present* (London, 1965), pp. 271-293.

position of the Native Irish and Old English, politically and economically, because of religion only helped to 'force them into rebellion'.[119]

In February 1641 Roger O'Moore and Connor Maguire, second baron of Enniskillen, encouraged by the defiance of the Scottish Covenanters against religious change during the Bishops' Wars (1639-1640), met in Dublin and agreed to coordinate a resistance to oppose the encroachment of English Protestants into Native Irish lands and the erosion of the rights of Catholics. A number of prominent Ulstermen, including Sir Phelim O'Neill and Hugh MacMahon, joined the conspiracy and communication with Irish military men, serving in foreign armies on the Continent, soon followed. By August a number of these experienced officers had returned to Ireland while others gave assurance of their return in the event of an uprising. Chief amongst these men was O'Neill's cousin Owen Roe O'Neill who was in the service of the king of Spain in Flanders.

The planned attack comprised of two interlinking parts. Firstly, Dublin Castle was to be captured to remove English administrative control over Ireland. Secondly, a series of towns, villages and gentleman's houses were to be seized and returned to dispossessed members of the Irish gentry.[120] Between the 22 and 24 October, Sir Phelim O'Neill was successful in capturing Charlemont castle, Dungannon, Moneymore, Portadown, Tanderagee and Newry.[121] Over the course of the winter of 1641/2 many more towns and strongholds were captured by the rebels in Ulster, including Ballycastle, Downpatrick and Armagh. As the rebellion spread, local government began to collapse. In Monaghan the sheriff fled the county while the clerk of the peace and under-sheriff were killed. In Cavan the sheriff of the county, Mulmore O'Reilly, sided with the rebels and in Donegal Ever MacSwyne, a justice of the peace, failed to intervene for fear he did not have sufficient power to subdue the rebels.[122]

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[119] J. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923* (London, 1966), p. 43.

[120] For the actions and motivations of the conspirators and rebels see, Canny, 'What really happened', pp. 24-42; Gillespie, 'End of an era', pp. 191-213.

[121] Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 214; Gentles, *English Revolution*, pp. 52-55; Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics*, pp. 19-23.

[122] R. Gillespie, 'Destabilising Ulster, 1641-2', in B. MacCurta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 107-109.

Despite the successful capture of various sites of strategic value across Ulster, the failure of Maguire and MacMahon to capture Dublin Castle meant the Irish leaders needed a new strategy to achieve dominance in Ulster. To gain support from the rest of the Catholic population O'Neill attempted to legitimise the actions of the conspirators. On 4 November he issued a proclamation at Newry to 'all Catholics of the Romish party both English and Irish' which ordered the printing and distributing of an attached commission, supposedly from the King. The commission was dated 1 October and bore the Great Seal of Scotland. In this document the King ordered the Irish Catholic elite to affirm royal power in Ireland, which had been usurped by the 'vehemence of the Protestant party'. They were to take possession of forts and castles, 'except the places, persons and estates of our loyal and loving subjects the Scots', and seize 'the goods, estates and persons of all the English Protestants.'[123]

The commission was a forgery, but its importance cannot be underestimated.[124] In England, the commission increased tensions regarding whether the King could be trusted with control of an army for the suppression of the Irish rebels. It was this 'Militia Controversy' which marked the beginning of the long road to the outbreak of civil war.[125] In Ireland, the appeal to co-religionists encouraged the Irish Catholic population to rise up against their Protestant neighbours. At the end of November 1641 the Lord Justices reported to the Commons in England that,

> the meaner sort of people of the natives rise up unanimously, men women and children, and joining together in multitudes in imitation of the rebels fall on their near neighbours that are English or Protestants and rob and spoil them.[126]

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[123] All depositions were viewed using the 1641 Depositions Online. TCD, MS 836, ff. 18r-v, Proclamation of Phelim O'Neil and Rory Maguire (4 November 1641); R. Dunlop, 'The forged commission of 1641', *English Historical Review*, 2/7 (1887), pp. 527-533, especially p. 530.

[124] Dunlop, 'Forged Commission', pp. 532-533.

[125] Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics*, p. 21; J. Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London, 2007), pp. 422-423.

[126] HMC, *Ormonde*, II, p. 29. See also, Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 227.

For many, the rebellion was a means of redressing grievances suffered at the hands of the English establishment. Economic resentment, for example, caused by a loss of land, was reflected in attacks on the Protestant farming population. Settlers were expelled from their land as it 'was theirs [the Catholic Irish] and lost by their fathers', and documents of entitlement and bills of indebtedness were destroyed.[127] English Protestant ministers were also targeted by the rebels for their role as moneylenders, though these men were also attacked as leaders in the Protestant community and therefore as symbols of England's colonial interests in Ireland.[128]

It would be wrong to assert that Irish Catholics responded to the uprising as a single unified group; in some areas Catholics warned their Protestant neighbours of the approach of rebel soldiers and offered them shelter from attack.[129] It was the violent acts allegedly committed by Irish Catholics, however, which gained notoriety. Thomas Partington's *Worse and Worse News from Ireland* (1641) noted the dismembering of Protestants by Catholics, 'cutting off their privie parts, eares, fingers and hands, plucking out their eyes, boyling the heads of little Children.'[130] Similar reports permeated sermons, pamphlets and

[127] TCD, MS 833, f. 72r, Deposition of William Thorpe (10 January 1642).

[128] J. Redmond, 'Memories of violence and New English identities early modern Ireland', *Historical Research*, 89/246 (2016), pp. 714-720; Canny, 'The marginal kingdom', p. 58; Canny, 'What really happened', p. 33. For the religious and ethnic dimensions of the attacks on settlers in the 1641 rebellion see, B. MacCuarta, 'Religious violence against settlers in south Ulster, 1641-2', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 154-175; N. Canny, 'Religion, politics and the Irish rising of 1641', in J. Devlin and R. Fanning (eds.), *Historical Studies XX: Religion and Rebellion* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 40-70; N. Canny, *Making Ireland*, pp. 488-491; E. Darcy, 'Ethnic identities and the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion in Antrim', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, 6/2 (2013), pp. 31-52; I. Jones, '"Holy War"? Religion, ethnicity and massacre during the Irish rebellion 1641-2', in E. Darcy, A. Margey, and E. Murphy (eds.), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012), pp. 129-142. Gillespie also considers the economic dimension of the rebellion, see Gillespie, 'End of an era', pp. 191-213.

[129] Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion*, p. 7.

[130] T. Partington, *Worse and Worse News from Ireland* (London, 1641), p. 3.

other publications throughout the early 1640s.[131] A small handful of pamphleteers sought to counteract the widespread reports of massacre, but such accounts were unpopular and unable to contend with the constant flow of material which claimed otherwise.[132]

The upheaval and destruction caused by the rebellion in Ulster resulted in thousands of people becoming displaced.[133] In the winter and spring of 1641/2 refugees flooded into Dublin, resulting in a deterioration in living conditions and a reduction in the amount of available aid.[134] On 4 March 1642 a letter sent from Lord Justices Sir John Borlase and Sir William Parsons to the Speaker of the House of Commons, William Lenthall, described the state of the city. The letter related that there were,

> about 4,000 poor in Dublin whom they had relieved as long as possible with 50 pound each week [3d per week per person], which was expended only upon clothes and food. That now none were longer able to relieve them. That Sir John Temple, master of the rolls (in Ireland), and Sir Robert Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had taken up 200 pounds upon their bond to keep them from starving.[135]

The Council in Ireland also wrote to the King stating that Dublin had been kept as a place of refuge for 'ye p[er]sons of ye poore distressed Protestants, who could get hether as God was pleased to preserve from ye bloody hands of ye Rebells,

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[131] Love, 'Civil war in Ireland', pp. 57-72; Clarke, 'The 1641 depositions', p. 120; T. Barnard, 'The Protestant interest, 1641-1660', in J. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 218-240; Barnard, '1641', p. 174.

[132] Anon., *No Pamphlet, but a Detestation against All Such pamphlets as are Printed Concerning the Irish Rebellion* (London, 1642), p. 2.

[133] Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 228.

[134] *PJ*, II, p. 46; J. Ohlmeyer, 'The civil wars in Ireland', in J. Ohlmeyer and J. Kenyon (eds.), *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1638-1660* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 74-75.

[135] HMC, *Ormonde*, II, pp. 91-92; *CJ*, II, p. 480; *PJ*, I, p. 46.

who had destroy[e]d them of all their Estates and fortunes.'[136] A similar situation can be seen in other port towns across Ireland. At the port of Coleraine, James Redferne recounted that,

> there dyed there of Robbed and stripped people of protestantes
> that thither hadd fledd for succour the number of seven thowsand
> or therabouts: besides those of the towne that hadd anciently
> dwelt there and that the mortalitie there was such & soe great
> That seven hundreth or eight hundreth more dyed.[137]

When Coleraine came under what would be a six-week siege in the spring of 1642, another witness estimated that around 220 people died each week due to starvation and disease.[138] The spread of contagious diseases amongst a malnourished and overcrowded population increased mortality across towns in Ireland.

The rebellion soon transformed into a prolonged war. By May 1642 the Catholic Confederation, predominately made up of Irish Catholic nobles, clergy and military leaders, had been established to organise the war effort against the English and Scottish armies remaining in Ireland. The Confederacy gained control of a number of key locations in the south, including the ports of Waterford and Wexford, through which they could receive foreign aid from Spain and the papacy.[139] In August 1642 Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, wrote to Speaker Lenthall in England and informed him that Munster was 'overpresed w[i]th infinite multitudes of rebells'.[140] The dominance of the rebels in the south resulted in even greater numbers of people becoming displaced, many of whom fled to the coast in the hope of escaping to England. Numerous refugees, for example, fled to the port town of Youghal in county Cork. The increased pressure placed on the town by

[136] NLI, MS 2542, Copies of letters of the Lords Justices and Privy Council of Ireland to the King …re the progress of the rebellion in Ireland (1641-44), pp. 173-176.

[137] TCD, MS 839, ff. 100r-101v, Deposition of John and James Redferne (7 November 1642).

[138] TCD, MS 839, ff. 96r-97v, Deposition of Charles Anthony (12 June 1642).

[139] Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics*, pp. 64-66, 72.

[140] Chatsworth, CM/23/119, Letter from the earl of Cork to the Speaker of the House of Commons (25 August 1642).

the arrival of refugees is evident by the lists of poor created by local constables, who noted the names, places of origin and amount of relief given to recipients. Richard Williams recorded the poor outside the Northgate of the town, which included a number of individuals who were relieved before embarking for England. Among them were Elizabeth Moore and her child, Robert Williams, his wife and four children, and Susan Clarke, widow, and her three children, all from 'Muchells Towne'.[141]

A letter from the mayor of Youghal, James Gallhan, to Boyle indicates that refugees were leaving for England as early as 25 November 1641. The letter stated that,

> divers women both married and widowes of good note without south gate and the Abby of this Towne are resolved to imbarque themselves together with the best part of theire goods and chattels and theire children also for the Kingdom of England, and have already sett the best part of theire houshould stuffe abourd a ship now in this port, being ready out of hand to depart heer hence wherefore I thought it necessarie to give speedie intelligence theirof to your honors grave consideration.[142]

The fact that these women still possessed much of their property implies that they may have left their homes in anticipation of the rebels' arrival, rather than in response to attacks. This is worthy of note as it shows the spread of panic across Ireland as the rebellion gained momentum. The exodus of predominately women and children also corresponds with the sending of women and children over from Dublin to England.[143]

The refugees arrived into England via numerous port towns, including Chester, Bristol, Minehead, Liverpool, the Isle of Wight and the city of London,

[141] This is most likely Mitchelstown in county Cork; Chatsworth, CM/23/110, Richard Williams's list of the poor distressed of Youghal Northgate (17 August 1642).

[142] Chatsworth, CM/ 22/ 94, Letter from the mayor of Youghal to the earl of Cork (25 November 1641).

[143] The greatest proportion of refugees receiving relief in England were women and children. See, Figure 2.1.

amongst others. It is impossible to determine the exact number of people who became displaced in Ireland over the course of the 1640s or the number of refugees who fled to England. Overwhelmed officials failed to keep a record of how many refugees were arriving into the port towns, how many were receiving financial aid and how many were leaving these towns to seek assistance elsewhere on both sides of the Irish Sea. Evidence suggests, however, that the refugees numbered in their thousands. On 14 January 1642, a letter sent by the Privy Council of Ireland to Thomas Cowper, the mayor of Chester, related that,

> foure thousand at least of the poore English (made poore and miserable by the crueltie of the Rebells heere) having continued in and about this Cittie [Dublin]… Wee have now at last with much difficultie shipped a good number of them for England, To whom uppon their arrival, wee desire you to extend yo[u]r favour and furtherance for their reliefe …out of those contributions w[hi]ch have been raised for them from the pietie and charitie of Godle p[er]sons on that side.[144]

The same day Cowper wrote to the earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that 'there were and still are to the number of seven hundred English fled out of Ireland now resident in the city, besides the many hundreds of distressed Irish that daily resort to the same'.[145] These letters highlight the confluence of refugees in Chester at the beginning of 1642. Cowper's letter to Leicester in particular indicates that a minimum of 900 refugees were present in the city, with their numbers being added to daily.[146]

The refugees who fled Munster often travelled to England via the port at Bristol. Elizabeth Collins and her 'mother in law' Joane Lluellin recounted their escape from Munster to England in their depositions. John Collins and Thomas

[144] CRO, DCC/47/18, Letter from the Irish Privy Council to the mayor of Chester (14 January 1642).

[145] CRO, DCC/14/15, Letter from Thomas Cowper (Mayor), William Gamuil (Alderman) etc. to the earl of Leicester (14 January 1642).

[146] This is assuming that 'many hundreds of Irish' meant at least 200 refugees.

Lluellin, the women's husbands, were soldiers at the garrison of Waterford under the command of Captain Thomas Games. In December 1641 the men were called to Dublin and in their absence the two women and their families were attacked by a group of rebels and relieved of their goods and livestock. With the remainder of their possessions the families fled to the city of Waterford. By mid-February 1642 the two families had left the city due to further harassment, but were captured by the rebels. Three weeks later they were rescued by a ship sent by the earl of Cork, 'which relieued & carryed awaye the Number of 500 men women & Children, who were put into yoghall & from thence sent into England'. After several months in England the women went from England to Dublin to join their husbands, at which time they gave their depositions.[147] The accounts of the two women are almost identical, emphasising the women's shared experience of the rebellion. Constructing a shared narrative like this provided a means of exchanging emotional support over the many weeks and months spent travelling and in imprisonment, as they contemplated and discussed the events which had occurred.

The ship which conveyed Elizabeth and Joane to England was likely sent by the earl of Cork in response to a petition from the English inhabitants of Waterford in January 1642. The petition claimed that the English in the city had been protected by the Mayor and Corporation, but the rebels,

> daylie Threten at the gates of the Citie, That they will never be at quiet, w[i]th the Citizens, until all the English Inhabitants, w[hi]ch are left in the Citie, being about 200 p[er]sons are desirous to be gone, But we want meanes of shiping, to Convaye us into England, wee doe therefore humblie intreate yo[ur] hono[ur] To take pitie upon us poore distressed Creatures To helpe us w[i]th A ship of force, To Convaye us into England.[148]

[147] TCD, MS 820, ff. 10r-v, Deposition of Thomas Lluellin and Joane Lluellin (1 June 1642); MS 820, ff. 11r-v, Deposition of John Collins and Elizabeth Collins (1 June 1642).

[148] Chatsworth, CM/24/115, Petition of the distressed English inhabitants of Waterford to the earl of Cork (1642).

A subsequent letter to Boyle from the mayor of Waterford urged consideration of the petition and the sending over of the requested ship.[149] The discrepancy between the 200 inhabitants recorded in Waterford and the 500 refugees stated in the depositions could have a number of explanations. Firstly, the 500 mentioned might have been an over-exaggeration of refugee numbers on the part of the deponents, who wished to emphasise the plight of Protestants in Munster. Secondly, the discrepancy was a consequence of the several months' lapse between the petition being sent to Boyle and the ship arriving to aid the refugees. Indeed, the daily increase in refugee numbers in Dublin was no doubt replicated in other port towns and cities across Ireland. The petition also only referred to the 'English inhabitants' of Waterford and may have ignored the many hundreds of other poor distressed people held up in the town, such as Joane and Elizabeth, who came from the surrounding countryside. This ship of refugees is likely the same ship recorded in the audit book of the mayor of Bristol, which refers to the arrival of 'neere 400' of 'distressed people came from Ireland' in the early months of 1642.[150]

Overall, in the first months after the outbreak of the rebellion at least 1,300 refugees arrived into England via the ports of Chester and Bristol. This figure is conservative given that many hundreds more refugees arrived from Ireland over the course of the 1640s.[151] It also fails to consider the refugees who arrived into other English ports such as Minehead, the Isle of Wight and Liverpool, and those who fled to Wales, Scotland and continental Europe. At present it would be impossible to give an accurate estimate of the total number of refugees who fled to England during the 1640s, though given the research conducted so far they clearly numbered in their thousands.[152]

Upon arrival into England the refugees entered a cultural landscape saturated with news of the rebellion. Around one-third of print output between

[149] Chatsworth, CM/ 22/129, Letter from the mayor of Waterford to the earl of Cork (20 January 1642).

[150] BRO, F/Au/1/22, Bristol Mayor's audit book: 21 (1640-1644), p. 168.

[151] A minimum of 200 'Irish' for the purposes of this calculation.

[152] *PJ*, I, p. 179.

October 1641 and March 1642 addressed the rebellion in some form.[153] These tracts were typically short and cheap to purchase, providing sensationalist accounts of the rebellion and often including the most graphic and violent accounts of Catholic actions against Protestants. Thomas Ashley's *Prosperous proceedings in Ireland* (1642) related how in Connacht the rebels, 'who were never acquainted with civilitie or humanitie', did 'rob, pillage, and spoil, strip, and murther the poore English Protestants'.[154] Martin Eldred similarly noted the barbarous acts of the rebels,

> putting men to the sword, deflowring Women, and dragging them up and downe the Streets, and cruelly murdering them, and thrusting their Speeres through their little Infants before their eyes, and carrying them up and downe on Pike-points, in great reproach, and hanging Mens quarters on their Gates in the Street, at Armagh, Logall, at the Fort of Lease, and divers other Places in Ireland.[155]

Many pamphlets also related allegations of collusion between Catholics in both kingdoms and news that the rebels were planning to invade England.[156] *A perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament* (1642) claimed that Catholics in Lancashire planned to set fire to towns and villages as a signal for all the other

[153] K. Lindley, 'The impact of the Irish rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5', *Irish Historical Studies*, 18/70 (1972), pp. 144-147; D. O'Hara, *English Newsbooks and Irish Rebellion 1641-1649* (Dublin, 2006), p. 27-54.

[154] T. Ashley, *Prosperous proceedings in Ireland: being a remonstrance, or exact relation of the most distressed estate of the inhabitants of Galloway, Arrowmoore, and Baltimoore* (London, 1642), p. 5.

[155] M. Eldred, *Bloody News from Ireland or the barbarous crueltie by the papists used in that kingdome* (London, 1641), p. 1. See also, Partington, *Worse and Worse News from Ireland*; J. Robinson, *Irelands tragical tyrannie sent over in two letters* (London, 1642); Anon., A *briefe declaration of the barbarovs and inhumane dealings of the northerne Irishe rebels* (London, 1641).

[156] For the extent that the fear of local Catholics was exaggerated see, W. Sheils, 'English Catholics at war and peace', in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 138-142.

Catholics in England to rise up against their Protestant neighbours.[157] Of the same incident, another pamphlet related how the conspirators had contacted the Irish rebels, who planned to invade England along the Lancashire coast once the fires were set.[158] Such works fanned the flames of paranoia and stirred up anti-Catholic hysteria.[159] In Yorkshire the panic was so great that the arrival of refugees from Ireland into Rochdale and Littleborough caused many people to fear 'we are all as good as dead men, for the Irish Rebels are coming'.[160] A letter from Thomas Stockdale to his friend Lord Ferdinando Fairfax at Westminster similarly expressed, 'I find that the dayly resort of the distressed Protestants of Ireland that com hither driven from their habitacons by the Papists do animate the people here against the Papist partie'.[161]

Between November 1641 and April 1642 dozens of alleged Catholic plots were uncovered and reported in pamphlets, highlighting the elevation in anti-Catholic hysteria caused by the rebellion in Ireland.[162] *A bloody plot, practised by some papists in Darbyshire* (1641), for example, described how a group of Catholics attempted to blow up the parish church at 'Bingly'. 'Barrells of Gunpowder, with store of small peeces of old Iron, some Stones, and Faggots' were placed by the conspirators in the vault of Bingly church in preparation for an

[157] Anon., *A perfect diurnall of the passages in parliament* (London, 1642).

[158] Anon., *A continuation of the true diurnall of the passages in Parliament* (London, 1642). Another example of a pamphlet which related a story of Irish rebels coming to England is, Anon., *An exact and true relation how eighteene French and Irish men, whose names are set downe, were apprehended… on Munday the 7th March 1641* (London, 1642).

[159] See, R. Clifton, 'The popular fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', *Past and Present*, 52/1 (1971), pp. 30-31; R. Clifton, 'Fear of popery', in C. Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973), pp. 158-161; D. Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution, 1640-1642* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 46-9; A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), pp. 203-6.

[160] T. Wright (ed.), *The Autobiography of Joseph Lister, of Bradford in Yorkshire, 1627-1709* (London, 1842), pp. 6-9.

[161] BL, Add. MS. 18979, f. 109v, Letter from Thomas Stockdale to his friend Lord Ferdinando Fairfax (14 January 1642).

[162] On popish plots see, C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983); Clifton, 'Fear of Catholics', pp. 23-55; Lindley, 'Impact of the Irish rebellion', pp. 155-160; B. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649* (London, 1976), pp. 21-45.

attack, which was to take place during Sunday worship. The attack was prevented by Jacob Franklin, the parish sexton, who having been in the church late one evening discovered the servant of Thomas Needham, a prominent local recusant, preparing the gunpowder.[163] This was a fabricated tale – there is no village of Bingly in Derbyshire – designed to play upon the memory of the Gunpowder Plot (1605). The similarities between the two events placed the Bingly plot 'in a long history of providential deliveries from Catholic plots.' Such stories fuelled popular fears and uncertainties about events, in turn fuelling the crisis of confidence in the English establishment regarding control of the army. John Pym was likely responsible for endorsing many of these stories, in an attempt to garner support against the King. *A bloody plot in Darbyshire,* for instance, was printed for John Thomas – the so-called 'official' publisher for Parliament – who appears to have been part of a network of printers and booksellers who were working to promote Pym as England's defender against popery.[164]

Talk of "popery",' John Morrill writes, was 'not a form of "white noise", a constant fuzzy background in the rhetoric and argument of the time'.[165] There was a genuine fear that Protestantism was under threat and events in Ireland appeared to confirm these anxieties.[166] It was common for pamphlets to report alleged Catholic plots alongside news from Ireland to solidify the link between the rebellion and the conspiracy to destroy Protestantism.[167] *Bloody nevves from Norwich* (1641), for instance, was divided into two parts. The first related an

[163] Anon., *A bloody plot, practised by some papists in Darbyshire* (London, 1641). See also, Anon., *Foure wonderfull, bloudy, and dangerous plots discovered, and brought to light by Gods providence* (London, 1642).

[164] M. Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008), pp. 174-175, 197-200, quoted at 199.

[165] J. Morrill, 'The religious context of the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), p. 173.

[166] P. Lake, 'Antipopery: the structure of a prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 72-106; M. D. R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559-1829: A Social History* (London, 1961); M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocracy, Patronage and Religion 1550-1640* (London, 1996); Lindley, 'Impact of the Irish rebellion', pp. 155-159.

[167] E. Shagan, 'Constructing discord: ideology, propaganda and English responses to the Irish rebellion of 1641', *Journal of British Studies*, 36/1 (1997), p. 6.

attempt by three Catholics to burn down the city of Norwich on 17 November 1641. It was reported that one house was burnt to the ground 'to the great astonishment of the whole City'. The plotters were discovered before more damage could be done and a 'strong watching and warding in every corner of the City' was enacted 'to prevent further danger'. The second half of the pamphlet related news from Ireland, namely the murder of Toby Caulfeild, third baron Caulfeild of Charlemont. The pamphlet claimed that on 25 November 1641 Sir Phelim O'Neill, being a great friend, went to visit Caulfeild at Charlemont castle. The visit, however, was a ruse and O'Neill subsequently killed Caulfeild and pillaged the house.[168] The details of this report were false, as Caulfeild had been captured by O'Neill at the start of the rebellion and held prisoner for fifteen weeks. On 1 February 1642 he was moved to O'Neill's home at Kinard in county Tyrone where, upon arrival, Caulfeild was shot in the back by Edmond Boy O'Hugh and later died of his injuries. O'Neill, furious at this breach of hospitality, subsequently executed six men believed to be responsible for the murder.[169] It is possible that the details of the pamphlet were incorrect due to rumours of Caufeild's death reaching England after Charlemont castle was captured in October 1641. It is perhaps more likely that the pamphlet was published in early 1642 and details of Caulfeild's murder were simply altered to emphasis the duplicity and treachery of Irish Catholics.

The threat to Protestantism did not only manifest itself in the form of local Catholic plots.[170] As early as 1640 it was widely believed that there was a popish conspiracy at the heart of the English establishment.[171] In another letter to Lord Fairfax, Stockdale wrote that 'it is visible that our English succors are like to move slowly, such power hath the Popish p[ar]tie in the Councell and designes of

[168] Anon., *Bloody newes from Norwich or, a true relation of a bloody attempt of the papists in Norwich, to consume the whole city by fire* (London, 1641).

[169] *ODNB.*

[170] For a discussion of various Catholic plots see, J. Ohlmeyer, 'Communications: the 'Antrim Plot' of 1641 – a myth?', *Historical Journal*, 35/4 (1992), pp. 905-919; A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (London, 1966), pp. 154-158; Gillespie, 'End of an era', pp. 192-194, 202-204.

[171] Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, p. 5.

this State.'[172] Suspicions regarding Charles' involvement in popish designs, particularly to re-establish Catholicism in England, were exacerbated by the Irish rebellion. Numerous variations of O'Neill's false commission were printed highlighting the rebels' assertion to be acting with the King's consent. The pamphlets failed to address the legitimacy of the claims and instead included atrocity stories from Ireland, thus linking the royal person to the Irish rebels and the threat to destroy Protestantism.[173]

The association between Charles, a universal Catholic conspiracy and the Irish rebels was politically advantageous for Pym and his political supporters, as they sought to detach the King from his evil councillors and return the kingdom to peace and financial security.[174] Charles was never accused outright of complicity with the rebel leaders by his opponents in Parliament, but many believed he was at least sympathetic to the rebel cause. Pym's clique sought control over the appointment of Privy Councillors and public office-holders, the power to summon and dissolve Parliament, to remove the King's prerogative of veto over legislation and further the reformation of the Church of England by the removal of bishops and popish elements within the Church.[175] The 1641 rebellion provided a perfect opportunity to mobilise opinion in favour of this agenda.[176] The aforementioned publisher John Thomas had numerous accounts of atrocities committed in Ireland printed in pamphlets, using information likely provided by Pym who sat on the Committee of Irish Affairs.[177] The scaremongering nature of Thomas's printed works was evident to a number of contemporary readers. Secretary of State, Sir

[172] BL, Add. MS. 18979, ff. 107r-v, Letter from Thomas Stockdale to his friend Lord Ferdinando Fairfax (7 January 1642).

[173] Anon., *The True Demands of the Rebells in Ireland* (London, 1642); Anon., *The Last Newes from Ireland; Or, a True Relation of the Sad Estate and Feares of Dublin* (London, 1641); Anon., *Strange and Bloody Newes from Miniard: Or a Bloodie Massacre Upon Five Protestants by a Company of Papists* (London, 1642).

[174] Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, pp. 166, 199; A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), pp. 137-138.

[175] R. Cust, 'The collapse of royal power in England, 1637-1642', in M. J. Braddick (ed.), *The Oxford History of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 64-65.

[176] Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 201.

[177] J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford, 1996), p. 109.

Edward Nicholas recognised that certain tracts were employed to raise alarm regarding popish plots, as they 'amuse and affright the people here…and therefore that is the drum that is so frequently beaten upon at all occasions'.[178] The success of Pym and his supporters in influencing provincial opinion is evident in county petitions delivered to Parliament between December 1641 and May 1642. The majority of the petitions focused on anti-popery, removal of evil councillors, the practises of scandalous ministers and the decay of trade.[179] As Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, wrote retrospectively, 'the imputation raised by Parliament upon the King, of an intention to bring in, or…of conniving at and tolerating, Popery, did make a deep impression upon the people'.[180]

The most immediate issue to be resolved was who was going to control the army to suppress the Irish rebels. It was feared that if the King was given command of an army he would inevitably use it to remove his political opponents from Parliament. Consequently, Pym and his supporters looked to consolidate support in the Commons in order to gain control of the appointment of the King's councillors, and thus control of the army for Ireland. To achieve this Pym played upon the climate of fear and suspicion regarding popery, which had been cultivated over the preceding months. On 5 November 1641 a major occasion was made of the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, which by the 1640s was no longer regarded as a remote historical event but as part of a 'continuing pattern of danger and deliverance'.[181] Cornelius Burges, an ardent godly minister, was nominated by Arthur Goodwin, a loyal supporter of Pym, to give the public sermon at Westminster. His message gave little doubt as to the connection between the Catholic conspiracy of 1605 and the popish threat facing the

[178] Quoted in Clifton, 'Fear of Catholics', p. 39.

[179] Braddick, *God's Fury*, p. 200; D. Zaret, 'Petitions and the "invention" of public opinion in the English Revolution', *American Journal of Sociology,* 101/6 (1996), pp. 1497-1555.

[180] E. Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion and Civil Wars in England,* edited by W. D. Macray (6 volumes, Oxford, 1888), II, p. 276. For a more recent edition of Clarendon's work see, E. Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion. A New Selection,* edited by P. Seaward (Oxford, 2009).

[181] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Stroud, 1989), p. 156.

Commons in 1641.[182] Emphasis was placed on Parliament's duty to protect the King from evil councillors as Catholics were predisposed to treachery.[183]

The sermon set the tone for the following parliamentary session in which Pym proposed a motion to send instructions to the commissioners attending the King in Scotland, demanding parliamentary control over the appointment of office-holders and royal councillors. Three days later the resultant 'Additional Instruction' was passed in the Commons (151-110). It alleged that the King continued to take counsel from 'favourers of popery, superstition and innovation', who were 'contriving by violence to suppress the liberties of parliament' and were responsible for the present 'conspiracies and commotions in Ireland'.[184] The 'Additional Instruction' was never formally presented to the King, but for John Adamson it was tantamount to an ultimatum. 'Nothing would be done in England to fund the Irish war…unless Charles accepted Parliament's right to nominate the great officers', which of course included the commander of the new army for Ireland.[185] The rebellion thus proved fatal to the fragile relationship between the King and Parliament.[186] The argument over who should control the army divided Parliament most profoundly in 1641 and marked the beginning of the formation of two sides poised for civil war.[187] The inability to reach an agreement over the army limited the actions which could be taken for the suppression of the rebellion and the subsequent arrival of thousands of distressed Protestant refugees pointed keenly to the failure of God's chosen elect, the English, to intervene in the rebellion and save Protestantism from the forces of the Antichrist.

The refugees who fled to England in the winter and spring of 1641/2 thus arrived into a cultural, political and religious landscape marked by fear, suspicion

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[182] Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 424; Cressy, *Bonfires*, pp. 157-158.

[183] C. Burges, *Another Sermon preached to the Honorable House of Commons now assembled in Parliament, November the Fifth, 1641…*(London, 1641).

[184] S. R. Gardiner, *The constitutional documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1906), pp. 199-201.

[185] Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 427.

[186] J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (London and New York, 2005), p. 240.

[187] Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, p. 427; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, pp. 198-9; Braddick, *God's Fury,* p. 169.

and discontentment. News of the rebellion saturated English print culture, provoking an increase in anti-popish sentiment. Endorsed by powerful political figures, namely John Pym and his supporters in Parliament, pamphleteers and printers conflated stories of atrocities committed by Catholics in Ireland with rumours of Catholic plots in England as a means to discredit the King and legitimise the removal of royal prerogatives. The heightened fear of Catholicism, coupled with rumours of an imminent invasion by the Irish rebels, meant that the arrival of refugees into England sparked a number of local panics. While these panics were quelled by exchanges with the refugees, personal accounts of hardships suffered in Ireland added weight to the mass of atrocity stories which circulated in print.[188] It was within this context that the refugees from Ireland sought safety, security and relief. The subsequent chapters of this thesis will explore the reception of the refugees in the English localities in terms of charitable relief, in turn revealing how the reception of refugees was impacted by the climate of England in the 1640s and a complex web of national and local concerns – political, economic, religious and social.

[188] G. S. Minister of God's word in Ireland, *A briefe declaration of the barbarovs and inhumane dealings of the northerne Irishe rebels and many others in severall counties up-rising against the English* (London, 1641).

Chapter Two
Refugee 'identities'

This chapter will explore the identities of the refugees who escaped Ireland in the 1640s. 'Identity' is a highly problematic term which has received significant criticism in recent years. Scholars increasingly acknowledge that the unchecked use of the concept as a catch-all term has diluted its meaning and a coherent definition has essentially been lost.[189] In 1995 Charles Tilly, for example, defined 'identity' as 'an actor's experience of a category, tie, role, network, group or organization, coupled with a public representation of that experience'.[190] Tilly's definition is comprehensive and captures the wide-ranging nature of 'identity' as both personal and collective.[191] This definition has been criticised, however, as it fails to incorporate the changing nature of identity. As Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper note, 'identity' is situational and contextual, 'how one identifies oneself – and how one is identified by others – may vary greatly from context to context'.[192] Further to this, Floya Anthias has recently suggested that identity should be treated as a process, rather than as a possession which can be held by an individual or group.[193] The definition of 'identity' within academic writing has

[189] P. Jones and M. Krzyzanowski, 'Identity, belonging and migration: beyond constructing 'others'', in G. Delanty, P. Jones and R. Wodak (eds.), *Identity Belonging and Migration* (Liverpool, 2011), p. 39.

[190] C. Tilly, 'Citizenship, identity and social history', *International Review of Social History*, 40/3 (1995), p. 7.

[191] See also, P. Burke, *History and Social Theory* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 2005), pp. 58-59. For discussions on social identity theory and collective identity see, J. E. Stets and P. J. Burke, 'Identity theory and social identity theory', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63/3 (2000), pp. 224-237; M. J. Hornsey, 'Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: a historical review', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass,* 2/1 (2008), pp. 204-222; H. Tajfel (ed.), *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London, 1978); M. A. Hogg and D. Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London, 1988).

[192] R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society*, 29/1 (2000), p. 14.

[193] F. Anthias, 'Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging', *Translocations: Migration and Social Change,* 4/1 (2008), pp. 5-20; F. Anthias, 'Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality', *Ethnicites,* 2/4 (2002), pp. 491-514.

broadened to such a degree that the term has become almost unusable. Brubaker and Cooper explain, 'conceptualizing all affinities and affiliations, all forms of belonging, all experiences of commonality, connectedness, and cohesion, all self-understanding and self-identifications in the idiom of "identity" saddles us with a blunt, flat, undifferentiated vocabulary.'[194]

In order to discuss who the refugees from Ireland were in a meaningful way, without softening the definition of 'identity', this chapter will focus on two main areas: the composition of the refugees from Ireland and conceptualisations of 'home'. The first section will explore the composition of the refugees in terms of sex, group size and configuration, social status and ethnicity. In order to facilitate a statistical analysis of the refugees recorded in parish officers' accounts, these characteristics will be treated as fixed attributes of identity rather than as social categories. This analysis will highlight the diversity of the refugees who escaped to England, a matter which has largely been overlooked by historians. The second section will be more sociological in focus, exploring how refugees conceptualised 'home' through analysis of refugee migration patterns. 'Home' is an expression or symbol of the self. Consequently, research into how refugees conceptualised 'home' highlights a new dimension of refugee identities previously unexplored by historians, without imposing categories of identity onto refugees.[195]

Historians have thus far only provided a cursive overview of the composition of the refugees who escaped Ireland in the 1640s. Keith Lindley referred to the refugees only as being 'Protestants' and gave no additional information regarding their identities.[196] Michael Cooksley and Ian Atherton contended that the amount of aid refugees received from parish officials was dependent upon social status, group size, ethnicity and time of request, implying

[194] Brubaker and Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', p. 2.

[195] F. Anthias, 'Intersectionality, belonging and translocational positionality: thinking about transnational identities', in G. Rosenthal and A. Bogner (eds.), *Ethnicity, Belonging and Biography: Ethnographical and Biographical Perspectives* (Berlin, 2009), pp. 229-249; S. Mallett, 'Understanding home: a critical review of the literature', *The Sociological Review*, 52/1 (2004), p. 82.

[196] K. Lindley, 'The impact of the Irish rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5', *Irish Historical Studies*, 18/70 (1972), pp. 147-150.

that aid to refugees varied due to their diverse characteristics. These observations, however, were only made in reference to poor relief and were not explored further.[197] John Young's study of refugees in Scotland has considered the identities of the refugees in the greatest detail. Young noted several categories of refugee. These included women, returning religious ministers who had been ousted from their parishes in Ireland, the daughters, wives and widows of ministers, the widows of soldiers killed by the Irish rebels, and returning 'migrants'.[198] Young's work has since been expanded upon by Chris Langley, who has explored the experience of returning ministers to Scotland.[199] Joseph Cope, meanwhile, in a brief review of refugee relief in Wiltshire, noted a shift in the composition of refugees over the course of the 1640s. In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion he observed that the majority of refugees travelled across the county alone or in family groups. By the end of the 1640s the refugees were increasingly forming into larger 'bands of permanently itinerant poor'.[200] This chapter will add to these works by providing further insight into the composition of refugees through statistical analysis of the refugees receiving one-off payments of relief from churchwardens and constables in six English parishes: Upton in Nottinghamshire, Claypole in Lincolnshire, Swaffham in Norfolk, Cratfield in Suffolk and St. Dunstan-in-the-East and St. Dunstan-in-the-West in the city of London. These parishes have been selected due to the quality of their surviving account books. A complete statistical analysis of all the parish officers' accounts considered in this thesis has not been provided largely due to the constraints of time. Nevertheless, the case studies highlight key trends in the accounts, which subsequent research can investigate further.

In England, the greatest proportion of refugees of known gender who received one-off donations from parish officers were women and children, as

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[197] M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), pp. 58-59, 60.

[198] J. Young, '"Escaping massacre": refugees in Scotland in the aftermath of the 1641 Ulster Rebellion', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan, and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 219-241.

[199] C. Langley, 'Sheltering under the Covenant: the National Covenant, Orthodoxy and the Irish rebellion, 1638-1644', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 96/2 (2017), pp. 137-160.

[200] J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 124.

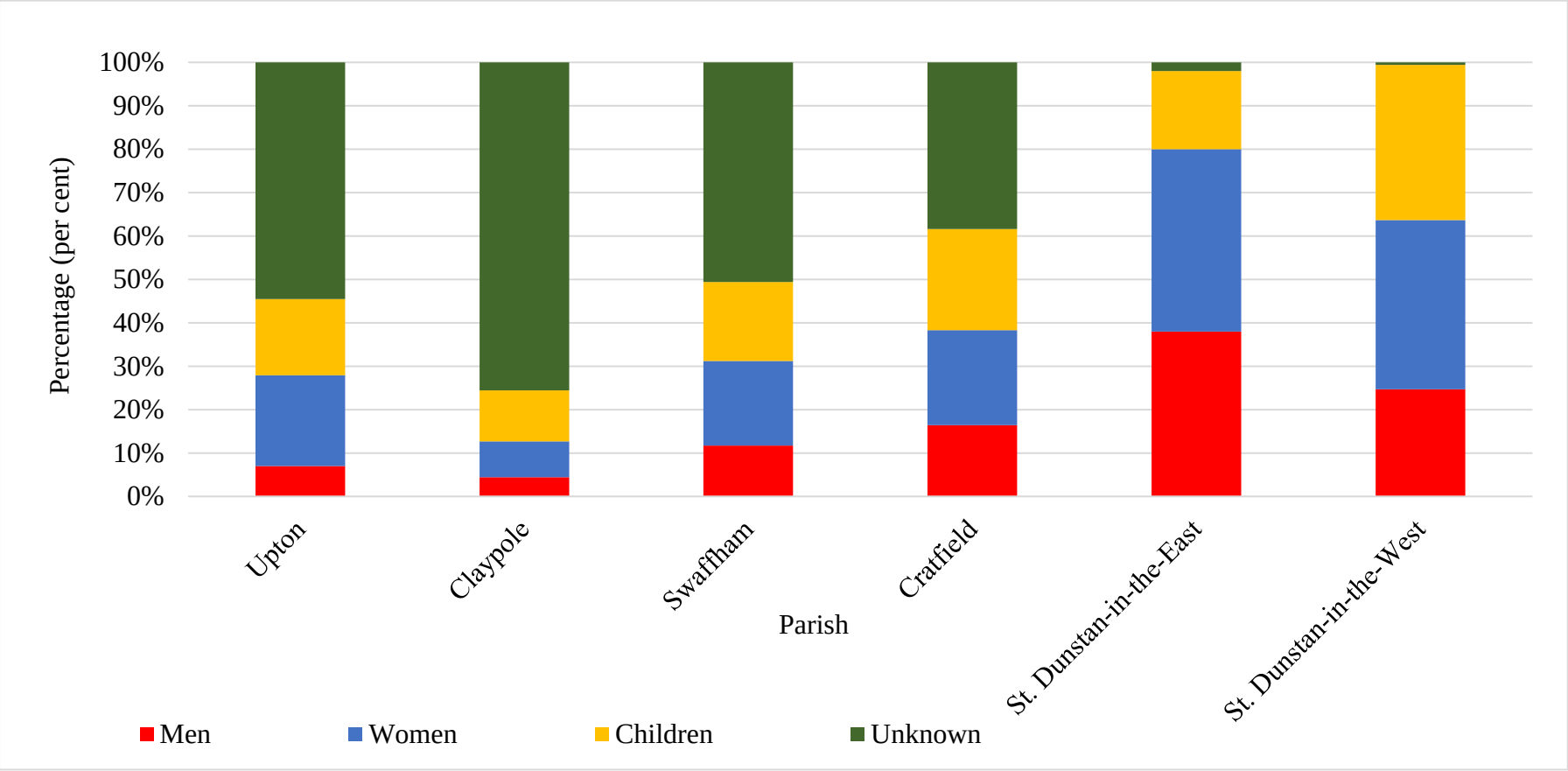
indicated by figure 2.1. [201] This data corresponds to the sending over to England of women and children from Ireland. A letter sent by the Council of Ireland (dated 15 November 1641) to the Commons in England noted:

> forasmuch as the City of Dublin is not able to entertain and nourish such Multitudes of poor distressed People who are stripped of all they have by the Rebels; they have thought fit to… cause the Women and Children to be transported by Ship into England; and do recommend them to the Charity of all good Christians, desiring them that they will take some Commiseration of their Distress and great Necessity, and extend some Relief towards them by making Contributions.[202]

[201] The statistics calculated for Figure 2.1 and Tables 2.1 to 2.5 are derived from, NA, PR1709, Upton churchwardens' accounts (1640-1644); PR1710, Upton constables' accounts (1640-1666); LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/1, Claypole churchwardens' accounts (1647-1651); CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/2, Claypole constables' accounts (1642, 1649-1651); NRO, PD 52/72, Parish records of Swaffham, churchwardens accounts (1627-1652); L. A. Botelho (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of Cratfield, 1640-1660* (Suffolk Records Society Series volume 42, Woodbridge, 1999); LMA, P69/DUN1/B/008/MS07882/001, St. Dunstan-in-the-East churchwardens' account book (1635-1661); P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, St. Dunstan-in-the-West churchwardens' accounts (1641-1645); P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004, St. Dunstan-in-the-West churchwardens' accounts (1645-1651).

[202] This letter was read out on 13 December 1641 in the Commons and in the Lords the following day. *LJ*, IV, p. 473; D' Ewes, p. 278.

Figure 2.1: Percentage of men, women and children who fled Ireland recorded as receiving one-off payments of relief in six English parishes (1641-1651).



A similar report from the Lord Justices and Privy Council in Ireland to the Commons (4 March 1642) highlighted that refugees were also being transported from other Irish port towns and cities,

> Wee have had some succors from thence and soe beene enabled, to keep this Cittie [Dublin] as a place of Refuge, for as many of ye p[er]sons of ye poore distressed Protestants, who could get hither as God was pleased to preserve from ye bloody hands of ye Rebells, who had destroy[e]d them of all their Estates and fortunes. Not to mention those who have yet any kinde of subsistence of their owne, whereby to live, nor those sent from hence into England, and from Munster and Ulster into England.[203]

Table 2.1 shows the percentage of men and women from Ireland – those receiving relief from parish officers – recorded travelling alone or as the sole adult accompanying children. Women were most often recorded travelling alone in the city of London, 31.3 per cent of female refugees recorded in St Dunstan-in-the-East and 43.4 per cent in St. Dunstan-in-the-West. Outside the capital these figures fell significantly. In Upton only 7.9 per cent of female refugees travelled alone, with a further 4.5 per cent accompanied by children, and only 2.9 per cent in Claypole travelling alone with 5.9 percent accompanied by children. Fewer women travelled alone through rural parishes in England likely due to the perceived and often real threat of molestation by soldiers.

[203] *CJ*, II, p. 480; *PJ*, I, p. 46; NLI, MS 2542, Copies of letters of the Lords Justices and Privy Council of Ireland to the King …re the progress of the rebellion in Ireland (1641-1644), pp. 173-176.

Table 2.1: The percentage of male and female refugees receiving relief alone or as the sole adult with children in six English parishes (1641-1651).

Parish		Women travelling alone	Woman travelling as the sole adult with children	Men travelling alone	Men travelling as the sole adult with children
Upton	Percentage of refugees of the same sex	7.9%	4.5%	16.7%	0
	Percentage of all refugees of known sex	3.6%	2.1%	2.6%	0
Claypole	Percentage of refugees of the same sex	2.9%	5.9%	5.6%	0
	Percentage of all refugees of known sex	1.0%	2.0%	1.0%	0
Swaffham	Percentage of refugees of the same sex	26.7%	6.7%	33.3%	0
	Percentage of all refugees of known sex	10.5%	2.6%	7.9%	0
Cratfield	Percentage of refugees of the same sex	18.8%	6.3%	50.0%	0

	Percentage of all refugees of known sex	6.7%	2.2%	13.3%	0
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	Percentage of refugees of the same sex	31.3%	3.9%	44.0%	2.6%
	Percentage of all refugees of known sex	13.4%	1.7%	17.1%	1.0%
St. Dunstan-in-the-West	Percentage of refugees of the same sex	43.4%	14.6%	54.4%	6.4%
	Percentage of all refugees of known sex	17.1%	5.8%	13.5%	1.6%

By 1640 crimes perpetrated by soldiers were a significant grievance across England. As Barbara Donagan has highlighted, in the context of the Thirty Years' War, 'behind all the war's rhetoric of heroic action…lay anxiety England could, like Germany, become the victim of undisciplined armies and, more generally, of men released from the restraints that protected society from lapse into barbarism.'[204] In a treatise entitled *Warre-Like Treatise of the Pike* (1642), veteran soldier Donald Lupton attempted to rehabilitate the position of soldiers and stem civilian fears.

> There is no Calling under Heaven which hath not beene by slanderous and malignant Spirits traduced and vilified: and amongst all, none hath been more disgrac'd with opprobrious language than this of a Soldier…there have been those who have condemn'd the Calling for the Persons, and the Persons in the Calling.[205]

He argued that it was unjust to blame all soldiers for the crimes of the few.[206] Reports of the abuses committed by soldiers, however, invalidated Lupton's assertions. In an account of Prince Rupert's attack on Bolton in Lancashire (28 May 1644) an 'eye-witness' related how the Cavalier soldiers mercilessly attacked the people of Bolton and those residing within four or five miles of the town, 'killing, destroying, and spoiling all they could reach, and crying out, where is your Roundheads God now'.[207] Controls on the conduct of soldiers were encouraged as maintenance of reciprocal standards – safety of messengers, granting quarter and terms of prisoner exchange, for example – were of mutual interest to both sides.[208] The realities of war, however, often meant codes of conduct were not maintained. In the case of the 'massacre at Bolton', the sacking of the town adhered to the

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[204] B. Donagan, 'Codes and conduct in the English Civil War', *Past and Present,* 118/1 (1988), pp. 72-73.

[205] D. Lupton, *Warre-Like Treatise of the Pike* (London, 1642), pp. 2-3.

[206] C. Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (London, 1992), p. 44.

[207] Anon., *An exact relation of the bloody and barbarous massacre at Bolton in the moors in Lancashire, May 28* (London, 1644), p. 3. Rupert's taskforce supposedly included Irish soldiers.

[208] Anon., *Orders presented to His Majesty by advice of the Lords & Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford* (Oxford, 1644); Anon., *Laws and ordinances of warre, established for the better conduct of the army* (London, 1643).

laws of war as the Parliamentarians failed to surrender, though equally Colonel Rigby the commander of Bolton did not refuse a summons to surrender. Regardless, the alleged murder, rape and plundering of civilians outside the town broke military law. Such offences 'rendered an army disorderly and therefore inefficient, led to difficulties with civilians' and an 'unwillingness to provide supplies and quarter'.[209]

The threat of attack by soldiers no doubt encouraged refugees, particularly women, to form travelling bands for protection as they crossed rural areas. Upon safe arrival in an urban centre many of these groups then separated. This would account for the greater percentage of single women receiving relief in the city of London. It also explains why across England a greater proportion of refugees travelled in pairs or groups, which formed based on familial ties, community ties and shared destinations.

Kinship groups consisted of siblings, parents, spouses, grandchildren and in-laws. This was a convenient and natural group formation as many families fled Ireland together. On 23 November 1642, Katherine Fouller and her sister travelled through the parish of Cratfield with four children. Their husbands had both been 'slayne by the rebels' and they duly received 1s from the local churchwarden.[210] On 20 August 1647, Katherine Smith was recorded travelling with her sister and seven children through the parish of Addlethorpe, Lincolnshire, and received 1s 8d.[211] In Dunstan West (7 June 1644) Mary Langhon was recorded receiving relief alongside her daughter and two grandchildren. Both women had been 'spoled of all theire substance' and their husbands had been 'slayne in Ireland'. They subsequently received 2s 6d.[212] Travelling with a spouse across England was less common, as fewer men fled Ireland in the aftermath of rebellion, though in Upton, Claypole and Cratfield around a third of the refugees of known gender travelled with a spouse (Table 2.2). In Claypole, for example, a gunsmith who was travelling with his wife and two children was given 4d.[213] Meanwhile, John 'Herbirt', who was travelling with his wife, sister and children, received 1s from the churchwardens in Cratfield. His father 'Capteyn Herbirt' having been 'babarously slaine' by the rebels.[214]

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[209] Donagan, 'Codes and conduct', pp. 79-81, 83-87.

[210] Botelho, *Churchwardens' accounts of Cratfield*, p. 49.

[211] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, item 4, f. 9, Addlethorpe Constables' Accounts (1637-1685).

[212] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, f. 678v.

[213] LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO1/2, f. 5v, Claypole constables' accounts (1642, 1649-1651).

[214] Botelho (ed.), *Churchwardens' Accounts of Cratfield*, p. 48.

Table 2.2: The number of refugees travelling and receiving relief with spouses and children in six English parishes (1641-1651).

Parish		Husbands and wives without children	Husbands and wives with children	Percentage of refugees of known sex travelling with a spouse, with or without children
Upton	Instances	2	13	33%
	Total number of individuals	4	60	
Claypole	Instances	4	5	34%
	Total number of individuals	8	26	
Swaffham	Instances	0	0	0
	Total number of individuals	0	0	
Cratfield	Instances	0	2	33.3%
	Total number of individuals	0	15	
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	Instances	3	5	8.7%
	Total number of individuals	6	20	
St. Dunstan-in-the-West	Instances	12	11	18.1%
	Total number of individuals	24	67	

Other groups of refugees likely formed based on community ties; groups of friends and neighbours who had lived together in Ireland. Poor lists compiled by the constables of Youghal show that a significant number of the refugees who fled to the port for safety during the early stages of the rebellion came from the same surrounding towns and villages. Robert Bateman recorded numerous refugees arriving from Whitechurch, Kilkenny, Castletown, Tipperary and Waterford.[215] Refugees from these areas may have formed into groups as they travelled to Youghal, with those travelling onto England remaining together for the rest of their journeys. Unfortunately, the details of the relationships between members of refugee groups are absent in much of the documentation and are impossible to determine. In Dunstan West, Honory Lee, Katherine Whyte, and Mary Joanes, three seemingly unrelated women, travelled through the parish together and collectively received 1s.[216] Similarly, in Claypole two gentlewomen with eight children received 2s in 1649, 'their husbands slaine by the Rebells in Ireland & have a certificate from the Parliament'.[217]

Shared destinations contributed to the formation of these groups, most acutely for first and second generation New English refugees. New English settlers from the Elizabethan and Jacobean plantation schemes hailed predominately from north Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire and the south-west of England. These areas of England had been specifically targeted for recruitment for the plantations due to their geographical proximity to Ireland and their pre-existing communication links with Ireland through the western ports. It was deemed essential that harmonious neighbourhoods be maintained through the planting of large numbers of people from pre-existing communities.[218] Consequently, it is possible that first and second generation New English formed groups to return to shared parishes of birth, parents' birth or previous settlement. Establishing a specific destination of travel was more difficult for third generation plus New English, who had not resided in

[215] Chatsworth, CM/23/115, Robert Bateman's list of the poor without the Southgate at Youghal (17 August 1642).

[216] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, f. 623v.

[217] LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/1, f. 2.

[218] M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 46-50; R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: The Settlement of East Ulster 1600-1641* (Cork, 1985), p. 33; M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), p. 60.

England for over a generation. Those familiar with the geographical origins of their ancestors, last resident in England, perhaps travelled to these areas. Others perhaps had no specific destination in mind, only the desire to reach a place of safety and security.

Table 2.3: The number of ministers, 'gentlemen' and 'gentlewomen' receiving relief in six English parishes (1641-1651).[219]

Parish	Number of ministers	Number of 'gentlemen'	Number of 'gentlewomen'
Upton	3	5	2
Claypole	4	4	17
Swaffham	1	1	0
Cratfield	2	0	2
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	29	1	3
St. Dunstan-in-the-West	24	8	8

The smallest contingent of refugees receiving relief in England were men, as those displaced by the rebellion were typically conscripted in Ireland to bolster the Protestant army. It was typically only those men of relative wealth and status who were able to escape Ireland and avoid military service. These higher status individuals included ministers and members of the gentry. While these sub-categories of refugee have not received much attention within the historiography, Langley has provided an informative, albeit broad, study of the reception of refugee ministers in Scotland. Unlike normal supplicants, Langley found that ministers usually directed their requests for relief to higher Kirk courts – provincial synods or the National General Assembly – rather than local

[219] The spouses and children of these individuals have been excluded from this table.

parish officials. This allowed their stories of suffering to reach a wider audience and naturally generated greater amounts of aid.[220]

A similar strategy for relief can be seen in England, where the majority of ministers travelled to the London metropolis to petition the Committee for Contribution and/or the Houses of Parliament for relief. On several occasions ministers in London grouped together to submit petitions.[221] On 27 September 1642, for example, twenty ministers submitted a petition to the Lords,

> humbly shewing unto this high and honorable assembly that wheras yo[u]r poore petitioners, being latly aryved in this Kingdome and destitute of any lyvlihood to maintaine themselves and the great chardg being depryved of their spirituall and temporall livings by the rebells, having stood out to the last, still hoping for releif, which they could not attaine, and being now in a miserable condition, and not having received any former contribution can not obtaine any benefit or sustenance […] Their humble request to yo[u]r hono[u]rs is, to afford yo[u]r petitioners the benefit of the collection moneys the next fast day to bee collected within the suburbs, and outparishes of London and liberties of Westminster, or to allow and grant them such other maintenance and relief, for there present lyvlihood.[222]

This petition was not accepted by Parliament and so another petition was subsequently delivered.[223] While the outcome of the second petition is unclear, as the petition is undated, ministers were able to acquire greater sums of money from central parliamentary

[220] C. Langley, 'Sheltering under the Covenant: the National Covenant, orthodoxy and the Irish rebellion, 1638-1644', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 96/2 (2017), pp. 145-156.

[221] PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/127, f. 32, Petition of the distressed ministers of Ireland (5 July 1642); HL/PO/JO/10/1/132, f. 380, Petition of distressed clergy of Ireland resident in and about the city of London, to the earl of Holland (29 August 1642); HL/PO/JO/10/1/133, f. 155, Petition of certain distressed ministers lately come from Ireland, deprived of their livings by the rebels; pray to be relieved out of the collections made the next fast-day (26 September 1642).

[222] HL/PO/JO/10/1/133, f. 163, Petition of distressed ministers of Ireland, praying for further relief out of contributions to be made in London, Westminster, Southwark, and the suburbs thereof (27 September 1642).

[223] PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/133, f. 162, A similar petition (undated).

authorities than from parish officers. Indeed, the Committee of Contribution gave £6 to a minister named Ambrose Barcroft, £10 to Andrew MacDonnell and £50 to Archibald Adair, bishop of Waterford, in comparison to the few shillings or pence churchwardens and constables were able to spare.[224] Consequently, only a handful of ministers sought relief from parish officers outside the capital, presumably only as a temporary means of subsistence whilst travelling.

Young further listed the wives and widows of religious ministers as a significant sub-category of the refugees in Scotland.[225] In England these women also appear in parish officers' accounts, though they are not as numerous as Young indicates for Scotland. In Bressingham, Norfolk, an Irish minister's wife received 3d, 18 January 1645, 'her husband (as she saith) being slane in Ierish wares by the Rebells.'[226] Similarly, in Addlethorpe another minister's wife received 6d on 11 March 1646.[227] In Dunstan West, a total of ten women are identified in the accounts as being the wives and widows of ministers. One of these women was Elizabeth Leader, a 'poore widowe whose husband and 2 of her children were killed at Waterford in Ireland by the Rebells and shee herselfe so wounded that a peece of her skull was taken out of her head and lay a long tyme in the hospital for cure of her wounds'.[228]

Relief to the wives and widows of ministers was not common in England so the identification of these women by churchwardens and constables is noteworthy. The occupations of male refugees were rarely recorded by parish officials and in most cases absent husbands were only mentioned if they had been killed in Ireland. The position of ministers was clearly deemed important enough that the details of their families needed recording. Besides being exemplars of the anti-Protestant nature of the rebellion, these men were also likely 'gentlemen' which afforded their spouses a certain level of respectability. This respectability did not always translate into greater sums of charity being provided, as status was not the sole factor which determined the extent of relief. In

[224] SPO, SP 28/193/3, f. 63v, Collections for distressed Protestants in Ireland London and Centre Administration folder.

[225] Young, '"Escaping massacre"', pp. 228-231.

[226] NRO, Microfilm MF/948/4, Parish records of Bressingham churchwardens' accounts (1581-1594, 1600-1680).

[227] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, item 4, f. 6.

[228] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004, f. 100r.

Addlethorpe the wife of a minister received 6d, while a traveller from Ireland received 1s and a man named Thomas Hartley received 7s.[229] In general, however, status was often used by constables and churchwardens to determine how much aid should be dispensed, not least to assist in maintaining the standard of living to which these higher status individuals were accustomed.[230]

'Gentlemen' and 'gentlewomen' also appear in parish officers' accounts, though in similarly low numbers (Table 2.3). In Claypole only twenty-one gentlemen and women were recorded receiving relief, out of a total of 410 refugees recorded receiving relief between 1641 and 1651. Similarly, in Dunstan West, only sixteen gentlemen and women out of a total of 502 refugees were given relief. This included 2s given to Mr Hendley 'a Gent who left all he had in Ireland' in 1642 and 1s given to Mrs Petley 'an English gentlewoman that came from Ireland in great distresse' on 26 June 1644.[231] Gentility represented the most fundamental dividing line in early modern English society. Inclusion in the gentry implied a certain homogeny of social position, though in reality there was significant differentiation between the various degrees of 'gentlemen': the titled gentry (such as baronets and knights), esquires and mere gentlemen.

By the mid-seventeenth century the qualifications for gentility, below the level of a knight, were never rigorously maintained. The College of Arms, also known as the College of Heralds, kept an official register of the gentry and heraldic visitations were occasionally conducted, but such visitations were rare and 'never kept pace with the waxing and waning of family fortunes in the counties'.[232] Furthermore, the landed incomes necessary for 'gentleman' status varied across England. A yeoman in the south could potentially be worth more than a gentleman in the north due to variations in land value. Consequently, the recognition accorded to wealth, education, life-style, and the exercise of authority became more important than formal qualifications for gentility. To be a 'gentleman' was to be forever acting out a role, which in the localities allowed prominent local figures to

[229] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, item 4, ff. 4, 6, 12.

[230] For the relationship between status and relief see, pp. 111-114, 205-206.

[231] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, ff. 623v, 678v.

[232] K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982), pp. 23-25, quoted at p. 24.

attain pseudo-gentle status.[233] How then were local parish officials able to identify refugees who were members of the gentry?

Some refugees may have been able to highlight their gentility through external markers of status, such as dress. In 1604 the statutes that had been key to sumptuary legislation under Elizabeth I had been repealed, meaning that particular styles of clothing were no longer off limits to wealthy artisans, tradesmen and merchants, amongst others, who did not possess 'gentle' status.[234] Many members of the gentry though continued to actively pursue the latest fashions as they wished to maintain social distinctions.[235] It is therefore possible that higher status refugees, those who had been able to leave Ireland with some of their material possessions, were recognisable by their outward appearance. Yet, external markers of wealth and status could not have been the only measure by which gentility was assessed. In Addlethorpe, for example, two refugee families were recorded receiving relief from the parish constables. Both families were accompanied by servants and had suffered considerable material losses as a result of the rebellion, implying that these refugees were of a wealthier class and presumably of a higher status. On 20 April 1646, 2s 6d was paid to Mary Hall, her eleven children, sister and maid who had come from Ireland with a pass and had sustained losses of £1000.[236] Similarly, on 13 August 1646, 2s was paid to Margret Dinerix [Devereux], her sister Mary, their nine children and a nurse who also came from Ireland with a pass and had sustained losses of £700.[237] Neither family were described as 'gentle' suggesting that material losses and maintenance of servants were not sufficient proof of status.

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[233] See, M. Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (London, 2009); P. Madden, 'Gentility', in R. Radulescu and A. Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 18-34; M. G. Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the privilege of a few with the common good: sumptuary laws in medieval and early modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39/3 (2009), pp. 597-617; D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985), p. 21.

[234] Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the privilege', p. 605.

[235] L. Kirtio, ''The inordinate excess in apparel': sumptuary legislation in Tudor England', *Constellations*, 3/1 (2012), p. 26. See also, Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 25; F. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Law and Personal Regulation in England* (London, 1926), pp. 249-250.

[236] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, item 4, f. 3.

[237] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, item 4, f. 4.

Written proof of gentility may then have been required by parish officers, though without surviving passes and certificates it is impossible to ascertain what written evidence or assurances were necessary. At the very least, possession of passes, letters or certificates had some bearing on the amount of relief dispensed to the gentry. In Upton, two gentlemen and their families were given 1s on their journey to London, having a letter from York from General Sydnam Poyntz (commander-in-chief of the Northern Association and governor of York). Another gentleman and his family were given 8d, having a letter patent from the 'high Court of Parliament', and an Irish gentlewomen with a pass was given 8d. In contrast, the gentlemen and women who travelled through Upton without passes only received 6d.[238]

Few members of the gentry received relief in the localities, by virtue of their position in society. Pre-existing credit networks, economic links, family connections and friends offered members of the gentry a means of subsistence upon arrival in England. A pertinent example of this can be seen in the experience of James Ussher, Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh. At the outbreak of the rebellion Ussher was initially granted a pension of £400 by Parliament and the vacant see of Carlisle by the King for his subsistence. As civil war approached, Ussher aligned himself with the Royalist cause and subsequently moved to Oxford in 1642 where he was accommodated by the King. The surrender of Oxford in June 1646 marked the end of the First Civil War in England and the defeat of Charles I. At this time Ussher returned to London where he was maintained for the rest of his life by his friend Elizabeth Mordant, the dowager countess of Peterborough.[239]

In the same manner as ministers, those who sought alternative and more substantial subsistence looked to the Houses of Parliament and the Committee for Contribution. It is important to note that for refugees to submit a petition to these government bodies the cost of hiring a scrivener needed to be covered. According to Thomas Powell's *Direction for the Search of Records* (1622) legal clerks could charge 8d per sheet, with an additional fee for certification. Broadly speaking, scriveners tended to charge fees in line with Powell's basic guidelines, though costs could be raised dependent upon the client and scale of the task. Higher charges were naturally associated with professional scriveners, 'civil

[238] NA, PR1710, pp. 50, 61, 62, 64, 73.

[239] *ODNB.*

servants', meaning it was generally only wealthier refugees who were able to petition the government for relief. Local clerks or scribes in the parish could be hired for much more reasonable rates, so it was not impossible for the lower sort of refugee to pay for a petition.[240] These petitions were likely presented at Quarter Sessions rather than to Parliament, such as the cases of Elizabeth Browne, Alice Stonier and Alice Binny in Staffordshire.[241]

In regards to the ethnic identities of the refugees, due to the complexity of the ethno-religious background of Ireland, historians have typically sought to locate the refugees from Ireland within the distinct historiographical ethnic groupings of New English, Old English, Native Irish and Ulster Scot. In general, it is agreed that the majority of the refugees from Ireland were returning 'migrants' or 'settlers'; Protestant New English and Ulster Scottish planters of the Elizabethan and Jacobean plantation schemes.[242] Kathleen Noonan importantly acknowledged the diverse ethnic composition of the refugees from Ireland in her unpublished PhD thesis. The body of her thesis, however, treated the refugees as a homogenous group of 'Irish', resulting in the incorrect conclusion that the 1641 refugees established the first permanent settlement of Irish in London.[243]

A recent study showed that a significant proportion of the refugees were actually Old English, at least those who had converted to Protestantism, and perhaps even included some Protestant Native Irish and Catholic New English.[244] Analysis of the surnames of refugees, as recorded in churchwardens' accounts, affirms this view. Tables 2.4 and 2.5 show the mixture of the ethnic origins of the surnames of refugees who received relief in Dunstan East and Dunstan West. The origins of these surnames have been deduced using Edward MacLysaght's *The Surnames of Ireland* and Robert Bell's *The Book of Ulster*

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[240] J. Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 238-242.

[241] SRO, Q/SR/251, ff. 44, 46, 58, 61, Staffordshire quarter sessions rolls (July 1642); Q/SO/5, Staffordshire quarter sessions order book (1642), p. 132.

[242] Cooksley and Atherton, 'Staffordshire', pp. 57, 60; Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, pp. 33-43; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp. 66, 177-222, 291-292; P. W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603* (3 volumes, London, 1981), II, p. 132.

[243] K. Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree: Irish immigration to London in the mid-seventeenth century, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1989), pp. 2-3, 202, 237-243.

[244] B. Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651', *Midland History*, 42/2 (2017), p. 203.

Surnames.[245] Examples of Gaelic Irish surnames include Meade, More, Conar, Boyne and Deane, while examples of New English names include Hill, Eaton, Booth and Waller. The use of surnames to establish ethnicity is not a fool-proof methodology, but work conducted by Patrick Fitzgerald has shown that 'such an approach can provide a general guide to the ethnic composition of migrants from Ireland.'[246]

[245] E. MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland* (5th edn., Dublin, 1980); R. Bell, *The Book of Ulster Surnames* (Belfast, 1988).

[246] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 204. See also, P. Fitzgerald, '"Like Crickets to the crevice of a Brew-house", poor Irish migrants in England, 1560-1640', in P. O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage and Identity* (5 volumes, London, 1992), I, pp. 13-35.

Table 2.4: Ethnic origins of the surnames of refugees receiving relief in St. Dunstan-in-the-East, city of London (1641-1651).

St. Dunstan-in-the-East	1641	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651
Gaelic Irish		1									
Old English	1	4					1		1		
New English		1				1					
English	1	5				1		1	2		
Scottish		2	1	2							
Welsh		2				1					
Indeterminate		3		2			1	1	2		
Unknown		19		1	1	2		2	2		2
Total number of refugees receiving relief	3	59	14	48	71	10	16	40	70	2	31

Table 2.5: Ethnic origins of the surnames of refugees receiving relief in St. Dunstan-in-the-West, city of London (1641-1651).

St. Dunstan-in-the-West	1641	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649	1650	1651
Gaelic Irish	1	2	6		1						
Old English	1	9	8	1	1				1	2	
New English		3	5	2	1	1	1	3	1		
English		4	13	16	2			1		2	
Scottish		3	4	3	3					3	
Welsh			4	2							
Indeterminate		10	11	3	3		1	1	2	3	
Unknown	1	8	49	26	14	2		1	7	7	
Total number of refugees receiving relief	8	48	252	55	44	11	2	8	11	44	11

In the 1640s contemporaries were aware of the differences between various groups of refugees, despite describing them collectively as 'Protestants', 'distressed Irish come out of Ireland' or 'poor Irish'. On 20 June 1642, the Commons ordered that twenty pounds be given to Sir Rowland St. John for the 'relief of many Poor, both English and Irish, lately come out of the Kingdom of Ireland'.[247] Likewise, in a letter to the earl of Leicester the mayor of Chester noted that 'seven hundred English' and 'many hundreds of distressed Irish' had fled from Ireland into the city.[248] In the context of the parish, constables and churchwardens typically used 'Irish', 'English' and 'come out of Ireland', or variants thereof, to distinguish refugees. These labels provide no real indication of the ethnicities of the refugees. The use of these labels 'gives a better indication of the attitudes and reception of refugees by local officials than about ethnicity itself.'[249] But, a comparison between the ethnic origins of refugee surnames and these labels shows that, for the most part, those with 'English' or 'New English' names were described as 'come out of Ireland' while those with 'Gaelic Irish' names were normally described as 'Irish'. Hugh Booth, William Eaton and Mary Harrison, for example, have 'New English' surnames and were described as 'come out of Ireland'. Henry Boyne and Richard Conar have Gaelic Irish surnames and were described as 'Irish'.[250]

It is important to acknowledge that this discussion of ethnicity overlooks the issue of self-identification within an ethnic group and external perceptions of ethnicity. In the seventeenth century the tensions between different constructions of ethnicity were prevalent between residents of England and Ireland. The Old English, for example, regarded themselves as loyal English subjects, yet at various times throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were perceived as either 'degenerate English' or even Irish by those in England.[251] This oversight is symptomatic of the limitations of the

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[247] *CJ*, II, p. 633. For more on Sir Rowland St. John see, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 528-530

[248] CRO, DCC/14/15, Letter from Thomas Cowper (Mayor), William Gamuil (Alderman) etc. to the earl of Leicester (14 January 1642).

[249] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 205.

[250] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, ff. 623r, 623v; P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004, ff. 98v, 130r.

[251] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 203; See also, Edmund Spenser, *The View of the Present State of Ireland* (London, 1596); A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (1966); A. Clarke, 'Ireland and the general crisis', *Past and Present*, 48/1 (1970), pp. 79-99; D. Beer Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (New York, 1966), pp. 20-31; J. Ohlmeyer, '"Making Ireland English": the early seventeenth-century Irish peerage', in B.

documentation, which make it difficult to determine exactly how individual refugees understood and constructed their own identities. The final section of this chapter will ameliorate these limitations through three case studies, in which individual migration patterns of refugees will be reconstructed. This approach makes it possible to consider refugee identities without trying to fit refugees into particular categories of identity using insufficient evidence, as homes and belongings represent different facets of one's identity. What becomes apparent in this analysis is the extent to which migration and displacement could impact refugee identities, particularly notions of 'home'.

'Home' is a multi-dimensional concept and can be defined as 'a dwelling, a homeland, or even a constellation of relationships'.[252] Home is not necessarily a singular place or state of being.[253] One can have multiple 'homes' – a country, city or town, the place where one's family lives, where one usually lives or other places and relationships – creating multiple senses of belonging.[254] The experience of displacement and migration, however, can alter how one constructs identity. As Shelley Mallett notes 'the conditions under which people leave their homelands, their journeys beyond and away from home and their destinations are all said to impact on…identity'.[255]

The migration of refugees across Ireland into England, Scotland, Wales and the Continent was a complex process which often involved a series of incremental movements within a period of displacement. Dirk Hoerder, Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen identified three phases in the process of migration: the decision-making phase in which an individual or group choses to depart from a particular place, the voyaging phase which consists of the physical movement of people between places, and the settling phase where migrates enter a new society. In the case of 'multiple migrations' these phases would be repeated multiple times 'either as back-and-forth moves along the same geographical trajectory or to further

MacCurta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and its Consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 1-23; K. Noonan, 'The cruel pressure of an enraged barbarous people': Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda', *Historical Journal,* 41/1 (1998), pp. 151-177; A. Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 130-131.

[252] Mallett, 'Understanding home', p. 77.

[253] S. Ahmed, 'Home and away: narratives of migration and estrangement', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2/3 (1999), p. 330.

[254] Mallett, 'Understanding home', p. 78.

[255] Mallett, 'Understanding home', p. 78.

new destinations'.[256] Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen's three phase model is beneficial when studying 'ordinary' migration, the commonplace movement of people typically for economic purposes undertaken during an individual's lifetime. Additional clarification is needed when considering 'extraordinary' migration. That is movement caused by an event which has the potential to endanger life and results in displacement.

Figure 2.2: A model of the process of migration during a period of displacement.

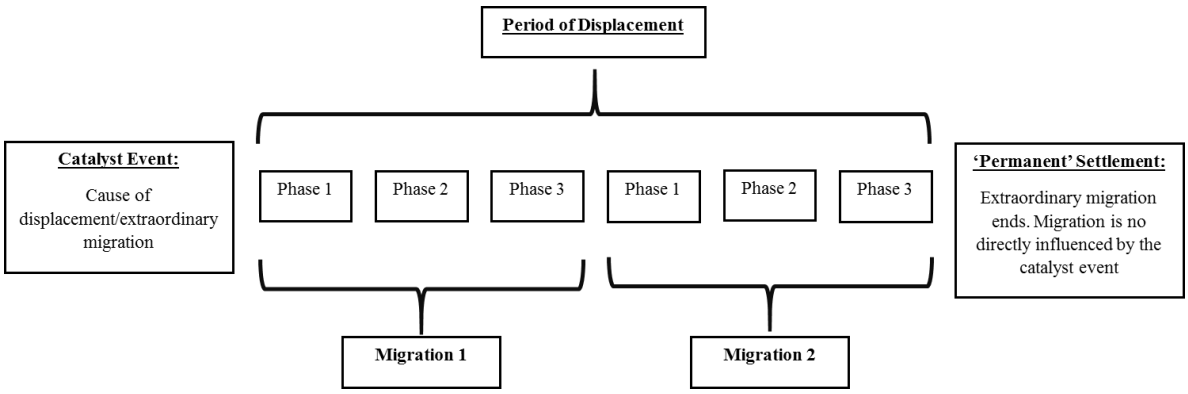


Figure 2.2 expands upon the three-phase model, providing a new model specifically relating to extraordinary migration. Displacement begins with a catalyst event which is followed, in the subsequent period of displacement, by refugees progressing through the three migration phases: decision-making, voyaging and settling. These phases are typically repeated multiple times as a series of incremental migrations. The intention being to find safety and refuge – whether permanent or temporary – before future movements are undertaken. The displacement period ends once 'permanent' settlement has been established.

The definition of 'permanent' settlement requires further elaboration. Early modern Europe was a highly mobile society, meaning that over the course of one's lifetime it was common to have had multiple places of settlement.[257] In early modern Ireland, for

[256] D. Hoerder, J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen, 'Terminologies and concepts of migration research', in K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe, From the 17th Century to the Present* (Cambridge, 2007), p. xxvii.

[257] For an overview of European migration see, N. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 1994); H. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 40-50.

example, a number of Jacobean planters regarded their settlement in Ireland as a temporary situation, a 'step on the career ladder', after which time they would return to England.[258] During the period of displacement, it is also difficult to discern at what point refugees chose to establish 'permanent' settlement in a particular place. Consequently, for the purposes of this discussion 'permanent' settlement will be regarded as the point at which extraordinary migration ends and future migrations are no longer directly influenced by the catalyst event.[259]

Overall, this remains a fairly simplistic model of migration as it fails to consider external factors which would have influenced the decision-making of refugees within the voyaging phase. Factors which influenced refugee migration included the movement and activities of soldiers, garrison networks, the destruction of roads and bridges, communication between refugees and other travellers along road networks and accessibility to relief. Migration within the voyaging phase was therefore a fluid process continually changing as circumstances required. Regardless of the difficulties of this model it remains useful in highlighting the complexities of refugee migration, which subsequently impacted refugee identities.

Martin Ehala's notion of 'hot' and 'cold' ethnicities offers one example of how refugee identities could have been affected by the displacement caused by the Irish rebellion. 'Hot' and 'cold' ethnicities relates to the level of emotional attachment a person has to their ethnic group and how this effects collective behaviour. Those with a 'hot' ethnicity feel a strong emotional attachment to their ethnic group, which can be used to mobilise collective behaviour. Those with a 'cold' ethnicity have a low or absent emotional attachment to their ethnic group and participation in group action tends to be based on the rational calculation of personal benefits and costs. The stronger the ethnic group – militarily, economically, culturally and politically – whether real or perceived, the more likely the members of that group will have a 'cold' ethnicity and be motivated to action only on self-beneficial grounds.[260]

To shift from a 'cold' to a 'hot' ethnicity an event must take place which presents a threat. Members of the in-group – those 'under attack' – move to a higher emotional state

[258] Coolahan, 'Ideal communities', p. 73.

[259] Anthias, 'Intersectionality', pp. 229-249.

[260] M. Ehala, 'Hot and cold ethnicities: modes of Ethnolinguistic Vitality', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32/2 (2011), pp. 192-197;

and construct rigid boundaries between themselves and others for protection. Attitudes towards out-groups consequently become increasingly negative.[261] In the context of the 1640s, it is highly likely that some refugees moved from a 'cold' to a 'hot' state in response to the threat of the rebellion. In the first half of the seventeenth century, economic pragmatism in Munster and Ulster meant planter society became a rather 'hybridized culture'.[262] Most settlements breached the original articles of plantation: undertakers were not resident on their seignories, the majority of English tenants in Munster resided on remote estates rather than in villages and towns, and importantly Native Irish tenants were often maintained; despite orders on 22 August 1611 requiring them to remove themselves from the precincts of the undertakers and the London companies.[263] The subsequent cultural interplay between the Scottish, English and Irish meant that in many areas there were no clear divides between the planters and natives.[264]

At the outbreak of the rebellion the line between planter and Native Irish became more defined as the New English and Ulster Scots, the 'in-group', came under threat. Some planters maintained positive relationships with the Native Irish, as evidenced by testimonies of Irish neighbours protecting Protestants from rebel soldiers.[265] Being targeted by the rebels, however, whether for ethnic, religious, economic or political reasons, meant some refugees shifted from a 'cold' to a 'hot' ethnic state as they drew closer to collective religious and ethnic identities. These collective identities were propagated widely in English print, as pamphlets presented the rebellion in Ireland as a dichotomous battle between the barbarous Catholic Irish and the poor distressed Protestants of Ireland. In practical terms, refugees perhaps believed that parish officials would be endeared towards

[261] Ehala, 'Hot and cold ethnicities', p. 197.

[262] V. Carey, '"Neither good English nor good Irish": bi-lingualism and identity formation in sixteenth-century Ireland', in H. Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), p. 51; M. Coolahan, 'Ideal communities and planter women's writing in seventeenth-century Ireland', *Parergon*, 29/2 (2012), pp. 74-75.

[263] T. Ó hAnnracháin, 'Plantation, 1580-1641', in A. Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 298-301; *Calendar of Carew*, VI, pp. 87-88. By 1621 it was deemed that one-quarter of undertakers' land could be occupied by Irish tenants.

[264] P. Fiztgerald, 'Scottish migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century', in A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), p. 31.

[265] TCD, MS 839, ff. 10r-11v, Deposition of Henry Boyne (16 February 1642); MS 821, ff. 15r-16v, Deposition of Anna Hamilton (May 1642).

them if they identified more strongly with Protestantism and English or Scottish ethnic identities. The shift towards a 'hotter' ethnic identity also acted as an encouragement, beyond the immediate need for relief, to flee across the Irish Sea and return to England and Scotland, which were regarded as 'homelands' to various refugees.

The first case study explores the life of Charles Anthony, a refugee minister who fled Ireland in the summer of 1642. Charles was a first generation New English planter, who had been appointed vicar of the parish of Ballyscion in county Derry and resided in the town of Bellaghy. This was an area allocated to the Vintners' Company of London who were part of the Irish Society of London, a consortium of livery companies responsible for the plantation of Derry. In October 1641, as rumours of the rebellion reached the town, the inhabitants of Bellaghy took refuge in the fortified house of Henry Conway, an agent of the Vintners' Company. By the beginning of November the town had surrendered to the rebels, due to insufficient manpower and munitions. Around this time, Charles and another man named William Gardiner left Bellaghy in search of additional forces to 'beat back the enemy'. They travelled to Portnaw where they stayed for ten days at the castle of Thomas Church. Church was unable to offer them any further assistance so the pair subsequently travelled to Coleraine, a principal port town located at the mouth of the River Bann. After a further ten days Charles returned to Portnaw at the invitation of the aforementioned Thomas Church, who persuaded Charles to stay at the castle and practise his ministry.

Charles's residency at Portnaw lasted five weeks. By December 1641 rebel forces had successfully captured large parts of the nearby counties of Tyrone, Armagh and Down. Fearing the castle would soon be captured by the rebels, Church removed the inhabitants of Portnaw to Coleraine where a stronger, more organised resistance could be established. Conditions in Coleraine, however, were extremely poor due to a confluence of refugees seeking sanctuary in the town. A petition from the distressed people of Coleraine to the Lords and Commons in England related how more than 20,000 refugees fled to the town from the surrounding countryside,

> the inhabitants of the Towne being soe Charitable farr beyond their Ability in feeding and sustaining such a multitude were at the last brought into such misery by famine that many of them dyed for lack of sustenance And

> that there alsoe dyed through Cold and hunger within the walls of the small Towne not lesse then Six Thousand Soules.[266]

Many presumably died from disease, starvation and exposure resultant from overcrowding and a lack of resources. When the town was besieged by the rebels in April 1642 Charles estimated that around 220 people died each week. The town was relieved six weeks later by the earl of Antrim, at which time Charles was able to depart Coleraine for Dublin where he later gave his deposition on 12 June 1642.[267] Charles left Dublin in the summer of 1642 and returned to London, the place of his birth, where he was able to find 'permanent' settlement with his family: Edward Anthony (brother), Mary Sambrook (sister) and George Arnold (cousin). Charles's return to London thus marked the end of his period of displacement.

The case study of Charles Anthony highlights the complexity of refugee migration as Charles's period of displacement consisted of a series of incremental migrations. The movements of which were governed by various external factors, in particular the movement of rebel soldiers across Ulster. More importantly, Charles's settlement in London highlights how displacement influenced refugee identity construction through the shifting of conceptions of 'home'. While Charles did not immediately flee Ireland upon the outbreak of the rebellion, suggesting he retained some kind of attachment or sense of belonging to Ireland, as his period of displacement continued the loss of safety, security and a physical home left him in a state of 'homelessness'. In order to re-establish a 'home' Charles returned to his family in England, drawing upon past memories in order to create a sense of belonging.[268] These familial connections instilled a sense of safety and rootedness, an important emotional element of 'feeling at home'.[269] As W. Rybezynski notes, 'a sense of home and domestic well-being', including a sense of safety and security, 'is a fundamental human need that is deeply rooted in us, and that must be satisfied.'[270] In part, Charles's return to London was a pragmatic response to displacement and the need

[266] LMA, CLC/180/MS07428/017, f. 2688v, An abstract of a petition of the distressed town of Coleraine in Ireland (1642).

[267] TCD, MS 839, ff. 96r-97v, Deposition of Charles Anthony (12 June 1642).

[268] Ahmed, 'Home and away', p. 336.

[269] N. Yuval-Davis, *The Politics of Belonging Intersectional Contestations* (London, 2011), pp. 10-12.

[270] W. Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 217.

for economic subsistence. Returning to one's legally defined 'home'– the parish of one's birth or previous residence – entitled first and second generation New English refugees to local parish relief. Further to this, however, London was the geographical centre of Charles's familial relationships. Sociologists have noted the association between home and family, with some traditionalists suggesting that the link between the two is so strong that the terms are almost interchangeable.[271] While this view is contested, the case study shows the positive connection between home and family.[272]

The protection and relief offered to Charles by his family in the 1640s strengthened the sense of home and belonging he felt towards the socio-geographic space of the place of his birth. These feelings extended into his later life. In 1662 Charles acquired a new church living in Catterick, Yorkshire, where he resided until his death in 1685. Upon his death, Charles bequeathed,

> to my Cozen George Arnold of London Esq[ui]r[e], and to my Brother Edward Anthony of London Dray[per], and to S[i]r Jeremy Sambrook deputy [-] of the East Indea Company of London and to his Lady and to my Sister Mrs Mary Sambrook Of London widow and to each of them their Sons or Sons in law to each of their daughters or daughters in law fforty shillings to buy tokens Of my love.[273]

This highlights the continued sense of connectedness Charles felt with London and the familial relationships he retained there.

The second case study considers the displacement of Lady Mary Leigh, the widow of Sir Daniel Leigh first baronet of Tyrone (d. 1633). The initial stages of Lady Mary's departure from Ireland are unknown due to the absence of a deposition account. It seems

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[271] G. Jones, 'Experimenting with households and inventing "home"', *International Social Science Journal*, 52/2 (2000), pp. 183-194; J. Finch and L. Hayes, 'Inheritance, death and the concept of the home', *Sociology*, 28/2 (1994), pp. 417-433; N. Oakley, *The Sociology of Housework* (London, 1974).

[272] D. Wagner, 'The family: no haven', in D. Wagner (ed.), *Checkerboard Square: Culture and Resistance in a Homeless Community* (Boulder, 1999), pp. 45-66; J. Wardhaugh, 'The unaccommodated women: home, homelessness and identity', *The Sociological Review*, 47/1 (1999), pp. 91-109.

[273] West Yorkshire Archive, Leeds, R D/AP1/6/20, Will and Inventory of Charles Anthony, clerk, of Catherick (1685).

likely that she fled from county Tyrone, where her late husband had been a principal landowner, to London where she received £30 in relief on 23 April 1642 from the Committee for Contribution.[274] This was the Committee set up over the winter of 1641/2 by the Long Parliament in England to distribute the money collected by the Act of Speedy Contribution and Loan (January 1642). By December 1650 Mary was in receipt of a Parliamentary pension and was listed as one of a number of women intending to return to Ireland.[275] After Lady Mary returned to Ireland she married William Smith, an alderman of Dublin. The couple are recorded owning property in county Tyrone in the Civil Survey (1654-6) amounting to 1,882 acres, presumably much of this land had been acquired by Lady Mary upon the death of her first husband.[276]

Unlike Charles Anthony, Lady Mary's time in England was a continuation of her displacement. Escaping to England was a temporary solution to her distress, a means of receiving relief and accommodation until the Protestant army in Ireland had defeated the popish rebels. Lady Mary therefore only remained in England during the 1640s due to the difficulties of returning to Ireland in the midst of the Confederate Wars. The experience of migration and displacement altered Lady Mary's identity in a different form to Charles Anthony's, strengthening rather than shifting her conception of Ireland as her 'home'. Indeed, her desire to return to Ireland in 1650 denotes a clear sense of belonging to the familial space where she had lived as a wife, mother and widow. The rebellion forced her removal from a 'spatial and relational realm' which she considered home and required her to 'venture into the world' in search of safety. Safety was not a prerequisite of belonging for Lady Mary. She evidently did not feel fully at home in England, despite achieving a state of relative safety. It was perhaps the case then that although Mary's physical 'home' had been corrupted by the rebellion the relational 'home' was preserved through memories and associations.[277] Lady Mary was thus able to transcend the disruption and fear caused

[274] TNA, SP 28/193/3, f. 62v, Collections for distressed Protestants in Ireland: London and central administration folder.

[275] *LJ*, VIII, p. 624; *CJ*, VI, pp. 260, 298, 513.

[276] R. C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-56: counties of Donegal Londonderry and Tyrone with the returns of church lands for the three Counties* (10 volumes, Dublin, 1931-61), III, pp. 321, 325; J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin in the possession of the Municipal Corporation of that city* (18 volumes, Dublin, 1894), IV, pp. 104, 167, 181.

[277] Mallett, Understanding home', pp. 64, 77.

by the rebellion and return to her 'home' in Ireland, preserving and even strengthening a facet of her identity from before her displacement.

The final refugee to be considered is Scottish-born Archibald Hamilton, archbishop of Cashel and Emly. Hamilton's career in Ireland began on 8 March 1623 when he was appointed bishop of Killala and Achonry. On 20 April 1630 he was translated to the archbishopric of Cashel and Emly. According to the deposition of Hamilton's wife Anna, of May 1642, upon the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 the family fled Cashel for Dublin, losing goods and property to the value of £9090.[278] While Anna and the children remained in Dublin, Hamilton left for England and secured £200 in relief from Parliament on 20 July 1642.[279] The family subsequently migrated to the Netherlands, where Hamilton sought assistance from friends for relief and employment.[280] In December 1643 he was recommended to John Dury, a fellow Scottish cleric, who had recently taken an appointment at the Hague as chaplain to Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I and wife of William II of Orange. In a letter to Samuel Harlib, Dury wrote,

> there is an Archbishop of Cassells in Ireland come hither who hath lost a great estate there his name is Archbald Hammilton, if yow know or can learne what his report was in Ireland & in England I pray let me know by the next; my oncle Dauid Ramsey hath recommended him to me, & I am willing to serue him but I would know his former life & reputation that I may doe thinges with the more wariness.[281]

Dury had also been a religious refugee, having grown up in Leiden after his father was expelled from Scotland in 1606. The shared experience of displacement and absence from 'home' perhaps encouraged Dury to help his fellow Scotsman.[282]

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[278] DO, MS 821, ff. 015r-016v, Deposition of Anna Hamilton (May 1642).

[279] *LJ*, V, p. 225.

[280] J. A. Worp (ed.), *De briefwisseling van constantijn huygens* (6 volumes, The Hague, 1914), III, p. 368; Worp, *De briefwisseling*, IV, pp. 138, 264; Worp, *De briefwisseling*, V, p. 11.

[281] University of Sheffield, MS 61/3/1, ff. 16A-B, Letter from John Dury to Samuel Hartlib (3 December 1643).

[282] *ODNB.*

On 3 December 1647 Hamilton was rejected for a teaching position at Leiden University, though the academic board agreed to provide 600 florins for his maintenance.[283] Consequently, in around 1648 Hamilton and his family migrated to Sweden where he 'maintained a correspondence circle and friendship with members of the Swedish nobility'. These included Axel Oxenstierna, the Lord High Chancellor, and Karl Gustav, the future king of Sweden.[284] Letters between Hamilton and Oxenstierna suggest that despite Hamilton's lengthy absence from Ireland he retained hopes of returning to his archdiocese.[285] In June 1654 Hamilton wrote to Oxenstierna requesting a letter of recommendation attesting to his moral character and religious affinities. The intention was to send this letter to Hamilton's son James in London who would then have had the recommendation delivered to the Lord Protector, in order that Hamilton might be able to return to his seat at Cashel.[286] Hamilton, however, never returned to Ireland. He died in 1659 and was buried in the choir below the altar in Uppsala Cathedral.[287]

Hamilton's residency on the Continent could be characterised as a time of 'homelessness'. This was not so much a literal 'homelessness' in the sense that he was deprived of a physical dwelling. Rather, the state of 'poverty' in which he resided in Sweden – a lack of self-sufficiency and absence of a role in society – contributed to feelings of alienation.[288] Hamilton's repeated requests to Oxenstierna for employment highlight his desire for independence. The relation of news from Ireland, regarding his flock at Cashel, likewise reveals a desire to return to a place where he could fulfil a role in society and reconnect to his religious purpose. It seems in Hamilton's case that migration

[283] Worp, *De briefwisseling*, III, p. 368; P. C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der leidsche universiteit* (7 volumes, The Hague, 1918), III, p. 9.

[284] S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), pp.105-107, quoted at p. 105.

[285] SRA, ASOB, E619, Letter from Archibald Hamilton to Axel Oxenstierna (9 March 1653); Letter from Archibald Hamilton to Axel Oxenstierna (1 December 1653). Copies of these sources were emailed to me curtesy of Steve Murdoch.

[286] SRA, ASOB, E619, Letter from Archibald Hamilton to Axel Oxenstierna (June 1654).

[287] *ODNB*; Murdoch, *Network North*, p. 106.

[288] Wardhaugh, 'The unaccommodated woman', pp. 91-109; P. Seaman, 'Rediscovering a sense of place', in C. D. Smith (ed.), *Strangers at Home: Essays on the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming 'Home' to a Strange Land* (New York, 1996), p. 53.

and displacement did not merely influence the construction of identity, but perhaps contributed to a loss of identity.[289]

In seeking to answer the research question of who the refugees from Ireland were the analysis presented in this chapter has updated previous historiography on refugee identities. It has been shown that the refugees who escaped to England in the 1640s were diverse in composition in terms of sex, marital status, social status and ethnicity. The examination of refugee ethnicities, in particular, corrects the assumption that the refugees were a homogenous group of returning migrants. Not only were contemporaries in the seventeenth century aware of the differences between various types of refugee, but the analysis of the ethnic origins of refugee surnames shows they were a mixture of New English, Old English, Native Irish and Ulster Scots – a matter which has hitherto been overlooked by historians.

The reconstruction of refugee migration patterns has also shown how refugee identities were altered by the experience of displacement through consideration of conceptions of 'home'. These three case studies show that during a period of displacement 'home' was conceptualised as a place of birth, a series of familial relationships, a place of safety and a sense of purpose within society. For some refugees displacement resulted in notions of home shifting in order to re-establish settlement and accommodate receipt of relief. For others the rebellion strengthened pre-existing notions of home, binding refugees to socio-geographic spaces through memories and associations. Yet for other refugees displacement elicited a state of 'homelessness' resulting in a loss of identity. The case studies presented in this chapter regrettably only focus on higher status individuals. There is the potential, however, for a future postdoctoral research project – reconstructing the migration patterns of refugees across Ireland, England and the Continent. Such a project would offer a more in-depth view of refugee migration and show how refugee identities were shaped by migration and displacement.

[289] SRA, ASOB, E619, Letter from Archibald Hamilton to Axel Oxenstierna (27 February 1654).

Chapter Three

Rebellion and relief: the national approach to aid in England

The focus of the following three chapters will now shift to the second research question: how was relief in England organised and dispensed? The current chapter constitutes the first comprehensive analysis of the organisation and functioning of national aid to refugees in England undertaken by a historian. Studies by John Young and Chris Langley have addressed the administrative structures developed by the covenanting regime in Scotland to provide humanitarian aid to the Irish refugees.[290] For England, however, previous historiography has focused predominately on the political impact of the rebellion and Parliament's military response.[291] Keith Lindley's article on the impact of the rebellion on England and Wales, for instance, acknowledged the effect refugee stories had on English fears of Catholicism but excluded consideration of the measures used to aid these distressed people.[292] Robert Armstrong failed to include the Act of Contribution and the emergence of the Committee for Contribution in an article addressing the Long Parliament's Irish Committees, despite their centrality to the Irish war effort.[293] John Wilson, Hugh Trevor-Roper and Tom Webster, meanwhile, have provided excellent studies of the fast sermons preached to Parliament in the 1640s. These studies though are situated principally in the context of the relationship between Puritan preaching – as a

[290] J. Young, '"Escaping massacre": refugees in Scotland in the aftermath of the 1641 Ulster rebellion', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 219-241; C. Langley, 'Sheltering under the Covenant: the National Covenant, orthodoxy and the Irish rebellion, 1638-1644', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 96/2 (2017), pp. 137-160.

[291] See, H. Hazlett, 'Financing of the British armies in Ireland, 1641-9', *Irish Historical Studies,* 1/1 (1938), pp. 21-41; R. Armstrong, 'The Long Parliament goes to war: the Irish campaigns, 1641-2', *Historical Research,* 80/207 (2007), pp. 73-99; M. Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (London, 1994), chapter 12; J. Scott Wheeler, *The Irish and British Wars, 1637-1654: Triumph, Tragedy and Failure* (London, 2002), pp. 45-49.

[292] K. Lindley, 'The impact of the Irish rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5', *Irish Historical Studies,* 18/70 (1972), pp. 143-176.

[293] R. Armstrong, 'Ireland at Westminster: the Long Parliament's Irish committees, 1641-1647', in C. R. Kyle and J. Peacey (eds.), *Parliament at Work: Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 79-99.

mode of influence in the Puritan movement – and the political events of the 1640s.[294] To-date Joseph Cope has conducted the most extensive research into the measures implemented for the relief of Protestants from Ireland. In particular, he considers how responses to the Act of Contribution varied between parishes in Wiltshire and how this encouraged English activism towards the Irish cause.[295] Cope acknowledges that more comprehensive work needs to be completed in order to gain a fuller picture of how the contribution was collected and used.

This chapter will analyse the national measures used to provide relief to refugees and reveal how they changed in response to domestic affairs in England. This will add to existing scholarship by providing a comprehensive outline and assessment of the progression of parliamentary actions for refugee relief. Ultimately, this analysis will reveal that as relations within the English establishment – between the Long Parliament, the King and the rest of the political elite – worsened over the winter of 1641/2 and the war in Ireland intensified, aid to refugees was gradually decentralised, making aid to these victims of war a local rather than a national responsibility.

In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, the implementation of fast days and the passage of the Act of Contribution were designed to encourage and facilitate refugee relief. From March 1642, however, Parliament placed greater emphasis on preventing refugees from entering England and shifting the responsibility of relief onto local officials. This response was directly linked to divisions between the King and Parliament, as the rebellion provided the perfect opportunity for Charles' political opponents to further their own religious and political ends.[296] This is evident in the correspondence between Lord Ferdinando Fairfax and his friend Thomas Stockdale, who suggested that 'advantage might be taken upon this revolt, both to make a perfect settlement of religion…and likewise in a

[294] J. F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-1648* (Princeton, 1969); H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'The fast sermons of the Long Parliament', in H. R. Trevor-Roper (ed.), *Essay in British History, presented to Sir Keith Feiling* (New York, 1964), pp. 85-138; T. Webster, 'Preaching and parliament, 1640-1659', in P. McCullough, H. Adlington and E. Rhatigan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 404-420.

[295] J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009), chapter 7.

[296] Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 261; J. R. MacCormack, 'The Irish Adventurers and the English Civil War', *Irish Historical Studies*, 10/37 (1956), p. 26.

good measure to recompense the expenses of the English nation…'[297] John Pym was certainly aware of the opportunities provided by the rebellion. Measures such as the Impressment Bill and the Grand Remonstrance, which sought the removal of royal military powers and the replacement of the King's 'evil councillors', were given greater gravitas by the rebellion as each played upon fears of a Catholic conspiracy within the royal court. It has been argued that, despite the seriousness of the rebellion, Pym was 'prepared to sacrifice the Protestants of Ireland to his own interests in England.'[298] While this is true to an extent, it is important to note that Pym persisted in his attempts to raise forces for Ireland, especially in December 1641.[299] He was also pivotal in the distribution of aid to refugees. Following the news that refugees had arrived into England, Pym 'desired that wee might on the day of the fast have a publike collection' for their relief.[300]

News of the rebellion formally reached Westminster on 1 November 1641 in the form of letters sent from Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, two of the Lord Justices in Ireland. These letters were read aloud in the Commons, leading to an immediate resolution to form a committee which would consider the affairs of Ireland. It was further resolved that a number of Members would be sent into the city of London to request a loan of £50,000 for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion.[301] The next day the Committee for Irish Affairs was formally created, consisting of members from both Houses.[302] At this time the King was absent in Scotland. Charles received news of the rebellion by a letter sent from Viscount Chichester and on 28 October reported the matter to the Scottish Estates (parliament).[303] The same day, Charles consented to giving control of the situation

[297] BL, Add. MS. 18979, f. 99v, Letter from Thomas Stockdale to his friend Lord Ferdinando Fairfax (3 December 1641).

[298] K. S. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land: the 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971), p. 32. See also, MacCormack, 'Irish Adventurers', pp. 24-28.

[299] Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 276; A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), p. 166.

[300] D' Ewes, p. 278. For other examples of Pym motioning for the relief of refugees see, *PJ*, I, pp. 291, 299, 469.

[301] HMC, *Ormonde*, II, pp. 1-6; *CJ*, II, p. 300.

[302] *CJ*, II, p. 302.

[303] J. Balfour, *The historical works of Sir James Balfour*, edited by J. Haig (3 volumes, Edinburgh, 1824), III, pp. 119-20; D. Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish-Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981), p. 43; Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 262.

to the English Parliament, having been advised to do so by the English parliamentary commissioners in Edinburgh. He also took personal action for Ireland's relief by urging the Scottish Estates to make preparations for intervening in Ireland. Furthermore, he purchased arms and powder, which were sent to Ireland at his own expense, and claimed to send a voluntary force of 1,500 troops to Ulster.[304]

It was not until December that the authorities in Westminster received a letter from the Council of Ireland warning that hundreds of refugees were being sent to England.[305] In response, on 16 December, it was decided that a collection would be taken in both Houses, so that 'by the Example of the Parliament, the like Collection may be made in all Parts of the Kingdom upon the Day of the Fast [yet to be designated]…for the Succour and Relief of these poor distressed People of Ireland.[306] Francis Rous, Sir William Wheeler, Henry Marten and Sir Edward Ayscough were selected to form a committee responsible for the collection of this money.[307] All four men were staunch Puritan figures and proponents of religious reform.[308] Sir Benjamin Rudyard commented that the collection was 'a worke of bowels and compassion' to 'these miserable people' who suffered 'because of their Religion'. He lamented the need to 'stirre up our charity' and prayed that Parliament never had occasion to take such a collection again.[309] This informal collection was followed by a more 'formal relief project' for Ireland in the form of the Act of Speedy Contribution and

[304] The letter, dated 28 October 1641, was received in the House of Commons on 4 November. E. Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, edited by W. D. Macray (6 volumes, Oxford, 1888), II, p. 22; P. Little, 'The English parliament and the Irish constitution, 1641-9', in M. Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s. Essays in Honour of Dónal Cregan* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 108-109; *LJ*, IV, p. 421; Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters*, pp. 51-52; HMC, *Montagu*, pp. 144-145.

[305] The letter was read out on 13 December 1641 in the Commons and in the Lords the following day. *LJ*, IV, p. 473; D' Ewes, p. 278.

[306] *CJ*, II, pp. 340-341; *LJ*, IV, p. 473.

[307] *CJ*, II, p. 344.

[308] These men were prominent in several other parliamentary committees. Sir Edward Ayscough was also an important figure in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. For more detailed biographies of these men see, 'History of Parliament Project', <www.historyofparliamentonline.org>, accessed 5.9.2018; 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies', <www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 9.1.2019; S. Barber, *A Revolutionary Rogue: Henry Marten and the English Republic* (Sutton, 2000).

[309] B. Rudyard, *Two speeches in the House of Commons: the first, concerning a contribution for the poore, naked, hunger-sterv'd English, sent out of Ireland into England. The second, concerning tolleration of religion in Ireland. Made by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd* (London, 1642), pp. 3-4.

Loan (31 January 1642).[310] This was a voluntary collection mandated across England and Wales for the relief of the 'great multitudes of godly religious people' in Ireland. Local churchwardens, overseers of the poor and ministers were to co-ordinate the collections and maintain close records of who donated and how much was given.[311] These materials were then to be sent to London, via the county sheriff. In London the money was to be received by the Treasurers of the Contribution and then distributed by the Committee for Contribution.[312] Further to this, Parliament called for a programme of monthly fast days to be installed across the Country, to be held 'while the Troubles continue in Ireland'.[313] These sermons encouraged prayer and charitable collections for the distressed Irish, tending to their physical and spiritual needs. Simultaneously, the sermons called for universal repentance and reformation of the Church to appease God's vengeance; the sins of the English people having brought the many sufferings of the Irish rebellion down upon them.

Historians, such as Anthony Fletcher and Conrad Russell, have recognised that time and energy was invested by the English establishment into responding to events in Ireland.[314] Michael Perceval-Maxwell and Karl Bottigheimer aptly highlight, however, that this response was largely 'disjointed, halting and thoroughly Lilliputian', particularly in the initial stages of the rebellion between October 1641 and March 1642.[315] Perceval-Maxwell goes so far as to argue that it was the absence of any strong intervention from Britain in these first few months which allowed the rebellion to spread across Ireland and take root.[316] It was not that Parliament and the King were unwilling to act (both strongly desired intervention) but the need to send soldiers to Ireland raised the constitutional question of the crown's control over military power. It was feared that should the King be given command of a force for Ireland he would inevitably use it against his parliamentary opponents. Charles did little to calm these fears. Upon his return to London in November

[310] *CJ*, II, p. 349; D' Ewes, p. 308; Cope, *England*, pp. 11-12.

[311] 16 Char. I, c. 30.

[312] Cope, *England*, pp. 11-12.

[313] *CJ*, II, p. 356; *LJ*, IV, pp. 488, 493.

[314] Fletcher, *Outbreak of Civil War*, pp. 248-251, 272; C. Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-42* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 435, 443, 447, 496.

[315] Bottigheimer, *English Money*, p. 35; Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 261.

[316] Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 261.

1641, Charles replaced the Governor of the Tower of London, Sir William Balfour, with his own man Sir Thomas Lunsford, a notorious thug. He also removed the guards stationed outside Parliament to protect the Members from 'toughs' who had been seen wandering about Westminster. This was seen as an attempt by the King to intimidate his opponents.[317] Charles was equally suspicious of Parliament and regarded the attempts to remove royal control of the army, namely the Impressment Bill (November 1641) and Militia Ordinance (March 1642), as evidence of Parliament's disloyalty to the Crown.[318] It was this distrust which ultimately limited the actions which could be taken for the suppression of the rebellion.

In light of this politically tense atmosphere it is unsurprising that refugee relief was never prioritised by the King or Parliament. Although seemingly compassionate towards the plight of their Protestant brethren, refugee relief was gradually decentralised. Similarly to the organisation of relief for maimed soldiers, relief devolved to county and parish authorities making the refugee crisis a local rather than a national concern.[319] This was a natural process as the refugees required immediate financial assistance which, bearing in mind their broad geographical distribution, could be provided most effectively and expediently by local authorities and officials – churchwardens, constables and overseers of the poor. Equally, the scale of the refugee crisis meant it was simply impossible to maintain a centralized system of relief. In the first months after the rebellion, Parliament was clearly unaware of the scale of the problem as the contribution money was sent to London for redistribution. In the spring of 1642, however, as refugees flooded into the capital and counties petitioned for the return of contribution money – which Parliament were predominantly using for military purposes as opposed to welfare – it no doubt became apparent that the localization of relief was a political and financial necessity.

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[317] Wheeler, *The Irish and British Wars*, p. 49.

[318] Wheeler, *The Irish and British Wars*, p. 51; Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak*, p. 263.

[319] For the relief of maimed soldiers see, M. Stoyle, '"Memories of the maimed": the testimony of Charles I's former soldiers, 1660-1730', *History*, 88/290 (2003), pp. 204-226; D. J. Appleby, 'Unnecessary persons? Maimed soldiers and war widows in Essex 1642-1662', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 32 (2001), pp. 209-221; E. Gruber Von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier: Nursing, Medical Care and Welfare for Sick and Wounded Soldiers and their Families during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Aldershot, 2001); D. J. Appleby and A. Hopper (eds.), *Battle-scarred: Mortality, Medical Care and Military Welfare in the British Civil Wars* (Manchester, 2018); 'Civil War Petitions: Conflict, Welfare and Memory during and after the English Civil Wars, 1642-1710', < https://www.civilwarpetitions.ac.uk/>, accessed 29.3.2018.

One of the first initiatives implemented by Parliament was the calling of fast days. This was a common practice in times of crisis, when clergymen throughout the realm were encouraged to recommend the observation of prayer, fasting and almsgiving in order to assuage God's wrath.[320] On 18 December, three fast days were called: the first was to be held by both Houses and the city of London, the second by the city of Westminster, and the third by the whole kingdom of England.[321] Following the first of these fasts Parliament petitioned the King to install regular monthly fasts for Ireland.[322] His formal response came on 8 January 1642 with a proclamation confirming the programme.[323] The purpose of the fasts, at least on the surface, was to provide spiritual and material assistance to the distressed Protestants of Ireland, including those who had come to England. Spiritual support was to be given in the form of prayers and devotions, as Edmund Calamy the Elder remarked in December 1641, the people needed 'to plead for mercy' and 'to pray and weep for Ireland.'[324] Francis Coke (Cook), rector of Yoxhall in Staffordshire, for example, published a short prayer for 'our distressed brethren in the Kingdome of Ireland'. The prayer blamed the rebellion on the 'wickednesse' of the Protestants in Ireland and pleaded,

> bring health unto them and cure them, and reveale unto them the abundance of peace and truth: Lord return their captivity, and build them up as at the first, cleanse them from all their iniquities, & pardon all their sins, whereby they have stirred up thy wrath against them, and make their name to thee a name of joy.[325]

It was hoped that such devotions would stir up sympathy for the distressed Protestants, resulting in generous charitable donations. Godly ministers such as John Goodwin stressed

[320] S. Hindle, 'Dearth, fasting and alms: the campaign for general hospitality in late Elizabethan England', *Past and Present*, 172/1 (2001), pp. 44-45; C. J. Kitching, '"Prayers fit for the time": fasting and prayer in response to national crisis in the reign of Elizabeth I', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 241-250.

[321] *LJ*, IV, p. 480.

[322] *CJ*, II, p. 356; *LJ*, IV, pp. 488, 493.

[323] *LJ*, IV, p. 497; Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, pp. 57, 60, 63.

[324] E. Calamy (1600-1666), *Englands looking-glasse* (London, 1642), pp. 33-34.

[325] F. Cook, *The true Protestants prayer or the godly mans supplication unto Almihgty [sic] God, for the afflicted Church in Ireland* (S. L., 1642).

the need to give material aid, for 'Ireland must be looked after and provided for as if we had neither wives, nor children, nor charge, nor were poor, nor wanted money, nor knew what to do with our money otherwise'.[326] Stephen Marshall exhorted English Protestants to remember 'that what you give in this case is interpreted by Christ as given to his owne person and whom would not this provoke?'[327] The practical benefit of these fasts is impossible to determine for the whole of England, though in the cities of London and Westminster there is evidence that donations were given as part of the fast days. St. John Zachary collected £1 18s 6d 'upon a fast day towards the relief of those that came out of Ireland' in 1642/3 and £5 13s 'upon three fast dayes towards the reliefe of those poore that came out of Ireland' in 1643/4.[328] The parish of St. Michael-le-Querne collected, 'for the irish att the Church Door 3 severall times Two of these three times wer[e] upon the fast day in feb[ruary]', a total of £7 15s 11 ¾d in 1641/2.[329]

In the like manner, at St. Margaret's Westminster – the church of the House of Commons – the money gathered at the church on the fast of 30 March 1642 was ordered by the Commons to be distributed. Fifteen pounds was to go to the poor of the parish and thirty pounds was to go to William Wheeler (chairman of the Committee for Contribution) to be distributed amongst the 'Poor Protestants of Ireland'.[330] The fast day in question took place on 30 March, at which time Cornelius Burges and Simeon Ashe gave sermons at St. Margaret's designed, at least in part, to raise sympathy and charity for the refugees.[331] Ashe's sermon, in particular, looked at Psalm 9:9, 'the Lord also will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble'. The focus for Ashe was on two truths expressed in the text: 'that trouble and oppression may be the condition of God's owne peculiar people' and 'that the Lord will be a refuge unto his oppressed people in times of trouble'. The oppression of Ireland was framed within the traditional understanding of suffering as a

[326] J. Goodwin, *Ireland's Advocate* (London, 1641), p. 35.

[327] S. Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1642), p. 54; Cope, *England,* pp. 13-14.

[328] LMA, P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001, ff. 181v, 184v, St John Zachary Gresham Street churchwardens' accounts (1591-1682).

[329] LMA, P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/002, St. Michael-le-Querne churchwardens' accounts (1605-1717).

[330] *CJ*, II, p. 506.

[331] C. Burges, *Two sermons preached to the honourable House of Commons at two publike fasts, the one March 30, 1642, the other April 30, 1645: the former opening the necessity and benefit of washing the heart: the later, discovering the vanity and mischief of an heart unwashed* (London, 1645), pp. 2, 49-50; S. Ashe, *The best refuge for the most oppressed* (London, 1642).

correcting force against sin, directing the godly back to the Lord. References to the spiritual refuge of God's people was also an allegory of the physical refuge of refugees in England. England being God's chosen nation, the new equivalent of Israel.[332]

The fasts affirmed that the physical welfare of distressed Protestants was a spiritual matter which required acts of religious devotion to resolve, but these acts of devotion were not to be conducted solely for the benefit of the King's despoiled subjects in Ireland. Correspondence between the Commons and the Lords on 14 December, stated that,

> the House of Commons, out of a deep Sense of the Calamity of our Countrymen and Brethren of Ireland, and considering how all Success and Prosperity depends upon the Blessing and Favour of God, do desire their Lordships to join with them in petitioning His Majesty, that there may be a Public Fast throughout the Kingdom.[333]

The need to foster the 'favour of God' was grounded in the belief that the rebellion was a punishment for England's sins. It was generally believed that there was a 'fundamental spiritual crisis' in England, and God was giving the nation one last chance to reform and renounce their evil ways.[334] Calamy warned,

> God speak now more neerly unto us, by the bloudy rebellion that is in Ireland. The Sword that is there drawn is like the Comet, that for a whole yeer hung over Ierusalem […] This sword is Gods warning peece to England…Methinks I see the very flames of this great fire that is kindled in Ireland. Oh, let this fire melt our hard hearts into pity and compassion.[335]

Immediate repentance was needed for Ireland to be saved. But, it was not enough simply to offer prayers and charity. Speedy military assistance had to be sent to Ireland to rescue the

[332] J. S. Down, 'The curse of Meroz and the English Civil War', *Historical Journal*, 57/2 (2014), p. 345.

[333] *LJ*, IV, p. 473.

[334] Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, pp. 60-5; Cope, *England*, p. 14.

[335] Calamy, *Englands looking-glasse*, pp. 16-17, 36-37.

Country from its tumultuous state. Marshall condemned those who would not avenge the atrocities committed by the Irish rebels and equated inaction to assisting the rebel cause,

> because they joined not their strength with God's people, they are judged not to helpe the Lord […] the Lord and his People are so conjoined, that their friends, and their enemies are his enemies, and whosoever helps not them, are interpreted to refuse to assist the Lord himselfe.[336]

Repentance also meant eradicating sources of sin, especially popery, and furthering the reformation of the church. As James Spalding argues 'unhappy events such as the rebellion in Ireland were interpreted as signs that God was displeased with the delay in getting on with the reformation.'[337] For Marshall and Burges, the presence of 'relics and idolatry' in English churches had drawn God's anger, and without reform further divine punishments would fall upon England.[338]

To highlight the destruction caused by popery godly ministers drew parallels between Ireland and the Continent, to portray the sufferings of Irish Protestants as part of the general crisis of European Protestantism.[339] Calamy preached,

> this shaking began in the Palatinate, Bohemia, but it hath spread it selfe over France, Spaine and all the Christian World, the Lord seems to have a controversie with all Nations, & to plead with all flesh, giving up a wicked World to the sword, as hee threatened before the ruine of Jerusalem.[340]

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[336] Marshall, *Meroz Cursed,* p. 7. John Milton echoed these sentiments. See, J. Milton, *Observations on the articles of peace with the Irish Rebels, on the letter of Ormond to Col. Jones, and the representation of the presbytery at Belfast. The complete prose works of John Milton,* edited by M. Hughes (3 volumes, London, 1962), III, pp. 260-334; J. Daems, *"A Warr So Desperate": John Milton and Some Contemporaries on the Irish Rebellion* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2012), p. 4.

[337] J. Spalding, 'Sermons before Parliament (1640-1649) as a public Puritan diary', *Church History,* 36/1 (1967), p. 32.

[338] S. Marshall, *Reformation and Desolation* (London, 1642), pp. 38, 53; Burges, *Two Sermons,* p. 2; Ash, *The best refuge,* pp. 16, 58-62.

[339] O. P. Grell, 'Godly charity or political aid? Irish Protestants and international Calvinism, 1641-1645', *Historical Journal,* 39/3 (1996), pp. 743-744.

[340] E. Calamy (1600-1666), *Gods free mercy to England* (London, 1642), p. 24.

The utter defeat of popery was therefore necessary for the survival of Protestantism. *Two Sermons* delivered by Burges on 30 March similarly exhorted Parliament to further the reformation. Burges's sermons addressed the verse Jeremiah 4:14, 'Jerusalem, wash the evil from your heart and be saved. How long will you harbor wicked thoughts?' He called the godly to wash their hearts in order that true reform might take place in the Church. For 'nothing is more fatall to a Nation in Reforming times than to oppose that Reformation within their hearts, which outwardly they appear zealous to promote. This is to juggle with God for base ends of their own, which never goes unpunished.' With relations between the King and Parliament strained, Burges also warned of the distraction of civil unrest to the pursuit of God's work. He concluded that 'there is nothing more dangerous and damageable to a Kingdome, than to lay aside God's Work […] on pretence of multitudes of Civill distractions, or interests'.[341]

The emphasis on reformation in the sermons presented to Parliament is unsurprising given the ministers who were invited to preach. For example, Marshall came to the centre of parliamentary politics in the early 1640s. In 1640 and 1641 he was nominated as a preacher to Parliament and encouraged both Houses to pursue godly reform and continue in their religious convictions during their struggles with the King. Between 1640 and 1653 sixteen of his sermons were printed. Edmund Calamy the Elder similarly rose to prominence during the 1640s, having been an active godly preacher during the 1630s. His popularity in Parliament is attested by the gift he received after his fast sermon on 23 February 1642. In appreciation of the sermon the Commons issued an alms dish bearing Calamy's arms and the inscription, 'This is the Gift of the House of Commons to Edmund Calamy, B.D., 1641'. In their pursuit of reformation both men met regularly, from November 1640, with a group of godly ministers, including Burges, John White, Matthew Newcomen and Thomas Young. This group was crucial in advancing the godly cause, delivering a petition and remonstrance to the Commons on 23 January 1641 signed by 700 clergymen. Out of this group also came several key pamphlets of ecclesiological debate authored under the collective acronym 'Smectymnuans'.[342]

[341] Burges, *Two sermons*, pp. 2, 49-50.

[342] *ODNB.*

Sermons were the easiest and most direct way of communicating ideological views to a mass of people. As such, the selection of these men to preach highlights the desire of many Members to use the rebellion to further their own agendas.[343] Pym had nightly meetings with puritan divines, including Burges, Calamy and Marshall, to ensure that their sermons guided policy and kept the 'political temperature at boiling point'.[344] The sermons were also published by Parliament to promote their agenda and stir up support in the localities. It is unclear to what extent these sermons were replicated across the Country, in a manner similar to the Elizabethan practice of officially-approved homilies. Certain sermons appeared to have widespread appeal. Marshall's *Meroz curse* (preached in November 1641) ran through three editions.[345] His later sermon *Meroz Cursed*, which covered the same subject, was also allegedly preached on sixty occasions in various places.[346] This sermon had some influence in the localities as it was cited by a number of soldiers as the reason they had taken up arms against the King.[347] Furthermore, petitions delivered to Parliament from the counties in the winter of 1641/2 were preoccupied with the threat of popery and the need to further the Protestant message by strengthening the preaching ministry.[348] It should not be forgotten, however, that these sermons were also intended to garner support for the distressed refugees from Ireland. The printing and

[343] T. Barnard, 'The uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant celebrations', *English Historical Review,* 106/421 (1991), p. 889.

[344] J. Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 98-99.

[345] Down, 'The curse of Meroz', p. 346. The three editions of *Meroz curse* are available in the British Library English Short Title Catalogue. See, BL, ESTC. R180386; ESTC. R12794; ESTC. R226922.

[346] These homilies were contained in state-sponsored volumes such as, T. Cranmer, *Certain Sermons, or Homilies Appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie* (London, 1547) and J. Jewel, *The Seconde Tome of Homelyes of such Matters as were Promised and Intituled in the Former Part of Homelyes* (London, 1563). See, D. J. Appleby, 'Sermons and preaching', in J. Coffey (ed.), *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions* (Oxford, forthcoming). For a more in-depth analysis of *Meroz Cursed* see Down, 'The curse of Meroz', pp. 356-357.

[347] W. Sheils, 'Provincial Preaching on the eve of the Civil War: some West Riding fast sermons', in A. Fletcher and P. Robert (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 302; Down, 'The curse of Meroz', pp. 343-368; J. Eales, 'Provincial preaching and allegiance in the first civil war (1640-6)', in T. Cogswell, R. Cust and P. Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 185-207.

[348] Spurr, *English Puritanism*, p. 99; Fletcher, *Outbreak of Civil War,* p. 200. For the effects of preaching in Yorkshire see, Sheils, 'Provincial Preaching', pp. 290-312.

circulation of sermons was designed to promote the deserving nature of the refugees and facilitate the collection of monetary donations. Sixty to sixty-five percent of the fast sermons delivered to Parliament were published; this brought a local dimension to the functioning of relief, as the call for assistance was extended beyond the bounds of Westminster to a national audience.[349] By encouraging the performance of acts of religious devotion in the localities, for the sake of Ireland, Parliament affirmed the role of the laity in providing assistance to refugees.

Local involvement in national aid was advanced principally by the passage of the Act of Speedy Contribution and Loan (31 January 1642). The Act called for a collection to be taken by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor – 'in all and every county or counties Cities or Townes whatsoever' – within England and Wales, for the,

> great multitudes of godly and religious people […][who] for the preservation of theire lives have been inforced to forsake theire habitations meanes and livelihood in that kingdome and to flee for succour into severall parts of his Majesties Realme of England and Dominion of Wales having nothing left to depend upon but the charitable benevolence of well desposed persons.[350]

In total between £45,000 and £47,000 was collected over the course of the 1640s.[351] Originally the Act was meant to terminate in June 1642, but it soon became clear that all the money was not going to be collected by this time. Consequently, a special ordinance was issued for collecting arrears.[352] For Hugh Hazlett, the slow collection of the contribution money was symptomatic of the Act's general failure. He argues that the total amount collected was insignificant, especially when compared to later levies taken for Ireland. In March 1642, for example, the Act for Raising and Levying of Moneys for the

[349] Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, p. 9.

[350] 16 Char. I, c. 30.

[351] Fletcher estimates around £45,000, Cope estimates £46,931; with the inclusion of some Irish collections, and Hazlett states £45,931 16s. 63/4d. See, Fletcher, *Outbreak of Civil War,* p. 250; J. Cope, 'Fashioning victims: Dr Henry Jones and the plight of Irish Protestants, 1642', *Historical Research,* 74/186 (2001), pp. 374-375; Hazlett, 'Financing', p. 27.

[352] *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 85-100.

Necessary Defence and Great Affairs of the Kingdom of England and Ireland was passed and collected around £188,107 between 1642 and 1651.[353] Fletcher, conversely, argues that the amount collected was 'an impressive testimony to the way that squires and ministers had drummed the Irish catastrophe into the minds of the nation', in light of the many thousands of contributors who gave voluntary donations.[354]

The response to the contribution was largely positive, with money being donated from the greater part of England and Wales.[355] Besides the refugees' cause being promoted in sermons, the numerous pamphlets detailing horrible atrocities, and the tales told by the refugees as they travelled from place to place surely bolstered the efforts of local ministers and parish officials to collect contribution money. Joseph Lister recollected his encounter with refugees in Bradford, noting 'what sad discourses I heard about this time, the Papists being desperate, bloody men'.[356] These stories of hardship, suffering and Catholic barbarism emphasised the deservedness of the distressed Protestants and encouraged the laity to give generously to their Protestant brethren.

The language of the Act drew upon the same literary motifs of Catholic barbarism and suffering, and contextualised the collection within a well-established view of Protestant history.[357] Blame for the rebellion was placed squarely on the 'Popish Rebells' who daily committed 'diverse cruell Murthers and Massacres of the Protestants', emulating the common link between Catholicism and violence popularised by John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563).[358] The popular understanding of this link is evident in the collection accounts for the parish of St. Michael-le-Querne, city of London. The churchwardens for the parish prefaced the accounts with the description:

[353] Hazlett, 'Financing', pp. 25-28; 16 Char. I, c. 32.

[354] Fletcher, *Outbreak of Civil War*, p. 250.

[355] B. Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651', *Midland History*, 42/2 (2017), pp. 211-212.

[356] T. Wright (ed.), *The Autobiography of Joseph Lister, of Bradford in Yorkshire, 1627-1709* (London, 1842), pp. 6-9.

[357] See, E. Shagan, 'Constructing discord: ideology, propaganda and English responses to the Irish rebellion of 1641', *Journal of British Studies*, 36/1 (1997), p. 7.

[358] 'The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online', <http//www.johnfoxe.org>, accessed 5.9.2018.

> the particular sums w[hi]ch in these hard and Dead tymes they have freely and cheerfully given toward the relieife of the Poor distrested Bretheren Protestants in and of Ireland who suffer under the Cruell blody and Barbarous Tirany and Rebellion of the Papists in that Kingdom.[359]

The Act further stated that the collection had been authorised 'for the honour of Almightie God and the preservation of the true Protestant Religion'.

Just like the fast sermons, the emphasis on preserving the true faith portrayed the rebellion as another element in the long struggle between the godly and the Antichrist.[360] This struggle had resulted in countless refugees fleeing to Protestant havens across Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The use of other special collections for distressed Protestants, such as those taken during the Thirty Years War, meant the Contribution had some precedents, and fitted into a 'tradition of benevolence' towards distressed co-religionists who suffered as part of the international conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism.[361]

In theory, the distribution of the contribution money was the responsibility of the Committee for Contribution. Over the winter of 1641/2 the committee tasked with collecting money from the members in Parliament was given responsibility over the contribution money, creating the new Committee for Contribution. On 8 March the committee was empowered to receive refugee petitions and dispense relief to the petitioners.[362] In early April these powers were extended to include control over committee meetings and the general spending of the contribution money.[363] Accounts of provisional

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[359] TNA, SP 28/193/5, f. 324, Collections for distressed Protestants in Ireland: Leicester, Lincolnshire, London, Middlesex folder.

[360] Shagan, 'Constructing discord', pp. 13-16.

[361] During the Thirty Years War, for example, collections were taken in 1628, 1630 and 1635 for the Protestant refugees of the German Palatinate which came to a total of £12,500. See, I. Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis: 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639. A Study of an Active Minority* (London, 1985), pp. 27-28; Sheils, 'Provincial preaching', p. 309; Cope, *England*, p. 31; Armstrong, 'The Long Parliament', p. 83; Fletcher, *Outbreak of Civil War*, p. 250; P. Collinson, 'England and international Calvinism, 1558-1640', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 197-223; Grell, 'Godly charity or political aid?', pp. 743-753.

[362] *PJ*, II, p. 14.

[363] *CJ*, II, pp. 506, 509.

collections for the Act of Contribution survive in SP 28– Collections for the Distressed Protestants in Ireland –at the National Archives. Little documentary evidence pertaining to the financial outgoings of the Committee for Contribution, however, survive. Indeed, within the SP 28 folder there appears to be only eight pages of accounts which offer a glimpse into who was receiving relief from the committee between April and May 1642.[364]

In total two hundred and seventy-two refugees received charity from the committee, all but three being named individuals, with disbursements ranging from £2 to £100. A significant proportion of the recipients appear to have been people of quality: three bishops, thirty-two ministers, twenty gentlemen/knights/esquires, six members of the House of Commons in Ireland, eight 'ladies'; namely the wives and widows of baronets and knights, and three wives of high ranking military personnel or politicians. Seventy out of 190 male recipients had additional descriptors which indicate high-ranking status.[365] Unsurprisingly, although the majority of the recipients in the accounts do not have additional descriptors indicating great wealth and status, the Committee for Contribution was not a place where the 'lower sort' – labourers, yeomen, and husbandmen, their wives and widows – went seeking assistance. In order to receive relief from the committee refugees needed to submit petitions to either the committee members or to Parliament for referral. This was a costly exercise, requiring the financial means to consult a lawyer, pay clerk fees and occasionally find and copy relevant documentation.[366] The only alternative was to have a certificate of recommendation from senior officials in Ireland, Lord Justices or members of the Commission for Despoiled Subjects, which again were not usually provided to those of a lower status.

Amongst the 'better sort' of refugees it was typically those of the highest status who received the greatest sums. Lady Elizabeth Gifford, Lady Martha O'Neale; widow of Sir Henry O'Neale, Lady Dorothy Ryves; wife to Sir William Ryves the 'speaker of the Lords house in ye par[liament] of Ir[eland]', and Lady Tichborne, wife of Sir Henry Tichborne, all received the maximum sum of £100.[367] These sums were likely given as a reflection of the position and reverence felt towards their spouses. Lady Tichborne, for

[364] TNA, SP 28/193/3, ff. 62-65, Collections for distressed Protestants in Ireland: London and central administration folder.

[365] Cope, *England*, pp. 146-7.

[366] J. Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013), chapter 8.

[367] *ODNB.*

example, was the wife of Sir Henry Tichborne a respected army officer and politician, who had been appointed governor of Drogheda following the outbreak of the rebellion.[368] Between December 1641 and March 1642, he successfully defended the town against the forces of Sir Pheilm O'Neill, leading one pamphleteer to describe him as 'our valiant Governour'.[369] Tichborne was subsequently appointed to the Irish Privy Council on 11 May 1642, two days after his wife received assistance in London.

The second largest sum of £50 was similarly given to those of higher status: Sir Thomas Staples; first baronet of Lissan, Archibald Adair; Church of Ireland bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Sir John Leeke. Staples, a barrister from Bristol, went to Ireland in 1610 as part of the plantation scheme in Ulster. In 1628 he was made first baronet of Lissan and Faughanvale. At the outbreak of the rebellion, the Lissan estate in Tyrone was seized by the rebel forces of Neill Oge O'Quinn. Thomas's wife, Lady Charity Staples, and children were taken prisoner, whilst the estate's iron works were used to forge weapons for the rebels. At the time of the attack Thomas was absent from the estate, being two miles south in Cookstown. On 25 October 1642 Lady Staples was sent to her husband to persuade him to return to his estate, but he refused. [370] Lady Staples returned to Lissan and Thomas fled to London where he acquired relief from the Committee for Contribution.[371]

Adair meanwhile had been a victim of the political turbulence caused by the Scottish national covenant in the 1630s. In 1639, during an argument with a Scottish

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[368] *ODNB*; NLI, P693/7, J. Fleming (ed.), *A letter of Sir Henry Tichborne to his Lady: of the siege of Drogheda; and other passages of the wars of Ireland where he commanded* (Drogheda, 1772).

[369] N. Bernard, *The whole proceedings of the siege of Drogheda in Ireland, with a thankfull remembrance for its wonderfull delivery* (London, 1642), p. 8. A similar sentiment was expressed in a printed letter from Dublin alderman William Bladen to his son. See, Anon., *A true and exact relation of the chiefe passages in Ireland, since the first rising of the rebels sent by an alderman of Dublin to his sonne, now resident in London, dated 14 of January, 1641* (London, 1642), p. 5.

[370] TCD, MS 839, ff. 68r-69v, Examination of Lady Charity Staples (13 April 1653); MS 839, ff. 72r-73v, Examination of Lady Charity Staples (25 August 1653); MS 838, ff. 38r-39v, Examination of Neile oge O'Quin (17 March 1653); MS 838, ff. 66v-67r, Examination of Lawrence ô Cullen (7 March 1653); MS 838, ff. 40r-v, Examination of James McIveagh (17 March 1653).

[371] For the return of Sir Thomas Staples lands in the 1650s see, Trinity College Dublin, 'The Down Survey of Ireland: county Tyrone, parish of Lissan', <http://www.downsurvey.tcd.ie/history.html>, accessed 25.02.2019.

refugee who had fled to Ireland to avoid taking the covenant, Adair allegedly stated he would rather take the covenant than abandon his wife and children. This and other comments resulted in a court case against Adair, who was subjected to fines and imprisonment. On 7 June 1641 the King ordered that the charges be erased from the record. Adair was restored to his previous rank and he was allowed to fill the vacant bishopric of Waterford and Lismore. Adair came to England during the rebellion where he remained until his death in 1647.[372] These men probably received half the relief of their female counterparts because the women were seen to lack the means of securing more permanent subsistence in the future and were accompanied by additional dependants, children and servants, which made additional relief necessary.

There are several exceptions to the special treatment of higher-ranking individuals. The bishop of Ardfert, Thomas Fuller, only received £10 from the committee in April 1642. The reasons for this are unclear, though it could be that Fuller already had sufficient means to sustain himself whilst in London. Fuller had fled Ireland with his wife and children at the start of the rebellion and found refuge in the capital.[373] The family resided, at least for a time, in St. Andrew's Holborn. A sermon preached by Fuller at Grays Inn (October 1642) was dedicated to 'the worthy gentlemen and inhabitants' of that parish who had been 'the chief preservers of me and mine since our escape out of Ireland…those lives your bounty hath cherished'.[374] On 7 September 1642, Fuller petitioned the Lords in Parliament for further relief. The petition shows Fuller was indignant at having been overlooked for relief at the last fast day. This suggests he had not received any additional relief from national initiatives since April.[375] In response the Lords ordered that he claim subsistence from the last fast collection, being 'a Person well deserving for his Pains and Abilities'.[376] Numerous factors were thus taken into consideration by the committee members when dispensing relief, beyond status, wealth and sex. Unfortunately, much like

[372] *ODNB.* See also, *CJ*, III, p. 101; BL, Add. MS. 4782, Orders of the English Parliamentary Committee for Irish affairs (1642-1643), pp. 488-489.

[373] *ODNB.*

[374] T. Fuller, *A sermon preached at Grayes-Inne* (London, 1642), p. i.

[375] PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/132, f. 38, Petition of Thomas Fulwar, Dr of Divinity and Bishop of Ardfert, in Ireland, having been despoiled of his estate by the rebellion (7 September 1642).

[376] *LJ*, V, p. 342.

the churchwardens' and constables' accounts in the localities, it is impossible to determine the exact reasons why specific sums were allocated to specific individuals.

The committee, despite its supposed autonomy, was subject to the whims of the Long Parliament. Besides the £3,127 spent between April and May, additional payments were also made at Parliament's behest. On the 22 April, £564 13s 4d was ordered to be paid to Nicholas Loftus, deputy treasurer of the war in Ireland, for 'Capps and Stockings provided for ye Souldiers' and on 3 May £6,000 was order to be paid to Loftus for 'the Service of the affayres of Ireland'.[377] This reallocation of funds calls into question the Act's original purpose. The wording of the Act included that, 'a general collection should with all expedition be made for that purpose [for the relief of refugees]. And forasmuch alsoe as a present supply of money is necessary for the raising of men to suppresse the said Rebellion which otherwise may indanger the peace and safety of this kingdome.' This simple inclusion justified Parliament's alternative spending of the contribution money and meant during the 1640s only a proportion of the money collected was ever allocated to refugees.[378] The treasurers for the contribution money claimed that between February and June 1642 only £5,574 was used for the purpose of relieving refugees from Ireland, around 12.4 per cent of the total amount collected.[379] Additional payments were made to refugees between 1642 and 1643, but these sums were still only a fraction of the total amount collected. From this it would seem that the Long Parliament never truly intended to use the contribution money fully for the relief of the refugees from Ireland.

By 16 May 1642 the Commons were discussing the suspension of the Committee for Contributions. For Sir John Evelyn this was to allow the contribution money to be diverted completely to the Irish war effort, with £1,500 that day being ordered to be sent to Dublin for 'the service of Ireland'.[380] In reality, once the committee had been suspended (17 May), the money was used both for Ireland and the Long Parliament's domestic problems. In particular, in the late spring and summer of 1642, as both sides began

[377] TNA, SP 28/193/3, f. 63r.

[378] *CJ*, II, p. 515. See also, TCD, MS 840, f. 55r, Reasons for early payment of sums to the poor of Ireland (8 August 1642).

[379] England and Wales. Parliament, *A declaration concerning the generall accompts of the kingdome with the true state of all receipts and disbursements of moneys both by land and sea for the use of the Common-wealth, since the first sitting of this Parliament unto the first of Iune, 1642* (London, 1642), p. 5.

[380] *PJ*, II, pp. 325-326, 334; *CJ*, II, p. 573; Armstrong, 'The Long Parliament', pp. 83-84.

gathering money and arms in preparation for military conflict, the money was used to take action against the King. On 22 June 1642 the Commons ordered that £2,000 of the contribution money be paid to the governor of Hull, Sir John Hotham. Presumably, a portion of this money was to be spent on the town's defences, as Hotham was also ordered to 'disburse so much Monies as he shall think necessary, for repairing and increasing the Fortifications about the Town of Hull, for the better Defence of that Place'.[381] This proved a prudent decision by Parliament. The previous April, the King had been denied entry into Hull thwarting his plan to claim England's second largest weapons arsenal. In response, Charles pronounced Hotham guilty of high treason and in June sought to reaffirm his control of the region by dispatching William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, from York to secure the city of Newcastle, its neighbouring ports and the Northumberland and Durham coalfield. On 7 July Charles returned to Hull with around 2,500 men to besiege the town, but failed to overcome the town's defences. The Royalist forces were subsequently routed at their headquarters in Anlaby and Charles abandoned the siege to return to York.[382] The Committee for Contribution was restored on 1 June but most of its resources were retained by the Committee for Irish Affairs, with only £1,000 reserved for relief and a further £1,000 returned the following month.[383] The committee by no means then had a monopoly on relief and certainly from the summer of 1642 shared out payments for refugee relief with the Committee for Irish Affairs.[384]

The reluctance of Parliament to use the contribution money for the relief of refugees is further evident by the fractional amounts of money returned to county and city authorities. On 17 May 1642, £150 of the £800 contributed by the county of Exeter was returned. Similarly, £500 of the £3,000 contributed by the county of Devon was returned.[385] Most often these sums were only returned in response to petitions.[386] On 9 May 1642, for instance, in response to a petition from the mayor and aldermen of Bristol,

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[381] *CJ*, II, p. 636.

[382] See, A. Hopper (ed.), *The papers of the Hothams, Governors of Hull during the Civil War* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 11-14.

[383] See, *PJ*, II, p. 402; *CJ*, II, pp. 595, 597, 674.

[384] See, BL, Add. MS 4782, pp. 20, 34-35, 39-40, 91-92, 157, 161-162, 355, 356, 359-360, 364, 378-379, 404, 406-407, 413-414, 428-429, 435, 471-472, 475, 486-487, 488-489, 529, 530.

[385] *CJ*, II, pp. 574-577.

[386] *PJ*, I, p. 94; *PJ*, II, pp. 221, 297, 333; *PJ*, III, pp. 13, 52.

it was agreed that 'the citizens should have their own contribution money to relieve such poor Protestants as were come to them out of Ireland'.[387] Complete control of contribution money only seems to have been granted to the cities of Bristol and Chester due to the high concentration of refugees arriving into the ports.[388] Passing over control of the contribution money broke with the prescriptions of the original Act by allowing local officials to distribute the money rather than Parliamentarian clerks; how this money was then distributed remains unclear.

The ambiguous nature of the Act of Contribution was replicated in a later collection taken in the Netherlands for the distressed Protestants of Ireland. On 27 July 1643 Parliament appointed four commissioners to raise money in the Netherlands,

> to solicit them for the Relief of Ireland where the Protestant Cause is so much concerned, and so many Thousands of them have been massacred by the cruel and inhuman Popish Rebels of that Kingdom, who have been and still are notoriously countenanced by the Jesuitical Party, throughout the World.[389]

Over £30,000 was collected over the course of two years and twelve ships laden with grain and victuals were dispatched to Ireland. The collection appears more impressive when compared with the £12,500 collected in England, over the course of twelve years, for the refugees of the German Palatinate. The substantial amount collected highlights the commitment of the Dutch Calvinists to the pan-European Protestant cause, more so perhaps than the English in the 1630s.[390] The collection reiterated the rebellion's role within the universal Catholic conspiracy against the godly and called upon the reciprocal relationship between Protestant nations to care for distressed co-religionists.

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[387] *PJ*, II, p. 297; *CJ*, pp. 564-565.

[388] *PJ*, II, p. 297; *CJ*, II, p. 565.

[389] *CJ*, III, p. 184. The Ordinance was published two days later. See, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 220-221.

[390] M. Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (London, 2005), p. 2; M. A. Breslow, *A Mirror of England: English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations, 1618-40* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 74-101, 103-138, 142.

The brief for the commissioners was wide-ranging and vague, leading to speculation about the nature of the collection. The commissioners were to negotiate with all,

> well-affected People to the Protestant Cause for the Relief of Ireland […] [to] act, and do, all Things whatsoever that concerneth this Affair there, in taking Subscriptions for lands in Ireland, receiving of Money, Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition, upon Loans and Contributions, transporting of them to any Parts and Places in Ireland.[391]

The timing of the collection is crucial in understanding Parliament's intentions for this money. The appeal for assistance came two years after news of the rebellion had first reached England, begging the question why relief had not been requested earlier if it was intended for the distressed Protestants. Critically, during the summer of 1643 the wars in Ireland had reached a stalemate and Parliamentarians were experiencing their lowest fortunes in their war with the King.[392] Within this context, the initiative's deliberate mixing of religion and politics, as Ole Peter Grell argues, was clearly an attempt to cover up Parliament's true intentions to use the money to supply its armies. It is little wonder that rumours circulated that the Irish Protestants were merely being used as a smokescreen by Parliament to hide their activities. These rumours were reinforced by the arrival of Protestant ministers from Ireland, who had received no aid from Parliament, and Sir William Boswell, the Royalist English Ambassador to The Hague, who rightly feared how this collection might be used against the King. Maurice Thomson, one of the commissioners, returned to London in January 1644 and informed the Select Committee for Irish Affairs about the rumours. Walter Strickland, Parliament's envoy to the United Provinces, was instructed the following June to take action against the misinformation.[393] Strickland's intervention, however, had limited success and greater provisos were placed on the collection by many of the authorities in the Dutch provinces, who specified that the money had to be used for supplies which must be sent directly to Ireland. The efforts of the Dutch to prevent the misuse of the collection meant that the money was spent on victuals

[391] *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 220-221.

[392] C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's War 1641-1647: The Great Rebellion* (6th edn., London, 1973), pp. 241-243; Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid?', p. 747.

[393] Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid?', pp. 751-752.

and grain, rather than weapons and ammunition. This did not mean though that all the aid was necessarily delivered to the distressed Protestants of Ireland, it is more than likely that much of this 'aid' went to the army in Ireland instead. In light of the Netherlands's collection and the Contribution it is little wonder that many contemporaries were sceptical of Parliament's motivations. Indeed, in 1644 Edward Symmons, chaplain to the Prince of Wales' lifeguards, claimed the 'Irish Combustions' had been raised 'as a mist to cloud their [Parliament's] purpose at home'.[394]

Ultimately, the Act of Contribution was a centralised initiative which allowed for the cost of relief to be spread more equally across England. Later collections were called by Parliament, such as those ordered in October 1646 and August 1647, but these were smaller local measures designed to alleviate pressure on the capital; where the number of poor residents had escalated during the wars in Britain and Ireland.[395] The Contribution, much like the calling of fast days, emphasised the importance of the laity in taking responsibility for refugee care. It placed refugee relief more firmly within the local context of the parish, making the eventual removal of Westminster from relief initiatives somewhat smoother.

The transition away from national relief measures became more intentional from March 1642 as discussions in Parliament turned to how the number of refugees in England could be curtailed. During a long debate on the disposing of the contribution money, Mr Glyn expressed that 'we might as well relieve those in Ireland as such as were come hither lest we should draw them all into England'.[396] It was feared that the provision of aid in England was encouraging refugees to travel across the Irish Sea, creating a confluence of poor who were a constant drain on resources. It was subsequently ordered that Glyn and others peruse the Act of Contribution to find a way of sending the contribution money directly to Ireland. It was not until 26 March that any substantial sum was sent to Ireland, with £1,000 being ordered out of the contribution money for 'the relief of those poor distressed Protestants that are in Dublyn'.[397]

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[394] E. Symmons, *Scripture vindicated, from the misapprehensions, misinterpretations & misapplications of Mr Stephen Marshall* (Oxford, 1644), pp. 14-15; Down, 'The curse of Meroz', p. 357.

[395] *LJ*, VIII, p. 544; *LJ*, IX, pp. 412-413.

[396] *PJ*, II, pp. 35-36.

[397] *CJ*, II, p. 500.

In the summer of 1642, the Committee for Contribution further advised the Commons to deliver £12,580 of the contribution money directly to Dublin to discourage refugees from seeking passage to England.[398] The advice followed a petition from the head of the Commission for the Despoiled Subject, Henry Jones, dean of Kilmore, which warned that unless more aid was delivered to Dublin refugees would continue to travel to England, 'to the infinit trouble of your Honors'.[399] Additional funds were desperately needed in Dublin. In a letter delivered to Parliament on the 16 March, the Lord Justices had estimated that around 4,000 Protestant refugees had arrived into the city. The population of Dublin had grown over the course of the seventeenth century from around 5,000 inhabitants in 1600 to 20,000 in 1640.[400] The arrival of the refugees from the surrounding countryside in 1641 increased the city's population by 20 per cent, a significant influx. The Justices stressed that the refugees were being sustained on a meagre £50 a week, the number being so great that it was impossible to provide sufficient food, clothing and shelter to all of them. Refugees were subsequently dying at a rate of thirty a day simply from want of subsistence.[401] One pamphlet described the refugees as,

> miserable spectacles…utterly spoyled and undone, nay stripped stark naked with dolefull cryes came daily flocking in to us by multitudes, upon whom as our bowels could not but yearn, so wee failed not to receive with all charitable welcome as comming from the next doore to Martyrdom.[402]

In response to the letter, consideration was given to an order to prevent any poor Irish from coming to England.[403] What happened with this particular act is unclear, though by 15 July Parliament had ordered that 'no more Monies may be disposed out of the Contribution

[398] TCD, MS 840 ff. 54r-55v, Statement relating to compensation of distressed petitioners (12 August 1642).

[399] TCD, MS 840 f. 29r, Petition of Henry Jones (Undated).

[400] T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland*: *Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, 3 volumes (Oxford, 1976), III, p. 390; C. Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin, 1550-1750', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 107 (2001), pp. 39-40.

[401] *PJ*, II, p. 46; J. Ohlmeyer, 'The civil wars in Ireland', in J. Ohlmeyer and J. Kenyon (eds.), *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638-1660* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 74-75.

[402] N. Bernard, *The whole proceedings of the siege of Drogheda in Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 3.

[403] *CJ*, II, p. 480. On 11 April the matter was simply recommitted to the Committee for Contribution. See, *CJ*, II, p. 521.

Money to relieve such as come out of Ireland hither: But that the Monies may be sent to relieve the distressed Protestants that do reside in Ireland*:* And an Order to prevent the Coming over of any more hither.'[404] The Committee for Contribution meanwhile, in seeking to encourage Parliament to deliver the recommended sums to Dublin, issued a report stating 'that there will be forthwith a great confluence of poore Ministers & other poore out of Ireland, that will come ouer; which the ordering of this money to be payd […] will prevent'.[405] The request for funds came at the most inopportune time. The outbreak of civil war in England in August 1642 had a thoroughly destabilising effect and the amount of money, soldiers and supplies available to aid the Protestant cause in Ireland was significantly reduced. Nevertheless, following the report from the committee it was resolved on 19 August that £3,000 be sent to Dublin, £500 to Ulster and £500 to Munster for the relief of ministers and poor people in those areas.[406]

Besides sending money to Ireland, as early as December 1641, male refugees were also enlisted in the army to reduce the number of destitute refugees leaving for England and replace the many soldiers lost in Ireland through combat and disease. At the outbreak of the rebellion, troops were raised to supplement Charles's standing army, which consisted of 2,297 foot and 943 horse. On 16 November Sir Robert Stewart was commissioned to raise a Protestant force in Ulster (the Laggan army), recruiting largely from Derry and Donegal. Forces were also sent from England. Sir Simon Harcourt arrived in Dublin on 20 December with a force of 1,100 volunteer infantry and Colonel George Monck soon followed on 21 February with 1,500 foot and 400 horse. Furthermore, from Scotland, Major-General Robert Monro landed at Carrickfergus on 3 April with 2,500 Scottish troops, later followed by an additional 7,500 Scottish troops. Leading Protestant landlords in Ulster also raised 9,900 foot and 750 horse between 1641 and 1643. Despite this by May 1642 the Protestant offensive had come to a halt, largely for want of supplies.

Further to this, the spread of disease had a destabilising effect on military action. Inadequate shelter, a poor diet, the damp climate and the exhortations of military campaigning resulted in pneumonia, consumption, dysentery and typhus, amongst other diseases. Of Colonel Edward Conway's regiment around 300 men, a third of his force,

[404] *CJ*, II, p. 674.

[405] TCD, MS 840, f. 55r.

[406] *CJ*, II, p. 728.

died in a single year due to a lack of quarter and provisions. In the spring of 1642 an outbreak of fevers and fluxes reduced the Royalist forces in Munster by around two-thirds. Overcrowding in urban centres aided the spread of disease, as soldiers and refugees poured into the major towns and cities across Ireland – Galway, Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Youghal, Waterford, Wexford, Carrickfergus and Ross.[407] Protestant male refugees were thus used to replace deceased soldiers.

The number of men taken to bolster the armies is reflected in the small proportion of men receiving relief in England, as opposed to women and children. In Upton, Nottinghamshire, only 7 per cent of the refugees recorded in the parish accounts were male while 20.9 per cent were women and 17.6 per cent were children. In Lincolnshire a similar trend is evident in Addlethorpe and Claypole, where 3.5 per cent and 4.4 per cent of the refugees recorded were men respectively. Naturally, a fair proportion of the male refugees who escaped to England were ministers and members of the gentry, those most likely to avoid being enlisted as soldiers in Ireland. In Claypole 22.2 per cent of the men who received relief were ministers and 22.2 per cent were described as 'gentlemen'. Similarly in Upton, 26.7 per cent of the men receiving relief were described as either ministers or gentlemen. This would also explain the proportion of higher status men being assisted by the Committee for Contribution.

The enlisting of male refugees was instigated by the Privy Council of Ireland. The letter delivered to Parliament in December 1641 which warned of the imminent arrival of women and children from Ireland also stated that, 'forasmuch as the City of Dublin is not able to entertain and nourish such Multitudes of poor distressed People who are stripped of all they have by the Rebels; they have thought fit to take up the Men to employ in His Majesty's Service in the Wars there'.[408] The taking of men for the armies in Ireland, however, did little to stem the tide of refugees passing into England and Parliament were forced to take whatever opportunities were available in order to remove refugees from England.

In January 1643 a petition from the inhabitants of New England requested that a collection be taken for the transportation of 'poor Children driven out of Ireland; and other poor fatherless Children' to the plantation. Parliament quickly resolved that the agents for

[407] Ohlmeyer, 'The civil wars in Ireland', pp. 74-7, 83-84.

[408] *LJ*, IV, p. 473.

New England be free to collect funds from the London parishes, including those of Westminster and Southwark, in order to send away 1,000 children.[409] The parish of St. Mary Magdalan Milk Street, for example, contributed £18 1s 1d to the effort.[410] The mayor of London regarded the scheme as 'a most Charitable worke, both to the Bodies and Soules of such poore miserable Children; as also a great easement to ourselves of a sore burden; and a furtherance to the manifold imployments of that Plantation'.[411] The New England agents Thomas Weld, lately a minister in Massachusetts, and Hugh Peter, an itinerant preacher; who was also appointed as an agent for the later Netherlands collection taken for Irish Protestants, similarly regarded the venture as a good work of charity and as a sensible policy for the good of England. Of the benefits, they noted that removing the poor children would take pressure off the London parishes and help to 'cure that infamie cast upon our Nation, Government, City, Religion, by base begging at every doore and street.' The venture was framed as the only recourse to prevent a subsistence crisis in London. The agents warned that 'if these Warres breed Famine…the more Poore the more your misery and sorrow'. With warfare in England and Ireland continuing and peace negotiations with the King failing, the number of Irish refugees, maimed soldiers, war widows and internally displaced English in the capital had increased exponentially. The sending away of refugee children was therefore a last resort to avoid such a disaster, 'for all other meanes of lessening your Poore, have been in vain'. The exploitation of the refugees for economic gain in the capital also links to the appropriation of the Contribution money for military purposes, further highlighting how the refugees were used to further political and economic agendas.[412]

While Parliament desired a reduction in the number of refugees coming to England attempts to achieve this aim had only limited success. It was evident that there was not enough money or resources to create and sustain a national system of relief whilst simultaneously maintaining the war effort in Ireland. The shift towards the localisation of

[409] *CJ*, II, p. 949. See, J. H. Hessels (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-batavae archivum* (3 volumes, Cambridge, 1887-1897), III part 2, no. 2704; LMA, CLC/180/MS07428/017, f. 2704r, Petition from the inhabitants of New England regarding the sending over of orphans from Ireland (1 January 1642).

[410] K. Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree: Irish immigration to London in the mid-seventeenth century, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1989), pp. 110-113.

[411] Hessels, *Ecclesiae London-batavae,* III part 2, no. 2705.

[412] Hessels, *Ecclesiae London-batavae,* III part 2, no. 2706.

relief had been gradual, with sermons and the Act of Contribution placing some responsibility for relief on the laity. But, it was Parliament's attempts to prevent refugees from coming to England and the suspension of the Committee for Contribution in May 1642 which effectively signalled the end of any national attempt to organise relief. From this point both the King and Parliament removed refugees from their political agendas, leaving the burden of relief on local parish officials. Without recourse to an established national procedure for relief, local officials were thus forced to incorporate Irish refugees into the pre-existing system of the Poor Laws.

The Elizabethan Poor Laws, devised in 1597 with later amendments in 1601, brought together sixteenth-century practices into a codified system, designed to alleviate poverty and reduce vagrancy.[413] Levels of poverty had risen during the sixteenth century as a result of population growth, recurrent subsistence crises, the enclosure of land and pressure on resources. These factors led to increased migration across England which continued throughout the seventeenth century.[414] Contemporary officials blamed migrants for the rising local poverty levels and feared that such unmanaged movement would lead to public disorder. These fears were exacerbated by an extensive rogue literature which exaggerated the volume and extent of vagrancy and its threat to society.[415] A. L. Beier has shown that the stories of large and highly organised vagrant gangs, which featured prominently in pamphlet literature, were literary fabrications, though David Appleby argues that the extent and threat of military vagrancy to society needs to be reassessed.[416]

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[413] 39 Eliz., c. 3. For measures of relieve before the Old Poor Laws and the practises of informal relief see, Hindle, 'Dearth, fasting and alms', pp. 44-86; I. Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and favours: informal support in early modern England', *Journal of Modern History*, 72/2 (2000), pp. 295-338; M. McIntosh, 'Poor relief in Elizabethan communities: an analysis of collectors' accounts', *Economic History Review*, 67/2 (2014), pp. 331-357; S. Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004); P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1988); C. S. Schen, 'Constructing the poor in early seventeenth-century London', *Albion*, 32/3 (2000), pp. 450-463.

[414] I. D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (London, 2000), pp. 49-50.

[415] P. Clark and D. Souden, 'Introduction', in P. Clark and D. Souden (eds.), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 11-48; P. Fumerton, 'Making vagrancy (in)visible: the economics of disguise in early modern rogue pamphlets', *English Literary Renaissance*, 33/2 (2003), pp. 211-227.

[416] A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London, 1985), p. 123; D. J. Appleby, 'The third army: wandering soldiers and the negotiation of parliamentary authority', in D. J.

Regardless, vagrants became the scapegoats for all social problems and by the mid-seventeenth century were a stereotype for criminality.[417] The Act for the Relief of the Poor (1601) contained little that was legally new but critically 'fixed the parish as the unit of ultimate responsibility' for the relief of the poor.[418] Poor money was to be raised by a parish poor rate upon the more substantial households of the parish.[419] The rate was not a new innovation, as parish levies had been present before the 1590s, though it was now expected that the rate be paid uniformly across the Country.[420]

The Poor Laws were representative of the shifting attitudes towards the poor in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The new Protestant ethic stipulated that labour was 'the cure of the fallen man', and so the poor were expected to seek employment in order that they did not become idle dependants in the parish.[421] Access to relief thus depended primarily on whether an individual was regarded as 'deserving' or 'undeserving'. The 'deserving' poor were those who were seen as the victims of circumstance, unable to work through no fault of their own.[422] In contrast, the 'undeserving' were seen as responsible for

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Appleby and A. Hopper (eds.), *Battle-scarred: Mortality, Medical Care and Military Welfare in the British Civil Wars* (Manchester, 2018), pp. 137-155.

[417] P. Slack, 'Vagrants and vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', *Economic History Review,* 27/3 (1974), p. 360; J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550–1750* (London, 1984); L. Charlesworth, 'Why is it a crime to be poor?', *Liverpool Law Review,* 21/2-3 (1999), 154-155.

[418] W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London, 1959), p. 97.

[419] S. Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 237.

[420] P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Hassocks, 1977), p. 239; M. McIntosh, 'Local responses to the poor in late medieval and Tudor England', *Continuity and Change,* 3/2 (1988), pp. 230-235; A. L. Beier, 'Poverty and progress in early modern England', in D. Cannadine and J. Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 235-236.

[421] C. Hill, 'Puritans and the Poor', *Past and Present,* 2/1 (1952), pp. 34-36. Making a distinction between the traditional Catholic ethic of relief and the new Protestant ethic has been heavily criticised by historians. See, S. Cavallo, 'The motivations of benefactors: an overview of approaches to the study of charity', in J. Barry and C. Jones (eds.), *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State* (London, 1991), p. 47.

[422] This category included the sick, the old, one-parent families and children. G. Oxley, *Poor Relief in England and Wales 1601-1834* (London, 1974), pp. 57-59; R. Juitte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modem Europe* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 10-12.

their poor condition, often associated with some kind of moral failing. Within this dichotomy, the sixteenth-century English writer Willian Harrison identified three 'degrees' (sub-categories) of poor. The first two degrees made up the deserving and the third constituted the undeserving. The poor 'by impotency': 'the fatherlesse child', 'the aged, blind, and lame' and 'the diseased person that is juged to be incurable'. The poor 'by casualty': 'the wounded souldier', 'the decaied householder' and 'the sicke persine visited with grevous…diseases'. The poor 'thriftless': 'the riotour that hath consumed all', 'the vagabond that will abide no where' and 'the rog[u]e and strumpet'.[423]

These distinctions were simple, clear-cut and allowed writers and administrators to identify and locate the poor within society, through their writings. In the everyday workings of poor relief, however, distinguishing between the different kinds of poor was much more difficult.[424] Claire Schen has shown how parish officials redrew 'the contours of the deserving and undeserving poor within the broader frame of the infirm, aged, and sick' in order to accommodate a new category of poor, that is the 'new poor', who were not specifically covered by the Poor Laws.[425] Religious refugees were included within this category. Continental conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had resulted in thousands of Protestants seeking sanctuary in England, the extent of which had been unanticipated by English poor law innovators. As a result, refugees existed outside the traditional dichotomy of deserving and undeserving poor. They did not fit into the Elizabethan discourse of poverty and contemporary understanding of what it meant to be poor, leaving local officials the responsibility of a) interpreting whether refugees were deserving or undeserving and b) deciding how these people should be relieved. Redefinition of 'the poor' enabled officials to decide for themselves who was eligible for relief and what methods of relief they wished to use, all in reference to the conditions and needs of their individual parishes.[426]

In the 1640s, upon arrival in England, the refugees from Ireland were expected to return to their parishes of birth or previous residence. County officials, such as justices of

[423] W. Harrison, *Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth,* edited by F. Furnivall (London, 1877), p. 213.

[424] Juitte, *Poverty and Deviance,* p. 6.

[425] Schen, 'Constructing the poor', p. 450.

[426] Schen, 'Constructing the poor', pp. 450-463; C. Langley, 'Caring for soldiers, veterans and families in Scotland, 1638-1651' *History*, 102/349 (2017), p. 22.

the peace, and officials in county towns – mayors, aldermen, bailiffs etc. – were keen for this procedure to be followed. In Staffordshire the Justices ordered that,

> all such poore persons as shall soe retorne into this county shall be received into the same parishes where they last inhabited before they went into Ireland, there to be relieved by their parentes or by theire owne labour if they be able, if not, then by the churchwardens and overseers of the poore of such parishes; and if that parishe be surcharged with poor then the neighbouringe parishes are to contribute towards their charges in that behalf. [427]

Similarly, in Bristol the first wave of refugees to arrive in 1642 were provided with passes from the Mayor in order that they 'goe home to their Cou[n]try'. Once settled in these 'home' parishes refugees were to be provided for by their families or by their own labours. In Somerset, William Waldron was left responsible for the care of his children, grandchildren, brother and brother's family; amounting to twenty people, who had all been driven out of Ireland.[428] If it was not possible for the refugees to be cared for by relatives or friends then churchwardens or overseers of the poor were expected to offer parish relief. Equally, parish officials were expected to care for the unemployable: the lame, old and impotent.

If a parish had more retainers than could be sustained neighbouring parishes were to offer assistance. The case of Elizabeth Browne highlights this forced co-operation between parishes. Elizabeth had returned to her parish of birth, Betley in Staffordshire, where she received a pension of 10d a week. Despite this support Elizabeth continued to plead poverty. As a result the Justices ruled for an increase in relief to 1s a week. Betley was unable to pay this increased sum, so they were to be assisted by the neighbouring parishes of Madeley, Audley and Balterley who were to provide lump-sum grants of 25s, 25s and 10s respectively.[429] Further measures outlined in the Poor Laws included the binding of orphan children or children whose parents could not afford them to

[427] SRO, Q/SO/5, Staffordshire quarter sessions order book (April 1640-January 1654), pp. 117-118.

[428] Lindley, 'Impact of the Irish rebellion', p. 150.

[429] SRO, Q/SR/251, ff. 44, 46, Staffordshire quarter sessions rolls (July 1642).

apprenticeships. In Bristol in 1643 Elizabeth Nethercott, a 'poore fatherless and motherless childe which came out of Ireland', was apprenticed to Peter Spurrer for the space of twelve years to learn how to make buttons. At the same time, William Nethercott (possibly Elizabeth's brother) was apprenticed to John Beddleston, a bodice maker, for the space of eleven years.[430] From these examples it would appear that the Poor Laws were followed by local officials for the relief of refugees. It would be a mistake though to assume that this was true in all cases. These measures only applied to first and second generation New English refugees, who had been born in England or whose parents had been born in England. Furthermore, while the gradual localisation of relief allowed Parliament to focus more on the war in Ireland and conflict with the King it also meant local officials were able to organise and dispense relief as they chose. As such local officials were empowered to devise local systems of relief and refugee management that took into consideration the shifting economic, religious, political and social landscapes of their parishes and counties.

At the outbreak of the Irish rebellion both the King and Parliament looked to take action for Ireland's defence. The response to the rebellion, however, was impeded by festering tensions within the English establishment. The subsequent delay in military action allowed the rebellion to spread quickly and take root across the whole of Ireland. It is unsurprising then that refugee relief never became a political priority, despite the seemingly positive initial response. The calling of fast days emphasized the religious duty of care to fellow Protestants by contextualizing the rebellion within the well-known, pan-European narrative of Catholic attacks on God's chosen people. Sermons preached on these days also highlighted the deservedness of refugees, within this tradition, and encouraged the provision of spiritual and material aid to the distressed Protestants of Ireland, which also helped in appeasing God's wrath against the English. The Act of Contribution, meanwhile, spread the financial burden of relief across England and Wales and placed greater responsibility on the laity. The majority of the money collected for the Contribution, however, was not used for its principal stated purpose. The inclusion of the phrase 'forasmuch alsoe as a present supply of money is necessary for the raising of men to suppresse the said Rebellion', in the wording of the Act, justified Parliament's alternative spending. The siphoned money was initially used for the war in Ireland, but as

[430] BRO, F/Au/1/22, Bristol Mayor's audit book: 21 (1640-1644), p. 227.

military engagement with the King became increasingly likely in the spring and summer of 1642 the money was gradually redirected by Parliament for domestic purposes.[431]

This scepticism of the King and Parliament's intentions for the Contribution could simply be a misunderstanding of what relief meant to the political hierarchy in England during the 1640s. Defeating the popish rebels would return Ireland to the godly, rescue the distressed Protestants in Ireland and perhaps allow the repatriation of refugees. Consequently, utilisation of the contribution money for the war effort in Ireland, in conjunction with repentance for past sins, reformation of the English Church and attending to the immediate physical needs of the refugees, meant achieving ultimate victory over the Antichrist. Such an understanding of relief is supported by the language of the Act which stated the Act had been authorised for 'the preservation of the true Protestant Religion'.[432] Whilst this understanding of 'relief' in its broader sense is important, immediate physical relief was still necessary and Parliament could not ignore the needs of the increasing number of poor refugees traversing the capital.

In the winter of 1641/2, Parliament and the King, although informed of the arrival of refugees, were clearly unaware of the sheer number who had arrived into the Country in search of subsistence. By the spring of 1642 the war in Ireland had reached a stalemate; victory over the popish rebels had yet to be secured, and relations with the King continued to worsen. Refugees continued to arrive into England without regard for the political, social and economic inconvenience they caused. The shift in policy in March 1642 thus reflected Parliament's realisation of the scale of the crisis. Localised relief naturally took the place of the impractical centralised system of the Act of Contribution; an initiative which helped very few counties in England with the organisation and financial cost of refugee relief. Local parish officials were thus left with the arduous task of providing immediate relief to refugees. This was a difficult task which was further exacerbated by the outbreak of civil war in England. The financial demands of war included: payment of extra taxation, contributing resources, quartering soldiers and supporting maimed soldiers, war widows and families left impoverished by the conscription of the family

[431] For further examples of the contribution money being spent on the war in Ireland see, *CJ*, II, pp. 476, 573, 700. For examples of the money being spent for domestic purposes see, *CJ*, II, pp. 604, 851; *CJ*, III, p. 35.

[432] 16 Char. I, c. 30.

breadwinner.[433] Inevitably, the economic burden of the civil wars in addition to the complex web of social, religious, political and cultural circumstances of each and every parish in England resulted in wide geographical and temporal variances in aid throughout the 1640s.

[433] Areas surrounding garrisons were especially affected due to the additional loss of livestock, crops, raw materials and labour.

Chapter Four

Negotiating relief in the midst of war: a regional perspective on the migration of refugees and the organisation and extent of relief

Relief for the refugees who escaped to England in the wake of the Irish rebellion never became a national political priority. The need to secure money and resources, both at home and in Ireland, meant that the funds collected from the Act of Contribution (January 1642) were allocated to military use, at the expense of the thousands of refugees for whom the money was originally intended. At the same time, sermons which had stressed the need to assist Ireland took on a new meaning in the context of war in England. The 'Curse of Meroz', for example, a biblical curse in the book of Judges, was no longer used by godly ministers to emphasise the providential wrath which awaited those who failed to contribute to Ireland's relief, rather it acted as a 'stark reminder of the repercussions in store for citizens who wished to remain neutral' in the conflict between the King and Parliament.[434] Political upheaval in England thus subsumed concerns for the distressed Protestants of Ireland. The scale of the refugee crisis also meant that a centralised system of relief was both impractical and, in the context of the civil wars, impossible to maintain. The natural solution was to devolve relief to the localities and utilise pre-existing local administrative structures and poor relief systems to dispense charity. Local officials thus became responsible for the organisation of refugee relief. In taking up this mantle they were forced to mediate the care of numerous new dependants with the economic needs of their individual parishes, whilst simultaneously maintaining peace and order. This was an arduous task, further complicated by the wars in England, which inevitably resulted in variations in the extent and organisation of relief.

To date only a small handful of studies have considered the dispensation of relief to Irish refugees in the English localities. Joseph Cope's assessment of relief in Wiltshire centred on a comparison between casual outdoor relief and donations to the Act of Speedy Contribution. He concluded that local inhabitants responded much more positively and generously to the 'abstract construction of Protestant Victimhood disseminated in the Act' then to the presence of refugees themselves. This was largely due to the long-standing

[434] Bible New International Version, Judges 5:23; J. S. Down, 'The curse of Meroz and the English Civil War', *Historical Journal*, 57/2 (2014), p. 352.

stereotype of the 'evil Irish beggar', the heightened fear of popery and the economic strain of multiple new dependants.[435] While this argument has merit, in that one-off payments to refugees in the localities were generally not as substantial as donations to the Act, fear and suspicion towards refugees was not as widespread or as stark as Cope suggests. In my detailed study of relief in the parish of Upton it was shown that the constables of the parish, while deliberate in labelling the refugees as 'Irish' to maintain transience, devised a system of lodging refugees within the parish. Such a system ensured a cash economy was functioning in the parish and was a means of redistributing wealth to the poorer members of the community to prevent them from becoming dependent on the poor rate. This was certainly not the response of 'a community which regarded the refugees as 'evil' Irish'.[436]

Furthermore, Cope's study is limited in its contextualisation of parochial relief within the broader economic, political, religious and topographical landscape of Wiltshire. As a result, Cope oversimplifies the responses of local communities to the refugee presence. Ian Atherton and Michael Cooksley, meanwhile, considered seventeenth-century markers for relief used by parish officials in Staffordshire to decide how much relief should be dispensed to refugees.[437] By concentrating on local responses to refugees, through the lens of charity, this chapter will reassess the previous historiography by highlighting the complexity of refugee relief in the localities. This will be conducted through an exploration of the migration patterns of refugees, the organisation of relief and the variations in extent of relief across five English counties. Greater consideration will be given to the broader political, economic and topographical circumstances of counties and parishes during the 1640s, which in turn will reveal how local officials sought to balance the various pragmatic concerns of their respective parishes with the spiritual necessity of aiding distressed co-religionists.

The counties selected for this study are Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, which together constitute a midlands and eastern block of England. It would be impossible, due to the restrictions of space in this thesis, to survey all the counties of the Midlands and East Anglia, even less analyse all the counties of

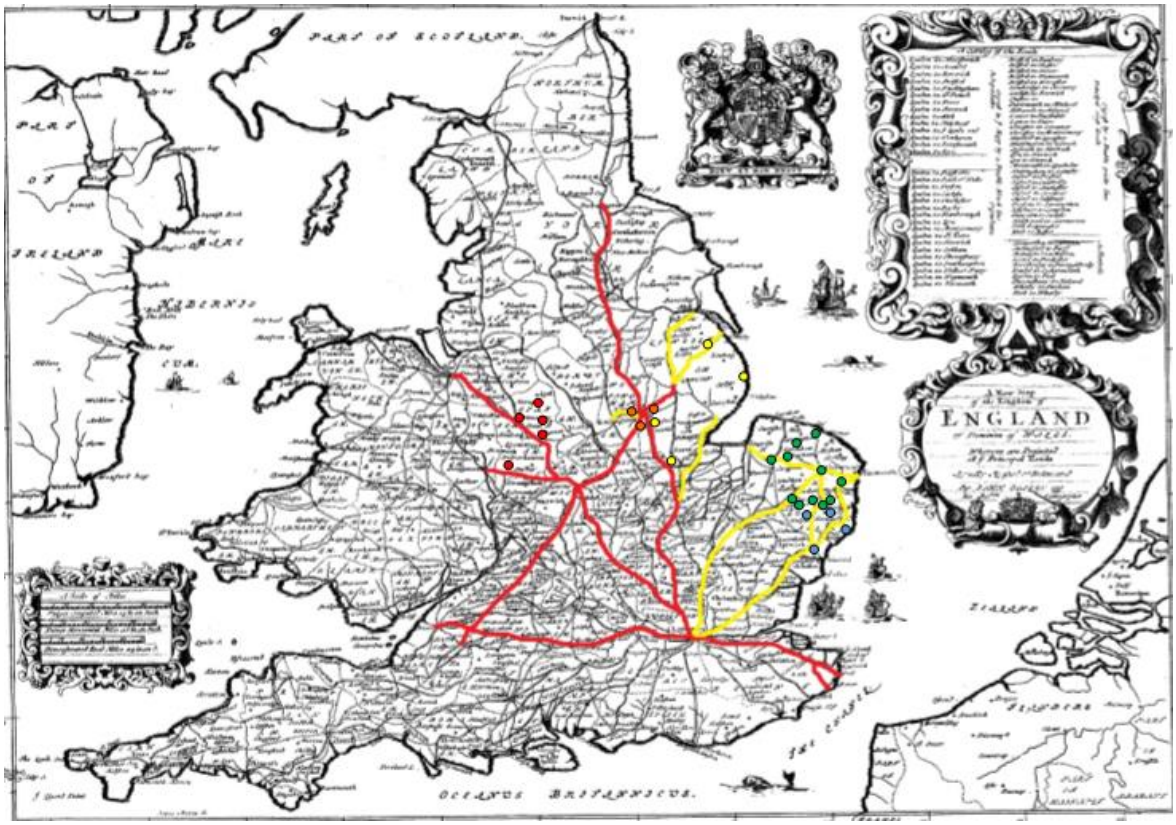
[435] J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 119-142.

[436] B. Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651', *Midland History,* 42/2 (2017), pp. 194-216, quoted at p. 215.

[437] M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), pp. 55-79.

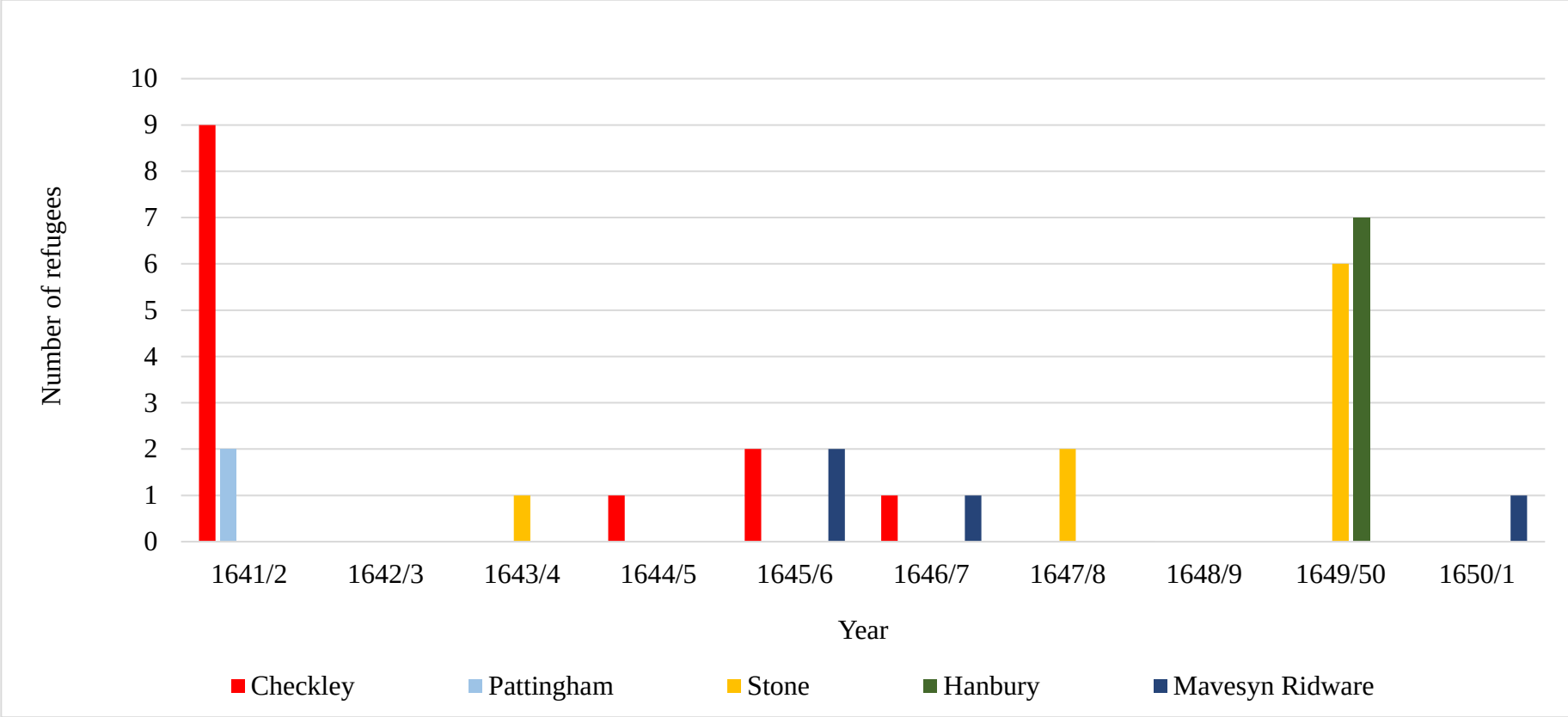
England and Wales. Through a series of sample studies of parishes within these five counties, it is possible to garner how rural parishes and provincial towns balanced the dispensation of charity to refugees with other parochial concerns. The locations of the thirty-five sample parishes analysed in this chapter are shown in Figure 4.1, in relation to principal roads which traversed England in the 1640s. For Norwich and Ipswich only one marker has been used to represent the sample parishes within each city. These parishes were selected based on the availability of constables' and churchwardens' accounts, as outlined in the Introduction.

Figure 4.1: Map of sample parishes in relation to principal roads which traversed England during the 1640s.[438]



[438] The road networks have been derived using, J. Ogilby, *Britannia, volume the first, or, An illustration of the Kingdom of England and dominion of Wales* (London, 1675). The red lines denote major roads and the yellow lines denote subsidiary roads. The red markers represent the sample parishes located in Staffordshire – Stone, Pattingham, Checkley, Hanbury and Mavesyn Ridware. The orange markers represent the sample parishes located in Nottinghamshire – Upton, Coddington and Thorpe. The yellow markers represent the sample parishes located in Lincolnshire – Addlethorpe, Claypole, Stamford and Louth. The green markers represent the sample parishes located in Norfolk – Fritton, Gissing, St. Gregory Norwich, Starston, Hanworth, Earsham, St. Andrews Norwich, Swaffham, Kenninghall, Guestwick, Wendling, Bressingham. The blue markers represent the sample parishes in Suffolk – Dunwich, St. Stephen Ipswich, St. Nicholas Ipswich, St. Mary Stoke Ipswich, St. Helen Ipswich, St. Mary Elms Ipswich, St. Matthew Ipswich, St. Mary at Quay Ipswich, St. Lawrence Ipswich, Cratfield, Yaxley.

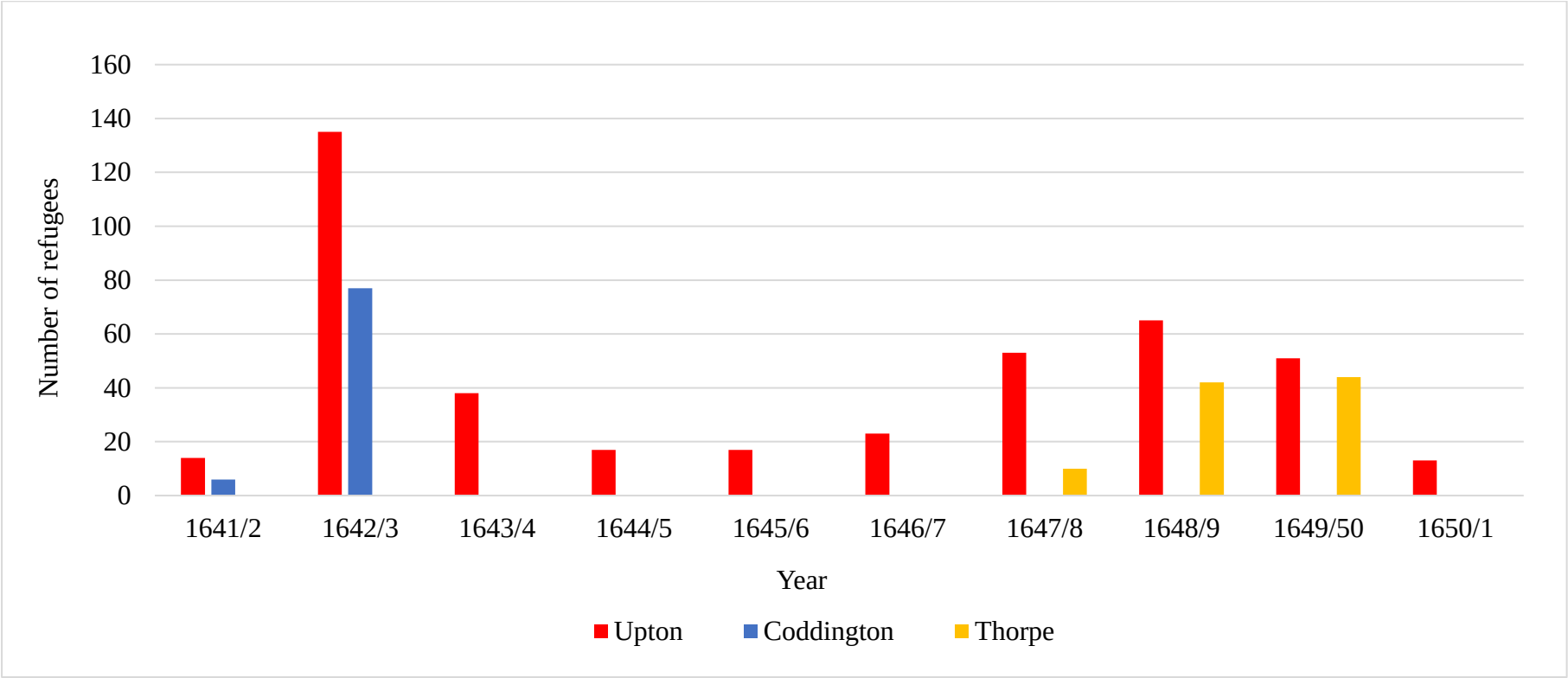
Figure 4.2: Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Staffordshire (1641-1651).[439]



[439] Figures derived from, SRO, D113/A/PC/1, Checkley churchwardens' and overseers' account book (1628-1672); D1528/4/1, Hanbury, St. Werburgh, churchwardens' and overseers' account book (1634-1714); D3451/2/2, Pattingham parish officers' account book (1582-1646); D3712/4/1, Mavesyn Ridware, St. Nicholas, parish book (1642-1698); D4605/2, Stone, St. Michael, churchwardens' accounts (1634-1684).

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Checkley	9	IN	0	1	2	1	IN	0	0	0
Pattingham	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R
Stone	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	6	0
Hanbury	0	N/R	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	N/R
Mavesyn Ridware	N/R	N/R	0	0	2	1	0	N/R	0	1

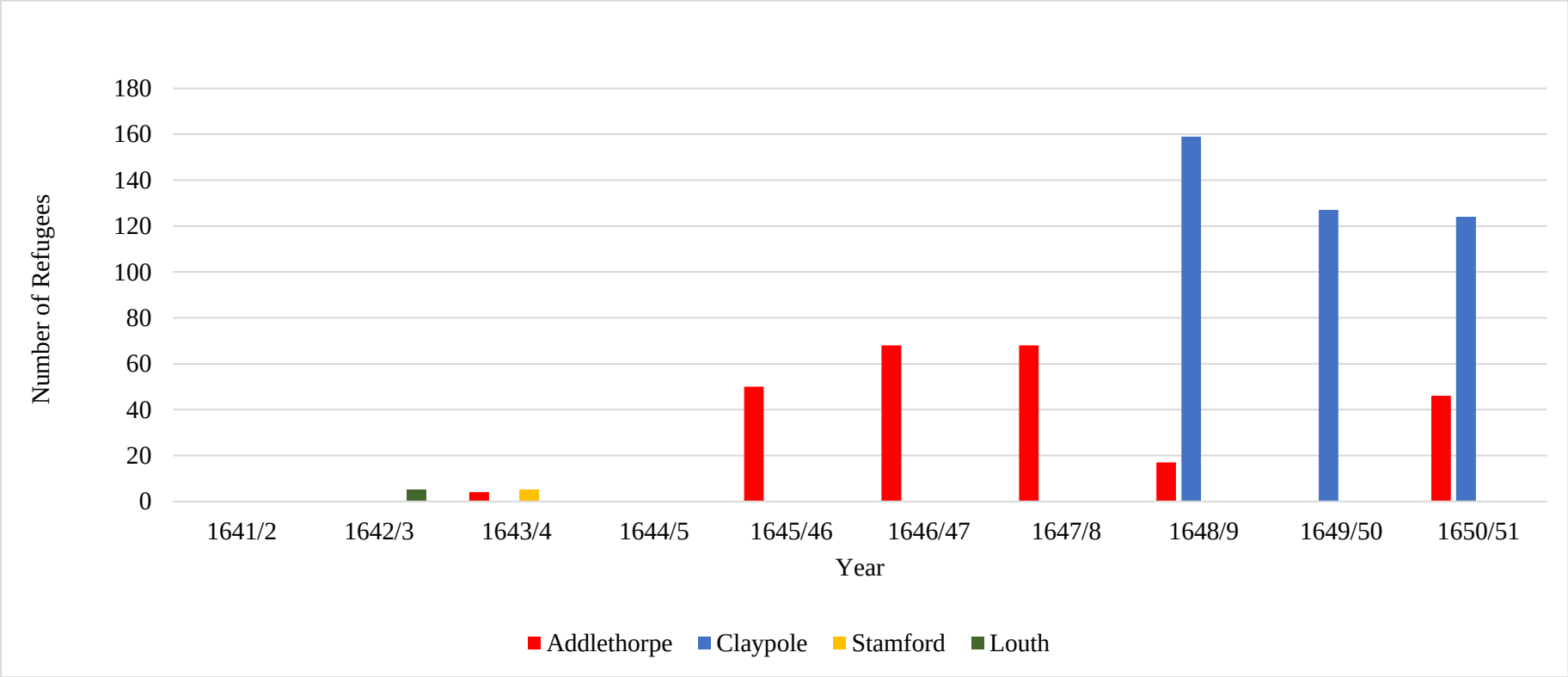
Figure 4.3: Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Nottinghamshire (1641-1651).[440]



[440] Figures derived from, NA, PR1531/1, Coddington constables' accounts (1641-1643); PR1709, Upton churchwardens' accounts (1640-1644); PR1710, Upton constables' accounts (1640-1666); PR5767/2, Thorpe constables' accounts (1642-1651).

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Upton	14	135	38	17	17	23	53	65	51	13
Coddington	6	77	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Thorpe	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	10	42	44	N/R

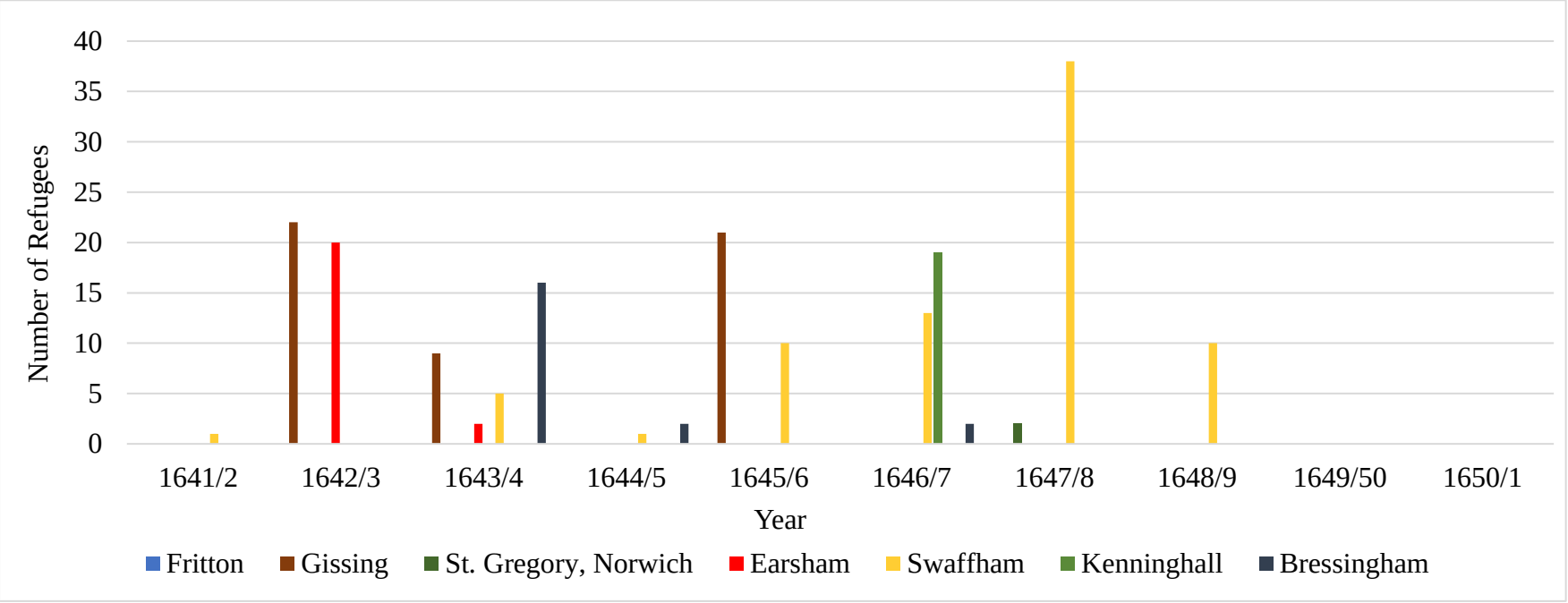
Figure 4.4: Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Lincolnshire (1641-1651).[441]



[441] Figures derived from, LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, Addlethorpe constables' accounts (1637-1685); CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/1, Claypole churchwardens' accounts (1647-1651); CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/2, Claypole constables' accounts (1642, 1649-1651); LOUTH ST JAMES PAR/7/5, Louth churchwardens' accounts (1624-1756); STAMFORD ST JOHN PAR 10/1, Stamford vestry book with churchwardens' accounts (1588-1675).

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/46**	**1646/47**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/51**
Addlethorpe	N/R	N/R	4	N/R	50	68	68	17	N/R	46
Claypole	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	159	127	124
Stamford	N/R	N/R	5	N/R	0	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Louth	0	5	0	0	N/R	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 4.5: Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Norfolk (1641-1651).[442]



[442] Figures derived from, NRO, MF/723/5, Parish records of Fritton, Norfolk, churchwardens' accounts (1615-1663); Microfilm MF/1801/2-33, Parish records of Gissing churchwardens' account book (1640-1688); Microfilm MF 894/1, Parish records of St Gregory, Norwich, churchwardens' account book (1574-1771); Microfilm MF/X1/MC/134/10, Starston parish papers overseers' account book (1622-1670); AYL/453, Hanworth overseers' accounts (1618-1730); MC/15/16, 389X8, Earsham parish papers constables' accounts (1642-92); MC/992/1, 801X8, St Andrew's, Norwich, overseers' accounts (1623-1714); PD/52/72, Parish records of Swaffham churchwardens' accounts (1627-1652); MC 179/9, 629X2, Kenninghall overseers of the poor and constables' accounts (1646-1647); Microfilm MF/1796/104-187, Parish records of Guestwick overseers' account book (1628-1699); Microfilm 1034/22, Accounts of the overseers of the poor of the parish of Wendling with rate lists (1631-1700); Microfilm MF/948/4, Parish records of Bressingham churchwardens' accounts (1581-1594, 1600-1680). Starston, Hanworth, Guestwick, Wendling and St. Andrews Norwich have been excluded from the graph as the account wielded no results.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Fritton	0	IN	IN	IN	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R
Gissing	0	22	9	N/R	21	N/R	0	N/R	0	N/R
St. Gregory, Norwich	0	0	0	IN	0	0	2	0	0	N/R
Earsham	N/R	20	2	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Swaffham	1	IN	5	1	10	13	38	10	0	0
Kenninghall	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	19	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Bressingham	0	0	16	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
Starston	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hanworth	0	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R	0	0	0
Guestwick	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wendling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Andrews, Norwich	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 4.6: Minimum number of refugees receiving one-off payments of relief in Suffolk (1641-1651).[443]



[443] Figures derived from, SUFRO, C/5/3/2/1/1-2, St. Helen, Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account books (1645-1655); C/5/3/2/2/1, St. Lawrence, Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account books (1598-1645); C/5/3/2/3/1, St. Mary Elms, Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account books (1600-1645); C/5/3/2/4/1, St. Mary at Quay, Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account books (1598-1645); C/5/3/2/5/1, St. Mary Stoke, Ipswich, churchwardens, and overseers' of the poor account books (1645-1646); C/5/3/2/6/1-4, St. Matthew, Ipswich, churchwardens, and overseers' of the poor account books (1645-1651); C/5/3/2/7/1, St. Nicholas, Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account books (1598-1645); EE6/2/1/3, Dunwich town corporation records minute book of assembly (1627-1653); FB107/A1/1, St. Stephen, Ipswich, parish book containing minutes of town meetings and churchwardens' accounts (1585-1973); FB128/A8/1, Yaxley town book and churchwardens' accounts (1638-1653); L. A. Botelho (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of Cratfield, 1640-1660* (Suffolk Records Society Series volume 42, Woodbridge, 1999). St. Stephen Ipswich, St. Mary Stoke Ipswich, St. Helen Ipswich, St. Mary at Quay Ipswich, St. Lawrence Ipswich and Yaxley have been excluded from the graph as they yielded no results.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
St. Nicholas, Ipswich	0	2	0	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Dunwich	52	N/R	0	0	2	2	N/R	N/R	N/R	16
St. Mary Elms, Ipswich	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Matthew, Ipswich	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	N/R	1	0	N/R	0
Cratfield	3	42	11	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Stephen, Ipswich	N/R	0	N/R	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	N/R
St. Mary Stoke, Ipswich	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
St. Helen, Ipswich	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	0	N/R	0	N/R
St. Mary at Quay, Ipswich	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
St. Lawrence, Ipswich	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Yaxley	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Generally speaking, across England the greatest number of refugees received aid between the winter of 1641 and the spring of 1643, as the first wave of distressed Protestants fled Ireland and migrated across England. In the first months after the outbreak of the rebellion a minimum of 1,300 refugees arrived into England via the ports of Chester and Bristol, while others arrived into Minehead, Liverpool, the Isle of Wight and London, amongst others. Ports on the east coast of England show a similar trend, although fewer refugees disembarked here by virtue of the greater distance from Ireland. In the small port town of Dunwich, Suffolk, for example, fifty-two refugees received relief in 1641/2. From these coastal areas refugees usually migrated inland, resulting in a correspondingly high number of refugees in inland parishes. In Cratfield, Suffolk, forty-two refugees were relieved in 1642/3. In Gissing, Norfolk, twenty-two refugees were aided in 1642/3. In Upton, 135 refugees were aided in 1642/3 and seventy-seven were aided in Coddington, Nottinghamshire, in 1642/3.

Later fluctuations in refugee numbers reflected subsequent events and developments in the British and Irish Civil Wars, both nationally and regionally. A letter to the Commons from Dublin, dated 2 August 1643, noted how the arrest and imprisonment of Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Temple and Sir Robert Loftus in Dublin castle, by Lords Justices Sir John Borlase and Sir Henry Tichborne, caused many English to depart from Ireland in 'great numbers, because the King has given too much countenance to natives of this most unfortunate Kingdom'. Of these refugees 'the poorer sort of them fly for refuge into England, but they who have anything left go to the Low Countries, fearing to stay here since the committal of the above-named councillors'.[444] The signing of the Cessation of Arms in Ireland on 15 September 1643, meanwhile, seemingly resulted in a decrease in the number of refugees migrating to England. The agreement signed between the Royalists and the Irish Confederates stipulated that the Confederacy could retain all the land they had captured in Ireland in exchange for contributions of money and supplies to the Royalist cause. After the Cessation relative peace was brought to Ireland, at least ostensibly, meaning that fewer refugees had reason to travel to England. This peace was reflected in a number of English parishes by a drop in refugee numbers. In Upton the number of refugees receiving aid fell from thirty-eight in 1643/4 to seventeen in 1644/5. In Bressingham, Norfolk, sixteen refugees were given aid in 1643/4 and only two

[444] HMC, *Portland*, I, pp. 125-6. See also, *CJ*, III, p. 125.

were aided in 1644/5. Likewise, in Merrington, Durham, six refugees were given aid in 1643/4 and no refugees were aided in 1644/5.[445]

On 30 July 1646 James Butler, marquis of Ormond, concluded a peace with the Confederate Supreme Council in Ireland. The treaty, published in early August, contained thirty articles which offered concessions to Irish Catholics including: amnesty for any acts committed during the 1641 rebellion and subsequent civil war, security of tenure for Catholic landowners, a reversal of the land confiscations conducted by Sir Thomas Wentworth and permission for Catholics to establish schools, a university and Inns of Court. The peace was unpopular, particularly amongst the Catholic clergy. The articles failed to address the question of religion, with only Ormond's private assurance that toleration would be enacted. On 12 August a clerical congregation was held in Waterford in which the peace was rejected. A new Confederate Supreme Council was appointed, with the papal nuncio Giovanni Rinuccini appointed as its president. For Rinuccini no peace could be achieved without full assurance that Catholicism would become the dominant, public religion of Ireland. The new council immediately looked to advance on Dublin using the Confederation's Ulster and Leinster armies. In response Ormond quickly retreated to Dublin, ordering his army to appropriate or destroy the harvest within an eight-mile radius of the city and destroy corn mills and bridges over the River Liffey. The failure of Ormond's peace initiative elicited a new wave of migration to England. Fear of the Irish advance and the destruction of so many resources forced many civilians around Dublin to flee, with a number escaping to England.[446] Consequently, the minimum number of refugees being given aid in many English parishes rose between 1646 and 1648. In Upton the number increased from twenty-three in 1646/7 to fifty-three in 1647/8. In Swaffham there was an increase from thirteen to thirty-eight in these years and an increase from five to nine in Merrington.[447]

Regional developments in the civil wars had a similarly significant impact on the fluctuation of refugee numbers, creating local migration patterns unique to each parish. Such local patterns are discernible in the parish of Upton, which has the most complete set

[445] DCRO, EP/Mer/34, Merrington churchwardens' accounts (1621-1955), pp. 41-42. Reference courtesy of Andrew Hopper.

[446] P. Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641-49* (Cork, 2001), pp. 92-97; I. Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638-1652* (London, 2007), pp. 282-284, 288-289.

[447] DCRO, EP/Mer/34, pp. 45-46

of surviving constables' accounts out of all the sample parishes. Like the rest of England, the parish had been forced to commit money, men and resources to the war effort in England. Upton's position six miles west of Newark meant the parish became embroiled in the costs and burdens associated with being located in close proximity to a military garrison. Regular contributions to the garrison included quartering soldiers, paying regular taxation; which was collected and delivered to the garrison, contributing labour to the building of Newark's defences and giving over resources such as horses and food. The removal of beds and bedding was extra to these regular contributions. The economic burden placed on the parish is evident by the dramatic rise in the constables' expenditure over the course of the First Civil War. Pre-war spending in 1641 only totalled £5 18s 2d. In 1644 this had risen to £60 0s 5d and by 1645 had reached its peak at £428 11s 3d. For a rural parish of only three hundred inhabitants this was an unprecedented level of expenditure.[448]

The three sieges of Newark (1643- 1646) contributed to this escalation in constabulary spending. Moreover, the sieges occasioned a fall in the number of refugees receiving relief due to the increase in the number of soldiers in the area. The behaviour of soldiers was a widespread concern across England during the civil wars and codes of conduct were not always maintained. In Staffordshire the impositions of free-quarter and plundering by soldiers had drained the local inhabitants of their resources, resulting in widespread lawlessness, making the roads unsafe for travel. In April 1644 the Staffordshire County Committee had advised traders in Manchester not to journey to London until a safe convoy could be arranged for them.[449] In Upton the fear of wandering soldiers translated into the payment of protection money to soldiers from Bolsover (1644) to ensure they passed through the parish peacefully.[450] Consequently, as the number of

[448] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', pp. 206-208; M. Bennett, 'Contribution and assessment: financial exactions in the English Civil War, 1642–1646', *War and Society*, 4/1 (1986), pp. 1-11; M. Bennett, *A Nottinghamshire Village in War and Peace the Accounts of the Constables of Upton, 1640-1666* (Thoroton Society Record Series volume 33, Nottingham 1995), pp. xix-xxviii; S. B. Jennings, *'These Uncertaine Tymes' Newark and the Civilian Experience of the Civil Wars 1640-1660* (Nottingham, 2009), pp. 38-42.

[449] D. A. Johnson and D. G. Vaisey (eds.), *Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion* (Staffordshire, 1964), p. 30. See also, A. Hopper, '"Tinker" Fox and the politics of garrison warfare in the West Midlands, 1643-50', *Midland History*, 24/1 (1999), pp. 98-113.

[450] NA, PR1710, Upton constables' accounts (1640-1666), p. 28.

wandering soldiers – those not on official military business – in Upton rose, twenty-five in 1643/4 to eighty-five in 1644/5, the number of refugees fell, 135 in 1642/3 to forty in 1643/4 and seventeen in 1644/5.[451] Evidently, for the refugees who had escaped the violence in Ireland the presence of so many soldiers deterred them from stopping in the area to receive relief during these years.

Topography also played a key role in determining refugee migration patterns. The close proximity of parishes to major road networks typically meant that a greater number of refugees were given aid. Five of the most important roads which crossed England in the 1640s were Holyhead Road; which stretched from Holyhead to London via Chester, the Great North Road; which went from Newcastle to London via Durham and York, Fosse Way; Lincoln to Exeter, Watling Street; Wroxeter to Kent via London and the Bristol-London road. Of these roads, the parishes closest to the Great North Road appear to have relieved the greatest number of refugees. The churchwardens and constables of Upton aided at least 426 refugees between 1641 and 1651. In Coddington the constables gave aid to eighty-three refugees between 1641 and 1643 and in Claypole, Lincolnshire, 410 refugees were aided by the churchwardens and constables. A similar trend also occurs in county Durham. Parish officials in Darlington, Merrington and Chester-le-Street, all located along the Great North Road, gave aid to more refugees than their counterparts in Houghton-le-Spring, Lamesley, Pittington and Heighington.[452] By virtue of the lack of major roads and the greater geographical distance from Ireland, parish officials in Norfolk and Suffolk naturally assisted far fewer refugees. Within these counties it was only parishes located close to or within port towns and cities which experienced significant influxes of refugees. These influxes were also only periodic. In Dunwich, the greatest number of refugees to be aided was fifty-two in 1641/2, with very few receiving relief thereafter, while in Cratfield, situated thirteen miles inland from Dunwich, refugees were only aided between 1641/2 and 1644/5.

[451] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', pp. 207-208.

[452] DRO, EP/CS/4/92, Chester-le-Street churchwardens' accounts (1606-1703); EP/Da.SC/35, Darlington church book (1630-1692); EP/Mer/34; EP/Ho/168, Houghton-le-Spring churchwardens' accounts (1595-1864); EP/Lam/4/1, Lamesley churchwardens' accounts (1634-1715); EP/Pi/22, Pittington churchwardens' accounts (1584-1699); EP/He/12, Heighington churchwardens' accounts (1651-1871). References courtesy of Andrew Hopper.

A lack of refugee settlement explains in part why so many refugees were present in the parishes close to the Great North Road. The ambiguity of the criteria for settlement in the mid-seventeenth century meant that numerous refugees were forced to travel continually from parish to parish to seek assistance, unable to remain in one area for any extended length of time. Settlement disputes in county quarter sessions highlight the difficulty for many refugees in finding permanent settlement, even first and second generation New English refugees who met much of the criteria for residency. Alice Stonier, for example, had been born and educated in Leek before her marriage to Thomas Stonier, a drover. In 1634 the family fell into debt and moved to Ireland. Upon the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641, the family fled to Dublin where Thomas was enlisted into the army at Dublin. Thomas died shortly afterwards and so Alice and her five children returned to Leek for relief. While three of her children found service, Alice was unable to acquire a pension or permanent habitation. As a result, Alice petitioned the Justices for assistance, with the aid of eight 'gentlemen well knowen' in the area. In response to her plea it was ordered that Alice and her children be provided habitation and a pension of 8d a week.[453]

The situation was more complex for third generation plus New English refugees, who had not been born in England. For these refugees it was almost impossible to justify settlement, forcing many into a semi-nomadic lifestyle. The continual movement of refugees along the Great North Road during the 1640s is discernible in parish accounts. In Upton, in 1642 'tenne Irish people which had beene at London and were going to Yorke' were given 6d. In 1646 1s was given to ten refugees 'haveinge beene at the high Court of Parliament & having certificate from the Justices to be relieved on their way to Yorke.' In 1646, 1s was given to two gentlemen and their families having a letter from General Poyntz in York to be given relief on their journey to London.[454] Similarly in Claypole, in 1649, a 'captain', his wife and four children who had a certificate from the 'Court at Westminster' were given 1s 6d for their journey.[455] Major roads, such as the Great North Road, thus provided wandering refugees with a more obvious path to follow as they searched for settlement.

[453] SRO, Q/SR/251, f. 61, Staffordshire quarter sessions rolls (July 1642); Q/SO/5, Staffordshire quarter sessions order book (April 1640-January 1654), p. 132.

[454] NA, PR1710, pp. 10, 50, 52.

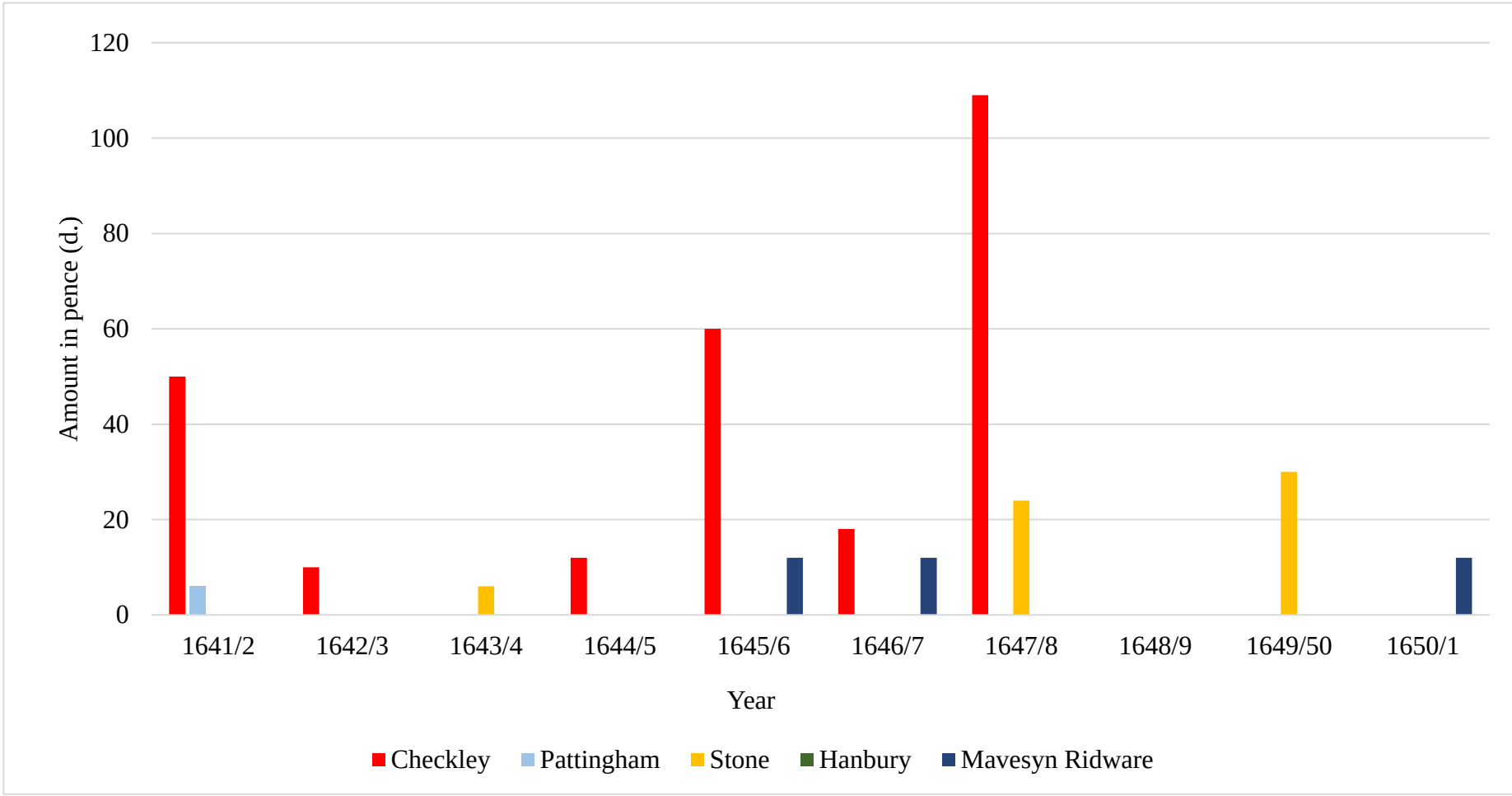
[455] LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/1, f. 3, Claypole churchwardens' accounts (1647-1651).

The organisation of refugee relief was generally consistent across England during the 1640s, with one-off gratuities being the preferred method of local parish officials for providing aid. The data presented in Figures 4.7 to 4.11 relates to these casual payments. These payments increased the transience of refugees by highlighting their inability to claim a regular pension due to a lack of settlement. This attitude towards the poor was not new and not reserved to the 'Irish'. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the policing of immigration had increased at times of severe pressure on parish resources. In the dearth of 1623, for example, the vestry of the parish of Paddington, Middlesex, noted that the labour market needed to be secured against 'strangers and unknown persons' who 'take awaye (by theire gettinge of worke into their handes) the meanes of mayntenance and reliefe which otherwise the poore of this parishe should have for their help and sustenance'.[456] It was therefore not uncommon to deliver aid through one-off donations to prevent any passing poor, including refugees, maimed soldiers and internally displaced English, from becoming permanent drains on the parish purse. [457] The majority of refugees to England after the Irish rebellion were women and children, dependants who were unable to sustain themselves and would have needed to be given a pension. It is therefore unsurprising that settlement was not encouraged by parish officials, but rather avoided by delivering one-off payments.

[456] Quoted in S. Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004), p. 318.

[457] C. Langley, 'Caring for soldiers, veterans and families in Scotland, 1638-1651', *History*, 102/349 (2017), p. 20.

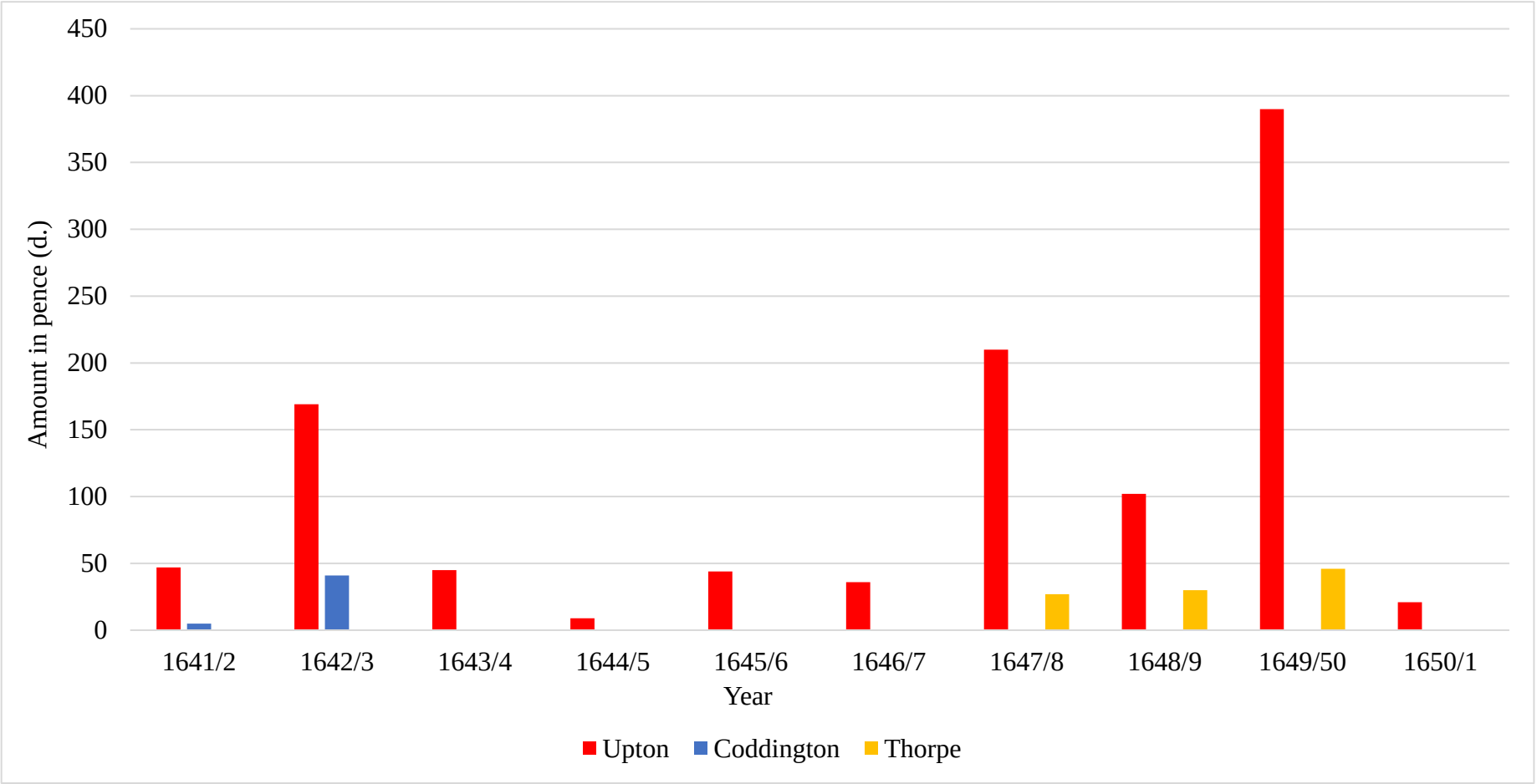
Figure 4.7: Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Staffordshire (1641-1651).[458]



[458] For document list see, Figure 4.2.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Checkley	50	10	0	12	60	18	109	0	0	0
Pattingham	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R
Stone	0	0	6	0	0	0	24	0	30	0
Hanbury	0	N/R	0	0	0	0	0	0	[Damaged]	N/R
Mavesyn Ridware	N/R	N/R	0	0	12	12	0	N/R	0	12

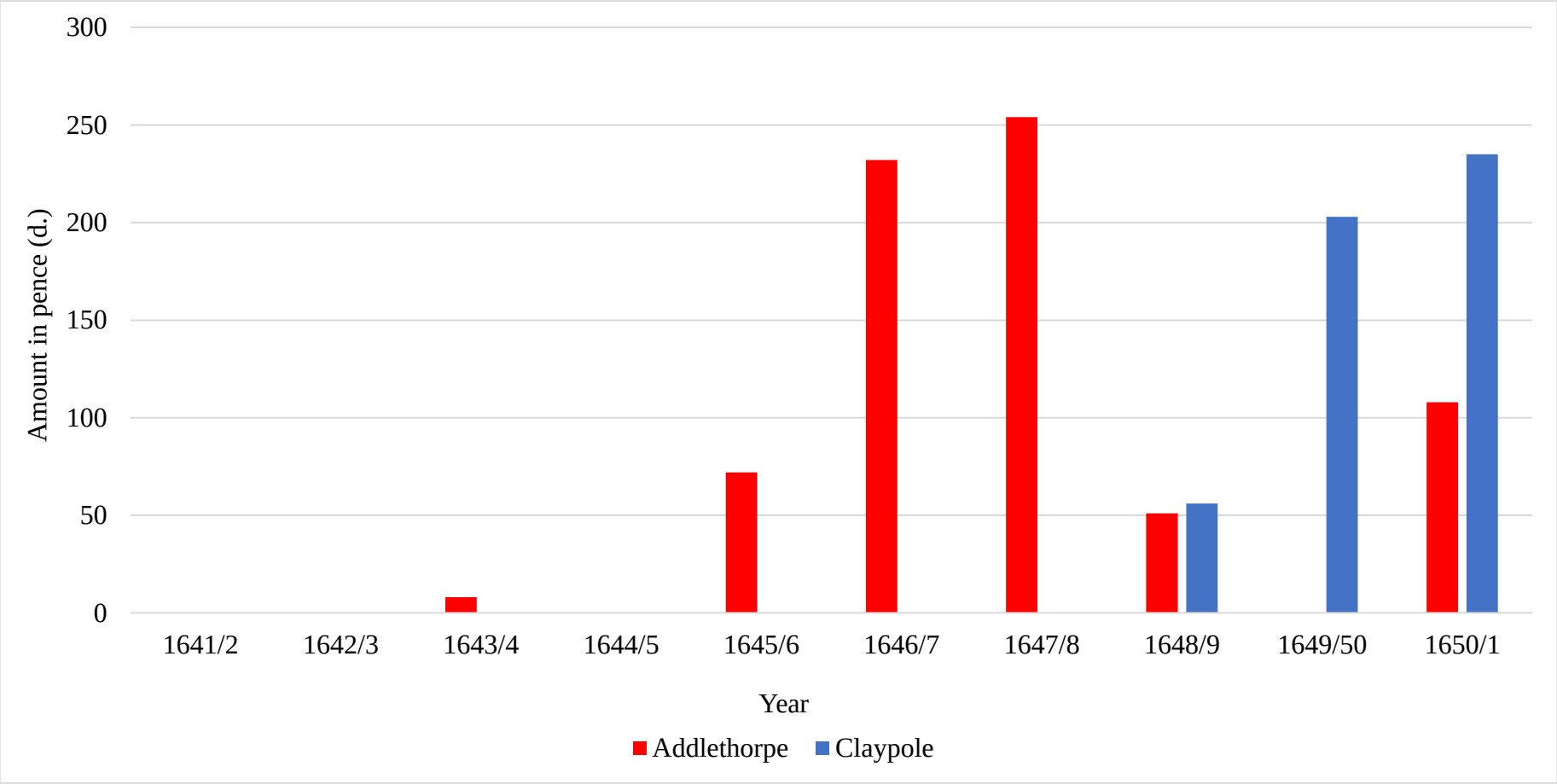
Figure 4.8: Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Nottinghamshire (1641-1651).[459]



[459] For document list see, Figure 4.3.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Upton	47	169	45	9	44	36	210	102	390	21
Coddington	5	41	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Thorpe	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	27	30	46	N/R

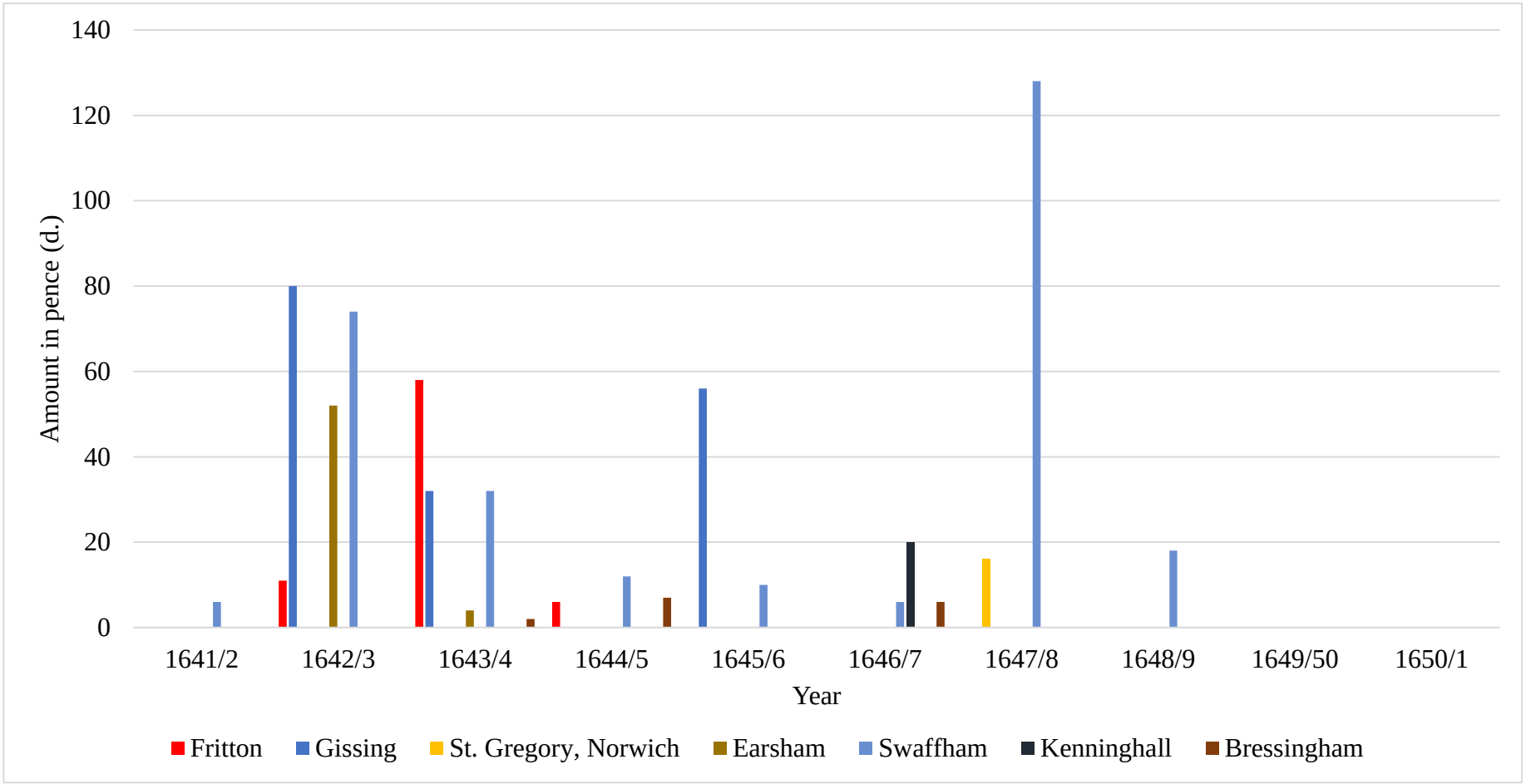
Figure 4.9: Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Lincolnshire (1641-1651).[460]



[460] For document list see, Figure 4.4. Stamford and Louth have been removed from this table as the minimum amount of relief dispensed to refugees is indeterminate.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Addlethorpe	N/R	N/R	8	N/R	72	232	254	51	N/R	108
Claypole	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	IN	203	235

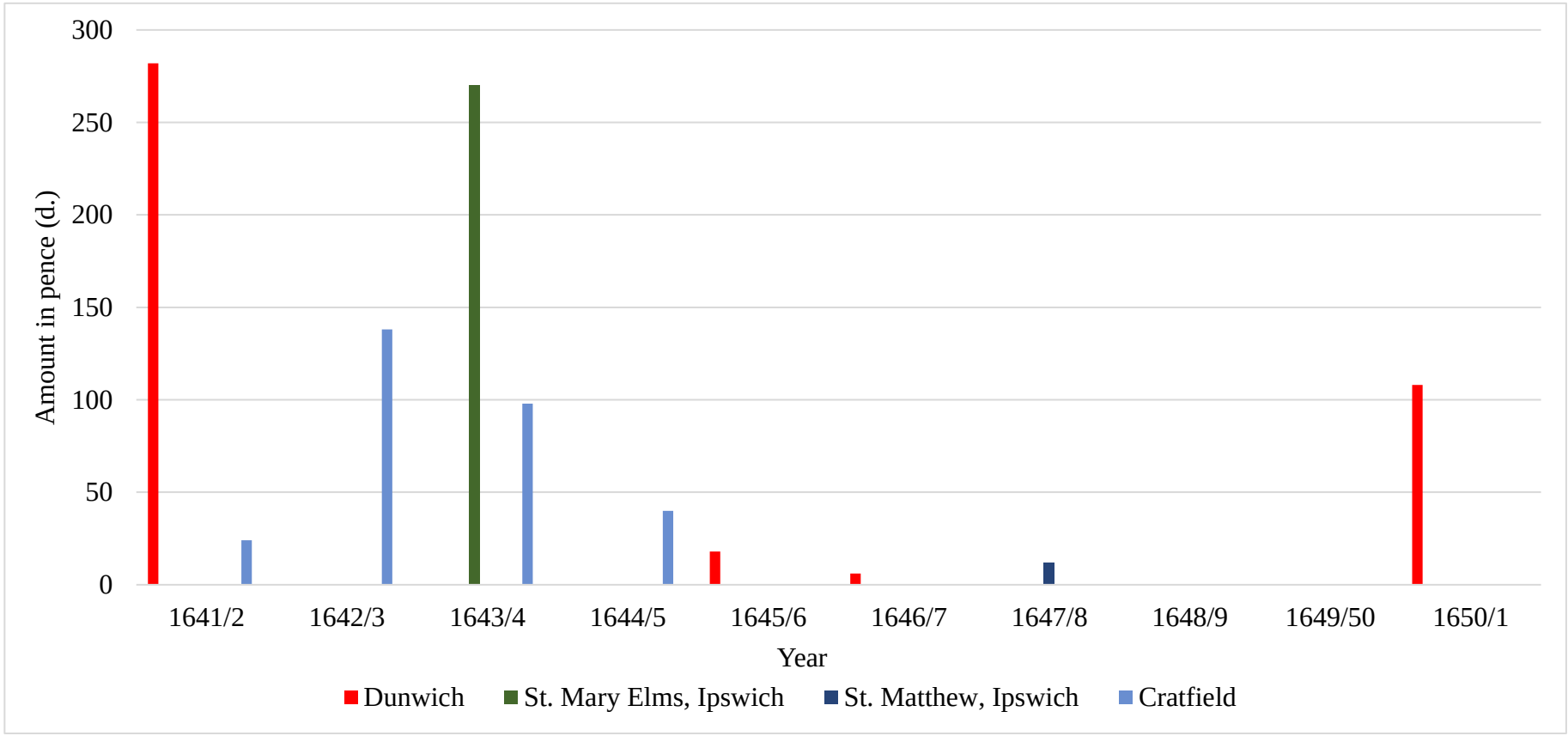
Figure 4.10: Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Norfolk (1641-1651).[461]



[461] For document list see, Figure 4.5. Starston, Hanworth, Guestwick, Wendling and St. Andrews Norwich have been excluded from this graph as the account wielded no results.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
Fritton	0	11	58	6	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R
Gissing	0	80	32	N/R	56	N/R	0	N/R	0	N/R
St. Gregory, Norwich	0	0	0	IN	0	0	16	0	0	N/R
Earsham	N/R	52	4	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Swaffham	6	74	32	12	10	6	128	18	0	0
Kenninghall	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	20	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Bressingham	0	0	2	7	0	6	0	0	0	0

Figure 4.11: Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in Suffolk (1641-1651).[462]



[462] For document list see, Figure 4.6. St. Stephen Ipswich, St. Mary Stoke Ipswich, St. Helen Ipswich, St. Mary at Quay Ipswich, St. Lawrence Ipswich and Yaxley have been excluded from the graph as they yielded no results.

Parish	**1641/2**	**1642/3**	**1643/4**	**1644/5**	**1645/6**	**1646/7**	**1647/8**	**1648/9**	**1649/50**	**1650/1**
St. Nicholas, Ipswich	0	IN	0	0	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R
Dunwich	282	N/R	0	0	18	6	N/R	N/R	N/R	108
St. Mary Elms, Ipswich	0	0	270	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Matthew, Ipswich	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	N/R	12	0	N/R	0
Cratfield	24	138	98	40	0	0	0	0	0	0

For those refugees who were able to establish themselves in 'home' parishes, relief was dispensed in the form of apprenticeships and pensions in accordance with the Poor Laws.[463] In Bristol the Mayor paid for several orphan children from Ireland to be apprenticed, including Margret Cates, Elizabeth Nethercott and William Nethercott.[464] Petitions from refugee women to quarter sessions, such as those delivered by Elizabeth Brown and Alice Stonier to the Staffordshire sessions, also focused on pensions and apprenticeships as vital means of subsistence.[465] It is difficult to determine how many refugees attained pensions as they are rarely identified in parish accounts.[466] Descriptors such as 'Irish', 'come out of Ireland' and 'of Ireland', used to identify refugees in the constables' and churchwardens' accounts, were typically dropped once a family or individual had settled in a parish. It is unclear whether this was due to the agency of the parish official or the refugees themselves. Certainly, the use of such descriptors bore little resemblance to the self-perception of those who had been displaced, particularly in the context of a 'home' parish.[467] It is important to remember that the petitions submitted to quarter sessions highlight the instances in which refugees were denied permanent aid and habitation, so it is easy to view the local response to refugees as overtly negative. These settlement disputes were the exception not the rule. Besides, such disputes were rarely successful in dispelling refugees as justices of the peace were keen to prevent expulsions in order to reduce the problems of a mobile population.[468]

Charity from family and friends was an informal measure of relief, but regarded as an equally important facet of charity and care.[469] The importance of this type of aid for

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[463] I. K. Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and favours: informal support in early modern England', *Journal of Modern History*, 72/2 (2000), pp. 295-338; Hindle, *On the Parish*, pp. 48-57, 227-228, 295-296,

[464] BRO, F/Au/1/22, pp. 176, 227, 229.

[465] SRO, Q/SR/251, ff. 44, 46, 61.

[466] P. A. Fideler, *Social Welfare in Pre-Industrial England: The Old Poor Law Tradition* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 109-114.

[467] See, N. Baron, 'Population displacement, political space and social identity', *Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 2/3-4 (2003), pp. 92-99.

[468] Hindle, *On the Parish*, pp. 312-313.

[469] Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and favours', pp. 302-314; R. Smith, 'Charity, self-interest and welfare: reflections from demographic and family history', in M. Daunton (ed.), *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past* (London, 1996), pp. 23-50; J. M. Bennett, 'Conviviality and charity in early modern England,' *Past and*

refugees is evident from an order delivered by the Commons on 11 August 1643, whereby two commissioners were to be sent to Gravesend,

> to see what poor Irish Women and Children, or English that have lost their Estate in Ireland, and are necessitated to go over Seas for Relief of their Friends there, are at Gravesend; and to give such of them a Pass to go beyond Sea, as they conceive most fitting: And likewise to give a Pass to such Wallounes, French or Dutche, as are poor Artificers, or that inhabit beyond Seas, or go over to receive Relief from their Friends.[470]

Refugees seeking relief from friends and family are evident in constables and churchwardens' accounts. In Diss, Norfolk, 3d was given to Frances Doer on 19 December 1649 on her journey to 'seeke her friend', while in Upton 6d was given to three women travelling to Boston, Lincolnshire, 'to their friends'.[471] This form of relief was important in the localities as it reduced pressure on the poor and parish rates and it helped refugees establish permanent settlements.

The main exception to these principal forms of relief was the lodging of refugees, implemented most notably in the parish of Upton in Nottinghamshire. The economic disruption caused by the First Civil War occasioned the creation of a system of lodging victims of the war in the parish to safeguard its economic condition. Refugees from Ireland and maimed solders were provided with short-term accommodation in the homes of Upton inhabitants, who were then paid for the imposition. In 1645, for example, 2s 8d was paid to Mrs Kirke 'for Lodging 3 Irish women & 6 Children one night'.[472] In 1649, 1s 6d was paid for the charges of a 'souldier which was maimed and carryed from Constable to Constable' who was lodged with Edward Harper.[473] In total fifty-eight refugees were

Present, 134/1 (1992), pp. 18-41; D. Cressy, 'Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England,' *Past and Present,* 113/1 (1986), pp. 38-69.

[470] *CJ*, III, p. 202.

[471] NRO, PD/100/257, Parish records of Diss constables' accounts (1635-1836), no pagination; NA, PR1710, p. 63.

[472] NA, PR1710, p. 37.

[473] NA, PR1710, p. 66.

recorded as being lodged in Upton between 1645 and 1651.[474] Usually these victims were lodged with poorer members of the community, those most at risk of falling on the poor rate. This was a pragmatic means to alleviate economic and social tensions as inhabitants were paid out of the parish chest, keeping money and resources within the parish. This system safeguarded the most vulnerable households in Upton whilst simultaneously allowing parishioners to fulfil 'their religious duty of caring for victims of the rebellion, as prescribed by Parliament and the preaching ministry'.[475] A similar practice can be seen in the parishes of Thorpe, Claypole and Cratfield though the constables did not use this method of relief as extensively. In 1649 the constable of Thorpe, Bartholemew Wright, paid 4d for the lodging and supper of three Irish women and two children.[476] In Claypole forty-two refugees were lodged in the parish in 1651/2.[477] Meanwhile, in Cratfield two Irish gentlewomen received food, lodgings and money on 20 November 1641. This generous treatment was likely the result of their possession of both a certificate from Ireland, which stated they suffered £800 in losses due to the rebellion, and a pass from the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth.[478]

Overall, the ambiguous nature of the Poor Laws meant that local officials were able to adapt refugee relief to suit the circumstances of their individual parishes. In general, the forms of relief were standard across England, with one-off gratuities being the most popular form of relief. In the Midlands, however, where economic depletion had become severe due to military activity, the flexibility of the Poor Laws meant that parish constables were able to take on a new role as administers of poor relief to victims of the war. Further to this, parishes close to the Great North Road such as Upton, Thorpe and Claypole were able to use these victims as a means to improve the economic condition of the parish and support struggling families by paying them to be lodgers. Whilst the variations in the organisation of refugee relief are only subtle they are significant for understanding, not only how the Poor Laws were manipulated in the localities, but more importantly how parish officials looked to sustain parish welfare in the context of prolonged warfare.

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[474] NA, PR1710, pp. 1, 37, 56, 57, 62-64, 66, 71-72, 84, 100.

[475] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 214.

[476] NA, PR5767/2, Thorpe constables' accounts (1642-1651), p. 23.

[477] LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO1/2, ff. 16ar-17ar, Claypole constables' accounts (1642, 1649-1651).

[478] L. A. Botelho (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of Cratfield, 1640-1660* (Suffolk Records Society Series volume 42, Woodbridge, 1999), p. 43.

The extent of refugee relief was similarly impacted by the volume of refugee traffic in various parishes and by the economic depletion and political instability resultant from the civil wars. In Nottinghamshire only small portions of relief were handed out to refugees. In 1642/3 on average 1.6d was given to refugees in Upton and 0.5d to refugees in Coddington, in the year which Atherton and Cooksley argue should have delivered the most generous sums.[479] These small amounts correspond to the significant number of dependants seeking relief. Both Upton and Coddington were small parishes and as such could not afford to give large donations, particularly as the financial costs of the civil war began to grow. Like the rest of England, wartime taxation in Nottinghamshire was exorbitant. In February 1643 the county was assessed by the Parliamentarians at £187 10s per week.[480] In October 1644 extra taxation to fund the Parliamentarian forces in Ireland stood at £31 5s per week.[481] In June 1647 the county was to pay £3,531 19s 3d to help fund the New Model Army, with a further £353 19s 3d per month to be paid from March 1648.[482] All this was extracted from the county in addition to a general assessment which by the end of 1649 was running at £1,161 6s per month.[483]

Garrison warfare was also responsible for the utter depletion of the countryside. Garrisons were vitally important for the control of territory, securing supplies; men, money and provisions, providing a base from which to harass the enemy, as centres for civilian and military administration and as symbols of the Royalist and Parliamentarian causes. Atherton has emphasised the importance of garrisons for the Royalist and Parliamentarian war efforts as, 'the English Civil War was more a conflict of garrisons and sieges than of set-piece battles, though it is the battles and battlefields that have attracted the greatest attention from historians'.[484] Nottinghamshire had two principal garrisons, at Newark and Nottingham, with some smaller garrisons including those at Shelford, Thurgarton, Kelham

[479] Cooksley and Atherton, 'Staffordshire', p. 59

[480] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 85-100.

[481] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 531-553.

[482] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 958-984, 1107-1114.

[483] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, II, pp. 285-319; M. Bennett, *The Civil Wars Experienced: Britain and Ireland, 1638-1661* (Routledge, 2000), p. 107; NA, PR1710, pp. 15-30, 32, 35; C. Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980), p. 177.

[484] I. Atherton, 'Royalist finances in the English Civil War: the case of Lichfield garrison, 1643-5', *Midland History*, 33/1 (2008), p. 43.

and Welbeck. Proximity to garrisons had a harsh effect on the surrounding countryside. The removal of livestock and other victuals caused widespread economic distress as people feared being 'stripped of their reserves of readily realizable assets, burdened with debts, with the value of their estates impaired.'[485] Yet, in spite of this hundreds of refugees were still relieved, facilitated by the change in the method of relief. As taxation increased over the course of the 1640s and more resources were taken by garrisons, less money was given directly to the refugees. In 1645, when constable spending was at its peak, 3s 8d in total was provided to refugees in Upton: two companies of Irish, four Irish women, one Irish man and eight children. 'Company' was an overarching term used to describe large groups of travellers. While the size of a company was not fixed, if we assume a company constituted around ten people than the mean average aid given to refugees in 1645/6 would have been 1.3d per person. This drop in aid from 1642/3 was not drastic, but the constables of the parish had begun to adapt refugee relief to incorporate lodging victims of the war as a means of ameliorating the economic problems caused by taxation and garrison warfare.

In Staffordshire the aid given to refugees by the churchwardens was more substantial. In Stone two poor Irish women received 1s each in 1647 and 2s 6d was given to another Irish woman.[486] In Checkley a poor man from Ireland received 2s in 1641/2 and another received 1s. In 1644/5 a poor woman from Ireland received 1s on Christmas day and in 1645/6 a minister's wife received 1s 6d on Easter Sunday.[487] The extent of this relief is surprising given the general reluctance of residents in the county to provide charity. Donations to the Act of Speedy Contribution (1642) were particularly low in Staffordshire at £19 12s 7d. In comparison, Lincolnshire gave £555 8s 9d and Norfolk gave £1,399 13s 0d.[488] The reasons for this disparity are somewhat unclear, though in part the higher contribution from Lincolnshire can be attributed to the size of the county while Norfolk was a much wealthier county than Staffordshire.

Staffordshire was no less affected by the imposition of taxation and garrison warfare than Nottinghamshire. Contestation between Royalist and Parliamentarian forces

[485] C. Clay, 'Landlords and estate management in England', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *Chapters from the Agrarian History of England and Wales* (5 volumes, Cambridge, 1990), II, pp. 280-281.

[486] SRO, D4605/2, Stone, St. Michael, churchwardens' accounts (1634-1684), pp. 53, 70.

[487] SRO, D113/A/PC/1, Checkley churchwardens' and overseers' account book (1628-1672), pp. 55, 57, 64, 66.

[488] The contribution accounts for Nottinghamshire no longer survive.

within the county meant many villages and towns were forced to pay taxation to both sides. In Mavesyn Ridware, for example, payments of the Royalist contribution totalled £30 13s 7d in 1642/3, £144 17s 4d in 1643/4 and £128 13s 3d in 1644/5. Payments of the weekly assessment to Parliament, meanwhile, commenced around 1644 and amounted to £47 5s 0d, rising the following year to £87 7s 9d.[489] In October 1644 extra taxation for Parliament's forces in Ireland totalled £35 8s 4d per week for the county.[490] In June 1647 the county was to pay £4,541 15s 4d three farthings for the New Model.[491] The general assessment by the end of 1649 was also running at £1,200 per month for Staffordshire and Lichfield combined.[492] Furthermore, during the First Civil War there were eighteen garrisons situated across the county. Of these a significant number were situated along Holyhead Road, though only Lichfield was comparable in size to Newark. These included the Royalist garrisons at Keele, Swynnerton, Eccleshall and Lichfield, and the Parliamentarian garrisons at Stafford, Tamworth and Rushall. In the same way that Upton, Coddington and Thorpe were drawn into the affairs of the garrison at Newark, the accounts of parishes in Staffordshire highlight the effects that garrisons had on the local economy. In the final quarter of 1645, the garrison at Lichfield Close collected £606 6s 6d in weekly contribution money in south-east Staffordshire, an average of £46 12s a week. In Mavesyn Ridware, more specifically, £109 18s was paid in contribution money to the garrison between the 24 November 1643 and 25 October 1644, an average of almost £10 a month.[493] The principal difference between Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire was the volume of refugees being relieved. Fewer refugees were given aid in Staffordshire so greater sums of money were provided.

The small number of refugees recorded receiving relief in Staffordshire, however, is not necessarily a reflection of the actual number of refugees present in the area. Holyhead Road cut directly across Staffordshire and was the principal route between Chester and London. It is undeniable that hundreds of refugees would have travelled along this road in the 1640s, given the number of distressed people arriving into Chester after the rebellion. The refugee presence is evident in Stafford in 1641/2, as the Mayor paid £3 5s

[489] Bennett, *Civil Wars Experienced*, p. 107.

[490] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 531-553.

[491] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, I, pp. 958-984.

[492] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, II, pp. 285-319.

[493] Bennett, *Civil Wars Experienced*, p. 52.

2d to 'poore souldiers, distressed Irish, cripples, poore Travellers and some poore of our owne Towne beinge a yeare in which there were very many which came because of the miserable Troubles in Ireland.'[494] Yet, in Mavesyn Ridware and Stone only four and nine refugees were aided respectively by the churchwardens between 1641 and 1651.

The seeming absence of refugees in Staffordshire is likely the result of differences in the source material between the sample counties. In Staffordshire, churchwardens' accounts are the principal source available, whereas in Nottinghamshire constables' accounts are predominant. Given the lack of refugees being aided by churchwardens in Staffordshire it could be that parish constables took a leading role in refugee relief. In Upton, where both sets of accounts are available for a number of years, the constables typically aided more refugees than the churchwardens. In 1642/3 the churchwarden aided thirty-eight refugees while the constable aided ninety-five.[495] In 1643/4 twenty-one refugees were aided by the churchwarden while the constable aided seventeen, though in reality the constable would have aided more refugees as assistance was given to a 'company'. In 1644/5 the constable then aided sixteen refugees and the churchwarden only one.[496] A similar situation can be seen in Lincolnshire, as in the parish of Claypole the churchwardens aided fifty refugees in 1649/50 while the constable aided seventy-seven.

The role played by constables in the distribution of aid in the Midlands raises an interesting question regarding how relief was viewed in the localities. In the 1640s, without recourse to an established national procedure for assistance, the Poor Laws provided the only guidance for organising and dispensing refugee relief. In theory, by this system refugees should have been paid out of the poor rate which was collected and distributed by churchwardens and/or overseers of the poor. This rate was the 'administrative face of charity', as noted by Tim Wales, 'one strand in a range of collective and individual charity which stretched from relief to the begging neighbour, through more elaborate hospitality, to the rituals around the parish church'.[497] Constables, however,

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[494] SRO, D1323/E/1, Stafford borough 'old book of accounts' (1528-1662), pp. 261, 267.

[495] This is a revised figure for the parish of Upton as presented in Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 206.

[496] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 206; NA, PR1709, p. 125.

[497] T. Wales, 'The parish and the poor in the English Revolution', in S. Taylor and G. Tapsell (eds.), *Nature of the English Revolution Revisited: Essays in honour of John Morrill* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 59. See also, I. K. Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008).

played a much more active role in refugee relief than churchwardens and overseers of the poor, particularly in the Midlands. In Norfolk and Suffolk few constables' accounts survive, though the accounts for Earsham show that constables still interacted with refugees albeit to a lesser extent than in the Midlands. In 1642/3 Mistress Smith and her five children were given relief by the parish constable having been 'ordered by parlament to have Releefe beinge driven out by the Rebells [and] lost all'. Moreover, in the same year an additional fourteen men, women and children 'driven out of Ireland by the Rebells' were relieved, but there are no additional accounts available for comparison.[498] Overseers of the poor, meanwhile, appear to have played no role in refugee relief, in spite of the Poor Laws. In Gissing, Starston, Hilborough, Hanworth, St. Andrews Norwich, Guestwick, Wendling, St. Nicholas Ispwich and St. Helen's Ipswich the overseers' accounts show no indication of refugees receiving assistance.[499]

The involvement of both churchwardens and constables in aiding distressed people from Ireland suggests there existed some tension between local perceptions of the refugees. Churchwardens paid refugees out of the poor rate, incorporating refugee welfare into the Poor Law system thereby making aid a religious matter. Constables, meanwhile, paid refugees out of the parish stock, indicating that refugees were regarded as a civil concern perhaps even viewed as a danger to the safety of the parish. The political instability and economic depletion of the Midlands in the 1640s meant newcomers into parishes were often treated cautiously. This was particularly the case in areas close to major roads which were inundated with thousands of passing soldiers, internally displaced English, 'Irish' refugees, maimed soldiers and other travellers. It thus appears that the refugees from Ireland were awkwardly situated, at least in the minds of local parish officials, somewhere between deserving co-religionists and suspicious strangers.

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[498] NRO, MC/15/16, 389X8, Earsham parish papers constables' accounts (1642-1692), pp. 1-2.

[499] NRO, Microfilm MF/1801/88-126, Parish records of Gissing overseers' account book (1635-1686); Microfilm MF/X1/MC/134/10, Starston parish papers overseers' account book (1622-1670); HIL/1/281, 876X6, Hilborough overseers' accounts (1645-1678); AYL/453, Hanworth overseers' accounts (1618-1730); MC/992/1, 801X8, St Andrew's, Norwich, overseers' accounts (1623-1714); Microfilm MF/1796/104-187, Parish records of Guestwick overseers' account book (1628-1699); Microfilm 1034/22, Accounts of the overseers of the poor of the parish of Wendling with rate lists (1631-1700); C/5/3/2/7/1, St. Nicholas, Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account books (1598-1645); C/5/3/2/1/1-2, St. Helen's Ipswich parish churchwardens' and overseers' parochial poor relief account books (1645-1655).

The leading role taken by constables in refugee relief suggests that the preaching ministry failed to emphasise the deservedness of refugees, with the fear of violence and harassment overpowering any sense of collective and individual charity. This view fits Cope's argument that refugees elicited a negative response in the localities due to the stereotype of the 'evil Irish beggar'; dangerous, devious and Catholic.[500] The fact that refugees consistently received relief in the localities throughout the 1640s, however, contradicts this assessment. To receive relief of any kind meant the refugees must have been perceived as members of the deserving poor, rather than characters to be universally feared or despised. In some areas the perceived piety of the distressed Protestants meant refugee ministers were invited to preach sermons in parish churches. At the church of St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol, for example, 6s 8d was given to 'the minister driven by the Rebells out of Ireland that preached on the ffast day' in 1642.[501] The deservedness of the refugees 'stemmed from their perceived sufferings for religion' and relief fitted into a tradition of aiding Protestant brethren from overseas.[502] In towns and cities such as Norwich inhabitants would have been keenly aware of this tradition, having long-standing stranger communities within the city limits.[503]

The involvement of constables in refugee relief, at least in the Midlands, was therefore a pragmatic response to the volume of distressed people passing along Holyhead Road and the Great North Road. The large number of distressed people seeking relief meant that dividing responsibility for aid spread the financial cost of refugees between the poor rate and the parish rate. In the 1640s the role of the parish constable thus broadened to incorporate poor relief to strangers. This shift in responsibilities reduced the burden on churchwardens and overseers of the poor, who were then able to focus resources on the

[500] Cope, *England,* pp. 106-107.

[501] BRO, P. St MR/ChW/1/d, St. Mary Redcliffe churchwardens' accounts (1620-1660), p. 6.

[502] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 211.

[503] L. H. Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London, 1996), pp. 10, 12, 30-35; R. Esser, '"New across the Channell", contact and communication between the Dutch and Walloon refugees in Norwich and their families in Flanders, 1565-1640', *Immigrants and Minorities,* 14/2 (1995), pp. 139-152.

resident parish poor. A task which was becoming increasingly difficult due to rising levels of poverty caused by war-time taxation and poor harvests.[504]

In Norfolk and Suffolk much more substantial one-off donations were given to passing refugees than in the Midlands. In 1642/3 the mean average aid in Gissing stood at around 3.6d, 2.6d in Earsham and 5.4d in Dunwich, compared to 1.6d in Upton and 0.5d in Coddington. Elizabeth Coleman, for example, was sent by warrant to the parish of St. Mary Elms' in Ipswich where she was provided with 9s 3d in casual relief payments, 8s 6d for lodgings for seventeen weeks and a further 4s 9d for clothes, shoes and other victuals.[505] While the case of Elizabeth Coleman is rather exceptional, there were a number of factors which contributed to Norfolk and Suffolk's seeming generosity. In the first instance, fewer refugees travelled to these counties by virtue of their location on the east coast of England. They were further away from Ireland meaning travelling to them required much longer journeys, both by land and sea. Furthermore, fewer refugees originated from these areas as the Jacobean and Elizabethan planters were largely drawn from north Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire and the south-west of England. Areas which were geographically closer to Ireland and had pre-existing communication links with Irish port towns. Norfolk and Suffolk were also not so severely disrupted by the fighting of the civil wars. Both counties were predominantly controlled by Parliament's Eastern Association and suffered none of the typical features of engagement: garrison warfare, lengthy sieges or widespread plundering.[506] This did not mean the counties went unaffected by the wars, as taxation was much higher in Norfolk and Suffolk than in the Midlands. In 1643 the county assessment stood at £1,250 per week in both counties, payments for the New Model in June 1647 totalled £4,763 1s 1d in both counties and by the end of 1649 the general assessment for Norfolk stood at £4,660 and £4,700 for Suffolk.[507] These higher

[504] B. Coates, 'Poor relief in London during the English Revolution revisited', *London Journal,* 25/2 (2000), pp. 40-58; Wales, 'The parish and the poor', pp. 60-77; S. Hindle, 'Dearth and the English revolution: the harvest crisis of 1647-50', *Economic History Review*, 61/1 (2008), pp. 64-98.

[505] SUFRO, C/5/3/2/3/1, f. 2, St Mary Elms', Ipswich, churchwardens' and overseers' parochial poor relief account books (1600-1645).

[506] A. Hopper, 'The civil wars', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich since 1550* (London, 2004), p. 89; Bennett, *Civil Wars Experienced,* pp. 104-5.

[507] *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum*, II, pp. 285-319

rates of taxation, however, reflect the wealth of the counties prior to the outbreak of the civil wars, rather than an appreciation of the lack of military engagement in these areas.

The influence of the religious climate of Norfolk and Suffolk must also be factored into considerations of the extent of refugee relief. In 1635 the appointment of Matthew Wren as bishop of the diocese of Norwich antagonised hard-line Protestants, who perceived royal religious policies as popish innovations, introducing idolatry and devil-worship into the church. Wren's aggressive style of church government was unpopular and alienated many moderates on the City Council. On the eve of the First Civil War the 'parliamentary-Puritan' faction in Norwich held a dominant position in the Court of Aldermen and the Corporation. Factions of Royalism remained present, but after a Royalist uprising threatened Norfolk in March 1643 the Royalist aldermen were purged from office. Like the godly in London, reformation of the church by the removal of 'popish' elements was regarded by the dominant faction in Norwich as the solution to England's problems.[508] A petition to Parliament, 16 July 1642, lamented the 'dayly growing evils and almost desperate diseases which have overspread the whole body of this kingdom, both in Church and State'. It stated 'the Causers and Authors' of these evils were 'the Jesuited Papists the Bishops, and corrupt part of the Clergy, bad Counsellors and Courtiers', who by their actions had caused 'that hellish damnable Rebellion, salvage and bloudy cruelty of the Papists in Ireland'.[509] In this context relief was viewed as a vehicle for the furthering of the reformation. Paying refugees was a means to appease God for the sins of the English people who had failed to eliminate popery, which perhaps resulted in a more generous outpouring of aid to refugees from Ireland. This sense of religious duty though did not surpass pre-existing views regarding poor relief. On 10 June 1642 a company of Irish, potentially refugees from Ireland, were apprehended on suspicion of vagrancy and idle behaviour. They were subsequently 'comanded to dep[ar]t this Citty by Morrowe morn next and not to staye here any longer upon payne to be punished'.[510] Aid

[508] J. Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government 1620-1690* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 121-122; *ODNB*; H. Wharton, *The history of the troubles and tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God, and Blessed Martyr, William Laud, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1675), pp. 540, 548.

[509] Anon., *To the Right Honourable the Lords of the higher house of Parliament the humble petition of many thousands of the inhabitants of Norwich* (London, 1642).

[510] NRO, NCR/16/A/20, f. 349v, Norwich Mayor's court book (1634-1646).

was therefore not indiscriminate and refugees were still required to prove their deservedness.[511]

Religious concerns were not absent in the Midlands. In Staffordshire the Catholic minority were viewed with suspicion, particularly in light of rumours that Catholics in England were in communication with the Irish rebels organising an invasion intent on destroying Protestantism.[512] In May 1642 petitioners from Staffordshire to the House of Commons requested that,

> The papists (who are a great number in this small Countie) may be thorowly and speedily disarmed, and so disposed of; That they be not formidable to your Petitioners, by being able, either to keepe us in jealousies by their practises at home, or to forment that fire kindled by their partie in Ireland.[513]

The refugees themselves, at least those who received relief, were not regarded as suspicious pseudo-Catholics, though this petition raises the question to what extent the presence of refugees from Ireland lead to increased local calls for English Catholics to be disarmed? Certainly, the significant presence of refugees in the Midlands meant that locals were continually confronted with the realities of popish rebellion and the dangers of Catholicism. Interactions with these refugees no doubt brought to life the atrocity stories related in print, which in the winter and spring of 1641/2 increased local fears and anxieties regarding popery. The heightened fear of popery in Staffordshire could therefore have factored into why larger portions of relief were provided to refugees by

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[511] V. Pearl, 'Puritans and poor relief: the London workhouse, 1649-1660', in D. Pennington and K. Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 206-232.

[512] H. Jones, *A Remonstrance of Divers Remarkable Passages concerning the Church and the Kingdome of Ireland* (London, 1642), pp. 19, 29, 35, 36, 38; T. Beale, *A true discovery of a bloody plott intended to have been put in practice on Thursday the 18 of this present November, against some of the chiefe of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled by bloody minded papists* (London, 1641); Cooksley and Atherton, 'Staffordshire', pp. 68-69; T. S. Smith, 'The persecution of Staffordshire Roman Catholic recusants: 1625-1660', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30/3 (1979), pp. 327-351.

[513] Anon., *A relation of divers remarkable proceedings betwixt the Kings Majestie and his loyall subjects* (London, 1642), pp. 8-9.

churchwardens, in comparison to Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. Upon the outbreak of the civil wars, however, the levels of economic disruption caused by military activity in the Midlands seems to have subsumed religious concerns with regards to refugee relief. Relief to refugees remained a religious duty and as such refugee welfare was maintained throughout the 1640s, but economic pragmatism became much more important. The extent of relief was consequently much smaller in the Midlands than in Norfolk and Suffolk by virtue of the greater number of refugees in the area and the greater economic and social strain placed on local inhabitants and parish officials.

Geoffrey Oxley described poverty in the early modern period as 'infinitely variable from place to place', resulting in the responses to poverty being 'no less variable.'[514] The analysis of the organisation and extent of refugee relief in this chapter supports this assessment. The emergency posed by the need to deal with refugees tested the effectiveness of the central and local governmental administrative systems. Constables and churchwardens were forced to negotiate relief around a myriad of factors, including the religious duty of care to co-religionists incited by the preaching ministry, the volume of refugee traffic, the impact of local military activities resultant from the civil wars and a host of other local economic, political, social and religious concerns. Variations in the volume of refugees receiving relief, the organisation of relief and the extent of monetary gratuities reflected the interplay of these concerns and shows how local officials were forced to broaden considerations of how to manage the refugee crisis. Given the pressures local officials were under, their handling of the refugee crisis should not be judged too harshly. The ability to support refugees, despite the upheaval of the British and Irish Civil Wars, is a testament to the efficiency of local churchwardens and constables in England. Ultimately, the assessment of this chapter has shown that while elements of refugee relief were shared between parishes across England, parochial aid was individualistic. In the next chapter this individualistic approach to relief with be further highlighted by an in-depth study of parishes in the city of London.

[514] G. Oxley, *Poor Relief in England and Wales, 1601-1834* (London, 1974), p. 60.

Chapter Five

Capital welfare: a metropolitan perspective on refugee relief

Following on from the analysis of parish relief in the English provinces, this chapter will explore the relief given to refugees from Ireland in the city of London. This will be conducted through a sample study of thirty parishes, focusing on the migration of refugees and the extent of relief. To date Kathleen Noonan has been the only historian to study local parish relief to refugees in the capital.[515] Her unpublished PhD thesis sought to address the absence of the refugees from Ireland in poor relief studies and contextualise them within the broader history of Irish migration and stranger settlement in London. For this research Noonan focused on four parishes as case studies: St. Dunstan-in-the-East, St. Dunstan-in-the-West, St. Giles-in-the Fields and St. Martin-in-the-Fields. She concluded that these refugees formed the first 'Irish' settlements in London and that relief to the refugees, whilst initially generous, became more discriminatory during the 1640s. Her subsequent article built upon these assertions, arguing that the publication of John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* in 1646 elicited a negative response towards the refugees. Temple's image of the 'Irish' corresponded with the cultural stereotype of the 'evil Irish beggar' and resulted in parish officials becoming more discerning about which refugees should receive aid.

On the one hand, Noonan makes a number of vital points. Her assessment that economic concerns and political instability affected the dissemination of relief in London is well-founded and will be explored more thoroughly in this chapter. Moreover, her view that relief can be used as a mirror for attitudes towards dependants will be utilised in Chapter Six of this thesis. Many of her conclusions, however, are problematic as they stem from general assumptions about refugee identities and rely on a very small sample of parishes. Settlement and refugee identities have already been addressed in this thesis, which has highlighted that the majority of refugees would not have regarded themselves as 'Irish' and would not have formed distinctively 'Irish' communities in London. To re-evaluate Noonan's assessment of relief this chapter will consider a larger sample of parishes, specifically located in the city of London, to allow for greater comparative

[515] K. Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree: Irish immigration to London in the mid-seventeenth century, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1989); K. Noonan, ''The cruel pressure of an enraged barbarous people': Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda', *Historical Journal*, 41/1 (1998), pp. 151-177.

analysis. This research will add to Noonan's work by showing how the civil wars had a unifying effect on the parishes of the city of London, in the sense that overarching economic, political and religious concerns had a universal impact on the capital which in turn influenced refugee migration. In regards to relief, however, these same parishes operated as individual entities, rather than as a conglomerate. In the same manner as the rest of the Country, the response to refugees in the city of London was influenced by topography, economic conditions, political stability and religious climate. These factors overlapped each other creating a complex web of concerns which parish officials – churchwardens, overseers of the poor and constables – needed to negotiate when organising and dispensing aid. The analysis in this chapter will further highlight the individualism of parochial aid, which in turn will reveal how parish relief in the capital was a microcosm of the rest of the Country.

The London metropolis was the economic and political hub of the nation. The city of Westminster was the centre of political power, being the site of the Royal Court, the Court of Burgesses and the two Houses of Parliament.[516] The city of London was the economic centre, having the Guildhall, the Royal Exchange and the port of London. Dominance over inland and foreign trade was ensured by the capital's access to main roads and navigable waterways, in addition to being the largest manufacturing centre in England. Demographically, London was also the largest urban centre in Britain and Ireland, and indeed in Western Europe. By the 1650s, the population of the capital – that is of the cities of London and Westminster and the adjoining areas of Middlesex and Southwark – had reached around 400,000 people. Norwich, by comparison, was the second largest city in England and had a population of only around 20,000 to 30,000.[517] By virtue of the capital's commercial and political importance, in conjunction with a long history of welcoming foreign refugees, the London metropolis had become a melting pot of various ethnicities and cultures. This included people from Africa, India and the Middle-East, as well as those from across Europe.[518] Strangers were not uncommon in other English towns

[516] J. Merritt, *Westminster 1640-1660: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 5-10.

[517] J. Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government 1620-1690* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 5-6, 12; J. Pound, 'Government to 1660', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich Since 1550* (London, 2004), p. 36.

[518] See, B. Lambert, 'Drapery in exile: Edward III, Colchester and the Flemings, 1351-1367', *History*, 99/338 (2014), pp. 1-21; P. Fleming, 'Identity and belonging: Irish and Welsh in fifteenth-century Bristol', in L.

and cities. In Bristol and Colchester, for instance, foreign strangers had been present as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The contingent of strangers in the London metropolis, however, was much more significant than other areas. These characteristics distinguished the capital from the rest of the Country. As such, analysis of London offers a metropolitan perspective on refugee relief, which can be directly contrasted to the rural and smaller urban parishes examined in Chapter Four.

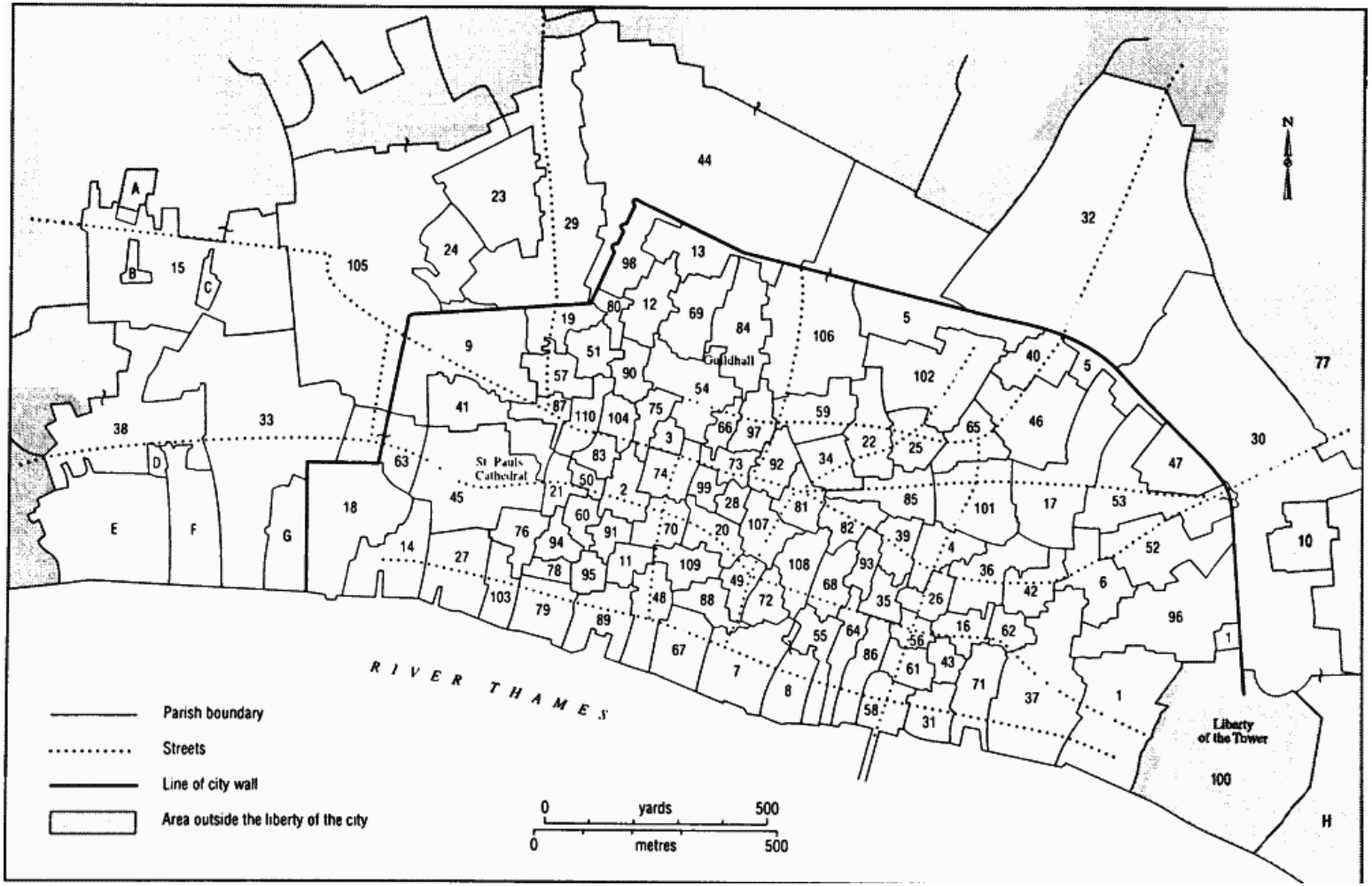
In the 1640s the city of London was made up of around 108 parishes within and without the city walls.[519] The three parishes of St. George the Martyr, St. Saviour and St. Thomas, all in Southwark, along with the two precincts of Bridewell and Whitefriars, are often included in contemporary records as part of the city of London's sixteen extramural parishes, but these parishes were exempt from London's direct control during the mid-seventeenth century.[520] Due to the sheer number of parishes in the city of London a sample study methodology has been applied in this chapter. This methodology offers a broad overview of the state of relief in the capital, highlighting how variations in relief reflected the diverse economic, religious, social and political contexts of each parish. This approach is also pragmatic given the variable quality and quantity of surviving parish material which covers the civil war period. In a previous study conducted by R. Herlan, regarding poor relief in the capital, sample parishes were selected based on the availability and detail of source material. Consequently, Herlan focused on a small sample of seven intermural city of London parishes, as the more densely populated and more poverty-stricken extramural parishes have suffered a greater loss in documentation.

Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century VII: Conflicts, Consequences and the Crown in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 175-193; D. Beer Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (New York, 1966), pp. 143-146; M. Dimmock, 'Converting and not converting "stranger" in early modern London', *The Journal of Early Modern History*, 17/5-6 (2013), pp. 457-478; I. Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot, 2008); E. C. Bartels, '"Too Many Blackamores": deportation, discrimination and Elizabeth I', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 46/2 (2006), pp. 305-322.

[519] The map shows a greater number of parishes as it is dated from 1586-1611, however, it gives a general idea of the locations of the various sample parishes being considered.

[520] H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), pp. 104, 624-625; R. Herlan, 'Poor relief in London during the English Revolution', *Journal of British Studies*, 18/2 (1979), p. 30.

Figure 5.1A: Map of the city of London parishes (1586-1611).[521]



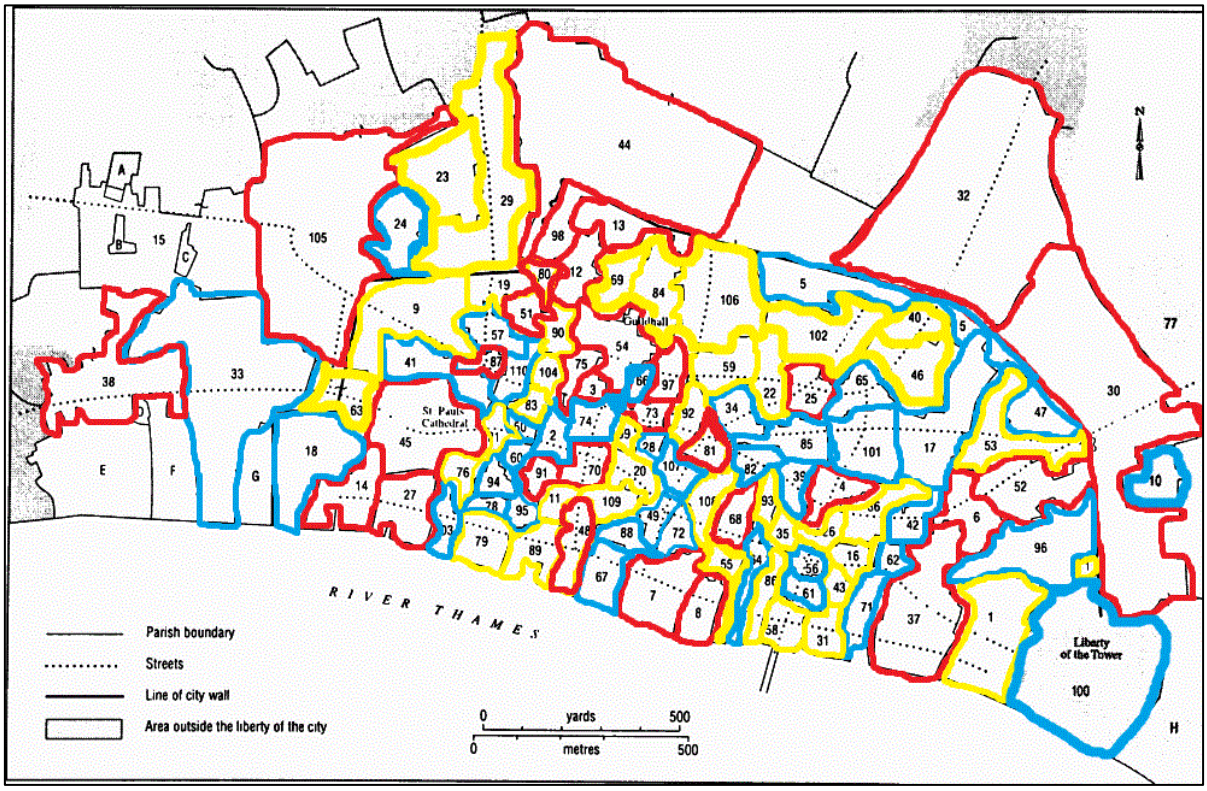
[521] The map is taken from, L. Giese (ed.), *London Consistory Court Depositions, 1586-1611: List and Indexes* (London, 1995), pp. 2-3.

1. All Hallows Barking
2. All Hallows Bread Street
3. All Hallows Honey Lane
4. All Hallows Lombard Street
5. All Hallows London Wall
6. All Hallows Staining
7. All Hallows the Great
8. All Hallows the Less
9. Christchurch Newgate Street
10. Holy Trinity Minories
11. Holy Trinity the Less
12. St. Alban Wood Street
13. St. Alphage
14. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe
15. St. Andrew Holborn
16. St. Andrew Hubbard
17. St. Andrew Undershaft
18. St. Ann Blackfriars
19. St. Anne & St. Agnes
20. St. Antholin
21. St. Augustine Watling Street
22. St. Bartholomew by the Exchange
23. St. Bartholomew the Great
24. St. Bartholomew the Less
25. St. Benet Fink
26. St. Benet Gracechurch
27. St. Benet Paul's Wharf
28. St. Benet Sherehog
29. St. Botolph Aldersgate
30. St. Botolph Aldgate
31. St. Botolph Billingsgate
32. St. Botolph Bishopsgate
33. St. Bride Fleet Street
34. St. Christopher le Stocks
35. St. Clement Eastcheap
36. St. Dionis Backchurch
37. St. Dunstan in the East
38. St. Dunstan in the West
39. St. Edmund the King and Martyr
40. St. Ethelburga
41. St. Faith under St. Paul
42. St. Gabriel Fenchurch
43. St. George Botolph Lane
44. St. Giles Cripplegate
45. St. Gregory by St. Paul
46. St. Helen Bishopsgate
47. St. James Duke's Place
48. St. James Garlickhithe
49. St. John the Baptist Walbrook
50. St. John the Evangelist Friday Street
51. St. John Zachary
52. St. Katherine Coleman
53. St. Katherine Cree
54. St. Lawrence Jewry
55. St. Lawrence Pountney
56. St. Leonard Eastcheap
57. St. Leonard Foster Lane
58. St. Magnus the Martyr
59. St. Margaret Lothbury
60. St. Margaret Moses
61. St. Margaret New Fish Street
62. St. Margaret Pattens

63. St. Martin Ludgate
64. St. Martin Orgar
65. St. Martin Outwich
66. St. Martin Pomeroy (Ironmonger Lane)
67. St. Martin Vintry
68. St. Mary Abchurch
69. St. Mary Aldermanbury
70. St. Mary Aldermary
71. St. Mary at Hill
72. St. Mary Bothaw
73. St. Mary Colechurch
74. St. Mary le Bow
75. St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street
76. St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street
77. St. Mary Matfellon (Whitechapel)
78. St. Mary Mounthaw
79. St. Mary Somerset
80. St. Mary Staining
81. St. Mary Woolchurch Haw
82. St. Mary Woolnoth
83. St. Matthew Friday Street
84. St. Michael Bassishaw
85. St. Michael Cornhill
86. St. Michael Crooked Lane
87. St. Michael le Querne (atte Corne)
88. St. Michael Paternoster Royal
89. St. Michael Queenhithe
90. St. Michael Wood Street
91. St. Mildred Bread Street
92. St. Mildred Poultry
93. St. Nicholas Acons
94. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey
95. St. Nicholas Olave
96. St. Olave Hart Street
97. St. Olave Jewry
98. St. Olave Silver Street (Monkwell Street)
99. St. Pancras Soper Lane
100. St. Peter ad Vincula
101. St. Peter Cornhill
102. St. Peter le Poer
103. St. Peter Paul's Wharf
104. St. Peter Westcheap
105. St. Sepulchre (without Newgate)
106. St. Stephen Coleman Street
107. St. Stephen Walbrook
108. St. Swithin London Stone
109. St. Thomas Apostle
110. St. Vedast Foster Lane

A Furnivall’s Inn
B Barnard's Inn
C Thavie’s Inn
D Sergeant’s' Inn
E Temple
F Whitefriars
G Bridewell
H St. Katharine's Hospital

Figure 5.1B: Map of the sample parishes selected for analysis in the city of London.[522]



For this chapter, the sample parishes have been chosen based on the availability of source material, namely parish officer account books and vestry minute books. Compared to Herlan's study, this sample size is much larger to provide a broader geographical overview of relief, with the narrow focus centring on the type of relief being provided.[523] Parishes with less detailed or incomplete material, including extramural parishes, have also been included to allow a greater area of the city of London to be considered, thus offering a fuller picture of refugee welfare. A future study covering the rest of the metropolis, including the city of Westminster and the adjoining areas of Southwark and Middlesex, is still required to understand the workings of relief in the capital as a whole, but this would entail a much larger postdoctoral project.

[522] The areas outlined in red show the sample parishes selected for analysis. The areas outlined in yellow represent the parishes where churchwardens', constables' and/or overseers' of the poor account books are available, but have not been analysed for this study. The areas outlined in blue represent the parishes which have no surviving churchwardens', constables' or overseers' of the poor account books covering any of the years between 1641 to 1651.

[523] Herlan, 'Poor Relief in London', pp. 30-51.

The parishes selected for analysis are outlined in red in Figure 5.1B: five lay outside the city walls, six along the riverfront, five in close proximity to Guildhall (the administrative centre), four adjoining the city walls and ten distributed around the rest of the city of London. The areas outlined in blue indicate the parishes in the city of London where vestry minute books and parish officers' accounts have not survived for the years 1641 to 1651. The parishes outlined in yellow highlight where surviving source material is available but has not been analysed for this study, due to the limited research time available for this thesis. The parish of St. Gregory-by-St. Paul, outlined in red, was initially included in the sample because the parish church was built up-against St. Paul's Cathedral. Besides the cultural, social and spiritual importance of the cathedral, St Paul's was a recognisable landmark used to navigate the city of London at a time when maps were not readily available.[524] For this reason it is possible that upon arrival into the city refugees travelled towards the cathedral and subsequently sought relief from parish officers at St. Gregory-by-St. Paul.[525] Unfortunately, churchwardens', constables' and overseers' of the poor account books for the 1640s no longer survive, possibly destroyed during the Great Fire of London in 1666. Vestry minute books are available but make no mention of refugees. As a result, the parish has been excluded from the quantitative analysis presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. In the same way as Chapter Four, the data presented in these two tables has been calculated using parish officer accounts, in particular churchwardens' accounts. Table 5.1 shows the minimum number of refugees receiving aid in each parish, 'minimum' being the lowest discernible number of refugees recorded in the accounts. Table 5.2 shows the total amount of aid being distributed to refugees in each parish. [526] The abbreviations 'IN' and 'N/R' have again been used,

[524] Merritt, *Westminster*, p. 6.

[525] Morrissey also argues that the cathedral was a political hub. See, M. Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011).

[526] The data for Tables 5.1 and 5.2 have been derived from, LMA, P69/ALB/B/003/MS07673/002, St. Alban Wood Street churchwardens' accounts (1637-1675); P69/ALB/B/004/MS07674, St. Alban Wood Street churchwardens' and overseers' of the poor account book (1627-1675); P69/ALH3/B/007/MS05026/001, All Hallows Honey Lane churchwardens' accounts (1618-1743); P69/ALH4/B/010/MS04051/001, All Hallows Lombard Street churchwardens' accounts (1614-1683/4); P69/ALH6/B/008/MS04956/003/001, All Hallows Staining churchwardens' accounts (1645-1679); P69/ALH7B/013/MS00818/001, All Hallows the Great churchwardens' accounts (1616-1861); P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001, All Hallows the Less churchwardens' accounts (1630-1651); P69/ALP/B/006/MS01432/004, St. Alphage London Wall

‘indeterminate’ and ‘no record’, and each year has been standardised to commence on 25 March. This standardisation is necessary to allow comparative analysis of the parishes, as many accounts lack precise dates of commencement or have changing dates of commencement each year.

churchwardens’ accounts (1631-1677); P69/AND1/B/032/MS02088/001, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe churchwardens’ accounts (1570-1688); P69/AND1/B/032/MS/02089/001, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe poor accounts (1615-1668); P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/002, St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange vestry minute book (1643-1676); P69/BEN1/B/005/MS01303/001, St. Benet Fink churchwardens’ account book (1610-1699); P69/BEN3/B/007/MS00878/001, Churchwardens’ account book of the united parishes of St. Benet Paul’s Wharf and St. Peter Paul’s Wharf (1605-1657); P69/BOT1/B/016/MS01455/001, St. Botolph Aldgate churchwardens’ account book (1637-1679); P69/BOT2/B/031/MS09237, St. Botolph Aldgate churchwardens’ account book, relating to poor relief in the part of the parish within Portsoken Ward (1622-1678); P69/BOT4/B/001/MS04526/001, St. Botolph Bishopsgate vestry minute book (1616-1690); P69/BOT4/B/008/MS04524/002, St. Botolph Bishopsgate churchwardens’ account book (1632-1662); P69/DUN1/B/008/MS07882/001; P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003; P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004; P69/GIS/B/015/MS06047/001, St. Giles-without-Cripplegate churchwardens account book (1648-1669); P69/JNZ/B/014/MS00590/001, St John Zachary Gresham Street churchwardens’ accounts (1591-1682); P69/KAT1/B/011/MS01124/001, St. Katherine Coleman churchwardens’ accounts (1610-1671); P69/LAW1/B/008/MS02593/002, St. Lawrence Jewry churchwardens’ accounts (1640-1698); P69/MIC4/B/005/MS02895/002, St. Michael-le-Querne churchwardens’ accounts (1605-1717); P69/MIL1/B/004/MS03470/001A, St. Mildred Bread Stree churchwardens’ accounts (1648-1693); P69/MRY1/B/006/MS03891/001, St. Mary Abchurch churchwardens’ accounts (1629-1692); P69/MRY3/B/010/MS06574, St. Mary Aldermary churchwardens’ account book (1597-1665); P69/MRY3/B/012/MS04863/001, St. Mary Aldermary churchwardens’ account book (1630-1708); P69/MRY3/B/015/MS09048, St. Mary Aldermary miscellaneous papers (1605-1861); P69/MRY8/B/005/MS00066, St. Mary Colechurch churchwardens’ accounts (1612-1700); P69/MRY9/B/007/MS02596/002, St Mary Magdalen Milk Street churchwardens’ account Book (1606-1699); P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/001, St. Olave Jewry churchwardens’ account book (1586-1643); P69/OLA2/B/004/MS04409/002, St. Olave Jewry churchwardens’ account book (1643-1705); P69/OLA3/B/002/MS01257/001, St. Olave Silver Street churchwardens’ accounts (1630-1682).

Table 5.1: The minimum number of refugees receiving relief from parish officials in the city of London (1641-1651).

	1641/2	1642/3	1643/4	1644/5	1645/6	1646/7	1647/8	1648/9	1649/50	1650/1
St. Botolph Aldgate	0	8	0	0	0	0	IN	IN	IN	0
St. Botolph Bishopgate	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	0	IN	1	2	0	0	IN	IN	4	3
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	59	5	37	36	IN	10	60	41	55	2
St. Dunstan-in-the-West	52	IN	271	55	48	9	2	10	13	42
St. Benet Fink	0	IN	IN	IN	IN	0	0	0	0	0
St. Giles- without-Cripplegate	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	0
St. Mildred Bread Street	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	0
All Hallows the Less	IN	2	0	3	0	3	3	0	0	64
All Hallows Lombard Street	0	5	2	IN	IN	0	IN	IN	0	0
St. Mary Magdalan Milk Street	IN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	IN	0
St Alban, Wood Street	IN	IN	2	6	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN
St. Katherine Coleman	2	IN	N/R	N/R	N/R	4	0	6	4	4
St. Alphage London Wall	41	69	7	0	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN
St. Mary Colechurch	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	60	IN	0

St. Mary Aldermary	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Mary Abchurch	61	16	12	IN	IN	0	0	4	10	8
All Hallows Honey Lane	0	0	0	IN	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R
St. Lawrence Jewry	IN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Olave Jewry	IN	2	3	IN	0	0	0	0	IN	IN
St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe	0	32	IN	IN	3	0	19	IN	15	7
All Hallows Staining	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	28	48	32	0
St. Sepulchre, Middlesex	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	9	0	IN	IN
St. Olave Silver Street	6	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	N/R
All Hallows the Great	0	32	0	9	1	0	IN	IN	IN	IN
St. James Garlickhithe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
St. John Zachary	0	IN	IN	IN	0	IN	0	0	0	0
St. Mary Staining	N/R	N/R	N/R	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
St. Mary Woolchurch	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	IN	IN
St. Michael-le-Querne	IN	IN	IN	IN	1	8	IN	IN	IN	IN

Table 5.2: Total amount of aid in pence distributed to refugees from Ireland in the city of London by parish officials (1641-1651).

	1641/2	1642/3	1643/4	1644/5	1645/6	1646/7	1647/8	1648/9	1649/50	1650/1
St. Botolph Aldgate	0	186	0	0	0	0	1032	965	320	0
St. Botolph Bishopgate	0	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	0	570	6	12	0	0	72	134	42	28
St. Dunstan-in-the-East	522	84	494	219	IN	132	444	322	246	48
St. Dunstan-in-the-West	590	IN	1971	258	230	54	22	67	54	109
St. Benet Fink	0	IN	IN	IN	IN	0	0	0	0	0
St. Giles- without-Cripplegate	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	0
St. Mildred Bread Street	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	0
All Hallows the Less	3215	18	0	30	0	8	18	0	0	179
All Hallows Lombard Street	0	180	18	600	IN	0	IN	IN	0	0
St. Mary Magdalan Milk Street	IN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	IN	0
St Alban Wood Street	IN	IN	90	81	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN
St. Katherine Coleman	24	IN	N/R	N/R	N/R	48	0	42	54	48
St. Alphage, London Wall	130	348	60	0	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN	IN
St. Mary Colechurch	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	621	IN	0
St. Mary Aldermary	0	60	120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

St. Mary Abchurch	738	138	142	IN	336	0	0	18	76	60
All Hallows Honey Lane	0	0	0	IN	0	0	0	0	N/R	N/R
St. Lawrence Jewry	IN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Olave Jewry	IN	12	30	IN	0	0	0	0	IN	IN
St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe	0	107	IN	IN	24	0	3	IN	74	38
All Hallows Staining	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	138	144	99	0
St. Sepulchre, Middlesex	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	30	0	IN	IN
St. Olave Silver Street	30	30	0	0	10	0	0	0	23	N/R
All Hallows the Great	0	153	0	162	6	0	IN	IN	578	108
St. John Zachary	0	IN	IN	IN	0	IN	0	0	0	0
St. James Garlickhithe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0
St. Mary Staining	N/R	N/R	N/R	60	0	24	0	24	0	0
St. Mary Woolchurch	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	N/R	0	0	IN	IN
St. Michael-le-Querne	2074	IN	IN	576	6	114	415½	IN	520	576

It is impossible to estimate from this sample study how many refugees were present across the whole of the capital during the 1640s, though the refugee presence was significant. A report drawn up in the late summer of 1643 complained that at least five hundred destitute refugees from Ireland were present around the city of London.[527] The thirty sample parishes show that more than 408 refugees were assisted in 1643/4, making the reported figure highly plausible. Between 1641 and 1651, more than 1,514 refugees were recorded receiving aid in the sample parishes. This is a conservative estimate given that accurate figures for many of the parishes cannot be provided due to lack of detail in the accounts. Regardless, it is clear that refugees congested the streets of the capital providing a 'grim spectacle' to the English inhabitants of London.[528] For the most part, the migration patterns of refugees in London during the 1640s paralleled that of the rest of England. The largest contingent of refugees received relief between the winter of 1641 and the spring of 1643, this being the first wave of distressed people to flee to England after the outbreak of the rebellion. In the winter of 1641/2, fifty-nine refugees were aided in St. Dunstan-in-the-East, fifty-two in St. Dunstan-in-the-West, sixty-one in St. Mary Abchurch and forty-one in St. Alphage London Wall. Almost all of the sample parishes in London relieved refugees during this eighteen month period, though a lack of detail in the sources makes it difficult to establish the exact number of refugees receiving aid.

For the parishes with indeterminate figures for refugee numbers the amount of aid distributed offers a glimpse of the scale of the refugee presence. All Hallows the Less, for example, distributed £13 7s 11d to refugees in 1641/2 and St. Michael-le-Querne distributed £8 12s 10d in 1641/2. These are substantial sums, especially when compared to Dunstan West which gave only £2 13s 7d to sixty-five refugees. It could be that Hallows Less and St. Michael were exceptionally generous parishes and gave refugees greater sums of money than other areas of the city of London. It is more likely that there were simply more refugees seeking and subsequently receiving relief in these parishes due to their geographical locations. Hallows Less sat along the River Thames, upstream from London Bridge, just a short distance from the main dock at St. Mary-at-Hill, where refugees would have disembarked from ships recently arrived from Ireland. Upon their arrival, refugees would have needed to move away from the dock in search of relief. The parish churches

[527] BL, Add. MS. 4782, pp. 236-237.

[528] J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 127.

closest to the dock, such as Dunstan East, were prime locations for receiving immediate aid and as such would have become highly congested. More refugees meant more competition for resources. To ensure that sufficient aid was available refugees thus needed to disperse themselves across a wider radius of churches, resulting in a significant number of refugees moving up-river towards Hallows Less. St. Michael, meanwhile, was situated towards the western city wall, north of St. Paul's Cathedral. The key avenues of Newgate Street and Aldersgate Street converged in the parish making it a principal thoroughfare for travellers entering and leaving the city of London, via the gates of Newgate and Aldersgate. This would explain the significant refugee presence in the parish throughout the 1640s.

Figure 5.2: John Strype's parish map of St. Dunstan-in-the-East (1720).[529]



[529] J. Strype (ed.), *A Survey of the cities of London and Westminster written at first in 1598 by John Stow; much enlarged, and brought down from the year 1633 to the present time by John Strype* (London, 1720), II, p. 29.

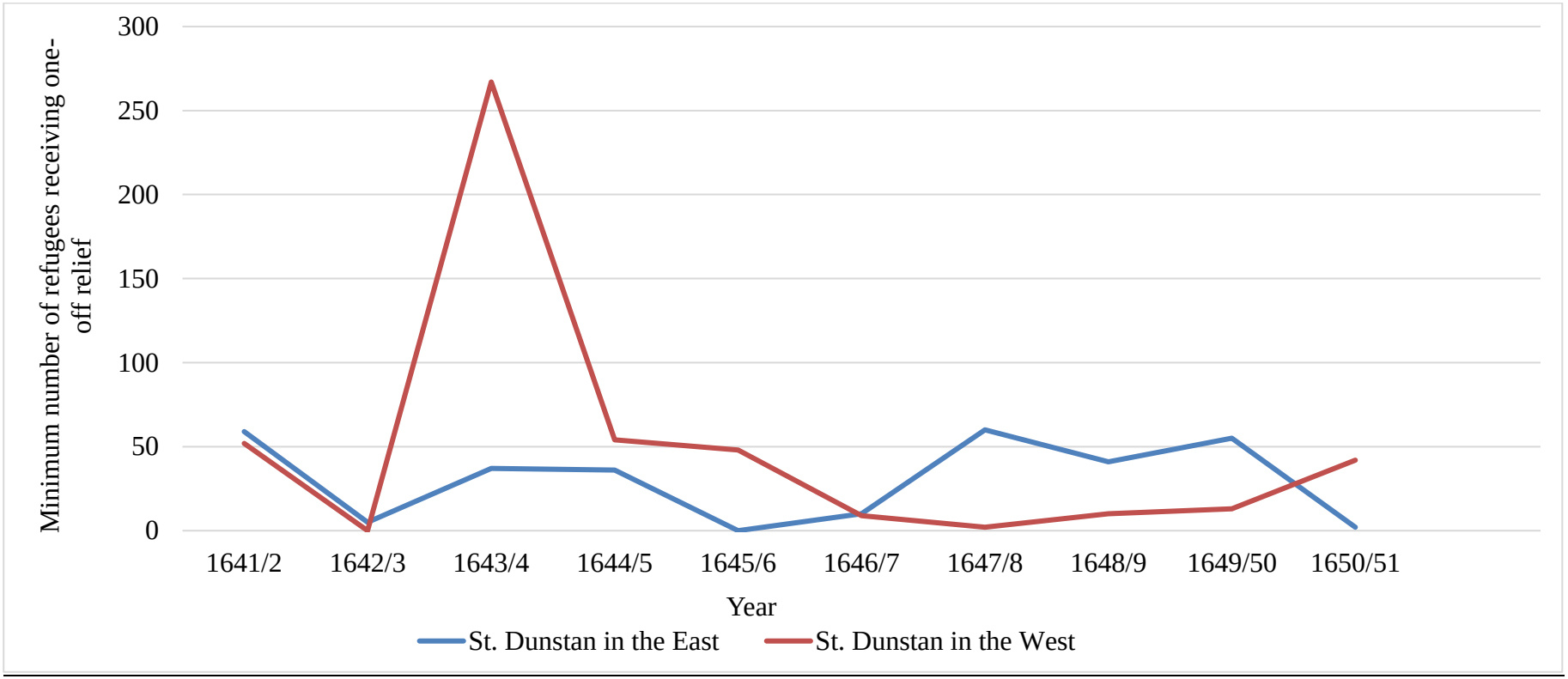
There are, however, deviations from this general pattern which highlight how the events of the civil war affected the migration of refugees in the city of London. Dunstan East and Dunstan West aided a minimum of 305 and 502 refugees respectively between 1641 and 1651. The significant number of refugees receiving relief can again be attributed to geographical location. Dunstan West was located along Fleet Street, one of the city of London's busiest thoroughfares, a continuation of the Strand connecting the city of London to Westminster. Dunstan East, meanwhile, was located within the city walls, in close proximity to the port of London. Figure 5.2, John Strype's map of Dunstan East, shows how close the parish church was to the main dock in the adjoining parish of St. Mary-at-Hill. Unlike the majority of parishes in the city of London, the highest number of refugees that received relief was sixty in Dunstan East in 1647/8 and 271 in Dunstan West in 1643/4. In Dunstan East the rise in refugee numbers in 1647 resulted from developments in the Confederate Wars in Ireland. In 1646 the failure of Ormond's peace initiative resulted in the appointment of a new Confederate Supreme Council. The new Council's plan for an immediate attack on Dublin forced Ormond to return to the city. As his army withdrew, crops, mills and bridges were destroyed to hamper the Irish advance. This destruction of property, in addition to the threat of the Irish army, seemed to promote more refugees to escape to England at this time.[530] Indeed, across England a similar rise in refugee numbers occurred between 1646 and 1648. In Upton, Nottinghamshire, the number of refugees being aided rose from twenty-one in 1646/7 to fifty-two in 1647/8. In Swaffham, Norfolk, thirteen refugees were aided in 1646/7 and thirty-eight were relieved in 1647/8, and in Addlethorpe, Lincolnshire, fifty refugees were aided in 1645/6 and sixty-eight were aided in 1646/7.

The dramatic rise in the number of refugees receiving relief in Dunstan West, meanwhile, requires further examination, as the number of refugees aided in the summer of 1643 far exceeds any other sample parish. Figure 5.4A presents the weekly distribution of aid to refugees in Dunstan West in 1643/4, while Figure 5.4B shows the monthly distribution of aid between October 1641 and March 1646. These graphs show that the greatest number of refugees received relief before the Cessation of Arms was signed in Ireland on 15 September 1643. The significant number of refugees being aided at this time

[530] B. Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651', *Midland History*, 42/2 (2017), p. 208.

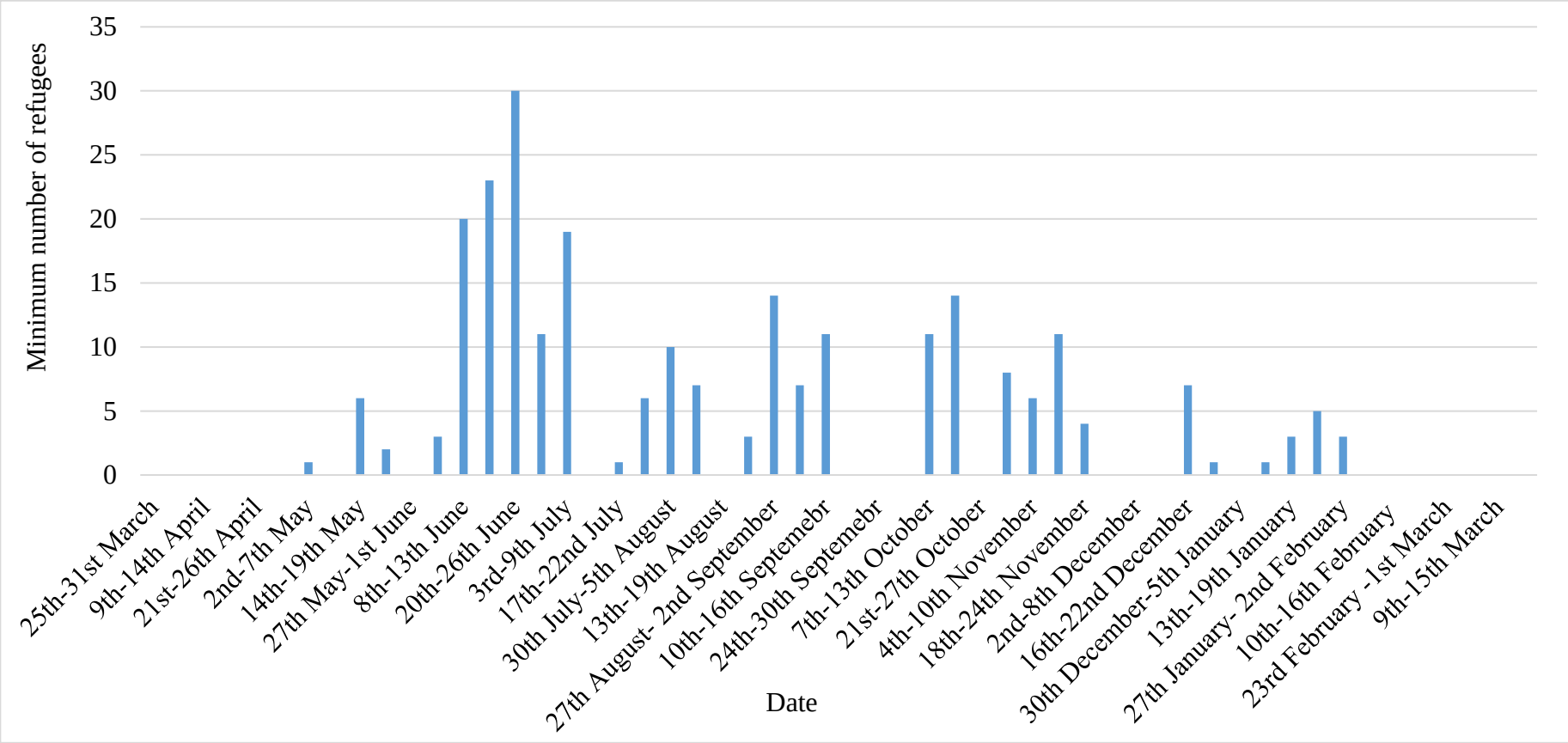
resulted from the financial, military and political crisis facing Parliament in the summer preceding the signing of the Cessation. The crisis caused widespread disruption in the capital and a closing off of national provision for aid, eliciting an increase in migration out of the Westminster area.

Figure 5.3: Minimum number of refugees from Ireland receiving one-off payments of relief in the parishes of St. Dunstan-in-the-East and St. Dunstan-in-the-West (1641-1651).[531]



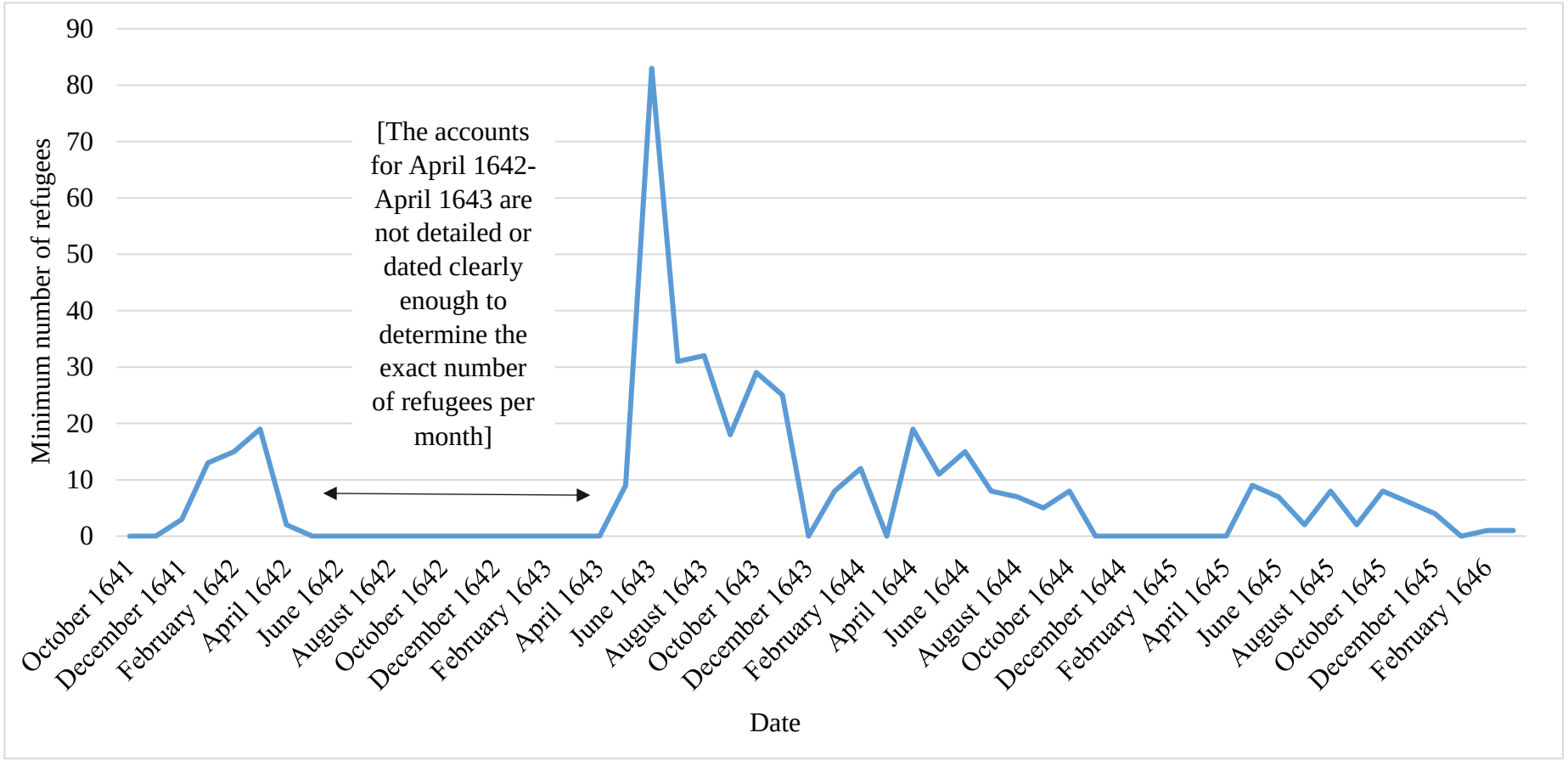
[531] Statistics derived from, LMA, P69/DUN1/B/008/MS07882/001, St. Dunstan-in-the-East churchwardens' account book (1635-1661); P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, St. Dunstan-in-the-West churchwardens' accounts (1641-1645); P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004, St. Dunstan-in-the-West churchwardens' accounts (1645-1651).

Figure 5.4A: The weekly distribution of refugees from Ireland receiving one-off payments of relief in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West (25 March 1643-25 March 1644).[532]



[532] Statistics derived from, LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003.

Figure 5.4B: Monthly distribution of refugees from Ireland receiving one-off payments of relief in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West (October 1641-March 1646).[533]



[533] Statistics derived from, LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003.

The spring and summer of 1643 were a time of military and political crisis for Parliament. 'Discord, desertion, defeat, disaster were the daily fare of Londoners', writes J. H. Hexter, 'and such a diet produced its inevitable consequence – gloom, fear, and despair.'[534] In April, as peace talks continued in Oxford, Charles issued a secret commission authorising an armed rising in the capital.[535] Edmund Waller, member for St. Ives and a commissioner for the Oxford Treaty, was chief amongst the conspirators. Initially, the plan was to force Parliament into a negotiated settlement with the King by capitalising on the strong sentiments for peace in London. The use of coercion, however, was soon replaced by designs for an armed uprising. Leading members of the Commons and Common Council were to be arrested while pro-Royalist members of the trained bands would help a force of 3,000 men enter the city of London. In May the plot was uncovered and the leading conspirators were arrested.[536] While *Mercurius Aulicus* dismissed the plot as 'such a noyse and tumult', concocted by Pym and his followers to extract greater war funds from the London population, the repercussions were significant.[537]

The discovery of the plot sent shockwaves through the capital as it was discovered that the Royalist threat had penetrated the walls of Parliament.[538] The threat was brought into even sharper focus by distressing news from Ireland on 5 June, when the Commons were informed that Lord Taaffe had been dispatched by the King to Kilkenny to correspond with the Catholic Irish rebels.[539] The direct communication between the King and the rebels was seen as further proof of a popish conspiracy within the Royalist cause and provided Pym and the 'war party' with an opportunity to discredit advocates for

[534] J. H. Hexter, *The Reign of King Pym* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 130.

[535] A. Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 257-258.

[536] Waller later denounced his part in the plot. See, E. Waller, *Mr. Wallers speech in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the fourth of July, 1643* (London, 1643).

[537] P. Heylyn, *Mercurius Aulicus, communicating the intelligence and affaires of the court to the rest of the kingdome* (London, 4-10 June 1643), pp. 300-301; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution,* p. 350; E. Vallance, 'Protestation, vow, covenant and engagement: swearing allegiance in the English Civil War', *Historical Research,* 75/109 (2002), pp. 408-424.

[538] *CJ*, III, p. 117.

[539] This communication culminated in the Cessation of Arms on 15 September 1643. See, S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (4 volumes, London, 1897), I, pp. 148-149.

peace.[540] Parliamentarian rhetoric portrayed Royalism as the embodiment of the popish threat against the true faith and asserted that failure to 'deale with Papists and sonnes of violence' in the King's army would bring about divine punishment.[541] This rhetoric is clearly evident in the Vow and Covenant, passed on 6 June, which amounted to an oath of allegiance to the Parliamentarian cause.[542] The pretence of protecting the King's person and authority was abandoned, with the King no longer seen as the 'sovereign led astray by evil councillors' but as the 'conspirator against the peace and safety of the nation'.[543] Those taking the vow had to declare,

> my hearty Sorrow for my own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have deserv'd the Calamities and Judgments that now lie upon it; and my true Intention is, by God's Grace, to endeavour the Amendment of my own Ways: And I do further, in the Presence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in order to the Security and Preservation of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, I will not consent to the laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists, now in open War against the Parliament shall, by Force of Arms, be protected from the Justice thereof.[544]

The vow made it almost impossible to be remain neutral or to favour peace negotiations without the risk of appearing to be a Royalist 'delinquent' or sympathetic to Catholicism.[545]

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[540] K. Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 349. Pym made two speeches regarding the plot, the first in the Commons and the second at Guildhall, in order to discredit the 'peace party'. See, *Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, XII, pp. 281-295.

[541] T. Hill, *The militant church triumphant over the dragon and his angels* (London, 1643), p. 19.

[542] D. Johnson, 'Parliament in crisis: the disintegration of the parliamentary war effort during the summer of 1643' (University of York PhD thesis, 2012), p. 91; *Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, XII, pp. 295-296; Vallance, 'Protestation', pp. 408-424.

[543] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, I, p. 148.

[544] *CJ*, III, pp. 117-118; England and Wales. Parliament, *A sacred vow and covenant taken by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament* (London, 1643), pp. 1-2.

[545] B. Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714* (3rd edn., London, 2003), p. 207; Vallance, 'Protestation', p. 415.

The case against neutrality and peace was given additional support by ministers, whose sermons called for spiritual, financial and material provision for the war effort.[546] In a fast sermon to Parliament in April 1643, John Ley proclaimed the war 'not only lawfull, but so necessary, that to forbeare it is unlawfull, and so he that can and will not assist in it (to his power) commeth under the curse of Meroz'.[547] Thomas Hill and Herbert Palmer similarly preached warnings against 'dull neutrality', for God 'accounts neuters his enemies' and 'our policy cannot protect us, if we desert the cause of God and his people'.[548] All three men had sided with Parliament at the outbreak of civil war in England and were later appointed members of the Westminster Assembly, which first convened on 1 July 1643.[549]

These sermons, amongst others, utilised politico-religious ideas which had been raised by promoters of the Protestant cause after the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in 1641. Ley's reference to the curse of Meroz, for example, emulated Stephen Marshall's sermon *Meroz Cursed* (1642) as he warned of the terrible fate which awaited those who failed to take action in the war against the Antichrist.[550] In 1641 and 1642 such ideas were used to further the reformation of the English Church, encourage speedier military action in Ireland and elicit financial support for Protestant refugees. In the context of the civil war in England, however, these ideas had taken on a new meaning.[551] By 1643 the threat of the rebels in Ireland had been subsumed by the crisis at home. Ireland was no longer the central battlefield between the godly and the Antichrist. The war with the King in England had taken centre stage and was now considered part of the international conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism. This interpretation of events was espoused by Marshall in his sermon to Parliament on 15 June 1643, being a day of thanksgiving for the discovery

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[546] E. Vallance, '"An holy and sacramentall paction", federal theology and the Solemn League and Covenant in England', *English Historical Review,* 116/465 (2001), p. 55; Hexter, *King Pym,* pp. 28-30.

[547] J. Ley, *The fury of warre, and folly of sinne, (as an incentive to it) declared and applyed* (London, 1643), p. 16; J. Down, 'The curse of Meroz and the English Civil War', *Historical Journal,* 57/2 (2014), p. 352.

[548] Hill, *The militant church,* p. 9. See also, H. Palmer, *The necessity and encouragement of utmost venturing for the churches help together with the sin, folly, and mischief of self-idolizing* (London, 1643) and T. Wilson, *Jerichoes down-fall as it was presented in a sermon preached in St. Margarets Westminster before the honourable House of Commons at the late solemne fast, Septemb. 28, 1642* (London, 1643).

[549] *ODNB.*

[550] S. Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1642),

[551] Down, 'The curse of Meroz', p. 353.

of Waller's plot. He exalted the work of God, across Europe, in using the schemes of the Antichrist 'to dig a pit for their own destruction, and making the ways by them intended for the Churches ruin, to be the greatest meanes of their deliverance'. Of the events listed as victories over the Antichrist, Marshall included the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in France and 'the cruelty and tyranny of the Spaniards in the Netherlands', for although many Protestants had been killed both states had since experienced growth in the freedom and strength of Protestantism. Further to this was the discovery of Waller's plot, so 'if any of you have not had time, or means, to observe these things in Story, your eyes cannot but see them all fulfilled in Christs late, and present dealings with our selves'.[552]

By the summer of 1643 London had thus become a city full of political and religious tension, which was further heightened by Parliament's military failures. Over the course of 1643, Parliament's military effectiveness was consistently undermined by financial problems. After the successful siege of Reading by the earl of Essex, on 26 April Parliamentarian intelligence indicated that a direct assault on Oxford could succeed given the King's weakened position. Such an advantage was never seized upon as news reached Westminster on 29 April that Essex's army could not advance until his troops were paid.[553] This news was ill-received and ill-timed as just a few days earlier Parliament had been forced to deny Lord Ferdinando Fairfax's request for immediate assistance in Yorkshire against the earl of Newcastle, due to a lack of supplies and funds.[554] Parliament's inability to fund its main field armies, led by Essex, Fairfax and Sir William Waller demonstrated the inadequacy of the parliamentary system of taxation and ultimately resulted in significant military defeats at Adwalton Moor (30 June) and Roundway Down (13 July).[555]

At the same time, the war in Ireland had reached a stalemate, with both sides generally suffering from a shortage of money and supplies.[556] The tension between victory and desperation was evident in London newsbooks and pamphlets, which 'reflected a Parliament where perceptions of Ireland were constantly poised between hope and

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[552] S. Marshall, *The song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lambe* (London, 1643), pp. 16-18.

[553] Gardiner, *Great Civil War,* I, p. 131.

[554] *LJ,* VI, p. 18.

[555] Johnson, 'Parliament in crisis', p. 88.

[556] Key victories for the British armies were achieved at Glenmaquin, Kilrush, Ballintobber, Liscarroll, Rathconnell and Ross between 1642 and 1643. See, P. Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641-1649* (Cork, 2001), p. 69.

despondency'.[557] Parliament's seeming inability to defeat the Royalists in England and subdue the Confederates in Ireland was seen as evidence of God's displeasure towards the Parliamentarian cause. They had failed to defeat popery and bring peace and safety to the nation. The need to appease God was expressed in a petition to Parliament from the Assembly of Divines who called for the observation of a day of humiliation, prayer and fasting, out of a 'deep sense of God's heavy Wrath lying on us… and manifested particularly the two late sad and unexpected Defeats of our forces'. The day of humiliation was ordered to take place on the 21 July, so everyone could 'bitterly bewail his own Sins, and cry mightily unto God, for Christ's Sake, to remove his Wrath'.[558]

Given the crisis in the capital it is unsurprising that the central bodies responsible for national relief to refugees reduced accessibility to aid. Since the summer of 1642 the Committee for Irish Affairs and the Committee for Contribution had shared the task of distributing relief to refugee petitioners from Ireland, out of the contribution money. The main responsibility of the Irish Affairs committee, however, was the costing, payment, organisation and supply of the army in Ireland.[559] As the war in Ireland reached a stalemate, the committee was faced with a plethora of outstanding debts for supplies with no fresh source of revenue.[560] The Contribution was seen as the solution to this lack of revenue and on 6 March 1643 the committee recommended to the Commons 'that whatsoever moneys are in arrears upon the Act of Loane and Contribution for relief of Ireland' be handed over.[561] The request was granted in April, giving the committee complete control over the Contribution.[562] The decision to reallocate the Contribution to the committee for the purposes of funding the Irish war rendered refugee relief a subsidiary concern, a position which was further emphasised in May by a request that no more petitions for relief be referred to the committee until the army in Ireland was better

[557] R. Armstrong, *Protestant War: The 'British' of Ireland and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005), p. 73.

[558] *Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, XII, pp. 336-339.

[559] R. Armstrong, 'Ireland at Westminster: the Long Parliament's Irish committees, 1641-1647', in C. R. Kyle and J. Peacey (eds.), *Parliament at Work: Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 80.

[560] Armstrong, *Protestant War,* p. 74.

[561] BL, Add. MS. 4782, Orders of the English Parliamentary Committee for Irish affairs (1642-1643), pp. 208-209.

[562] BL, Add. MS. 4782, p. 529.

supplied.[563] As a result, very few refugees were aided by the committee between May and August. It was only those of high status, namely gentry and ministers, who received aid in these months, such as Sir Edward Philpott and his wife Lady Mary Butler.[564]

The committee's reluctance to provide for refugees was symptomatic of the general desperation in Parliament for financial resources, which had created an inaccessible climate for relief in Westminster. Mass attendance of petitioners at Westminster only occurred in times of crisis, such as the summer of 1643, and it was at these times that moves were made to restrict access to Parliament. While general measures to restrict access were not imposed during the 1640s it is certainly possible that attempts were periodically made to clear the lobby.[565] There is no explicit evidence to suggest that refugees and other petitioners were forcibly removed from Westminster, though with such a climate of political and religious fear such persons were not likely welcomed into the area. After leaving Westminster refugees possibly relocated to Dunstan West, due to its nearby location along Fleet Street. The parish lay outside the city walls, meaning refugees did not have to enter the city of London for relief. This allowed them to avoid the increasingly militant situation within the city walls, where the Puritan mayor of London Isaac Pennington was directing and organising a general rising of the people against peace proposals, which came to a head in the first week of August.[566] This would further explain why none of the other sample parishes experienced a similar rise in the number of refugees receiving relief in 1643/4.

Patterns of refugee migration and relief can also be seen in relation to the wealth of particular parishes. Few refugees were aided in the richer parishes of the city of London, particularly those surrounding Guildhall, due to the fear of political unrest. The churchwardens of St. Mary Magdalen only assisted refugees in 1641/2 and 1649/50, St. Lawrence Jewry only assisted refugees in the winter of 1641/2, and payments to refugees

[563] K. Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree: Irish immigration to London in the mid-seventeenth century, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1989), p. 150.

[564] BL, Add. MS. 4782, pp. 332-475.

[565] C. R. Kyle and J. Peacey, ''Under cover of so much coming and going': public access to Parliament and the political process in early modern England', in C. R. Kyle and J. Peacey (eds.), *Parliament at Work: Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 11-12.

[566] Johnson, 'Parliament in crisis', pp. 119-131.

in St. Olave Jewry were very sporadic. These parishes, in addition to St. Mary Colechurch and All Hallows Honey Lane, formed part of the economic and administrative heart of the city of London, centred round Guildhall and the Royal Exchange. The parishes of Olave Jewry and Lawrence Jewry, in particular, enjoyed easy access to these institutions and the cloth market at Blackwell Hall. The church of Lawrence Jewry was also situated along the south side of Guildhall Yard and was the official church of the Corporation of London. Westminster and Guildhall were both vital institutions ensuring the functioning of the capital, making it imperative to protect them from any potential threats. The security of the capital was always a source of concern for Parliament and the trained bands were often called upon to guard the metropolis in times of unrest. In January 1642, for example, after Charles attempted to arrest the five members, the trained bands were used to protect Parliament when they met at Guildhall. While the trained bands were not specifically ordered to guard Guildhall during the 1640s, it is highly likely, given the tensions in the capital, that the area experienced a significant military presence over the course of the decade. This was certainly the case in 1643, after Waller's plot was discovered, as the trained bands were called upon to 'Guard the Citty'.[567] Having escaped physical violence in Ireland, refugees no doubt wished to avoid encounters with soldiers who would have viewed them as strangers and therefore potentially suspect. Refugees thus avoided areas of the city of London, such as the administrative centre, which had a keen military presence.

There was an additional economic dimension to this lack of assistance. The absence of refugees was influenced by the wealth and the affluence of the inhabitants in these richer parishes, who were mainly merchants, skilled workers, craftsmen, lawyers and other professionals.[568] By virtue of their wealth these parishes had few, if any, pauper tenements, meaning there was a lack of suitable accommodation – permanent or temporary – for wandering refugees. This differed significantly with areas like Dunstan West where it was easier to blend into the crowd. The richest areas of the city of London were consequently less desirable locations to seek aid and naturally fewer refugees would have been present there.

[567] S. Pecke, *A Continuation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages* (London, 25 May-1 June 1643), pp. 7-8; *Mercurius Aulicus* (4-10 June 1643), pp. 300-301; See also, L. C. Nagel, 'The Militia of London, 1641-1649' (Unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 1982), pp. 80-84.

[568] In 1641 the mayor of London, Richard Gurney, for instance, was amongst the residents of Olave Jewry. LMA, P69/OLA2/B/001/MS04415/001, f. 106r, St. Olave Jewry vestry minute book (1574-1680).

Few refugees were also aided in the poorest areas of the city of London due to the economic strain of the civil wars. By the winter of 1642/3 military conflict was having an adverse effect on the economy of London and fear surrounding the decline in trade featured prominently in petitions to Parliament. On 22 December 1642, one petition stated that,

> Commerce and Trade (the only Support of this City) [is] exceedingly impaired, whereof none can be equally sensible with us; those with whom we deal, in most Parts of this and of the Kingdom of Ireland, are much disabled and impoverished, by the Violence and Rapine [of the] Soldiers; some of them totally despoiled, others in a fearful Expectation of the like Measure; the Multitude of poor People in and about this City (who by reason of the Cessation of Trade, want Employment, and consequently Bread) infinitely abound.[569]

The burden of taxation also mounted as the war progressed. Between 1642 and 1645 over £1 million was raised from voluntary contributions to Parliament to fund the war against the King. The sums being contributed, however, were regarded as inadequate and Parliament quickly turned to extra taxation. On 24 February 1643 the first weekly assessment was issued.[570] The cities of London and Westminster were assessed far more heavily than the rest of the Country, at a rate of £11,000 per week. Payment of the tax was not forthcoming and with fewer counties under Parliamentarian control the resultant sums were insufficient to fund Parliament's main field armies, contributing to the military failures of the summer of 1643.[571] Desperate for a resolution, on 22 July the very first excise tax was passed. This became the main source of income for the field armies between 1643 and 1645. In 1645 this role was overtaken by the monthly assessment, which was initially set at £53,000 to finance the New Model Army. The amount was raised incrementally over subsequent years to a final maximum levy of £120,000 a month. An

[569] *LJ*, V, pp. 511-512.

[570] See, J. Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the Civil War, 1630-1650* (2nd edn., London and New York, 1999), p. 85.

[571] Johnson, 'Parliament in crisis', pp. 87-88.

additional £20,000 a month was levied for the parliamentary war effort in Ireland and between 1644 and 1645 £21,000 a month was levied for the Scottish army in England.

The wealthier areas of the city of London were not immune from the economic problems caused by the wars. In St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, for example, only half the money assessed for the relief of maimed soldiers in November 1643 was raised because 'there was soe many houses in the parish shut up: and soe many shops that paid nothing'.[572] The impact of the reduction in trade and raised taxation was more keenly felt, however, by the poorer parishes, which were burdened by numerous dependents who could not pay parish rates let alone additional taxes.[573] In St. Botolph Bishopsgate the vestry blamed problems in collecting local rates on 'the great povertie of many of the present inhabitants of this parish because of the deadnes in, and lacke of tradeing and also for that divers of the said parishoners have listed themselves for soldiers'.[574] The high levels of poverty in poorer parishes ultimately meant that fewer refugees received assistance. Indeed, in Botolph Bishopgate the churchwardens only aided four refugees during the 1640s.

A similar situation is evident in St. Giles-without-Cripplegate, one of the poorest parishes of the city of London. No churchwardens' accounts survive for the years 1641 to 1647 and between 1648 and 1651 the accounts show that no refugees received relief. On the one hand, this absence is surprising given the parish's size and reputation. Cripplegate was located outside the city walls and was one of the largest parishes in London. Increased levels of migration and urbanisation over the previous century had resulted in exponential population growth as poor migrants moved to the capital in search of employment.[575] This growth, however, also contributed to increased levels of unemployment and poverty in the

[572] LMA, P69/BAT1/B/001/MS04384/002, f. 17, St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange vestry minute book (1643-1676).

[573] B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 231.

[574] LMA, P69/BOT4/B/001/MS04526/001, f. 60v, St. Botolph Bishopsgate vestry minute book (1616-1690).

[575] H. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London and New York, 2000), pp. 40-50; P. Clark and D. Souden, 'Introduction', in P. Clark and D. Souden (eds.), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 11-48; I. D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550-1830* (London, 2000), pp. 1-9, 63-66, 71-76.

parish, as the new migrants possessed limited skills and had virtually no capital.[576] As a result, the parish became notorious for overcrowding, inadequate dwellings, poor sanitation and the housing of vagrants, rogues, gypsies and other undesirables, including foreign strangers. The absence of refugees being relieved between 1648 and 1651 was possibly the result of the high levels of poverty amongst the parish's pre-existing inhabitants. Throughout the seventeenth century, local officials in Cripplegate struggled to care for the large numbers of poor residing within their jurisdictions. The parish relied upon the assistance of the rates-in-aid assessment, a form of parish levy collected from richer parishes, to sustain their needy inhabitants.[577] With resources in the parish tied up with these dependents, it is little wonder that no refugees were given outdoor relief in Cripplegate in the latter half of the 1640s.

It is important to note that the absence of refugees in Cripplegate could also be due to a lack of surviving documentation. The parish of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe was a poorer parish situated along the waterfront close to the western city wall.[578] The churchwardens' accounts for St. Andrew show that no refugees were relieved in the parish during the 1640s.[579] The parish poor book on the other hand reveals that the overseers of the poor were disseminating relief, with the largest discernible number of refugees aided being thirty-two in 1642/3.[580] While the total number of refugees being relieved is not as significant as other areas of the city of London, it is clear that the parish was assisting refugees in addition to its poverty-stricken inhabitants. In St. Andrew the responsibility for relief was evidently given to the overseers of the poor rather than the churchwardens. Consequently, the absence of refugees in Cripplegate could be due to the absence of an overseers' poor book.

While patterns of refugee migration are visible across the city of London, there are no discernible patterns with regards to the extent of refugee relief. The data in Table 5.2

[576] Clark and Souden, 'Introduction', p. 27; P. Clark, 'The migrant in Kentish towns', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (London, 1972), pp. 138-145.

[577] Cripplegate received regular rates-in-aid from St. Alban Wood Street, St. Olave Old Jewry and St. Margret Lothbury. See, Herlan, 'Poor relief in London', pp. 37-39.

[578] Herlan, 'Poor relief in London', p. 34.

[579] LMA, P69/AND1/B/032/MS02088/001, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe churchwardens' accounts (1570-1688).

[580] LMA, P69/AND1/B/032/MS/02089/001, St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe poor accounts (1615-1668).

shows no overarching trend to the extent of aid, either temporally or geographically, meaning that relief was individualistic to each parish. It is not possible, given the parameters of this study, to consider each sample parish individually to identify and analyse the various factors and circumstances which determined the extent of aid over the course of the 1640s. Instead, the rest of this chapter will consider three factors which influenced the extent of relief: the volume of refugees, the status of refugees and the religious ideologies of parishes, which in turn will highlight the individualistic nature of parish relief.

Firstly, to access the relationship between the volume of refugees and the extent of relief this section will return to the examples of Dunstan East and Dunstan West. Between 1641 and 1651, the churchwardens of Dunstan West dispensed over £14 4s in outdoor relief to refugees, with an additional £141 9s being paid in contribution money in 1642. In Dunstan East over £10 9s 3d was given in outdoor relief and £192 1s 7d in contribution money.[581] The contribution from Dunstan East was much larger than Dunstan West because it contained many more wealthy inhabitants. John Stow noted in 1598 that it was 'a great Parish of many rich Merchants, and other Occupiers of divers Trades; namely Salters and Ironmongers.'[582] Dunstan West, on the other hand, dispensed more money to refugees directly because of the greater number of refugees passing along Fleet Street.

For the most part, the extent of aid in both parishes reflected the number of refugees receiving assistance each year. The largest annual total of relief given in Dunstan West, £8 4s 3d, corresponded to the year which relieved the highest number of refugees, 1643/4. The lowest annual total, 1s 10d, corresponded to the year where only two refugees were aided, 1647/8. Similarly, in Dunstan East the smallest annual total of 4s was given in 1650/1 to two refugees. The total amount of aid provided to refugees in a given year, however, did not always correspond to the number of refugees receiving relief. In 1641/2 £2 3s 6d was given to fifty-nine refugees while in 1647/8 £1 17s was given to sixty refugees. The decrease in aid, although seemingly small, is significant given that the number of refugees remained almost the same. The difference of 6s 6d could be due to a drop in the mean average aid (that is the amount given per refugee) as the number of

[581] TNA, SP 28/193/5, ff. 61, 151, 159, Collections for distressed Protestants in Ireland: Leicester, Lincolnshire, London, Middlesex folder.

[582] J. Stow, *A suruay of London Contayning the originall, antiquity, increase, moderne estate, and description of that citie, written in the yeare 1598* (London, 1598), p. 42.

refugees in Dunstan East increased. For example, in 1642/3 five refugees received on average 1s 4d per person, in 1646/7 ten refugees received 1s 1d per person and in 1647/8 the sixty refugees received 7d per person. The correlation between refugee numbers and the mean average aid is also discernible in Dunstan West. In 1644/5 fifty-five refugees received on average 4d, in 1646/7 nine refugees received on average 6d and in 1647/8 two refugees received on average 11d. The mean average aid is a helpful tool for considering the relationship between relief and refugee numbers, but it has its limitations. Calculating how much an individual received, based on how much was dispensed to the whole group, fails to take into account the process of decision-making performed by churchwardens for each individual request for subsistence.

When dispensing aid a number of factors relating to the individual refugee would have been considered by parish officials, whether consciously or unconsciously, before charity was provided. The greatest determinant of aid was status, namely whether a refugee was a 'gentleman' or a 'minister'. Across England ministers and their families, including the wives and widows of ministers travelling across England without their spouse, usually received more money than other refugees. In Upton the difference was only minor, ministers received on average 3d opposed to 2.4d for everyone else. In Bressingham, Norfolk, the difference in amounts was much greater with ministers receiving 3.5d and other refugees 0.4d. Similarly, in Cratfield ministers received on average 18d while other refugees only received 3.7d. In All Hallows Staining ministers received on average 4.4d and other refugees 3.3d. In Hallows Less ministers received 4.3d and others 2.9d. Preferential treatment towards ministers highlights the religious element of the rebellion and the understanding of the wars in Ireland as part of a broader conflict between Protestantism and popery.

What distinguishes the city of London from the rest of England is the amount of aid given to 'gentlemen' and their families. In Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk higher status individuals received more than the 'average' refugee but still less than religious ministers. In Claypole, Lincolnshire, gentlemen received 2.2d on average, ministers 3d and others 1d.[583] In Dunwich, Suffolk,

[583] LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/2, Claypole constables' accounts (1642, 1649-1651); CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/1, Claypole churchwardens' accounts (1647-1651).

gentlemen received 6d, ministers 12d and others 4.4d.[584] In the city of London, however, those of a higher status were largely treated with greater reverence than ministers. In Dunstan East, gentlemen received on average 32.4d, ministers 13.5d and other refugees 7.3d. Similarly, in Hallows Less gentlemen received 30d, ministers 4.4d and others 3.3d. The parish elite in these areas, those deciding on relief, perhaps saw more of themselves in these gentlemen and feared a similar loss in status due to the uncertainty of the civil wars. The larger sums thus reflect this empathic view.

The possession of certificates and passes had some positive effect on the extent of aid in the city of London, though similarly to the rest of England this was generally limited to the gentry. In Dunstan East, for example, two Irish gentlewomen with certificates received 2s while another Irish woman with a certificate only received 6d.[585] In Dunstan West, meanwhile, the treatment of passes and certificates by parish officials shows scepticism towards the authenticity of refugee documentation. In the sixteenth century forged passes were commonplace, making it difficult to decipher which claims for relief were genuine. Parish officials in Dunstan West were consequently suspicious of these documents and became more reliant upon the recommendations of the parish minister or vestry committee, who were able to interrogate individual refugees as they entered the parish. Greater sums were thus given to those refugees who had recommendations from within the parish. William Savage and Richard Conar were given 5s having a note from the minister Dr Marsh, a gentlewoman 'come from Ireland' received 10s 'upon dr Marshes note' and Mr Newbold, 'a minister come from Ireland w[i]th a wife and nine Children upon dr Marshes noate and a Certificate from the Primate in Ireland', received 5s.[586] 'Primate in Ireland' possibly refers to Lancelot Bulkeley, the Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland. Bulkeley remained in Dublin after the outbreak of the rebellion and may have signed a certificate for Newbold before his departure to England. Alternatively this could refer to James Ussher, the Church of Ireland archbishop of

[584] SUFRO, EE6/2/1/3, Dunwich town corporation records minute book of assembly (1627-1653).

[585] LMA, P69/DUN1/B/008/MS07882/001, St. Dunstan-in-the-East churchwardens' account book (1635-1661), pp. 363, 409.

[586] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/003, ff. 623v, 660r, St. Dunstan-in-the-West churchwardens' accounts (1641-1645).

Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, who may have signed the certificate for Newbold in England.[587]

To what extent certificates and passes held by refugees in the 1640s were real or fake is impossible to determine. The majority of refugees seemingly travelled without documentation, leaving them reliant upon the relation of their personal stories of hardship. In some cases these stories worked to great effect. On 26 September 1645 John Stoneman was given 1s 4d by the junior churchwarden of Dunstan West, having 'had his Toes plucked of his feete by the Irish Rebels neere Waterford in Ireland besides 40 Englishmen more whome they soe cruelly used'. This was not always the case, however, as on 3 February 1646 Ralph Jackson 'a poore man that came from Dublin' was only given 6d after his 'house was burnt downe by the Rebells'. Physical injuries though did not guarantee greater sums of relief as another poor refugee was only given 4d after having been 'shott blynde at Duncannon in Ireland'.[588] The recording of circumstances in churchwardens' and constables' accounts, including the death of spouses and children, physical injuries and material losses, attests to the fact that refugees were often taken at their word, but in most cases they had no bearing on real relief.

Surprisingly, gender and marital status had seemingly no positive effect on the extent of relief dispensed to refugees. In the Elizabethan Poor Laws widows and orphaned children were classed as members of the deserving, impotent poor. This meant in theory they had a strong claim to charity, as there was no husband or father to protect and sustain them. In reality, widows and children were considered a substantial burden on the parish and officials sought ways to prevent them from becoming permanent beneficiaries.[589] In the city of London this attitude was reflected in outdoor relief. Regardless of the severity of their circumstances or the size of the group, women often received the same or less than other refugees. In Hallows Great, Margery Davis and five other women whose husbands had been killed in Ireland were forced to share 1s, whilst John Balfe, 'a Scotch who had all Taken from him in Ireland to a great Value', was given 1s.[590] In Olave Silver Street, four

[587] *ODNB.*

[588] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004, ff. 22v, 24r, 24v, St. Dunstan-in-the-West churchwardens' accounts (1645-1651).

[589] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', pp. 11-13.

[590] LMA, P69/ALH7B/013/MS00818/001, f. 151r, All Hallows the Great churchwardens' accounts (1616-1861).

Irish women received 1s 6d to share whilst an Irish minister received 1s for himself.[591] Likewise, in St. Sepulchre a poor woman and her four small children were given 1s while a lone minister from Ireland also received 1s.[592]

For Noonan the extent of relief in the capital decreased over the course of the 1640s as parish officers became more discerning about who should receive charity. This decrease reflected a shift in attitude towards the distressed Protestants from Ireland, elicited by the publication of John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* (1646). The dissemination of Temple's image of the barbarous 'Irish', coupled with Puritan concerns regarding the formation of a godly society, the economic pressures of prolonged warfare and the growing permanency of the Irish in London, resulted in parish officials providing smaller sums of money to refugees.[593] This clear shift in attitude, however, is not evident in the data presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. There was no remarkable decrease in the number of refugees being relieved after 1646 or a substantial drop in the extent of relief. In Dunstan East, for example, the number of refugees receiving relief increased from ten in 1646/7 to sixty in 1647/8. Similarly, in St. Botolph Aldgate only eight refugees were aided before 1646/7 with numbers increasing every year after 1647/8.

Furthermore, analysis of descriptors used by churchwardens to categorise refugees does not support Noonan's conclusion. In Dunstan West a greater number of refugees 'come out of Ireland' were aided after 1646, but relief to 'Irish' refugees was maintained and the extent of relief would sometimes be greater. In 1649/50 the Irish merchant 'Thomas Tyer' received 6d and the Irish woman 'Judith Channcrey' received 6d. Whereas, 'Mary Lattin a poore woman come from Ireland' received only 4d and 'Thomas Wadlowe a poore man come from Ireland' received 3d.[594] Likewise, most other parishes in the sample do not show a significant change in the use of descriptors from 1646. In All Hallows the Less almost all the refugees relieved between 1641 and 1651 were described as 'of Ireland', while in Dunstan East most of the refugees aided after the summer of 1649 were described as 'Irish'. This is not to suggest that print works and cultural stereotypes

[591] LMA, P69/OLA3/B/002/MS01257/001, f. 40r, St. Olave Silver Street churchwardens' accounts (1630-1682).

[592] LMA, P69/SEP/B/123/MS09080/001B, St. Sepulchre churchwardens' annual accounts (1647-1648), p. 20; P69/SEP/B/123/MS09080/002, St. Sepulchre churchwardens' annual accounts (1649-1651), p. 17.

[593] Noonan, 'The cruel pressure', pp. pp. 151-177.

[594] LMA, P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004, ff. 129v, 130r.

had no effect on attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland. Rather, their influence was more subtle and nuanced since there is no discernible correlation between the publication of Temple's work and the dissemination of relief.

The final factor to be considered is the influence of religious ideologies within parishes. In the early months after the rebellion MPs were active in emphasising the deservedness of refugees, through the use of fast days and printed sermons, to ensure that relief in the localities was freely given. This took the onus for the organisation of relief out of government hands. Refugee relief thus became a local matter and a religious duty, to be performed by Protestants across the Country. Religious ministers such as John Goodwin delivered sermons designed to encourage the laity to give generously to collections for the distressed Protestants in Ireland. Aiding refugees, Goodwin said, 'is [a] matter of equitie and duty in us, to be so farre raised and carried out in our affections of love towards those that are our Brethren in Christ'.[595] These sermons were also designed to further the godly reformation. In a sermon to the Commons, Cornelius Burgess expressed 'God hath now laid upon You a businesse of more difficultie, and likely to prove more costly and bloudy, by kindling a fire in Ireland, to the unspeakable persecutions, and butcheries of the poore Protestant Party'. The situation in Ireland, he claimed, would not be resolved until the House concentrated on 'the building of the Lords House'.[596] The desire for reform linked to the belief that the rebellion in Ireland was a judgement of God against the failure of the Protestants in Ireland to convert and civilise the native Irish.[597] *A Warning Piece Shot off from Ireland* noted 'there are none or very few sincere Christians in Ireland, but men of debaucht life, vile conversation, such as England had spewed out, whence they inferre (by words) that it is the just Judgement of God, to weed them out'.[598] In order to appease God, whose wrath had been brought down upon England and Ireland by the failure of the English planters, the Church in England needed to be reformed. The rebellion was thus both a warning against impiety and another element in the long struggle between the godly and the Antichrist. This interpretation of the rebellion affected the response to refugees in

[595] J. Goodwin, *Ireland's Advocate* (London, 1641), pp. 2, 4.

[596] C. Burgess, *Another sermon preached to the Honorable House of Commons now assembled in Parliament, November the fifth, 1641* (London, 1641), pp. 62-65.

[597] E. Shagan, 'Constructing discord: ideology, propaganda and English responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641', *Journal of British Studies*, 36/1 (1997), pp. 9-16.

[598] *A Warning Piece Shot off from Ireland to England* (1641), p. 4.

London, particularly in those parishes where ministers and officials were of more Puritan and Presbyterian leanings.

All Hallows the Great was one of the more godly parishes in the City by virtue of its minister. John Downham was a Presbyterian who became minister of the parish in 1630. In August 1640 he hosted several meetings with the reformist ministers Cornelius Burgess, Edmund Calamy the Elder, Arthur Jackson and John Goodwin. The purpose of these meetings was to plan a petition against Laud's new church canons. Archbishop Laud was aware of these meetings and regarded them as evidence of a conspiracy to undermine ecclesiastical and civil government through the fostering of discontent and the breakdown of uniformity.[599]

In regards to the Irish rebellion, Downham likely shared the views of his reformist associates and disseminated these ideas to his parishioners in his sermons. To what extent these ideas limited or encouraged aid to refugees is unclear, though the general response was not overtly generous. One-off donations to passing refugees varied from 2d for 'Margery Marshall a poore woman come from Ireland' to a maximum of 2s, which was given to an 'Irish gentleman…having lost all by the rebells in ireland'.[600] Even Downham's personal circumstances do not seem to have inspired much sympathy amongst his congregation. Downham had a son and two daughters, besides four nephews and nieces, in Ireland who had,

> suffered in this rebellion to there utter spoylinge [and] undoing and desiereth Humbly the Commisioners [damaged] taking notice of there miseries and calamities they will be pleased to mediate in there behalfe to the Parliament for some releife to su[stain] them in there p[re]sent necesseties.[601]

[599] J. Peacey, 'The paranoid prelate: Archbishop Laud and the puritan plot', in B. Coward and J. Swann (eds.), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe, From the Waldensaisns to the French Revolution* (2nd edn., New York, 2017), pp. 115-117; F. Bremer and T. Webster (eds.), *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopaedia* (Santa Barbara, 2006), p. 39; T. Liu, *Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes* (London, 1986), p. 118.

[600] LMA, P69/ALH7B/013/MS00818/001, f. 151r.

[601] TNA, SP 28/193/5, f. 33.

In total £66 18s 2d was collected for the Act of Speedy Contribution and Loan (1642), but in comparison with other parishes this was not an especially generous sum. Dunstan West collected £141 9s, St. Lawrence Jewry £179 19s 2d and Dunstan East £192 1s 7d. The poorer parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, although much larger than Hallows Great, even gave £117 9s to the Act despite the parish being inhabited by numerous 'poore bedred people'.[602]

Downham's reformist ideals clearly resulted in a more measured response towards the distressed refugees from Ireland. On the one hand, they were brothers and sisters in Christ who had suffered for the true faith and needed deliverance. At the same time they were also viewed as the failed English planters. These conflicting ideologies were further complicated by views and opinions presented in cheap pamphlets, espoused by various ministers and stories related by refugees themselves during personal interactions. These ideas mingled together, overlapping and contradicting each other, causing tension in parishes as churchwardens attempted to provide relief. How individual parish officials understood these ideas for themselves is difficult to ascertain. In the case of Hallows Great, at least, it seems the churchwardens were informed more by the views of Downham than the official instructions delivered by Parliament. The religious preferences of the parish minister who was delivering the weekly sermons, the clerical networks these ministers were involved in and the patrons of the parish livings, thus had an influence on how much aid was dispensed.

Overall, this chapter has shown that the civil wars in England had a homogenising effect on the city of London parishes in the sense that refugee migration across the capital often corresponded to specific political events. Political and religious upheaval in the summer of 1643, for example, affected the capital as a whole, attested by the rise in refugee migration to Dunstan West and the fall of migration in the intermural parishes of the city of London. The fluctuations in migration emulated events in the 1640s much more than elsewhere in England. Parish officials were more sensitive to military events, political changes and the shifting fortunes of the Parliamentarian cause during the civil wars, due to the proximity of Parliament and the confluence and speed at which news was circulated. Outside London this process was much slower as news took longer to spread and was not as prolific. Refugee relief, meanwhile, was a multi-faceted problem influenced by the

[602] TNA, SP 28/193/5, ff. 60-2, 151; Stow, *A suruay of London*, pp. 92-3.

topography of each parish, the economic condition of pre-existing parish residents, political stability and the religious ideologies of local ministers. These factors resulted in variations in the extent of refugee relief, revealing an individualistic approach to parochial aid comparable to that of other English counties. With regards to relief, parishes operated as individual entities rather than as a conglomerate. In this way the city of London was a microcosm of the rest of the Country. Donald Lupton described London in 1632 as a great world with so many little worlds in her.[603] This image in many ways perfectly sums up the nature of refugee migration and relief in the capital during the 1640s.

[603] D. Lupton, *London and the countrey carbonadoed and quartred into seuerall characters* (London, 1632), p. 1.

Chapter Six

'Distressed Protestants or Irish vagrants?' English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland

The final chapter of this thesis will combine the analysis of parochial relief with considerations of refugee identities, specifically perceptions of ethnic identities, to highlight what the organisation and dispensation of relief reveals about English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland. It will be shown that despite the climate of fear, which had been cultivated over the course of the early 1640s, refugees were not regarded as pseudo-Catholic rebels. The preaching ministry was largely successful in emphasising the deservedness and religious duty of care towards the distressed Protestants of Ireland, as evidenced by the collections for the Act of Speedy Contribution and Loan (January 1642) and provision of outdoor relief in the localities. Nevertheless, the refugees were regarded as an economic burden, though not in the same manner as Irish vagrants. This was especially true in areas which experienced the greatest influxes in refugee numbers, namely parishes along the Great North Road and western port towns and cities. The tension between these two attitudes is reflected in refugee relief, as local officials – mayors, aldermen, churchwardens and constables, amongst others – were trapped somewhere between perceiving the refugees as distressed co-religionists and as an economic nuisance. Parochial relief was therefore not only negotiated around a myriad of local economic, political, religious and social concerns, but was acted out within this tension. In order to reconcile these conflicting attitudes churchwardens and constables maintained casual relief but utilised ideas regarding ethnic identities and belonging to restrict refugee settlement, so that refugees did not become permanent beneficiaries in parishes. A more nuanced view of the attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland will thus be presented in this chapter, replacing the simplistic and dichotomous view of the refugees as 'distressed Protestants' or 'Irish vagrants'.

Early twentieth-century studies on poor relief were largely economic in focus and concentrated on the mechanics of poor relief in England. The Civil Wars and Interregnum were seen as a turning point in the history of the English Poor Law. Poor relief devolved into the hands of local parish officials during the 1640s and 1650s, which many historians argued was resultant from a breakdown in the functioning of the poor relief system. Margaret James and R. H. Tawney, for example, argued that poor relief efforts diminished

due to Puritans adopting a harsher attitude towards the poor.[604] For Tawney the 'Puritan Revolution' was a time of repression as emphasis was placed on punishing the undeserving.[605] This harsher attitude was regarded by staunch Puritans as 'the new medicine for poverty'.[606] Many scholars have since criticised the assessment that poor relief collapsed during the civil wars and showed that in reality the institutional framework of the Poor Law continued as usual, with parishes collecting good amounts of money to pay for their poor.[607]

More recently the historiography has shifted from studying parish administration and the economics of poor relief to the experiences of poverty and attitudes towards the poor. John McCallum, for instance, suggested that donations made to the poor by members of the maritime community in Dundee points to a 'considerable tradition of voluntary support for poor relief'. While McCallum's study largely focuses on the functioning of poor relief in Dundee, he acknowledges that the Kirk treasurer's accounts examined in his study could also be used for a fuller prosopographic analysis of Dundee's poor.[608] In a similar vein, Phillip Baker and Mark Merry, in a study of poor relief in the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, city of London, noted how the gifts of wealthy parishioners to the parish poor reflected a strong religious impulse behind charity. More importantly, analysis of who was receiving relief in the parish showed that little distinction was often made between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving'. Some individuals in the parish were described

[604] M. James, *Social Problems and Policy During the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660* (London, 1930); C. Hill, 'Puritans and the poor', *Past and Present*, 2/1 (1952), pp. 32-50; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (London, 1926). See also, A. French, *Charles I and the Puritan Upheaval* (London, 1955), p. 96; H. N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (London, 1961), pp. 318-319; S. Webb and B. Webb, *English Local Government: English Poor Law History, Part I: The Old Poor Law* (London and New York, 1927), p. 101.

[605] Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 210-226.

[606] V. Pearl, 'Puritans and poor relief: the London workhouse, 1649-1660', in D. Pennington and K. Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 206-207.

[607] W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London, 1959); A. L. Beier, 'Poor relief in Warwickshire, 1630-60', *Past and Present*, 35/1 (1966), pp. 77-100; R. Herlan, 'Poor relief in London during the English Revolution', *Journal of British Studies*, 18/2 (1979), pp. 30-51.

[608] J. McCallum, 'Charity and conflict: poor relief in mid-seventeenth-century Dundee', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 95/240 (2016), pp. 39, 53.

by the clerks as 'Lawles' and 'ill members of o' parish', yet relief was given to them regardless. This suggests that the provision of aid was often seen as the neighbourly thing to do, despite the immoral character of some recipients. Local parish officials were therefore not restricted to viewing the poor as solely deserving or underserving.[609]

The use of poor relief as a vehicle to explore overarching social questions in historical research is thus not a new approach, and historians such as Kathleen Noonan are justified in the assertion that charity can be used as a mirror to 'reflect the attitudes of individual officials and the parochial community'.[610] McCallum notes that surviving documentation pertaining to poor relief can be used to examine the experiences of the poor. While these documents can be highly prejudiced against the poor, 'it is one of the only glimpses that we are likely to achieve, and certainly one of the most direct'.[611] In regards to the refugees from Ireland, Noonan, Joseph Cope, Michael Cooksley, Ian Atherton, John Young and Chris Langley have all demonstrated the potential for using

[609] P. Baker and M. Merry, '"The poore lost a good Frend and the parish a good Neighbour": the lives of the poor and their supporters in London's eastern suburb, c. 1583-1679', in M. Davies and J. A. Galloway (eds.), *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene* (London, 2012), pp. 155-180.

[610] K. Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree: Irish immigration to London in the mid-seventeenth century, 1640-1660' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1989), p. 244; S. Hindle, 'Dependency, shame and belonging: badging the deserving poor, c. 1550-1750', *Cultural and Social History,* 1/1 (2004), pp. 6-35; C. S. Schen, 'Constructing the poor in early seventeenth-century London', *Albion*, 32/3 (2000), pp. 450-463; M. McIntosh, 'Poor relief in Elizabethan communities: an analysis of Collectors' Accounts', *Economic History Review*, 67/2 (2014), pp. 331-357; M. McIntosh, 'Local responses to the poor in late medieval and Tudor England', *Continuity and Change*, 3/2 (1988), pp. 209-245; T. Wales, 'The parish and the poor in the English Revolution', in S. Taylor and G. Tapsell (eds.), *Nature of the English Revolution Revisited: Essays in Honour of John Morrill* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 53-80; C. Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638-1660* (London, 2016); J. Healey, *The First Century of Welfare: Poverty and Poor Relief in Lancashire, 1620-1730* (Woodbridge, 2014); D. Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English Culture and Society, 1650-1750* (London, 2016); S. Hindle, 'Exclusion crises: poverty, migration and parochial responsibility in English rural communities, c. 1560-1660', *Rural History,* 7/2 (1996), pp. 125-149; S. Hindle, 'Dearth and the English Revolution: the harvest crisis of 1647-50', *Economic History Review*, 61/1 (2008), pp. 64-98; B. Coates, 'Poor relief in London during the English Revolution revisited', *London Journal,* 25/2 (2000), pp. 40-58; B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot, 2004).

[611] McCallum, 'Charity and conflict', p. 33.

poor relief documentation to consider the experiences of refugees and the attitudes of local parish officials.[612] This methodology will therefore be utilised in this chapter.

The refugees who arrived into England in the wake of the Irish rebellion entered a cultural, political, religious and social landscape saturated with fears of popery and Catholic conspiracy. Anti-popery was not a new phenomenon in England in the seventeenth century, but the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in October 1641 exacerbated fears as it confirmed for many the existence of a universal Catholic plot intent on destroying Protestantism.[613] Richard Baxter wrote retrospectively:

> there was nothing that with the people wrought so much as the Irish massacre and rebellion […] This filled all England with a fear both of the Irish, and of the papists at home […] Insomuch, that when the rumour of a plot was occasioned at London, the poor people, all the counties over, were ready to run to arms, or hide themselves, thinking that the papists were ready to rise and cut their throats.[614]

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[612] Noonan, 'Brethren only to a degree' ; K. Noonan, 'The cruel pressure of an enraged barbarous people': Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda', *Historical Journal*, 41/1 (1998), pp. 151-177; C. Langley, 'Caring for soldiers, veterans and families in Scotland, 1638-1651', *History*, 102/349 (2017), pp. 5-23; C. Langley, 'Sheltering under the Covenant: the National Covenant, orthodoxy and the Irish rebellion, 1638-1644', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 96/2 (2017), pp. 137-160; J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009); M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), pp. 55-79; J. Young, '"Escaping massacre": refugees in Scotland in the aftermath of the 1641 Ulster rebellion', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 219-241.

[613] B. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649* (London, 1976), pp. 21-23; A. Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 132-135; C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983), p. 156; K. Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 74-79; P. Lake, 'Antipopery: the structure of a prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 72-106.

[614] R. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr. Richard Baxters narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times faithfully publish'd from his own original manuscript by Matthew Sylvester* (London, 1696), pp. 28-9; See also, Manning, *The English People*, pp. 26-29.

Sensationalist accounts presented the rebellion within a well-established providential narrative, in which God's chosen people – the English – were given the duty of protecting the godly from the Antichrist.[615] God had allowed the rebellion to happen, in order to punish the Protestants in Ireland for their toleration of Catholicism, but the rebellion was also a means of bringing redemption. In the same way that God had tested the Protestants of Europe, the English could cleanse themselves by destroying the Irish rebels.[616]

Members of the English establishment, namely John Pym and his political supporters, endorsed such printed works in order to discredit the King and gain political ascendancy in Parliament. In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion this meant subverting the royal prerogative and gaining control of the army for Ireland. More generally, Pym sought control over the appointment of Privy Councillors and public office-holders, the power to summon and dissolve Parliament, to remove the King's prerogative of veto over legislation and further the reformation of the Church of England.[617] The King was never directly accused of collusion with the rebels, though the idea that the popish party had gained a foothold in the English government was seemingly

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[615] T. Ashley, *Prosperous proceedings in Ireland: being a remonstrance, or exact relation of the most distressed estate of the inhabitants of Galloway, Arrowmoore, and Baltimoore* (London, 1642); M. Eldred, *Bloody News from Ireland or the barbarous crueltie by the papists used in that kingdome* (London, 1641); A *briefe declaration of the barbarovs and inhumane dealings of the northerne Irishe rebels* (London, 1641); T. Partington, *Worse and Worse News from Ireland* (London, 1641); S. Cooper, 'How were the 1641 depositions manipulated in England to persuade the English masses of Catholic persecution?', *History Studies*, 12 (2011), p. 31; J. Daems, *"A Warr So Desperate": John Milton and Some Contemporaries on the Irish Rebellion* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2012), pp. 5-6; Cope, *England*, pp. 76-78.

[616] S. Clarke, *A generall martyrologie containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ from the creation to our present times, both in England and other nations* (London, 1651); Cooper, 'How were the 1641 depositions manipulated', pp. 28-40; K. Noonan, '"Martyrs in flames": Sir John Temple and the conception of the Irish in English martyrologies', *Albion*, 36/2 (2004), pp. 223-255; E. Darcy, 'Politics, pogroms and print: the 1641 depositions and contemporary print culture' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2009), p. 129.

[617] Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, p. 5; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, pp. 166, 199; A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981), pp. 137-138; M. Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008), p. 201; R. Cust, 'The collapse of royal power in England, 1637-1642', in M. J. Braddick (ed.), *The Oxford History of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 64-65.

affirmed by news of Sir Phelim O'Neill's royal commission in November 1641.[618] The commission was a forgery, designed to legitimise the actions of the Irish conspirators, but for Charles's opponents it proved politically advantageous. The publication of the commission in England alongside stories of atrocities committed in Ireland successfully linked the royal person to the Irish rebels, giving greater gravitas to calls for the removal of the King's military powers.[619]

The link between Royalism and the Catholic threat was further enhanced during the civil wars by the King's use of soldiers from Ireland, transported to England in the winter of 1643/4 to assist Charles in his English campaigns.[620] While the majority of these troops were New English Protestants, conscripted to fight the Irish rebels in 1641 and 1642, many contemporaries believed these men to be Native Irish. In December 1643 London diarist John Green wrote 'the king hath already brought over the Protestant forces together with many Irish from Ireland'.[621] Similarly, Thomas Juxon in his private journal claimed the King had brought over 1,500 Irish Natives.[622] In the context of the raised fear of popery and the conspiratorial view that English Catholics were in league with foreign Catholic powers, the arrival of these soldiers rekindled memories of the massacre of Protestants in Ireland. Samuel R. Gardiner argued it was this act which most weakened the King's

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[618] TCD, MS 836, ff. 18r-v, Proclamation of Phelim O'Neil and Rory Maguire (4 November 1641); R. Dunlop, 'The forged commission of 1641', *English Historical Review*, 2/7 (1887), p. 530.

[619] Anon., *The True Demands of the Rebells in Ireland* (London, 1642); Anon., *The Last Newes from Ireland; Or, a True Relation of the Sad Estate and Feares of Dublin* (London, 1641); Anon., *Strange and Bloody Newes from Miniard: Or a Bloodie Massacre Upon Five Protestants by a Company of Papists* (London, 1642).

[620] The number of troops Charles I brought over from Ireland is highly contested, with estimates ranging from 9,000 to 21,000. See, J. L. Malcom*, Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles, 1642-46* (Royal Historical Society Studies in History Series volume 38, London, 1983), pp. 115-117; M. Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (London, 2005), p. 61; J. Barratt, *Cavaliers: The Royalist Army at War, 1642-46* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 139-140; J. R. Kenyon, *The Civil Wars of England* (London, 1988), p. 90; C. Hibbert, *Cavaliers and Roundheads: The English at War, 1642-49* (London, 1993), p. 161.

[621] E. M. Symonds (ed.), 'The diary of John Green, 1637-57', *English Historical Review,* 43/172 (1928), p. 598.

[622] F. K. Lindley and D. Scott (eds.), *The Journal of Thomas Juxon, 1644-47* (Camden Society Fifth Series volume 13, Cambridge, 1999), p. 45.

authority during the civil wars.[623] The employment of these soldiers caused widespread dissatisfaction amongst Royalist soldiers in England, resulting in mutinies and other serious disturbances in various places including Bridgewater, Shrewsbury, Worchester and Cheshire. Public opinion of the King consequently suffered a significant downturn, for as one pamphlet noted 'be there not Protestants enough in England to fight for our Religion, but the King must send for the Irish Papists?' [624]

Fear of these soldiers was incited by Parliamentarian publishers, who conflated them with the barbarous Irish rebels.[625] The main objective of this strategy was to discredit the Royalist cause. Like the Irish rebellion, the landing of these troops in England was interpreted as 'the designes of the Kings evill Councellours…to introduce Popery into this Kingdome, by the helpe of the Irish rebels and other Papists'.[626] It was also hoped that by whipping up anti-popish hysteria Parliament would be able to gain greater military and financial support. This was especially important for Parliament given the financial crisis of the summer of 1643. In 1644, for example, Sir William Brereton wrote to the Dutch churches of London requesting financial aid for the people of Cheshire, who had been ravaged by the 'Ireish Rebells'. These rebels were actually a regiment of foot recruited by Lord Byron in Dublin. Bryon's troops had besieged Nantwich on 25 January 1644, Parliament's headquarters in Cheshire, but had been defeated by the combined forces of Brereton and Sir Thomas Fairfax.[627] In order to elicit sympathy for the people of Cheshire, Brereton not only labelled the Royalist troops as Irish rebels but also emphasised the shared Protestantism of both groups.

> Difference in Language or situation makes Noe difference in the
> Principles of Religion those all have The same Spirit the same Callinge,

[623] S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (4 volumes, London, 1897), I, pp. 245-246.

[624] D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford and New York, 1987), p. 165; J. L. Malcolm, 'All the King's men: the impact of the crown's Irish soldiers on the English Civil War', *Irish Historical Studies*, 22/83 (1979), p. 248; H. Davy, *The true copie of a letter sent from an inhabitant of Bridgwater in the county of Somerset* (London, 1643), pp. 3, 5.

[625] Davy, *The true copie of a letter sent from an inhabitant of Bridgwater*; *The Scotish dove, sent out and returning* (3-10 November 1645).

[626] *The true informer continuing a collection of the most speciall and observable passages* (4-11 November 1643), p. 2; Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, pp. 65-66.

[627] Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, pp. 56-58.

> the same faith, the same Baptisme, the same Companion, the same ffather and the same Lord, as Paule tould the Ephesians; differing in nothing but as severall Members of the same Body.[628]

By inciting this common Protestant bond Brereton was attempting to remove the foreign 'otherness' of the Dutch – the cause of much violence in the sixteenth century and again in the later seventeenth century – and unite both sides against a greater religious 'other': Catholicism.[629]

The spurring of anti-Irish sentiment also elicited numerous revenge killings against the English-Irish soldiers. While the portrayal of the Irish as barbarous and uncivilised was well established by the 1640s, these murders highlight the degree to which the Irish had become demonised in the English psyche and the 'new depth of ethnic savagery and hatred' created by the civil wars.[630] On 23 April 1644 Colonel Anthony Willoughby set sail from Ireland to Bristol with a newly recruited force of 150 troops. Soon afterwards Willoughby and his men were captured by Parliamentary ships under the command of Vice Admiral Richard Swanley. The captives were taken to Pembroke where all the 'Irish'

[628] LMA, CLC/180/MS07428/017, f. 2750r, Letter from William Brereton to the minister and elders of the Dutch Church in London (30 May 1644).

[629] For violence against the Dutch and other foreigners in England see, A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986); D. Worthington, 'Introduction', in D. Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe 1603-1688* (Boston, 2010), pp. 1-27; L. H. Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London, 1996).

[630] Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, p. 64; T. Bates, *Mercurius civicus, Londons intelligencer, or, Truth really imparted from thence to the whole kingdome to prevent misinformation* (London, 26 October to 2 November 1643); Davy, *The true copie of a letter sent from an inhabitant of Bridgwater*. For the development of attitudes towards the Irish see, T. Forester (ed.), *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Topography of Ireland* (Ontario, 2000); F. Martin, 'Gerald of Wales, Norman reporter on Ireland', *Irish Quarterly Review*, 58/231 (1969), pp. 279-792; N. Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish', in N. Canny and A. Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500- 1800* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 159-212; N. Canny, 'The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30/4 (1973), pp. 575–598.

in Willoughby's company were murdered.[631] Such atrocities soon became commonplace.[632] One pamphleteer, in reference to the drowning of Irish soldiers at Milford Haven in April 1644, wrote 'it was just to cast them into the sea and wash them to death of the blood of Protestants that was upon them'.[633] The drowning of Irish people was a symbolic act which showed the desire to cleanse England of the Irish invaders.[634] It was perhaps also the case that drowning the 'Irish' was seen as an appropriate form of execution, given the number of alleged mass drownings of English Protestants which took place in Ireland during the 1641 rebellion.[635]

To what extent then did anti-Irish and anti-popish sentiment influence attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland? It would be a mistake to think that the climate of fear and suspicion in England had no adverse effects on perceptions of the refugees or the dispensation of relief. Some refugees arrived with reports from Ireland confirming rumours that the Irish rebels were preparing to invade England. On 28 January 1642 Sir Hugh Owen related news to the Commons, received in a letter from John Poyer, the mayor of Pembroke, that 'divers poor English come stark naked to Milford [Haven] and that the Irish report they will send 20,000 men to Milford forthwith, and that the rebels have taken all the sea towns in Ireland and may sail to Milford in a few hours'.[636] Such reports in turn raised concerns that rebel soldiers were entering England under the pretext of being distressed Protestants.[637] As a result some parish officials became suspicious of wandering

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[631] P. Heylyn, *Mercurius Aulicus, communicating the intelligence and affaires of the court to the rest of the kingdome* (London, 20-27 April 1645); T. Audley, *Mercurius Britanicus, communicating the affaires of great Britaine for the better information of the people* (29 April-6 May 1644).

[632] Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, pp. 59-60, 68-70. See also, M. Stoyle, 'The road to Farndon Field: explaining the massacre of the Royalist women at Naseby', *English Historical Review*, 123/503 (2008), pp. 895-923.

[633] *Mercurius Britanicus* (13-20 May 1644), p. 4.

[634] Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers*, p. 69.

[635] For the mass drowning of Protestants at Portadown see, N. McAreavey, 'Portadown, 1641: memory and the 1641 depositions', *Irish University Review*, 47/1 (2017), pp. 15-31.

[636] *PJ*, I, pp. 208-209.

[637] Anon., *A perfect diurnall of the passages in parliament* (London, 1642); Anon., *A continuation of the true diurnall of the passages in Parliament* (London, 1642); Anon., *An exact and true relation how eighteene French and Irish men, whose names are set downe, were apprehended… on Munday the 7th March 1641* (London, 1642).

people claiming to be refugees. In June 1645 complaints reached the justices of the peace for Westminster that the outhouses and barns of Erbury farm in St. Martin-in-the-Fields were, 'filled and infected with divers poor people some lame, blind and impotent and others sturdy beggars to the number of sixty and above who pretend they come out of Ireland'.[638] Similarly, in January 1651 Anthony Wood noted that Oxford was infested with beggars: 'these were poore soldiers, cashiered or maimed, and Irish people with petitions, that pretended to be undon by the late rebellion there'.[639]

Interactions between refugees and English inhabitants, however, often settled such fears. When a report arrived in Pudsey, Yorkshire, relating the arrival of Irish rebels into Rochdale and Littleborough widespread panic spread through the congregation. The people were 'all in confusion, some ran out [of the parish church], others wept, others fell to talking to friends, and the Irish Massacre being but lately acted, and all circumstances put together, the people's hearts failed them with fear'. It was later revealed that these people were not Irish rebels but distressed Protestants escaped from Ireland, leading the people to bring 'praises and thanksgivings to God.'[640] Contemporaries were generally aware that the refugees from Ireland were not evil Irish and that they therefore did not present a political or religious threat. This awareness likely stemmed from the preaching ministry, who were largely successful in disseminating the message that relief to the refugees was a Christian duty necessary for regaining God's favour and recovering Ireland from the forces of the Antichrist. Relief was an act of personal piety, for 'what you give in this case is interpreted by Christ as given to his owne person', and a national responsibility; an act of atonement for England's sin.[641] Consequently, despite the raised fears of popery and an elevation in anti-Irish sentiment, the refugees from Ireland were not treated like evil Irish rebels. They were rather a means for God's chosen elect to reaffirm their entitlement to God's favour.

While refugee relief became a religious duty of care, economic concerns played a significant role in shaping the attitudes of local officials towards the refugees from Ireland.

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[638] LMA, WJ/SP/1645/016, Petition of John Battersby and Mary Parker for the Removal of over sixty poor people settled in the empty outbuildings of Ebury farm in the parish of St. Martins (1645).

[639] M. Hobson and H. Salter (eds.), *Oxford Council Acts, 1626-1665* (Oxford, 1933), p. xxv.

[640] T. Wright (ed.), *The Autobiography of Joseph Lister, of Bradford in Yorkshire, 1627-1709* (London, 1842), pp. 6-9, quoted at p. 8.

[641] S. Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* (London, 1642), p. 54; Cope, *England,* pp. 13-14.

The significant number of destitute people arriving into English ports caused considerable economic problems. In January 1642, the mayor of Chester warned the earl of Leicester that a subsistence crisis was imminent due to the combined pressures of supplying relief to refugees and sustaining soldiers bound for Ireland in the city.

> Wee have used our lest diligence and endeavor for provision and entertainment for the s[ai]d Troopes and soe much have striven to accomodate them and your Lord[ships] foote Regiment, at soe lowe Rates and prices both for horse and foote, that our poore Cittizens doe much complaine […] in regard the prices of all sort of victuals is much increased (being grown scarce).[642]

Similar reports arrived from Exeter and other coastal towns in Devon, Dorset and Somerset. Members representing Northamptonshire, Oxford and Colchester also complained to the Commons about the economic problems caused by the migration of 'Irish' refugees.[643]

To alleviate the financial burden of the refugees local authorities, namely mayors and aldermen, delivered reports and petitions to Parliament to highlight the scale of the crisis and obtain funds to supplement relief. Officials in Bristol and Chester, for example, were granted complete control over the collection money for the Act of Speedy Contribution and Loan.[644] In many areas the amount of money sent by Parliament was insufficient to cover the costs of relief and typically only amounted to a fraction of the money collected for the Act of Contribution. Only £200 was ordered to be sent to Liverpool, £100 sent to Milford Haven and thirty pounds was to be returned to Cambridge, despite having contributed £230.[645] Consequently, refugees were removed from the ports to reduce the drain on resources. In 1642/3 the mayor of Bristol attempted to remove refugees from the city peacefully by providing passes to refugees to encourage them to

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[642] CRO, DCC/14/15, Letter from Thomas Cowper (Mayor), William Gamuil (Alderman) etc. to the earl of Leicester (14 January 1642).

[643] *PJ*, I, pp. 94, 208-9; *PJ*, II, pp. 297, 333; *CJ*, II, pp. 467, 565, 574; *LJ*, V, pp. 55, 229; Cope, *England*, p. 104.

[644] *PJ*, I, p. 94; II, p. 297; *CJ*, II, pp. 386, 565.

[645] *PJ*, I, p. 291; II, pp. 221, 333; III, pp. 13, 52; *CJ*, II, pp. 574-7, 633.

'goe home to their Coutry'.[646] By the mid-1640s many refugees still resided in the city resulting in an order for their removal. On 12 June 1644, the Mayor paid ten pounds to 'be disposed of for the releiffe of poore Irishe wh[i]ch are ordered to depart the Cittie'.[647] This expulsion from Bristol, whilst seemingly punitive, was important for the functioning of refugee relief. To ensure that sufficient aid was being provided, refugees needed to return to their 'home' parishes to be assisted under the terms of the Poor Laws.

It is important to acknowledge that although the refugees were seen as an economic burden they were not perceived as Irish vagrants. During the sixteenth century levels of poverty had risen in England, largely as a result of population growth and recurrent subsistence crises, leading to an increase in mobility in English society.[648] Officials feared that the increase in unmanaged movement would lead to public disorder, indeed the threat posed by idleness and 'reckless mobility' seemed 'immediate and overwhelming'.[649] Consequently, from the sixteenth into the seventeenth century vagrants became the scapegoats for all social problems. The cultural stereotype of the evil Irish beggar or vagrant grew out of this rising concern for social order.[650] The increase in migration from Ireland to England during times of economic crisis, in particular the harvest failures of the 1620s and 1630s, affirmed for many the problems of vagrancy. The Irish were also an easy target for punishment as they travelled in much larger companies than other travellers making them more conspicuous. In Salisbury, for example, twelve Irish were punished for vagrancy between 1629 and 1633.[651] Paul Slack and A. L. Beier have shown that on a national level, vagrants were treated as objects of contempt and were subjected to cruel punishments, such as refusal of alms, whipping, stocking and imprisonment, amongst

[646] BRO, P.StW/ChW/3/b, St. Werburgh churchwardens' accounts (1616-1710), p. 110.

[647] BRO, F/Au/1/22, Bristol Mayor's audit book: 21 (1640-1644), p. 305.

[648] I. D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (London, 2000), pp. 49-50.

[649] P. Slack, 'Vagrants and vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', *Economic History Review*, 27/3 (1974), p. 360.

[650] P. Clark and D. Souden, 'Introduction', in P. Clark and D. Souden (eds.), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 11-48; P. Fumerton, ''Making vagrancy (in)visible: the economics of disguise in early modern rogue pamphlets', *English Literary Renaissance*, 33/2 (2003), pp. 211-227; P. Clark, ''The migrant in Kentish towns', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (London, 1972), pp. 117-163.

[651] C. J. Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Begging* (London, 1887), p. 148; Slack, 'Vagrants and vagrancy', p. 365.

other measures.[652] On a local level, however, the treatment of vagrants was considerably more hospitable, with lodgings and alms often being delivered to them. In line with this research, it is clear from the continual provision of outdoor relief to refugees from Ireland, throughout the 1640s, that the stereotype of the Irish beggar had little bearing on the provision of relief.[653] There is certainly no evidence in the parochial accounts examined in this study that any refugees were punished by local officials for being vagrants. Contemporaries were therefore able to distinguish refugees from other travellers, in the same way that they did not easily mistake refugees for being Irish rebels.

English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland were clearly complex and influenced by a spectrum of political, cultural and religious factors. In the context of the parish, the organisation and dispensation of refugee relief offers us a means of understanding the specific attitudes of parish officials towards the refugees. Constables and churchwardens were forced to negotiate parish relief around the political upheaval, economic depletion, social disruption and religious turbulence of the civil wars. As a result, tensions arose between the desire to fulfil the religious duty of care to distressed co-religionists and the necessity of maintaining stability within the parish community. In order to reconcile these conflicting attitudes, churchwardens and constables provided outdoor relief to refugees continuously throughout the 1640s in accordance with their religious responsibilities. At the same time, they also manipulated language and utilised the ambiguities of the definition of 'settlement' to challenge refugee 'belonging' to English parishes, preventing them from becoming permanent beneficiaries.

Gerard Delanty, Paul Jones and Ruth Wodak note how the othering of migrants by members of a host community is a process which occurs through language as much as through action.[654] This can be seen in the way parish officials in the 1640s used language as a means of removing the 'belonging' of refugees to particular parishes. On the one hand, the application of labels to refugees, namely 'Irish' and 'come out of Ireland', had no obvious implications on the organisation and extent of refugee relief. The amount of aid

[652] A. L. Beier, 'Vagrants and the social order in Elizabethan England', *Past and Present*, 64/1 (1974), pp. 3-29; Slack, 'Vagrants and Vagrancy', pp. 360-379.

[653] B. Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651', *Midland History*, 42/2 (2017), p. 211.

[654] G. Delanty, P. Jones and R. Wodak, 'Introduction: migration, discrimination and belonging in Europe', in G. Delanty, P. Jones and R. Wodak (eds.), *Identity Belonging and Migration* (Liverpool, 2011), p. 3.

dispensed to refugees of both groups remained fairly equal, with factors such as wealth and status having a greater impact on the size of charitable donations. The use of these labels was therefore not motivated by any sort of ethnic hatred or fear. It has already been shown that while some parish officials were suspicious of wandering people claiming to be refugees, due to raised levels of anti-Irish sentiment in England and heightened fears regarding popery, refugees were for the most part distinguishable from other sorts of 'Irish' and wandering poor. On the other hand, by describing the refugees as 'Irish' churchwardens and constables were able to emphasise the transient nature of the refugees, emphasising their lack of belonging to English parishes.

This strategy is evident in the parish of Upton, Nottinghamshire, where only sixty-seven out of 426 of the refugees aided between 1641 and 1651 were described as 'come out of Ireland'. Similarly in Coddington, Nottinghamshire, only nine of eighty-three refugees were described as 'come out of Ireland'.[655] Both parishes were located in close proximity to the Great North Road, a few miles from the garrison at Newark. Refugee migration through these parishes was consequently very high and the parishioners of both villages became embroiled in the activities of a military garrison. The use of 'Irish' by the constables and churchwardens thus reflects the economic burden refugees posed to the people of Upton and Coddington and the necessity of affirming refugee transience. The individual attitudes of parish officials and the changing circumstances of parishes, however, meant that constables and churchwardens were not always consistent in their labelling of refugees as 'Irish' or 'come out of Ireland' year on year. In St. Botolph Aldgate, for example, seven of the eight refugees aided in 1641/2 were described as 'of Ireland', while in subsequent years the refugees were exclusively described as being 'Irish'.[656] In this case, it seems that the outbreak of the First Civil War in England in the summer of 1642 hardened the attitudes of parish officials towards the refugees, as greater financial demands were placed on the parish. The use of the label 'Irish' to describe refugees thus increased to ensure the economic and social stability of St. Botolph Aldgate.

[655] This includes other derivatives of the same expression, such as 'of Ireland', 'despoiled in Ireland' and 'lost all in Ireland'. NA, PR1709, Upton churchwardens' accounts (1640-1644); PR1710, Upton constables' accounts (1640-1666); PR1531/1, Coddington constables' accounts (1641-1643).

[656] LMA, P69/BOT1/B/016/MS01455/001, ff. 87r-93v, St. Botolph Aldgate churchwardens' account book (1637-1679); P69/BOT2/B/031/MS09237, ff. 93r-94v, St. Botolph Aldgate churchwardens' account book, relating to poor relief in the part of the parish within Portsoken Ward (1622-1678).

Overall, there is no overarching pattern to the use of 'Irish' by churchwardens and constables, showing how the attitudes of parish officers were as individualistic as parochial relief. In Addlethorpe, Lincolnshire, the greatest proportion of refugees were described as being 'of Ireland'. Only twenty-two of the 253 refugees relieved between 1641 and 1651 were described as 'Irish'.[657] In the parish of Claypole, Lincolnshire, 191 of 410 refugees were described as 'of Ireland', despite the parish being located on the Great North Road.[658] Likewise, in the city of London most parish churchwardens did not use the label 'Irish' strategically to limit relief. In All Hallows the Less, all but three refugees aided between 1641 and 1651 were described as 'Protestants of Ireland being driven away from all they had by the rebellious Irish and being in great want and misery'.[659] Meanwhile, in St. Dunstan-in-the-East, 173 of the 305 refugees who received relief between 1641 and 1651 were described as 'come out of Ireland'.[660] It was perhaps more the case that in these areas one-off gratuities were regarded as sufficient proof of the refugees' lack of entitlement to settlement.

By the 1640s legal settlement in England could be claimed through a parish of birth, parents' birth or last residence. By these criteria, first and second generation New English refugees in theory had legal rights to resettle in England after the rebellion and receive poor relief. Generally speaking, the refugees who were able to return to their 'home' parishes and sustain themselves by their own labours or through the support of family and friends did not have their residency challenged by parish officials, as they were not regarded as an economic burden to the parish. It was only those first and second generation New English who were reliant upon the charity of local officials who had their rights of settlement questioned.[661]

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[657] LA, ADDLETHORPE PAR/12/1, Addlethorpe constables' accounts (1637-1685).

[658] LA, CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/1, Claypole churchwardens' accounts (1647-1651); CLAYPOLE PAR CO/1/2, Claypole constables' accounts (1642, 1649-1651).

[659] LMA, P69/ALH8/B/013/MS00823/001, All Hallows the Less churchwardens' accounts (1630-1651), p. 143.

[660] LMA, P69/DUN1/B/008/MS07882/001, St. Dunstan-in-the-East churchwardens' account book (1635-1661).

[661] B. De Munck and A. Winter, 'Regulating migration in early modern cities: an introduction', in B. De Munck and A. Winter (eds.), *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities* (Farnham, 2012), p. 18.

Settlement disputes presented at quarter sessions highlight how local officials utilised the ambiguities of the criteria for settlement to challenge the refugees' entitlement to resources. These legal cases further reveal how the presence of refugees was not so much the issue as the economic burden they represented.[662] In July 1642 a petition was delivered by twenty inhabitants of Great Barr and Aldridge, Staffordshire, to the justices of the peace concerning Alice Binny. Alice had escaped Ireland after the outbreak of the rebellion and fled to England. In 1642 she arrived in Chester and received a pass to travel to Birmingham, where she had lived with her husband for fifteen years prior to migrating to Ireland. Upon arrival in Birmingham Alice was accused of being a 'wandringe beggar' and ordered to return to Great Barr and Aldridge, the parish of her birth. The petitioners requested that Alice be returned to Birmingham as it was her last place of habitation in England and therefore was her true 'home'.[663] While the outcome of this case is unknown it highlights how ideas about 'belonging' were manipulated by parish officials. For the inhabitants of Great Barr and Aldridge, Alice's time in Birmingham offered a convenient means of shifting her place of 'belonging' from the parish of her birth to the parish of her last residence, at least while she was considered a drain on the parish economy. Current research being undertaken by Charmian Mansell suggests that in the increasingly migratory society of seventeenth-century England people were often recognized as belonging to a number of different communities.[664] At times of economic hardship these multiple belongings clearly became contested as the question of relief meant that someone needed to take responsibility for the poor. Despite the best efforts of parish officials, however, attempts to use 'belonging' as an economic tool to restrict access to relief were not wholly successful in Staffordshire. The county justices typically sided with the refugees in order to maintain social order, for it was more desirable to have refugees settled than perpetually wandering about the county.[665]

These settlement disputes also reveal the point at which external perceptions of ethnicity conflicted with self-perceptions of belonging within an ethnic group. In the seventeenth century tensions between different constructions of ethnic identities were prevalent. The Old English are a pertinent example as they regarded themselves as loyal

[662] De Munck and Winter, 'Regulating migration', p. 7.

[663] SRO, Q/SR/251, f. 58, Staffordshire quarter sessions rolls (July 1642).

[664] Personal correspondence with Charmian Mansell.

[665] SRO, Q/SR/251, ff. 44, 46, 58, 61; Q/SO/5, Staffordshire quarter sessions order book (1642), p. 132.

English subjects but were often viewed by the people of England as degenerate English or even Irish.[666] For English and Scottish planters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, migration and settlement in Ireland – regardless of the length of stay – had implications on external perceptions of identity.[667] These planters integrated into communities in Ireland which in turn shifted their cultural and ethnic-identities away from that of their former homes.[668] Upon returning to their 'homelands', after the outbreak of the rebellion, these changes in identity had implications on how refugees were received, as English and Scottish residents would have recognised the cultural differences between themselves and the returning migrants. Settlement disputes were therefore not solely an economic tool used by English parish officers to prevent permanent refugee settlement, but an arena in which the conflict between external perceptions of identity and self-constructions of identity – ethnic, cultural, political and religious – were played out.

It is important to recognise that 'identity' was not only manipulated by parish officials who regarded refugees as economic burdens. A number of refugees were also able to utilise 'identity' to access relief through the use of petitions. Outside the court of quarter sessions, the majority of refugees did not have any means of challenging the external perceptions placed upon them by others in English society. As Tony Kushner comments, 'refugees themselves, often by necessity and circumstances marginal figures, rarely can shape the dominant images others hold of them – especially as their representations are shaped more by myth than reality.'[669] Petitions to Parliament, the Committee for

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[666] Marsh, '"Lodging the Irish"', p. 203; D. Beer Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (New York, 1966), pp. 20-31; J. Ohlmeyer, '"Making Ireland English": the early seventeenth-century Irish peerage', in B. MacCurta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and its Consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 1-23; A. Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 130-131.

[667] S. Mallett, Understanding home: a critical review of the literature', *The Sociological Review*, 52/1 (2004), p. 7.

[668] Langley, 'Sheltering under the Covenant', p. 139; F. B. Adamson, 'Constructing the diaspora: diaspora identity politics and transnational social movements', in T. Lyons and P. Mandaville (eds.), *Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks* (London, 2012), pp. 25-42; F. Anthias, 'Evaluating "diaspora": beyond ethnicity?' *Sociology,* 32/3 (1998), p. 558; W. Safran, 'Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies,* 1/1 (1991), pp. 95-96.

[669] T. Kushner, *Remembering Refugees: Then and Now* (Manchester, 2006), p. 1. See also, K. Silva, 'Oh, give me a home: diasporic longings of home and belonging', *Social Identities,* 15/5 (2009), pp. 693-706.

Contribution and justices of the peace, however, offered a minority of refugees, namely those of higher wealth and status, a means of reconstructing their identities. The relation of material losses, familial networks, and experiences of exile and physical sufferings emphasised the moral and spiritual deservedness of refugees which was essential for them to access relief.

Female refugees in particular played upon gender identity and notions of feminine weakness to elicit sympathy. Women would beg for charity on behalf of their 'poor fatherless children', playing upon the Christian duty of care to orphans and widows. Elinor Winter; a minister's widow, and Joan Brady; a gentleman's widow, for example, petitioned Parliament having lost their estates in Ireland, leaving their poor children exposed to 'great misery and wants'. Both women consequently received relief from the Committee for Contribution in May 1642. Elinor received £5 and Joan received £6.[670] The following July these women petitioned Parliament again in order to receive additional funds. Elinor claimed she needed more aid as her poor children had been ill and the little money she had was spent on their recovery.[671] Joan similarly emphasised the distressed state of her children who had lived in London since Christmas in 'a p[er]ishing Condition'.[672] Both women subsequently received £5 from the House of Lords.[673] While this consideration of petitions is only cursory, it highlights how some refugees were able to utilise identity to evoke sympathy and access aid. A more in-depth study of the content of these petitions would add further understanding of the ways refugees manipulated identity as a strategy for acquiring relief.

The civil wars placed significant financial pressures on the English localities as people were forced to suffer the imposition of excessive taxation, the quartering of soldiers, the removal of resources; horses, beds and other victuals, for the war effort and contribute labour for the building of garrison defences. The disruption of foreign and domestic trade further added to these burdens, meaning that by the end of the First Civil

[670] TNA, SP 28/193/3, ff. 64r-v, Collections for distressed Protestants in Ireland: London and central administration folder.

[671] PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/127, f. 31r, Petition of Elinor Winter, widow (5 July 1642).

[672] PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/130, f. 19r, Petition of Joane Brady (23 July 1642).

[673] *LJ*, V, pp. 181, 238.

War the Country was in a state of economic dearth.[674] While the poor relief system in England did not collapse at this time, the rise in poverty in England over the course of the 1640s meant English inhabitants became more reluctant to shoulder the burden of multiple new dependents. In order to maintain peace within parishes it was essential for local officials to balance relief to strangers with more immediate local concerns. The majority of parish officials no doubt wanted to assist the distressed Protestants of Ireland, who were generally regarded as deserving co-religionists who had suffered for their faith. Anxieties over the economic position of parishes, however, outweighed these religious obligations.

In some ways the economic anxieties of parish officials in the 1640s mirror contemporary notions of 'xeno-racism'. Unlike overtly biological or racial discrimination, 'xeno-racism' disguises a strong opposition to migrants through a defensive discourse which seeks to protect welfare resources, labour markets and cultural norms.[675] While it is problematic to discuss 'racial' discrimination in the early modern period, the exploitation of language and the ambiguities of legal qualifications of 'settlement' clearly show that the attitudes of parish officials towards refugees, although not overtly negative, were often defensive against the arrival of newcomers.[676] Overall, the dichotomous view of the refugees as either 'distressed Protestants' or 'Irish vagrants' is far too simplistic. In reality attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland were much more nuanced, though ultimately attitudes towards the refugees were most heavily influenced by the economic upheaval of the civil wars.

[674] B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 219-231.

[675] Delanty, Jones and Wodak, 'Introduction', pp. 1-3.

[676] A. Sivanandan, 'Poverty is the new black', *Race and Class,* 43/2 (2001), p. 2; L. Fekete, 'The emergence of xeno-racism', *Race and Class* 43/2 (2001), pp. 23-40.

Conclusion

The current thesis has presented a nuanced and comprehensive study of the refugees who escaped to England from Ireland in the 1640s. By focusing on three main research questions; firstly, who were the refugees from Ireland? Secondly, how was relief in England organised and dispensed? Thirdly, what does the organisation and dispensation of relief reveal about English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland? This research has revealed several critical findings, which update and challenge the existing historiography.

In the first instance, this research has updated the previous historiography on refugee identities which for the most part has treated the refugees from Ireland as a homogenous group of returning migrants.[677] Analysis of the sex, marital status and social status of the refugees receiving relief in parish officers' accounts, undertaken in Chapter Two, shows that refugees were diverse in composition. The examination of ethnicity through analysis of refugee surnames, moreover, reveals that the refugees, whilst predominately Protestant, were also a mixture of New English, Old English, Ulster Scottish and Native Irish.

In regards to refugee relief, over the winter and spring of 1641/2 political upheaval in England and Ireland subsumed concerns for the distressed Protestants of Ireland. The turbulent relationship between the King and Parliament, coupled with war in Ireland and later war in England, meant that relief to the refugees never became a national political priority. Consequently, refugee relief devolved to the localities where officials, namely constables and churchwardens, were forced to balance the care of numerous new dependants with the economic, social, religious and political concerns of their individual parishes. In previous studies parochial relief to refugees has been oversimplified by historians, who failed to take into account the impact of broader economic, political, religious and topographical factors on refugee welfare.[678]

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[677] K. Lindley, 'The impact of the Irish rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5', *Irish Historical Studies*, 18/70 (1972), pp. 147-150; M. Cooksley and I. Atherton, 'Staffordshire and the Irish Revolt of 1641', *Staffordshire Studies*, 13 (2001), pp. 58-59, 60; J. Young, '"Escaping massacre": refugees in Scotland in the aftermath of the 1641 Ulster Rebellion', in D. Edwards, P. Lenihan, and C. Tait (eds.), *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 219-241.

[678] J. Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 119-142; Cooksley and Atherton, 'Staffordshire', pp. 55-79.

The analysis conducted in Chapters Four and Five updates this research by highlighting the complexities of refugee relief, which was a multi-faceted problem. Quantitative analysis of parish officers' accounts shows the variations in the volume of refugees receiving relief, the organisation of relief and the extent of monetary gratuities in England, both parochially and regionally. While these variations are only subtle they are significant in showing the individualistic approach to refugee relief undertaken by parish officials, in order to sustain parish welfare in the context of prolonged warfare. These variations also reflect the interplay of concerns regarding the religious duty of care to co-religionists; incited by the preaching ministry, the volume of refugee traffic and the impact of local military activities; resultant from the civil wars, which forced constables and churchwardens to broaden considerations of how to manage the refugee crisis.

Refugee relief in the city of London was a microcosm of the variations in relief evident across the rest of England. The principal difference between the capital and the rest of the Country was the sensitivity of parish officials to military events and political changes during the civil wars. This was due to the proximity of Parliament and the speed at which news was circulated. Officers in the capital, however, were no more efficient than their counterparts in rural parishes. Indeed, it is a testament to the efficiency of local churchwardens and constables across England that despite the upheaval of the British and Irish Civil Wars refugee relief was maintained throughout the 1640s.[679]

Finally, it has been assumed in previous studies that while the English often recognised the refugees from Ireland as distressed Protestants, for the most part they were viewed with suspicion due to the cultural stereotype of the evil Irish beggar or vagrant. In Chapter Six it was shown that this dichotomous view does not accurately represent English attitudes towards the refugees, indeed attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland were complex and influenced by a spectrum of political, cultural and religious factors.

The outbreak of rebellion in Ireland confirmed for many the existence of a universal Catholic plot intent on destroying Protestantism.[680] Sensationalist accounts

[679] See, J. McCallum, 'Charity and conflict: poor relief in mid-seventeenth-century Dundee', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 95/240 (2016), pp. 30-56; J. Kent, *The English Village Constable, 1580-1642: A Social and Administrative Study* (Oxford, 1986).

[680] B. Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649* (London, 1976), pp. 21-23; A. Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 132-135; C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983), p. 156; K. Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London*

presented the rebellion within a well-known pan-European narrative of Catholic attacks on the godly, showing that it was the duty of God's chosen elect – the English – to intervene in the rebellion and save Protestantism from the forces of the Antichrist.[681] The arrival of thousands of distressed Protestant refugees from Ireland pointed keenly to England's failure to fulfil this divine appointment. Consequently, the preaching ministry encouraged prayer, fasting and acts of spiritual and material aid to Protestant refugees in order to appease God's wrath. In this way, the distressed Protestants from Ireland became a means by which God's favour could be re-established.[682] The continual provision of refugee relief throughout the 1640s points to the success of the preaching ministry in disseminating this view.

In the context of the civil wars in Britain and Ireland, however, parish officials were concerned about the extent of the economic burden refugees represented. As a result, tensions arose between the desire to fulfil the religious duty of care to distressed co-religionists and the necessity of maintaining stability within parish communities. In order to reconcile these conflicting attitudes parish officials limited refugee relief to one-off gratuities, exploiting language and the ambiguities of 'settlement' to prevent refugees

(Aldershot, 1997), pp. 74-79; P. Lake, 'Antipopery: the structure of a prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Routledge, 1989), pp. 72-106; M. D. R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559-1829: A Social History* (London, 1961); M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocracy, Patronage and Religion 1550-1640* (London, 1996); Lindley, 'Impact of the Irish rebellion', pp. 155-159.

[681] E. Shagan, 'Constructing discord: ideology, propaganda and English responses to the Irish rebellion of 1641', *Journal of British Studies*, 36/1 (1997), pp. 4-34. For pamphlets which fit into this narrative see, T. Ashley, *Prosperous proceedings in Ireland: being a remonstrance, or exact relation of the most distressed estate of the inhabitants of Galloway, Arrowmoore, and Baltimoore* (London, 1642); M. Eldred, *Bloody News from Ireland or the barbarous crueltie by the papists used in that kingdome* (London, 1641); A *briefe declaration of the barbarovs and inhumane dealings of the northerne Irishe rebels* (London, 1641); T. Partington, *Worse and Worse News from Ireland* (London, 1641); S. Cooper, 'How were the 1641 depositions manipulated in England to persuade the English masses of Catholic persecution?', *History Studies*, 12 (2011), p. 31; J. Daems, *"A Warr So Desperate": John Milton and Some Contemporaries on the Irish Rebellion* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2012), pp. 5-6; Cope, *England*, pp. 76-78.

[682] J. Redmond, 'Memories of violence and New English identities early modern Ireland', *Historical Research*, 89/246 (2016), p. 5; A. Chastain Weimer, *Martyrs' Mirror: Persecution and Toleration in Early New England* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 5-6, 121; B. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), p. 192.

from accessing more permanent or substantial forms of relief. The concern was not so much the presence of refugees as their entitlement to resources. English attitudes towards the refugees from Ireland were thus much more nuanced than has previously been argued, though ultimately economic concerns played the greatest role in shaping responses to the refugee presence.

There are multiple avenues through which this research can be extended in the future. Firstly, a postdoctoral project could be undertaken to map the displacement of refugees across Ireland, Britain and Continental Europe. Such a project would extend our understanding of the patterns of refugee migration and reveal how refugee identities were shaped by migration and displacement. This work would also align with existing projects such as the 1641 Depositions Online and the England's Immigrants 1330-1550 database.[683] The 1641 depositions, in particular, are a rich body of sources which often detail the specifics of refugee journeys across Ireland. These routes could be virtually mapped and uploaded onto an online database, for fellow researchers to utilize. Another potential project would be to extend the analysis of refugee relief by collecting data from all available churchwardens', constables and overseers' of the poor accounts from across England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. This would again be a substantial undertaking, but by analyzing refugee relief on such a broad scale variations in the organization and extent of relief could be examined parochially, regionally, nationally and multi-nationally.

Finally, the 'history of emotions' provides a new avenue to explore refugee migration and displacement during the early modern period.[684] Barbara Rosenwein's notion of 'emotional communities', in particular, offers a means of viewing the various experiences of displacement through the emotional lives of refugees. 'Emotional communities' can be used to,

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[683] '1641 Depositions Online', <http://www.1641.tcd.ie/>, accessed 9.1.2019; 'England's Immigrants 1330-1550', < https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/>, accessed 26.02.2019.

[684] S. J. Matt, 'Current emotion research in history: or, doing history from the inside out', *Emotion Review,* 3/1 (2011), pp. 117-124; W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001); C. Stearns and P. Stearns, 'Emotionology: clarifying the history of emotions and emotional standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90/4 (1985), pp. 813-836; S. J. Matt, 'You can't go home again: homesickness and nostalgia in U.S. history', *Journal of American History*, 94/2 (2007), pp. 469-497.

> uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore. [685]

This writing of history from the 'inside-out' already has some resonances in this thesis. The reconstruction of refugee migration patterns in Chapter Two showed how refugee identities were altered by the experience of displacement through consideration of different conceptions of 'home'. This analysis highlighted an emotional dimension of refugee identities. As Nichola Wood and Louise Waite aptly note, feelings of being 'at home' relate to belonging which is a 'dynamic emotional attachment'.[686] Unfortunately, this emotional dimension was only a cursory consideration in this thesis, and emotional attachments and affiliations relating to belonging remain largely unexplored within historical refugee and migration studies. Consequently, by studying displacement directly through the lens of the history of emotions, the emotionality of belonging can be explored in greater depth in future studies, offering a new perspective on the refugee experience.[687]

Historical displacement studies such as this thesis ultimately offer the contemporary world a means of reflecting on current social, political and cultural attitudes towards displaced people across the globe. Such studies are increasingly necessary as the current political climate shifts towards a rhetoric which seeks to demonise and isolate foreign and minority groups, for the sake of gaining political ascendancy. Research into the reception of the refugees from Ireland in the 1640s offers the chance to inform the public on the long history of refugee migration, asylum and relief in England. By focusing on this shared history, it can only be hoped that such research will eventually lead to an

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[685] B. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about emotions in history', *The American Historical Review*, 107/3 (2002), pp. 821-45, quoted at p. 842; B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006).

[686] N. Wood and L. Waite, 'Editorial: scales of belonging', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4/4 (2011), p. 201. See also, M. Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (London, 1994).

[687] J. Brown, 'Expressions of diasporic belonging: the divergent emotional geographies of Britain's Polish communities', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4/4 (2011), pp. 229-37; A. Christou, 'Narrating lives in (e)motion: Embodiment, belongingness and displacement in diasporic spaces of home and return', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4/4 (2011), pp. 249-57.

increase in toleration and unity within local communities and across the Country as a whole.

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