

The History of the Late Warre in Ireland:
Richard Bellings and the Religio-politics of the Old
English in Later Stuart Ireland

Sho Makino



TRINITY
COLLEGE
DUBLIN

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
School of Histories and Humanities,
Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin

Supervisor: Professor Jane Ohlmeyer

August 2025

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).

Sho Makino

Trinity College, University of Dublin

August 2025

Summary

This thesis investigates how Richard Bellings, a gentleman of the Pale Old English, remembered and reinterpreted the civil wars during the Restoration, focusing on the ways in which the political climate of the 1660s shaped religio-political thinking through his memory-making works. It examines Bellings' *The History of the Late Warre in Ireland*, a historical account of the 1640s civil wars to demonstrate how Bellings provides a rich case study for examining the political thinking of the landowning class laity regarding government and religion in the context of the Restoration. By situating Bellings within contemporary memory-making controversy, the thesis clarifies his contribution to debates in Restoration Irish politics and Catholic reformation.

This thesis intervenes in three areas of historiography. First, despite the acknowledged significance of Bellings' *History* as a historical document, no systematic study has yet been conducted on either Bellings' biography or his *History*. Without the thorough study of Bellings' *History*, historians miss an insight into the Restoration Old English political and religious thinking. Second, while there have been some studies of Catholic and Protestant memory-making of the 1640s, scholars have not yet presented an overview to define the character of these debates or to explore their interrelations. A reassessment of memory-making across the decades in the late Stuart reign is therefore timely. Third, the relationship between the Restoration politics and political debates remain underexplored. This thesis shows that Bellings' *History* must be read above all in the context of the 1660s, when the land settlement decisively shaped Irish politics, rather than the 1670s as has often been assumed.

Within this context, *The History* served two purposes, both directly connected to the Acts of settlements in 1662 and 1665. Firstly, Bellings sought to counter New English writers who sought to consolidate their political influence through lands acquired during

the 1650s. Bellings vindicated his patrons' conduct in the 1641 rebellion and distinguishing loyalist Catholics from rebellious multitudes. Secondly, he responded to the Catholic public discourse that appeared following the Act of Explanation in 1665, defending the reputation and political standing of loyalist Catholics, especially his patron James Butler, duke of Ormond.

This thesis also examines Bellings' religious thinking in the wider contexts of diplomacy and ecclesiastical politics. His diplomatic missions in the 1640s and 1650s reveal his pragmatic religio-political outlook that shifted between accepting *de facto* toleration and seeking royal recognition of Catholicism while already reflecting Gallican tendencies. His role in drafting *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance* further confirms this orientation. In this light, the later sections of *The History* emerge not only as a record of Confederate politics but as a Gallican orientation that helped shape loyalist Catholic political thinking across the seventeenth century.

Acknowledgements

Above all, my utmost debt of thanks is owed to my supervisor Professor Jane Ohlmeyer. Jane's sharp wisdom, energetic encouragement, kind understanding and warm humour have sustained me throughout these stressful years. Without her guidance, I could not have finished the thesis; thank you very much.

An enormous number of people have helped, encouraged and supported me in the course of writing the PhD thesis in this long-winding journey over Eurasian continent. I began this journey from Tokyo. First and foremost, I wish to express my gratefulness to Professor Norie Takazawa and Professor Kei Nasu who first sparked fascination with early modern social and cultural history at International Christian University. I have learnt from them that 'Nothing is not political'. They have provided heartfelt support thereafter; thank you. A special mention is due to Professor John Maher for his personal lessons of Irish, which opened my eyes to Irish studies; Go raibh math agat. I owe a great deal to Professor Shunsuke Katsuta, University of Tokyo, for his unfailing warm encouragement and guidance in the graduate study. These mentors encouraged me to pursue PhD in Dublin; and it was a right choice to make.

I am deeply grateful to the Japan Student Services Organisation, Grace Law Lee Fund, for the financial support essential for conducting this research. My thanks also extend to the Transkribus Scholarship Programme for their generosity in providing access to invaluable machine resources. This project would not have been feasible without such substantial material support and the generous assistance of their administrative staff. Special thanks are due to the librarians and archivists at Trinity College, Dublin; National Library of Ireland; Dublin City Library and Archive; Marsh's Library; the British Library; the Bodleian Library; Beinecke Library. Particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Irish Manuscripts Commission and Cathy Hayes for allowing

me to consult the manuscript of *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* (English translation) prior to publication. Their support was of crucial importance for this thesis.

I wish to thank colleagues and friends at Trinity College Dublin and beyond. Special thanks to Dr Robert Armstrong, Dr Joseph Clarke, Professor Poul Holm, Dr Francis Ludlow, late Dr Bríd McGrath, Dr Graeme Murdock, Dr Shigeki Nakagome, Professor Micheál Ó Siochrú, Dr Neil Johnston, Professor John McCafferty, Professor Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, Professor Mary-Louise Coolahan, Professor Patrick Wallis, Dr Harumi Goto, Dr Koji Yamamoto, Dr Toby Barnard, Professor Ann Hughes and Professor John Morrill. Their willingness to offer their time and insights has been invaluable to me.

My heartfelt thanks go out to my friends all over the world who shared time, language ability and hospitality over cuppa tea and coffee, pints of beer or bottles of wine; Misato Ariie, Keiko Matsuzaki Brophy, Malachy Brophy, Gabriel Coleman, Laura Ferrelly, Arunava Guha, Mariko Hamada, André Heber, Shinya Iwatsuki, Alan Kelly, Ryota Kitagawa, Ayano Kokaze, Naoki Kokaze, Masahiro Konishi, Yukiko Kuramochi, Hannah Dongsun Lee, Soki Oda, Yoko Onodera, Liam O'Rourke, Seán O'Towmy, Mikako Suzuki, Zhen Yang, Genji Yasuhira, Luca Ka Lo Yau and Kunyan Zheng. Your camaraderie and exchange of ideas have been indispensable. Without the discussions and casual talk with them, my project would not have developed to this shape.

Finally, I must express my profound gratitude to my extended Makino family, including the Onos, Kawaharas, and Sakanushis, for their endless encouragement and the joyous distractions they provided! To my family members—my late grandmother Yukie, my late father Toshiyasu, my mother Yayoi, and my siblings Ryo and Ryoko, Jun, and Rei—whose laissez-faire attitude paired with warm gazes has made my long (yes, quite long) academic journey not only possible but also fulfilling, ありがとう. As

a testament to their unwavering support and faith in myself, this thesis is dedicated to them.

Table of Contents

Summary	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Richard Bellings' biography	1
1.2 Historiography	13
1.3 Methodologies: source evaluation	39
1.4 Structure	46
Chapter 2: Richard Bellings and memory-making debates: a historian or a propagandist? c. 1652-1677	49
2.1 Introduction	49
2.2 The manuscripts of <i>The History of the Late Warre in Ireland</i>	51
2.3 Patrons	57
2.4 Memory-making debates in the 1650s	60
2.5 Memory-making debates and land settlement in the Restoration	69
2.6 Conclusion	81
Chapter 3: Richard Bellings' memory-making in Books 1 and 2, 1641-44	84
3.1 Introduction	84
3.2 Memory-making against the New English	87
3.3 The 1643 cessation, military loyalism and discourse	98
3.4 Political influences of the British civil war interventions, 1643-4	102
3.5 Conclusion	113
Chapter 4: Richard Bellings' memory-making in Books 3 and 4: secular power and the religious censures, 1645-1649	115
4.1 Introduction	115
4.2 The loyal Catholic land owners' interest	118
4.3 Interactions with Jansenists in Paris	123
4.4 Memory-making of the 1646 excommunication	127
4.5 Memory-making of the 1648 excommunication	141

4.6	Conclusion	155
Chapter 5:	Richard Bellings as a diplomat and Catholic intellectual, c. 1645-1665	158
5.1	Introduction	158
5.2	The Bellings' sociability in diplomacy at work	160
5.3	Bellings' Confederate diplomatic mission in 1645	164
5.4	Negotiations for mercenaries and Catholic toleration in the 1650s	178
5.5	Conclusion	195
Chapter 6:	Writing <i>The History</i> and Gallicanism in <i>The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance</i>, c. 1660-1674	198
6.1	Introduction	198
6.2	The Bellings' land restoration, 1660-65	200
6.3	Bellings' social, political and intellectual background of <i>The Irish Remonstrance</i>	204
6.4	Roman negotiation in 1662-3	213
6.5	Rejection of the <i>Irish Remonstrance</i> at the national congregation in 1666	221
6.6	The loyalist Catholics and the new social reality in Ireland	228
6.7	Conclusion	233
Chapter 7:	Conclusion	236
Appendices		246
	Appendix A: Large deletions in the manuscripts	246
i.	TCD MS 747, fols 240r-240v	246
ii.	TCD MS 747, fol.241r	249
iii.	TCD MS 747, fol.262v	250
iv.	TCD MS 747, fol.263r	251
v.	NLI MS 16967, fols 23r-v	253
vi.	NLI MS 16968, fol. 44r	255
vii.	NLI MS 16969, fol. 33r	256
	Appendix B: Where Bellings, senior and junior, stayed and travelled in the 1650s	257
Bibliography		258
i.	Primary Sources: Manuscript	258
ii.	Primary Sources: Printed	259
iii.	Secondary	267
iv.	Unpublished Theses	308

List of Tables

Table 1-2: Land Possessions by Bellings' Family in 1641 and 1670	7
Table 1-3: Structural comparisons between the manuscripts and Gilbert's edition.....	40
Table 2-1: The books of <i>The History</i> and the manuscripts	53

List of Figures

Figure 1-1: The Bellings Family Tree	3
Figure 2-1: Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16968), [unpaginated]	56
Figure 5-1: A handwriting of Richard Bellings, the senior, in the 1650s	161
Figure 5-2: A handwriting of Richard Bellings, the junior, in the 1650s	162

List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>DIB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Irish Biography</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
IMC	Irish Manuscript Commission
NLI	National Library Ireland, Dublin
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Richard Bellings' biography

This thesis investigates how Richard Bellings, a gentleman of the Pale Old English, remembered and reinterpreted the civil wars during the Restoration, focusing on the ways in which the political climate of the 1660s shaped religio-political thinking through his memory-making works. To that end, this thesis will examine a series of manuscripts, *The History of the Late Warre in Ireland*, a historical account of the 1640s civil wars written by Bellings. By doing so, this thesis illustrates how Bellings served as an exemplary figure for examining the political thinking of the landowning class laity regarding government and religion in the context of the Restoration. Shedding light on Bellings' memory-making, this thesis aims to clarify his contribution to contemporary discourse in Restoration Irish politics and Catholic reformation.

Detailed biographies of Bellings feature in Bríd McGrath's and Raymond Gillespie's studies, Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's entry in *ODNB*, and Micheál Ó Siochrú's contribution to *DIB*.¹ Bellings was born in c. 1603. McGrath's entry has reconstructed Bellings' kinship and patronage relationships through marriage with the Butler family, the most influential Old English family in Leinster.² These authors collectively have highlighted Bellings' significant political role as the secretary at the supreme council of the Catholic Confederation in Kilkenny during the 1640s civil wars, and as an official

¹ Bríd McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary of the membership of the Irish House of Commons 1640-1641' (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1998), vol. 1, pp 62-3; Bríd McGrath, *The operations of the Irish House of Commons, 1613-48* (Dublin, 2023); Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212-28; Ó hAnnracháin, 'Bellings, Richard (1603-1677)' in *ODNB*; Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Bellings (Bealing), Richard' in *DIB*.

² McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary, vol. 1, p. 62. See also, Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon, *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000); David Edwards (ed.), *The Ormond lordship in county Kilkenny, 1515-1642: the rise and fall of the Butler family* (Dublin, 2003).

diplomat to the Vatican in 1645. They have also touched upon his involvement at the exiled court of Charles II in the 1650s, though the explanations of his activities there are somewhat vague. Beyond his political and diplomatic engagements, Bellings' linguistic abilities are noted.³ He was proficient in English, Irish, French and Latin. In addition to the languages, given Bellings, senior and junior, travelled to the Italian peninsula, Holy Roman Empire and Spanish Flanders, they possibly had some knowledge of Italian, German and Spanish. This multilingualism facilitated his diplomatic missions across Europe and allowed both Bellings, senior and his son, also Richard, to translate significant works, including theological texts and royal correspondence.⁴ Furthermore, the scholarly focus on Bellings has often related to his historical writing, especially his account of the Confederate period in *The History*, later edited and published by J. T. Gilbert as *History of the Irish confederation and the war in Ireland* in the late-nineteenth century.⁵

Bellings' patronage-client relationships to the Butlers of Ormond and Mountgarret sustained his standings in the early seventeenth century. Bellings' family, social and kinship links reveal the complex religious environment of the Old English household. The literary historian Klein Morrison has erroneously suggested that

³ McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary, vol. 1, p. 62.

⁴ Antoine Arnauld, *De la fréquente communion* (Paris, 1643). Palmer pointed out that it was impossible to find it, however. Thomas J. Palmer, *Jansenism and England: moral rigorism across the confessions* (Oxford, 2018). Richard Bellings, *Illustrissimis et reverendissimis D. D. archiepiscopis praesulibus et clero Hiberniae has innocentiae suae impetita per reverendissimum fernensem vindicias consecrat Richardus Bellings*, (Paris, 1652); Richard Bellings, *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, vindiciae eversae: accesserunt Belingi vindiciae* (Paris, 1654).

⁵ J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and the war in Ireland, 1641-9* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882-91). Regarding his historical writing, See Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Imagining political representation in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Community in early modern Ireland*. (Dublin, 2006), pp 34–50; Carroll, Clare, 'The Vita Waddingi and the memory of Confederate and Cromwellian Ireland' in Matteo Binasco (ed.), *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic world, 1622–1908* (New York and Oxford, 2020), pp 185–199; Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdom of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020).

‘Bellings’ political, religious, and economic powerlessness was potentially quite real’.⁶

Notwithstanding, given Bellings’ family background as an example of how Old English settlers built their fortunes in the late-Tudor and early Stuarts period, the family constructed a firm economic basis through land possession.

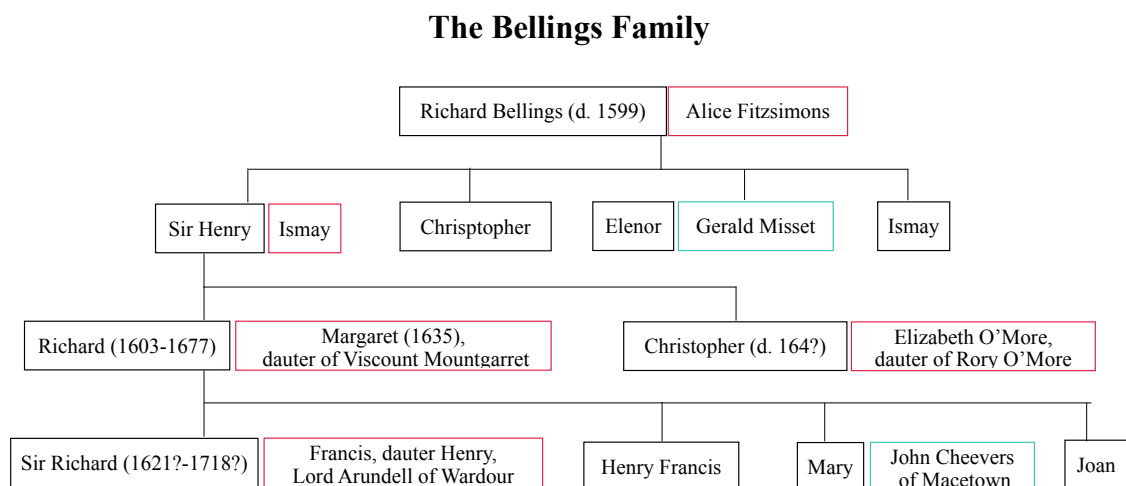


Figure 1-1: The Bellings Family Tree

Initially, Bellings’ grandfather, also Richard, and his father, Sir Henry, were Protestant. His grandfather Richard became a leading lawyer in Elizabethan Ireland. He married Alice Fitzsimons and had four children, Sir Henry, Christopher, Eleanor (who married Gerald Misset), and Ismay.⁷ From 1576 to 1584, Richard was the solicitor general of Ireland and a councillor at the Court of Castle Chamber – referred to as ‘Queens solicitor’ and a ‘counsellor at law’.⁸ According to Sir William Gerrard, the lord chancellor of Ireland, Richard was ‘learned and discrete’.⁹ He appeared before the

⁶ Klein Morrison, ‘Readers Turned Writers: the dynamics of the sequels to Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*’ (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1997), pp 106-9.

⁷ The Fitzsimons was a notable Old English family in the Pale.

⁸ NLI, GO MS 65, p.33; Sir William Gerrard, ‘Lord Chancellor Gerrard’s notes of his report on Ireland’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 2 (1931), pp 93–291, p. 184.

⁹ Gerrard, ‘Lord Chancellor Gerrard’s notes’, p. 184.

Castle Chamber several times while in office.¹⁰ At the death of the former sergeant, Richard Finglas, in 1575, Lord Deputy Williams Fitzwilliam appointed the next sergeant, attorney and solicitor to the Dublin government. The attorney Edward Fitzsimon replaced Finglas as the sergeant. The solicitor, John Bath, became the attorney replacing Fitzsimon, and Richard became the solicitor after Bath. However, at the resignation of Bath from office for his Catholic faith under the new regime of Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney in 1577, it was not Richard but Thomas Snagge, dispatched from England, who became the new attorney. Richard did not replace the solicitor general; Jesse Smythes from England did. Meanwhile, Richard continued serving the Dublin government as a seneschal in the archbishop of Dublin's manor, communicating with the primates of the Church of Ireland, such as Adam Loftus, lord chancellor of Ireland and archbishop of Dublin.¹¹ It is clear, therefore, that Bellings' grandfather Richard was one of the most important lawyers in Elizabethan Ireland.

Thanks not only to Richard's successful career at the Irish office but also to Sir Henry's influence locally, having been appointed as high sheriff for Kildare and Wicklow in the 1610s, the Bellings family owned a large amount of land in the Pale area.¹² They were based in east Kildare and northern Dublin, specifically, Tyrrelstown in the parish of Mulhuddart, County Dublin.¹³ Partly as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, increasing his lands Bellings' grandfather Richard

¹⁰ Jon Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland: the Court of Castle Chamber, 1571-1641* (Dublin, 2005), pp 233, 249, 442, 446, 455 and 456.

¹¹ Richard organised twenty-three legal meetings in 1586-1590. Herbert Wood (ed.), *Court book of the Liberty of Saint Sepulchre: within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, 1586-1590* (Dublin, 1930), pp viii-ix; SP63/199/175. Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212-28, p. 217

¹² He was the high sheriff of Kildare in 1616 and 1618, and of Wicklow in 1616. Emmett O'Byrne, 'O'Byrne, Feilim', in *DIB*.

¹³ According to the will of one William Belling of Belinstown (also northern Dublin) in 1473, the Bellings lived in the north of Dublin and east Kildare area by the mid-fifteenth century. Henry Fitz-Patrick Barry, *Register of wills and inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483: from the original manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1898), p. 63.

possessed Buzzardstown, Paslickstown, and Macetown, together with a mill and watercourse in Dublin and Kildare at the time of his death.¹⁴ A petition to Robert Cecil, Secretary of State in England, also suggests that Richard might have owned some lands in Wicklow.¹⁵ Inheriting Richard's property, Bellings' father Sir Henry, a Protestant, actively extended the family estates in the early seventeenth century. Consequently, Gillespie has assumed that the Bellings' family property was amounted to 5,000 acres. The table below suggests that Gillespie's estimates were somewhat high. However, when considering the inclusion of non-profitable land, these estimates might not be excessively exaggerated.

It is clear that the extensive large scale landholding was realised through a generational active commitments in plantation. Sir Henry was, in fact, infamous for his avarice and fraud, through which he significantly enlarged the family property.¹⁶ He was prosecuted twice for the corruption in the late 1620s and early 1630s.¹⁷ The first case concerned Phelim McPheagh O'Byrne and his sons. In Wicklow, the O'Byrnes held 19,900 acres of land adjacent Dublin. In February 1616, the crown seized O'Byrnes' lands of Cosha, and Sir Henry, high sheriff of Wicklow at that time, delivered the land to an Old English landowner, Sir Richard Graham, who was a client of George Villiers,

¹⁴ NLI GO MS 64-79 vols. 1 and 2. Francis Elrington Ball, *A history of the County Dublin; the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1902), pp 40-3.

¹⁵ Adam Loftus to Robert Cecil Sir, 4 June 1597 (TNA, SP 63/199 f.175).

¹⁶ Depositions at court and a petition to the Star Chamber in England 1625 showed that Sir Henry Bellings allegedly manipulated Irish witnesses; he bribed some with clothes, land and money. Sir Henry also threatened and even tortured them to obtain testimonies against McPheagh and his sons. In addition, Sir Henry conspired with Dominick Sarsfield Viscount of Kilmallock to confiscate the estate of Philip Bushen of Kildare who had been hanged in 1625 for the murder of his wife, which was valued at £2,000. After the trial at English Star Chamber, Sir Henry was subjected to pay £2,000 for conspiracy and judicial corruption. Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland*, pp 72 & 352; Adam Loftus to Robert Cecil, 'The Lord chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil', 4 June 1597 (TNA, SP 63/199 fol.175).

¹⁷ Robert Armstrong, 'Annesley, Francis Baron Mountnorris 2nd Viscount Valentia', in *DIB*.

duke of Buckingham.¹⁸ Lord Deputy Falkland advanced a plantation scheme in lower Wicklow in 1623.¹⁹ On 22 October, Falkland gave a warrant to Sir Henry for surveying wastes in the

¹⁸ O'Byrne, 'O'Byrne, Feilim'; Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-1628* (Dublin, 1998), p. 48.

¹⁹ Robert Armstrong, 'Cary, Henry 1st Viscount Falkland', in *DIB*.

Land Possessions by Bellings' Family in 1641 and 1670							
County	Barony	Parish	Townland	Name in Down Survey	1641 Owner(s)	1670 Owner(s)	Profitable land (acre)
Dublin	Nethercross	Swords	Outlands	Loghmartin	Bellings, Mr	Crolly, Edward	21
	Castleknock	Malahidert	Bay	Bay	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Richard	55.3
			Buzzardstown [Buckrards?]	Buzardstowne	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Richard (Protestant)	124.2
			Parslickstown	Pasloestowne	Bellings, Sir Henry	Dowd, Thomas (Catholic)	91.2
			Tyrrelstown	Tyrrelstown	Bellings, Sir Henry	Dowd, Thomas (Catholic)	229.1
			Powerstown	Powerstowne	Freene, William (Protestant)	Bellings, Sir Richard	197
	Uppercrosse	Ballybought	Ballybought	Ballybought	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Richard	787
			Alliganstown	Ballybought	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Richard	765
	Newcastle and Uppercross	Rathcoole	Keatingspark	Newtowne	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Henry	180
	Ballinecur	Rathdrum	Cappagh	Cappagh	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Henr	[no data]
Wicklow	Talbotstowne	Balltinglass Lordship	Wards of Tober	Creehelpe	Bellings, Sir Richard	Nettervill, Robert	323
			Sandyhills	Couldwells	Bellings, Sir Richard	Bellings, Sir Richard	144
			Manofwar	Couldwells	Bellings, Sir Richard	Bellings, Sir Richard	[no data]
	Ballinecur	Rathdrum	Cappagh	Cappagh	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Henry	[no data]
			Ballinatone Upper	Ballitombegh	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Henry	187
			Ballinatone Lower	Ballitombegh	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Henry	150
			Glandelagh	Ballytrasna	Bolybrache, Bolengeagh, Bolybeg	Bellings, Sir Henry	Bellings, Sir Henry
	Kildare	Naas	Killashee	Killisha	Bellings, Richard	Bellings, Richard	246
Swordlestown North			Shurdallstowne	Bellings, Richard	Bellings, Richard	571	
							4,070.7

Table 1-1: Land Possessions by Bellings' Family in 1641 and 1670

woods in the county.²⁰ One could have expected to gain profit from exporting timber and iron-making in this area.²¹ McPheagh O'Byrne sent a petition to the Star Chamber in England in 1625.²² McPheagh argued that the jurors were so corrupt that hearings took place at Ballinasloe instead of Wicklow.²³ Moreover, McPheagh and his sons stated that the jurors did not hear some witnesses of McPheagh's while preferring to believe Sir Richard Graham and his son William instead who were the plaintiffs.²⁴ Furthermore, depositions show that Sir Henry allegedly manipulated Irish witnesses; he bribed some with clothes, land and money. Sir Henry also threatened and even tortured them to obtain testimonies against McPheagh and the sons.²⁵ In the end, denounced by the petition and knowing the impending recall, Falkland, in April 1629, blamed that his enemies and the commissioners of the prosecution impugned his administration.²⁶ The second case related to Philip Bushen of Kildare who had been hanged in 1625 for the murder of his wife, which he probably did not commit. Sir Henry conspired with Dominick Sarsfield, Viscount Kilmallock, to confiscate Bushen's estate valued at £2,000. The English court of Star Chamber took up the causes of Bushen in 1633. Kilmallock heard the case and refused to admit not only Bushen's witnesses but also any

²⁰ Mark Empey (ed.), *Early Stuart Irish warrants, 1623-1639: the Falkland and Wentworth administrations* (IMC, Dublin, 2015), p. 3.

²¹ Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, p. 99; Nicholas Canny, 'The attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: an exemplar of "British history"' in Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 157-86; Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001).

²² Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland*, p. 72.

²³ Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland*, p. 352.

²⁴ Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, vol. 1, pp 167-209; Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland*, p. 72.

²⁵ Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, vol. 1, pp 167-87, Thomas Carte, *An history of the life of James duke of Ormonde* (London, 1736), p. 31.

²⁶ [Lord Dorchester] to the Lord Deputy, 'Draft of [Lord Dorchester] to the Lord Deputy touching his Majesty's purpose to recall him (the Lord Deputy)', 3 Apr. 1629 (TNA, SP 63/248 fols 177-8); The Irish council to Charles I, 28 Apr. 1629 (TNA, SP 63/248 fols 202v-4v).

allegation of corruption at court. On 20 November 1633, Kilmallock was found guilty of judicial corruption for allowing Sir Henry and others to take advantage of Bushen's case. Sir Henry was subjected to proceedings in the star chamber and had to pay a fine of £2,000 for conspiracy in the fraudulent trial.²⁷

The Bellings family's property management should be observed in the light of contemporary complex religio-economic politics in the early seventeenth century. Sir Henry married Maud, a Catholic woman; and their two children, Richard and Christopher, eventually followed the mother's religion. Historians of early modern English Catholics, such as John Bossy, Alexandra Walsham, Andrew Muldoon and Michael Questier, have discussed the role played by women in preserving the Catholic faith within households, drawing on the church-papist model of public conformity and private religious practice.²⁸ They argued that 'schism' in a household was not unusual in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century. Walsham in particular, criticising Bossy's strong emphasis on women's inclination to the Catholic faith, has argued that this was merely a separation of labour: men would secure the family property while women were to keep their faith.²⁹ Interestingly, Gillespie has argued that Sir Henry did not take office or become an MP to compromise his family members' Catholicism.³⁰ In

²⁷ 'Notes on proceedings in the Star Chamber against Lord Kilmallock, Sir Henry Beling, and one Pilsworth', 20 Nov. 1633 (TNA, SP 63/254 f.156); 'The state of the case, by Mr. Harbert', 22 Nov. 1633 (TNA, SP 63/254 fols 161-5); 'Notes on proceedings in the Star Chamber against Lord Kilmallock, Sir Henry Beling, and one Pilsworth', 27 Nov. 1633 (TNA, SP 63/254 fols 166-76); Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland*, pp 72-3, 106 and 351.

²⁸ John Bossy, *The English Catholic community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975), pp 153-60; Alexandra Walsham, *Church papists: Catholicism, conformity and confessional polemic in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp 76-81; Andrew Muldoon, 'Recusants, church-papists, and "comfortable" missionaries: assessing the post-Reformation English Catholic community' in *Catholic Historical Review*, lxxxvi, no. 2 (2000), pp 242-257, p. 252; Michael Questier, *Catholicism and community in early modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 44-60

²⁹ Bossy, *The English Catholic community*, pp 153-60; Walsham, *Church papists*, pp 76-81

³⁰ Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212-28, p. 220.

addition, McGrath's latest research has revealed that, by 1641, Bellings maintained a Protestant affiliation, at least publicly, as a strategic means to secure further patronage.³¹ In other words, Sir Henry's Protestantism safeguarded the family estate from the threat of confiscation.

Bellings was supposed to inherit all the land from his father Sir Henry. This was because Bellings' younger brother Christopher was a soldier who served on the Continent probably for over ten years and died sometime around 1641. Christopher married Elizabeth, a daughter of Rory O'More – Irish politician, one of leaders of 1641 rising and later member of Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny –.³² After serving the French king for two years, Christopher fled to Flanders to fight under Colonel Preston, in the regiment of Hugh O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnell. After that he went to Spain to fight against the French army. For his service, he had expected a pension and £500 for levying a regiment; he had also expected to be appointed a colonel in Spain in mid-1630s. He left the Continent for Ireland to be employed on the side of Charles I's in the bishops' war in Scotland in 1638. Yet, after failing to gain an appointment of a military office under Charles, he returned to serve in France. The French ambassador in Spain promised Christopher five hundred pistols as a yearly pension until the king of France would appoint him as colonel of a regiment. Cardinal Richelieu, the French chief minister of state, entrusted Christopher with a ship in a war against Spain.³³

³¹ Bríd McGrath, 'Poets and patronage under Falkland and Wentworth: the commendatory verses to *Richard Bellings' Arcadia* (1624) and James Shirley's *The Royal Master* (1638)' in *Archivium Hibernicum* (2021), pp 7-26, pp 10 and 20.

³² Bellings quoted Rory O'More's statement in the 1641 Irish rebellion. Richard Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 225r; Richard Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol 54r

³³ Christopher's military career on the continent was later documented in detail by Bellings in his historical writing. Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fols 240-1v. The whole Christopher Bellings' anecdote is fully omitted on Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol 54r, while an a story about miraculous cure of him is omitted on

After attending grammar school in Dublin, Bellings entered Lincoln's Inn, one of the Inns of Courts in London in September 1619.³⁴ At the Inns of Courts, entrants sought to secure patronage-client relationships not only for student life but also their future career. As the members' registration record show that most of the fathers were entered as 'knight' or 'esquire', or 'gentlemen', students at the Inns of Courts could build social-connections with land élites.³⁵ Moreover, students at the Inns could benefit in London given that the Inns secured political powerbrokers' patronage as 'suburbs of the court'.³⁶ In addition, those seeking admission had to find two 'manucaptors'. These 'manucaptors', who were also members of one of the Inns, guaranteed the new entrant's debts.³⁷ Bellings' manucaptors were James Donellan and Christopher Eliot, both from Ireland.³⁸ Donellan was born in Galway and was the son of Nehemias Donellan, archbishop of Tuam, and Elizabeth O'Donnell. In 1616, he registered at Lincoln's Inn at the request of Sir James Ley, earl of Marlborough.³⁹ Donnellan became a member of

Richard Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16967), f. 32r.

³⁴ Ó hAnnracháin, 'Bellings, Richard' in *ODNB*; The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, *Admissions Register vol 1 1420-1799*, ([London], 1896), p. 183. Bellings returned to Dublin sometime before 1624, and might have registered at the King's Inn, Dublin, as Colum Kenny and McGrath have assumed. Besides, we know little as to whether he later worked as a lawyer. Colum Kenny, *King's Inns and the kingdom of Ireland: the Irish 'Inn of court', 1541-1800* (Cork, 1991), pp 278, 284; Brid McGrath, 'Ireland and the third university attendance at the inns of court, 1603-1649' in David Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650* (Dublin, 2004), pp 217–36, p. 229.

³⁵ Lincoln's Inn, *Admissions Register*; Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Irish recusant lawyers during the reign of Charles I' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 63–89, p. 70.

³⁶ Ohlmeyer, 'Irish recusant lawyers', p. 64.

³⁷ Jason Peacey, 'Led by the hand: manucaptors and patronage at Lincoln's Inn in the seventeenth century' in *Journal of Legal History*, xviii, no. 1 (1997), pp 26–44, p. 26; Ohlmeyer, 'Irish recusant lawyers', pp 63–89, p. 72.

³⁸ Lincoln's Inn MSS B1 a/5.

³⁹ Becoming a scholar at Trinity College Dublin in 1607, he graduated with a BA in 1610 and an MA in 1613, Donellan was then elected as a fellow at the college, teaching classical languages. Ley had been responsible for implementing Common Law in Ireland as chief justice of the court of King's Bench and was an attorney of the Court of Wards and Livery at that time.

King's Inn in 1623 and the court of Connacht's chief justice in 1634.⁴⁰ He would later become a councillor for Ulick Burke, earl of Clanricard. Donellan's client relationship with Clanricard would have made it more accessible for Bellings to communicate with the earl in the 1640s. So closely associated with Ormond, Donellan would also become a delegate in the peace negotiations during the civil war.⁴¹ The other manucaptor, Christopher Eliot, derived from the Old English family in Meath. He registered at Lincoln's Inn on 12 April 1618, having already entered the King's Inn in 1617 without an entrance fee.⁴² His father Sir John Eliot was third baron of the exchequer in Ireland. Eliot's mother was Ismay Rochford, whose brother Robert Rochford was a prominent lawyer in Kildare and Meath. Eliot was possibly Protestant, as was his brother Thomas.⁴³ Eliot was called to the bar in June 1625 together with Maurice Eustace, who had registered at the Lincoln's in May 1619.⁴⁴ In summary, Bellings' manucaptors Donnellan and Eliot were both, probably, Protestant and derived from the powerful Irish and Old English families in Galway and Meath.

According to McGrath, Bellings entered the King's Inns, Dublin, in 1624. Like Inns of Courts in London, King's Inns also functioned as a venue for social networking as well as legal educational institution.⁴⁵ Importantly, because the Inns required the

⁴⁰ Edward Keane, Beryl Phair and Thomas Ulick Sadleir (eds), *King's Inns admission papers 1607–1867* (Dublin, 1982), p. 138.

⁴¹ Terry Clavin, 'Donnellan, James', in *DIB*. Donnellan married Anne, daughter of Richard Barry who became sheriff of Dublin twice in 1602 and 1604, an alderman in 1606 and mayor of Dublin. Richard's son and Anne's brother, James Barry, also entered Lincoln's Inn in July 1621, who became a lawyer, judge and later Baron Barry of Santry. Given the timing of Barry's entry to Lincoln's, Bellings probably knew him as well. Armstrong, 'Barry, James 1st Baron Barry of Santry, *DIB*.

⁴² Kenny, *King's Inns and the kingdom of Ireland*, pp 277 and 284.

⁴³ Terry Clavin, 'Rochford, Luke', in *DIB*.

⁴⁴ The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, *Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Black Books volume 2, 1586-1660* (London, 1898).

⁴⁵ McGrath, 'Poets and patronage', p. 10; Brid McGrath, *The operations of the Irish House of Commons, 1613-48* (Dublin, 2023), p. 317.

members to take the oath of supremacy from 1614 to 1628, Bellings is thought to have conformed to Protestantism at that time, which may have enabled him to seek further patronage from prominent Protestant in Dublin.

However, the most powerful and important political and literary patronage that Bellings enjoyed was, above all, from the Butlers. On 16 August 1625, Bellings married Margaret, a daughter of Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret. Based on the articles agreed for the marriage, Sir Henry signed a bond for £6,000 for her rejoinure. They had four children: Richard, Henry Francis, Mary and Joan. Significantly, this marriage propelled Bellings into the heart of Irish politics. In 1641, Bellings succeeded Thomas Wharton as MP for Callan, near Kilkenny, thanks to the formidable political influence of Mountgarret and James Butler, earl, marquess and later duke of Ormond.⁴⁶ Although Bellings' parliamentary activities remain largely obscure, his early designation to committees aimed at negotiating with Ulster rebels highlights his initial involvement.⁴⁷

1.2 Historiography

In the context of memory shaped through historical writing, this thesis scrutinises Bellings' *History* to examine what his narratives upon the 1640s meant for the Old English Catholic landed élite in the Restoration-era. Accordingly, this current study will address four broad strands of early modern Irish historiography: history of memory-making; the identity formation of the Old English; loyalist Catholic political thinking; and Catholic reformation in Ireland.

⁴⁶ McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary', pp 42, 63-64; Brid McGrath, 'The Irish elections of 1640-1641' in *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 186-206. Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212-28, p. 220.

⁴⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1765), pp 11, 13, 17 and 24; McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary', vol. 1, p. 64; Brid McGrath, *The operations of the Irish House of Commons, 1613-48* (Dublin, 2023), pp 59, 91, 154, 188, 295, 307, 317, 320, 338.

The early modern period has been regarded as a turning point for historical writing. According to Daniel Woolf, it was during the Restoration that interest in comprehensive historical writings increased. This was because historical writing typically aimed to demonstrate past exemplars as guides for future actions. As such, historical writing, by representing the past, encouraged reflection on the present.⁴⁸ The way in which historical writers composed history changed from chronicles to narratives with a more critical analysis of sources. In the new form of writing history, an ‘authorial voice’ became increasingly powerful – how one understood, utilised and vindicated the past became increasingly controversial.⁴⁹ During the Restoration, it was the recent memory of civil wars, rather than distant history, that was controversially invoked.⁵⁰ In particular, historians have paid considerable attention to the crucial role print culture played in shaping civil war time memories. For instance, historians have examined the

⁴⁸ Daniel R. Woolf, ‘Narrative historical writing in Restoration England: a preliminary survey’ in Gerald Marshall (ed.), *The Restoration mind* (Newark and London, 1997), pp 207–51, pp 208–9; Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading history in early modern England* (Cambridge, 2000); Daniel R. Woolf, ‘News, history and the construction of the present in early modern England’ in Brendan Maurice Dooley and Sabrina Alcorn Baron (eds), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), pp 80–118; Daniel R. Woolf, *The social circulation of the past: English historical culture 1500–1730* (Oxford, 2003); Daniel R. Woolf, ‘From hystories to the historical: five transitions in thinking about the past, 1500–1700’ in *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino (CA), 2006), pp 31–67, pp 36, 41–52; Paulina Kewes, ‘History and its uses: Introduction’ in *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino (CA), 2006), pp 1–30, pp 13–29; Nicholas Canny, *Imagining Ireland’s pasts: early modern Ireland through the centuries* (Oxford, 2021).

⁴⁹ Kewes, ‘History and its uses’, p. 16.

⁵⁰ Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration historians and the English Civil War* (Hague, 1974); Philip Stephen Hicks, *Neoclassical history and English culture: from Clarendon to Hume* (Basingstoke, 1996); Blair Worden, ‘Historians and poets’ in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 69–90; Paul Seaward, ‘Clarendon, Tacitism, and the Civil Wars of Europe’ in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 285–306; David Cressy, ‘Remembrancers of the Revolution: histories and historiographies of the 1640s’ in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino (CA), 2006), pp 253–64; R. C. Richardson, ‘Re-fighting the English revolution: John Nalson (1637–1686) and the frustrations of late seventeenth-century English historiography’ in *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire*, xiv, no. 1 (2007), pp 1–20.

pamphlet wars between Tories and Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-81.⁵¹ Moreover, recent studies by politico-cultural historians, drawing on the scholarship of book history and history of reading, has revealed that readers selectively engaged with narrative content, not wholly accepting everything presented.⁵² In other words, scholars have increasingly focused not only on the narratives themselves but also on how these texts were shaped by – and embedded within – their specific political contexts. Given the nature of this study, the importance of manuscripts, their circulation, publication, and the wider commercial culture cannot be overstated.

A question of terminology arises regarding relationships between memory and history—specifically, whether the two constitute the same conceptual framework. Pierre Nora’s monumental edited three volumes work *Realms of Memory* (*Les Lieux de Memoire*) has underscored that historical writings should be regarded as a form of memory because historical works were open to alteration.⁵³ Nora’s epoch-making work, which aimed to criticise the social construction of the nation’s past, contributed to developing the theoretical framework that memory is mutable and open to appropriation

⁵¹ Tim Harris, *London crowds in the Reign of Charles II. Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987); Tim Harris, ‘Restoration Ireland – Themes and Problems’ in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland : always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 1-18; Jonathan Scott, *England’s Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000); Mark Knights, *Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain : partisanship and political culture* (Oxford, 2004); Mark Knights, ‘The Tory interpretation of history in the rage of parties’ in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 347–66.

⁵² Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, ‘“Studied for Action”: how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy’ in *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990), pp 30–78; William H. Sherman, *John Dee: the politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, 1995); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading revolutions: the politics of reading in early modern England* (London, 2000); Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, ch. 6; Ann Blair, *Too much to know: managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven, 2010); Daniel R. Woolf, ‘Historical writing in Britain from the late middle ages to the eve of the enlightenment’ in José Rebassa (ed.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Volume 3 1400-1800* (Oxford, 2012), pp 473–496; Eamon Darcy, ‘Writing the past in early-modern Ireland: Anglesey, Borlase and the craft of history’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xl, no. 158 (2016), pp 171–191.

⁵³ Pierre Nora, ‘Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire’ in *Representations*, xxvi (1989), pp 7–24. Its original three volume French editions were published from 1984-1992.

by historical actors. Geoffrey Cubitt has refined the reference to the association between ‘memory’ and ‘history’ in his *History and Memory* (2007): ‘memory’ and ‘history’ are proximate conceptions interacting with each other.⁵⁴ Given the subjective, unstable and variable nature of memory, this thesis intends to adopt the word ‘memory’ rather than ‘history’. By composing the historical writings, politicians reconstructed and reworked their collective memory – an ongoing process that made these memories significantly contested. Therefore, since the characteristics of memory were subject to change and easily influenced by external factors, historical writing should be considered as means of memory-making.

In memory studies, Maurice Halbwach, early twentieth century sociologist, proposed a conceptual framework ‘collective memory’ to demonstrate that memories of individuals were intrinsically influenced by social frameworks and group affiliations to which they belonged.⁵⁵ However, ‘collective memory’ can imply homogeneity, passivity, and a top-down model – as if the memory were imposed from above onto ordinary people. In other words, ‘collective memory’ would risk portraying memory as static and may overlook the agency of historical individuals. To overcome the problem with ‘collective memory’, Chris Wickham, historian, and James Fenton, anthropologist, proposed ‘social memory’ to represent the more active and dynamic character of memory. The theoretical framework proposed by Wickham and Fenton influenced Peter Burke in his monograph in 1997. Burke argued that without adopting ‘social memory’ historians would confront ‘failing to notice the different ways in which the ideas of individuals are influenced by the groups to which they belong’.⁵⁶ Astrid Erll has

⁵⁴ Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and memory* (Manchester, 2007), pp 3-5. See also, Astrid Erll, *Memory in culture*, trans. Sara Young (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 8.

⁵⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago, 1992).

⁵⁶ Peter Burke, *Varieties of cultural history* (Ithaca, 1997), p. 45.

effectively theorised the reason why memories would matter in *Memory in Culture* (2011). While denying an illusion of ‘objective images of past perceptions’ or ‘a past reality’, Erll has emphasised the subjective and selective nature of memories, as recollection of it would depend upon what situations and social conditions of the one who remembers.⁵⁷ Therefore, it would be natural that recollection of the past varied according to present circumstances. Erll has further argued that individuals or a group would indicate ‘the needs and interests of the person or group doing the remembering in the present’.⁵⁸ In other words, an act of remembering would project an individual’s or individuals’ present desire. Judith Pollman has also argued that memory only emerged within a dynamism of interactions between individuals and societies, and that was subject to interventions by a wide range of stakeholders. Pollman has noted that early modern social memory was ‘a blend between public and personal forms of memorization’, by emphasising that memories were not privately owned in one’s mind but were widely shared within a given society.⁵⁹ Public memory — those memories shared by a broader audience and considered of communal importance — was produced and promoted by individuals who had a personal interest in the continued significance and commemoration of past events. Conversely, memories that people think of as personal were often affected by public memory.⁶⁰ The social memory, therefore, consisted of individuals’ decisions about what they felt necessary to highlight, while other aspects were kept in the background.

It is interesting in Burke’s argument that he emphasised the necessity of considering not only the social memorisation but also ‘the social organization of

⁵⁷ See also, Erll, *Memory in culture*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Erll, *Memory in culture*, p. 8.

⁵⁹ Judith Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2017), p. 13.

⁶⁰ Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe*, pp 3-4.

forgetting, the rules of exclusion, suppression or repression, and the question of who wants whom to forget what, and why', which he named 'social amnesia'.⁶¹ In early modern Irish historiography, building upon Burke's framework, Guy Beiner and Sarah Covington developed the social memory and social oblivion. Beiner criticised the notion 'social amnesia' due to the ways in which Burke positioned it in opposition to social memory. Beiner has suggested 'social forgetting' to achieve the goal that Burke has previously noted. The study of social forgetting closely examines what happens behind the scenes when communities try, or profess to try, to forget discomfiting historical episodes, but actually retain muted recollections. Social forgetting, Beiner has argued, which normally would be hidden in 'public silence and more private remembrance' would appear the public sphere at times.⁶² Likewise, Covington has claimed that memory should not be regarded as 'standalone and free-floating historical agency'. Rather, she has maintained, memory would be fluid dependant upon given individuals, communities and time. She has put it that memories were 'received in particular ways, reinvented for present-day objectives, recreated in narratives, and very much connected to historical moments and interests'.⁶³ Also, following Beiner, she has evaluated the importance of forgetting as well as remembering. In fact, they have argued that forgetting should not be placed in opposition to memory, but acts of forgetting would warrant 'misremembering, evasion, selective omission, or other complex shadings which exist between remembrance and full-on oblivion'. Therefore, Covington has preferred to use the term 'social memory' and 'social forgetting' in order to highlight the nature of

⁶¹ Burke, *Varieties of cultural history*, p. 54

⁶² Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: social forgetting and vernacular historiography of a rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford, 2020), p. 28.

⁶³ Sarah Covington, *The devil from over the sea: remembering and forgetting Oliver Cromwell in Ireland* (Oxford, 2022), pp 11-2.

memory being ‘fluid or dynamic’.⁶⁴ Building upon the historiography of social-memory and social-forgetting, this thesis considers the subjective and mutable nature of memory through Bellings’ recollections.

In Tudor and Stuart Ireland, making memory was inherently political. In Tudor period, Valerie McGowan-Doyle has argued that controlling histories was as important a task as legal, political, military, economic and social systems. The use of history as a colonial tool demonstrated a direct relation to the intensification of the Irish conquest. Writing history thus became critically important to the political conflict between the Old English and the New English, whereby they competed for a grip on to rule of Ireland.⁶⁵ Further, recognising the abundant examples of historical writing in the Restoration, historians have underscored the crucial importance of the politics of memory in the later Stuart period. Eamon Darcy explored the parallel phenomenon from the viewpoint of the Restoration. Darcy has argued how history was utilised in the late seventeenth century. According to Darcy, Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey, wanted to show the causation of the crises Protestants faced both in the 1640s and in the 1680s. Darcy has argued that Anglesey’s historical writing was not only a defence of his political allies, but also was intended to show what historical processes led to the crises, for which he blamed political mishandlings of Ormond, during the civil wars. In other words, the assertion that the historical writing was rather a reconsideration of colonial rule in Ireland was also true to the Restoration political society.⁶⁶ Hence, the debates in which the New English Protestant politicians and the Old English Ormond’s clients were

⁶⁴ Covington, *The devil from over the sea*, pp 11-2.

⁶⁵ As discussed below, McGowan-Doyle has examined the degree to which history was important to Old English identity and how they competed with the New English for colonial governance.

⁶⁶ Eamon Darcy, ‘Writing the Past in Early-modern Ireland: Anglesey, Borlase and the Craft of History’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xl, no. 158 (2016), pp 171–191, pp 183-4.

involved during the Restoration period should be considered as a parallel to the Tudor self-representation of the Old English. It is in the context of memory-making politics as a series of struggles of the governance of Ireland in the Tudor and Stuart period, that this thesis situates Bellings' *History*.⁶⁷

Based upon the framework of memory-making, this thesis aims to fill several existing historiographical lacunae. Above all, despite the acknowledged significance of Bellings' *History* as a historical document, no systematic study has yet been conducted on either Bellings' biography or his *History*. Without the thorough study of Bellings' *History*, historians miss an insight into the Restoration Old English political and religious thinking represented in the work. Therefore, this thesis is a fresh systematic exploration in Bellings' *History* for the first time. Second, scholars have not presented an overview of Catholic memory-making narratives of the 1640s. There have been a series of studies on the 1640s memory-making debates amongst Catholics and Protestants over the three decades from the 1650s.⁶⁸ However, these studies have failed to define characteristics of

⁶⁷ The conflicts between the Old English and the New English is further discussed in chapter two section four and entire chapter three.

⁶⁸ For the 1650s, Patrick Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies among the Irish in Paris, 1648-54' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxi (1954), pp 32–50; Patrick Corish, 'Two Contemporary historians of the Confederation of Kilkenny: John Lynch and Richard O'Ferrall' in *Irish Historical Studies*, viii, no. 31 (1953), pp 217–236; Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland, and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), ch. 13; Ian Campbell, 'Alithinologia: John Lynch and seventeenth-century Irish political thought' (PhD thesis, University of Dublin, 2009), ch. 5. For the 1660s, Deana Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift: English writing in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 174-186; Danielle McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2016), ch. 3. For the 1660-70s, Toby Barnard, '1641: a bibliographical essay' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster, 1641: aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp 173–86; 223–8; Toby Barnard, "'Parlour entertainment in an evening'"; John Gibney, *The shadow of a year: the 1641 rebellion in Irish history and memory* (Madison, 2013); Jason McHugh, "'Soldier of Christ': the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns (1603-1678)" (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005), chs 9 and 10; Jason McHugh, 'Catholic clerical responses to the Restoration: the case of Nicholas French' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 99–122. Cf, for the 1680s, Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Anglesey-Ormond-Castlehaven dispute, 1680-1682' in *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 213–230; Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, pp 244-55; Darcy, 'Writing the past in early-modern Ireland'.

the debates, and the historiography has not demonstrated the interrelations among the polemical works. This lack of an overview has obscured our understanding of what was at stake in each controversy. Hence, a comprehensive overview of the memory-making debates across the decades in the late Stuart reign is timely, as examined in chapters, three, four and six. Contextualising his *History* particularly in the Restoration politics, rather than solely in the 1640s, this thesis seeks to provide a fuller understanding of his text. Thirdly, the relationship between Restoration land settlement and the political debates in the 1660s from land-owners' point of view remains underexplored. By doing so, we will be better able to understand how deeply land settlement issues preoccupied the political thinking of Catholic landowners. These concerns were inseparably interwoven not only with their struggles against both Protestant and Catholic politicians during the turbulent Restoration period, but with their distinct loyal religious faith shaped by the Catholic reformation. For the purpose, this thesis explores Bellings' identity politics during the Restoration period, focusing primarily upon Bellings' historical writing, with reference to his earlier works where appropriate.⁶⁹

First of all, the relevance of the Old English identity as an analytical framework in the later Stuart period should be questioned. Issues surrounding the Old English and native Irish have long vexed historians. Bellings hailed from an established Old English family with extensive lands in Counties Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare.⁷⁰ Bellings' status as a landowner not only enabled his roles as MP, administrator, and diplomat but also supported his activity as a humanist, poet, political intellectual, and historian; for these qualities, Bellings has been regarded as a representative of the Old English.

The term Old English refers to the descendants of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland,

⁶⁹ Concerning Bellings' literary works, section three of this chapter discusses.

⁷⁰ Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 219-20.

who described themselves as ‘Englishmen born in Ireland’. Originally called ‘Anglo-Irish’ until 1603, the designation shifted to ‘Old English’ during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras to differentiate them from the ‘New English’ colonisers, mainly Protestants.⁷¹ Aidan Clarke’s magisterial work, *The Old English in Ireland 1615-1642*, first published in 1966, has illuminated this transition as a ‘self-conscious process’ in response to political and religious shifts at the start of James I’s reign.⁷² Clarke has emphasised that the Old English label signified more than a demographic group; it represented a political and religious stance challenging the *Cuius Regio, Eius Religio* principle, which mandated subjects to follow their ruler’s faith.⁷³ Instead, the Old English advocated for separating political loyalty from religious affiliation, enabling the Catholic nobility and gentry to achieve a level of unofficial tolerance from the Protestant monarchy. This thesis will examine the complex nature of the political thinking of the Old English inhabitants. The Old English distinctive identity was shaped by their dual loyalty to the English monarchy and the pope, driven by secular interests rather than religious conformity.⁷⁴ Clarke has characterised the Old English as ‘a small, close-knit group, principally, but not exclusively, rural, which was characterised by a set of

⁷¹ In the sixteenth century, these people were called ‘English-Irish’, ‘Anglo-Hiberni’ or ‘Anglo-Irish’. T. W. Moody, ‘Early modern Ireland’ in Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp xxxix–lxiii, p. xlii. David Edwards unveiled New English Catholics immigration; see David Edwards, ‘A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations’ in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 95–126.

⁷² Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (2nd edn., London, 2001), p. 59.

⁷³ Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, p. 15-6; Aidan Clarke, ‘The policies of the “Old English” in parliament, 1640-1’ in J. L. McCracken (ed.), *Historical studies V* (London, 1965), pp 85–102, p. 85. Concerning the confessionalisation theory and the Old English Catholicism, see Ute Lotz-Heumann, ‘Between conflict and coexistence: The Catholic community in Ireland as a “visible underground Church” in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries’ in Benjamin Kaplan, Henk Van Nierop and Judith Pollmann (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570-1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp 168–82.

⁷⁴ Clarke, ‘The policies of the “Old English”’, p. 85.

attitudes and interests compounded of[sic] a sense of racial unity, extensive possessions, commitment to English rule in Ireland, and catholicism'.⁷⁵ However, this thesis will suggest that Old English unity as a political entity was increasingly fractured during the Restoration period.

Building upon Clarke's pioneering work, historians Nicholas Canny, Jon Crawford and Ciaran Brady have revealed that the Old English characteristics were gradually constructed through a longer process beginning with the Tudor political reformation. In the history of Tudor Ireland, historians have emphasised the Anglicisation of governmental organisation. Canny, Crawford and Brady have traced the alienation of the Old English from governmental positions, such as the office of viceroy and the Irish privy council, a trend continued from the Elizabethan period.⁷⁶ Scholars have paid significant attention to the displacement of the Old English from office in the Dublin government. Canny has cautioned against overestimating the political decline of the Old English by underscoring their 'conservative survivalism'. Colm Lennon has examined the vital activities of the Old English gentlemen in the city of Dublin in the age of Catholic reformation. Lennon argued that the reason why the aldermen of the city rejected the English reformation was not its Protestant theology but their conservatism in religion, political ideas and economic rights.⁷⁷ Brady has raised a question of how the Old English Catholic community struck a balance between political/economic alienation

⁷⁵ Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, p. 27. For the definition of the Old English as a political entity, T. W. Moody has explicated that 'the Old English of the seventeenth century are seen not as exclusively composed of people of English descent but as constituting a political interest or party, catholic in its religious identity but distinct in its political outlook from the Gaelic Irish (*Gaedhil*) or "Old Irish"'. Moody, 'Early modern Ireland', p. xlii.

⁷⁶ Nicholas Canny, *The formation of the Old English élite in Ireland* (Dublin, 1975); Jon Crawford, *Anglicizing the government of Ireland: the Irish Privy Council and the expansion of Tudor rule, 1556-1578* (Dublin, 1993).

⁷⁷ Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of reformation* (Dublin, 1989).

and active commitments to Catholicism. Brady has argued that the governmental failure to implement the English style of bureaucracy necessitated paradoxical reform policies of conquest, combining coercion with conciliation. In other words, negotiations and practical compromise empowered the Old English and the Gaelic Irish to disturb the English colonial design to spread the common law.⁷⁸

More recent studies of the Elizabethan period have argued that Old English political decline fostered a growing self-consciousness of a loyal Catholic political group. Focusing upon the Old English, Ruth Canning examined their military identity while McGowan-Doyle revealed their political culture in colonisation. On the one hand, Canning's work has illustrated the incoherence of the Old English between their political ideology – of 'fatherland ideology' or of loyalty to the English monarch – and in their secular interests. Canning has argued that the lords of the Pale gave priority to their private interest over familial, ethnic, or religious motivations when taking actions in the Nine Years War. In other words, the leading Old English members were anxious about 'the retention of lands, titles, and goods' as well as their ideological concern.⁷⁹ On the other hand, looking at *Book of Howth*, a historical narrative composed by Christopher St Laurence, McGowan-Doyle has insisted that the Old English wrote history for a usable past to protest against their ongoing displacement, which was essential to New English dominance.⁸⁰ While the Old English first adopted writing history as their weapon to advance their standing, the New English later appropriated 'the control of the [story] of

⁷⁸ Ciaran Brady, *The chief governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588* (Cambridge, 1994).

⁷⁹ Ruth Canning, *The Old English in early modern Ireland: the Palesmen and the Nine Years' War, 1594-1603* (Woodbridge, 2019), pp 77-80.

⁸⁰ Valerie McGowan-Doyle, *The book of Howth: the Elizabethan re-conquest of Ireland and the old English* (Cork, 2011), pp 4-9.

the conquest'.⁸¹ The recent works by Canning and McGowan-Doyle have thus displayed that the Old English struggles and concerns – their sense of displacement, security of their property and retention of their standing – motivated their political actions. Therefore, the secular interests as the landowning class, signifying socio-economic but also politico-cultural élite, were rather important.

In the socio-cultural sphere, historians have criticised the earlier historiographical model that valorised English origins and, in doing so, drew a sharp division between the Old English and the Gaelic Irish culture. In its place, historians have emphasised the cultural and linguistic hybridity in early modern Ireland. Vincent Carey's seminal study of bilingualism in sixteenth-century Ireland has demonstrated that 'many contemporary countenance[d] a bi-cultural and bi-lingual existence', stressing the socio-linguistic integration of Old English society with Irish elements.⁸² For instance, Gillespie reasonably assumed Bellings had read *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (1634) written in Irish by Geoffrey Keating, a continentally-trained Old English priest.⁸³ This is more probable

⁸¹ McGowan-Doyle, *The book of Howth*, pp 4-9.

⁸² Vincent Carey, "'Neither good English nor good Irish": bi-lingualism and identity formation in sixteenth-century Ireland' in *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 45–61, p. 59. As for bilingualism in early modern Ireland, see also Brendan Kane, 'Languages of legitimacy? An Ghaeilge, the earl of Thomond and British politics in the Renaissance Pale, 1600-24' in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011), pp 267–279; Bernadette Cunningham, 'Loss and gain: attitudes towards the English language in early modern Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences : essays presented to Nicholas Canny* (Dublin, 2011), pp 163–86. On the colonial imagery of the Irish, see Clare Carroll, *Circe's cup: cultural transformations in early modern writing about Ireland* (Cork, 2001); Bradshaw, Hadfield and Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland*. The Irish representations on Elizabethan dramas, see Stephen O'Neill, *Staging Ireland: representations in Shakespeare and renaissance drama* (Dublin, 2007). Concerning literary representations of the Old English assimilated into Irish culture, see Morrison, 'Readers Turned Writers', pp 102-13 and 132; Coolahan, 'Renaissance Dublin and the construction of literary authorship', p. 102-3; Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212–28; Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, ch. 5; Deana Rankin, "'More Worthy Patronesse": Elizabeth Cary and Ireland' in Heather Wolfe (ed.), *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp 203–22. His father Sir Henry was fluent in the Irish language and was an interpreter for Irish monolingual speakers. Gilbert, *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 1, pp 187-209; Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', p. 213n.

⁸³ Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212–28, p. 213 n10.

because Bellings' father Sir Henry was fluent in the Irish language and acted as an interpreter for Irish monolingual speakers.⁸⁴ As such, the socio-linguistical environment of the Old English society, in which Bellings lived and wrote, should be considered a hybrid of Irish and English. Furthermore, Ian Campbell's examination of the Renaissance's impact through education has emphasised the fusion of English and European intellectual traditions in Ireland.⁸⁵ Gillespie's survey in 2006 has offered a broader sense of community of the landed élites in Ireland: '[t]hough ethnic and economic fault-lines ran through Irish society, the élite shared many common social assumptions, and from their position of strength they dictated taste, manners and morals, convinced of the importance of their leadership both culturally and politically'.⁸⁶

The shared origins between the Irish and the Old English was also constructed by the exiled clerics at the continental Irish colleges—not only in terms of socio-linguistic hybridity but also in broader cultural and historical narratives. Intellectual and literary historians who have analysed Irish-language sources such as poetry and historical writings have recently discussed the Old English assimilation into Gaelic history rather than their separation from it. At this point, historians have paid attention to Keating's *Foras Feasa* and the so-called Four Masters' historical works. Keating composed the work to foster an inclusive history that looked back to a Christian antiquity, aiming to encompass the Catholic population in Ireland—both the Irish and the Old English—as 'Éireannaigh', or 'people of Ireland'. In these historical writings, the writers demonstrated that Catholicism was the true faith and that they were the righteous

⁸⁴ Gilbert, *History of the Irish confederation*, v. 1, pp 187-209; Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212–28, p. 213n.

⁸⁵ Ian Campbell, *Renaissance humanism and ethnicity before race: the Irish and the English in the seventeenth century* (Manchester, 2013), ch. 1.

⁸⁶ Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern – the quest for a settlement* (Dublin, 2006), p. 2.

inhabitants in Ireland while upholding that the Stuart monarch was their true king. Bernadette Cunningham has interestingly pointed out that the apparent threat to Irish Catholics in the early seventeenth century was not religious but political. In this light, Keating was ‘more concerned with defining Irishness than defining Catholicism’ to clarify their legitimacy to live in and govern Ireland, their homeland. The most important congruence between them, therefore, was their Catholic religiosity.⁸⁷ Not only did the Old English and Irish cultures accommodate each other, but Catholicism also functioned as their most important point of convergence.⁸⁸ In short, the Old English and Old Irish religious identities were accommodating each other, with Catholicism becoming a force to bind them together.

The exploration of lay Old English political opinions in the early seventeenth century offers essential context for understanding Bellings’ political thinking, which has been interpreted differently by scholars such as Gillespie, Deana Rankin and Campbell. Historians have conventionally situated Bellings’ writings within the socio-political and religious milieu of the late seventeenth century, aiming to discern his political thinking. In this context, scholarly investigation has identified Bellings’ text as a testament to his conservative inclinations as a member of the colonial élite. Gillespie has viewed Bellings as upholding conservative values, emphasising the élite’s responsibility in

⁸⁷ Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), pp 106-120; Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Colonized Catholics: perceptions of honour and history in Michael Kearney’s reading of ‘Foras Feasa ar Éireann’ in Ute Lotz-Heumann and Vincent Carey (eds), *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 150–164; Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2010); David Finnegan, ‘Old English views of Gaelic Irish history and the emergence of an Irish Catholic nation, c.1569–1640’ in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 187–213.

⁸⁸ David Finnegan, ‘Impact of the Counter-Reformation on the political thinking of Irish Catholics, c.1540 - c.1640’ (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2007); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, ‘Counter Reformation: the Catholic Church, 1550–1641’ in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 171–195, p. 195.

maintaining social order.⁸⁹ Likewise, Rankin has explained Bellings' writings as embodying English civility. Rankin has argued that Bellings purpose of writing his *History* was to defend the Old English by reminding readers in the Restoration of 'Old English civic values and of their loyalty to the crown; his task, to document the Old English inheritance in Ireland which he depicts as a civil force, animated by the arts of cultivation, letters and legal administration and not confined by the bonds of religious allegiance'. In other words, Rankin, and Gillespie, believed that Bellings was a representative of Old English civil values during the ongoing process of marginalisation and articulation of 'a world which was about to be lost'.⁹⁰ However, focusing upon Bellings' poetry and his depiction of the earlier sections of his historical writing, Rankin has reconstructed the Old English socio-political values; she has contrasted with those of the increasingly powerful New English Protestants – while overlooking Bellings' argument against other Catholic writers. This thesis, by contrast, argues that Bellings tailored his presentation of identity according to his intended readership and the specific arguments he sought to counter. Meanwhile, Campbell has positioned Bellings as a radical thinker within Renaissance political thought, by focusing on his pessimistic observations interwoven with the accounts of the civil wars. By doing so Campbell has challenged traditional views on natural law and hinting at support for the 'reason of state' theory emanating from radical European thinkers such as Niccolo Machiavelli and Jean Bodin.⁹¹ Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to

⁸⁹ Gillespie, ultimately, tried to contextualise Bellings' discourses in the political circumstances ranging from the 1620s and the early 1670s, but this purpose was too extensive for the short article to examine. Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings'.

⁹⁰ Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, pp 226-7; Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', p. 228

⁹¹ Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, ch. 5; Ian Campbell, 'Power after Machiavelli: Richard Bellings, reason of state, and Jansenism in seventeenth century Ireland' in Jason McElligott, Liam Chambers, Ciara

contextualise Bellings' political thinking within the broader currents of European political thought, this study acknowledges Campbell's argument that Bellings was influenced by contemporary Catholic political ideas. In particular, this thesis will put importance upon Gallicanism in Bellings' political perspective as a landowner. These contrasting perspectives highlight the complexity of Bellings' intellectual legacy and underscore the need for further examination. In short, this thesis examines whether the concept of Old English identity remained relevant during the Restoration period. It is necessary to address the process of their declining identification as the Old English in the late-seventeenth century.

Through the structural examination of Bellings' *History*, this thesis will also consider the Catholic reformation in Ireland from a landowning laity's point of view, by examining the Restoration memory-making legacy of the civil wars. Politicians like Bellings and his contemporaries, as members of the landowning class, faced persistent and unresolved challenges: the ownership of medieval church lands, religious tensions, loyalty to the monarchy, and Irish constitutional complexities with Rome. The long-standing issues of land and religious settlement must be considered to comprehend the internal dissension among Confederate Catholics in the 1640s—not merely as a product of contemporary political mechanisms, but as a persistent legacy. To this end, the concept of memory would offer a valuable lens through which to examine the enduring challenges faced by Catholics in Ireland. As chapter three, four and six will clarify, Bellings' work is apt to be situated in the intersection of the historiography of memory-making of the civil wars and the Restoration Irish political society. Bellings' *History* directly engaged with the most important issues of crises in the 1640s: viz., the causes of

Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Power in history: from the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin, 2011), pp 45–62.

the rebellion; the causes of the internal dissension amongst the Catholic Confederates, which stemmed from fundamental differences in understandings of the Catholic reformation. Therefore, Bellings' work should be deemed as a political statement towards the Restoration political society – he intended to contribute to the reconfiguration and redefinition of the colonial governance and of Catholic church in Ireland.

Bellings' *History* touched upon how Catholic nobility and gentry – along with Ormond, though a Protestant –, responded to the 1641 rebellion. The historiography of the 1640s, as it relates to Bellings, is best understood in terms of several distinct phases of interpretation. Critiquing the earlier nationalist interpretation, which portrayed the rebellion as a political plot that aimed at overthrowing English rule, scholarship from the 1960s has agreed that the plot did not aim to overturn Protestant rule in Ireland but merely as a protest to the monarchy to appeal the northern nobility's economic and political situation caused by the continuous settlement projects under the Stuart monarchy. How did Catholics respond to the rebellion? In addressing this question, historians have emphasised the influence of successive settlements, highlighting regional disparities across Ireland. While Leinster and Munster maintained a degree of economic sustainability, Ulster and Connaught were more vulnerable to the direct settlements intensified under James I. Social historical analyses of the rebellion have developed through critical engagement with the 1641 Depositions – testimonies given by victims of the uprising. These sources have revealed that the rebellion was often characterised by unruly, disorganised and violent riots, including robberies, murders, and rapes – spontaneous acts largely committed by the 'popular sorts' of people. Emphasising that Ulster élites were unable to control the popular rioters, historians have understood the

series of incidents as a popular rebellion.⁹² Historians have also demonstrated the social separation between landowners and the popular sorts of people. In this light, the formation of the Catholic Confederation was solely an élitist movement – reactionary and conservative. This was because, including the clergy, the leaders of the Confederates belonged to the landowning class.⁹³ Therefore, their utmost priority was to secure their property and political rights by restoring social order.⁹⁴

As chapter four will discuss, Bellings intended to delineate the internal dissension amongst the Confederates in the books three and four of *The History*. Historians have long debated the causes of the internal dissension within the Catholic Confederates in Kilkenny during the civil wars or the wars of the three kingdoms in the 1640s. It is now widely accepted that the internal conflicts in the Confederation in the 1640s cannot be sufficiently explained by the ‘ethnic boundaries’ between the Old English and Old Irish. In this context, historians have regarded Bellings’ *History* as significant, assuming that the author expressed an Old English perspective.⁹⁵ Traditionally, the Old English and Old Irish oppositions were explained in the two-party model. The Old English, most of whom were Ormond’s clients including Bellings, or Ormondists, who dominated the

⁹² Aidan Clarke, ‘The 1641 Depositions’ in Peter Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the library: Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986), pp 111–22; Nicholas Canny, ‘What Really Happened in Ireland in 1641?’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from independence to occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 24–42.

⁹³ Donal Cregan, ‘Irish Catholic admissions to the English Inns of Court, 1558-1625’ in *Irish Jurist*, v (1970), pp 95–114; McGrath, ‘A biographical dictionary’; Bríd McGrath, ‘Parliament Men and the Confederate Association’ in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 90–105; Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘Irish recusant lawyers during the reign of Charles I’ in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 63–89; Bríd McGrath, ‘Ireland and the third university attendance at the inns of court, 1603-1649’ in David Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650* (Dublin, 2004), pp 217–236.

⁹⁴ Donal Cregan, ‘The confederation of Kilkenny: its organisation, personnel and history’ (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1945); Donal Cregan, ‘The Confederate Catholics of Ireland: the personnel of the Confederation, 1642-9’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxix, no. 116 (1995), pp 490–512; Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999).

⁹⁵ See, Gillespie, ‘The social thought of Richard Bellings’, pp 212–28; Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, ch. 5.

supreme council of the Confederation, represented the peace party whilst the Old Irish, most of whom were assumed supporters of GianBattista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo and papal nuncio to Ireland, comprised the clerical party. This reductive framework for explaining the internal collision and ultimate dissolution of united Catholic regime in the 1640s, however, has been challenged by scholars since the 1990s. Recent studies paying more attention to the Confederates' negotiations with Ormond and with the Roman curia, have pointed out the importance of pre-existing disparities in socio-economic class and regional problems from the outset.⁹⁶ Ó Siochrú and Ó hAnnracháin have emphasised the critical importance of policy-making factors within the intermediary space between 'the two parties'. Even so, as Campbell has surveyed, '[t]he problem with which the student of the period is faced is this: sometimes being Old Irish or Old English mattered; sometimes it did not'.⁹⁷ For example, the complexity in the wars of the three kingdoms historiography is indicated by the fact that Pádraig Lenihan has agreed Ó Siochrú's position, saying that the Catholic élites shared an identity in common until the second religious censure in 1648.⁹⁸ Also, Ó hAnnracháin has acknowledged the ethnic matters as a contributing factor in the internal conflict.⁹⁹ Therefore, it remains important to assess the extent to which the 'ethnic' aspects contributed to the Confederate internal conflicts from a viewpoint of Bellings, commonly conceived of as a person representative of the Old English gentry.

Nevertheless, Bellings' *History* of the civil wars was a product of the Restoration

⁹⁶ Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: the career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Dublin, 1993); Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*; Pádraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war, 1641-49* (Cork, 2001); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645-49* (Oxford, 2002);

⁹⁷ Campbell, 'Alithinologia', p. 189

⁹⁸ Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, pp 5-6, 108, 110.

⁹⁹ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 13

period. Historians have agreed that religious conflicts in the Confederation in the 1640s were not resolved even by the time of the Restoration. Put differently, the disputes concerning the religious freedom of the Catholics in the Second Ormond peace in 1649 continued to provoke significant tensions during the Restoration period: reconceptualising the 1640s was therefore inevitably necessary in the Restoration. As Ted McCormick has theorised in the latest survey of the period, Restoration Ireland was a period of two settlements – that of religions and of lands – both of which were highly politicised.¹⁰⁰ In Restoration land settlements, in fact, Bellings played a critical role. In the historiography, the Catholic religious settlement has often been examined through debates surrounding *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance* in the 1660s which Bellings drafted. Particularly, historians have highlighted the loyalist Catholics’ political theology – namely, Gallicanism, a state-church theory advocating limited papal authority through general council and/or state intervention – in the course of the debates.¹⁰¹ The arguments have tended to be in line with loyal Remonstrant Gallicans and post-Tridentine aggressive Roman hardliners, most of whom had supported Rinuccini in the Confederate conflicts.¹⁰² However, this binary division between loyal Remonstrant Gallicans, such as Bellings and the Franciscan, Peter Walsh, and post-Tridentine Roman hardliners may be insufficient to capture the complexity of the period. Anne Creighton

¹⁰⁰ Ted McCormick, ‘Restoration Politics, 1660–1691’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2017), pp 96–119.

¹⁰¹ O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists*; Thomas O’Connor, ‘Irish Franciscan networks at home and abroad, 1607-1640’ in David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Leiden, 2010), pp 279–95; John McCafferty, ‘Leuven as a centre for Irish religious, academic and political thought’ in Éamonn Mac Aodha and Aileen Murray (eds), *Ireland and Belgium: past connections and continuing ties* (Brussels, 2014), pp 27–48; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592-1648: centre and peripheries* (Oxford, 2015); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Confessionalism and Mobility in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford, 2021).

¹⁰² James Brennan, ‘A Gallican interlude in Ireland: the Irish remonstrance of 1661’ in *Irish theological quarterly*, xxiv (1957); John Simms, ‘The Restoration, 1660-85’ in *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 420–453.

has recognised this effort as a potential foundation for a distinct Anglo-Irish Catholic identity, that is, ‘an Anglo-Irish Catholic Church rather than a Roman Catholic Church in Ireland’.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the initiative faltered, largely due to the internal division left entangled within the Irish Catholic church, as argued by Creighton and O’Connor. They have noted that the 1666 rejection of *The Remonstrance* signified a decline in the political influence of Ormond and his associates over religious politics in Ireland. In other words, Ormond’s and his political allies’ failure to control Catholic politics in Ireland stemmed not only from the short-lived contemporary Restoration political situation but also from the long-lasting social, political and religious problems.

Shedding light upon the way in which the landowners possessed their lands after the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, recent studies have increasingly focused upon the long-term effects of the Catholic reformation, which caused conflicts within Irish political society. Ó hAnnracháin has revealed the Roman attitudes towards the implementation of the continental style of Catholic reformation and its confrontation with the landowning élites such as Bellings at the Confederation, while O’Connor has revisited how continentally trained secular clergy constructed patronage-clientele relationships with landowners in Leinster and Munster. In these regions, efforts to re-establish the Catholic hierarchy in the early-seventeenth century and to implement the Catholic reformation included requiring bishops to reside in their dioceses. By contrast, this was not the case in Ulster and Connaught.¹⁰⁴ According to O’Connor, the geographical division represented the character of the early seventeenth-century Irish

¹⁰³ Anne Creighton, ‘The remonstrance of December 1661 and Catholic politics in Restoration Ireland’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiv, no. 133 (2004), pp 16–41, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ Ó hAnnracháin has argued, regular clergy were missioned to the population, allowing the faithful to learn the latest Tridentine discipline of the Catholic reformation. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 9.

Catholic church.¹⁰⁵ Ó hAnnracháin has argued that the geographical variance provided opportunities for Catholic people in Ireland to possess different attitudes towards Rome and the monarchy in the course of the Catholic reformation.¹⁰⁶ The variation should be considered as conflicts in which landowning politicians and the clergy of Roman orthodoxy defined legitimate reformed-Catholicism in Ireland in their respective interpretations. The problem stemmed, in other words, not from the teaching of reformed Catholicism but from the realities of cohabitation with Catholic landowners, and a particularly important conflict was caused by the monastic lands in local landowners' hands. For example, as a result of the dissolution, Bellings owned a monastery at Killashee in Kildare, Mountgarret possessed the former monastic lands of Kells, and Geoffery Browne, another councillor, had the abbey and the lands of Mayo.¹⁰⁷ Importantly, O'Connor and Ó hAnnracháin have argued that connivance and cooperation between the secular clergy and the landowners contributed to the characteristic nature of the Catholic reformation in Ireland. The clergy's dependence on the local laity, as a result, led some to accept retaining former monastic property.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, it is crucial in this thesis, through Bellings' political thinking, to explore the ways in which the landowning Catholic laity conceived the Catholic reformation.

Particularly, the possession of monastic lands by the landowning class was a highly controversial matter for the Irish Catholic constitution. Clarke and Ó Siochrú have been likely to consider Irish constitutional matters in terms of the relationship between Ireland and England. They have argued that the repeal or suspension of

¹⁰⁵ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ Donal Cregan, 'The confederation of Kilkenny: its organisation, personnel and history' (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1945), pp 106-8.

¹⁰⁸ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp. 45-51

Poyning's law was a crucial matter for the Catholics in Ireland especially during the Graces and the Confederation.¹⁰⁹ This was because Poyning's Law required the lord deputy to seek permission to summon Parliament and to approve proposed bills; eventually, the law advanced the *de facto* superiority of the English parliament over the Irish one. In other words, Irish constitutional issues have often been interpreted to mean legislative independence of the Irish parliament from Westminster. And yet, intricate questions also lay in a broader problem of Irish Catholic polity within the English Protestant kingdom. In fact, one of the important themes upon which Bellings composed his memory-making work was to consider the constitutional relationship between the English monarchy and papacy. The exercise of papal jurisdiction in the dominion of English Protestant king caused serious problems among Catholics in Ireland.¹¹⁰ The increasing religio-constitutional instability reached its peak during the Confederate wars of the 1640s and 1650s, as examined in chapters four, five and six. O'Connor has characterised the significance and distinctive nature of the Irish Catholic church in the

¹⁰⁹ Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*; Aidan Clarke, 'Pacification, plantation and the Catholic question' in Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 187–232; Aidan Clarke, 'Selling royal favours, 1624-32' in T.W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 233–42; Aidan Clarke, 'Patrick Darcy and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and Britain' in *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 35–55; Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Catholic Confederates and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and England, 1641-1649' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 207–229; Robert Armstrong, *Protestant war: the 'British' of Ireland and the wars of the three kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005).

¹¹⁰ For example, jurisdictional instability was often disputed between the regulars and seculars in the early seventeenth century. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, pp 51-56; O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, ch. 4; Mark Empey, 'State intervention in disputes between secular and regular clergy in early seventeenth-century Ireland' in *British Catholic History*, xxxiv, no. 2 (2018), pp 304–326. In another instance, international interventions from the continental powers in Ireland in the Confederate period forced a reconsideration of sovereignty issues – notably demonstrated in the case of negotiations for military aid from Charles, duke of Lorraine in 1651. Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'The duke of Lorraine and the international struggle for Ireland, 1649-1653' in *The historical journal*, xlviii, no. 4 (2005), pp 905–32; David Finnegan, 'The Irish Catholic clergy, Stuart sovereignty and the 1650 appeal to the Duke of Lorraine' in *E-rea: revue d'études anglophones*, xi, no. 2 (2014).

mid-seventeenth century, arguing that the wars threw the Irish Church into the heart of the European-wide conflict over the future of the *respublica christiana*. In this sense, not only Bellings' historical polemics but also his diplomatic missions were crucial for understanding the issue. The turmoil realigned the relationship between Irish Catholicism and Rome, in doing so annexing a 'constitutive element to the already complex mosaic of early modern Irish political and religious identity'.¹¹¹ Thus, for a comprehensive understanding of the seventeenth-century Catholic constitutional issues in Ireland, it is critical to consider their relationship to Rome as well as England, a central concern for Bellings and his allies. Therefore, Gallicanism was important for the loyalist Catholic laity's political thinking.¹¹² Indeed, this thesis will claim that Gallicanism was firmly embedded in their political ideology due to their land interest.

The political thinking of the Catholic laity has yet to receive dedicated scholarly attention. However, thanks to historiographical interventions by Hiram Morgan, Jane Ohlmeyer and Gillespie – who highlighted the neglect of political thought within early modern Irish historiography – a renewed focus among historians has led to significant contributions to the field since 2000.¹¹³ Despite the progress, challenges remain, notably the tendency of previous studies to concentrate on the political thinking of clergymen due to the availability of primary sources. Admittedly, there has been a small body of

¹¹¹ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 236.

¹¹² Brennan, 'A Gallican interlude in Ireland', pp 219–237, 283–309; Anthony J. Brown, 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism, c.1635 - c.1685' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004), ch. 5-6; Campbell, 'Alithinologia', ch. 6. For English cases, also see Stefania Tutino, *Thomas White and the Blackloists: between politics and theology during the English Civil War* (Aldershot, 2008).

¹¹³ Hiram Morgan, 'Beyond Spenser? A historiographical introduction to the study of political ideas in Hiram Morgan (ed.) early modern Ireland' in *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 9–21; Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction: 'For God, king or country?' : political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 1–31, p. 1, n. 1; Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, p. 317. See also Ian Campbell, 'Irish Political thought and intellectual history, 1550–1730' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 506–528.

research exploring the political thought of Old English Catholic laity. These studies have unveiled the politico-intellectual characteristics unique to the Old English, highlighting constitutionalism in the case of Patrick Darcy and Henry Burnell, and monarchical absolutism for John Cusacke and Richard Hadsor.¹¹⁴ In both cases, whether of clergy's or laity's, scholars have paid limited attention to political thinking during the Restoration period.¹¹⁵ In this light, historians have not given sufficient attention to the religious thinking of the Catholic laity's – particularly regarding their understanding of faith. The relative paucity of narrative sources for Catholic laity has made it difficult to consider religious thinking amongst them. However, a full understanding of their continued political and religious commitments throughout the century is not possible

¹¹⁴ As to Henry Burnell, Nessa Malone, 'The social, cultural and intellectual milieu of the Burnell Family of Dublin, 1552-1660' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2008); Eleanor Murtagh, 'Kingship, religion, culture and order: the native Irish and the Old English in early seventeenth-century Ireland' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2012), esp. ch. 4; Nessa Malone, 'Henry Burnell and Richard Netterville: lawyers in civic life in the English Pale, 1562-1615' in Salvador Ryan, Clodagh Tait and Colm Lennon (eds), *Religion and politics in urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750* (Dublin, 2016), pp 89–107; Nessa Malone, 'Henry Burnell's Landgartha: family, law and revolution on the Irish stage' in *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 65–88. As to John Cusacke, Linda Levy Peck, 'Beyond the Pale: John Cusacke and the language of Absolutism in early Stuart Britain' in *The Historical Journal*, xli, no. 1 (1998), pp 121–149. As to Richard Hadsor, Don Hodgers, 'Richard Hadsor (c. 1570-1635), the Solicitor for Irish causes and crown counsel for Irish affairs' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxvi, no. 1 (2005), pp 83–106; Eleanor Murtagh, 'Kingship, religion, culture and order: The native Irish and the Old English in early seventeenth-century Ireland' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2012), esp. ch. 5; Ruth A. Canning, "'May she be rewarded in heauen for righting her poore subiects in Irelande": Lawyer Richard Hadsor and the authorship of an Elizabethan treatise on Ireland' in *Irish Jurist*, lv (2016), pp 1–24. As to Patrick Darcy, Aidan Clarke, 'Patrick Darcy and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and Britain' in *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 35–55; Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Catholic Confederates and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and England, 1641-1649' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 207–229; Brid McGrath, 'Additional Patrick Darcy papers: correspondence and legal opinions, 1632, 1661-62' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xlvi (2017), pp 73–88.

¹¹⁵ A notable exceptions are Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, ch. 4, 5, and 6; Jason McHugh, "'Soldier of Christ": the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns (1603-1678)' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005); Jason McHugh, 'Catholic clerical responses to the Restoration: the case of Nicholas French' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 99–122; O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, ch. 14; Campbell, 'Alithinologia'; Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the ambitions of political arithmetic* (Oxford, 2009).

without first examining their attitudes towards religion and faith. In this sense, analyses of Bellings' *History* will demonstrate his political thinking about religious faith, socio-political standing and religious constitution.

1.3 Methodologies: source evaluation

The most crucial source for considering memory-making in the period is Bellings' comprehensive history of the civil wars in Ireland *History of the Late Warre in Ireland*, which J. T. Gilbert edited in the late-nineteenth century as *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-9*.¹¹⁶ In addition, the manuscripts were partially published as *Fragmentum Historicum; or, the Second and Third Books of the War of Ireland, Containing the Transactions in that Kingdom from the Year 1642 to 1647*.¹¹⁷ Revealing the provenance of Bellings' *History* will elucidate both his intentions and the socio-political and intellectual contexts influencing him. To achieve a comprehensive understanding of Bellings' text, it is imperative to delve into the circumstances surrounding the genesis of his work. Although Gilbert published an edited volume in the late-nineteenth century, this thesis extensively analyses a series of manuscripts written and copied in the Restoration period. There are incomplete copies now housed at Trinity College Dublin (TCD MS 747) and the British Library, London (BL Additional MS 4763 and Additional MS 4819), as well as a complete version at the National Library of Ireland (NLI MS 16967-16969). Gilbert's edition did not fully capture the textual variations among the versions. Chapter two will study the provenance and the textual characteristics of each manuscript. However, it is important

¹¹⁶ J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and the war in Ireland, 1641-9* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882).

¹¹⁷ Bellings, 'Fragmentum historicum; or, the second and third books of the war of Ireland, containing the transactions in that kingdom from the year 1642 to 1647' in *Desiderata curiosa Hibernica: or a select collection of state papers* (Dublin, 1772), pp 151–480

to note that Gilbert did not clearly disclose his editing practices in his edition. Nor did he reflect all the deletions and additions made in the manuscripts. Thus, it is necessary firstly to reconstruct Bellings' *History* manuscripts through forensic examination of the extant manuscripts. In the course of this, the thesis is going to ask questions below: how different were these versions? Were they planned for publication? Who possessed the manuscript copies? How many people would have been involved in writing and editing *The History*? Secondly, in what context of public discourse should the work be situated? Thirdly, based upon the contextualisation, it needs to contemplate the purposes for which Bellings wrote the texts.

A vital reason to study Bellings' *History* through its manuscript versions is that Gilbert ignored the original four-book compositions of the work. Indeed, Gilbert's seven volumes have disregarded the original structure of the books due to his chronological restructuring.

Structural comparisons between the manuscripts and Gilbert's edition		
Books in MSS	Page and line to begin in Gilbert's edition	Page and line to finish in Gilbert's edition
Book 1	vol. 1, p. 1, l. 1	vol. 1, p. 111, l. 4
Book 2	vol. 1, p. 111, l. 5	vol. 5, p. 3, l. 8
Book 3	vol. 5, p. 3, l. 9	vol. 7, p. 33, l. 10
Book 4	vol. 7, p. 36, l. 19	vol. 7, p. 130, l. 26

Table 1-2: Structural comparisons between the manuscripts and Gilbert's edition

Gilbert's editions have typically consisted of three components; that is, an introductory overview, Bellings' texts and relevant contemporary sources such as proclamations and correspondence issued by the Confederation and Ormond. However, volume two does not contain Bellings' *History* narratives, but only his short introduction and the letters. Meanwhile, whereas volumes one and seven contain over a hundred pages of text, the

remaining volumes contain only a few dozen pages. The ambitious publication project undertaken by Gilbert ultimately sacrificed the original four-books structure of Bellings' *History*. Ultimately, this thesis argues that Gilbert's editing policy made it difficult to understand Bellings' authorial intention as shaped by his political context during the 1660s.

Bellings' tenure as secretary of the supreme council of the Confederation is well-documented through his extensive management of official documents, as evidenced by the Carte Papers (from MS 4 to MS 29) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These papers, particularly notable for including Ormond's wide-ranging correspondences with key figures such as the king, Dublin Castle, the English Parliament, and the Catholic Confederation, highlight Bellings' crucial role in facilitating communication during the 1640s. Additionally, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, especially volumes two and three, contains correspondences that further illuminate Bellings' political activities.¹¹⁸

These over a hundred letters related to various aspects of Bellings' politics and administration in the 1640s should provide a perspective to assess his *History* critically. Any gaps between what was reported in the letters and what appeared in *The History* would provide a key to thinking about Bellings' practice of memory and forgetting. As Ó hAnnracháin has noted, Bellings deliberately made the chronology and details of his passage obscure, emphasising certain points while concealing others. Importantly,

¹¹⁸ *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle* (4 vols., HMC, 1902-20); T. B., *The life and character of James Butler: late duke, marquis, and earl of Ormond* (Dublin, 1730); Thomas Carte, *An history of the life of James duke of Ormonde* (London, 1735); James Butler Ormonde, *Memoirs of the life of his grace, James, late duke of Ormond: extracted from his own private memoirs* (London, 1738); James Butler Ormonde, *Memoirs of the life of the late duke of Ormond: written by himself* (London, 1741); Thomas Carte, *The life of James, duke of Ormond: containing an account of the most remarkable affairs of his time, and particularly of Ireland under his government* (6 vols, Oxford, 1851).

although Bellings' *History* covered almost whole period of history of the 1640s until Cromwell landed in Dublin 1649, it was naturally far from comprehensive. Certainly, Bellings made good use of official documents of the Confederation that he himself transacted as the secretary of the supreme council in the 1640s. Even so, the manner in which he wrote his *History* was selective in nature. Compared with the records of the 1640s, the correspondence not only complements and support some of Bellings' arguments in his *History* but also reveals what he chose – intentionally or otherwise – to omit. For this reason, letters would support ways in which this thesis analyses Bellings' *History*, enabling a fuller reconstruction his political thinking.

As to the Confederacy and Bellings' *History*, it needs to understand his narrative voice. The politicians strongly influenced by Ormond such as Bellings, has been called as 'Ormondists'. As also Ó Siochrú has observed, the extensive patronage-clientele network of the Butlers across the Pale and Munster made it nearly impossible for individuals of nobility and gentry in Ireland to lack connections with them.¹¹⁹ And yet, this designation may oversimplify their stance, erroneously implying an exclusive alignment with Ormond's policies and a dichotomy between secular and ecclesiastical concerns. In his *History*, Bellings reconstructed the political manoeuvres within the council and the Confederation from the supreme council's point of view. Bellings, in fact, offered his personal views by framing them as if they represented the council's collective cause. However, the council was neither unified nor coherent, and it was not simply dominated by the peace-supporting politicians such as Muskerry and Bellings in terms of their political views. At the same time, although Bellings adopted the third person in effort to present his narrative voice as objective, his political perspectives were

¹¹⁹ Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 65-67.

nonetheless evident throughout his *History*. Therefore, Bellings projected his political thinking by allowing the council to serve as a vehicle for his own views.

The diplomatic efforts of Bellings, both senior and junior, are well-documented across several important archives. The National Archives, London, holds the State Papers, which, alongside the Clarendon State Papers (from MS 43 to 73) at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, offer detailed accounts of their missions during the 1650s and 1660s. These collections illustrate the ways in which Bellings cultivated relationships with the English court and English monarchy. Bellings, senior and junior alike, functioned as agents under Edward Hyde, later earl of Clarendon, during the 1650s. Additionally, these papers provide valuable insights into Bellings junior's diplomatic missions to the European Continent during the Restoration period. The State Papers also shed light on the land restoration during the Act of Settlement (1652) and the Act of Explanation (1656). The Lane Papers at the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, and the Thurloe Papers, published in the eighteenth century, also provide valuable insights into their diplomatic activities.¹²⁰ For their missions to Rome—in 1645 for Bellings, senior, and in 1662-63 for Bellings, junior—the Vatican Holy Office and the Archivio Segreto Vaticano house critical documents that offer additional perspectives.¹²¹ The 'historic' collection (1509-1700) at the Diocesan Archives of Westminster, London, specifically mentions the delegation of Bellings, junior, to Rome in 1662/63, presenting a unique source on this aspect of their diplomacy.¹²²

¹²⁰ Thomas Birch (ed.), *A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols, 1742).

¹²¹ Some of which are possible to consult in microfilms at National Library of Ireland. Moreover, the catalogue entries were transcribed and translated in the series of articles in *Archivum Hibernicum*.

¹²² Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster, xxxii, fols. 391-393. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Correspondance politiques d'Angleterre, volume 77, fols 346-57 and volume 81, fols 195-211. The photocopies of this manuscripts in Brown's doctoral thesis Appendix C, pp 284-318 are consulted.

Collectively, these sources provide a multi-dimensional view of the Bellings' diplomatic roles, reflecting their significant contributions to seventeenth-century European politics. Present biographies of Bellings face several major challenges, however. A persistent issue is the historical misidentification between Bellings, senior, and Bellings, junior, particularly during their 1650s exile, when diplomatic documents ambiguously referred to them as 'Beling', 'Belins', or 'Bealing'.¹²³ This thesis will clearly distinguish between Bellings senior and Bellings junior by comparing their handwriting.

To complement Bellings' own account in *The History*, this thesis also draws on narratives from allies such as Clarendon, particularly his *A Short View of The State and Condicon of The Kingdome of Ireland*, in which Bellings played a significant role in its composition. *A Short View* should be considered a collaborative work, reflecting shared political views during the mid-1650s.¹²⁴ Moreover, Walsh's *The History et Vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance of 1661* (1677) provide insights into Bellings' political actions during the Restoration period.¹²⁵ Even though Walsh's

¹²³ For a detailed account of Bellings, junior, see Toby Barnard, 'Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 326–47. Bellings, senior, has been frequently referred to as sir Bellings in the previous studies, see John E. E. Acton, 'Secret history of Charles II' in *Home and Foreign Review*, I (1862); John Acton, *Historical essays and studies* (London, 1908); Ruth Clark, *Strangers and sojourners at Port-royal* (Cambridge, 1932), pp 88-100; Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration*; John Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II in exile, c. 1649-1660' (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2007); Brown, 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism', pp 211-58; Mark Williams, *The king's Irishmen: the Irish in the exiled court of Charles II, 1649-1660* (Woodbridge, 2014); Mark Williams, 'Translating the Jansenist controversy in Britain and Ireland' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxxiv, no. 566 (2019), pp 59–91; Gabriel Glickman, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660-72' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxviii, no. 531 (2013), pp 263–291.

¹²⁴ Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdome of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020), p. xiv.

¹²⁵ Peter Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance of 1661* (London, 1677).

History et Vindication provides some important details about the processes and negotiations regarding *The Remonstrance* in the 1660s, one should be cautious since Walsh did not necessarily represented Bellings' opinions.¹²⁶ It is crucial, therefore, to distinguish what Walsh recorded Bellings had done from his interpretation of what the former secretary had considered.

Conversely, perspectives from opponents are found in accounts related to Rinuccini, and his allies, such as *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G.B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in the years 1645-1649* and *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, which provide a detailed look at Bellings' administrative and diplomatic endeavours during the Confederate period.¹²⁷ In addition, *An Aphorismical Discovery* offers a contrasting image, with detailed testimony about Bellings as a 'Lunaticall poet', highlighting the diversity of opinions on his political conduct.¹²⁸ This versatile approach, examining narratives from both allies and adversaries, facilitates a more rounded understanding of Bellings' political and intellectual legacy, thereby enabling us to grasp what Bellings sought to emphasise and obscure.

This thesis primarily scrutinises Bellings' *History*. Three main works along with a short poem are survived in publication and manuscript forms. First, *The Sixth*

¹²⁶ Concerning the difference of opinions between Bellings and Walsh, see Mark Williams, 'Translating the Jansenist controversy in Britain and Ireland' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxxiv, no. 566 (2019), pp 59–91, pp 82-3.

¹²⁷ Annie Hutton and Giuseppe Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in the year 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1873); IMC undertakes English translation project. Richard O'Ferrall and Robert O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per annos 1645-1649*, ed. Kavanagh Stanislaus (6 vols, IMC, 1932-1949). The Irish Manuscript Commission undertakes English translation project of O'Ferrall and O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*. Unless otherwise stated, all references to *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* are to its English translation typescript offered by IMC. I am grateful to IMC and Cathy Hayes for allowing me to consult the manuscript prior to publication.

¹²⁸ J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland, from 1641 to 1652* (6 vols, Dublin, 1879).

Booke of Arcadia (1624) has been paid scholarly attention for a long time.¹²⁹ Second, Bellings' lesser-known work, *The Eighth Day* (1661), despite its relative obscurity, represented another facet of his political thinking about a legacy of the exile in the 1650s and a new hope for the Restoration.¹³⁰ Third, manuscript poetry drafts exchanged with Sir Richard Brown around 1659, housed in the Evelyn Papers at the British Library, encapsulate Bellings' loyalist sentiments and reflections on his exile. These fragmented letters (Additional MS 78224) offer intimate insights into his personal and political convictions during tumultuous times.¹³¹ However, because this thesis examines Bellings' *History* by particularly focusing upon the land settlement debates during the Restoration period and his Gallican political thinking, these literary works are referred supplementarily.

1.4 Structure

In the following chapters, the analyses proceed thematically to interrogate the political significance of Bellings' *History* in Restoration Ireland.¹³² Chapter two explores *The*

¹²⁹ Richard Bellings, *A sixth booke to the countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (Dublin, 1624); Andrew Carpenter (ed.), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003), pp 156-164; Richard Bellings, 'A sixth booke to the countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (1624)' in Marea Mitchel and Ann Lange (eds), *Continuations to Sidney's Arcadia, 1607-1867* (4 vols, London, 2014), i, 193-250, 468-480.

¹³⁰ Richard Bellings, *The eighth day* (London, 1661). Early English Books Online digitised microfilm copy of the work extant at BL. NLI has also the second edition. cf. Richard Bellings, 'The eighth day' (London, 1661) (BL, C.71.e.16.); Richard Bellings, 'The eighth day.' (London, 1661) (NLI, LO 377). A chapter themed upon Bellings' works in Deana Rankin's monograph is virtually the only exception. Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, pp 204-7 and 227.

¹³¹ Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 28); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 30); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 31); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 34); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 35); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 29); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, 9 Sep. 1659 (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 33). A part of the last draft is transcribed in Introduction of Williams, *The king's Irishmen*.

¹³² It was reported that Matthew Duane, an eminent lawyer, possessed the 'entire' manuscripts in the late-eighteenth century. Jon Curry to Charles O'Connor, 17 Sep. 1768 (Royal Irish Academy MS B i 2); John Bergin, 'The Irish Catholic interest at the London inns of court, 1674-1800' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, xxiv (2009), pp 36-61, p. 52.

History as a historical source. The chapter examines not only the work's textual and social profile but also its politico-cultural contexts in the later seventeenth-century.

While providing an in-depth analysis of all the manuscript versions of *The History*, the chapter revisits the civil war memory-making debates in the 1650s, 1660s and 1670s to contextualise the work. By doing so, the chapter contends that Bellings responded not only to Protestant arguments regarding the 1641 rebellion but also to Catholic disputations concerning the internal division amongst the Confederate leaders – issues that will be discussed in chapters three and four below.

Adopting a broadly chronological approach, the subsequent two chapters (three and four) consider the ways in which Bellings restructured the memories of the wars in the three kingdoms in the 1640s. Chapter three examines the first half of Bellings' *History*, in which the author identified the political events of 1641 and 1643 as pivotal moments in Irish political society. The chapter will reveal that Bellings particularly challenged polemical works of New English writers, such as John Temple, master of rolls, Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill and later earl of Orrery, that attacked Ormond and his allies.¹³³ This chapter argues that Bellings refused being labelled as neither rebels nor Irish in his work. Chapter four provides an analysis of the repercussions of the major religious censure in 1648 enacted by Rinuccini and the clergy. This chapter argues that Bellings' political thinking inclined towards Gallicanism – a stance aligned with the political theology of his landowning class. This is exemplified by his conviction that royal and ecclesiastical authority should be separated, as demonstrated in his response to the 1648 excommunication and the subsequent appeal to Rome. Consequently, this chapter will contend that the internal conflict within the Confederacy was caused by

¹³³ John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, An history of the beginnings and first progress of the general rebellion ... 1641* (London, 1641; repr. 1679); Roger Boyle, *The Irish colours displayed* (London, 1662).

divergent interpretations of religious and political legitimacy that rooted in vexed disputes over land.

Chapters five and six will examine Bellings' religious thinking through his engagements in diplomacy and religious policy. Chapter five will clarify Bellings' religious thinking, exploring diplomatic engagements on the Continent in the 1640s and the 1650s. The chapter argues that Bellings demonstrated a complex religio-political pragmatism – his positions shifted from inclining to *de facto* toleration to the formal recognition by the king. In other words, in Bellings' political thinking, he sought to bridge the divide between Protestant monarch and Catholic Church. Chapter six analyses the social conditions, ideological underpinnings, and the political outcomes stemming from Bellings' drafting of *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance*. Gallicanism embedded in *The Remonstrance* offered the potential to construct a new identity and presented an alternative for loyalist Catholicism. In the 1660s, the small circle of loyalist Catholics became marginalised within the new social order shaped by the land settlement and Catholic dependence on Rome. Ultimately, the chapter argues that the later sections of *The History* were not only a narrative of the civil wars within the Catholic Confederation but also a Gallican statement that shaped loyalist Catholic political thinking throughout the seventeenth century, and the work was a direct response to looming grievances amongst the dispossessed Catholics.

Chapter 2: Richard Bellings and memory-making debates: a historian or a propagandist? c. 1652-1677

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will situate Bellings' historical writing during the reign of Charles II in contemporary polemical context after the civil wars. Judith Pollman has argued that memory was a product of interactions between individuals and societies, and was subject to be appropriated by the various historical actors. This is why historical memory was bound to be subjective, unstable and variable.¹ Therefore, the making of memory, through reconstructions and reworkings by many actors, was significantly controversial. In Tudor and Stuart Ireland, making memory was inherently political. In Tudor period, McGowan-Doyle has examined the degree to which history was important to Old English identity and how they competed with the New English to be the colonial governors. McGowan-Doyle has argued that controlling histories was as important a task as legal, political, military, economic and social systems. The use of history as a colonial tool demonstrated a direct relation to the intensification of the Irish conquest. While the Old English first adopted writing history as their weapon to advance their standing, the New English later appropriated 'the control of the [story] of the conquest'.² Writing history thus became critically important in the political conflict between the Old English and the New English, whereby they competed for a grip on the rule over Ireland.

Further, historians have recognised abundant examples of historical writing in the Restoration, thereby underscoring the crucial importance of the politics of memory in the later Stuart period. Michael Perceval-Maxwell has argued that Arthur Annesley, earl of

¹ Judith Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2017), p. 13.

² Valerie McGowan-Doyle, *The book of Howth: the Elizabethan re-conquest of Ireland and the Old English* (Cork, 2011), pp 4-9.

Anglesey prepared his notes for a history of Ireland out of his concern over his Catholic associations, having married two of his daughters to Irish Catholics and having made public declarations of sympathy for Catholicism.³ According to Eamon Darcy, Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey, wanted to show the causation of the crises Protestants faced both in the 1680s and in the 1640s. Darcy has argued that Anglesey's historical writing was not only a defence of his political allies, but also was intended to show what historical processes led to the crises, for which he blamed political mishandlings of James Butler, earl, marquis and duke of Ormond, during the civil wars. In other words, the assertion that the historical writing was rather a reconsideration of colonial rule in Ireland was also true to Restoration political society.⁴ Hence, the debates in which the New English Protestant politicians and the Old English Ormond's clients were involved during the Restoration period should be considered as a parallel to the Tudor self-representation of the Old English. This thesis situates Bellings' *History* within the politics of memory-making, understood as a series of struggles over the governance of Ireland during the Tudor and Stuart periods.

This chapter examines the process of memory-making, shaped and contested by various political and social positions. Historians have suggested that Bellings' *History of the Late Warre in Ireland* reflected both the social reality of the Restoration period and the conflicts of the civil wars. However, the extent to which and manner in which Bellings represented his social and political world in *The History* remains unclear. This chapter seeks to answer this question by analysing how Bellings crafted his *History*

³ Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'Sir Robert Southwell and the duke of Ormond's reflections on the 1640s' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 229–47; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Anglesey-Ormond-Castlehaven dispute, 1680-1682' in *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 213–230.

⁴ Eamon Darcy, 'Writing the past in Early-modern Ireland: Anglesey, Borlase and the craft of history' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xl, no. 158 (2016), pp 171–191, pp 183–4.

within the political society of the later Stuart period. A closer analysis of the memory-making movement in the later Stuart period—including the exile years of the 1650s and the Restoration of the 1660s and 1670s—will be undertaken here. Networks of political and literary patronage were crucial to Bellings' career as a political writer. Pamphlet writers, for instance, were often commissioned by those in authority to participate in the propaganda efforts rather than acting independently. In this way, discourse-making functioned primarily as a collective endeavour. Additionally, understanding who read these works—or for whom they were intended—depends largely on the political networks involved. This relationship between writer and audience offers insights into the politico-social context of the time. By tracing the memory-making debates in the post-civil war period to which Bellings contributed, this chapter aims to reveal Bellings' motivation for writing his *History*: namely, to vindicate the actions of the Old English Pale during the 1641 rebellion (and the ensuing war) and those loyalist Catholics in the supreme council of the Catholic Confederation during the nunciature of GianBattista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo and papal nuncio to the confederacy.

2.2 The manuscripts of *The History of the Late Warre in Ireland*

This chapter will also discuss the importance of clarifying the transitions between books to understand better Bellings' authorial intentions and motivations. Three manuscript versions of Bellings' *History* in Dublin and London, are extant at Trinity College Dublin (TCD), the National Library of Ireland (NLI), Dublin, and the British Library (BL), London. Gilbert's publication of Bellings' *History* deviates from the original format, as Gilbert's editorial approach, particularly his decision to split the content into multiple volumes and books, lacks clarity when compared to the original four-book version of the manuscripts. In addition to the manuscript versions, Bellings' *History* was published in

Dublin in 1772 under the title of ‘Fragmentum Historicum; or, the Second and Third Books of the War of Ireland, Containing the Transactions in that Kingdom from the Year 1642 to 1647’.⁵ But why is it essential to examine the manuscripts rather than relying on the ‘Fragmentum Historicum’ in the eighteenth century or on Gilbert’s publication in the 1880s? While Gilbert’s version does indicate additions with brackets, it does not fully capture all the textual nuances. Efforts to examine closely the manuscripts are crucial to recovering as many of these details as possible, thereby revealing missing textual links within the narrative. Beyond the textual content, we lack a complete understanding of the original organisation. Gilbert restructured the text from four books to five to make it more chronologically accessible for historical analysis, altering the original flow and arrangement. Consequently, the clear breaks and transitions within the original manuscript were lost. The elements obscured by Gilbert’s version of *History* are, in fact, Bellings’ most important polemical points. The eighteenth-century version includes only books 2 and 3. We do not have evidence in relation to the manuscripts upon which ‘Fragmentum Historicum’ was based. Nor did Gilbert find them.⁶ Still, the fact that this version contains only the central two books is telling. As discussed in the next section, Bellings addressed two specific issues within the political literary context of the late seventeenth century. The analysis that follows will reveal that the readers’ interests in Bellings’ *History* were primarily focused upon the books one and four, in which these disputes are most evident.

There are three manuscript versions of Bellings’ *History* in Dublin and London,

⁵ Richard Bellings, ‘Fragmentum historicum; or, the second and third Books of the war of Ireland, containing the transactions in that kingdom from the year 1642 to 1647’ in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica: or a Select Collection of State Papers* (Dublin, 1772), pp 151–480.

⁶ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 1, p. xi

extant at TCD, NLI and BL.⁷ Gilbert's publication of Bellings' *History* deviates from the original format, as it spans seven volumes, with the second volume solely comprising letters, official documents and memoirs. This contrasts with the original manuscripts, which are composed of four books. At present, only the NLI has a complete four-book-set manuscript copy, whereas TCD possesses one incomplete copy of book one and the BL owns two incomplete copies from books one to three. Second, each manuscript exhibits unique features, including deletions, additions, and omissions. These variations are crucial for understanding the evolution of the text. Except for the NLI version, all the texts were written by Bellings, senior. As discussed below, various hands evidently added notes.

	TCD 747	BL Add 4763	BL Add 4819	NLI 16967	NLI 16968	NLI 16969	Fragmentum Hibernicum
Book 1	fols 200r-266v	fols 35r-70r	—————	fols 1v-50v	—————	—————	—————
Book 2	—————	fols 70r-89r	—————	—————	fols 1v-41v	—————	p. 305
Book 3	—————	—————	fols 399r-438r	—————	fols 42r-93v	—————	p. 306-p. 479
Book 4	—————	—————	—————	—————	—————	fols 1r-52v	—————

Table 2-1: The books of *The History* and the manuscripts

TCD MS 747 contains only book one of Bellings' *History*. It appears to be the roughest draft, characterised by numerous additions, deletions, and insertions, more so than other versions. Therefore, its authorship would indicate who had access to the manuscript. The authorship of this manuscript is primarily attributed to Bellings himself,

⁷ It was reported that Matthew Duane, an eminent lawyer, possessed the 'entire' manuscripts in the late-eighteenth century. Jon Curry to Charles O'Connor, 17 Sep. 1768 (Royal Irish Academy MS B i 2); John Bergin, 'The Irish Catholic interest at the London inns of court, 1674–1800' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, xxiv (2009), pp 36–61, p. 52.

as evidenced by the handwriting analysis. However, there are sections, particularly towards the end of the manuscript, written by Bellings, junior. As for authorship, Bellings, senior, wrote TCD and BL copies, while Bellings, junior, appeared to write and modified some passages. While the exact details of the manuscripts' circulation and readership remains unknown, the various handwriting indicate that it was likely shared and reviewed by multiple individuals.

In addition to Bellings and his son, various commentators made significant alterations to the manuscript. These alterations are particularly notable in certain sections. For instance, on TCD MS 757 folios 241r-v, there is an insertion about the military career of Bellings' brother, Christopher, on the Continent. Another significant alteration, found on folios 261r-264v, pertains to Clanricard's military conduct during the 1641 rebellion. Interestingly, the very last page of the manuscript contains a note by Richard Malone, a Dublin bookseller registered in 1690. This note, written for his father James Malone, who was also a bookseller in the city, provides insight into the manuscript's later ownership, circulation and intended publication as discussed later in this section.

BL Add MS collection houses two incomplete versions of Bellings' *History*: Add 4763 and Add 4819. Add 4763 encompasses books one and two, while BL Add 4819 contains only book three. This composition differs from the TCD copy, with BL Add 4763 exhibiting fewer corrections. Meanwhile, Anglesey who owned the manuscript, made notes in the margins of BL Add 4763. His annotations, which end on folio 43r, offer insights into his reading and interpretation of the text, including summaries and personal reflections on Bellings' accounts. Anglesey not only summarised the Bellings' narrative but also took notes about how he read the manuscript, as Anglesey left

comments in margins.⁸ Therefore, Anglesey would have read *The History* while comparing another Bellings' *History* text which he referred to. However, Add 4819 does not contain noteworthy differences from Gilbert's edition.

Lastly, the NLI possesses a complete set of Bellings' *History*, spanning from book 1 to book 4. In the process of publishing, importantly, Gilbert coincidentally discovered an additional copy of Bellings' *History* in the Philips collection at Cheltenham.⁹ This copy, now housed at the NLI, played a crucial role in his publication process.¹⁰ Based on Gilbert's own account, it appears he consulted only book four of the NLI manuscript for his publication. This manuscript contains an anecdote absent in the other two manuscript versions, but present in the *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii Librum, cui Titulus, Vindiciae Eversae* (1654).¹¹ Additionally, it features notes in French on the front and back pages, discussing contemporary publications that reference Bellings' account of the 1641 rebellion.¹² Interestingly, the NLI copy is unique among the manuscripts for being entirely in handwriting of Bellings, junior. This suggests that the copy might have been produced posthumously, possibly after Bellings' death in 1677.

⁸ For example, Richard Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 55v.

⁹ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 7, p. viii. See Robin Flower, 'The Phillips Collection of Irish MSS. at Cheltenham' in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 3 (1931), pp 225–228.

¹⁰ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books' 1681? (NLI, MSS 16967-9).

¹¹ Richard Bellings, *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciae Eversae: accesserunt Belingi Vindiciae* (Paris, 1654).

¹² Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 23r.; Sir William Sanderson, *A compleat history of the life and raigne of King Charles* (1658); Vittorio Sir, *Il Mercurio overo historia de' correnti tempi* (1644-1682)

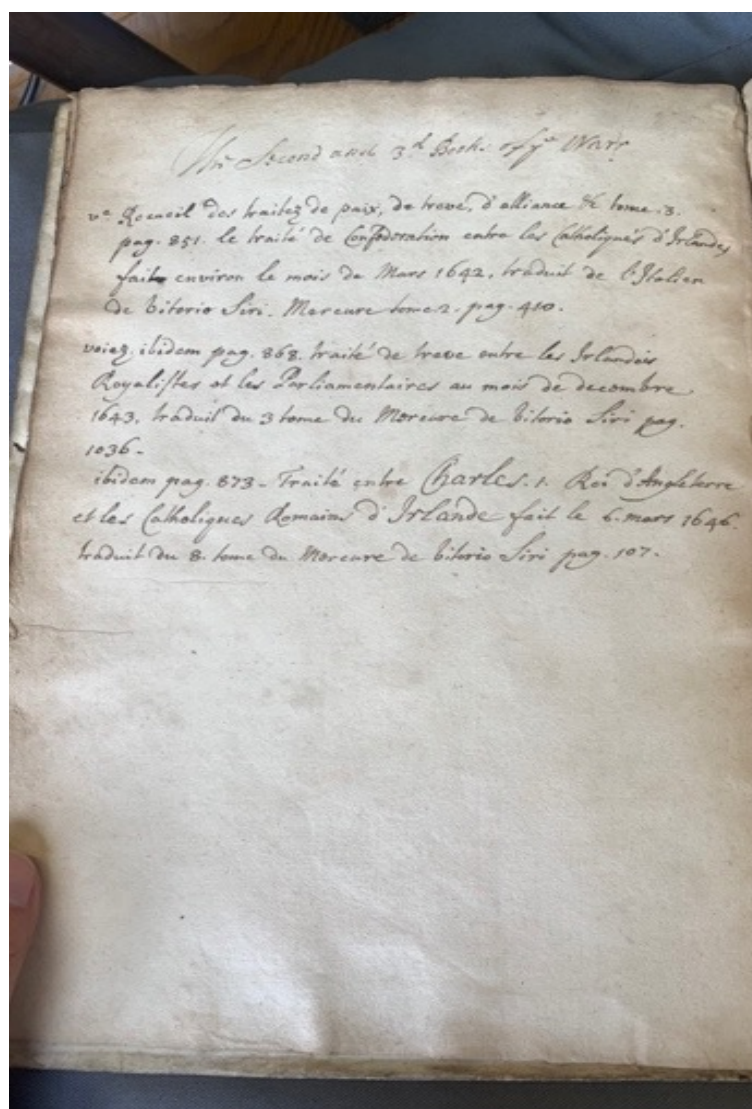


Figure 2-1: Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16968), [unpaginated]¹³

Besides the manuscript versions, Bellings' *History* was published in Dublin in 1772 under the title of 'Fragmentum Historicum; or, the Second and Third Books of the War of Ireland, Containing the Transactions in that Kingdom from the Year 1642 to

¹³ The caption of the folio is below: 'v.e. Recueil des traites de paix, de trêve, d'alliance de tome 3 pag 851 le traité de Confederation entre les Catholique's d'Irlandes fait environ le mois de Mars 1642, traduit de l'Italien de betoré Siri. Mercure tome 2 pag 410. Voiez ibidem pag 868 traité de treve entre les Irlandais Royalistes et les Parliementaires au mois de Decembre 1643, traduit du 3 tome du Mercure de Vitoréé Siri pag 1036. Ibidem pag 873 – Traité entre Charles I Roi d'Angleterre et les Catholiques Romains d'Irlande fait le 6 mars 1646, traduit du 8 tome du Mercure de Vitoris Siri pag 107'. Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16968), [unpaginated].

1647'.¹⁴ This eighteenth-century version includes only books 2 and 3. Rather, Gilbert ignored 'Fragmentum Historicum' altogether, criticising that '[t]his publication abounded in errors and defects'.¹⁵ 'Fragmentum Historicum' indeed contains numerous transcription mistakes. For example, the passage on page 153 went 'reitereated messages had in name importuned to provide' is, in Gillbert's volume 1, page 111, 'reitereated messages, had in vaine importuned to provide'.¹⁶ These sorts of errors continually come up in throughout the texts.

2.3 Patrons

In what network of sociability should we place Bellings and Bellings' *History*? Bellings established key patronage relationships early in life, benefiting from connections through literature and kinship. It is essential here to recognize the role of literary patronage within Irish political society. As we have seen already Bellings' motivations for writing, as Jane Ohlmeyer and Steven Zwicker have studied, literary patronage was an important factor for high-social élites to sustain their social-political prominence.¹⁷ Thus, Bellings' *History* should be viewed within the socio-political framework of Irish, Catholic, and loyalist society, where literature was tightly woven with political and social alliances.

Bellings' political career thereafter was sustained by the Butlers especially of Ormond and of Mountgarret. Evidently, his political trajectory was deeply entwined with the Butler family's support, a pattern sustained by not only Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, and James Butler, earl, marquis and then duke of Ormond but

¹⁴ Bellings, 'Fragmentum historicum'.

¹⁵ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 1, p. xi

¹⁶ Bellings, 'Fragmentum historicum', p. 153; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16968), fol. 1.

¹⁷ Jane Ohlmeyer and Steven Zwicker, 'John Dryden, the house of Ormond, and the politics of Anglo-Irish patronage' in *The historical journal*, xlix, no. 03 (2006), pp 677–706.

also by Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, later earl of Clancarty and brother of Ormond.¹⁸ Bríd McGrath has noted that Bellings' marital alliances with the Butlers extended his network to include Castlehaven and the Crosbys.¹⁹ His connection to Castlehaven stemmed from familial ties, specifically through Tuchet's sister Francis, who married Sir Richard Butler of Kilcash, another Butler sibling.²⁰

Sometime after having returned to Dublin in 1624 Bellings published *A Sixth Booke to the Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1624). In his preface to *Arcadia*, Bellings dedicated the work to his patron Elizabeth Cary, viscountess of Falkland (lord deputy of Ireland) and playwright, entitled 'To the right honourable, the truely vertuous and learned La[dy] the Viscountesse of Falkland'.²¹ Bellings praised the 'patronesse', emphasising that Lady Falkland's favour, which dated back to the beginning of his work.²² For example, Bellings stated that 'in its infancie it was vowed to you', and that he 'had [...] to acknowledge you [i.e. Elizabeth] many favours [...] when this addition was scarce begun'.²³ Bellings also noted that it was apt for her to claim the work as her own, 'aswell because it was so auspiciously begun, as that goodness can no where find a more worthy patronesse'. Further, Bellings noted that there had been 'no where it could have taken a more priviledged Sanctuarie, then is your favourable censure [i.e. opinion]'.²⁴

¹⁸ Bríd McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary of the membership of the Irish House of Commons 1640-1641' (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1998), vol. 1, pp 203-204.

¹⁹ McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary', vol. 1, p. 63.

²⁰ Sean Kelsey, 'Touchet, James, Earl of Castlehaven (1612-1684)' in *ODNB*; Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Tuchet, James', *DIB*; McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary', vol. 1, pp 80-81.

²¹ Richard Bellings, 'A sixth booke to the Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (1624)' in Marea Mitchel and Ann Lange (eds), *Continuations to Sidney's Arcadia, 1607-1867* (4 vols, London, 2014), i, 193-250, 468-480, pp 194-199. Carpenter, *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland*, p. 165.

²² Presumably, it was shortly after when he came back to Dublin. Richard Bellings, 'A sixthbooke to the countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (1624)' in Marea Mitchel and Ann Lange (eds), *Continuations to Sidney's Arcadia, 1607-1867* (4 vols, London, 2014), i, 193-250, 468-480.

²³ Bellings, 'A sixth booke of Arcadia', p. 194.

²⁴ According to the critical edition, 'censure' also means opinion. Bellings, 'A sixth booke of Arcadia', p. 468.

Nonetheless, the purpose of the dedication is unknown, though Bellings implied how closely he was associated with Elizabeth. Importantly, Elizabeth would publicly convert to Catholicism in 1633, on the advice of Walter Butler, then earl of Ormond. In terms of religion, it is not sure how influential Bellings was during Elizabeth's Irish sojourn. Elizabeth's social contacts with the Old English literary circle in Dublin were clear.²⁵ Also, given Elizabeth's presence as a Catholic female writer, her connection warrants further exploration.²⁶

Furthermore, Elizabeth's patronage may suggest a link to the Great Tew Circle, where her son, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, hosted gatherings at his home in Great Tew, near Oxford. His circle attracted natural and moral philosophers, poets, theologians, and politicians, including figures such as William Chillingworth, Oxford theologian; John Earle, later bishop of Salisbury; Gilbert Sheldon, later archbishop of Canterbury; Hugh Cressy, a Benedictine monk; and Edward Hyde, later earl of Clarendon. Among these intellectuals, Cressy and Hyde hold particular significance for Bellings' associations. While Bellings later modelled Cressy's *Exomologesis* (1647) for *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance*, Bellings actively served in political and diplomatic missions under Hyde's directions during the 1650s and 1660s.²⁷ Both Bellings, senior and junior alike, visited Rome, France, Spanish Netherlands and Holy Roman Empire in the mid-seventeenth century. As Hyde's letters to the Bellings on weekly basis in the 1650s in the Clarendon State Papers indicated how closely they communicated while in exile. Furthermore, Bellings made a great contribution to Hyde

²⁵ Rankin, "More Worthy Patronesse", pp 204-208.

²⁶ cf. Elizabeth Cary, *The tragedie of Mariam, the faire queene of Jewry* (London, 1613). See also, Heather Wolfe (ed.), *The literary career and legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke, 2007).

²⁷ Chapter six will further explore the intellectual influence of Cressy's *Exomologesis* upon Bellings' drafting *The Remonstrance*.

composing *A Short View of the State and Condicon of the Kingdome of Ireland*.

Although Hyde's influence may appear unique in both senior and junior Bellings' case, these connections underscore how Bellings' experience in exile offered him opportunities to engage with members of the Great Tew Circle, with Hyde being a notable link.

2.4 Memory-making debates in the 1650s

Who read *The History* and how? The readership of Bellings' *History* in 1674 notably included at least three politicians, evidenced through correspondence and manuscript circulation. Bellings initially sent a draft of the first book to Ormond, requesting his comments. In June, Bellings asked that the manuscript 'to be returned with such notes as Yor Grace wilbe pleased to make upon it'.²⁸ This letter indicated that the first reader of the draft was Ormond; as Bellings specifically requested comments, Ormond would have read and given feedback on it.²⁹ In addition to the draft, Bellings also sent Ormond reference books he used while writing his *History*.³⁰ Subsequently, in October 1674, Bellings sent the second and third books to Ormond.³¹ After reading and commenting on the draft, Ormond returned them to him.³² Ormond expressed difficulties with the readability of the draft, stating that 'I have caused the Manuscript you sent mee to be delivered to the person you directed, so few observation I have made upon some passages not as things I can say as mistaken but as being[,] in my thoughts doubtful, but

²⁸ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 30 June 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 243 fol. 113).

²⁹ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 30 June 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 243 fol. 113).

³⁰ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 30 June 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 243 fol. 113). Bellings clearly told Ormond that he made copies from other books, such as John Temple's *Irish Rebellion* (1646). However, besides Temple's, it has remained unknown what Bellings sent to Ormond.

³¹ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 24 Sep. 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 243 fol. 154).

³² Richard Bellings to Ormond, 24 Sep. 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 243 fol. 154).

such is the peece in so ill written & so hard to be read'.³³ While the identity of the person to whom Ormond forwarded the manuscripts is unclear, it is plausible that Ormond expected the draft to circulate among his political associates. Given Bellings' close ties with ex-Confederates, evidenced by his frequent communication with figures like Gerald Fennell, an Ormond's personal physician, Geoffrey Brown, MP and a council member, Theobald Taaffe, earl of Carlingford, and Muskerry, it is likely that members of the council and the peace supporters at the Confederation were also among the readers of his *History* manuscripts.³⁴ This network affirms Bellings' continued connections from the 1640s and reflects his place within a loyalist Catholic political circle. To understand Bellings' contribution to Restoration-era memory-making debates, it is essential to trace his entire literary career. Broadly, these debates in Ireland unfolded in two dimensions: among Catholics and between Catholics and Protestants, both of which shaped the reception and purpose of Bellings' *History*. Catholic debates over the reasons for the Confederation's collapse and defeat had persisted since the 1650s,³⁵ while Protestant memory-making debates emerged during the Restoration. Placing Bellings' *History* within these ongoing conflicts illuminates the social and personal context that drove him to take up his pen. Therefore, to consider Bellings' motivation for writing *History* during the Restoration, his literary career and situating his work within the broader memory-making controversy of the period concerning the cause of the Confederate

³³ Bellings to Ormond, 4 Nov. 1674, Kilkenny (Bodl., Carte MS 50, fol. 185).

³⁴ Peter Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance of 1661* (London, 1677), pp 714-6; Richard Bellings to Ormond, 24 Sep. 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 243 fol. 154); Richard Bellings to Ormond, 21 Nov. 1674 (Bodl., Carte MS, 50 fol. 185).

³⁵ Patrick Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies among the Irish in Paris, 1648-54' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxi (1954), pp 32-50; Patrick Corish, 'Two Contemporary historians of the Confederation of Kilkenny: John Lynch and Richard O'Ferrall' in *Irish Historical Studies*, viii, no. 31 (1953), pp 217-236; Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland, and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), ch. 13; Ian Campbell, 'Alithinologia: John Lynch and seventeenth-century Irish political thought' (PhD thesis, University of Dublin, 2009), ch. 5.

disruption in the civil wars is important.³⁶

First of all, the debates began in the exiled court in the 1650s. The main protagonists were John Callaghan, an Old English priest, Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns and John Punch, a Franciscan monk, and, of course, Richard Bellings. According to Patrick Corish, Callaghan's *Vindiciarum Catholicorum* (1650) provided the most comprehensive critique of Confederate politics.³⁷ *Vindiciarum* defended the peace supporters exiled in Paris and sought to disseminate the views of the supreme council of the Catholic Confederation to the curates there and in Rome. Due to Callaghan's patronage relationship to Muskerry, it was natural for Callaghan to defend the peace supporters' cause and Ormond's political conduct in the course of the Irish civil wars. That Callaghan wrote to Ormond that 'I've prepared a summary of the war's events where your Excellency's role will be described with honour and truth' demonstrated his intention for writing *Vindiciarum*.³⁸ Nevertheless, Bellings continued to be regarded the author of *Vindiciarum* author well into the early-twentieth century.³⁹ This was simply because Bellings was erroneously registered on 4 June 1654 to the Roman Congregation and the index, and later in the 'Index librorum prohibitorum'.

That said, the misidentification was not without reason. Following Callaghan, in the early 1650s, Bellings published two written works replying to disputations posed by two clergymen, i.e. French and Punch. Initially, Bellings was attacked by French, a former council member and a Rinuccini supporter, in a letter published in Paris 1651. French first blamed Ormond, for disuniting Ireland during the civil wars due to the

³⁶ The point is further discussed in chapter four.

³⁷ Patrick Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies', p. 36.

³⁸ Bodl., Carte Papers 22, fol. 495.

³⁹ E. R. M'Clintock Dix and John T. Gilbert, 'Irish bibliography. Two papers by the late Sir John T. Gilbert, LL.D.' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, xxv (1904), pp 117–142 and i, p. 129.

longstanding inability to advance Catholic religious freedoms in Ireland. At the same time, Bellings was accused by French of being untrustworthy. The bishop urged the clergy of Ireland not to believe the former secretary because French believed that Bellings disseminated false rumours about whether the pope acknowledged the peace treaties of 1646.⁴⁰ Shortly after, French's address was published in Paris.⁴¹ Thus, by French's letter and publication Bellings' political integrity as a politician was publicly challenged. Bellings had in fact been aware of French's tract, writing that the clerics were 'busy bitter pens ... to find a way to utter their malice in print'.⁴² Sooner or later, Bellings was ordered by Ormond to refute French's polemic. According to Bellings, Ormond took into 'account of my particular for the last place, whereof I can make this brief relation ... in requital whereof, and in observance of your lordship's last commaunds upon me, [thereby] I shall faithfully observe his lordship's directions'.⁴³ Eventually, Bellings replied to French by publishing a forty-eight-pages long pamphlet *Innocentiae Suae* (1652) in Paris.⁴⁴ In the work, Bellings mainly discussed the Confederate internal conflicts between the council and Rinuccini in 1646-1648. To refute French's denigration, and justify his past conduct, especially, Bellings emphasised that it was Pope Innocent who had agreed to make peace with the English royalist cause, when Bellings was delegated to Rome in March 1645.⁴⁵ It is crucial to this thesis that Bellings revisited this issue in his *History*, thereby emphasising the point but this time in

⁴⁰ *Commentarius*, vol. 4, par. 3, para. 193.

⁴¹ French's address was published by John Punch.

⁴² Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 7, p. 366.

⁴³ Bellings to Ormond, 30 Jun. 1651, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 7, pp 366-7.

⁴⁴ Richard Bellings, *Illustrissimis ac reverendissimis D D archiepiscopis, episcopis, paesulibus et clero Hiberniae has innocentiae suae impetitae per reverendissimum fernenem vindicias consecrat Richardus Bellings* (Paris, 1652). Hyde discussed the debates in correspondence, Edward Hyde to George Nicholas, 6 Nov. 1653 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 47, fols 13-4).

⁴⁵ Bellings, *Innocentiae suae*, pp 7-11.

English.

Second, one year later, Bellings was criticised again by another clergyman Punch, in a pamphlet *Richardi Bellingi Vindicae Eversae* (1653).⁴⁶ In the book, Punch rigorously defended the legitimacy of Rinuccini's authority in Ireland and argued that the 1648 religious censure had been just.⁴⁷ As Corish and Thomas O'Connor discussed, the controversy between Jesuits and Jansenists cast a shadow over the conflicts among the expatriate Irish politicians, actually making the conflict more complicated. This was because Punch argued that, in his opinion, the council was inclined to Jansenism in its policy. For Punch, Ormond's Catholic allies, such as Muskerry and Bellings, were associated with the Jansenist factions in the University of Paris and Jansenists. In fact, surely, they were provided with living necessities by the Port-Royal associated by key figures there such as Antoine Arnauld, a leading Jansenist theologian and Mère Angelique, sister to Arnauld.⁴⁸ Through his work, Punch sought to condemn the wrongdoings of the Jansenists, whom he regarded as opposing anti-papal authority. In order to refute Punch, Bellings published, also in Paris, *Annotationes in Johannes Poncius* (1654). Nevertheless, Bellings did not take Punch's refutation seriously.⁴⁹ Bellings dismissed Punch's argument, asserting that the monk was too devoted to

⁴⁶ John Punch, *D. Richardi Bellingi vindicae eversae per R.P.Fr. Joannem Poncium... Ea occasione exponitur quibus potissimum viis Hibernia a parlamentariis subacta est. Alia etiam ejusdem D. Bellingi epistola refellitur* (Paris, 1653). Regarding Punch's scholarly activities, see Ian Campbell, 'John Punch, Scotist holy war, and the Irish Catholic revolutionary tradition in the seventeenth century' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lxxvii, no. 3 (2016), pp 401–421.

⁴⁷ Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies', p. 39. See also English translation John Punch's publication in 1661. John Punch, 'Theological commentaries in which the questions of John Duns Scotus on the books of sentences are elucidated and explained, 4 vols (1661)' in Ian Campbell and Todd M. Rester (eds), *Franciscans and Scotists on war: John Duns Scotus's theology, anti-Judaism, and Holy War in early modernity* (Abingdon, 2025), pp 208–263, especially pp 260–1

⁴⁸ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 325–6.

⁴⁹ Bellings, *Annotationes*, p. 132.

philosophical study to understand practical problems in Irish politics.⁵⁰ In *Annotationes*, more importantly, Bellings boldly accused the nuncio and his followers of being responsible for the downfall of the Confederation, while simultaneously defending Ormond and the politicians surrounding him. In this way, Bellings was not only passively involved in the debates to defend Ormond and his cause but also actively attacked his opponents.

Bellings' inclination to Jansenism may well have seemed apparent to the Roman clergy. In addition to his social relationships with the Jansenists, Corish has suggested that Bellings was considerably influenced by Callaghan's *Vindiciarum*, who was a leading Old English Jansenist in France.⁵¹ It is also evident that that Bellings, in print, clarified his communication with Arnauld. First, in 1651, Bellings' letter to Callaghan was published by Arnauld and former faculty member of the University of Paris.⁵² Second, Bellings translated Arnauld's *De la Fréquente Communion* into English, which would have involved him in the Jesuit-Jansenist controversy. Thus, the ideological conflict from the Jesuit-Jansenist controversy was combined with the memory-making debates of the exiles in the 1650s. It may well have appeared that he was actively associated with Jansenist movements. That said, one should be cautious about assuming that Bellings was a Jansenist. His intentions and religious belief remain unclear. Certainly, Campbell and O'Connor acknowledged that Bellings displayed Jansenist pessimism and moral rigorism in his historical writing.⁵³ Rather than his religious

⁵⁰ Bellings, *Annotationes*, p. 15.

⁵¹ Patrick Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies among the Irish in Paris, 1648-54' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxi (1954), pp 32-50, pp 34-6 and 49-50.

⁵² In the letter, Bellings defended Callaghan from a harsh polemical attack from a Jesuit monk. Richard Bellings, *Lettre de Monsieur Bellings gendre du Mylord de Mongaret, & Secrétaire d'Estat du Conseil souverain des Catholiques d'Irlande, qui est presentment à Paris* (Paris, 1652).

⁵³ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, chs 13 and 14; Ian Campbell, 'Power after Machiavelli: Richard Bellings, reason of state, and Jansenism in seventeenth century Ireland' in Jason McElligott, Liam Chambers, Ciara

ideology, in fact his social interactions with leading Jansenists would have been underscored by the clergy, fuelling the bitter criticism upon the memory of the 1640s by an external ongoing conflicts.

Bellings felt it was crucial to call out the Catholic clerics aligned with Rinuccini during the Confederation, recognising their significant role in the political and religious dynamics of the period surrounding the Catholic Confederates in the late 1640s.

Although the pamphlet controversies, notably against French and Punch in Paris, ceased in 1654, the issue of shaping historical memory persisted, both in print and through the circulation of manuscripts. For example, during this period, *The Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*, a partisan account of the Confederate period which harshly criticised the peace supporters and labelled Bellings as a ‘Lunaticall poet’, was written. Though it remains unknown who wrote the work, the writer identified himself with Owen Roe O’Neill, Confederate general of Ulster army and staunch ally with Rinuccini. In this context, with a pronounced Gaelic Irish perspective, *The Aphorismical Discovery* presented an admonition directed at Old English politicians like Bellings. Similarly, Richard O’Ferrall, a Capuchin friar, and Robert O’Connell, also a Capuchin friar, commenced composing *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* in September 1661.⁵⁴

Significantly, O’Ferrall had access to Rinuccini’s correspondence, reports and memoirs.

In this, O’Ferrall was convinced of the Confederate collapsed due to half-hearted

Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Power in history: from the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin, 2011), pp 45–62.

⁵⁴ N. S., *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*, in J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652* (3 vols, Dublin, 1879), vol. 1, i, p. 204; Patrick Corish, ‘Two Contemporary historians of the Confederation of Kilkenny: John Lynch and Richard O’Ferrall’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, viii, no. 31 (1953), pp 217–236, 220–2; Nienke Tjoelker and Ian Campbell, ‘Transcription and translation of London version of Richard O’Ferrall’s report to Propaganda Fide (1658)’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxi (2008), pp 7–61; Ian Campbell, ‘Truth and calumny in Baroque Rome: Richard O’Ferrall and the “Commentarius Rinuccinianus”, 1648–1667’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxviii, no. 150 (2012), pp 211–229.

Catholicism and the treachery of the ‘Omorndists’.⁵⁵ It is unclear whether Bellings read *Commentarius* or directly responded to it. However, probably he was aware a history of Rinuccini’s nunciature was being written. O’Ferrall’s report to Propaganda fide in 1658 denouncing Ormond and the council was leaked in summer 1659, causing Nicholas French, John Bourke, archbishop of Tuam, Oliver Plunkett, later archbishop of Armagh, and John Lynch, archdeacon of Tuam, to respond fiercely.⁵⁶ Moreover, Ormond was reported from Florence that an Irish Capuchin in the city ‘Robert Farald’, a client under Rinuccini, composed a history about Rinuccini’s Irish sojourn in the 1640s in July 1667.⁵⁷

In fact, the 1648 excommunication remained unresolved in Rome well into the 1660s. This was because the papal curia delayed delivering a final verdict until later that decade, as it was still considering both the legal justification of Rinuccini’s religious censure in 1648 and the validity of the council’s countermeasures. In this context, by redefining the 1640s, polemicists sought to justify their political actions and influence the debates. French consistently produced works in English on the Continent, including *A Narrative of the earl of Clarendon’s Settlement and Sale of Ireland* (1668), *The Unkinde Desertor of Loyall Men and True Frinds* (published in 1676, but completed in 1668) and *The Bleeding Iphigenia* (1675).⁵⁸ In response to these contemporary works that supported the nuncio’s 1648 excommunications against adherents to peace treaties with royalist army in 1646 and 1648, Bellings argued ‘although there remains to this day

⁵⁵ Elaine Murphy, ‘O’Ferrall, Richard’ in *DIB*.

⁵⁶ Ormond and his adherents were criticised throughout the report. Tjoelker and Campbell, ‘Transcription and translation’ pp 7-8; O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 326-9

⁵⁷ Campbell, ‘Truth and calumny in Baroque Rome’, pp 228-9

⁵⁸ Nicholas French [?], *A narrative of the settlement and sale of Ireland* (Louvain, 1668); Nicholas French, *The bleeding Iphigenia* ([London, 1675]; Nicholas French, *The unkinde desertor of loyall men and true frinds* ([Paris], 1676).

diversity of opinions concerning that censure, no man hath made any attempt to refute the authorities and reasons alleged by him [i.e. Rinuccini] for the injustice and invalidity of the nuncio's proceedings'.⁵⁹ In other words, Bellings was prepared to engage in a thorough discussion about how inexcusable the nuncio's religious censures were.

Along with the present discourse by the Roman clergy, Hyde, Ormond, and Bellings composed *A Short View of the State and Condicon of the Kingdome of Ireland* in Cologne in the mid-1650s to show and vindicate their loyalty to the king which had been defamed by French.⁶⁰ On top of that, as Ohlmeyer revealed, Hyde's work demonstrated that *A Short View* contained very similar passages to ones in Bellings' *History*.⁶¹ The goal of *A Short View* was to demonstrate the political legitimacy of Ormond and the Old English in governing Ireland. Thus, they aimed to express their fidelity to the king. By doing so, they tacitly sought royal favour.⁶² In other words, through the controversy, they not only defended what they had done in the past but also upheld their present political situation for royal favour and for future restoration. It is even tempting to speculate, further, that Bellings' *History* would be been a prequel to *A Short View*. This is because Bellings' *History* stopped around the summer 1649 whereas the large part of *A Short View* covered mostly from 1649 to 51, during which the royalists and Catholics in Ireland cooperated in the war against the Cromwellian army without Roman interference.

⁵⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fol. 32v.

⁶⁰ Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdome of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020).

⁶¹ Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdome of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020), pp xiii–lviii, xxiv–xxv.

⁶² Hyde to Nicholas, 6 Nov. 1653 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 47, fols 13-4).

2.5 Memory-making debates and land settlement in the Restoration

In the Restoration period, memory-making debates regarding the civil war intensified, especially during the thirty-year-long reign of Charles II. The memory-making debates can be categorised into three parts, in which Bellings took crucial part. First, upon Charles II's arrival in London in 1660, the Irish civil war memories between the Old English Catholics and Protestants became increasingly contentious due to the Restoration land settlement. Second, meanwhile, the land settlements divided those who secured their lands from those who failed to do so. Third, from the late-1670s to the early-1680s, the memory of the civil war, especially of the 1641 rebellion, was controversially recollected because of the Popish Plot (1678) and the Exclusion Crisis. Accordingly, the three political debates caused Bellings to write *The History*.⁶³

The Cromwellian and Restoration land settlements significantly altered land ownership patterns in Ireland. Gerald Simms suggested that Catholic land ownership declined from 59 percent before 1641 to 22 percent by 1688, and Ó Siochrú and David Brown's project on Down Survey offers a figure of 54 percent in 1641 and 22 percent in 1675.⁶⁴ The post-war transformation of land ownership marked a significant turning point, reflecting the transfer of economic and political power from Catholics to Protestants. Under Cromwellian land settlement, Catholic lands were sold to London 'Adventureres', parliamentary soldiers and other new settlers. Subsequently, New

⁶³ This point is also explored in chapter six, which argues that the socio-political context of the 1660s was the most important factor in Bellings' motivation to write his *History*.

⁶⁴ John Gerald Simms, 'The restoration, 1660-85' in *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 420–453, p. 428; Micheál Ó Siochrú and David Brown, 'The Down Survey and the Cromwellian land settlement' in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 584–607, p. 605; 'The Down Survey Project' (<https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/>) (5 June 2025). cf. The figure is rather different in Kevin McKenny, 'The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland: A Statistical Interpretation' in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 35–52, pp 40-42

English and ‘Old Protestant’ nobility and gentry, such as Richard Boyle, earl of Orrery, Sir Charles Coote, earl of Mountrath, and Anglesey, sought to expand their influence by acquiring additional land in Ireland. However, the Cromwellian land settlement proceeded slowly, leading to a highly chaotic redistribution of land.⁶⁵ In response to the radically shifting and unsettled Irish land situation, the Restoration land settlement introduced a new phase of turmoil. Ohlmeyer has noted that while Orrery, Mountrath and Anglesey, expanded their estates and sought to maintain control, Ormond and Muskerry successfully reclaimed much of their lost land.⁶⁶ Land redistribution emerged as a central point of contention, particularly between Ormond’s clients and Protestant interests.

Both Catholic and Protestant writers employed rhetorical tactics to influence outcomes, ranging from the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion in 1660, to the Act of Settlement in 1662, and to the Act of Explanation in 1665.⁶⁷ A focal point of these debates was the memory of the 1641 rebellion. Defining those who participated in the rebellion as ‘rebels’ had critical implications for the Restoration land settlement. As Toby Barnard has discussed, the 1641 rebellion became as a significant collective trauma for Restoration popular Protestant *mentalité*. Commemoration of 23 October – the date rebellion outbroke – was strengthened by Irish state policy during the period. A notable example was the act passed by the Irish parliament, which designated 23 October as an anniversary day ‘to give thanks to Almighty God for the Deliverance from the Bloody

⁶⁵ Karl S. Bottigheimer, *English money and Irish land: the ‘Adventurers’ in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971); Karl S. Bottigheimer, ‘The restoration land settlement in Ireland : a structural view’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii, no. 69 (1972), pp 1–21; John Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connacht, 1649-1680* (London, 2011).

⁶⁶ Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, ch. 11.

⁶⁷ Deana Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift: English writing in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 174–186; Danielle McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2016), ch. 3

Massacre and Rebellion’ of 1641.⁶⁸ In this context, debates between Orrery and Peter Walsh, Old English Franciscan and Bellings’ close ally, only contributed to fuelling the political tension. Publishing *A Letter desiring a just and merciful regard of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, Given about the End of October 1660, to the { .. } Duke of Ormond* (1662), Walsh questioned why the Confederates were regarded as ‘rebels’ under the new Restoration land settlement, even as their lands were exploited despite their unwavering loyalty to Charles I.⁶⁹ To Walsh, Orrery replied with *The Irish Colours Displayed, In a Reply of an English Protestant to a Late Letter of an Irish Roman Catholique* (1662) in London and *An Answer to a scandalous letter* (1662) in Dublin, both of which politicised Catholicism in a way that aligned the Old English in the rebels’ side by renaming them ‘the Irish Roman Catholique’.⁷⁰ Thus, debating the rebelliousness of those involved in 1641 became a central theme for both sides. As to Bellings’ narrative, he sought to vindicate the Old English nobility and gentry, by rejecting the term ‘rebels’, a label that conflated the ‘rascal multitude’ and the Ulster Irish and the Pale Old English. Bellings effectively distinguished them using labels preferred by the gentlemen of the Pale – ‘scabbing/scabangers’ for the violent rioters.⁷¹ In the social context of Restoration Ireland, the memory and the terminologies used in its explanation of the 1641 rebellion

⁶⁸ From then on, special sermons were delivered at every parish of the Church of Ireland on that date: Toby Barnard, ‘1641: a bibliographical essay’ in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster, 1641: aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp 173–86; 223–8; Toby Barnard, “‘Parlour entertainment in an evening’?”; John Gibney, *The shadow of a year: the 1641 rebellion in Irish history and memory* (Madison, 2013).

⁶⁹ Peter Walsh, *A Letter desiring a just and merciful regard of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, given about the end of October 1660, to the { .. } duke of Ormond* (Dublin, 1662)

⁷⁰ Roger Boyle, *The Irish Colours Displayed, In a Reply of an English Protestant to a Late Letter of an Irish Roman Catholique* (London, 1662); Roger Boyle, *An Answer to a scandalous letter* (Dublin, 1662); Deana Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, pp 176–9; Danielle McCormack, *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp 55–6

⁷¹ E.g., Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book’ (TCD, MS 747), fol. 238r; Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warre in Ireland’ (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 53v; Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fols 29v–30r.

were rendered highly contested political issues. The linkage between the land restoration and the label ‘rebels’ would have direct implications for the social status of the Old English nobility and gentry.⁷²

Along with the debates against the New English writers, Catholic writers began an exchange of refutations again. The debates amongst the Catholics progressed to a new phase. The main theme concerned the vexed questions surrounding the cause of Confederate dissension from the 1650s was continued with the political tension caused by the Act of Explanation. In response to these tensions, Nichols French disputed Ormond’s and his client politicians’ repossession of land during the Restoration, reflecting the views of the majority of the clergy. Bellings was required to respond to French’s harsh criticism of Ormond in publications on the Europe Continent in the late-1660s and mid-1670s, *In Nomine Sanctissimæ Trinitatis Vera Descriptio Moderni Status Catholicorum in Regno Hiberniæ* (1667), *The Bleeding Iphigenia* (1675) and *The Unkinde Deserter of Loyall Men* (1676).⁷³ It is clear that Bellings was motivated to write his *History* around that time, as shown in a marginal note that indicated that Bellings appeared to have been engaged in writing the manuscript from 9 April 1666.⁷⁴ William Blundell, an English Catholic royalist in Lancashire, also noted that Bellings

⁷² Bellings’ argument in response to Protestant writers is further discussed in chapter three sections two and three.

⁷³ Nicholas French, *In nomine sanctissimæ Trinitatis vera descriptio moderni status Catholicorum in regno Hiberniæ, et preces eorum, ad Sanctissimum Dominum Clementem Papam nonum* (Cologne, 1667); French, *The bleeding Iphigenia*; Nicholas French, *The unkinde deserter*. According to Jason McHugh, *The Unkinde Deserter* was completed by 1668. Jason McHugh, “‘Soldier of Christ’: the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns (1603-1678)’ (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005), p. 438; Jason McHugh, ‘Catholic clerical responses to the Restoration: the case of Nicholas French’ in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 99–122, pp 108-120.

⁷⁴ Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warre in Ireland’ (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 35r.

began writing the historical work around 1666.⁷⁵ Shortly thereafter, as examined in detail in chapter six, Bellings, along with Walsh and Ormond, saw their *Irish Remonstrance* officially rejected by the religious congregation in the summer of 1666. In August of that year, Walsh wrote in a letter to Alfonso Salizanes, minister general of the Franciscans, of his determination to document the internal conflicts among Catholics in Ireland from 1641, later published as *The History et Vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance* (1677).⁷⁶

The pamphlet debates amongst Catholics during the first decades of the Restoration reflected the contemporary political context wherein Ormond's authority was severely challenged. His 'divide and rule' policy to weaken Catholic interests was no longer effective, especially after the Act of Explanation in 1665, a law that enshrined the Restoration land settlement.⁷⁷ At the same time, the duke's strong familial links to Catholic families made him vulnerable to political pressure. Ormond's political influence declining was clearly signified by the fact that in 1666 the clergy in Ireland rejected to approve *The Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance*, an oath of allegiance Bellings drafted in 1661. Around this same period, Clarendon faced political fallout in England, culminating in his impeachment in 1667 by the parliament. The timing of these events suggests that Bellings, Walsh, and their circle—centred around Ormond and Clarendon—anticipated shifts in their political fortunes by 1667. This prompted Bellings to begin work on his *History*. The series of events caused by the Act of

⁷⁵ William Blundell, *Crosby records: a cavalier's note book; being notes, anecdotes, & observations of William Blundell of Crosby, Lancashire, esquire* (London, 1880), pp 138-9.

⁷⁶ Peter Walsh and Alfonso Salizanes, 5 Aug. 1666 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 84, fols 244-5); Peter Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance of 1661 against all Calumnies and Censures in several treatises* (London, 1677). This issue is closely examined in chapter 6 section 5.

⁷⁷ Anne Creighton, 'The Catholic interest in Irish politics in the reign of Charles II.' (PhD thesis, Queen's University of Belfast, 2000), pp 174-5.

Explanation deteriorated the political standing of Ormond and his followers like Bellings. Therefore, the land problems should be considered the primary concern for Bellings' *History*.⁷⁸

From the late-1670s to the early-1680s, the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis invoked the memory of 1641, notably demonstrated in the publications and republications of *Irish Rebellion* (1646; reprinted 1679) by John Temple, master of rolls in 1641, and *A Sermon of Anti-Christ* (1676; reprinted 1679) by Henry Jones, bishop of Meath.⁷⁹ This time, the memory of the 1641 rebellion not only reinforced anti-Catholic sentiments across the three kingdoms but also served in Ireland as a means to attack the lord lieutenancy of Ormond.⁸⁰ In this socio-political context of the anti-Catholic sentiment, Ormond came under attack by Protestant politicians in 1680-2. They included Annesley, and Edmund Borlase, physician in Chester and a son of John Borlase, lord justice in 1641.⁸¹ Naturally, Ormond's personal kinship and patronage connections with Catholics made him an easy target for the Protestant writers, who accused him of

⁷⁸ The point is closely examined in chapter six.

⁷⁹ Henry Jones, *A sermon of Antichrist* (Dublin, 1676); John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, An history of the beginnings and first progress of the general rebellion ... 1641* (London, 1679). Jones' publication was an enlarged version of his 1652 publication. Henry Jones, *An Abstract of Some Few of Those Barbarous, Cruell Massacres and Murthers of the Protestants and English* (1652; repr. 1662).

⁸⁰ Tim Harris, *London crowds in the Reign of Charles II. Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987); Tim Harris, 'Restoration Ireland – Themes and Problems' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 1–18; Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000); Mark Knights, *Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain: partisanship and political culture* (Oxford, 2004); Mark Knights, 'The Tory interpretation of history in the rage of parties' in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 347–66. John Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (Basingstoke, 2009); Gibney, *The shadow of a year*.

⁸¹ Edmund Borlase, *The history of the execrable Irish rebellion trac'd from many preceding acts to the grand eruption the 23 of October, 1641* (London, 1680); Arthur Annesley, *A letter from a person of honour in the countrey written to the earl of Castlehaven: being observations and reflections upon his lordships memoires concerning the wars of Ireland* (London, 1681); Arthur Annesley, *A letter from the right honourable Arthur earl of Anglesey lord privy seal, in answer to his grace the duke of Ormond's letter of November the 12th, 1681* (London, 1682); Arthur Annesley, *A true account of the whole proceedings betwixt his grace James duke of Ormond, and the right honor [sic] Arthur, earl of Anglesey, late lord privy-seal, before the king and council* (London, 1682).

mishandling politics during the civil wars and, in particular, collaborating with Catholic Confederate politicians such as Bellings.⁸² In response, Ormond's political ally defended him publicly. The Popish Plot was indicative of a considerable decline in Ormond's influence on Irish political society. The rise of powerful Old English nobleman Richard Talbot, earl and later duke of Tyrconnell was a key factor in Ormond's loss of power.

On 23 October 1674, upon finishing writing books two and three of his *History*, Bellings informed Ormond of the precarious political circumstances for the Old English and the duke, noting 'the envy malice & callumny of this most corrupt adge'.⁸³ This suggested that Bellings and other Old English politicians in Ormond's circle perceived that they would need to vindicate their patrons' actions during the wars. In other words, Bellings clearly had in mind a specific audience for his *History*. Notably, the New English writer Anglesey, showed particular interest in Bellings' narrative, as evidenced by his annotations in the BL, Add 4673. Anglesey's marginal notes, which extend to folio 43r, including summaries and personal reflections on Bellings' accounts, offer insights into his reading and interpretation of the text. His annotations not only summarised Bellings' narrative but also reveal his engagement with specific aspects of the story in margins.⁸⁴ Indicated in his interest in the early stages of the rebellion, as he

⁸² James Butler, *A letter from his grace James duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in answer to the right honourable Arthur earl of Anglesey lord privy-seal* (London, 1682); Royce MacGillivray, 'Edmund Borlase, historian of the Irish rebellion' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 9 (1969), pp 86–92; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Anglesey-Ormond-Castlehaven dispute, 1680-1682' in *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 213–230; Alan Ford, 'Past but still present: Edmund Borlase, Richard Parr and the reshaping of Irish history for English audiences in the 1680s' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and Its Consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 281–99; Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, ch. 6; Eamon Darcy, 'Writing the past in early-modern Ireland: Anglesey, Borlase and the craft of history' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xl, no. 158 (2016), pp 171–191.

⁸³ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 23 Oct. 1674, Patrick Francis Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium ossoriense: being a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church, from the reformation to the year 1800* (Dublin, 1874), p. 265.

⁸⁴ For example, Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 55v.

made detailed annotations at the beginning of Bellings' MSS up until folio 55v, precisely where Bellings began discussing the establishment of the Confederate assembly.⁸⁵ This selective engagement illustrates Anglesey's attention to certain political themes and his interpretation of Bellings' historical perspective.

Blundell was also a reader of Bellings' *History*, and was likely not the only English reader of the manuscript. Bellings may have met him on the Continent in the late 1650s, probably at Breda. Their connection was strengthened by family ties, as Blundell's daughter Emilia married Richard Butler, son of Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, linking him to the Butler family.⁸⁶ Bellings corresponded with Blundell around the winter of 1674-5, during which Blundell expressed confidence in the accuracy of Bellings' *History*, noting he gave 'the greater credit to it [i.e. Bellings' *History*], by reason that 'the said R B was a witness of very many things which he write[s] there'.⁸⁷ Their correspondence indicates that Bellings was addressing a specific discourse that he felt needed refutation. Blundell read approximately '120 very large pages, just at the beginning of the rebellion'⁸⁸, suggesting Blundell read the first two books of *The History*, which recount the rebellion up to the 1643 cessation.⁸⁹ Probably around the late-1660s, Blundell noted in his commonplace book that 'the cruelties of the Irish against the English are in everybody's mouth, and set forth in printed pageants in London', indicating that multiple number of sensational pamphlets were published in

⁸⁵ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 55v. For Anglesey's memory-making, see Perceval-Maxwell, 'The Anglesey-Ormond-Castlehaven dispute', pp 213–230; Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift*, pp 244-55; Darcy, 'Writing the past in early-modern Ireland'.

⁸⁶ Malcolm Gratton, 'Blundell, William (1620–1698)' in *ODNB*.

⁸⁷ Blundell, *Crosby records*, pp 138-9; William Blundell, 'Historica' (Lancashire County Record Office, DDBI cc. 6121, Box 4, fol. 95b); quoted in Geoff Baker, *Reading and politics in early modern England: the mental world of a seventeenth-century Catholic gentleman* (Manchester, 2010), pp 123-4.

⁸⁸ Blundell, *Crosby records*, pp 138-9.

⁸⁹ While the letter indicated that Bellings reported Blundell of his finishing writing *The History*, it is unclear whether he sent a copy of the rest of his writing to Blundell.

London.⁹⁰ Blundell cited conflicting accounts he encountered, likely from the pamphlet *A Collection of Some of the Murthers and Massacres Committed on the Irish in Ireland Since the 23d of October 1641* (1662) written by the writer 'R. S.', which in fact Bellings recommended to him.⁹¹ The pamphlet detailed the atrocities committed by English soldiers towards Catholic and Irish inhabitants.⁹² This recommendation aligns closely with the section of book one of Bellings' *History*, a portion omitted in BL Add 4763 version that Annesley read.

Had I made it my designe to sett downe the particular of those cruell effects, which proceeded from the animosities of both parties, before a distinct Government in opposition to the Lords Justices was establish in the Assembly, I might have enlarged this first Booke to a farre greater volume, for the multitude of unrestrained Irish 'scaggagers' perpetrated many mischeevous actions, which the better sorte amonge them did abhor, but could not prevent, and English were not short of them in leaving cruell monuments of their rage and revenge, which were the lesse excusable that they moved, as it seemes, from command.⁹³

In this section, Bellings, mindful of the prevailing discourse on the alleged Irish massacre of English Protestant inhabitants, sought to refute it by recounting instances of English Protestant atrocities committed against Old English inhabitants in the Pale. During the winter of 1674-1675, while corresponding with Bellings, Blundell was also in communication with Edmund Borlase, who would publish *The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion* (1680). Although it is unclear if Borlase directly read Bellings' draft, Blundell provided him with references related to Catholic historical writings.⁹⁴ One such

⁹⁰ Blundell, *Crosby records*, pp 230-1.

⁹¹ R. S., *A collection of some of the murthers and massacres committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23d of October 1641* (London, 1662); Blundell, *Crosby records*, pp 230-1; Baker, *Reading and politics*, p. 114.

⁹² Baker, *Reading and politics*, p. 114. cf. R. S., *A collection of some of the murthers and massacres*.

⁹³ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD MS 747, fol. 264v)

⁹⁴ Baker, *Reading and politics*, p. 153.

reference was likely Clarendon's *A Short View*, as Borlase acknowledged in the preface to his book: 'It was my happiness (I must acknowledge) meet with a Manuscript [of *A Short View*], whence I was supplied with much of the latter part of this History'.⁹⁵ This connection suggests that Bellings, through his interactions with Blundell, directly influenced Borlase's historical perspective.⁹⁶ Borlase was discontented with what he regarded as the dominance of 'the Irish [i.e. Catholics] by their Pamphlets (plentifully scattered at home and abroad)' in the discourse of memory-making.⁹⁷ For the concern that memory-making works had been written solely by Catholic writers, in fact, Borlase singled out Catholic, an Old English priest and historian, John Lynch, French, Walsh and Bellings in the preface of the pamphlet.⁹⁸ It is obvious that Bellings was deliberate in crafting his narrative of the rebellion, aiming it particularly at the New English landowners and engaging with the contemporary discourse in the 1670s.

Given the significance of print culture, particularly in the London book market, one might wonder why Bellings' *History* was never printed. Bernadette Cunningham suggested that there were rumours of the manuscript being prepared for publication in Douai in 1674, though no printed edition from that time has survived.⁹⁹ Raymond Gillespie and Cunningham have implied that Bellings' *History* was prepared for publication. Supporting this, Blundell reported to Bellings a rumour from a Protestant friend in England: that *The History* manuscript was being processed for publication in

⁹⁵ Edmund Borlase, *The history of the execrable Irish rebellion trac'd from many preceding acts to the grand eruption the 23 of October, 1641* (London, 1680), preface to the reader [p. 7]. For a full discussion of the textual relationship between Borlase's *History of Execrable Irish Rebellion* and Clarendon's *A Short View*, see Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, pp xlii-xlvii.

⁹⁶ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, pp xli-xlvii.

⁹⁷ Borlase, *The history of the execrable Irish rebellion*, fol. br.

⁹⁸ Borlase, *The history of the execrable Irish rebellion*, fol. A2r, br and p. 14.

⁹⁹ Bernadette Cunningham, 'Historical writing, 1660-1750' in *Oxford history of the Irish Book, Volume III: The Irish book in English, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2005), pp 264-281, p. 268.

Douai. Blundell, however, did not believe his friend's claim, questioning why the manuscript would need to be sent as far as Douai. Since no reply from Bellings survives, the authenticity of the project remains uncertain. Nevertheless, the letter reveals how Protestants in 1675 perceived the potential impact of Bellings' *History*. Blundell's Protestant friend expressed concern about the work's publication, insisting to Blundell that works by Protestant writers should appear before *The History*. From this perspective, the publication in 1675 of Borlase's *The Irish Execrable Rebellion* signifies how Protestant elites regarded Bellings' work. That same year, Arthur Capel, earl of Essex, also commented favourably on the planned reprint of John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion*. Whether Bellings' *History* was ever intended for publication remains uncertain; if it was, it would be of interest to know who financed the project, why it was to be sent to Douai, and to whom Bellings intended to dedicate it. Given the role of Douai's English college of Jesuits, a patronage network amongst the Old English and the society may have been involved. References to *The History*'s possible publication were often made in relation to other Protestant works being then prepared for the press. Indeed, 1675 was a year in which Protestant memory-making about the 1641 rebellion intensified. Bellings' narrative of the rebellion—and probably his account of pre-rebellion Irish society—was, it seems, a likely target for Protestant criticism.

From this, it is plausible to infer that an attempt was also made to publish the work in London or Dublin in later decades. A notable piece of evidence is found on the last page of the TCD MS, where a note discusses a transaction involving the manuscript between Richard Malone and 'S[i]r James Malone att London Court'.¹⁰⁰ This note

¹⁰⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 266v.

suggests that Richard intended to send the manuscript to James in London.¹⁰¹ James Malone was a successful Catholic bookseller in Dublin from 1676, gaining royal favour under James II. His son Richard, the author of the manuscript note, was appointed printer in 1690.¹⁰² The Malone family had substantial influence through marriage and kinship ties. James married Mary, a daughter of Richard Nevill of Forenaghts, near Naas, and Margaret Ussher. Mary's family held significant influence in local politics: Richard Nevill, Mary's father, served as sheriff of Kildare in 1673, and her brother, also named Richard, was MP for Naas from 1673 to 1699.¹⁰³ The printer's family was, in fact, influential in Naas, Kildare, where the Bellings owned land. Their kinship ties to Naas and connections to powerful local families would further persuade their potential involvement in the manuscript's publication.¹⁰⁴ While the extent to which Bellings' *History* was genuinely prepared for publication remains uncertain, the evidence suggests that there were intentions to publish it, potentially during the Jacobite period, either in London or Dublin.

In 1681, evidence suggests that another attempt to publish Bellings' *History* may have been underway. Ormond received a letter from an individual acquainted with Ambrose Wall, a servant of Bellings, junior. This correspondent reported that Wall had concealed the writings and books that 'doe relate to the history of Ireland', which had been 'demaunded'.¹⁰⁵ According to the letter, Wall hid these *History* books in the

¹⁰¹ John Bergin, 'Malone, James' in *DIB*; Deana Rankin, 'The Emergence of English Print and Literature, 1630–1730' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland*, Volume 2, 1550-1730 (Cambridge, 2017), pp 458–481., p. 473;

¹⁰² Bergin, 'Malone, James', *DIB*; Rankin, 'The Emergence of English Print', p. 473.

¹⁰³ Bergin, 'Malone, James', *DIB*; Rankin, 'The Emergence of English Print', p. 473.

¹⁰⁴ James married Mary, a daughter of Richard Nevill of Forenaghts, near Naas, and Margaret Ussher. Mary's family held significant power in local politics. Her father, Richard, served as sheriff of Kildare in 1673, and her brother, also named Richard, was MP for Naas from 1673 to 1699. Bergin, 'Malone, James', *DIB*; Rankin, 'The Emergence of English Print', p. 473.

¹⁰⁵ Letter to Ormond, 25 [fragment], 17 Mar. 1680 (NLI, MS 11060).

Bellings' estate in Crehelp, County Wicklow, believing that, 'when it may be proper to haue the history printed', 'if these books' were possessed by Bellings, junior, 'it can neuer be' realised.¹⁰⁶ To put it another way, the writer of the letter believed that as long as *The History* books remained in Bellings junior's hands, *The History* would not be published, a viewpoint they presumed Ormond would have shared. This implies that Bellings, junior, did not support the publication of his father's work. The notation 'Pa. 22 Apr 1681' on the last folio of NLI MS 16969 likely referred to Paris.¹⁰⁷ This was because Bellings, junior, fled to France – initially he lived in Paris and then in Rouen – between 1678 and 1683, amidst the turmoil of the Popish Plot.¹⁰⁸ The date suggests that Bellings, junior, may have brought the manuscript to Paris with him to prevent its publication. His actions indicated an acute awareness that publishing *The History* could exacerbate existing political tensions. Considering the volatile political climate of the period, the decision to withhold *The History* from publication underscores the complex interplay between historical narratives and contemporary politics.

2.6 Conclusion

In the memory-making debates in the 1650s, participants sought the reason for the Confederate disruption. Bellings and French, both council members concerned with particular political issues, debated why peace was necessary and why Ormond's negotiations failed to satisfy Catholic people in Ireland. Their disagreements, rooted in high-stakes Confederate politics during the civil wars, extended not only into the 1650s

¹⁰⁶ Letter to Ormond, 25 [fragment], 17 Mar. 1680 (NLI, MS 11060).

¹⁰⁷ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fol. 162r.

¹⁰⁸ Toby Barnard, 'Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 326–47, p. 327.

but also continued through the Restoration. Punch's critique, however, shifted the discussion to more abstract and universal issues, that is, the contradiction between civil and ecclesiastical authority within a kingdom. By framing the 1648 excommunication and the subsequent appeal against it as central themes, Punch introduced a debate on the contradictions between these two spheres of authority. During the Restoration, the socio-political situation of the Old English was drastically changing. Land settlement heightened tensions between Protestant and Catholic landowners, with Protestant figures such as Orrery and Anglesey asserting their legitimacy to rule Ireland. Under Ormond's direction Bellings worked to vindicate both his own and his political patron's past actions, safeguarding their public honour through strategic political patronage. For loyal subjects, defending their reputation at court and appealing to royal favour were essential steps to uphold their dignity and justify their political actions. As members of the landowning social class, supporting Ormond's authority was crucial to maintaining their estates under the protection of the most influential figure in Irish political society.

To understand Bellings' *History* fully, it is essential to examine the original four-book structure, with particular focus on the books one and four. In his work, Bellings identified two primary groups for critique: the New English and Rinuccini's followers. In the book one, Bellings aimed to challenge the justifications presented by New English politicians for their actions during the rebellion. Likely familiar with popular works by New English authors like John Temple, Henry Jones, and William Parsons, he may have used these sources to inform his counterarguments.¹⁰⁹ As the following chapter will

¹⁰⁹ 'Examen Hiberniae' (NLI, MS 692). For a detailed analysis upon the manuscript, see, John Cunningham, 'The New English, the past, and the law in the 1640s: Sir William Parsons's "Examen Hiberniae"' in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 89–103.

reveal, Bellings disputed Temple's *Irish Rebellion*.¹¹⁰ In this first book, Bellings defended his patrons' actions during the events of 1641 against the criticisms of New English writers, countering narratives that labelled all Catholic inhabitants as 'rebels'. By doing so, he aimed to vindicate his patrons' conduct during the rebellion and protect the socio-political honour of the Old English nobility and gentry. Bellings also emphasised the atrocities committed by New English commanders against Catholic inhabitants during this period. In the final book, Bellings shifted focus to justify the council's political actions during the nunciature, specifically contesting the 1648 excommunication. Drawing on his earlier publications from the 1650s, Bellings continued to challenge the religious censure, a topic of prolonged debate, as Rome delayed issuing a final verdict on Rinuccini's actions and the council's countermeasures until the 1660s. This ongoing dispute underscored the importance of the book four for understanding Bellings' political and religious stance, especially regarding his conflicts with Rinuccini and his supporters. A close examination of this final section is therefore crucial to grasp Bellings' political thinking more fully on these religious conflicts. How, then, did Bellings formulate his counter-arguments against the two groups he intended to address? Following two chapters will consider this question respectively.

¹¹⁰ John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, An history* (London, 1646).

Chapter 3: Richard Bellings' memory-making in Books 1 and 2, 1641-44

3.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates Richard Bellings' contribution to memory-making by challenging the New English Protestant writers by scrutinising Books 1 and 2 of *The History of the Late Warre in Ireland*. In these books, Bellings expressed his views on pre-1641 society, the rebellion, the establishment of the Confederacy, and the 1643 cessation of arms. The first two parts of his *History* focus on both cooperative and antagonistic relationships with Protestants. Recent historians have re-evaluated the historiographical importance of the 1641 rebellion, emphasising not only its political, economic, and social impact but also its cultural effects. In particular, they have discussed the role of print culture by analysing the extensive production of cheap pamphlets and newsbooks.¹ This scholarship has revealed the popular cultural impact of the rebellion and the responses it elicited. More recently, historians have examined popular politics during the 1641 rebellion.² However, the predominance of Protestant sources has resulted in a largely Protestant perspective on the rebellion's cultural history.

¹ Keith Lindley, 'The impact of the 1641 rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii (1972), pp 143–76; Kathleen M. Noonan, "'Martyrs in Flames': Sir John Temple and the Conception of the Irish in English Martyrologies' in *Albion*, xxxvi, no. 2 (2004), pp 223–255. David O'Hara, *English newsbooks and Irish Rebellion, 1641-1649* (Dublin, 2006); Eamon Darcy, *The Irish rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (London, 2013).

² John Walter, 'Performative violence and the politics of violence in the 1641 depositions' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 134–152; Clodagh Tait, "'Whereat His Wife Tookey Great Greef & Died': dying of sorrow and killing in anger in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Michael J. Braddick and Phil Withington (eds), *Popular culture and political agency in early modern England and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp 267–284; John Morrill, 'An Irish Protestation? oaths and the Confederation of Kilkenny' in *Popular culture and political agency in early modern England and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp 243–265; Eamon Darcy, 'The confederate Catholics of Ireland and popular politics' in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 172–192; John Walter, 'Crowds and political violence in early modern Ireland: Galway and the 1641 depositions' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xlv, no. 168 (2021), pp 178–202.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, Bellings' response to Protestant memory-making during the land settlements established by the Act of Settlement (1662) and the Act of Explanation (1665) is significant, as he was a Catholic writer engaging with the legacy of the rebellion.³ Moreover, as Toby Barnard and Raymond Gillespie have argued, Protestant historical consciousness intensified—both through writing and commemoration—during the Restoration period. For example, Irish state policy reinforced the commemoration of 23 October through a parliamentary act mandating that the event be publicly read in every parish church on that date. This underscored how central the rebellion's outbreak was to Protestant historical memory and their identity. During the turmoil of the Popish Plot, John Temple's *Irish Rebellion* (1646) and Henry Jones' *An Abstract of Some Few of Those Barbarous, Cruell Massacres and Murthers of the Protestants and English* (1652), both of which strongly condemned Irish atrocities against Protestant settlers, were reprinted in 1679.⁴ Gillespie has noted that Bellings' *History* drew heavily on Temple's *Irish Rebellion*.⁵ He has observed that Bellings' depiction of the late 1641 meeting between Ulster insurgents and the Old English at Knockcroftly closely mirrors Temple's account in both narrative structure and name order. This suggests that Bellings, albeit subtly, responded to Temple's work, demonstrating his awareness of the Protestant writers he sought to challenge. Examining Bellings' Catholic perspective on the 1641 rebellion will provide valuable insight into

³ The point is discussed in chapter two section five

⁴ John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, An history of the beginnings and first progress of the general rebellion ... 1641* (London, 1679); [Henry Jones], *A collection of certain horrid murthers in several counties of Ireland. Committed since the 23. of Octob. 1641* (London, 1679). Jones' publication in 1652 was also reprinted in 1662, Henry Jones[?], *An Abstract of some few of those barbarous, cruell massacres and murthers of the Protestants and English* (London, 1662); Toby Barnard, "'Parlour entertainment in an evening'? histories of the 1640s' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 20–43.

⁵ Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212–28, p. 215

the historiography of memory-making of the 1641 rebellion.

Meanwhile, New English writers criticised the 1643 cessation, arguing that leadership of James Butler, earl, marquess and later duke of Ormond, weakened Irish Protestant political and military influence. In September 1643, the Confederate Catholics at Kilkenny reached a military truce with James Butler, earl, marquis and later duke of Ormond, the commander of the royalist army in Ireland. Historians have identified the cessation as a key event in Anglo-Irish military, religious, political, and constitutional relations, illustrating the growing interconnection between the English, Irish, and Scottish civil wars. Due to these interconnections, the conflicts of the 1640s are often referred to as the ‘wars of the three kingdoms’.⁶ Scholars such as Jane Ohlmeyer, Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, Micheál Ó Siochrú, and Thomas O’Connor have expanded this framework by examining the wars within a broader European context, highlighting French, Spanish, and Papal interventions in Ireland.⁷ Bellings’ *History* addressed events from the pre-rebellion period through the outbreak of the rebellion and the 1643 cessation, responding to critical Protestant narratives. While previous studies

⁶ Robert Armstrong, *Protestant war: the ‘British’ of Ireland and the wars of the three kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005); Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (2nd edn., London, 2001); John Lowe, ‘The negotiations between Charles I and the Confederation of Kilkenny, 1642-1649’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1960); John Lowe, ‘Some aspects of the wars in Ireland, 1641-9’ in *Irish Sword*, iv, no. 15 (1959), pp 81–7; Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999); Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: the career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Dublin, 1993); John Morrill, ‘The war(s) of the three kingdoms’ in Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The new British history: founding a modern state 1603-1715* (London, 1999), pp 65–91; Barry Robertson, *Royalists at war in Scotland and Ireland, 1638-1650* (Farnham, 2014).

⁷ Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms*, esp. ch. 6; Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘Ireland independent: confederate foreign policy and international relations during the mid-seventeenth century’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 89–111; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645-49* (Oxford, 2002); Micheál Ó Siochrú, ‘The duke of Lorraine and the international struggle for Ireland, 1649-1653’ in *The historical journal*, xlviii, no. 4 (2005), pp 905–32; Thomas O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland, and Rome* (Dublin, 2008).

have examined the political negotiations leading to the cessation—including interactions between the Confederates and the royalist army, developments within Dublin Castle, and international influences—its impact on later Stuart political opinions remains underexplored.

Accordingly, this chapter examines Bellings' arguments concerning the rebellion and the 1643 cessation, with a focus on its political ramifications. Regarding Catholic-Protestant relations, Bellings explicitly countered the Protestant narrative that depicted Catholic rebels as perpetrators of atrocities. In doing so, he targeted figures such as the lords justice and members of the Dublin privy council. The following section will further explore how the Confederates' military contribution to the English royalist army affected the Confederate politics, leading to crystallise the broadening political opinion gap between the council and the assembly, which he recollected in his *History*.

3.2 Memory-making against the New English

Through his historical writings, Bellings defended the political actions of himself, his allies, and his patrons during the civil wars of the 1640s. Bellings challenged contemporary Protestant narratives that sought to marginalise the Old English by labelling them as rebels and Irish Catholics. In this light, it should be considered that Bellings sought to repudiate dishonourable characterisations. The politics of honour were central to Bellings in composing his *History*. Brendan Kane has observed that honour could exist only 'in the domesticated setting of state control'. Defending honour by confronting transgression was therefore an attempt to restore proper order.⁸ Hence, Bellings defended Old English distinctiveness as the social and political élites as loyal

⁸ Brendan Kane, 'A world of honour: aristocratic mentalité' in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 482–505, 494–6; Brendan Kane, *The politics and culture of honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* (Cambridge, 2010).

English Catholics in Ireland through *History*.

Bellings portrayed pre-1641 society as harmonious and civilised, just as Temple had. Bellings wrote ‘The collonyes (setting aside their different tenets in matters of religion,) were as perfectly incorporated, and as firmly knitt together, as frequent marriages, dayly ties of hospitality, and the mutuall bond betweene lord and tenant, could unite any people’.⁹ This passage significantly resembles to Temple’s description:

The two nations [i.e. Irish and English] had now lived together forty years in peace, with great security and comfort which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance and consanguinity, as might make up a constant and perfect union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent ... together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood and service interchangeably passed among them.¹⁰

While it is highly possible that Bellings referred to Temple and borrowed the expression to illustrate the peaceful society, nevertheless, the image of civilised society was to some extent shared by the élites. The social view was also highlighted by *A Shortview* by Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. As Ohlmeyer has noted civic humanists in the early modern period often depicted the civilised society in the similar ways that Bellings and Temple did.¹¹

However, in regard to the outbreak of the rebellion, their narratives differed. For Temple, the tranquillity was illusory as under the surface the Irish plotted and conspired so that ‘they rose up secretly to do them [English] mischief’.¹² ‘Nay, they had made as it

⁹ Richard Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book’ (TCD, MS 747), fol. 203v; Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warre in Ireland’ (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 36r; Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’ 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 1v. Cf. Temple’s ‘mutuall transmigration into each others manners’, Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, p. 14.

¹⁰ Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, p. 14

¹¹ Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Empire: Ireland, Imperialism, and the Early Modern World* (Oxford, 2023), pp 70-5

¹² Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, pp 16-7, 39

were a kinde of mutuall transmigration into each others manners, many English being strangely degenerated into Irish affections and customes, and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparell, and decent manner of living in their private houses'.¹³ Temple was particularly scornful of the Old English who, he argued, condemned themselves in their response to the Declaration issued by the Dublin administration in the wake of the rebellion: 'by the words, Irish Papists, We intended only such of the old meer Irish in the Province of Ulster as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this Treason and others which adhere to them'. Thus, according to Temple, the Old English read themselves into guilt by joining with the rebels, they classify themselves alongside the 'meer Irish' as 'Papist' and 'degenerate'.¹⁴

What fundamentally did Bellings deem to be the main cause of the rebellion? Bellings observed that, as far as the state was concerned, the manner in which the lords justice executed their commands served to 'blemish the justice of the resolution', thereby escalating the conflict.¹⁵ Bellings implied that the actions of the lords justice in managing the rebellion actually exacerbated confusion and hostility, particularly towards the Catholics or 'the rebels'. Bellings specifically criticised actions such as the burning of houses where no resistance was encountered. He interpreted these acts as 'the beacon or warning signe by which the Scotish army was to be called over to destroy the nation and extirpate [the] Catholicke religion', which 'perswaded the multitude that this was the

¹³ Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, pp 14-5

¹⁴ Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, pp. 37-38; see also second section, pp. 18-30. Cf. Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fols 221v-226r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fols 45v-47v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fols 17r-20r.

¹⁵ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 229v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol 49v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fols 22v.

prologue to their ruine'.¹⁶ In this context, Bellings likely alluded to Robert Monro, major-general of the covenanters, or, more probably, to William Hamilton, a Scottish military officer also a planter, known for his brutal actions during the rebellion, a fact well-documented by Catholic writers of the time.¹⁷

At the conclusion of book one, Bellings explicitly stated his intention to address the 'cruel effects of those animosities on the part of the English', underlining his commitment to documenting the brutality observed during the rebellion.¹⁸ The phrase 'the part of the English' is ambiguous, potentially referring to either the English people in general or specifically those in the English Pale. Nevertheless, Bellings appears to aim for an alternative explanation of the English actions in the Pale during the rebellion.¹⁹ Bellings made a significant editorial decision by erasing the title 'The second booke of the Warrs of Ireland' from a folio page, thus integrating the material into a single, more expansive narrative. Bellings wrote:

[I] have enlarged the first book to a farre greater volume, for the multitude of unrestrained Irish "scabbegrs" perpetrated many mischievous actions, which the better sorte amonge them did abhor, but could not prevent and the English were not short of them in leaving cruel monuments of their rage and revenge, which were lesse accusable that they moved, as it seemes, from command.²⁰

¹⁶ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 229v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fols. 22v.

¹⁷ Kevin Forkan, "'The fatal ingredient of the covenant': the place of the Ulster Scottish colonial community during the 1640s" in *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 261–80; Kevin Forkan, 'Inventing an Irish protestant icon: the strange death of Sir Charles Coote, 1642' in *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 204–218.

¹⁸ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 265r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 50v.

¹⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 265r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 50v.

²⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 265r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 50.

Significantly, BL Add MS 4763 omits the anecdotes of English cruelty and Bellings' poignant observations quoted above, suggesting editorial discretion in its presentation by Bellings or his political circle. In this omitted section, Bellings emphasised the ruthless actions of the lords justice against Catholic inhabitants, indiscriminate of age or sex. Bellings recounted that Sir William Parsons, lord justice in 1641, 'against whom the nation had contracted an infinite aversion'²¹ reportedly ordered the killing of 'women and children', an act executed by military officers.²² Indeed, it may well have been that Bellings himself heard these stories. Bellings narrated the tragic fate of Denis Concaín of Glanely, a Wicklow freeholder described as 'a man very averse from the foul actions of the rascal multitude', suggesting that he argued the 1641 was a popular riot.²³ Concaín endured a harrowing death, 'put into the stocks, and a great fire to be made at his feet which burnt them clean off and in that torture he dyed'.²⁴ Bellings portrayed Concaín's tragic end almost as a martyrdom, highlighting the severity and inhumanity of the punishments inflicted.

In every version of the texts, Bellings consistently criticised the lords justice for their imposition of martial law on the Irish and Catholics.²⁵ David Edwards has pointed out that the government exercised martial law to keep order; 'for many ordinary Irish subjects of the crown the possibility of being hanged without trial, or other arbitrary

²¹ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16968), fol. 21r

²² Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 265r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 50v.

²³ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 265r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 50v.

²⁴ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 265r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 50v.

²⁵ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 243r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 54r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 33v.

punishments, by the army or other military agents remained a daily reality, just as it had under the Tudors'.²⁶ According to Aran McArdle, the Old English gentlemen believed that the imposition of martial law was the primary cause of societal confusion in Ireland.²⁷ Bellings detailed the New English inhumane actions, as did other the Pale gentlemen. Bellings presented three cases exemplifying the severe military response to the rebellion by the Protestant English, drawn from the Pale gentlemen's petition to the lords justice dated 22 December 1641. Bellings specifically mentioned Sir William St. Leger, lord president of Munster, for enforcing martial law on 'some innocent labourers and husbandmen'. This led the inhabitants to fear that St. Leger aimed at 'the extirpation of the Catholicke religion and the nation, not the punishment of men's particular crimes'.²⁸ As a result, many 'resolved noe longer to pay obedience to his commands', which might be due to perceiving a broader threat beyond mere law enforcement.²⁹

Bellings relayed the Pale gentlemen's vehement objections to the severity of military operations by Sir Charles Coote, a New English military officer. Bellings raised three notorious incidents. Firstly, when the rebels crossed the River Boyne, officers under the lords justice's command encountered 'some strangers lodged in the places which they suspected, without furether inquiry killed them, being fewer in number, and brought backe the heads of some townsmen whoe were venry inocent of the fact, and noe

²⁶ David Edwards, 'Out of the blue? Provincial unrest in Ireland before 1641' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 95–114, p. 97.

²⁷ Aran McArdle, "'Necessarie to keepe order in Ireland': martial law and the 1641 rebellion' in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 47–64, pp 58–62.

²⁸ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 243r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 54r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 33v.

²⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 243r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 54r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 33v.

way guilty of bearing armes against the States'.³⁰ Secondly, Coote, was ordered by Ormond to attack the rebels in Clontarf 'to burne and spoile the Rebels howses and goods'.³¹ However, on 15 December 1641, failing to engage the rebels, Coote's soldiers 'pilladged and burned the towne'.³² Thirdly, the Protestant army also set Mr. King's house on fire, 'pretending they had found in it some of the goods taken out of the barke which was robbed'.³³ Bellings emphasised that the lords justice' resolutions and military commands not only exacerbated tensions but actively worsened the situation in the immediate aftermath of 1641.

Furthermore, regarding Coote's severe military conduct, there are two paragraphs inserted in NLI, MS 16967, which are not found in either TCD, MS 747, or BL, Add MS 4763. When Ormond, lieutenant-general of the English army at the time of the rebellion, came to Naas, he met Father Peter Higgins, a Catholic priest and 'an aged gentlemanlike man rudely used by some comon souldiers'.³⁴ Higgins begged Ormond to prevent him from being 'suddainly hangd' and to convene a trial.³⁵ Higgins had been threatened by the Protestant English soldiers because he had protected 'many of the distressed

³⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 229r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22v.

³¹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 229v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22v.

³² Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 229v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22v.

³³ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 229v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22v; Fingall et al., 'Letter to the Lords Justice and Council', 22 Dec. 1641 (TCD, MS 840, fols 39r-40v).

³⁴ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 23r.

³⁵ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 23r.

En[g]lish'.³⁶ Therefore, Ormond promised Higgins a trial and asked Sir Thomas Armstrong, a royalist officer, to protect the Catholic priest.

[B]ut Sr. Charles Coote the elder who had a Commission for martiall Law, from the Lords Justices[sic], and of his owne inclination & no way doubting it would be a non acceptable service to ye Governm[en]t as it then stood, was forward enough to spill the blood of the Irish, hearing that an Irish priest was prisoner sent to have Higgins taken from Sr. Thomas Armstrong. ...[A]nd ye Ld. of Ormound being soone after returned thether he presented the Lds Justices[sic] many petitions from the distressed En[g]lish who earnestly requested yt in recompence of many fauors father Higgins had donn them & the saving the liues of some of them he might be freed from his Imprisonm[en]t.³⁷

Months later, Higgins was hanged in the cornmarket in city of Dublin.³⁸ Crucially, in the published Latin works of the 1650s, Bellings cited the story where Higgins was executed without trial, even though he did not mention that in TCD and BL versions.³⁹ These inserted paragraphs in NLI, MS 16967, absent from other manuscripts, underscored Bellings' intent to feature instances of mercy and justice amidst the severe military conduct of the period, as exemplified by the interaction between Ormond and Father Higgins. It is notable that Bellings considered martial law the chief frustration of the Catholics, for he described the Old English noblemen's complaints about the lords justice's proclamation to impose martial law at the beginning of the first book.⁴⁰

³⁶ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 23r.

³⁷ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 23v.

³⁸ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 23v.

³⁹ Richard Bellings, *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciae Eversae: accesserunt Belingi Vindiciae* (Paris, 1654), pp 156-61.

⁴⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fols 214v-215v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 42v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fols 11v-12r.

Bellings argued that the lords justice's atrocities in the Pale instigated the fear of Catholic inhabitants. In the first book of his *History*, Bellings focused on how the élite who were also his kin and patrons re-established social order amidst the rebellion. In each region, Leinster, Munster and Connaught, Bellings drew readers' attention to his patrons: Ormond, Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, Muskerry, and Clanricard. Bellings contrasted Ormond's appropriate conduct with the misguided decisions made by the lords justice in December 1641. Accordingly, Bellings lauded Ormond, 'who incessantly indeavoured to prevent a rupture which he saw would be fatal to the kingdome ... [and] the apparant danger into which they were to cast themselves [i.e. the noblemen in Ireland] and the kingdome with them'.⁴¹ In contrast, the lords justice decided against Ormond's proposition, as they doubted Ormond 'a Protestant, and one so eminent and powerful a Peere of the realme, unlesse that, having secretly combined with the Malignant party in the Parliament of England to carry on their interests'.⁴² Furthermore, they refused to entrust 5,000 arms and ammunition to 'a person whom they knew unalterably faithful to the King'.⁴³ Additionally, Bellings believed that the well-documented ordeal of Sir John Read, an intermediary between the Pale nobility and the king, irremovably confirmed the apprehensions among the Pale élites. Read was imprisoned and tortured, specifically racking, to force a confession regarding Charles I's

⁴¹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 228r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 48v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 21v.

⁴² Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 228v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22r.

⁴³ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 228v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 49r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22r.

involvement in the rebellion.⁴⁴

In contrast, Bellings defended the military actions of the Pale gentlemen, particularly emphasising the Old English's role in restoring order. He repeatedly stressed the critical importance of re-establishing order within the Pale. As the first quote in this section above showed, Bellings and his political peers identified themselves as part of the social élite or ruling class and felt responsible for orderly and peaceful society. And yet, Bellings drew parallels between the harmonious society in pre-1641 with the Confederate ideals. Firstly, they removed hostilities among the Confederates, 'which might proceed from those nationall distinctions of Old and New English and Ancient Irish'.⁴⁵ Secondly, they abolished 'the recusancy fine, all the priviledges of a native, and an exemption of a third part of all publique charges and levyes to anie of the English, Welsh, or Scottish nation, being a Romane Catholicke, that would reside amongst them'.⁴⁶ As such, Bellings portrayed the Catholic Confederation as a humane and orderly political body. The portrayal also signified that Bellings regarded that the disruption of the meaner sorts of people who led the previously harmonious state of Irish society into confusion. In other words, he condemned the 1641 rebellion as a popular uprising.

Predictably, Bellings vindicated the loyalist Catholic nobility and gentry like him. Bellings was aware of the loyalist Catholic social responsibility to preserve law and order. He wrote about the Old English 'whose ancestors had acquired in the service of

⁴⁴ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fols 228r and 250v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fols 49v and 58r-v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 22r.

⁴⁵ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 71r; Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 2r.

⁴⁶ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 71r; Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 2r.

the Crowne of England those estates which descended upon them, not onely to endeavour to assert the publike peace, but to prevent that such as were possest with the spirit of rapine'.⁴⁷ Here, Bellings defined the loyalist Catholics in his perspective: their ancestral lands were granted by English monarchy for the reason of maintaining social order without self-interest. Therefore, Bellings rejected the label 'rebels', which lumped together the 'rascal multitude' and the Catholic gentlemen of Ulster and the Pale. To make their distinctions clear, Bellings effectively used terms preferred by the Pale gentlemen, 'scabbing/scabangers' for the violent rioters. Bellings distinguished between the 'scabbing' multitudes, referring to them as 'they/them', and the Old English, whom he referred to as 'we/us'. Bellings described how Mountgarret, restored order to the city of Kilkenny which was pillaged by the ordinary people. On a market day, the 'scabangers' 'enter[ed] into the houses and shops of Protestants, to seize on their goods, and in a rude and insolent manner to abuse' those who 'indevooured to continue in possession of those things which, by all right under heaven, belonged to themselves'.⁴⁸ Mountgarret, 'hearing the noyse and seeing the effects of soe rude a tumult, rann into the street'. He spanned his pistol, 'entring into the house of a Protestant, which some of the crue were then actually pilladging, [and] he shot one of them dead in the place'.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fols 237r-v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 53r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 29r.

⁴⁸ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 238r; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 53v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fols 29v-30r. Martial law was used from 1570s. For the detailed accounts concerning executions of martial law in the early modern Ireland, see Martial law was exercised from 1570s. See David Edwards, 'Ideology and experience: Spenser's View and martial law in Ireland' in *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 127-57; David Edwards, 'Ireland: security and conquest' in *The Elizabethan world* (London, 2011), pp 182-200.

⁴⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warr in Ireland, the First Book' (TCD, MS 747), fol. 238v; Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS 4763), fol. 53v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681? (NLI, MS 16967), fol. 30r.

Bellings defended his father-in-law's military actions during the civil war, highlighting how the viscount raised an army to restore order on his estates and his region. The purpose of Bellings' *History* is clearly expressed here: it showed that the social élites rose to rebuild control over their territory.

3.3 The 1643 cessation, military loyalism and discourse

The cessation became another focal point of memory-making. When challenging Protestant writers, the loyalist Bellings vindicated for disputes over 1643 cessation for two important reasons. On the one hand, they were necessary to defend Ormond from criticisms by his Protestant opponents. On the other hand, Bellings needed to justify the benefit of the military truce for Catholic cause at the same time.

Given Temple's harsh criticism of Ormond for endangering Protestant interests by negotiating the cessation of arms with the Confederates, Temple framed both the rebellion and the cessation as pivotal events. In another pamphlet published in 1646, *Ormond's Curtain Drawn* (1646), Temple strongly criticised Ormond for making the cessation between English army in Ireland and the 'rebels'. Although *Ormond's Curtain Drawn* was not reprinted during the Restoration, Temple's critique of Ormond's cooperation with the Confederation—whom he referred to as 'rebels'—was severe. The personal attacks on Ormond were less prominent in *The Irish Rebellion*. Regarding the 1643 cessation, Temple criticised Ormond for transferring the royalist army in Ireland for service in the English civil war 'against the Parliament here, that had imployed, payed and entrusted them'.⁵⁰ He took exception to the royalist army's cooperation 'with the Rebels, who from the beginning still boasted they would come over into England'.⁵¹

⁵⁰ John Temple, *Ormonds curtain drawn* (London, 1646), p. 22.

⁵¹ Temple, *Ormonds curtain drawn*, p. 22.

In other words, Ormond was accused of aiding the Confederate army in extending the atrocity of the 1641 rebellion even to England. Appealing to the readers of his pamphlet *Ormond's Curtain Drawn*, Temple boldly asserted that Ormond was unconcerned with the security of Protestants; but was instead focused on protecting 'his Country-men' – supposedly his clients at the Confederation – thereby endangering England. Temple continued:

And here Sirs, I doubt not but to make it appeare to you, that the necessity (we here so much talk of) was so farre from being a cause of that bloody cessation, that the Earle of Ormonds designe to secure his Country-men by that cessation was the onely cause of that necessity; which (notwithstanding all his pernicious endeavours to bring it upon us) was ... that the safety of the Protestants was onely pretended by him, when nothing but utter ruine was really intended.⁵²

In Temple's discourse, Ormond was portrayed as not only malicious but also harmful toward English Protestants. Therefore Bellings, in turn, felt compelled to respond to Temple to defend his patron against their criticisms.

Bellings sought to justify the cessation in his *History*, where Bellings outlined three reasons for making it. The primary reasons were the hardships faced by the royalists in their conflict with the parliamentarians and the threat posed by the Scottish army stationed in Ulster. He expressed deep concern about a potential parliamentary military advance, warning that 'if they [the parliamentarians] should once become absolute masters of England, such forces from thence and out of Scotland, would be poured into Ireland, as they would soon, by overthrowing the Catholicks, put an end to the war'.⁵³ The Confederates needed to prevent the parliamentarians from advancing

⁵² Temple, *Ormonds curtain drawn*, p. 22.

⁵³ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 NLI MS 16968), fol. 21r.

from England and crushing the Catholic cause in Ireland by negotiating a cessation with the royalist army. In other words, Bellings emphasised the urgent need to contribute to the English civil war, not only for the king but also to ensure Catholic self-preservation. In this sense, Bellings needed to respond to Temple who supported the parliamentary cause in the civil wars. Bellings poetically described the parliamentarians' fanaticism, stating that 'the Parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached as gospel'.⁵⁴ Here Bellings underscored that the parliamentary publications encouraged military aggression, identifying key Dublin government officials – Adam Loftus, John Temple, Robert Meredith and William Parsons – 'against whom the nation had contracted an infinite aversion'.⁵⁵ They penned and published pamphlets that attacked Ormond as ruinous to the Protestant cause by means of the cessation agreement. For example, besides Temple, Williams Parsons wrote *Examen Hiberniae* (1646).⁵⁶ In fact, Temple's *Ormond's Curtain Drawn* was published under the name of Adam Meredith, son of Robert Meredith. Therefore, his list of the New English figures reflected his effort to counter the writers critical of the 1643 cessation.

Bellings' justification of the cessation was shared by Henry Burkhead in *A Tragedy of Cola's Furie, or Lirenda's Miserie* (1646). He represented the peace supporters' political attitude towards making peace with the royalists.⁵⁷ Burkhead's

⁵⁴ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 21r.

⁵⁵ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 21r.

⁵⁶ According to Cunningham, Parsons dedicated a substantial portion of his *Examen Hiberniae* to a critique of the 1643 Cessation. John Cunningham, 'The New English, the past, and the law in the 1640s: Sir William Parsons's "Examen Hiberniae"' in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 89–103. p. 97

⁵⁷ Henry Burkhead, *A tragedy of Cola's furie, or Lirenda's miserie*, ed. Angelina Lynch (Dublin, 2009). Almost nothing is known about Burkhead, except that he was a merchant of Bristol. Patricia Coughlan,

intent to bolster support for peace with Ormond is a salient point, particularly considering that he composed and published his work amid the Confederation's peace negotiations in 1645-1646.⁵⁸ *Cola's Furie* was a historical play that draws on the battles in Ireland from 1642 to the cessation of arms in 1643. Cola in the title was an allegorical male character representing Sir Charles Coote, infamous for his brutality, while Lirenda was a veiled name for Ireland. In the play, Cola was regarded as 'no more civil than Cannibals or Tartars'.⁵⁹ Not only was Cola himself but also were the Anglorian (English Protestant) army illustrated engaging in acts of violence and abuse against civilians, including women.⁶⁰ The play's title foreshadows its content – a narrative fraught with tragedy for the Lirendeans, culminating abruptly in a cessation of arms to avert a seemingly apocalyptic outcome. Burkhead lauded Ormond's martial prowess against parliamentary forces in a passage brimming with admiration: 'in respect /of warlike graces none shall more direct /than his[Ormond's] mature command, his valour too /shall make his adversaries blush to know /that from an infant heaven did him elect /to be victorious still against their Sect'.⁶¹ Burkhead attributed Ormond's noble lineage and religious orthodoxy as intrinsic to his success. The peace supporters, Bellings and Burkhead alike, remembered that the 1643 cessation, while rescuing the king's cause in the English civil war cooperation with the royalist army, prevented the Catholic cause from disaster.

After discussing the cessation, Bellings shifted his focus in his *History*. Until his discussion of the 1643 truce, Bellings' primary purpose was to counter Temple. From

'Introduction' in Angelina Lynch (ed.), *A tragedy of Cola's furie, or, Lirenda's miserie* (Dublin, 2009), pp 9–32, pp 16–8; Richard Hawkins, 'Burkhead, Henry' in *DIB*.

⁵⁸ Burkhead, *A tragedy of Cola's furie*, pp 37–8

⁵⁹ Burkhead, *A tragedy of Cola's furie*, p. 96.

⁶⁰ Burkhead, *A tragedy of Cola's furie*, pp 79–80.

⁶¹ Burkhead, *A tragedy of Cola's furie*, p. 92.

that point forward, Bellings shifted his focus to internal political conflicts within the Confederation and the widening divide between the supreme council and the general assembly.

3.4 Political influences of the British civil war interventions, 1643-4

This section examines how interventions in the wars of the three kingdoms contributed to conflicts in Confederate politics by focusing upon how Bellings' *History* represented these tensions. A major cause of internal division was the Confederacy's dispute over the leadership of the 6,000-man expedition to Ulster. The battles with the covenanters stationed in Ulster and the Scottish civil war led to hardening tensions amongst the Confederates, particularly regarding Bellings' and the council's relationships with two of the eminent Irish noblemen, Randal MacDonnell, earl of Antrim and Murrough O'Brien, Baron Inchiquin. This section will examine how the council navigated Antrim's political manoeuvres and Inchiquin's shifting allegiance between royalist and parliament factions. Historians have increasingly questioned whether the council's divisions were along 'ethnic lines', separating the Old English and Old Irish. However, this section will argue that ethnic divisions were less significant than the growing tensions between the council and the assembly.

To what extent was the Confederation involved in the English and Scottish civil wars and what was the impact of these interventions on Confederate politics? King Charles' prime aim for the cessation was to secure military assistance from the royalist army in Ireland, along with £20,000 in financial aid from the Confederates. In Ireland, Ormond, appointed the lord lieutenant in January 1644, oversaw the military contribution to the English civil war. Indeed, records indicate that up to 9,000 soldiers were dispatched to England from the east coast of Ireland starting in autumn 1643. Historians

have extensively commented upon the actual effectiveness of ‘the Irish army’ in the English civil war.⁶² Furthermore, Ohlmeyer and Barry Robertson have noted that the intervention in the Scottish civil war in 1644 constituted the Confederate’s largest military contribution to the royalist cause, significantly influencing military strategies in the English civil war.⁶³ The limited impact of the Confederate contributions to the royalist war effort should not be overstated. However, it is important to consider Bellings’ political agency as a member of the council to understand his additional motivation for writing *The History*: demonstrating loyalty to the monarchy and supporting the royalist cause in the English civil war was central concern for him. Bellings’ representation of the council’s governance after the cessation is significant, although he also referenced the Confederate contributions to the English civil war during 1643-4.

In his *History*, somewhat curiously, Bellings did not put much importance on sending soldiers from Ireland to English civil war even though he was in charge of shipping the royalist army from the eastern coast of Ireland to Wales. Money and ships were essential for transporting regiments from Ireland to England. First, in terms of finances, the council was required to pay £30,800 to the royalist army in September 1643, covering the cost of soldiers, arms and ammunition to Ormond and Prince Rupert (count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Cumberland), a royalist commander in England.⁶⁴ Second, the Confederates released prisoners who were going to deploy

⁶² Norman Tucker, *North Wales in the Civil War* (Wrexham, 1992), ch 3-4; John Lowe, ‘Some aspects of the wars in Ireland, 1641-1649’ in *Irish Sword*, iv (1960), pp 81–7; John Lowe, ‘The campaign of the Irish royalist army in Cheshire, November 1643-January 1644’ in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, cxi (1960), pp 47–76; Stoye, *Soldiers and strangers*, ch. 3.

⁶³ Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms*, esp. ch. 5; Barry Robertson, *Royalists at war in Scotland and Ireland, 1638-1650*.

⁶⁴ Bellings to Ormond, 4 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 66); Bellings to Ormond, 10? Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 101); Ormond to Bellings, 12 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 63); Bellings to

regiments bound for Wales. Bellings supervised the release of Sir Charles Vavasour, an officer under Inchiquin, in late 1643. This was because Vavasour set to lead 1,000 men from Munster to the west coast of England for the royalist cause. Third, Bellings was responsible for preparing ships for transporting armies to North Wales and England.⁶⁵ In September 1643, the Confederates helped Ormond hire ships and ports available for transport purposes.⁶⁶ Thus, the Confederates provided substantial logistical support to the English royalist cause. With reinforcements from Ireland, the royalist forces in northern Wales, commanded by Prince Rupert and John Byron, baron Byron of Rochdale and a royalist army officer, effectively combatted the parliamentary army under Sir William Brereton, baronet in Cheshire, up to the battle of Nantwich in January 1644. Following the defeat at Nantwich, however, the royalists, increasingly at a disadvantage, urgently appealed to the council for additional supplies and manpower, revealing their desperation.⁶⁷ To address the shortfall, Ormond instructed Bellings, ‘Wee are therefore to desyre you to represent this unto those who have the guideing of such affayres as a matter of very great and high concernement to his Ma[jes]t[y]’s service, to the end they

Ormond, 14 Oct. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 34-6; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 26-28; Bellings to Ormond, 15 Oct. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 31; Ormond to Bellings, 20 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 212); Ormond to Bellings, 20 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 217); Bellings to Ormond, 21 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fols 221-222). Since the money they had was diversified in types, they had to adjust the coins' rates and made sure about the rates. Ormond to Bellings, 19 Oct. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 36-38. On 21st, Bellings reported they would collect the money for sending the convoy to Castlemartin soon. Moreover, the council commanded Lawrence Bellings to visit to ensure if the procurements to English garrisons were ready for the following dispatch. Bellings to Ormond, 21 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 218).

⁶⁵ Bellings to Ormond, 12 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 126); Ormond to Bellings, 16 Oct. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 31-32.

⁶⁶ Bellings to Ormond, 12 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 126); Bellings to Ormond, 21 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 226); Ormond to Bellings, 16 Oct 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 31-32; Bellings to Ormond, 12 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 126); Elaine Murphy, *Ireland and the war at sea 1641-1653* (London, 2012), p. 36.

⁶⁷ The council to Ormond, 28 Feb. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 112-113; Ormond to Bellings, 5 Mar. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 9 fol. 424); Ormond to Bellings, 16 Mar. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 9 fol. 550); Ormond to Bellings, 6 Dec. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 13 fol. 20).

may order it so'.⁶⁸ This urgency clearly illustrated Ormond's reliance on Bellings to facilitate the provision of military aid through the council. Furthermore, Ormond pressed Bellings to proceed with 'the matter on the Confederate councilles as one that as of mighty consequence to themselves'.⁶⁹ Ormond's letter clarified two key points: his desperate need of military support and his dependence on Confederate logistical assistance. Ormond explicitly insisted that Bellings advocate within the council for provision of the military aid.

By mid-May, the parliamentary ships blockaded Liverpool and Dublin, thus impeding all shipping to north Wales. Bellings had previously relayed rumours in early April about parliamentary ships targeting Dublin harbour.⁷⁰ This parliamentary barrier also significantly affected the Confederates' support for the English royalist cause because the obstruction left Ormond unable to dispatch military necessities to England. Ormond's request was so urgent that he implored Bellings for assistance in England, stating that 'wee must now wholly trust to what is to come from you by the Articles of Cessation'.⁷¹ The council assured Ormond of their swift payment for supplies and of arranging for the army transport from Wexford into north Wales.⁷² Ultimately, they managed to transport only 300 men from Arklow via Wicklow to north Wales in late May.⁷³ In September, the Confederates mobilised militia recruited from areas under their control to support Prince Rupert. Initially, they arranged the shipments of powder

⁶⁸ Ormond to Bellings, 16 Mar. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 9 fol. 550).

⁶⁹ Ormond to Bellings, 14 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 633).

⁷⁰ Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 169). The blockade's impact, particularly upon the Scottish expedition of the Confederates, will be examined later.

⁷¹ Ormond to Bellings, 14 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 633).

⁷² The council to Ormond, 16 May 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 167-168.

⁷³ Mountgarret and Bellings to Ormond, 18 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 687); Bellings to Ormond, 24 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 781).

from Arklow to Holyhead and Chester for Prince Rupert's use.⁷⁴ In a final push, Ormond directed Sir Edmond Butler to transport 200 men out of the 'Roman Catholic quarters' to the royalist army in England.⁷⁵ Despite the challenges posed by the blockaded Irish Sea, the Confederate's logistical support to the English royalist army was important and demonstrated their commitment to aiding the royalist cause.

The council highlighted that the Scottish Covenanting army breached the cessation articles. Despite their December request for official endorsement, the king was unable to provide such guarantees.⁷⁶ When the third general assembly convened in Waterford on 7 November 1644, its primary focus was on electing agents to send to Oxford to advance peace negotiations. While the council addressed practical and logistical aspects of the Ulster expedition, selecting a commander sparked intense debates within the general assembly.⁷⁷ Ohlmeyer has argued that Antrim wanted to obtain formal office and to lead the 6,000 strong Confederate army as the commander of the Ulster expedition. Antrim aspired to be named the 'Lieutenant-General of the Confederates'.⁷⁸ He sought to leverage this position for personal gain, offering, upon his arrival in Oxford in late December 1643, to dispatch 10,000 Confederate troops to

⁷⁴ Bellings to Ormond, 14 Oct. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p 32; See vol. 3, p. 276; Bellings to Ormond, 21 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS, 7 fol. 249); Bellings to Ormond, 5 Sep 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p 276.

⁷⁵ Ormond to Bellings, 6 Dec. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 13 fol. 20).

⁷⁶ The council to Ormond, 5 Apr. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 152.

⁷⁷ Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration*, p. 128.

⁷⁸ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 22v-23r. Since 'the mediation of powerful friends at Court' would be the best means to make the mission to England successful. Antrim assured he would be useful for his sociability at the royalist government and court because his wife was Kathrine Villers, duchess of Buckingham. In addition, for his personal ambition, the employment would strengthen his kinsmen increasing power in Ulster and in Scotland just as the council were concerned. Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration*, pp 129-130.

England.⁷⁹ In his *History*, Bellings vilified Antrim, stating ‘he made a double return being magnified at court upon the account of the Confederates and at Waterford upon the score of his favour at court’.⁸⁰ In considering Antrim’s military appointment, the council had to assess the advantages of Antrim’s proposal. Bellings condemned Antrim’s politicking in his *History*, suggesting that ‘[i]t might give encouragement to the worse affected, of the Irish to overrule those that were well inclined, when his [Ormond’s] person, power, and interest should be absent’.⁸¹ Notably, he disparaged Antrim with an ethnic slur, ‘the worse affected of the Irish’.⁸² It is essential to highlight that the usage of the ‘ethnic’ labels was rarely evident in his *History*. Bellings spotlighted his disdain for Antrim exploiting Ormond’s absence, who was preoccupied with leading the royalist army in England. Even if Antrim were of selfish provenance, it is shown here how strongly Bellings disliked the earl.

To counter Antrim’s politicking, the council was unwilling to grant him ‘real power’.⁸³ The council deliberated on an appropriate military title for Antrim and its potential impact on Confederate politics. Initially, the council tried to find ‘a title with reference to mark the eminent trust’, and debated the validity of naming Antrim ‘Lieutenant-Generall of the Confederate Catholickes’.⁸⁴ Their concern centred on how

⁷⁹ Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23v. Actually, in an initial stage of the peace negotiation, the Confederation was going to offer 10,000 army to the royalist war effort.

⁸⁰ Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23v; Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration*, p. 129.

⁸¹ Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 22r.

⁸² Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 22r.

⁸³ Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23r.

⁸⁴ Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23r.

Antrim's role might overshadow the authorities of provincial Confederate generals. Ultimately, the council did not reach consensus on appointing Antrim as 'Lieutenant-General'. To circumvent granting Antrim transferable authority, they assigned him the title of 'commander-in-chief'. It was crucial, as Bellings commented, that the 'ayery title' possessed 'no power'.⁸⁵ Bellings deemed it essential to associate 'the Lady Duchess's mediation' with Antrim's appointment, rendering him 'incapable' of undermining Confederate affairs.⁸⁶ This was because Antrim's wife, Kathrine Villers, duchess of Buckingham, was favoured by Charles, and her son-in-law, James Stewart, duke of Lennox, was both a cousin and friend to the king. And yet, some council members expressed 'in their countenance their dislike to this motion'.⁸⁷ The motion's advocate, representing Bellings' opinion in *The History*, argued it would be improper for Antrim to be 'recognised to have him invested in a reall authority to command our armyes or to manage the war, by directing the actions of any of the generalls'.⁸⁸ Finally, according to Bellings, the assembly accepted the proposal 'without debate'.⁸⁹ Moreover, in his letter to Antrim, Bellings cautioned against using the title for any other purpose, stating, '[i]t should not lye in the power of the Lord of Antrim to make other use of it' in order not to 'find themselves [the council members] deceived'.⁹⁰ After Antrim departed from Waterford, Bellings, under the council's directive, wrote another letter reiterating

⁸⁵ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23r.

⁸⁶ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 22v-23r.

⁸⁷ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23r.

⁸⁸ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23r.

⁸⁹ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23v.

⁹⁰ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23v.

the title's limitations to Antrim.⁹¹

In his capacity as keeper of the seal, Bellings suspended proceedings when he objected to specific transactions. For example, in the summer 1644, unwilling to grant a commission to Antrim, Bellings delayed his decision to allow for thorough deliberation before acting, as documented: when 'warrant was sent to him [i.e. Bellings] to seal it, he for two dayes suspended the doing of it'.⁹² Bellings hesitation stemmed from his inability to justify using the seal. As he 'dissented in opinion' regarding the warrant issued to Antrim 'without agreement from those interested in it'.⁹³ Put simply, Bellings believed the signing and sealing the commission required consultation with other council members. After two days of deliberation and reaching an agreement with the council members, Bellings finally offered 'both to sign and seal' Antrim's commission.⁹⁴ Bellings stressed that the council's agreement with his stance, noting that 'the Councell haveing seen and approved of what he [i.e. Bellings] writte'.⁹⁵ Thus, Bellings meticulously took advantage of his position as secretary to control the proceedings.

The heated debate at the next assembly, July to August 1644, highlighted the internal discord that existed within the Confederacy between the council and the assembly. After Antrim returned to Kilkenny, Bellings harshly criticised him stating that the military office 'would be restored to him without those clogs and restrictions'. Antrim had complained of 'the severe carriage of the council towards him, and [had]

⁹¹ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 23v-24r.

⁹² Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 25r.

⁹³ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 25r.

⁹⁴ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 25r.

⁹⁵ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 23v.

produced their letters [as he was] commanded by assembly'.⁹⁶ In 1644, the assembly members who insisted that the council had abused their power declared that their rights should be confined to matters of state and government and they should be assured that the council was subordinate to the assembly.⁹⁷ Even though the assembly supported Antrim's position, his title 'commander-in-chiefe' was not renewed. Thus, Antrim's appointment to an office in the army for the Ulster and Scottish expedition caused dissension between the council and the assembly.

The alliance between the Confederacy and the royalists contributed significantly to the deterioration of relations between the Confederates and the Protestant ascendancy in Munster.⁹⁸ While Charles initially consented to support Antrim's Scottish campaign, Ormond hesitated due to concerns for Protestant interests in Ireland. Ormond had yet to endorse Antrim's expedition officially, despite the council's recognition of Charles's approval.⁹⁹ The council, particularly Gerard Fennell, physician and client of Ormond, voiced their discontent with Ormond's stance, lamenting his considerable reluctance to align Confederate policymaking with Scottish affairs.¹⁰⁰ Ormond's reluctance was understandable, given that cooperating with the Confederacy placed him in a precarious position concerning the protection of Protestant interests. Upon Ormond's involvement in Antrim's Scottish expedition, Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill (later earl of Orrery), in

⁹⁶ Bellings, 'The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 25r.

⁹⁷ Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, pp 83-86.

⁹⁸ The council to Ormond, 21 Jun. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 196-198; Ormond to Mountgarret and The council, 28 Jun. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 200.

⁹⁹ The council to Ormond, 25 June 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 11 fol. 280); Ormond to Mountgarret and The council, 28 Jun 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 200; The council to Ormond, 1 Jul. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 200-201; Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁰ The council to Ormond, 1 Jul 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3 pp 200-201.

July, announced intentions to expel Catholic residents from Munster, citing the protection of Munster's Protestant population. Moreover, on 26 July, Broghill declared to the mayor of Clonmel that the New English took arms for self-defence against the Confederates march on Ulster.¹⁰¹ The council anticipated that Inchiquin would act as a mediator between Broghill and the Confederates. Nevertheless, by month's end, Inchiquin had aligned with Broghill's position against the Confederates. In reaction to Munster Protestants arming themselves, Mountgarret and other council members raised objections to Ormond regarding Broghill's intentions.¹⁰² Ormond found himself mediating the conflict between Munster Protestants and the Confederates, as seen in his letter questioning Inchiquin on his expulsion of Catholics from Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale.¹⁰³

Bellings harboured doubts about Inchiquin's reliability, from the planning stages of the Ulster expedition in spring 1644 through to the Cessation renewal negotiations in autumn 1644. In early April 1644, Bellings was suspicious of Inchiquin's 'haughtiness and ambitions', following revelations of Inchiquin's communications with the English parliament and other influential figures.¹⁰⁴ Bellings further suggested that Inchiquin aimed to enlist parliamentary support from Galway.¹⁰⁵ However, by 25 May, upon learning of Inchiquin's grievances, Bellings faced criticism from Ormond, who insisted

¹⁰¹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 27r-v. The council to Inchiquin, 29 July 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 217-19.

¹⁰² Mountgarret and others to Ormond, 29 Jul 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 219.

¹⁰³ Inchiquin could not be granted a position of Lord President of Munster from Charles in this period. Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 27r-v.

¹⁰⁴ Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 165); Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 169); Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 153-154.

¹⁰⁵ Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 153-154.

that ‘the secretary is [to be] regreted’ and ‘all possible satisfaction be giuen to his Lordship’.¹⁰⁶ According to Patrick Little, the attitude towards the Covenanting armies were diverse. Whereas Broghill sought military assistance from England, Inchiquin fostered a strong connection with Ormond to protect vulnerable Munster garrisons from Confederate attacks.¹⁰⁷ Bellings’ mistrust stemmed from Inchiquin’s cautious approach. In November, Bellings still repeated in another letter to Ormond that Inchiquin had been ‘dangerous’ at the end of July and ‘distrustful’.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the Scottish expedition exacerbated tensions between the council and Munster Protestants.

In the two instances, Bellings distrusted ‘Irish’ politicians, namely, Antrim and Inchiquin. Looking at the hostility towards them, it could be deemed that Bellings possessed a certain enmity towards them. Yet, in the comments, it was not necessarily true to regard that Bellings’ Old Englishness made it so. One of his closest patrons was Muskerry, who had Irish origin but married to Ormond’s twin sister. Nor did he show Old English elitist sentiments in his writing. The effectiveness of the ethnic label was not observable in Bellings’ *History*. Rather, by delineating Antrim’s politicking and Inchiquin’s cooperation, Bellings highlighted the growing separation in political opinions between the council and the assembly. He testified that the council’s governance over the Confederation slowly progressed due to the assembly’s opposition to its administration.

¹⁰⁶ Ormond to Bellings, 25 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 11 fol. 5).

¹⁰⁷ Patrick Little, *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp 33-9.

¹⁰⁸ Bellings to Ormond, 30 July 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 11 fol. 652r); Bellings to Ormond, 7 Nov 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 43. It would also be important, Bellings later in *History* wrote about the incidents of the Munster Protestants who took up arms in July, that he did not mention Broghill but only Inchiquin. Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 27v.

3.5 Conclusion

In his *History*, Bellings viewed the events of 1641 and 1643 as decisive turning points in Irish political society. He articulated these pivotal events to underscore the significant role played by the social élites within the pale and the council, thereby providing clarity on their influence and importance in this historical context. This chapter has demonstrated that Bellings had a clear argumentative focus in shaping historical memory. With the descriptions concerning the beginning part of the civil wars, Bellings attempted to demonstrate his counterargument against the Protestant writers. By challenging contemporary Protestant narratives during the civil wars and the Restoration, Bellings defended the loyalist Catholics against accusations of rebellion, as reflected in his use of terms such as ‘rebels’ and ‘rascal multitudes’. Moreover, he condemned the ongoing harsh treatment of Catholics by the New English settlers, which had persisted since the early seventeenth century. Through these arguments, Bellings defended both his own and his patrons’ socio-political status.

The 1643 cessation became a central issue in memory-making debates. Since Temple harshly criticised Ormond for endangering Protestant interests through the cessation of arms, Temple’s narratives emphasised both the cessation and the rebellion as pivotal events.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, Bellings discussed the political developments following the cessation and the military interventions in the English and Scottish civil wars. In this part, while criticising Antrim and Inchiquin with whom the council processed important military affairs, he underscored the increasing political rift between the council and the assembly. It is clear, therefore, that Bellings focused more on the opposition within the assembly than on ethnic divisions within the Confederation.

¹⁰⁹ At the same time, not only between Catholics and Protestants but also among Catholics themselves, the 1643 cessation became a critical issue. This point is further discussed in chapter four and five.

The degree to which his *History* reflected an Old English identity is uncertain, yet he employed the term ‘Irish’ with notable care. He, of course, rejected the label ‘Irish’ and being categorised as ‘the rebels’, a difference between the ‘rascal multitude’ and the gentlemen of the Pale. In this sense, he responded to Temple’s and Orrery’s identification of the Catholics as rebels and as Irish.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, Bellings’ distrust of the Irish should be remarked in the cases of Antrim’s politicking and Inchiquin’s, though the reason Bellings referred to them as ‘Irish’ remains unclear. That both noblemen had strong ties to the parliamentarians at some point during the civil wars can be suggested. Given Bellings’ consistent efforts to demonstrate his and his allies’ loyalty to the king, any political compromise with the parliamentarians would have been seen as an act of disloyalty to the English monarchy, a particularly sensitive issue during the Restoration.

¹¹⁰ See also chapter two section five

Chapter 4: Richard Bellings' memory-making in Books 3 and 4: secular power and the religious censures, 1645-1649

4.1 Introduction

In the autumn of 1645, Richard Bellings accompanied GianBattista Rinuccini, bishop of Fermo and papal nuncio, back to Ireland. Bellings facilitated the nuncio's reception at Kilkenny Castle, an event where Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret and president of the supreme council, offered a notably tepid greeting.¹ How unfavourably the council members regarded Rinuccini at this juncture remains unclear. Nonetheless, Rinuccini's own reflections suggest a profound resentment of his time in Ireland, during which he excommunicated council members twice for supporting peace treaties with Ormond.

Historians have examined the causes of internal conflicts within the politics of the Catholic Confederation during Rinuccini's nunciature. Scholars such as Micheál Ó Siochrú, who has analysed moderate politicians, Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, who has examined the period from Rinuccini's perspective, have concurred that the discord predated the nuncio, who instead exploited existing fractures within the Confederation. They have argued that the internal dissension stemmed primarily from the peace treaties with Ormond, not from Rinuccini's direct actions.² A common theme in recent studies has been their emphasis not only on short-term rivalries and political machinations

¹ Annie Hutton and Giuseppe Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland of monsignor G. B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in the year 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1873), pp 90-2. Moreover, although Rinuccini hoped to establish a canon court at Kilkenny upon his arrival, the council members rejected the demand. Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, pp 435-6 and 485

² Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645-49* (Oxford, 2002), chs 4-6; Micheál Ó Siochrú, *God's executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the conquest of Ireland* (London, 2008). See also Donal Cregan, 'The confederation of Kilkenny: its organisation, personnel and history' (University College Dublin, 1945); Patrick J. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates, 1645-9' in *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 317-335; Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: the career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Dublin, 1993).

within Confederate politics of the 1640s—particularly between the ‘Old English’ and the ‘Old Irish’ clerics aligned with the nuncio—but also on the long-term political instability among Irish Catholics. As Aidan Clarke and Ó Siochrú have highlighted, the Confederation was ideologically conservative and resistant to radical socio-political change. Through their analysis of supreme council members, Donal Cregan, Jane Ohlmeyer, and Bríd McGrath have demonstrated that Confederate leadership was dominated by landed élites, including nobles, lawyers, and clergy.³ Ó Siochrú has further noted that council members were socially homogeneous, sharing similar status and concerns about socio-political order.⁴ In other words, élite council members were primarily concerned with maintaining their economic, social, and political influence, which was rooted in land ownership. Regarding long-term instability, Ó hAnnracháin and Thomas O’Connor have argued that efforts to implement Catholic reformation without a stable hierarchy posed serious challenges for the land-owning class, particularly in conflicts between secular and regular clergy. They have highlighted disputes over confiscated church lands, which fuelled ongoing tensions between secular and regular clergy throughout the 1620s and 1630s. Historians have argued that, from its inception, therefore, the Catholic Confederation was characterised by internal divisions.

This work builds upon previous studies that emphasised the long-term impact of

³ Cregan, ‘The confederation of Kilkenny’; Donal Cregan, ‘Irish recusant lawyers in politics in the reign of James I’ in *Irish Jurist*, v (1970), pp 306–20; Donal Cregan, ‘The confederation of Kilkenny’ in B. Farrell (ed.), *The Irish parliamentary tradition* (Dublin and New York, 1973), pp 102–15; Donal Cregan, ‘The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate 1618–60’ in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish history: presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), pp 85–117; Donal Cregan, ‘The confederate Catholics of Ireland: the personnel of the Confederation, 1642–9’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxix (1995), pp 490–512; Bríd McGrath, ‘A biographical dictionary of the membership of the Irish House of Commons 1640–1641’ (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1998); Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘Irish recusant lawyers during the reign of Charles I’ in Mícheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 63–89.

⁴ Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, p. 226.

land issues on Confederate politics. This chapter contributes to the historiography by examining how Bellings' political orientation was shaped by Gallicanism, a perspective intrinsic to the land-owning élite to which he belonged. In other words, to understand Bellings' views fully, it is essential to examine his stance on the status of confiscated church property as well as Jansenist world view.⁵

For the political thinking demonstrated in his *History*, this chapter primarily examines the significance of the 1646 and 1648 excommunications of peace supporters and Ormond, revealing the emergence of major ideological divisions over religious-political authority within the Confederacy. For Bellings and the council members, the controversy surrounding the 1648 excommunication and subsequent appeal exemplified their belief in the separation of royal and ecclesiastical authority. Consequently, this analysis contends that the internal conflict within the Confederacy was not merely a reaction to political circumstances but was fundamentally rooted in differing interpretations of religious and political legitimacy that stemmed from land disputes. By examining these incidents in their political context, this chapter suggests that Bellings' *History* addressed core questions of authority and governance. This chapter's analysis will reveal how Bellings' views evolved towards anti-clericalism and a growing scepticism of papal intervention in a secular matter within a kingdom, an idea commonly known as Gallicanism. Bellings articulated his political thinking on the Gallican view of state-church relations more explicitly in the later books of *The History*.

⁵ As to how Jansenist theology influenced Bellings' social perspective, Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212–28; Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland, and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), ch. 14; Ian Campbell, 'Power after Machiavelli: Richard Bellings, reason of state, and Jansenism in seventeenth century Ireland' in Jason McElligott, Liam Chambers, Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Power in history: from the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin, 2011), pp 45–62.

4.2 The loyal Catholic land owners' interest

Bellings' Gallican political thinking in *History* stemmed from his position as a lay Catholic landowner. His perspective was shaped by the medieval system of landholding and reinforced by the Catholic reformation. The acquisition of monastic lands during the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII provided Catholic nobles and gentry with additional land, securing their social and political standing.

The clergy's economic dependence on the laity and the regular clergy's claims for financial independence were central to political conflicts that persisted well before the 1640s. As a result, it was a natural tendency to avoid criticising the possession of confiscated church lands by the regular clergy. The secular clergy, closely aligned with the laity, supported supreme council members who owned these confiscated church lands and encouraged figures such as David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath, to implement Gallican church policies.⁶ In this context, Gallicanism was an acceptable political ideology not only for the secular clergy but also for lay landowners such as Bellings.

One of the prime concerns among the Catholic landowners was the protection of their lands, with they notably benefiting from lands confiscated during the Henrician dissolution of church lands – Bellings himself owned a monastery lands in Kilashee, Kildare. Thus, the Confederate leaders, representing the landed élite, were primarily motivated at least in part by protecting their private interests. Notably, the acquisition of monastic and church properties following the dissolution under Henry VIII marked a pivotal moment for the Catholic landowning class.⁷ Moreover, the possession of

⁶ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 148

⁷ Cregan, 'The confederation of Kilkenny', pp 106-8; Cregan, 'The confederate Catholics of Ireland', pp 503-4.

monastic land became a critical factor straining relationships within seventeenth-century Irish political society. However, this power base was precarious, reliant on the personal patronage of the king and/or prominent figures like Ormond or other members of the royal court. In this light, to Catholics like Bellings, Ormond's failure to secure comprehensive religious freedoms during the civil wars of the 1640s notably undermined his and his followers' influence.

By what label, in turn, should we call the Catholic landowners? Traditionally, the Catholics landowners have been categorised as 'Ormondists', a term highlighting their secular interests.⁸ They were often called 'Ormondists' due to its members' clientage relationships with the Butlers, especially of Ormond.⁹ Mountgarret, Bellings' father-in-law, was Ormond's uncle, highlighting the familial ties within the group. Moreover, Gerard Fennell served as Ormond's personal physician, further entwining the professional and personal connections within the Confederate leadership.¹⁰ Following the death of Nicholas Preston, Viscount Gormanston, in 1643, these members from south Leinster and Munster began to exert significant influence over Confederate politics.¹¹ Given these connections, it is plausible to suggest that Ormond could readily influence Confederate politics through his extensive network.

The members' close relationship with Ormond led their opponents to accuse them of prioritising Ormond's demands within the council. Pierfrancesco Scarampi, the papal representative to the Confederates, condemned this group as the 'most pernicious

⁸ See Pádraig Lenihan's review on Ó Siochrú's monograph. Pádraig Lenihan, 'Confederate Ireland 1642-49: a constitutional and political analysis, Micheál Ó Siochrú' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvi (1999), pp 135–136.

⁹ Pádraig Lenihan has criticised Ó Siochrú's 'neologism' that in the contemporary discussion the choice of the Confederates was not, in fact, simply between peace and war. Lenihan, 'Confederate Ireland 1642-49', pp 135–136.

¹⁰ Aoife Duignan, 'Fennell, Gerald', *DIB*.

¹¹ Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 65-67.

faction' accusing them of secretly directing policy to the detriment of both religion and the Confederacy. Scarampi wrote, '[i]ndeed, I have discovered that Ormond had followers even at the very heart of the council itself [...], they later perpetrated to the detriment of faith and country'.¹² Scarampi's particularly hostile attitude towards Ormond's clients is remarkable here.¹³ Additionally, Matthew O'Hartegan, a Jesuit and a confederate ambassador to France, relayed a rumour among the exiled court in Paris alleging, 'Ormond's factioners meete every night, and resolves what is to be proposed and concluded for my Lord's [i.e. Ormond's] interests next day'.¹⁴

Resolving religious issues became inseparable from expropriation of the confiscated church lands that they had acquired at the event of Henrician dissolution of monastery. By late 1644, a notable discord had emerged between the supreme council and the clergy concerning the confiscation of church properties. In a revealing letter from Paris, O'Hartegan labelled Ormond and Clanricard as 'the enemyes of Ireland' criticising the 'Ormondist party' for neglecting 'the Church and Church's interests by reason some Church livings are in ... such men's possession'.¹⁵ In fact, the Old English lay members of the Confederacy possessed large tracts of land which were originally church property. Although the first assembly in October 1642 permitted possession of church property, the council requested Wadding in Rome to seek a papal bull from Pope Urban to assure the validity of possessing the land so as to make land ownership rights

¹² Scarampi to Urban VIII, 12th July 1643, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1 part 5, para. 95.

¹³ Scarampi to Urban VIII, 12th July 1643, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1 part 5, para. 95.

¹⁴ Matthew O'Hartegan to the council, 16th Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 61-62.

¹⁵ O'Hartegan to the council, 9th Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 45. The English parliament intercepted and printed O'Hartegan's letter about a meeting with Henrietta-Maria, where he reported she had mentioned 'Castlehaven, he is more national than religiously affected; she called: Ormonde, a viper; Inchiquine, a knave. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 86; Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, pp 176-179; O'Hartegan to the council, 16th Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 61-62.

‘unquestionable’.¹⁶ Bellings later observed that ‘the liberty [was] assumed by many to enter into the possession of men’s estates’.¹⁷ Bellings’ concern became evident when he notified Ormond, in April 1644, that the assembly had discussed control of monastic lands.¹⁸ In other words, to prevent clerical scrutiny of properties held by the Old English nobility and gentry, Bellings insisted that the comprehensive restoration of the hierarchy of the Catholic church would be rather undesirable.¹⁹ As demonstrated in the peace treaty in Paris, Bellings articulated Gallican political thinking in matters regarding church property.²⁰ For the Old English landowners, concerns over property security intensified, given that the clergy might reclaim church lands whenever the clerics gained more power and/or if a charismatic leader happened to take control.²¹ In this sense, Gallicanism was a real solution for the Catholic land disputes that had continued since the reformation.

In fact, before Rinuccini’s arrival at Kilkenny Castle, the council and the clergy were conflicted concerning church lands. In their peace negotiations with the king and Ormond, the Confederates in early 1643 sought to repeal anti-Catholic legislation — an act of parliament promising the freedom of worship and an undertaking allowing Catholics to hold office. Yet, their insistence on freedom of Catholic worship began to erode unity among the Confederates. Meanwhile, a debate between Bellings and Scarampi underscored their differing views on religious freedom. Unwilling to enact the drastic change demanded by the Catholics in Ireland, Charles opted for a lenient

¹⁶ The council to Wadding, 28th June 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 277.

¹⁷ Richard Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 24v.

¹⁸ Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 169).

¹⁹ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 320.

²⁰ Chapter five of this thesis examines the article in more detail.

²¹ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 34.

approach, favouring the *status quo* in religious matters.²² Bellings advocated for the tacit recognition of private worship. In contrast, Scarampi and the clerics demanded formal religious freedom accompanying the restoration of the historical church buildings and property. Bellings outlined in a letter to Scarampi the gains made thus far and the additional benefits they could secure from the cessation. Bellings viewed the religious situation positively, believing Catholics could maintain their faith as they had been able to ‘openly practise the religion, which our adversaries seek to suppress’ since the civil war’s onset.²³ Notably, Bellings asserted that Charles would soon ‘tolerate [author’s emphasis] [the] exercise of our religion’, thereby enabling Catholic rights and jurisdiction.²⁴ Therefore, the ruling Confederates preferred the *de facto* to preserve the *status quo* in religious freedom, desiring the king’s continued toleration while sacrificing the *de jure*. Responding to Bellings, Scarampi insisted that the Confederates should secure greater freedom for the Catholic faith than the council had approved.²⁵ Scarampi acknowledged in the same statement that the ultimate objective of his delegation was ‘to reinstate the Catholic religion and worship throughout the whole country’²⁶; and these divisions became starkly apparent with Rinuccini’s arrival in Kilkenny in the autumn of 1645. Innocent X considered making good use of the land in question, guaranteeing the parish clergy of the restored catholic church to gain revenue appropriately from the land. This is why, Rinuccini was rendered a powerful retinue, who would finally make a decision, whether to give a dispensation to the landowning laity, or to insist on restitution.²⁷ In this light, Bellings’ *History* needs to be read as a work of the landowner

²² Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 61-2.

²³ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 320.

²⁴ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 320.

²⁵ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 326.

²⁶ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 326.

²⁷ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 76

whose wealth and living were put at risk during the civil wars.

Bellings' memory was shaped by the land settlement that ran counter to the clergy's interests; he regarded the cessation as having been achieved by disregarding their demands for religious freedom and the restoration of church lands. The clergy demanded throughout the period that they needed historic church lands restored not only for religious practices but also for the funding. The ways in which they considered how important the pre-monastic lands were directly impacted upon their political influence. For example, the council requested that Rome refrain from addressing the issue of monastic lands throughout the decade. This implies that one of the council members' goals during the civil wars was to protect their economic basis, thereby sustaining their political influence. In this sense, one of the key concerns within the Catholic Confederation was the continuation of church property in their hands. In the debates regarding Bellings' socio-religious identity as a loyalist Catholic and the land question during the civil wars shaped Bellings' political thinking. In addition to these influences, Bellings' social interactions with Jansenists in Paris also contributed to the development of his Gallican political thought.

4.3 Interactions with Jansenists in Paris

Bellings' involvement in European affairs provides insight into the intersection of political and religious networks. After residing in Paris from 1651, Bellings returned there from 1658 until the Restoration, developing close ties with the Jansenists, a Port-Royal-based group advocating for Catholic reform.²⁸ For example, during the 1650s, he translated *De la Fréquente Communion* (1645), a significant theological work by the

²⁸ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 18-9; Mark Williams, 'Translating the Jansenist controversy in Britain and Ireland' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxxiv, no. 566 (2019), pp 59-91, pp 64-8.

leading Jansenist Antoine Arnauld, marking an intellectual exchange between the Old English and French radical Catholics.²⁹ Mère Angélique, a sister of Arnauld and a leading nun at Port-Royal, praised the translation and recorded her impressions of Bellings and Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry (later earl of Clancarty).³⁰ Later in the 1650s, Bellings sent Clarendon a series of publications by Parisian curates, which were said to be Blaise Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* (1656-7s). Bellings, along with other Irish politicians like Muskerry and George Hamilton, Muskerry's in-law, became entwined with the Jansenist community, partly due to familial connections facilitated by John Callaghan, a relative of Muskerry.³¹ According to Patrick Corish, Bellings was considerably influenced by Callaghan's publication *Vindiciae Catholicorum Hiberniae* (1650), as well as by the social interactions with him. Indeed, previous studies have demonstrated that Bellings engaged with Jansenist views on original sin.³² Thus, Bellings was deeply involved in the Jansenist network at Port-Royal, and was significantly influenced by their political thought.

As examined in chapter two, in the context of debate over the memory-making amongst the expatriate Irish community, understanding Bellings' choice to write in both Latin and English is essential. As O'Connor has shown, these ideological debates must be understood within the broader Catholic controversy between Jansenists and Jesuits in Rome. Through these writings, Bellings and his contemporaries sought to influence

²⁹ Richard Bellings is widely believed to have translated Arnauld's *De la fréquente communion* into English. The Dominican Father John Nolan made another translation of the work. Mark Williams, *The king's Irishmen: the Irish in the exiled court of Charles II, 1649-1660* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp 81-2.

³⁰ Jacqueline-Marie-Angélique Arnauld, *Lettres de la Révérende Mère Marie Angélique Arnauld abbesse et réformatrice de Port-Royal* (3 vols, 1742), vol. 2, p. 4; O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 318-9; Ruth Clark, *Strangers and sojourners at Port-royal* (Cambridge, 1932), pp 51-2.

³¹ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 318.

³² Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', pp 212-28. Campbell, 'Power after Machiavelli', pp 45-62.

religious-political dynamics in Rome. It is evident that their primary audience extended beyond Ireland, specifically targeting the Catholic clerics on the Continent.

Additionally, they aimed to convey their political stance to the Roman curia, which was deliberating at the time on the resolution of the excommunication pronounced in 1648. The core of the debate focused on whether the 1648 appeal effectively suspended the censure. The council members debated how absolution for the censure of 1648 should be sought from the newly elected Pope Alexander VI. The pope's decision to authorise the four bishops of Raphoe, Leighlin, Clonfert and Cork, and to offer absolution to those willing to undertake penance was a pivotal moment in the controversy. By analysing past events in these debates, the writers endeavoured to influence the contemporary religious-political decision-making in Rome.³³ Bellings' decision to write *The History* in English during the Restoration period underscored his intent. He believed that presenting the facts in English would convince readers of their truthfulness in relation to the 1648 papal appeal, stating: 'I conceived it would be the best ground of assurance to the reader that the matters of fact alleged by them, which make up a part in this history, are undoubtedly true, and therefore judged it fit to be given him in English'.³⁴ In other words, although he published two pamphlets in Latin in Paris in the 1650s, he recognised the importance of producing a major work in English. As examined in chapter six, this might be because Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, published works in English on the Continent that strongly criticised Ormond.

Bellings focused his argument in *The History* on the excommunication of 1648,

³³ Also, Callaghan pushed Charles to seek assistance from Rome and pay a watchful eye upon how the decision of the appeal and *cum occasione* would look. Hyde to Rochester, 4 Apr. 1653 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 45, fol. 209).

³⁴ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fol. 24v.

specifically addressing the legal basis for imposing religious censure and the legitimacy of appealing for its reversal. Corish has highlighted Bellings' importance, noting that his stance on ecclesiastical and spiritual matters was influenced by Walsh's *Queries concerning the lawfulness of the present cessation* (1648) and Callaghan's *Vindiciae*.³⁵ Bellings aligned himself with theologians who supported the council's stance on religious affairs. He cited Callaghan's 1650 treatise, which criticised Rinnucini's 1648 excommunication as arbitrary and unjustifiable. Callaghan argued that, by the end of the nuncio's negotiations with the council, only secular matters remained, leaving no grounds for a religious censure.³⁶ Moreover, Callaghan contended that Rinuccini lacked both the religious authority to impose such censure and the papal mandate to execute the act.³⁷ Walsh also contributed to this discourse, arguing that the excommunication was inconsistent with established legal practices, 'against the law of the land as in Catholic times it was practised'.³⁸ Henry Burkhead's *Cola's Fury* (1646) reflected the widespread aversion to conflict amongst the Confederates. Burkhead's portrayal of the Old English and the peace supporters was encapsulated within the play, particularly through Aretas—a character embodying Old English nobility—who proclaimed, 'Nor doe we now intend a base revolt: /had *Rome's* [*sic*] majestique throne command it so /my humble answer saith /given *Cæsars* [*sic*] due, to God thy heart and faith'. Burkhead distinguished between civil allegiance to the king and religious allegiance to Rome.³⁹

³⁵ *Queries concerning the lawfulness of the present cessation* (Kilkenny, 1648); Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies', p. 50.

³⁶ Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies', p. 47.

³⁷ Corish, 'John Callaghan and the controversies', p. 47.

³⁸ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 260-2

³⁹ The passage was based on Mark 12:17 'And Jesus answering said unto them, Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's'. Burkhead, *A tragedy of Cola's furie*, p. 56. The notion was based upon arguments by Peter Lombard, Catholic archbishop of Armagh, in 1604. cf. J. J. Silke, 'Primate Lombard and James I' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxii, no. 2 (1955), pp 124–50; O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 108-9. Furthermore, Patricia Coughlan has observed that this delineation

As an élite landowner, Bellings embraced the loyalist Catholic politique stance, adopting Gallicanism to sustain his landed interests, religious convictions, and political loyalty. His interactions with Jansenists played a crucial role in shaping his political thought. Chapter six will also consider Bellings' efforts to formalise loyal Catholicism in the 1660s, in which Bellings again engaged with Gallican state-church ideology. Therefore, the latter two books of his *History* should be read not only from the perspective of the civil wars but also within a broader historical framework, as an intersection of the English reformation and the Catholic reformation.

4.4 Memory-making of the 1646 excommunication

Bellings wrote about the two excommunications imposed by the clergy in 1646 and 1648 respectively in the books 3 and 4, post his engagement with the Jansenists. The interactions with notable Jansenists in Paris during the exiled period of the 1650s profoundly shaped how he saw the world. In this light, Bellings' retrospective account of the 1646 excommunication captures a moment of profound helplessness among the council members. Bellings lamented, 'although there remains to this day diversity of opinions concerning that censure, no man hath made any attempt to refute the authorities and reasons alleged by him [i.e. Rinuccini] for the injustice and invalidity of the nuncio's proceedings'.⁴⁰ This statement reflects the enduring controversy and the perceived unassailability of Rinuccini's justifications for the excommunication. Moreover, Bellings offered a cynical critique of the council's naivety, suggesting that they lacked

mirrors the sentiments expressed by Patrick Darcy, Old English lawyer and the Confederate's *de facto* lord chancellor, in his address to the Irish Parliament in June 1641, later published in 1643. Coughlan, 'Introduction' in Angelina Lynch (ed.), *A tragedy of Cola's furie, or, Lirenda's miserie* (Dublin, 2009), pp 9–32, pp 14–6

⁴⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16969), fol. 33r. Bellings referred to a Franciscan Peter Walsh's work published in the Restoration. Peter Walsh, *The history & vindication of the loyal formulary, or Irish remonstrance* (London, 1674)

foresight and underestimated Rinuccini's resolve: 'they had not anie umbrage of a designe in the nuncio to interrupt their proceedings with so high a hand'. This was because nor in truth had they anie apprehension it could lie in his power so to do'.⁴¹ Essentially, in his *History*, Bellings questioned the legitimacy of Rinuccini's authority to impose such a censure, emphasising a critical moment of underestimation by the council of the nuncio's influence and intentions. These reflections are pivotal in understanding Bellings' perspective on the tumultuous period of 1646-1647. They underscored his concerns about the balance between ecclesiastical authority and state governance, revealing his priorities in navigating the fraught church-state relationship during a time of bitter conflict.

Bellings argued, as the royalist position in the English civil war weakened, the prospect of achieving a comprehensive peace became increasingly challenging. On 20 June, eight council members, including Bellings, approached Rinuccini to articulate the urgent need for peace within the Confederation, primarily due to bankruptcy and the need to support the king's cause.⁴² He highlighted the critical state of the king's war effort and the potential for an alliance between the covenanters and the parliamentarians as significant concerns. Furthermore, Bellings underscored the importance of the ecclesiastical settlement, even declaring if the church issues were not to be amended, 'they would all be ready again to take up arms against the Marquess [of Ormond]'.⁴³ The council argued, according to Bellings, that allegiance to the king was crucial for legitimising taxation for recovering from the insolvency, asserting that only through

⁴¹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 62r. In the NLI 16968, there is a large X mark for deletion until fol. 63v.

⁴² Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 58v-59v.

⁴³ 20 Jun. 1646, Rinuccini to Pamphili, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, p. 179

‘perfect obedience’ could adequate funds be raised, while clarifying their intentions were not driven by self-interest.⁴⁴

On 4 August, the first Ormond peace was ratified by a majority, with five of the nine council members voting in favour. This decision came under the assumption that Rinuccini would not oppose the agreement. Bellings noted, previously, in July, the council believed they had secured Rinuccini’s tacit acceptance. Bellings recorded Rinuccini’s ambivalent response: ‘I see that much good could result from this peace, but also much harm God will provide’ though the nuncio implied he did not fully agree with the council’s explanation.⁴⁵ Bellings remembered the council also anticipated Rinuccini’s departure from Ireland, influenced by conversations with Dionysio Massari, dean of Fermo. Bellings and Lucas Dillon, council member supporting the peace, were informed of Rinuccini’s purported plans to return to Rome, which they interpreted as a sign of vanishing opposition to their peace efforts.⁴⁶ However, Bellings described in his *History* that this expectation was upended on 11 August in Waterford, where Rinuccini, supported by his clerical allies, openly denounced the peace agreement.⁴⁷ The next day, prominent supporters of the peace – Bellings, Mountgarret, formerly president of the council, Muskerry, the new leader of the peace supporters, and Gerald Fennell – were

⁴⁴ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 61r-v.

⁴⁵ Quoted and translated in Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 146

⁴⁶ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 63v. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 146; Actually, Massari was sent to Rome for new support and supplies from the pope to be granted. Corish, ‘Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates’, p. 321

⁴⁷ Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdome of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020), pp 19-20; Richard Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warre in Ireland’ (BL, Add MS, 4819), fols 415r-v; Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 58v-59v; 11 Aug 1646, the council to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 85–6

excommunicated by Rinuccini.⁴⁸ In response to this dramatic turn of events, Bellings urgently dispatched William Robert, a herald tasked with proclaiming the peace treaty, to ensure Waterford's compliance with the peace.⁴⁹ This action underscored Waterford's critical strategic importance, not just as a military asset but as a vital port for communication and support between Ireland and the royalist forces in England.

It was obvious that the council members were much too 'tied to Ormond' to compromise with Rinuccini.⁵⁰ Recognising the precariousness of the situation, Bellings urgently appealed to Ormond to hasten his return to Limerick, emphasising that Ormond's absence jeopardised the peace efforts. This was particularly critical as Rinuccini's excommunication had a direct impact on the council's ability to collect taxes.⁵¹ Bellings anticipated, with considerable concern, that clerical influence might persuade cities and towns to withhold tax payments, critically undermining military funding during the summer.⁵² Indeed, Bellings' fears materialised when Galway and Limerick, opposing the peace, ceased making their excise payments to the council.⁵³ According to Ó hAnnracháin, the two cities' decision not to agree with the peace was basically caused by the cities' respect towards the nuncio.⁵⁴ Bellings later recorded that the annual excise revenue from Galway alone amounted to £600, a sum significant

⁴⁸ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fols 415r-417v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 64v. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, pp 21-2. Because of the censure, Mountgarret and Muskerry were sent to Dublin to negotiate with Ormond.

⁴⁹ 12 August 1646, William Robert to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 113-4; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 150

⁵⁰ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 152.

⁵¹ 21 Aug. 1646, Bellings to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, p. 95

⁵² 21 Aug. 1646, Bellings to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, p. 95

⁵³ 4 Aug 1646, Bellings to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 62-3; 10 Aug. 1646, Ormond to Bellings, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 65-7

⁵⁴ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 67

enough to cover the council members' salaries.⁵⁵ To counteract these financial challenges, the council sought Ormond's assistance in granting patents to newly appointed sheriffs in Kilkenny, Kildare, and Carlow. This move aimed to authorise the Leinster commissioners to enforce tax levies more effectively.⁵⁶ However, the political fortunes of the peace supporters were severely affected by Ormond's absence and Rinuccini's assertive control over the military forces in Leinster and Ulster. Bellings was arrested by Thomas Preston, viscount of Tara and general of the Leinster army, who was among Bellings' staunch adversaries. On 22 September, Bellings and four other council members were detained, with Muskerry's imprisonment following shortly after. Their incarceration lasted until the early days of 1647, marking a period of intense political strife and uncertainty for the peace supporters. Bellings did not fully describe what life was like during his imprisonment. Instead, he noted later in one line his *History* that 'manie men of qualitie now began to resent their usage, and show themselves concerned in procuring their liberty'.⁵⁷

Amidst escalating religio-political tensions, Bellings advocated from prison for the primacy of the council's oversight over ecclesiastical authorities. Demonstrating his conviction, Bellings addressed the ecclesiastical congregation with an 'independent, dismissive' and 'aggressive' letter which vilified the unlawfulness of the clergy. He argued for a legal foundation underpinning the relationship between civil governance and the church, questioning the legal standing of any ecclesiastical body that contested the

⁵⁵ Bellings commented that the custom of Galway was 'used to be enjoyed' by the council members. 10 Apr. 1651, Bellings to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 7, pp 371-375

⁵⁶ 18 Aug 1646, Mountgarret, Lucas Dillon and Bellings to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 93-4

⁵⁷ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 2, part 2, para. 691. Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 77v-78v.

civil government's agreements.⁵⁸ Central to Bellings' argument was the assertion that 'no ecclesiastical authority separate[d] from the secular authority could be recognised'.⁵⁹ This statement underlined his belief that the congregation lacked legitimate religious authority in the absence of council approval, essentially contending that the secular government should exert control over clerical assembly. Bellings' stance reflected a broader debate on the delineation of power between church and state, emphasising the necessity for legality and council endorsement in the validation of ecclesiastical functions. While lacking in canon law knowledge, however, Bellings indirectly criticised in *The History*, Rinuccini's religious censure, inserting Ormond's letter which questioned the Catholic clergy, including Thomas Flemming, archbishop of Dublin, about whether it would be possible to void the excommunication in church law.⁶⁰

An important episode in the ecclesiastical conflict between the council and the clergy occurred in 1646. Bellings sought to influence the process of the nomination of a new bishop for the see of Ross by proposing John Callaghan, a relative of Muskerry.⁶¹ Bellings later disclosed that 'it is myself who ... led in the supreme council of Catholics to nominate you to a diocese'.⁶² Bellings and Muskerry's support for Callaghan's elevation to the prelacy was encouraged by their expectation that his appointment would facilitate their effective intervention in ecclesiastical politics. However, Rinuccini

⁵⁸ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 151 note.

⁵⁹ 18 Aug 1646, Mountgarret, Lucas Dillon and Bellings to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 93-4

⁶⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 415r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 74r-v.

⁶¹ Robert Barry, vicar-apostolic, transferred to the See of Cork after William Tirrey, bishop of Cork, died in March 1646. Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Callaghan (MacCallaghan), John' in *DIB*; Robert Armstrong, 'Barry, Robert' in *DIB*.

⁶² 'Que c'est moymesme qui sans aucune sollicitation de vostre part, & sans que vous en sceussiez rien, ay porté le Conseil souuerain des Catholiques à vous nommer à vn Euesché'. Richard Bellings, *Lettre de monsieur Bellings gendre du Mylord de Mongaret, & secretaire d'estat conseil souuerain des Cathoiques d'Irlandem qui est presentment à Paris* (Paris, 1652), p. 2

strongly objected to the council's presumption of the authority to 'nominate' the bishop, insisting upon the term 'recommend' instead.⁶³ This semantic distinction underscored the fundamental disagreement over the locus of authority to select bishops. Rinuccini argued that such privilege had reverted to the pope following Henry VIII's break with Rome. Yet, interestingly, Luke Wadding, a Franciscan and the guardian of St. Isidore College, had earlier suggested in 1643 that the establishment of the council negated the need for papal appointments, implicitly endorsing the council's right to nominate bishops.⁶⁴ In other words, Bellings and Muskerri may well have hoped, if not believed, the nomination of bishops to fall under the landowners' rights in *status quo*, as dictated by English common law. This was because the nomination of the bishops belonged to the medieval prerogative of the English king thanks to *Laudabiliter*, which later continued by the landowners. After all, despite their efforts, 'by the importunity of the Seigneur Nuncio, the affair was passed to Rome against the intention of the council', and Callaghan was not ultimately ordained to be the bishop.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, his incident highlighted the clash of prerogatives between governmental and papal authorities, reflecting the broader conflict between state sovereignty and ecclesiastical hierarchy. This issue underscored governmental intervention not only in the church affairs but also within its ecclesiastical governance.

Following their release from prison, members of the peace supporters were exonerated by the seventh general assembly, convened on 10 January 1647. This assembly witnessed a significant confrontation between Bellings and Rinuccini, focusing

⁶³ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 264-5

⁶⁴ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 264-5

⁶⁵ '[Q]uoy que depuis par les importunitéz du Seigneur Nonce, l'affaire se soit passée à Rome contre l'intention du Conseil.' Bellings, *Lettre de monsieur Bellings*, p. 2

on the contentious 1646 Ormond peace.⁶⁶ According to Bellings, those present with him, the civil lawyers, were ‘the only competent judges of war and peace, and the grounds of either of them’.⁶⁷ And yet, Bellings clashed with Rinuccini and the clergy over the issue of jurisdiction over secular matters. The 1647 assembly transformed into a forum of intense debate, primarily revolving around the issues of authority and legitimacy in the peace negotiation process.⁶⁸ First, they debated if the council possessed the proper legitimacy to finalise the peace without conferring with an assembly. Bellings conceded that the council was restrained from concluding peace without an assembly’s approbation under the Confederate constitution. He argued however that the council met with the assembly’s full consent to conclude the peace since the council and the commissioners were given ‘the public and solemn direction ... to conclude this very peace’ by the assembly held in March 1646.⁶⁹ At the assembly, the approbation was ‘read to them [the council] in the same terms’, even if there were some changes in wording in the articles ‘but no way in substance’.⁷⁰ This perspective concerning the assembly March 1646 suggested that, in Bellings’ view, the prior agreement by the assembly obviated the need for further consultation. However, Bellings’ description of this event is somewhat opaque. Rather, as Ó hAnnracháin has pointed out, it should be considered that Bellings probably deliberately blurred the chronology relating to the events from 19 February to 1

⁶⁶ Bellings was not the secretary at that time of the debate.

⁶⁷ Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warre in Ireland’ (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 428v; Bellings, ‘The history of the late warr in Ireland, divided into four books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 79r-v.

⁶⁸ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, ‘Imagining political representation in seventeenth-century Ireland’ in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Community in early modern Ireland*. (Dublin, 2006), pp 34–50, pp 44-49.

⁶⁹ Bellings, ‘The History of the late Warre in Ireland’ (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol 429v-30r; Bellings ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 81v-82r. As for the assembly in March 1646, Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 44r-51r.

⁷⁰ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 44r-51r, 81v-82r

May 1646 as if these events occurred subsequently, undermining Rinuccini's argument.⁷¹ Bellings delineated the events that the council and Ormond hastened to formalise a treaty with Rome mediated by Edward Somerset, earl of Glamorgan, in response to concurrent negotiations led by Rinuccini, which promised the pope a new agreement more favourable to Rome's interests.⁷² Rinuccini, while tentatively accepting the terms of the Glamorgan treaty, proposed a conditional acceptance to the council, stipulating a delay in finalising it until 1 May. This postponement was intended to accommodate potential alterations to the religious provisions in the event that the Digby treaty was ratified.⁷³ Nonetheless, this calculated delay was undermined when the council, sidestepping Rinuccini's conditional terms, proceeded to sign the Glamorgan treaty prematurely on 28 March, thereby breaching the tentative trust established with Rinuccini.⁷⁴ Bellings and Fennell were assured by George Lane, secretary to Ormond, in correspondence that 'you may be satisfied that the party who hath soe erred had neyther his [Ormond's] direcon or approbacon', indicating a clear awareness among Ormond and the peace party of breaching of trust with Rinuccini.⁷⁵ It is apparent in his *History*

⁷¹ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 135 note.

⁷² Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 45v-r.

⁷³ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 45v-r; Patrick J. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates, 1645-9' in *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 317-335, p. 319; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 134 note.

⁷⁴ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 41r-v. To conceal their duplicity from the nuncio, the council solicited Ormond to postpone the public announcement of the Glamorgan peace treaty. In exchange for his compliance, they promised Ormond £3,000 to cover the expenses of maintaining his forces at the Dublin garrison for an additional three months. This sum was secured through funds borrowed from Rinuccini, under the pretence that it would support Ormond's or Antrim's campaigns against the Covenanters in Scotland. 14 Mar. 1646, Glamorgan to Ormond, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 5, pp 281-2; 18 Mar. 1646, the council to the commissioners, Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 41r-v; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 136 and 164

⁷⁵ George Lane to Bellings and Fennell, 21 Mar. 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS, 16, f. 681).

that Bellings deliberately blurred the exact details to conceal the council's duplicity towards Rinuccini.

However, the opposition, led by Rinuccini and supported by moderate politicians and clergy, insisted on adhering to a governmental model that emphasised the assembly's ultimate authority as the final arbiter of peace negotiations. The clergy now composed four articles and asked that they be incorporated into a new oath of association for any future agreement of peace. First, there should be free and public practice of the Catholic religion as in the time of Henry VII. Second, the clergy should be provided with jurisdiction and immunities over civil law tribunal. Third, the penal laws should be repealed. Fourth, regarding the long-running controversy, the clergy demanded the restoration of the confiscated church and monastic lands. Furthermore, the new oath of association was approved with two significant amendments: the Confederates were not to insist on Catholic possession of the churches in certain areas: in any peace treaty, the assembly was to be the final judge.⁷⁶ Previous studies highlighted that by this point clerical interest became so powerful was that they could stand against the council's peace policies. This stance challenged Bellings' narrative, particularly in light of his 1644 apology to the assembly for his earlier disregard of its directives. Casting doubt on his commitment to the assembly's supremacy Bellings' later cynical observation in *The History* underscored the constitutional limitations placed on the supreme council, emphasising that it 'was restrained from concluding any peace, or entering upon a new war without the approbation of an assembly'.⁷⁷ This remark reflected the ongoing tension between the necessity for collective decision-making and the challenges of

⁷⁶ Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', pp 322-3.

⁷⁷ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 431v; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 83v.

navigating the Confederation's internal divisions. In Bellings' view, as the central figure of the council, the discord between the council and the assembly deepened after the imprisonment.

In the heated debates of the assembly, Bellings disputed, recorded in his *History*, the legitimacy of Rinuccini's actions, specifically questioning Rinuccini's authority to exercise 'the prime jurisdiction in the civil magistracy ... without their [i.e. the council's] consent'.⁷⁸ This challenge was rooted in Bellings' personal experience of being detained by Thomas Preston's Leinster army. Bellings interpreted this incident as evidence of Rinuccini and the clerical faction's ambition to usurp civil authority, attributing their rejection of the peace not to specific grievances with its terms but to a broader 'an aversion to the king's government'.⁷⁹ Rinuccini, in his defence, argued that the clergy's assumption of certain roles traditionally held by the council was a response to a governance vacuum, emphasising that their intervention was not driven by a desire to encroach upon secular jurisdictions. According to Rinuccini, the clergy's actions were a temporary measure aimed at restoring political stability, asserting that 'not because they [i.e. the clergy] considered that temporal things belonged to their jurisdiction'.⁸⁰ This rationale suggested an understanding of the clergy's role as caretakers of governance, stepping in only to realign the government towards its proper course amid exceptional circumstances. Bellings' scepticism towards Rinuccini and the clergy highlights the deep mistrust and ideological divisions that characterised the period, in which Bellings reflected in the broader conflicts concerning Confederate governance between loyalist

⁷⁸ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 76v.

⁷⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 428r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols. 83v and 86r-v.

⁸⁰ Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, pp 241-44

attitudes and papal authority. Whether real or not, it is noteworthy that Bellings portrayed the assembly as opposing the council.

In the assembly, recollecting a visit to Rome in the spring of 1645, Bellings testified to an encounter with Giovanni Battista Pamphili, Pope Innocent X, concerning the ongoing peace negotiations with the royalist army. Bellings remembered that, understanding Charles I's precarious position, Innocent told him 'it was no wonder your king should not think it safe for him to grant the conditions [of religious freedom] publicly' and warranted that the Confederate 'might make use of his [i.e. Charles'] connivance' of Catholic practice.⁸¹ According to Bellings, the pope had acquiesced in the private exercise of Catholic belief in Ireland, 'which had induced him to approve and conclude the treaty'.⁸² As Nicholas French and Rinuccini both documented Bellings' shocking testimony, Bellings probably said this publicly.⁸³ In his *History*, Bellings endeavoured to strengthen its truthfulness. In Bellings' rhetoric in his *History*, he used the third person to represent himself as 'Mr. Richard Bellings' in an effort to present an objective resonance of how correct and factual his discourse was to persuade readers and of 'several audiences'.⁸⁴ Among the audience in Rome, Bellings noted in *The History* there had been Wadding who could prove 'the truth of this assertion unquestionable'.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 428r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 79v-80r.

⁸² Rinuccini to Cardinal Pamphili, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, pp 251-2. In 1652, Bellings also noted that Rinuccini would testify the same as well. *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 2, par. 2, para. 726.

⁸³ Nicholas French, 'The bleeding iphigenia, or an excellent preface of a work unfinished, published by the Authors frind, with the Reasons publishing it' in Samuel Henry Bindon (ed.), *The historical works of the Right Rev. Nicholas French, D.D. bishop of Ferns* (2 vols, Dublin, 1846), ii, 23.

⁸⁴ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol fol. 428r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 79v-80r.

⁸⁵ Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 428r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 79v-80r. On this point, it was documented in *Commentarius* that Wadding testified later that the pope did not say those words on the occasion. *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 4, para. 490

Furthermore, despite this controversy, Bellings maintained in his *History* the legitimacy regarding the formal documentation of his discussions with the pope in his report to the council. Bellings contended that the recorded account, once submitted to the council ‘could not be subsequently revoked’, asserting its enduring validity despite Rinuccini’s objections.⁸⁶ It is clear that he leveraged the purported papal position not merely to challenge Rinuccini’s authority but also to assert a broader political narrative, aiming to diminish the influence of Rinuccini and other clerical opponents in the Confederacy.⁸⁷ Thus, the debate over Bellings’ testimony underscored the intricate interplay between political manoeuvring, ecclesiastical endorsement, and the strategic use of papal authority within the memory-making of the Confederacy.

In 2 February 1647, following extensive deliberations, the assembly decisively voted to reject the first Ormond peace. Bellings observed the decision was ‘far from finding a tacit consent in the minds of men’, indicating a lack of unanimous support for the peace terms. According to Bellings this sentiment was echoed by Robert Talbot, another peace supporter. Talbot lamented, he recollected, that the resolution was ‘overborne with the vote and not weight or strength of reason’, suggesting that the rejection was influenced more by numerical majority than by the substantive merits of the arguments presented.⁸⁸ In response to the assembly’s decision, Gerald Fennell and Geoffrey Barron, a middle party member, were delegated to Dublin to discuss new peace terms with Ormond. They resolved that the Confederates and the royalists would

⁸⁶ However, despite a promise to show the report document to Rinuccini, Bellings had ‘never yet done’ that. 23 Feb. 1646, Rinuccini to Cardinal Pamphili, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, p. 251

⁸⁷ The nuncio was exasperated by being accused of not obeying the pope’s command. 23 Feb. 1646, Rinuccini to Cardinal Pamphili, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, p. 251.

⁸⁸ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 83r-v.

cooperate in combating the parliamentarians and the covenanters remaining as separate governments until 10 April.⁸⁹ This arrangement included financial support from the Confederates for the royalist military efforts, with Ormond in turn assuring the protection of the Catholic faith, as well as the safety and liberties of Catholic lives, estates, and freedoms within royalist-controlled territories.⁹⁰ Despite these negotiations, the necessity for a revised peace treaty remained evident. The peace supporters and Ormond were compelled to reconsider their positions and strategies to achieve a durable peace that could reconcile the diverse interests and concerns of the Confederation's factions, especially concerning the restoration of church lands that the Confederacy took over at that time.

The political turmoil of 1646 likely deepened Bellings' resentment towards clerical interference, potentially amplifying his anti-clerical stance. The discord between Bellings and Rinuccini intensified sharply, reaching a point where Rinuccini characterised Bellings as speaking and writing 'more discreditably than' anyone else.⁹¹ This deterioration in their relationship, however, was emblematic of a broader conflict that transcended personal animosities. The contentious correspondence from Bellings, combined with the religious censures and his subsequent arrest, underscored the fundamental tensions between temporal and spiritual authorities within the Confederation. Alternatively, this dynamic might also be interpreted through the lens of

⁸⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 83v.

⁹⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols 81r-v; Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, p. 138

⁹¹ 19 Jun. 1646, Innocent X and Cardinal Pamphili to the council, Gilbert, *of the Irish confederation*, vol. 5, pp 357-358; 24 Dec. 1647, Rinuccini to Cardinal Pamphili, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland*, p. 348

the politics of honour within the Confederation.⁹² The imposition of religious censures by the clergy not only challenged the secular authority of lay politicians but also severely restricted their capacity to fulfil their governmental roles. Furthermore, it is important to note that Bellings vividly depicted the opposition between the council and the assembly. The picture that Bellings remembered in this way appears to have emerged from that development. This conflict between the ecclesiastical and lay factions within the Confederation thus reveals the complex interplay between governance, legitimacy, and the politics of honour. For Bellings, the political situation represented a deviation from the proper order.

4.5 Memory-making of the 1648 excommunication

In the aftermath of the contentious debates of 1647, the peace supporters, leveraging their renewed influence within the Confederate politics, actively sought to negotiate a new peace treaty with the royalist army. Essentially, the council in Kilkenny prioritised establishing a new peace agreement with the royalist army, encouraged by the king's alliance with the Scottish covenanters.⁹³ In justifying the necessity of this new truce, the council outlined a strategic reallocation of resources: funds previously dedicated to combatting parliamentary forces would now support the royalist efforts.⁹⁴ This shift

⁹² cf. Brendan Kane, 'A world of honour: aristocratic mentalité' in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 482–505.

⁹³ Ormond had been forbidden access to the king by the parliament who were suspicious of the lord lieutenant. But in letters dated 5 and 27 January, he was commissioned by Charles to try again to reach a peace with the Confederates if it could be done without undermining the king's 'conscience and honour'. Also, Ormond was instructed by Charles to follow any instructions from Henrietta Maria and the Prince of Wales, even without the lack of any king's public authorisation. (Bodl., Carte MS, 22, fol. 7); Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Add MS, 4819), fol. 428r; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fols. 86r-v.; Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', p. 327

⁹⁴ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 4r-5v.

became especially important as Ormond had departed Ireland for Paris in March to engage in discussions with Henrietta Maria, queen consort of England. Consequently, during the interim period, the peace negotiations were directed towards Murrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, who had notably aligned with the royalist cause in April 1648. Despite their efforts, Rinuccini and the clergy remained steadfast in their opposition, once again rejecting the proposed peace terms. This time, however, the council adopted a more robust counterstrategy to the clergy's resistance, informed by their understanding of the legal constraints on Rinuccini's position under English law—a marked departure from their earlier confrontations in 1646.

This section will investigate Bellings' arguments against Rinuccini's supporters, examining primarily on his narratives about the 1648 excommunication. In the latter part of *The History*, Bellings particularly focused upon Rinuccini's 1648 censure. To Bellings and the council members, the experience of the 1648 excommunication and the appeal epitomised their understanding of jurisdictional separation between the royal and the ecclesiastical authorities. In other words, Bellings expressed his political views on the Gallican state-church relationship in the latter part of his *History*. The following discussion will spotlight the broader political and religious implications of his disputes. As seen in the chapter two, the polemicists extensively speculated on the reasons behind the dissent among Catholics within the Confederation, and how this dissension precipitated the civil war of 1648 amongst Catholics in Ireland. In the publications in the 1650s, Bellings robustly defended the political actions of Ormond and the peace supporters during the nuncio's censure in 1648.

On 2 May, after establishing a permanent committee of the assembly, consisting of the nuncio and four bishops to represent the church in matters concerning the truce, Rinuccini and the bishops left Kilkenny and joined Owen Roe O'Neill, general of the

Ulster army, in Maryborough.⁹⁵ This departure posed a challenge for the council, as Rinuccini's approval was crucial for concluding the peace, and effectively stalled any progress in the absence of his consent.⁹⁶ Bellings later noted that, unlike in 1646, the council proceeded more cautiously with the peace talks, aware that concluding an agreement without Rinuccini's sanction would undermine the council's legitimacy.⁹⁷ On 20 May, the council and Inchiquin agreed on a ceasefire. In a decisive response aimed at undermining support for the truce and maintaining ecclesiastical opposition, Rinuccini, leveraging his religious authority, issued a censure alongside four bishops — Boetius Egan, bishop of Ross; Arthur Magennis, bishop of Down; Heber MacMahon, bishop of Clogher; and Robert Barry, bishop of Cork and Cloyne.⁹⁸ This move — marking Rinuccini's second issuance of a religious censure — underscored the ongoing conflict between ecclesiastical mandates and political expediencies, even though it did not have the same impact as earlier censures due to their increasing frequency and the nuncio's inability to secure military support from Preston.

Religious disputes again significantly influenced the Inchiquin peace agreement. Rinuccini recognised the necessity of concluding peace with Inchiquin but insisted it could not be agreed upon unless the Confederacy secured 'a benefit to our religion' from the deal.⁹⁹ A primary reason for Rinuccini's refusal was the unresolved disagreements since the 1643 cessation between the council and the nuncio over religious freedom and

⁹⁵ This committee had been given explicit power to impose censures. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', p. 327

⁹⁶ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 18r-20r.

⁹⁷ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 18r-20r.

⁹⁸ Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', p. 330

⁹⁹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 7v-9v.

church property rights.¹⁰⁰ In response to the nuncio, the council attempted to reassure him that the cessation would neither harm the Catholic religion nor prejudice the Catholic church.¹⁰¹ Yet, dissatisfied with the terms concerning religion, the clergy and Rinuccini contended that the cessation would undermine the Catholic faith and its adherents in Ireland.¹⁰² They argued that a peace treaty should prioritise spiritual welfare; however, peace with Inchiquin was perceived to benefit only ‘the king’s cause beneficial’.¹⁰³ Bellings argued that Rinuccini, guided by papal instructions, believed that feigned loyalty to the king was futile without advancing the cause of religion.¹⁰⁴ In short, Bellings suggested that Rinuccini’s and the clergy’s loyalty to the king was conditional, in stark contrast to his own unwavering loyalty to the royal cause.

Bellings revealed the council’s, therefore his own, true motivation and intention to make peace in regard to the church. Even though ‘[w]e understand that the animosities and contradictions among the Confederates deteriorated’, it did not change that their shared reason for the war was to ‘maintain the religion’.¹⁰⁵ Bellings remarked that the Confederates ‘all agreed the same wishes to restitute fully the entire splendour of the Catholic church’.¹⁰⁶ Though Bellings did not clarify how to realise ‘the entire splendour’ of the church, it should be pointed out that he referred to the restitution of the

¹⁰⁰ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 16v-20r.

¹⁰¹ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fol. 7r.

¹⁰² Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 11r-12v.

¹⁰³ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 11r-12v.

¹⁰⁴ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 9r-v.

¹⁰⁵ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 38r-v.

¹⁰⁶ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 38r-v.

church. However, Bellings remembered that their opinion differed ‘only in’ ways in which to realise their purpose of conducting the civil war:

those who had most to lose, weighing the human means which rationally were to co-operate with their endeavours to attain such their ends, and they were of opinion that those left them required to be dexterously managed to make the nation even to subsist amidst the many calamities fallen upon them by the loss of two armies.¹⁰⁷

Acknowledging that dexterous management was necessary for the government to sustain the Catholic people, Bellings demonstrated the reason of state political thinking that he prioritised the council’s interest the most.¹⁰⁸ It is more significant to note here that Bellings implied the council’s interest by referring to the council as ‘[t]hose who had the most to lose’, that is, to secure the council members’ property. He warned that the loss of religious and political freedoms was imminent, along with the confiscation of lands and their associated income, after the parliamentarians’ victory over the royalists and covenanters in England. Notably, this passage is the only reference in Bellings’ *History* to his personal stake in landownership. Though unstated, Bellings expressed his material concerns about both the parliamentary conquest and clerical demands to restore church lands, reflecting contemporary political issues he faced in the 1660s.

The process of concluding a peace, followed by clerical rejection, might appear similar in 1646 and 1648. However, the internal politics of the Confederation showcased distinct differences on both occasions. Bellings candidly acknowledged that, during the 1646 censure, the council’s constitutional foundation was so fragile that it could not

¹⁰⁷ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 38r-v.

¹⁰⁸ See Campbell, ‘Power after Machiavelli’ in Jason McElligott, Liam Chambers, Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Power in history: from the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin, 2011), pp 45–62.

forestall Rinuccini from taking over the governmental power.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, by the subsequent period, the clerical faction lacked the cohesion and strength previously exhibited. Bellings elucidated in his *History* the division among the Confederacy, noting how ‘the convents and monasteries of the several orders were also divided, some obeying the nuncio’s interdict, others giving obedience to the civil magistrate’.¹¹⁰ Reflecting on the political climate of 1648, Bellings observed that ‘Rinuccini could not effectively exercise his power’. ‘In this case, though he wanted the unanimous consent of the prelates, the veneration of and the terror of excommunication was much diminished’.¹¹¹ Rinuccini himself lamented that certain clergy, intermediating between him and the council, were ‘rather willing to give ear to the lay magistrate than to obey the see apostolicke’.¹¹² It was, therefore, imperative to acknowledge that the supreme council effectively leveraged this opportunity to reclaim the Confederate authority they had enjoyed until the previous peace rejection in 1646.

Days later, the council enacted two drastic countermeasures against the nuncio and the bishops: in order to suspend the censure, they appealed to the pope contesting the validity of the excommunication and the legal capacity of the nuncio. The council undertook several steps to assert the legitimacy of their appeal. They initiated this process by creating and distributing their own oath of association on 27 June.¹¹³ To expedite the spread of their declarations, they took control of the Jesuits’ printing press

¹⁰⁹ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 18r-v.

¹¹⁰ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 32v-33r.

¹¹¹ Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 18r-v.

¹¹² Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fol. 32v.

¹¹³ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, para. 965

in Kilkenny.¹¹⁴ Indeed, Jesuits in Kilkenny, under patronage of the loyalist Catholic landowners of the Confederation, were cooperative for the council to print the declarations.¹¹⁵ On 7 July, they issued a declaration asserting the justness of the peace in accordance with the assembly's agreement.¹¹⁶ This oath required signatories to commit to upholding the peace treaty, acknowledge the council's authority, and support the appeal to Rome.¹¹⁷ Stressing the significance of English law, the council mandated an affirmation of their 'supreme power in civil matters given to the council by the Kingdom'.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, on 28 July, they issued a protest against Rinuccini's excommunication and, upon completing their appeal to the pope, published a declaration to justify their action.¹¹⁹

This appeal was substantiated by the Franciscan Peter Walsh's *Queries concerning the lawfulness of the present cessation* published under the name of David Rothe, bishop of Ossory.¹²⁰ Bellings fully cited the document in his manuscript. The council argued that Rinuccini's jurisdiction was advisory, not executive, highlighting the alleged inappropriateness of his legal authority within the kingdom.¹²¹ They threatened

¹¹⁴ Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 160-2

¹¹⁵ In fact, it was not directly so; Jesuits just willingly handed the council their printing press to be confiscated. O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, pp 286-7

¹¹⁶ Anon., *By the Supreame Councell of the Confederat Catholick[s] of Ireland [it] cannot be expressed by what subtle practices such, as for their own ambitious ends* (Kilkenny, 1648)

¹¹⁷ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, para. 968

¹¹⁸ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, paras 969-70

¹¹⁹ Anon., *By the Supreame Councell of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland although wee find our selves much afflicted for the expressions wee are forced to make, of the Lord Nuncio his violent proceedings against the gouernment of the kingdome* (Kilkenny, 1648); *The Tanner letters: original documents and notices of Irish affairs in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries* (IMC, vol. 30, Dublin, 1943), pp 296-8; Anon., *Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics against the Nuncio and his four Bishops in their condemning the cessation with Inchiquin* (Kilkenny, 1648); *The Tanner letters*, p. 293; *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, paras 937-945

¹²⁰ *Queries concerning the lawfulness of the present cessation* (Kilkenny, 1648). Though the council argued the appeal to Rome would automatically suspend the censure, Rinuccini denied the idea and remained in force until a decision was made in Rome. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', p. 327

¹²¹ The council to Innocent X, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 243-53.

to confiscate his possessions unless he annulled the excommunication, ‘just as those laws were observed in thoroughly Catholic times’ – a reference to legal practices predating the reformation.¹²² Through the threats, the council attempted to show that the power of the papal nuncio would come under the civil authority. Moreover, the appeal scrutinised the legal authority of Massari, Rinuccini’s aide, who had placed the excommunication notice on St. Canice’s Cathedral. Even if Massari ‘called himself a delegate to the nuncio’, they protested that he did not bring approbation as granted by either Rinuccini or the clergy. The council insisted that they ‘had no due obedience, since he [i.e Massari] could have no jurisdiction at all in this kingdom upon law’.¹²³ The council’s usage of language upon the ‘legality’ or ‘illegality’ of the censure is pivotal here, repeatedly denouncing the excommunication as unlawful, unjust, injurious and illegal, while persisting ‘[t]he appeal is thought and introduced by law’.¹²⁴

The council’s strategic reliance on a legalistic approach to contest clerical actions reflected its broader effort to assert political control over religious authority. Apart from questions of legality, Bellings highlighted in *The History* that the council asserted that clergy members were encroaching their secular domain. For example, it was contended that the prelates had no legal basis to convene a national synod or provincial congregation and that their discussions on ‘purely temporal [matters] without

¹²² *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, para. 702

¹²³ The council to Innocent X, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 243-53. Though Massari wrote a memoir upon his Irish mission, unfortunately, nothing survives concerning his return to Rome in 1646. Dionysio Massari, ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, vi (1916), pp 28–35, 82–8, 153–159, 217–22, 302–8, 367–73, 445–9; Dionysio Massari, ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, vii (1917), pp 111–4, 179–82, 246–9, 295–6; Dionysio Massari, ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, viii (1918), pp 140–2, 195–7, 247–9, 300–3, 396–8, 439–40; Dionysio Massari, ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, ix (1919), pp 66–8, 116–7, 200–1, 310–1, 488–90, 538–40, 603–4, 649–52; Dionysio Massari, ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, x (1920), pp 735–44.

¹²⁴ The council to Innocent X, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 243-53.

commission or other authority'.¹²⁵ The council viewed these actions as undue interference in 'things altogether secular'.¹²⁶ Crucially, Bellings also noted that the council argued that figures like Rinuccini and his clerical counterparts operated under the assumption that ecclesiastical jurisdiction was universal in time and place, thereby conflating it with the lay jurisdiction.¹²⁷ In the meantime, countering the council's appeal, Rinuccini condemned that the council tried to 'prescribe the laws for both heaven and earth, for both the spiritual and temporal, as though they had appealed against us and so had suspended the power of our excommunication'.¹²⁸ This dispute underscored a fundamental disagreement over the scope of their respective jurisdictions.

In a subsequent proclamation, the council possibly stated their expectation of the king's protection for all churchmen, both secular and regular, loyal and obedient to the government.¹²⁹ This stance emerged as the council actively prevented clergy from holding a national synod, thereby putting clerical immunity at risk. Initially, they arrested and detained Massari, who had stayed in Kilkenny after Rinuccini left, and seized his documents.¹³⁰ Furthermore, the council stressed that refusal to take the previously mentioned oath of association would result in being 'put into trial under English Civil Law'.¹³¹ When Rinuccini attempted to convoke a national synod in Galway on 24 July, the council explicitly opposed the nuncio's intention protesting 'this

¹²⁵ The council to Innocent X, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 243-53; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 23v-24r.

¹²⁶ The council to Innocent X, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 243-53; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 23v-24r.

¹²⁷ The council to Innocent X, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 6, pp 243-53; Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 23v-24r.

¹²⁸ 13 June 1648, Rinuccini to Panciroli, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, paras 656-673

¹²⁹ Anon., *By the Supream Councell of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland whereas by our late proclamation we have assured all and everie the inhabitants of the province of Ulster* (Kilkenny, 1648)

¹³⁰ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, paras 969-70

¹³¹ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, paras 969-70

is happening without any consent by us'.¹³² To enforce their decree, the council requested Clanricard to dispatch a contingent of cavalry to block the roads to Galway, aiming to prevent the synod scheduled for 15 August and to detain attending clerics.¹³³

On 4 September, the ninth assembly was held to agree another peace. In the meantime, in Paris, Henrietta Maria and Ormond established a new peace agreement which was backed financially by Mazarin.¹³⁴ To eliminate the threat of the parliamentarians coming from England and Scotland, the royalists tried to make good use of the Confederation. To this end, Ormond returned to Ireland to win over Owen Roe O'Neill and join the alliance with Inchiquin and the Presbyterians.¹³⁵ According to Rinuccini, the council appointed 'its own Ormondist partisans' for the assembly, including Muskerry, Browne, Francis Bermingham, Baron Athenry, Dillon, Fennell and Bellings.¹³⁶ On 17 January 1649, despite lacking formal authority over ecclesiastical matters and being reliant on royal favour, Ormond reached a compromise with the clergy, agreeing to dissolve the confederacy and the royalist army in exchange. Heeding Bellings' counsel that resolving the religious question was essential for Ireland's peace, Ormond consented to the clergy's control over churches and church revenues their judicial authority, and the potential for calling a free parliament.¹³⁷ This accord, promising legal acknowledgement of church hierarchy and broad religious freedom, was significant, though its realisation was thwarted by King Charles' execution on 30

¹³² *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, para. 933

¹³³ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, para. 936

¹³⁴ French agents (De La Monroe, Du Talon and Du Moulin) sought a new treaty between the royalists and the Confederates, to facilitate the 1,000 men (which the council authorised to enlist in their territory) to send to France. For this, Ormond himself was finding benefit to send the army to the continent. Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, p. 148

¹³⁵ Muskerry and Geoffrey Browne to Bellings, 10 June 1648 (Bodl., Carte MS, 44, fol. 349v); Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration*, pp 206-7

¹³⁶ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 3, paras 1098 and 1170.

¹³⁷ Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', p. 334.

January.¹³⁸ These clauses concerning religious toleration influenced the religious settlements in the later decades, as examined in chapter six. With Rinuccini and the clergy retreating to Limerick, supported by O'Neill's Ulster Army, the peace faction and Ormond's allies anticipated that Ormond's presence at Kilkenny castle would grant them complete political dominance, free from ecclesiastical meddling. In other words, the loyalist Catholics were successful in sustaining the *de facto* possession of their church lands.

In contrast to the actual cause of the dissension among the Catholic Confederation, Bellings' memory-making framed Rinuccini's actions as motivated by self-interest. In his memory-making, Bellings criticised Rinuccini, claiming the nuncio had strayed from his mission—a deviation he believed ultimately fractured the Confederation's unity. In *Innocentiae Sue*, Bellings lamented Rinuccini's failure to fulfil his Roman mandate, which encompassed propagating the Catholic faith, ensuring the people's allegiance to the king, and preserving the unity of the Confederation¹³⁹. He highlighted Rinuccini's notoriety by contrasting him with Scarampi, Rinuccini's predecessor who did not resort to excommunication and stayed true to his Roman directives.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Bellings argued that the papacy's intentions were subverted by Rinuccini's interference in politics.¹⁴¹ He speculated that Rinuccini was motivated by self-interest and a quest for personal glory, rather than genuine service to God.¹⁴² Bellings highlighted what he saw as Rinuccini's preference for pursuing his own agenda, particularly in matters such as the series of the peace treaties – a temporal issue that

¹³⁸ Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates', p. 334

¹³⁹ Bellings, *Innocentiae suae*, p. 18

¹⁴⁰ Bellings, *Innocentiae suae*, p. 18

¹⁴¹ Bellings, *Innocentiae suae*, p. 10

¹⁴² Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 87r.

Bellings argued fell within the jurisdiction of the council and was not appropriate for ecclesiastical censure. Consequently, Bellings raised a fundamental question about obedience and ‘whether lawful civil authority justly functioning, or those who try to usurp this authority on the pretext of religion against the wishes of the pope’.¹⁴³

By positing the council’s political unanimity, Bellings starkly contrasted the council’s dedication with the clergy’s self-interest. This raised the question of why Bellings displayed such acute self-awareness in framing his identity as a civil magistrate. He stressed the sovereign’s need to regulate passions, highlighting the role of counsellors in reducing potential dangers. Bellings articulated the concept that a king, ordained by divine will, must navigate governance not in isolation but with the support of his privy council. In Bellings’ poetry work *A Sixth Booke to the Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1624),¹⁴⁴ Bellings noted the importance of the council’s support for the king in his youth. For instance, Bellings remarked the necessity of backing a king, as ‘he whom God ordain’d a king to be ... is never free’ from his people and his passions.¹⁴⁵ In other words, the king had to rule the state with assistance from the council.¹⁴⁶ Bellings’ self-identity as a counsellor to the king likely evolved from his extensive political experiences spanning the 1630s through the 1660s. By highlighting Rinuccini’s self-interest, Bellings questioned his true allegiance to God. In response to contemporary clergy’s criticism, Bellings instead emphasised loyalty to the king as his ultimate

¹⁴³ English translation is from Corish, ‘John Callaghan and the controversies’, pp 49-50.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Bellings, *A Sixth Booke to the Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (Dublin, 1624); Marea Mitchell, Ann Margaret Lange, Dianne Osland, Gervase Markham, Richard Bellings and D. Stanley (eds), *Continuations to Sidney’s Arcadia, 1607-1867* (4 vols, London, 2014). Although Andrew Carpenter has published an anthology of English verses in Tudor and Stuart Ireland, he has not contained the main narrative of *Arcadia*. Andrew Carpenter (ed.), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003), pp 156-64.

¹⁴⁵ Bellings, ‘A sixth booke of Arcadia’, p. 214.

¹⁴⁶ Gillespie, ‘The social thought of Richard Bellings’, p. 220.

defence.

Bellings critiqued the clerical encroachment on the royal supremacy. In Clarendon's *Shortview*, those who adhered to the peace were reproached with excommunications even 'without the least shadow of Law or gospel to support them'.¹⁴⁷ It was evident that lay politicians were acutely conscious of their responsibility to uphold 'the Lawes and Goverment ... alwayes in danger to be invaded by the same license [i.e. the clergy]'.¹⁴⁸ In other words, civil law, they believed, was perpetually vulnerable to clerical overreach. They saw themselves as rightfully superior to the clergy by virtue of commanding the war on behalf of the king. Therefore, they were confident that 'the Duty & obedience dew to Kings and Princes' should be paid, which 'includes a proportion of respects and reuerance towards their Deputyes and ministers of trust and left that civility of addresse and decency of Languadge be used to them'.¹⁴⁹ For them, this deference necessitated appropriate civility and decorum in language. Beyond the question of legal or canonical grounds for excommunication, such actions also affronted their ingrained sense of social hierarchy. Bellings reacted particularly strongly to the nuncio's comments on the civil matters. He observed in *The History* that Rinuccini disregarded ordinary means necessary for all human actions, traditionally managed by 'the sole hands of the civil magistrates'.¹⁵⁰ Thus, Bellings considered Rinuccini's stance 'so it was too plain a solecism in matters of state'.¹⁵¹ Bellings inferred that Rinuccini sought to marginalise 'the chief magistrate of the kingdom' and exclude the council from

¹⁴⁷ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 119.

¹⁴⁸ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 120.

¹⁴⁹ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 120.

¹⁵⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 9v-10r.

¹⁵¹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 9v-10r.

wielding ‘absolute power’.¹⁵² Therefore, Bellings depicted Rinuccini and the clergy as interlopers who undermined the established power and authority in civil governance.

Bellings expressed his position on the state-church relationship, aligning with Callaghan’s view on political obedience. Bellings asserted the need to reaffirm allegiance to the monarchy, emphasising that ‘everything should return to obedience to the Royal government’ and ‘the supreme authority over temporal affairs belongs in the civil administration’.¹⁵³ Bellings condemned Rinuccini and the clergy for disregarding the established principles of lay governance.¹⁵⁴ In other words, Bellings suggested that Rinuccini's imposition of religious censure was the catalyst for internal conflict among the Confederates. Meanwhile, *A Short View* further addressed the issue defining loyalty through the distinction between regal power and ecclesiastical authority.¹⁵⁵ The royalists argued that the clergy’s actions could render the people in Ireland ‘repugnant to the Loyalty they owe to their King, or their obedience, without w[hi]ch the Peace of the kingdome cannot be preserued’.¹⁵⁶ They highlighted the clergy’s audacity in assuming jurisdiction and criticised them for their ambition in presuming to exercise jurisdiction, stating that ‘Praelates presumed to exercise yt iurisdction’.¹⁵⁷ In *A Short View*, the clergy were ‘so extremely blinded with their passion, that they hope[d] to be thought to suffer ... for the Roman Catholique Religion, and w[hi]ch is more strange, for their Loyalty & allegiance to the King’. Therefore, it was argued that the clergy paradoxically acted as though they were ‘the most zealous assertors of the Regall

¹⁵² Bellings, ‘The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books’, 1681 (NLI, MS 16969), fols 9v-10r.

¹⁵³ Bellings, *Lettre de Monsieur Bellings*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Bellings, *Lettre de Monsieur Bellings*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Conor O'Mahony's book published in Portugal was referred to indicate Rinuccini's political ambition, Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 43.

¹⁵⁶ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 120.

¹⁵⁷ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 120.

power'.¹⁵⁸ Here too, the royalists argued that Rinuccini and the clergy were willing to usurp their authority as civil magistrates. While accusing Rinuccini's and the clergy's loyalty to the king, they argued that if their religion precluded obedience to the king, they could not reasonably expect king's favour.¹⁵⁹ Thus, they maintained that obedience to the king took precedence over religious allegiance.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, in Bellings' *History* the political mishandling of the excommunications fuelled dissension within Confederate ranks, particularly from the peace supporter's perspective, transforming the censures into a political rather than religious threat. Firstly, according to Bellings, the events of 1646, marked by the imprisonment of key figures, underlined the political, rather than religious, nature of the excommunication, leading to accusations against Rinuccini for violating civil law. Secondly, in response to the second religious censure in 1648, Bellings argued the council took decisive action, appealing to Rome and using physical force against Rinuccini's aide. Additionally, Bellings highlighted these censures heightened anticlerical feelings among the loyalist Catholic community, deepening the existing political and religious schism.

In the latter part of *The History*, Bellings focused upon Rinuccini's 1648 censure. In challenging Rinuccini and the clergy, Bellings' *History* and the broader royalist discourse articulated a firm stance on the primacy of royal authority over ecclesiastical influence in governance. By aligning with royalist politicians and theologians, Bellings and his contemporaries, including Ormond and Clarendon, argued that religious censure should be subordinate to civil jurisdiction. Their collective critique of Rinuccini and the

¹⁵⁸ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 119.

¹⁵⁹ Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view*, p. 120.

clergy's actions during the Confederate period underscored their clear conviction that loyalty to the crown must supersede any other allegiance, highlighting his Gallican attitudes in ecclesiastical politics. Beyond his Gallican political views, the discussion in the latter books of *The History* was inextricably linked to Bellings' material interests as a loyalist Catholic landowner, as he documented his anxiety over losing his property. This was because the political ideals expressed in his rebuttal of Rinuccini's 1648 censure in his *History* were rooted in his socio-economic standing. Only with economic power, could he intervene in religious matters as a patron of the secular clergy. Therefore, as shown in *The History*, Gallicanism reinforced his conviction that political authority over the church should remain in secular hands. In this sense, the memory-making in the latter part of *The History* could be interpreted as a reinterpretation of how they believed the Catholic reformation in Ireland should have unfolded.

The conflict during the latter half of the Irish civil war can be seen as a clash between civil authority, sanctioned by the king's royal prerogative, and ecclesiastical power, endorsed by Rome's papal supremacy. This period demonstrated Bellings' belief that legal authority derived from the crown, leading to tensions with Rinuccini and the clergy who upheld the primacy of ecclesiastical authority. Bellings, representing this viewpoint, argued for the subordination of ecclesiastical to secular governance, sparking debates among lay Catholics in Ireland about their constitutional relationship with Rome. These discussions highlighted the fundamental question of where ultimate authority lay, prompting a re-evaluation of the balance between civil and religious loyalties. In this light, the final part of Bellings' *History* should be considered alongside his attempts in the 1660s to promote Gallican principles in England and Ireland, a period during which he began composing *The History*. A crucial implication of the 1648 excommunication was its challenge to Bellings' and his fellow politicians' vision of state-church

separation, as epitomised in his *History*. He illustrated the political principle that church governance should remain under royal authority—a stance also reflected in *the Irish Remonstrance*.

Chapter 5: Richard Bellings as a diplomat and Catholic intellectual, c. 1645-1665

5.1 Introduction

Historiographical variance makes it evident that existing studies regarding the religion-political conflicts in the mid-seventeenth century have primarily focused on the British Isles, often overlooking the broader European context. Jane Ohlmeyer, expanding this framework to include Spain and France, has proposed ‘The Wars of the Five Kingdoms’.¹ And yet, the nomenclature of the ‘Five Kingdoms’ model remains questionable in that it not only may blur the political importance of Rome but also may exclude contributions by any other European states in this period. Recent Irish historical scholarship considers ‘the Irish in Europe’ vital for understanding the impact of migration from Ireland on early modern Europe’s religious, social, and cultural history.² Building on this growing focus on the European context and the Catholic

¹ Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms*, especially pp 14-7; Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘Ireland independent: confederate foreign policy and international relations during the mid-seventeenth century’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 89–111; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*; Micheál Ó Siochrú, ‘The duke of Lorraine and the international struggle for Ireland, 1649-1653’ in *The historical journal*, xlviii, no. 4 (2005), pp 905–32; Thomas O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland, and Rome* (Dublin, 2008); Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish influence at the court of Spain in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2008); Oscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600-1825* (Dublin, 2010); David Finnegan, ‘The Irish Catholic clergy, Stuart sovereignty and the 1650 appeal to the Duke of Lorraine’ in *E-rea. Revue électronique d’études sur le monde anglophone*, no. 11.2 (2014); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, ‘Disappointing friends: France and the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, 1642-48’ in *E-rea: revue d’études anglophones*, xi, no. 2 (2014); Mark Williams, *The king’s Irishmen: the Irish in the exiled court of Charles II, 1649-1660* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 17; Alistair Malcolm, ‘Pretending to be catholic? Sir Henry Bennet, the alliance with Spain, and the Stuart dalliance with Rome, 1656–62’ in Robin Eagles and Coleman Dennehy (eds), *Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, and his world: Restoration court, politics and diplomacy* (London, 2020), pp 31–51.

² The Irish in Europe project published four edited volumes. See Thomas O’Connor, *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin, 2001); Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons, *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820* (Dublin, 2003); Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons, *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006).

reformation, the mobility and agency of ordinary people has been emphasised.³

In light of this growing interest in the European influence upon seventeenth-century Irish history, this chapter will examine Richard Bellings' role as a diplomatic agent to explore how he contributed to royal diplomacy in negotiating with Catholic states, as evidenced in negotiations across the Continent between the 1640s and 1660s. Certainly, previous study have often viewed Bellings' Roman delegation from the Confederacy as a failure.⁴ Bellings himself later argued in his *History* that 'the expence of the war considered, all the foraign aids which they had received were matters rather to amuse the people, and to excite them to greater contributions at home, than anie real ease of the burthen they groaned under'.⁵ Moreover, due to the limited nature of the sources, tracing the minutiae of his diplomatic agency in the 1650s is challenging, but not impossible.

Bellings' diplomatic activities can be broadly divided into two phases. The first section will explore Bellings' Roman delegation in 1645 during the civil war period, when he was commissioned to negotiate subsidies and secure military support for the Catholic Confederates' army with the Catholic powers of Rome and France. The second section in this chapter will investigate Bellings diplomatic agency in the exiled court in 1650s Europe. After examining his efforts to negotiate the mercenary employment of

³ cf. Recent studies have increasingly examined the confessional mobility of Catholics. Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional mobility and English Catholics in Counter-reformation Europe* (Oxford, 2019); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Confessionalism and Mobility in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford, 2021); 'Introduction' in Maurits Ebben, Louis Sicking, Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking (eds), *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (2020), pp 1–16.

⁴ Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Ireland independent: confederate foreign policy and international relations during the mid-seventeenth century' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 89–111

⁵ Richard Bellings, 'The History of the late Warre in Ireland' (BL, Additional MS, 4819), fol. 412r; Richard Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 60r.

Irish army led by Donough MacCarthy, Vicount Muskerry and later earl of Clancarty, the section then explores negotiations for Charles II' toleration of Catholics subjects in the three kingdoms. These diplomatic efforts will demonstrate that Bellings was a loyal Catholic who prioritised political allegiance over broader religious objectives, aiming not only to sustain *de facto* toleration but also to achieve official recognition of Catholicism. This chapter, therefore, delves into Bellings' religio-political world, revealing his pragmatism in maintaining political loyalty while securing a practical level of religious tolerance.

5.2 The Bellings' sociability in diplomacy at work

Bellings, senior and junior alike, enjoyed substantial support from prominent European politicians and clerics. Ongoing patronage from the Butlers notably sustained the Bellings' political connections. During their exile, Bellings, senior, benefitted from continuous social interactions with Ormond and Muskerry, and exile also provided opportunities for patronage relationships with key English royalist figures. For instance, Hyde relied on Bellings, senior and junior, as his agents. While Bellings, senior, frequently travelled throughout the Continent, Bellings, junior, accompanied, Henry Wilmot, earl of Rochester, on an ambassadorial mission to Habsburg Austria.⁶ Their closeness is evident not only in Hyde's weekly letters to Bellings (both Bellings resided concurrently in Paris in 1653) but also in his praise of Bellings, junior, as a 'jewel'. This patronage network extended to the royal family as well: over the decades, the Bellings served as intermediaries between the monarchy and Catholic powers in Europe, with Bellings, junior, eventually securing roles as secretary to Charles II and comptroller for Queen Catherine of Braganza.

⁶ See Appendix B in this thesis.

In order to know who was where and what they did, one needs to refer to the manuscripts of Clarendon State Papers to discern the differences in the handwritings of father and son. Compared to the son's classic secretary hand, the father's handwriting is smaller in size and thicker in ink colour.

8 Feb. 1658

Sr.

I am directed by Sr. to let you know that there have
 been severall confessions of late concerning ^{Mountjoy} 282 affairs, and
 that his brother and of the same kind, with him, in wishing good
 luck to him, being confident that ^{that} 117. 20 will find benefit and
 advantage by his increase in power, and although they come
 hither to my dispute that any good could come ^{from} 40. 380. for
 242 that will bring downly guides by ^{the} 280. him self and
 that you whom he hath an influence, are now having
 underfoot that after the birth of the prince of Spain,
 and notice was at ^{home} 380 that the King of Hungary
 will be Emperor ^{the} 403. 340. beginning to shrink by ^{the} 116
 and look about him, it is believed his time may be
 over proper and that ^{the} 318 may prevail some ^{of} 116
 from the ^{the} 403 340. 20 291. 15 91. 16. 46. 8. 19. 45. 100. 19. 21. which on
 an application may be fully grounded.

Sr. likewise wished me tell you that it is known here and
 passing for a certain truth that ^{the} 243 hath at his home
 one a 9. 9. 15. 21. 228. 204. ^{London} ^{solliciting} an agent and offering
 to give up ^{the} 420 125. 15. 12. 11. 10. 12. ^{the} 11. 10. 11. 15. 21
 401. 192. 420 ^{the} 125. 15. 12. 11. 10. 12. ^{the} 11. 10. 11. 15. 21
 109. 19. 96. 20. ^{the} 125. 15. 12. 11. 10. 12. ^{the} 11. 10. 11. 15. 21
 115. and that 390, doubly one thy to be really true. I am

Sr.

I faithfull humble
 servant

Richard Bellings

per my lhy 8 of February
 1658

1658 next where I have may find at my

Figure 5-1: A handwriting of Richard Bellings, the senior, in the 1650s

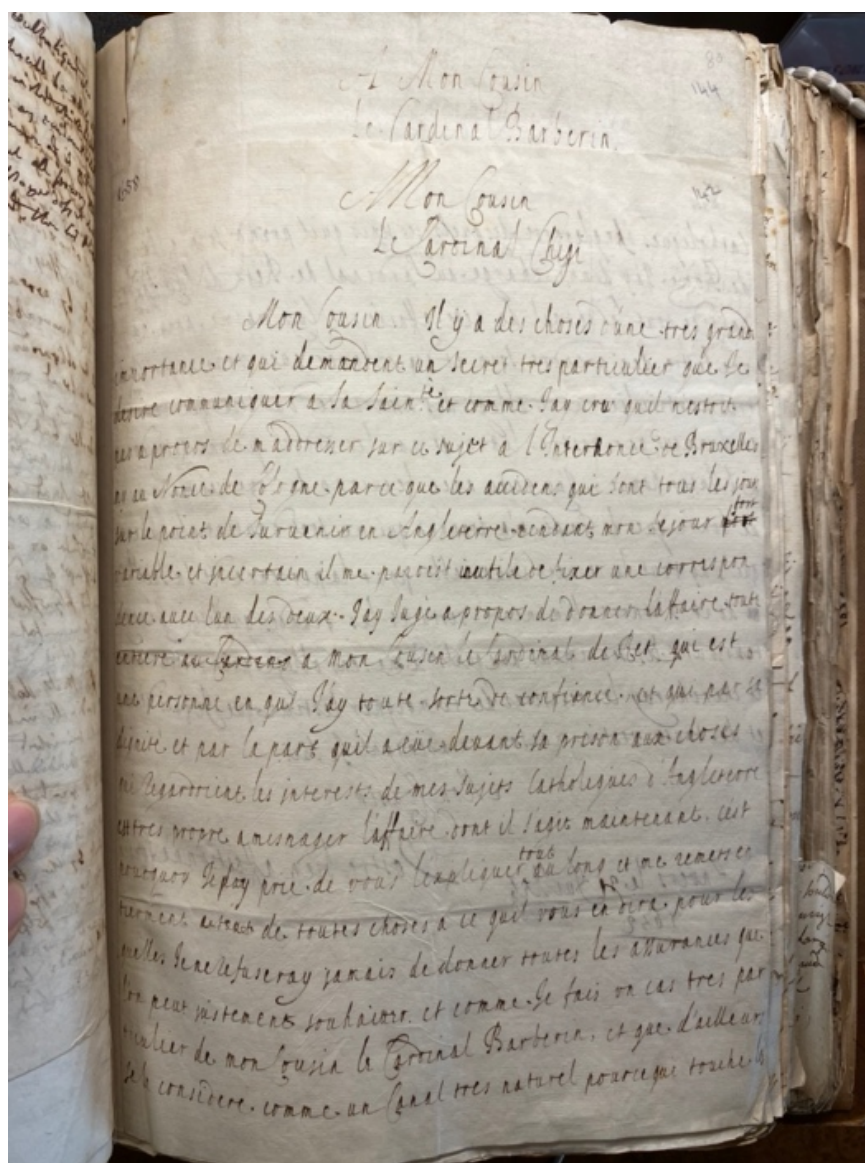


Figure 5-2: A handwriting of Richard Bellings, the junior, in the 1650s

The Bellings' diplomatic engagements exploited their association to those from Ireland, offering a fascinating glimpse into the intertwining of political and religious networks. As explored in chapter four, Bellings cultivated significant ties with Jansenists in Paris. The network highlights the influential role of Irish exiles in the religious and intellectual life of the period, demonstrating the diverse connections Ormond's clients had with the Jansenists at Port-Royal. For example, Bellings, senior, liaised between Charles II's court and Ludovic Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, a notable Jansenist and a chapter member of Notre Dame cathedral of Paris, whose uncle was Jean François de Gondi, archbishop of

Paris and Cardinal de Retz—a prominent Jansenist figure and Fronde leader—.

Despite the direct association with Jansenists, previous studies have shown only that Bellings' Jansenistic leanings could be gleaned from an examination of his *History*.⁷ However, during his European sojourn, Bellings' engagement with the Jansenists transcended mere philosophical affinities; it was crucial for the diplomatic endeavours of the king's exiled court. Bellings' network within the Jansenist community played a pivotal role in facilitating these diplomatic missions. In 1656, his travels across Europe—including stops in Vienna, Poland, Cologne, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, and London—were notably supported by prominent Jansenist figures such as d'Aubigny, and possibly Mère Angélique, a sister of the leading Jansenist Antoine Arnaud. This collaboration underscores the instrumental role of Bellings' Jansenist connections in advancing the diplomatic objectives of the exiled court. The loyalist exiles' social engagements with Jansenists inevitably linked it to the aftermath of the Fronde, the French civil conflict from 1648 to 1652. During his Parisian sojourn, Bellings, under the pseudonym 'Kingston', served as an intermediary for Hyde, facilitating connections between Charles' court and the Parisian Jansenist community, notably Lord d'Aubigny. D'Aubigny, a nephew of Cardinal de Retz acted as a crucial liaison, bridging the exiled court with both Spain and Rome, reflecting on the court's religious policy strategies. This period also highlighted the complex factional politics within the Stuart courts, including those of Charles, Henrietta Maria, the queen consort of England at the Louvre Palace, and James duke of York. These internal dynamics were further complicated by

⁷ See Ian Campbell, 'Power after Machiavelli: Richard Bellings, reason of state, and Jansenism in seventeenth century Ireland' in Jason McElligott, Liam Chambers, Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Power in history: from the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin, 2011), pp 45-62. See also Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrá (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212–28.

external influences, such as support from Jules Mazarin, France's minister of state, for Henrietta Maria and Thomas Talbots, an Old English Jesuit, prompting Charles to seek a balance between French and Spanish influences.⁸ Therefore, Charles' engagement with Jansenists like d'Aubigny and de Retz, facilitated by Bellings, emerged as a strategic move to navigate these multifaceted political and religious landscapes.

Bellings' diplomatic agency was based on his linguistic ability. Mère Angélique attested to Bellings' fluency in French and Latin, foundational for his translation of Antoine Arnauld's French text.⁹ Beyond translation, Bellings contributed to the literary field with two Latin publications in 1652 and 1654, and Latin poetry in 1659, earning praise from Richard Brown, an English royalist exile, for these efforts.¹⁰ Notably, from 1656, the linguistic skills of both Bellings and his son became indispensable to the court, as they were tasked with drafting and translating letters in Latin and French for Charles II, besides converting correspondence received in these languages into English. Thus, Bellings' linguistic ability enabled him to be in charge of communication with European princes in the service of King Charles' court.

5.3 Bellings' Confederate diplomatic mission in 1645

An anonymous royalist poet, writing after Rinuccini rejected the peace in 1646, questioned why the 'Cleargy will maintayne /this holy war'. Sceptical about the Catholics' true cause in the war – even though the Confederates insisted they had raised the force 'for the King's Renown', the poet believed that they were conspiring 'to

⁸ Ronald Hutton, *Charles the second: king of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), pp 71-86.

⁹ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 316.

¹⁰ Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 28); Richard Brown to Richard Bellings, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 29); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 30); Richard Bellings to Richard Brown, [undated] (BL, Additional MS, 78224, fragment 31).

advance the Pope againe, /to be Supreme’ and ‘to translate his Crowne’ into Spain.¹¹ Referring to Bellings’ foreign mission, the poet noted ‘they have sent /Bealing o’re [over] for that intent /to the pope & King of Spayne. /They hope ere long he wil bring ‘ore [over] /ten thousand men & money store’.¹² The poet highlighted three crucial aspects that confounded the Confederates from this time onwards. First, there was a clerical desire to reinstate papal influence in Ireland. Second, Bellings was tasked by the Confederacy with securing military assistance from the continental states.¹³ For example, in a letter in January, the council expressed hopes for a successful outcome from Bellings’ delegation, indicating to Hugh Bourke, Confederate agent to Spain, their expectation of assistance ‘from France maybe about 30,000 *crowns* and frigates’.¹⁴ Additionally, Clanricard observed that the council’s strategy was to protract the peace negotiations with Ormond until Bellings could send a substantial supplies and revenue for the war.¹⁵

Historians generally agree that Bellings’ diplomatic mission to the European Continent in 1645 was largely unsuccessful. He garnered even less support from European Catholic states than the council had anticipated in 1644. One commonly cited reason is that Rome was preoccupied with financing wars against the Ottoman Empire and lacked the resources to support the Irish Confederation. However, an examination of lesser-studied negotiations in Paris—where Henrietta Maria, Mazarin, and GianBattista Rinuccini, later the papal nuncio to Ireland, were present—will reveal that internal divisions in opinion were already evident before Rinuccini’s arrival in Ireland.

¹¹ Anonymous, ‘On the breach of the Peace (1646)’, Andrew Carpenter (ed.), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003), pp 232-235, pp 232-233.

¹² Anonymous, ‘On the breach of the Peace (1646)’, pp 232-233.

¹³ Bellings met the Spanish commanders in Belgium, but he did not have an audience with Philip IV.

¹⁴ The council to Bourke, 13 Jan. 1645, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 125.

¹⁵ Clanricard to Ormond, 27 Feb. 1645, *Letter-Book of the Earl of Clanricarde*, pp 146-147.

Throughout the negotiations with foreign powers for material aid, Bellings expressed his and the council's stance on longstanding issues regarding religious freedom in Ireland. His perspective was shaped by his identity as both a loyalist and a landowner.

Bellings, as a member of the supreme council, testified in his *History* that 'now the fourth year was well advanced, when the council, finding that the warre was grown insupportable, resolved to be truly informed how farre they might rely on foraign succours'.¹⁶ Ohlmeyer has shown that the Confederates repeatedly requested foreign princes to furnish money and ammunition.¹⁷ The necessity for such requests stemmed from the depletion of their military and financial resources due to interventions in England and Scotland. Towards the end of 1644 the council recognised it was becoming increasingly incapable of continuing the war effort by itself. For example, as one of their letters to Rome in July shows, they were in urgent need of military equipment, money and other necessities for continuing the wars.¹⁸ As another example, the council notified Matthew O'Hartegan, Jesuit and Confederate's official agent in France, that the Confederacy was about 'to fall, without assistance from abroad'.¹⁹ The Confederacy had no alternative but to turn to Spain, France, and Rome for help, subsequently delegated to the Continent for this purpose. Therefore, the council strategically cultivated amicable relations with both Spain and France to maximise potential support.²⁰

¹⁶ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 29v.

¹⁷ Ohlmeyer, 'Ireland independent', p. 97.

¹⁸ The council to Holy office, 14 June 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 190-191.

¹⁹ The council to O'Hartegan, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 78

²⁰ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 24r-v. In June 1643, the council requested financial aid from Confederate agents in Spain, specifying that 'half in money and the other in army and ammunition'. By February 1644, they pledged to dispatch an army from Ireland to Spain contingent upon reaching a subsequent peace agreement. Between February

It needs to understand the precondition why the council needed delegate Bellings to the Continent in 1644-5. Amongst the Catholic states, the council called on Rome and France for help. In September 1644, international relations between Rome and France deteriorated because the pope changed from Urban VIII, who was pro-France, to Innocent X, who was pro-Spain and anti-France. This was because Urban had undermined Spanish interests during his papacy, and Rome was sharply divided between his supporters and opponents at the subsequent conclave. Ultimately, as GianBattista Pamphili became Pope Innocent, the Roman curia needed to repudiate the French cause.²¹ Indeed, the Confederacy expected to benefit from the conflict. O'Hartegan and the exiled royalists, for example, sought to secure material aid for Ireland amid the disputes between Rome and France.²² Significantly, in terms of international relations, the council placed considerable reliance upon French contributions. In September, while updating Henrietta Maria about on renewed peace negotiations, they requested her to mediate.²³ She expressed her willingness by urging Mazarin to assist England, stating

and March 1644, the council committed to Don Francisco de Fosset (François Foissotte), Spanish agent in Ireland, to send 2,000 men to aid Spanish forces there. In exchange for the commitment of 2,000 men, James Talbot, the Confederate ambassador to Spain, secured 20,000 *crowns* from the Spanish government. Similarly, the council extended the same terms to France. Upon learning that Spain granted this money to the Confederacy, Cardinal Jules Mazarin — the minister of state in France — tried to intervene in Confederate affairs. The council to Don Francisco de Fosset, 18 Feb. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 102-3; The council to Don Francisco de Fosset, 1 Mar. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 115; The council to Wadding, Talbot and Magennis, ?? June 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 284; De la Monnerie to Mazarin, 25 Aug. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 263-264. De la Monnerie, the French Ambassador to the Confederacy, wrote to Mazarin that levying 2,000 Confederate men for France would be difficult. The council was concerned about Mazarine's response to the fact that the Confederates remained loyal to Charles. The council to James Talbot, 1 Sep. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 273.

²¹ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 112.

²² O'Hartegan to the council, 16 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 61-62. O'Hartegan to the council, 20 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 63-65.

²³ The council to Henrietta Maria, 1 Sep. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 271-272.

that ‘it must be done by Ireland’.²⁴ By the beginning of December 1644, Henrietta Maria had prepared the peace proposal articles and shared them with Charles.²⁵ However, the plan looked unfeasible, given her demand for France to supply 100,000 weight of powder, 6,000 muskets and ammunition (from which she would have half of the arms for England) and 200,000 *crowns* for England and Ireland.²⁶ Additionally, rumours suggested that Henrietta Maria planned to relocate to Ireland in May 1645, with the provision of £40,000 per annum for her upkeep in Ireland – a deal O’Hartegan reportedly secured with France.²⁷ In this way, the council sought French and Roman assistance for continuing the war effort.

In Ireland, On 11 November 1644, the Confederacy and the royalist army concluded a further peace until January.²⁸ The Confederates aimed to capitalise on this opportunity to solicit military and financial aid from the continental princes. Hence, the council resolved to dispatch Bellings to the Continent, allocating him £500 for his travel expenses.²⁹ Bellings was to visit the new Pope Innocent, Louis XIV, Anne of Austria, queen-regent of France, the doge and state of Venice, the senate and state of Genoa, and the grand duke of Tuscany, in order to garner support from the Catholic princes.³⁰ In addition, he had recommendations from the council to Henrietta Maria,³¹ Mazarin,³²

²⁴ O’Hartegan to the council, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 80-85; O’Hartegan to the council, 4 Dec. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 86-88.

²⁵ Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria* (London, 1857), p. 286. It is not sure if Henrietta-Maria herself or her scrivener drafted the propositions.

²⁶ O’Hartegan to the council, 4 Dec 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 86-88.

²⁷ O’Hartegan to the council, [undated] 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 86.

²⁸ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 42-43.

²⁹ The council to Innocent X, 4 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 70-71; The council to Bellings, 21 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 70

³⁰ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 69-70.

³¹ The council to Henrietta Maria, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 72-73.

³² The council to Mazarin, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 74.

Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio,³³ Cardinal Grimaldi, the former nuncio to France,³⁴ the marquis of Castelo Rodrigo, governor of the Spanish Netherlands for Philip IV,³⁵ Ottavio Piccolomini, the duke of Amalfi, commander of the Spanish army in the Spanish Netherlands, Spanish Flanders,³⁶ and Rinuccini.³⁷ The council sent letters not only to powerful states like Rome, France and Austria, but also smaller princely states in Italian peninsula, likely in order to insist that Ireland was the frontline of the religious wars in the northern Europe: ‘heresye will not only prevaile but alsoe extinguish the orthodox faith [in] all the north partes of the world’. They also added that if Catholic princes would unite, Ireland ‘might from thenceforth be a great bulwarke against all the hereticks of the Northerne partes of Europe’.³⁸

Moreover, among the princes and states, it is noteworthy that the commission for the State of Genoa was distinct in its content. The letter to Genoa uniquely stated that ‘Ireland had become the theatre of war for religion’, highlighting how cruel the Scottish army was as they would not spare even the blood of women and children, so much so that ‘the cruelties of Pagans and Turks, as told in histories, might be regarded as acts of clemency in comparison’.³⁹ By framing the conflict in Ireland as a religious war in which Catholic lives were endangered by Scottish Calvinists, the council placed the Irish

³³ The council to Guido Bentivoglio, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 74; Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio died at Rome in September 1644.

³⁴ The council to Grimaldi, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 74-5. For notices of, and previous Letter to Cardinal Grimaldi, see vol. 1, p. 152; vol. 3, pp 70, 184, 185.

³⁵ The council to the Marquis of Castle Rodrigo, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 75.

³⁶ The council to Ottavio Piccolomini, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 76; The council to the State of Belgium, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 76-77.

³⁷ The council to Rinuccini, 23 Nov. 1644, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 405.

³⁸ The council to Hugh Bourke, 12 Dec. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 93-95.

³⁹ The council to the State of Genoa, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 77-78.

civil wars within the broader context of the ongoing Thirty Years' War. Interestingly, the letter avoided mention of English settlers in Ireland, though Genoa's precise strategic and diplomatic significance to the council remains unclear. Nevertheless, given Genoa continuously conflicted with Ottoman Empire in medieval time, it was relevant the council to appeal the republic with the letter emphasising the present war in the religious war against the heresy.⁴⁰

After leaving Galway for the continent on 31 December 1644, Bellings landed at St. Malo in January 1645.⁴¹ From there he headed to Paris, secretly, to meet Henrietta Maria at St. Germain. Aware of Bellings' arrival in France, Mazarin desired to meet him.⁴² Henrietta Maria had informed Charles about Bellings' visit to her court.⁴³ On 22 January, Bellings left Paris for Rome.⁴⁴ In Rome, Bellings was hosted at St. Isidore's, the Irish College, where Luke Wadding was the guardian.⁴⁵ With Bellings' delegation, in addition to the financial support, the council requested that the pope elevate Wadding to cardinal for his efforts in promoting Irish affairs in their favour. Of course, the council choice of Wadding was due to his geographical advantage of his being in Rome. However, once Wadding joined the curia as cardinal, the council could seek favourable

⁴⁰ Thomas Kirk, 'The republic of Genoa and its maritime empire' in Rolf Strootman, Floris Van Den Eijnde and Roy Van Wijk (eds), *Empires of the sea: maritime power networks in world history* (2019), pp 153–175.

⁴¹ On the 12th the council declared to pay a debt of £17 to Bellings, paid by Patrick Archer. *Calendar of State Papers of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 398.

⁴² Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 30v.

⁴³ Henrietta Maria to Charles, 14 Feb. 1645, Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria, including her private correspondence with Charles the First* (London, 1857), p. 286.

⁴⁴ He probably mistook that Bellings would have left for London. *Letter-Book of the Earl of Clanricarde*, p. 146.

⁴⁵ Matteo Binasco, 'Luke Wadding and Irish diplomatic activity in seventeenth-century Rome' in *Studi Irlandesi: a Journal of Irish Studies*, vi (2016), pp 193–203.

papal policies through his mediation.⁴⁶ Therefore, the council expected papal subsidies through Wadding's cardinal post. On this occasion, the council demand should not be underestimated.

On 27 February Bellings was granted an audience with the pope.⁴⁷ A vital reason for Bellings' mission was to congratulate and greet the newly elected Pope Innocent.⁴⁸ Sadly, though, the only success he could gain there was that the pope promised to bless the Irish war. The main reason for declining the Confederacy's request was because Rome was preoccupied with financing the war involving Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma, against the Ottoman empire. Therefore, they could not afford to aid the Confederates financially.⁴⁹ Moreover, the Confederacy's financial request was too much for Rome. Innocent recommended that Bellings seek assistance from Florence, Genoa

⁴⁶ The council articulated their state of impoverishment to Urban and his nephews, Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini the protector of Ireland at Rome. Aiming to advance Irish interests within the Roman Curia, they had enquired with Urban and the Barberini brothers about bestowing cardinal post on Wadding. This request likely stemmed from Wadding's close collaboration with the Barberini family and the Papal Committee for Irish Affairs. Following the negotiations for the renewal of the cessation at Oxford, the council intensified their campaign for Wadding's elevation, reflecting the dire condition of their finances. In June 1644, again, while requesting the pope and Barberini brothers to promote Wadding to cardinal, they also encouraged Wadding to improve Rome's engagement with Irish matters suggesting him 'you might be made a Cardinall'. In a letter in November 1644, after the new Pope Innocent X replaced Urban, the council requested Innocent to elevate Wadding to 'the rank of Cardinal'. The council to Urban VIII, 1 Oct. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 21-22; *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1 p. vii.; vol. 2 pp xxxiii.-viii; The council to Antonio Barberini, 1 Oct. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 22-23; *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, p. 429. The council to Antonio and Francesco Barberini, 14 Jun. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 188-190; The council to Grimaldi, 14 Jun. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 184-5; The council to Wadding, 15 Jun. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, p. 194; ⁶The council to Innocent X, 23 Nov 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 71-72; Ohlmeyer, 'Ireland independent: confederate foreign policy and international relations', p. 92.

⁴⁷ Wadding was also present at the Bellings' auditory at the Vatican. Matteo Binasco, 'Luke Wadding and Irish diplomatic activity in seventeenth-century Rome' in *Studi Irlandesi: a Journal of Irish Studies*, vi (2016), pp 193–203. 'How the papal nuncio came to Macroom', UCD MS The Schools' Collection, vol. 341, p. 426; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. xviii; Matteo Binasco, 'Luke Wadding and Irish diplomatic activity in seventeenth-century Rome' in *Studi Irlandesi: a Journal of Irish Studies*, vi (2016), pp 193–203, p. 197.

⁴⁸ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. xviii.

⁴⁹ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, paras 406 and 407.

and Venice. After unsuccessful attempts to garner aid from Rome, Bellings asked the pope to provide references to facilitate his diplomatic engagement with Italian princes. Armed with the pope's recommendations, Bellings travelled on Florence and Genoa.⁵⁰ As in Rome, he failed to secure funding.⁵¹ Following this, he cancelled going to Venice, concluding that Venice would be too preoccupied with the war with the Ottomans to negotiate with him.⁵² Bellings was in Rome, staying St. Isidore's⁵³ when he first learned that Rinuccini had been appointed as the papal nuncio to Ireland.⁵⁴

Returning to Paris around 25 May, Bellings met with Henrietta Maria, Mazarin, O'Hartegan and Rinuccini to engage in the peace negotiations facilitated by the queen.⁵⁵ In support of the peace, Bellings and O'Hartegan drafted four articles of appeal to Charles, writing in French and presenting them to Henrietta Maria and Mazarin. The full articles are as follows.

- 1) That the Catholic religion be once again firmly established throughout all Ireland, and that all churches with their properties, duties and jurisdiction be restored to their prelates, priests and Catholic clergy, in the same manner as in France.
- 2) That a Parliament be called by the same rite and manner as in Catholic times, in which all statutes [sic] that are prejudicial to the Catholic religion and those that practise it be abolished. It is to make amends for the oppression and all the hardships suffered by the natives, and provision is to be made concerning the defence of the kingdom and subduing the enemy that is encamped there.

⁵⁰ He explained why he did not ask Venice for help because they were occupied with another war with Ottoman Empire.

⁵¹ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 30v.

⁵² Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 30v.

⁵³ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 255.

⁵⁴ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 412.

⁵⁵ The council to Henrietta-Maria, 1 Sep. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 3, pp 271-272.

3) That the government of the kingdom, its prefectures and offices be returned to the hands of the Catholics who live and are resident there, and that the tutelage of noble orphans be removed from the public domain, without damaging the income of his Majesty.

4) That a law be imposed in the next parliament declaring that the Parliament of Ireland is in and of itself a free Parliament independent of the Parliament of England and in no way subordinate to it, and that the Irish are directly subject to his Majesty by right of the crown.⁵⁶

The first article, by addressing church issues, reflected the clerical demands; advocating that all the church properties and jurisdiction should be restored to the Catholic clerics.⁵⁷

This article included a plea from Catholic clerics for the restoration of tithes to them.⁵⁸

The second article argued that the Irish parliament be called and for abolition of all statutes detrimental to Catholics in Ireland.⁵⁹ The third article supported the return of Catholics to office and demanded the closure of the Court of Wards, which functioned as a tool of systematic financial exploitation and religious discrimination.⁶⁰ The fourth article sought the repeal of Poynings Law to secure the legislative autonomy of the Irish parliament, and affirm its independence from English direct control.⁶¹ As Ó Siochrú has succinctly summarised, these articles would have resolved the Catholic question and restored the constitutional status of the Irish Parliament in legislative matters.⁶²

⁵⁶ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1 part 7 paras 366-370. The peace terms were translated from French to Latin in *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*.

⁵⁷ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 366.

⁵⁸ Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, 1642-1649, p. 56.

⁵⁹ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 367.

⁶⁰ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 368; Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland*, 1625-42, p. 32.

⁶¹ The Poynings Law required the lord deputy to seek the permission to summon the parliament and his approval of the proposed bills. *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 369.

⁶² Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, 1642-1649, pp 55-61; Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Catholic Confederates and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and England, 1641-1649' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 207-229 and 212-19.

Following these principles, Bellings and O'Hartegan drafted the Paris articles. Notably, the first article stood out as an exceptional case in terms of constitutional issues; it emphasised alignment 'in the same manner as in France', reflecting Bellings' inclination towards a Gallican church settlement to integrate religious freedom and Catholic constitutional concerns within the framework of English rule.

The Paris peace negotiations revealed two key issues for the Old English lay politicians; military loyalism and land confiscation. The peace supporters in the council, such as Bellings, were viewed in Rome as indifferent to ecclesiastical matters.⁶³ According to Rinuccini, Bellings and O'Hartegan, complained to Rome in August and had drafted the articles of the peace, attempting 'to insert an article to convince the king of the real subjection of the people to him, second only [to] that which is concerning the religion'.⁶⁴ Rinuccini was dissatisfied with this marginalisation of religious matters in the Paris peace agreement, contending that the propositions failed to prioritise church matters.⁶⁵ Likewise, concerning Henrietta Maria's pledge of her intercession in the peace process earlier that year, Pierfrancesco Scarampi, the papal representative to the Confederates, also reproached Henrietta Maria for downplaying religious matters, accusing her of planning 'to treat of peace without one word concerning religion' in a letter to Rinuccini in France and Pamphili in Rome.⁶⁶ Indeed, Bellings manifested his satisfaction with the tacit toleration of the Catholic faith as practiced in Ireland.⁶⁷

Bellings argued that the Confederates need not pursue the comprehensive restoration of

⁶³ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 412.

⁶⁴ Annie Hutton and Giuseppe Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy in Ireland of monsignor G. B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in the year 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1873), pp 35-36.

⁶⁵ Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, pp 35-36.

⁶⁶ Scarampi to Rinuccini, 8 March 1645, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, pp 553-554.

⁶⁷ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 320.

the hierarchy of the Catholic church.⁶⁸ Bellings' pragmatic and loyalist political thinking is evident here; he preferred to gain a quicker resolution for material assistance for the civil wars to maintain contribution to the king's cause than waiting for the comprehensive religious settlement given the rapidly changing military landscape across the three kingdoms. The restoration of the church hierarchy would have jeopardized the land holdings of Bellings and his Old English allies. In this sense, Bellings' religious beliefs revealed a pronounced loyalty to the king over official religious settlement for the purpose of land security. Thus, while Bellings articulated his *ad hoc* approach, pressing for material support as quickly as possible, he demonstrated the council's Gallican aptness in church politics in Ireland. Further, his preference for material aid to religious settlement attracted open criticism from Rinuccini in the summer. The peace supporters were condemned by Rinuccini and his followers for solely wanting papal subsidies rather than spiritual advancement. The criticism arose from Rome's wish 'to procure its free exercise, to restore ecclesiastical discipline, and to reform the habits of the Catholics, relaxed by a long course of free livings, on all that touches on the civil government'.⁶⁹ In a letter from Rome, it is clear that they were not long satisfied with a heterodox style of worship separately enjoyed in Ireland. Therefore, they argued that the council 'asked the Pope, not for a new nuncio, but for a subsidy' while 'others among the Irish had demanded both, and a nuncio perhaps more than a subsidy'.⁷⁰

Resolving religious issues became inseparable from confiscation of the Old English lands that they had acquainted at the event of Henrician dissolution of monastery. By late 1644, a notable discord had emerged between the supreme council

⁶⁸ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 320.

⁶⁹ Pamphili to Rinuccini, 3 July 1645, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, p. 559.

⁷⁰ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 412.

and the clergy concerning the confiscation of church properties. In a revealing letter from Paris, O'Hartegan labelled Ormond and Clanricard as 'the enemyes of Ireland' criticising the 'Ormondist party' for neglecting 'the Church and Church's interests by reason some Church livings are in ... such men's possession'.⁷¹ In fact, the Old English lay members of the Confederacy possessed large tracts of land which were originally church property. For example, Bellings owned a monastery at Killashee in County Kildare. Although the first assembly in October 1642 permitted possession of church property, the council requested Wadding in Rome to seek a papal bull from Pope Urban to assure the validity of possessing the land so as to make land ownership rights 'unquestionable'.⁷² Bellings later observed that 'the liberty [was] assumed by many to enter into the possession of men's estates'.⁷³ Bellings' concern became evident when he notified Ormond, in April 1644, that the assembly had discussed control of monastic lands.⁷⁴ In other words, to prevent clerical scrutiny of properties held by the Old English nobility and gentry, Bellings insisted that the comprehensive restoration of the hierarchy of the Catholic church would be rather undesirable.⁷⁵ As demonstrated in the first article of the peace treaty, Bellings articulated Gallican ecclesiology that limited papal intervention in matters related to church property in Ireland. For the Old English landowners, concerns over property security intensified, given that the clergy might

⁷¹ O'Hartegan to the council, 9th Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 45. The English parliament intercepted and printed O'Hartegan's letter about a meeting with Henrietta-Maria, where he reported she had mentioned 'Castlehaven, he is more national than religiously affected; she called: Ormonde, a viper; Inchiquine, a knave. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 86; Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, pp 176-179; O'Hartegan to the council, 16th Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 61-62.

⁷² The council to Wadding, 28th June 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 277.

⁷³ Bellings, 'The History of the Late Warr in Ireland, Divided into Four Books', 1681 (NLI MS 16968), fol. 24v.

⁷⁴ Bellings to Ormond, 10 Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS, 10 fol. 169).

⁷⁵ Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 2, p. 320.

reclaim church lands.⁷⁶

The severity of the discord between Bellings and Rinuccini became apparent during the proceedings leading to the events of Bellings' mission to Flanders. Rinuccini harboured concerns whether Bellings would join his retinue and go back to Ireland instead of visiting Flanders.⁷⁷ Bellings was in fact obliged to return with subsidies to Ireland as soon as possible. However, Rinuccini told Pamphili that he tried to detain Bellings in Paris by various means and incitements.⁷⁸ In a letter to Rome, Bellings wrote, expressing how much he hoped to leave Paris, that 'The nuncio and the subsidies sent with him are certainly proceeding more slowly than many people hoped'.⁷⁹ In this letter, also, Bellings was suspicious that 'our opponent' tried to trick the council 'to impede our subsidies'.⁸⁰ On the first delegation to Europe, Bellings did not receive a

⁷⁶ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Indeed, after the peace meeting with Henrietta Maria, Bellings did not intend visiting Flanders.

⁷⁸ Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, pp 59-60.

⁷⁹ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 414.

⁸⁰ Eventually, around 5 August, Bellings decided to visit Flanders to seek further help. He asked Rinuccini to write a reference for this delegation. In Flanders, he met either or both of the following: Manuel de Maura, marquess of Castelo Rodrigo, governor of the Spanish Netherlands or/and Ottavio Piccolomini, duke of Amalfi, general commander of the Imperial Army in the same region. Nonetheless, again in Flanders, it seems that he failed to obtain the material assistance he required but he did secure a commercial agreement for ammunition or ships. When Bellings left Paris for Flanders, he promised Rinuccini to return to Paris. For this, Bellings was viewed suspiciously by Rinuccini if he would return to Ireland on his own: the nuncio wrote that 'as I knew His Holiness particularly desired that he [Bellings] should not arrive in Ireland without me, I made him promise to return to Paris and gave him hopes that I should wait for him'. Rinuccini's concern was not only his own as it also reflected the Pope's wishes. In another example, in late September, we read of Pamphili's concern about Bellings leaving for Ireland without Rinuccini. Rome was in fact aware of Bellings' dissatisfaction with the response to his mission. In addition, Rome was concerned that if Bellings, returning to Ireland first, would dilute Rinuccini's influence and expedite the Glamorgan peace, a peace negotiated by Edward Somerset, earl of Glamorgan. Bellings returned from Flanders on 10 September to join Rinuccini's company. Due to shortage of ships available at Dunkirk, Rinuccini asked Mazarin to prepare additional frigates. As soon as Bellings arrived at Nantes, he successfully secured two Irish frigates. *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 414, 416, 442, and 447; Rinuccini to Pamphili, 10 Sep. 1645, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, p. 67-72. The council to the marquis of Castle Rodrigo, 23 Nov. 1644; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 75; Concerning Rodrigo, vol. 3, pp 20 and 262; the council to Ottavio Piccolomini, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, p. 76; the council to the State of Belgium, 23 Nov. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vol. 4, pp 76-77; Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649*, pp 93-5.

fruitful outcome for the Confederacy. After Rinuccini succeeded in negotiating with France, due to the recent defeat of the king's cause at Naseby in June 1645, Mazarin decided to provide the Confederates with 8,000 *crowns* and ships.⁸¹ In addition, Rinuccini was to receive the papal subsidies, war equipment and necessary furnishings.⁸² Ultimately, the Confederates only gained subsidy of 50,000 scudi (c. £12,500) from Rome and France: Bellings' continental mission yielded far less than the council had expected. Bellings' involvement in the Paris peace negotiations, where he served as secretary, underscored his pragmatic approach, reflecting the council's prioritisation of military loyalty over comprehensive religious settlement.

It is noteworthy that Bellings' emphasis on military support over religious matters mirrored the Old English concern for securing lands previously confiscated from monasteries. The clergy and Rome's demand for comprehensive religious freedom, which included the restitution of formerly Catholic lands and properties, threatened the socio-economic status of the Old English élites, whose influence was closely tied to their economic assets. Given this context, their acceptance of tacit religious tolerance was not surprising, as it allowed them to maintain their faith privately within their households. For them, *de facto* toleration was preferable, allowing them to safeguard both their political influence and economic wealth. Once again, their religious stance was deeply underpinned by economic interests.

5.4 Negotiations for mercenaries and Catholic toleration in the 1650s

After the military defeat by the Cromwellian army after 1649, the dissolution of the

⁸¹ Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, pp 66-72.

⁸² Rinuccini to Pamphili, 10 Sep. 1645, Hutton and Aiazzi (eds.), *The embassy*, pp 71-2; Parliamentary ships attacked them at Paimboeuf and Saint-Nazaire. *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 1, part 7, para. 472.

Confederate organisation, and the ultimate defeat of the royalists-Catholic alliance, Bellings was exiled to the continental Europe for nine years until Charles II's restoration in 1660. During his exile, Bellings became active in the memory-making debates and, in the latter half of the decade, he was involved in diplomatic activities conducted by the exiled court.⁸³ His diplomatic endeavours in the 1650s were profoundly shaped by the intricate web of international relations involving France, Spain, Austria, Rome, and the English Republic. These efforts primarily revolved around negotiations for contracts for mercenary soldiers and for financial support for the exiled court. A pivotal moment in Bellings' diplomatic career was his departure from Paris in October 1654, prompted by Mazarin's efforts to forge an alliance with the English Republic aimed at continuing hostilities with Spain. This Franco-English pact significantly impacted the financial support for Charles II, then residing in Paris, received from France, compelling the king to pivot towards Spanish support for sustenance. This shift not only underlined the complex dynamics of seventeenth-century European politics but also showed the practical implications these diplomatic manoeuvres had on the exiled English monarchy and its representatives, including Bellings. During the period, Bellings played a vital role in negotiating with Catholic states for Irish mercenaries to be employed, in return for financial and military support for the exiled court. In its process, a secret agreement with Spain required the exiled court to implement the Second Ormond Peace of 1649 to secure religious freedom for Catholics in the three kingdoms.⁸⁴ The goal of the loyalist Catholics was to restore Catholic lands and political privileges by repealing the penal laws. In other words, this diplomatic strategy made religious policy an influential form

⁸³ As to the memory-making debates in the 1650s, see chapter two section four.

⁸⁴ As Williams argued, these terms indicate Ormond was, if not in the short term, aware of Catholic welfare and those of Irish Catholics especially. Williams, *The king's Irishmen*, p. 276.

of diplomatic leverage. This section argues that, by acting as a diplomatic agent and mediating on behalf of Charles II's promise of tolerance for Catholics, Bellings revealed his personal religious thinking.⁸⁵

Upon his arrival in Paris in the summer of 1651, Bellings' prominence within the exiled court became increasingly evident, especially as he later gained access to the king's private chamber.⁸⁶ Alongside Bellings, Ormond's clients, including 'loyal' ministers and politicians from the Old English community, played a pivotal role in the court, reflecting its pro-Ormond orientation.⁸⁷ John Cronin has argued that pro-Ormond politicians were content with their exemption from Catholic penal laws, highlighting a key aspect of their religious and political stance. Despite the court's Protestant nature, the prospect of Charles II's restoration was regarded as favourable to Irish Catholics, and Rome considered the court worthy of support.⁸⁸ Bellings was given a notable role during this period, with his diplomatic efforts proving instrumental in navigating the complex interplay of military, financial, and religious considerations that characterised the court's strategy. According to Cronin, the exiled court effectively implemented its diplomatic strategy by combining personal diplomatic agency with formal embassies. The appointment of Rochester as ambassador to the Diet at Ratisbon in 1652 impacted the Irish courtiers. In the Spanish negotiations, Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, was the central figure, while Rochester's ambassadorship in Austria represented formal diplomatic channels. In addition to the formal embassy, it was vitally important for court

⁸⁵ Bellings' Catholic faith is also examined in Gillespie's article. Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212–28, pp 226–7.

⁸⁶ Thomas Carte, *An history of the life of Ormond* (London, 1736), vol. 2, p. 176.

⁸⁷ John Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II' in exile, c. 1649–1660' (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2007), p. 311–2.

⁸⁸ Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II', pp 316–7.

diplomacy that several informal agents worked throughout the Continent, mainly in France, the Low Countries and Rome. It would be difficult to pinpoint exactly what these agents did given the paucity of sources. However, it is still clear that in the exiled Irish community, Ormond's patronage networks were always at work. For instance, the network included George Nicholas, Ormond's secretary; Daniel O'Neill, mediator between Owen Roe O'Neill and Ormond in the Catholic Confederation; and, of course, Bellings.⁸⁹

In 1655, Charles II appointed Bellings, senior, as a plenipotentiary to Austria, tasking him with securing financial aid from the Habsburgs in return for Irish mercenaries, held significant international relevance.⁹⁰ The court notably relied on Irish soldiers for military power, lacking a standing army of its own, and considered Ireland's strategic position for potential actions against England to reinstate the monarchy. Moreover, the Irish military presence was leveraged for diplomatic engagements with Spain and France, facilitating the court's negotiations by offering the service of Irish mercenaries as a diplomatic card. The transition of Irish soldiers from French to Spanish service underscored the dynamic use of military human capital in the court's foreign policy. In this context, Bellings emerged as a pivotal figure in orchestrating financial negotiations with the Spanish monarchy, exploiting Irish military service for subsidies, and facilitating discussions with key figures in the Spanish Netherlands. During 1656-

⁸⁹ Concerning Shaw, see Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II', p. 95. As to Knatchbull, also see, Caroline Mary Kynaston Bowden, 'The Abbess and Mrs. Brown: Lady Mary Knatchbull and royalist politics in Flanders in the late 1650s' in *Recusant History*, xxiv (1999), pp 288–308. Moreover, as Rochester's secretary, Bellings, junior, was instrumental, not only in transmitting the mission's proceedings to Hyde, who was then in Paris, but also in undertaking crucial diplomatic tasks. Most notably, he reached out to Nicholas Donnellan, vicar general of the Augustinians and reader of Divinity in the College of Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch at Ratisbon, to seek assistance in forging connections between the exiled court, the Holy Roman Diet, and Habsburg Austria. Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II', pp 311-2 and pp 345-6.

⁹⁰ Hyde to Captain John Shelton, 1 Nov. 1655, *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 4, p. 101.

1657, Bellings' diplomatic acumen was on full display as he traversed the Low Countries, acting as a mediator between Hyde and Alonso de Cárdenas, the paymaster general of the Spanish army. These negotiations were crucial for securing Spanish financial support in exchange for the military services of Irish troops, spearheaded by Muskerry and John Barry, a royalist army officer. Bellings, alongside Muskerry and Barry, also engaged in strategic consultations with Ormond to determine the optimal deployment of their forces in support of the Spanish cause: 'the Cardinall [Mazarin] had of late promised them together with meanes to carry them & their men to any place being the king should appoint them'.⁹¹

As the prospect of a French-English alliance grew tangible, Muskerry and George Hamilton, a kin to Muskerry, were compelled to seek alternative patronage for their Irish mercenaries, lacking the resources to sustain the force independently. Through Bellings, Lord d'Aubigny, and the Jansenist network, a plea was made to the king, revealing the dire financial straits of Muskerry and Hamilton. Bellings, who remained in Paris until at least 1654, subsequently travelled to Poland to aid Muskerry's quest for military employment, utilising not only his high profile as an administrator representing the Old English but also his linguistic skills as a translator. Their efforts, including negotiations with the queen of Poland facilitated by Mère Angélique, however, did not yield the desired contract. Following the unsuccessful Polish venture, Bellings was dispatched to Vienna with letters from Charles II for Emperor Ferdinand III and the Spanish ambassador.⁹² Hyde told Ormond that Bellings' journey to Vienna was 'now as

⁹¹ Ormond to Hyde, 08 1655 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 52, fol. 176); Eva Scott, *The travels of the king*, p. 221-2; 'Henry, Prince, duke of Gloucester (1640-1660)', *ODNB*.

⁹² 'Instructions for Our trusty & welbeloved servant Richard Belinge Esqr', 24 Feb. 1655 (TNA, SP, 81/54/102).

necessary as ever'.⁹³ Additionally, Bellings was instructed to approach Johann Philipp von Schönborn, the elector of Mainz, and Philipp Wilhelm of Bavaria, duke of Neuberg, to advocate for financial support at the Diet. Uncertain whether Bellings was able to understand German, Nicholas Donnellan, vicar general of Augustinians and reader of Divinity in the College of Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch at Ratisbon, probably would have assisted with the negotiations.

Despite Hyde's confidence in Bellings' capabilities Hyde was unable to secure money for Bellings, saying '[i]f I had bene able to have given a qualitie at D. Belins imployment, I should have assembled [money] for him'.⁹⁴ Bellings was sent twice to Vienna, firstly in November 1655.⁹⁵ Hyde documented his success in soliciting funds from the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire through Bellings' welcome and reception in Vienna had been 'a sign to prepare the king's way to move his court costs and Spanish affairs'.⁹⁶ Using the money that Bellings secured, Charles II was able to move to Brussels to meet Juan-José (legitimate son of Philip IV and governor of the Low Countries from 1656), Prince Condé and Alonso de Cárdenas.⁹⁷ Concurrently, Ormond's negotiations in France ensured that British and Irish troops aligned with Spain

⁹³ Hyde to Ormond, 1 May 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 51, fol. 206r).

⁹⁴ Hyde to Ormond, 1 May 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 51, fol. 206r). Hyde's inability to procure money for Bellings for this delegation indicates the degree to which the court members were destitute and they wanted subsidies from the foreign powers.

⁹⁵ John Earls to George Lane, 26 Nov. 1655 (NLI, MS 8642 (5) [no folio number]); 'Instructions for Our trusty & welbeloved servant Richard Belinge Esqr', 24 Feb. 1655 (TNA, SP, 81/54 fol. 102); Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II', p. 311, 346; Hutton, *Charles the second*, p. 98.

⁹⁶ during which time he expended forty riscdollers1 and during the next summer. Richard Lane to George Lane, 26 Nov. 1655 (NLI, MS 8642 (7) [no folio number]); John Earls to George Lane, 26 Nov. 1655 (NLI, MS 8642 (5) [no folio number]); 'Instructions for Our trusty & welbeloved servant Richard Belinge Esqr', 24 Feb. 1655 (TNA, SP, 81/54 fol. 102); Edward Hyde to George Nicholas, 3 May 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 51, fol. 212); Hyde to Ormond, 7 May 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 51, fols 244-5); Hyde to Ormond, 10 May 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 51, fol. 269); Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II', p. 311, 346; Ronald Hutton, *Charles the second*, p. 98;

⁹⁷ Richard Bellings, junior, to Edward Nicholas, 4 June 1656 (TNA, SP, 81/54 fol. 123).

would remain under Charles II's command, emphasising the court's intent to maintain direct control over these forces. This strategy was not only central for diplomatic leverage but also crucial for the royalists' ambition to utilise these troops in efforts to reclaim the throne.⁹⁸

When Prince Condé, allying with Spain during the French-Spanish War, faced defeat at the battle of the Dunes in mid-June 1658 near Dunkirk, Juan-José, recognising the potential of Irish support, tasked Ormond with persuading Muskerry's garrison to align with Spain. This pivotal moment marked the Irish soldiery's transition from French to Spanish service, highlighting the strategic realignments of the period.⁹⁹ By August, Charles II, buoyed by this growing support, issued a call to arms to all royalists, a move validated by the subsequent joining of English and Scottish royalist forces in Flanders.¹⁰⁰ The impact of this mobilisation was substantial, with Charles II's forces swelling from 400 at the end of August to 1,140 by mid-November, and reaching approximately 2,500 by early March.¹⁰¹ However, as the mercenary numbers increased, so too did the exiled court's financial reliance on Spanish support, a dependency that underlined the precarious balance between military strength and financial sustainability. By January 1657, according to Ronald Hutton, his financial situation was as bad as ever, and by March his servants' wages were eighteen months in arrears.¹⁰² The urgency for

⁹⁸ Cronin, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II', pp 332-3.

⁹⁹ Williams, *The king's Irishmen*, pp 276-7.

¹⁰⁰ Among which, the most prominent of them was Inchiquin.

¹⁰¹ Rochester, John earl of Middleton, James Livingston of Kinnaird, earl of Newburgh, Ormond, York and Prince Henry, duke of Gloucester were appointed as colonels in the Spanish force, underscoring the integral role of Irish and royalist soldiers in the conflict. Hutton, *Charles the second*, p. 104.

¹⁰² At the meeting with Luis de Benavides y Carrillo, marquess of Caracena and paymaster general, Bellings negotiated with him about the payment of 9,000 [crowns]. This meeting underscored the financial stakes involved in upholding the secret treaty with Spain, which stipulated Charles' obligation to provide a suitable port for the Spanish invasion force's disembarkation. Hyde to Bedingfield, 2 Oct. 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 52, fol. 285).

Bellings to secure a successful outcome in these negotiations was palpable, especially given Hyde was ‘absolutely without any’ money.¹⁰³ This situation underscored the exiled court’s critical dependency on successful diplomatic engagements to sustain its operations and meet treaty obligations despite ongoing financial hardships. Yet, a fundamental challenge remained: how to secure funds for basic subsistence.

In a secret promise with Spain, the king pledged to grant religious freedom to Catholic subjects in the three kingdoms by suspending the penal laws against them and implementing the articles of the Second Ormond Peace in 1649. In other words, the king’s financial and military crisis opened a new possibility for Catholic toleration back in Ireland. Aiming to demonstrate the king’s openness to Catholicism, the Catholic members of the exiled royal court sought to convert prominent members of the royal family to Catholicism – among them, the duke of York; Henry, duke of Gloucester; and Charles II himself. Henrietta Maria, the queen mother, harboured a personal desire for at least one of her children to adopt her faith. Additionally, Gloucester’s well-known arrogance and unruliness naturally inclined the courtiers to attempt his conversion, exemplified by a failed attempt by Jesuits in 1654, when Thomas Talbot, an Old English Jesuit, utilised his connections at the Spanish court to suggest that a Spanish treaty could be secured through Charles’s conversion.¹⁰⁴ From 1657, Bellings serving as an intermediary in Paris, functioned as an unofficial diplomatic agent. He played a crucial role in monitoring and reporting on French-English negotiations to Hyde, ensuring a steady flow of intelligence. In 1658, Bellings took charge of Gloucester’s conversion, with assistance from Jansenists. The overarching aim was to convince European

¹⁰³ Hyde to Ormond, 11 Oct. 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 52, fols 311-2).

¹⁰⁴ Aidan Clarke, ‘Talbot, Peter’ in *DIB*; Peter Talbot to Richard Harding, 4 Jan. 1656 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 51, fols 10-1).

Catholic monarchs of Charles II's potential for tolerance towards Catholics, driven by the hope that a Catholic presence in the royal family would facilitate this. Thus, these conversion efforts were driven more by the diplomatic ambitions of the exiled court than by personal or spiritual concerns.

Bellings' mediation efforts extended to liaising between Charles II's court, Lord d'Aubigny and Cardinal de Retz. Bellings collaborated with d'Aubigny in mid-1657 to propose the conversion of Gloucester to Catholicism, mediating between Charles II and the Abbé as a diplomatic agency. Given his high political status in Ireland in the previous decade, his diplomatic mission in 1645 and the recent appointment to the plenipotentiary, Bellings not only conveyed the propositions but also played a critical role in interpreting d'Aubigny's ideas, blending his religio-political perspectives. The conversion was seen as beneficial for multiple reasons: it promised tangible rewards, such as d'Aubigny offering his estate in France and Cardinal Barberini proposing a palace and annual pension of a 5-6,000 *crowns* for Gloucester in Rome.¹⁰⁵ Summarising the outcome of Aubigny's proposition, Bellings suggested that 'if the propositions be imbrac'd, you [i.e. Charles II] will be assisted powerfully by those professing the catholicke religion, as well within your majesties dominions, as from abroad'.¹⁰⁶

However, the Catholic princes' trust in Charles II was hindered by the royal family's Protestant faith and the negative fallout from the previous conversion attempt of Charles

¹⁰⁵ *The manuscripts of the marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny* (8 vols, HMC, 1895-9), vol. 1, p. 303; Williams, *The king's Irishmen*, p. 285; *Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz*, II, pp119-21.

¹⁰⁶ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744. Behind d'Aubigny, some cardinals had already worked for Gloucester's conversion. Cardinal Barberini, de Retz and monseigneur Banny; de Retz and Banny were in opposition to Mazarin, and de Retz was close to Charles. Gloucester's going to Spain, which necessarily would involve Barberini, nicely affect the pope. However, at the same time, that Charles favoured de Retz did not please Mazarin, who 'had heard reports that Charles had taken de Retz into his esteem'. Henry Jermyn to Charles II, 25 Oct. 1654 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 49, fols 82-3).

II by Jesuits in 1654. Nicolò Guidi di Bagno, nuncio in France, noted this scepticism, as no male royal family member adhered to Catholicism. Worse still was a previous attempt by Jesuits to convert Gloucester in 1656, an attempt whose reputation was, according to Bellings and d'Aubigny, 'extremely odious in England'.¹⁰⁷ D'Aubigny and Bellings even exaggerated the previous attempt that it had been reported in 'the worst senc[e]' in Rome that Charles II was inclined rather to persecute Catholics.¹⁰⁸ Therefore they argued that, without a statement to tolerate the Catholics by Charles II himself, the Catholic princes would surely 'regulat their care' towards the exiled court in accordance with 'their interest and the present political condition', that being the Cromwellian regime and the French alliance with them.¹⁰⁹ Hence, d'Aubigny and Bellings explained that the conversion of Gloucester would reassure the Catholic princes of Charles II's indulgence to Catholics, by which they could expect financial support from the Catholic courts.

D'Aubigny and Bellings proposed a distinctive approach to Gloucester's conversion, emphasising its role in teaching him 'the true principles of that obedience and fidelity', to shape him into a politically disciplined Catholic who could support Charles II's reign. They advocated for introducing him to Catholicism through travel in Catholic regions, aiming to deepen his loyalty to Charles II without forcing a sudden conversion.¹¹⁰ In support of Catholicism and loyalty to the king, it was significant that d'Aubigny and Bellings both emphasised the importance of education rather than conversion per se. This strategy was designed to ensure Gloucester's continuous loyalty

¹⁰⁷ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹⁰⁸ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹⁰⁹ Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to James Sidenham [i.e. Ormond], 6 Sep. 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vol.7, p. 367.

¹¹⁰ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

to Charles II, who would remain Protestant to preserve the kingdom's Protestant security.¹¹¹ Furthermore, d'Aubigny and Bellings hoped Charles II would articulate his toleration of Catholics, as the Catholic loyalists desired king's grace upon their belief in his dominion, which should 'be the rule to guide their judgments, in determining what they are to trust to'.¹¹² It is notable here that they dismissed the idea of Charles II converting, reasoning that a Catholic king could alienate potential supporters in the religiously tumultuous context of the three kingdoms.¹¹³ In d'Aubigny and Bellings' views, a Catholic prince rather than the king himself, would better serve to appeal 'the catholicke party at home and abroad' to aid the king, without compromising the Protestant allegiance to Charles II.¹¹⁴ On this basis, d'Aubigny explained that changing the religion of Princess Henrietta, Charles' sister, would lead to the same outcome. This strategic conversion and education of Gloucester in Catholicism were seen as beneficial not only for the court but also for ensuring political loyalty across Charles II's dominions, balancing Catholic and Protestant interests while appealing to European Catholic powers.

To garner Catholic support within Charles II's realm, through Gloucester's conversion, d'Aubigny and Bellings advocated for negotiations with Rome, promising to repeal the penal laws in England initially and in Ireland and Scotland subsequently. D'Aubigny and Bellings expected Cardinal Mazarin to make religious proposals to Cromwell in order to ensure the safety and property of Catholics, as Bellings later reported to Hyde that 'the pope told that Catholics should have full liberty'.¹¹⁵ In other

¹¹¹ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹¹² 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹¹³ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹¹⁴ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹¹⁵ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

words, toleration for Catholics was not enough in the papal curia's opinion. Mazarin's strategy included deploying two cardinals to facilitate discussions between English Catholics and Rome.¹¹⁶ The initiative was partly motivated by the vacancy left by Richard Smith, late Catholic bishop of Chalcedon and vicar apostolic of England, prompting English Catholics to seek new leadership.¹¹⁷ D'Aubigny, with the backing from influential figures like Francesco Barberini and de Retz, was considered for the bishopric of Chalcedon so that he might serve as a 'superintendent' of English Catholics.¹¹⁸ Beyond ecclesiastical leadership, d'Aubigny aspired to a position close to the converted prince, hoping this influence would lead to the king's recommendation to cardinal post.¹¹⁹

In his efforts to advance the negotiation with the pope for the toleration of Catholics, Charles II appointed Bellings as his envoy. Bellings was tasked with consulting John Sinnich, a key Jansenist figure at the Irish College in Leuven and a delegate to the Roman curia in the 1640s.¹²⁰ The delegation reflected Charles II's expectation that Sinnich would be an intermediary between the monarchy and Rome. Allocated £50 for the mission, Bellings' delegation aimed to advance Charles II's agenda for Catholic toleration.¹²¹ However, dissatisfaction emerged among court members over Bellings' visit to Leuven, primarily because Charles II had not yet addressed d'Aubigny's

¹¹⁶ Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Sidenham [i.e. Ormond], 6 Sep. 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vol.7, p. 367.

¹¹⁷ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹¹⁸ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹¹⁹ This had a pretext that d'Aubigny was once to get a cardinal position under Charles I. Also, in 1661, Bellings travelled to Rome to ask the pope for a cardinal's hat for the Lord, as we shall see in the next section.

¹²⁰ Paul Arblaster, 'Sinnich, John (1603–1666), theologian' in *ODNB*; Carol Baxter, 'Sinnich (Shinnick), John' in *DIB*.

¹²¹ Ormond to Hyde, 2 Jul. 1657 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 55, fol. 94); [Ormond] to [Hyde], 4 July 1657 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 55, fol. 111); Hyde to Ormond, 30 Jul. 1657 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 55, fol. 227).

pressing conversion propositions. This discontent highlighted the complex interplay between Charles II's diplomatic initiatives and the expectations of his court regarding religious policy and political strategy.¹²² After meeting with Sinnich, it was likely that Bellings sought clarification from Charles II on whether he would accept d'Aubigny's propositions concerning Gloucester's conversion. Charles II, while expressing a willingness to accommodate Catholics, ultimately prioritised loyalty and political stability over the proposed conversion. Charles II explained to Bellings: 'I am confident there is no catholike ... that doeth in truth beleeve, that I incline to persecute catholikes or catholike religion. But obedience must be given'.¹²³ The king went on that 'no mens expecting an unreasonable and unseasonable testimony of my intentions to favour catholikes shall oblige me to doe'.¹²⁴ In this, it may be assumed, Hyde's advice had impacted on Charles II's decision, perhaps because Hyde was unwilling to have religious benefits afforded to 'pernicious persons of other profession'.¹²⁵ Although Charles II declined Gloucester's conversion, he emphasised that he would give indulgence to people 'of a different profession of faith'.¹²⁶ Charles II denied a rumour that England's 'indifferency in [Catholic] religion' was 'the sole reason of objection' why the king did not agree with the proposition. However, for Charles II, 'the temper and humour' in English protetants were not 'the sole objection', but 'I am swayed by a much more important argument, without condemning or reproaching those who are not of my opinion'.¹²⁷ Though this part is too vague to understand clearly, Charles II showed that

¹²² Probably, Ormond saw Belling's commission concerning Gloucester's commission. Ormond to Hyde, 2 Jul. 1657 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 55, fol. 94); [Ormond] to [Hyde], 4 July 1657 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 55, fol. 111).

¹²³ 'Additional communication to Bellings' instruction', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, p. 745.

¹²⁴ 'Instruction of Charles II to Bellings', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 744-5.

¹²⁵ Hyde to Ormond, 13 July 1657 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 55, fol. 160).

¹²⁶ 'Instruction of Charles II to Bellings', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 744-5.

¹²⁷ 'Instruction of Charles II to Bellings', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 744-5.

he would not (and probably could not) abandon the hard-line Protestants' support for him and his reign, even though Bellings and d'Aubigny also had expected the response from Protestants. Ultimately, Charles II declined the proposal to convert Gloucester to Catholicism, stating that he 'had reason not to consent'.¹²⁸ Thus, the plan for Gloucester's conversion was abandoned.

Bellings, acting on behalf of the king, drafted letters to send to Cardinals Barberini, Decio Azzolini, Chigi and Giacomo Rospigliosi recommending Charles II to the pope.¹²⁹ De Retz's agent, Abbé Charrier, relayed these efforts and the supportive stance of Cardinal Barberini, the English Catholics' protector, in Rome.¹³⁰ Girolamo de Vecchii, internuncio in Brussels, echoed Charrier's proposals, underscoring their alignment with the cardinals' views in Rome.¹³¹ Despite Charles' cautious approach to not antagonise his Protestant subjects, de Retz portrayed him as a monarch tolerant of Catholics in his communications with the cardinals. This portrayal was crucial, as any repeal of penal laws against Catholics in England required parliamentary approval — a significant hurdle for Charles II. However, despite these concerted efforts and the willingness to assist Charles II, the pope, through Barberini, conveyed that the dignity of the Holy See precluded formal dealings with a prince 'outside the Church'.¹³² This stance highlighted Rome's reservations about directly supporting Charles II, given his Protestant faith, underscoring the delicate balance between religious allegiance and religious diplomacy.

¹²⁸ 'Instruction of Charles II to Bellings', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1., p. 745

¹²⁹ This might be written by Bellings, junior, considering his pen, but Bellings, senior, may have been the author. Charles II to Cardinal Chigi, 30 July 1658 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 58, fols 142-3).

¹³⁰ [Cardinal de Retz] to [Ormond], 29 Mar. 1659 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 60, fols 233-6). Charrier's pseudonym was Roquevive.

¹³¹ Girolamo di Vecchi and Valérie Busin, *La correspondance de Girolamo di Vecchi internonce aux Pays-Bas (1656-1665)* (Bruxelles, 1999).

¹³² [de Retz] to [Ormond], 30 July 1658 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 60, fols 258-9).

Within the network of exiled English courtiers, Bellings, Hyde, and Ormond were particularly suspicious of the Talbots, an Old English family engaged in clandestine negotiations with the Cromwellian regime for Catholic toleration.¹³³ Moreover, Hyde and Ormond aimed to shield the Talbots from learning about the collaboration between d'Aubigny and Bellings on the Gloucester conversion initiative, underscoring the delicate balance of internal and external diplomatic engagements.¹³⁴ The secrecy extended to Henrietta Maria, from whom d'Aubigny and Bellings concealed their proposals, fearing she might inadvertently expose their plans to the Talbots and Cardinal Mazarin, who held sway over the queen's court.¹³⁵ This strategic discretion underlined the broader imperative for Charles II's Catholic policy: maintaining control over Irish Catholic loyalism without conceding influence to the Talbots and their allies who constructed a close tie to York.¹³⁶ Throughout the exile and beyond, managing the dynamics of loyalty, secrecy, and diplomacy remained crucial for navigating the challenges of religious and political allegiance. Hyde and Ormond harboured deep-seated mistrust towards the Talbot family, particularly due to Gilbert Talbot's role as a double agent and Peter and Thomas Talbot's unauthorised use of the royal title in negotiations with the Cromwellian regime for a military alliance.¹³⁷ This scepticism was

¹³³ Williams, *The king's Irishmen*, pp 168-76

¹³⁴ Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Lawrence [i.e. Hyde], 8 Feb. 1658 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 57, fols 80-2); Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Lawrence [i.e. Hyde], 8 Feb. 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 6, p. 764; Ormond to Hyde, 19/29 Mar. 1658, Thomas Carte, *A collection of original letters and papers concerning the affairs of England from the year 1641 to 1660 found among the Duke of Ormonde's papers* (2 vols, London, 1759), vol. 2, pp 133-4; Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Laurence [i.e. Hyde], 12 Apr. 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 733-4; Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Laurence [i.e. Hyde], 31 May 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 737-8.

¹³⁵ 'Proposition to king Charles II', *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. 1, pp 740-744.

¹³⁶ The Talbots became increasingly powerful in the Restoration such as Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin (1669-80) and Richard Talbot, later earl in 1685 and duke of Tyrconnell in 1689.

¹³⁷ Hyde to Ormond, 25 Nov. 1659, Scrope and Monkhouse (eds), *State papers collected by Edward, earl of Clarendon*, vol. 3, pp 610-613.

further fuelled by Thomas Talbot's expressed disdain for 'the king and his mistrustful ministers', likely referring to Hyde and Ormond.¹³⁸

Despite these tensions, Bellings and other lay Old English figures were concerned about advancing comprehensive religious liberty, especially regarding the preservation of Catholic church property. In early 1658, Bellings reported that Thomas Talbot had engaged with Edmund O'Reilly, the new archbishop of Armagh, and a Jesuit called Bodkin to negotiate a separate settlement with England, advocating for significant land allocations to ensure undisturbed religious freedom for Catholics.¹³⁹ Hyde's reaction to Thomas Talbot's efforts and the Jesuit's 'villainous foolish things' and 'extravagant demands' from 'the Irish' reflects the deep divisions over how best to secure Catholic interests and land rights.¹⁴⁰ More importantly, according to Bellings' letter, Thomas Talbot purposed to 'have large proportion of lands sett out too them, [whereby they] should not be disturbed in their religious [freedom]'.¹⁴¹ Bellings' correspondence underscores the lay loyalist Catholics' fears of clerical overreach into lands held since the dissolution, illustrating the complex interplay of religious, political, and property concerns among the exiled court's factions. The revelation that Peter Talbot met with

¹³⁸ Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Laurence [i.e. Hyde], 19 Apr. 1658, *Thurloe state papers*, vol. 1, p. 732. Also see T. Kingston to Mr Laurence [i.e. Hyde], 22 Feb. 1658, *Thurloe state papers*, vol.6, p. 794. Nonetheless, Williams has recovered that the Talbots were '[f]ar from being disingenuous in his activities, the achievement of a stable, tolerant, and ultimately Catholic government in the Three Kingdoms lay at the heart of Talbot's efforts' which Ormond supporters' ideas could not work out until they came. In addition, he has denied that the Talbots were not loyal to the king; rather, they attempted to reconcile the king's wish and the Catholic states' demand till the end. Williams, *The king's Irishmen*, pp 132 and 157.

¹³⁹ The full name of Bodkin is unknown, though, probably a descendant from and Old English Christopher Bodkin, the archbishop of Tuam in the mid-Tudor period. Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Laurence [i.e. Hyde], 28 Aug. 1658, *Thurloe state papers*, vol.7, p. 340; Anthony M. McCormack and Terry Clavin, 'Bodkin (Bodekin, Bodikin), Christopher' in *DIB*.

¹⁴⁰ Scrope and Monkhouse (eds), *State papers collected by Edward, earl of Clarendon*, vol. 3, pp 610-5.

¹⁴¹ Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Mr Laurence [i.e. Hyde], 28 Aug. 1658, *Thurloe state papers*, vol.7, p. 340; Kingston [i.e. Bellings] to Sidenham [i.e. Ormond], 27 Aug./6 Sep. 1658, *Thurloe state papers*, vol.7, p. 367.

Cromwell in 1659 would have further compounded the exiled court politicians' anxieties, underlining the ongoing challenges and uncertainties faced by the loyalist Catholic laity in navigating their relationships with both the Cromwellian regime and their own clerical counterparts.¹⁴²

In sum, while the exiled English court faced significant hurdles in utilising its Irish mercenaries as leverage to secure consistent financial assistance, the challenges associated with Spanish subsidies catalysed a strategic reassessment of the court's approach towards its Catholic subjects. In response to a covert pact with Spain, articles of the Second Ormond Peace had to be realised in the near future. This strategic pivot brought a critical insight: religious policy, particularly the promise of tolerance towards Catholics, could serve as an influential diplomatic tool, enhancing the court's appeal among Catholic monarchs across Europe. Within this context, positioning the court as a champion of the Catholic cause became crucial for bolstering the exiled court's diplomatic outreach. Meanwhile, Charles II's decision reflected a complex interplay of religious tolerance, political loyalty, and the pragmatic realities of his reign, suggesting he navigated these challenges with an eye towards preserving unity and stability. His stance also indicated a careful strategy to maintain positive relations with influential figures like d'Aubigny and de Retz, even while selectively adhering to their requests.

Bellings' political pragmatism was evident throughout the negotiations. Bellings' religious diplomacy within the exiled court aimed to project an image of Charles II as lenient towards Catholics, tailored for Catholic princes. Rather than pushing for the king's conversion, Bellings and his allies recognised that gestures of

¹⁴² Hyde and Bellings knew about Peter Talbot's plot to convert York. Hyde to Ormond, 11 Oct. 1659, Scrope and Monkhouse (eds), *State papers collected by Edward, earl of Clarendon*, vol. 3, pp 578-581; Hyde to Ormond, 11 Oct. 1659, Carte, *A collection of original letters and papers*, vol. 2, p. 236.

tolerance were more valuable than conversion itself. They prioritised Charles II's own political conditions (i.e. Protestant backlash) over strict Roman demands. Their ultimate goal was not to gain comprehensive religious freedom but to maintain the *de facto* toleration and to procure money for the court. Through his mediation, Bellings sought to present Charles II's toleration for Catholics, reflecting his own commitment to sustaining this *de facto* religious toleration for the Catholic members at court. This approach allowed Catholic members of the court to enjoy their political rights fully, as long as Charles II continued to tolerate their faith.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined Bellings' crucial role as an agent in diplomatic interactions between the English court and Catholic states during the mid-seventeenth century. Following the civil wars, royalists from the three kingdoms, particularly Irish politicians, migrated to the court, contributing to its diplomatic strategies. The court strategically leveraged these royalist migrants, incorporating their military resources into its diplomatic toolkit. Through a network of Catholic agents, the court sought support from France, Spain, and Rome, underscoring the importance of unofficial diplomatic agents in efforts to restore the monarchy. Bellings exemplified this agency, articulating the political perspectives of his network through various missions that reflected the religious concerns of the loyalist Catholic community.

These missions often required Bellings to reconcile his Catholic identity with loyalty to a Protestant monarch. Initially, Bellings and the loyalist Catholic community accepted tacit recognition and unofficial toleration of Catholicism during the civil wars, sparing them from confronting their religious stance directly. Thus, they assumed a relatively passive stance, expecting to maintain this *de facto* royal toleration. However,

as Bellings' later missions demonstrate, he and his peers soon sought to secure formal recognition of the king's tolerance of Catholicism. This approach not only rejected papal intervention in state matters but also attempted to bridge the divide between the monarch and Rome.

Bellings' political pragmatism was evident throughout these negotiations. His first mission to Europe yielded limited results, but during the peace negotiations in Paris in 1645, where he served as secretary, his views aligned with the council's perspective: prioritising military loyalty over a comprehensive religious settlement. Bellings' position notably highlighted the loyalist Catholics' concern for protecting property acquired from former monastic lands. However, his religious views diverged from those of the papacy, as his diplomatic efforts within the exiled court were focused upon portraying the king to Catholic princes as lenient toward Catholics. This pragmatic outlook reflected the complex relationship between religious freedom—which Bellings and other loyalist Catholics had largely enjoyed since the civil war—and political loyalty in the exiled court's negotiations. Concurrently, ideological rifts emerged between Old English laymen and clergy regarding religious freedom. The laymen favoured Charles II's political conditions over Roman demands, aiming to sustain *de facto* toleration and secure financial support for the court, rather than pursuing full religious freedom. While d'Aubigny's cardinal's post may have symbolised a potential shift in favour, it is uncertain whether the Old English genuinely sought the repeal of penal laws, given that they already enjoyed considerable political rights in practice. Nonetheless, securing land ownership remained essential for preserving these rights, with toleration firmly anchored in loyalty to Charles II. The ultimate goal for the loyalist Catholics was to restore their lands back to their hands by the monarchy in the Restoration. The next chapter will examine intricate relationships between the lands, loyalty and the freedom of religion.

Did they still continue to prefer *de facto* toleration, or *de jure* of their official church otherwise?

Chapter 6: Writing *The History* and Gallicanism in *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance*, c. 1660-1674

6.1 Introduction

As examined in chapter two, historians have analysed memory-making debates during the Restoration primarily as disputes between Protestants and Catholics. This was because the land settlement was the most critical issue for the nobility and gentry in Restoration Ireland; therefore, memory-making played a crucial role in safeguarding their property for politicians of both confessions.¹ As to the political context in which Bellings attempted to write *The History*, Raymond Gillespie has emphasised the political context of the early-1670s when more severe Catholic regulations, such as the Test Act, were enforced.² How, then, should we interpret the importance of the latter part of *The History*, as examined in chapter four? As previously noted, the latter part of *The History* focused exclusively on internal conflicts within the Confederation, continuing the debates of the 1650s among the continental exiles in Latin pamphlets. Did Bellings and other Catholic writers pursue the same goal in English language works during the Restoration period?

As revealed in chapter four, Bellings' writings concerning the events of 1648 were heavily influenced by Gallican theology. Gallicanism was not merely an intricate theological notion on the relationship between state sovereignty and papal prerogatives; it was also a religious practice already embraced by loyalist Catholics in early Stuart Ireland. This was largely due to the Catholic reformation, introduced by the secular clergy, who relied on lay financial and political patronage to re-establish the church. In

¹ This point is discussed in chapter two section five.

² Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212–28, pp 216–7

other words, the council's actions immediately following the nuncio's excommunication reflected Bellings' vision of an ideal relationship between religion and church governance. To understand the strong implications of Gallicanism in the later sections of Bellings' *History*, this chapter reconsiders the failed attempts of *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance*, including Bellings' Roman delegation and its rejection in 1666. *The Remonstrance* was a new oath of allegiance drafted by Bellings in 1661. This oath would reaffirm loyalty to the king, potentially thwarting any conspiracies.

This chapter will make two arguments. First, the stark contrast between the success in 1648 and the failure during the 1660s was embedded in Bellings' Gallian political thinking. Second, building upon Anne Creighton's arguments that the Catholic interest consolidated their influence during the 1660s – led by Colonel Peter Talbot, earl and later duke of Tyrconnell, whilst excluding Ormond's Catholic clients like Bellings – the political context of the period, particularly the land settlement, prompted him to compose his *History* in response to increasing Catholic grievances amongst those who failed to have their lands restored. The second argument challenges Gillespie's assumption where Bellings was motivated to write *The History* in political contexts of the 1670s. Therefore, the latter part of *The History* should also be read in the broader context of the loyalist Catholics' efforts to advance *The Remonstrance* – and their ultimate failure – and to justify the Restoration land settlement.

The first section situates Bellings' memory-making within Restoration-era Catholic political discourse to examine his Gallican influences as demonstrated in the latter part of *The History*. The section, while exploring historical debates surrounding *The Remonstrance*, delves into the social conditions that influenced Bellings' role in drafting it, as well as its ideological character. The following section discusses Bellings junior's diplomatic mission to Rome, with a particular focus on the loyalist Catholics'

vision for the church. For the diplomatic mission, Bellings, senior, prepared. During the delegation, loyalist Catholic politicians and clerics sought to model the Church on the Gallican style while distancing themselves from Roman authority. The final section examines how Bellings' historical writing was a response to looming Catholic grievances caused by the land settlement.

6.2 The Bellings' land restoration, 1660-65

The Declaration and Instructions initially listed approximately 400 individuals for land restoration, including thirty-six who were selected through royal favour. An additional twenty names were later added. Among the fifty-six listed (so-called 'nominees') was the name of Richard Bellings.³ The commissioners conducted hearings to assess claims of innocence. To maintain order, they issued instructions outlining the sequence of hearings for claims of innocence, prioritising Leinster, followed by Munster (excluding Clare), Ulster, and finally Connaught. Within Leinster, claimants were prioritised as follows: Dublin city and county first, followed by those from Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare, Drogheda, Louth, and finally Meath. Hearings for the midlands of Leinster followed.⁴ Due to the order of hearings, Bellings' claims were given a favourable position. However, although these hearings began, they had no legal grounding. This was because it was only parliament that could legislate for land ownership, and the Gracious Declaration was found not to have sufficient legal authority to confirm or deny ownership.⁵

Bellings, senior, faced significant difficulties in protecting his property from

³ Lawrence Arnold, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin, 1660-1688: a history of the administration of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation* (Dublin, 1993), p. 47

⁴ Arnold, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin*, p. 67

⁵ cf. Neil Johnston, 'Politics, parliament and the Restoration land settlement in Ireland, 1660-1665' (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2012).

government sequestration. On 25 January 1661, a royal decree ordered the restoration of Bellings' land.⁶ However, from May 1661 onwards, their family properties remained vulnerable to antagonistic measures by the Protestant government. In a letter to Ormond, dated 1 June 1661, Bellings expressed scepticism towards Protestant parliamentarians, fearing the reversal of a bill for land restoration for 'innocent' papists.⁷ He vehemently criticised the new settlers who had secured land in the 1650s, describing them as 'the scum of England ... a generation of the mecanike bagemen who are strangers to all principle of Religion & loyalty'.⁸ Bellings condemned what he saw as a novel social condition in which lower-status settlers controlled the state through land ownership, reflecting his hierarchical political outlook. This statement reflected the loyalist Catholics' perspective that land ownership, loyalty, and religious faith were deeply intertwined. Bellings' appeal proved seemingly effective, as he felt reassured by the king's proclamation securing his Wicklow estate at Crehelp.⁹ Still, in 1664, despite previous efforts to secure their holdings, the Bellings family faced the confiscation of their lands. This event underlined that Bellings and Ormond had been 'careless about their lands'.¹⁰ Bellings forfeited his land 'of a good value' in the see of Dublin 'upon a chief [cheap?] rent', by Jury in 1664.¹¹ This incident highlighted how vulnerable Bellings' properties were to Protestant confiscation.

Nevertheless, the diplomatic and administrative efforts of Bellings, junior, were crucial in mitigating these challenges to their lands. Under the Act of Settlement of

⁶ Charles II to Lords Justice, 25 Jan. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 41, fol. 550).

⁷ *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, vol. 5, part 4, para 235.

⁸ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 1 June 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214 fols 292-3). Bellings had shown likewise in *Arcadia* and in the Confederation.

⁹ Charles II to Lord Justice, 5 June 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 41, fol. 238).

¹⁰ Ormond to Clarendon, 24 Mar. 1664 (Bodl., Carte MS, 49 fol. 262).

¹¹ Michael Boyle to Ormond, 11 June 1664 (Bodl., Carte MS, 215 fol. 48); Michael Boyle to Ormond, 2 July 1664 (Bodl., Carte MS, 215 fol. 48).

1662, only fourteen Catholics regained ownership of just over 35,000 acres—approximately 12 percent of the county’s total land area—representing 35 percent of the land held by seventy-six Catholics in 1641. Notably, 30,000 of the 35,000 acres were allocated to just five individuals: Sir Richard Bellings (Bellings, junior), Sir Lawrence Esmond, James Alen of St. Wolstan, Sir William Talbot, and John Walsh (Ormond’s family lawyer).¹² When the hearings concluded on 21 August 1663, thousands of claims remained unheard, fueling widespread Catholic discontent. Upon his return to London from the continent in 1663, discussions between Clarendon and Charles II led to an agreement to release the Bellings’ estates in Dublin, Kildare, and Wicklow from Protestant sequestration. Following Bellings, junior’s return, arrangements were made to pay £3,000 in unpaid revenue and rent.¹³ Ultimately, 4,500 acres of their estates were restored, and £2,800 was granted as compensation for estimated rent losses.¹⁴

In advocating for allegiance to Charles II through *The Loyal Formulary of Irish Remonstrance* in 1661, Bellings aimed to position it as a petition requesting the king’s assurance of financial and political protection for Catholic subjects. Bellings underlined that the laity came to ‘suffer under all the crimes thus falsely imputed to them’ due to ‘the character of priesthood’ influencing upon conscience. Bellings probably referred to the parliamentary disputation by the Protestant MPs in the summer of 1661. He further inferred that it should have been ‘their adversaries principal design, that the Irish, whose estates they enjoy, should be reputed persons unfit, and no way worthy any title to your

¹² The Old Irish were largely displaced from Wicklow. Arnold, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin*, p. 145

¹³ ‘Entry of the King to the Treasurers of the Adventurers’ moneys, for Richard Bellings’, 13 Aug. 1663 (TNA, SP 63/312 fol.85). cf. (Bodl., Carte 165, fol. 177v)

¹⁴ Toby Barnard, ‘Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland’ in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 326–47, p. 335; Ormond to Bellings (junior), 24 Mar. 1663 (Bodl., Carte MS, 165, fol. 177v).

Majesties mercy'.¹⁵ He particularly emphasised the dispute over land restoration and the broader issue of undermining Catholic political integrity. Furthermore, Bellings and Redmond Carron, an Old English Franciscan, corresponded about the English Parliament's decree supported by the Irish government. The decree labelled all 'Irish Rebels' as traitors, securing the lands acquired by adventurers and soldiers as of 1 January 1660 against claims by these 'rebels'.¹⁶ This context framed a letter which Bellings received from Carron in the summer of 1660, Carron strongly criticised the Protestant administration's aggressive land policies, labelling the Protestant government and adventurers as 'usurped & rebellious power'. Carron's letter underscored the contentious atmosphere and the Catholics' plight under Protestant rule. Carron wrote:

it is questioned what Interest may these Adventurers pretend in Ireland? ... If they meane by Adventurers such as served Cromwell as those that opposed the king & that by power desired from the kings Ennemies they should challenge any interest or[in?] Ireland, it is a manifest treason, for it is nothinge else but to maintaine an usurped & rebellious power to be of force & that the kings sometimes may giue interest in a Dominions beyond his consent. ... Wee are falsely accused by many & condemned by our adversaries, which never hitherto they could prooue.¹⁷

Carron argued that the true rebels were the adventurers and soldiers who had unjustly acquired lands, not the Irish Catholics, including the Old English, who were wrongfully accused. He pointed out the irony that if a lawful court were to sanction the acts of these

¹⁵ Peter Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance of 1661* (London, 1677), pp 7-9.

¹⁶ This measure aimed to compensate 'the innocent Blood of so many Thousands of Our English Protestant Subjects formerly slain by the Hands of those barbarous Rebels' and avoid 'new Mischiefs of the same Kind likely to fall out as the sad Issue and Consequence'. *Journals of the House of Lords [of England]*, vol. 11, 45-6.

¹⁷ Redmond Carron to Richard Bellings, 26 Aug. 1660 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 73 fols 194-5), fols 194r-195r.

‘rebellious & usurped powers’, it would legitimise the confiscation of Catholic lands.¹⁸

This perspective reinforced the urgency among the loyalist Catholics to draft the *Remonstrance*, appealing to authority for the protection of their properties and to affirm their loyalty and innocence in response to Protestant nobility and gentry.

6.3 Bellings’ social, political and intellectual background of *The Irish*

Remonstrance

In order to affirm the loyalty of Ireland’s Catholics, Bellings, alongside Sir Richard Barnewall (a 1649 Commissioner of Trust), Thomas Tyrrel (an Old English gentleman from Meath), Oliver Dease (vicar general of Meath), James Fitz Simons (guardian of the Franciscans in Dublin), and other moderate politicians and clergymen, drafted *The Remonstrance* in late 1661.¹⁹ Officially titled *The Loyal Formulary of the Irish Remonstrance*, this document has long been regarded as the work of the Old English community, though it also included Gaelic Irish gentry and nobility.²⁰ In fact, according to Walsh, Bellings ‘considered that a bare *The Remonstrance* of their sufferings or a bare Petition of redress could not much avail a people that lately acted as they had done in obedience to the Nuncio’.²¹ In other words, *The Remonstrance* was intended to re-establish a new religio-political identity that would cover over English and Irish.

Bellings defended the Catholic cause in the Irish Parliament on behalf of Ormond, loyal Catholic gentry, and clerics, particularly during a heightened period of social insecurity in December 1661. This was when a letter allegedly discussing Catholic toleration, exchanged between Fathers James Dermot and James Phelan, was

¹⁸ Redmond Carron to Richard Bellings, 26 Aug. 1660 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 73 fols 194-5), fol. 194v.

¹⁹ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 7.

²⁰ Anne Creighton, ‘The remonstrance of December 1661 and Catholic politics in Restoration Ireland’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiv, no. 133 (2004), pp 16–41, p. 38.

²¹ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 7.

intercepted by John Bramhall, Protestant archbishop of Armagh. Bramhall shared the letter with notable Protestants like Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, and Charles Coote, earl of Mountrath, leading to its presentation in parliament. The letter, which Dermot purportedly wrote, suggested a plan to protect Catholics from being ‘undone’ by ‘knaves’ who dominated the Dublin castle.²² The lords justice and the parliamentarians interpreted this as concrete evidence of a Catholic plot, prompting the banishment of Catholic gentry to Connacht and the arrest of the clergy across Ireland.²³ In late December 1661, Bellings, alongside Dermot, challenged this narrative at the Irish privy council, asserting the letter’s falsity.²⁴ Bellings requested Ormond to protect ‘so farr as they [i.e. Dermot and Phelan] shall be made appear to ye Lo: that they are not criminall’.²⁵ Bellings also expressed to Ormond his disbelief in the alleged Catholic plot, citing a lack of credible evidence among the clergy, writing that ‘truly I was always of opinion that there was no ground for what was alleagd against that priest’; because ‘there was not the least inkling brought me of any [t]urbulent discours amongst any of our clergy’.²⁶ Thus, Bellings not only refuted the existence of the plot but also asserted its fabrication, positioning himself firmly against the manipulation of Protestant fears for political ends. Bellings acknowledged to Ormond the potential involvement of ‘some hot heads of our clergy’ in overseas plots, yet he confidently assured the duke that no scheme detrimental to the king’s authority had not been initiated.²⁷ Bellings expressed his belief in his ability to uncover any such designs, wishing Ormond no greater

²² Dermot to Phelan, 18 Nov. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214, fol. 313-4).

²³ Creighton, ‘The remonstrance of December 1661’, pp 24-5

²⁴ Creighton, ‘The remonstrance of December 1661’, p. 25

²⁵ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 28 Dec. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214 fol. 309).

²⁶ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 21 Dec. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214 fol. 315).

²⁷ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 21 Dec. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214 fol. 315).

challenges in his governance than the rumours currently circulating.²⁸ Bellings hinted at possessing a strategy to detect any plots by these clergy members, likely referring to the implementation of a new oath of allegiance. This oath would reaffirm loyalty to the king, potentially thwarting any conspiracies.²⁹

This oath was a strategy by the king and Ormond to discern the true loyalty among Catholic subjects. Bellings hoped *The Remonstrance* would persuade Charles II to annul the penal laws in England against Catholics. The 1649 peace treaty already stipulated that the religious freedoms of Irish Catholics should be protected and formally established by a free parliament. The post-Restoration, house of lords committee in England, led by James, duke of York, deliberated on repealing these laws. Yet, the offer of religious freedom by Charles was contingent upon Catholics swearing allegiance to him over the pope. *The Remonstrance*, representing the Catholic clergy of Ireland, appealed to Charles II to shield Irish Catholics from defamation due to their religious beliefs and perceived allegiance to the papal authority, advocating for Catholic toleration.³⁰ Meanwhile, it is important to note that, by framing *The Remonstrance* as an oath of allegiance, Bellings and Ormond intended it to serve as a definitive test for the Irish clergy, revealing any opposition to royal authority. The timing in winter 1661 was strategic, coinciding with Ormond's appointment as lord lieutenant on 4 November. The *Remonstrance* sought to delineate, in political terms, those who were loyal to both the king and Ormond. Essentially, it was designed to distinguish between those deemed trustworthy or not by Ormond, Walsh, and Bellings. In a letter, dated 18 July 1663, Clarendon commended this approach to Ormond, asserting that selectively preserving

²⁸ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 21 Dec. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214 fol. 315).

²⁹ Richard Bellings to Ormond, 21 Dec. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS, 214 fol. 315).

³⁰ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, pp 7-9.

loyal individuals was key to maintaining control over Ireland, thereby acknowledging *The Remonstrance's* shrewd political utility.³¹ In other words, through *The Remonstrance* as a litmus test, Ormond sought to divide and rule Catholics in Ireland.

Bellings' involvement in drafting *The Remonstrance* was somewhat evident in the modification from *Exomologesis* written by Hugh Paulinus Cressy, an English-born Benedictine monk.³² By *Exomologesis*, Cressy explained why he converted from Protestant to Catholicism. Bellings began by explaining why Catholicism and loyalty should not be contradictory, clearly indicating that he had consulted Cressy's *Exemologesis*:

These being the tenets of our religion in point of loyalty and submission to your Majesties commands, and our dependence of the See of Rome, no way entrenching upon that perfect obedience which by our birth, by all laws divine and humane, we are bound to pay to your Majesty our natural and lawful sovereign, we humbly beg, prostrate at your Majesties feet, that you would be pleased to protect us from the severe persecution we suffer merely for our profession in religion.³³

Especially, he emphasised the legal basis for loyalty, asserting that Irish Catholics were committed to Charles II 'as the laws of rules of government in this kingdom do require'.³⁴ Bellings articulated that Catholic loyalty to the king could coexist with allegiance to Rome, arguing that such loyalty was mandated 'by birth, by all laws divine and human'.³⁵ Redmund Carron, a Franciscan from Old English stock, further supported this view. He asserted that 'Loyalty and Obedience to Kings is not only consistent with

³¹ Clarendon to Ormond, 18 July 1663 (Bodl., Carte MS, 32 fol. 719).

³² Cressy was an English-born priest who used to be a dean in the Protestant church of Ireland and a chaplain to Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford and ex-lord deputy of Ireland, but converted to Catholicism and became Benedictine. He became a chaplain to Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, and Catherine of Braganza. 'Cressy, Hugh Paulinus [name in religion Serenus] (1605–1674), Benedictine monk' in *ODNB*.

³³ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, pp 7-9.

³⁴ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 8.

³⁵ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 8.

the tenets of Catholic Religion' but also even taught and commanded 'by jure divino'.³⁶ Thus, Bellings and Carron argued that Catholic teachings inherently advocated for allegiance to their sovereign. Consequently, the *Remonstrance* called for temporal obedience to the Protestant state, despite the contentious issue of diminishing the pope's authority.

Bellings argued in the *Remonstrance* that kings are 'God's lieutenants on earth', representing divine authority in all civil and temporal affairs, regardless of their personal religion.³⁷ This was because not only temporal but also spiritual obedience even originated from kings. Bellings stated: 'we profess that all absolute princes and supreme governors of what religion soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth, and that obedience is due to them according to the laws of each commonwealth respectively in all civil and temporal affairs'.³⁸ Carron echoed this sentiment, drawing a parallel between the Pope's spiritual leadership and the king's temporal governance, describing the king 'as the Pope of Rome is Christs Viccar on earth *in spiritualibus* so the King is Gods Anointed, and Deputy *in temporalibus*'.³⁹ Thus, Bellings and Carron posited that kingship is divinely ordained, implying the inviolability of the king's temporal authority due to this divine sanction. However, the extent of temporal matters covered by this principle was left unspecified, though it was suggested that the king's authority in temporal affairs is absolute, stemming from God's anointment.

Bellings underscored his opposition to external ecclesiastical authority over the monarchy, particularly rejecting the papal deposing power of kings in line with Gallican

³⁶ 'To the Reader', in Redmond Carron, *Loyalty asserted and the late remonstrance or allegiance of the Irish clergy and layty confirmed and proved by the authority of Scriptures* (London, 1662), [unpaginated].

³⁷ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 8

³⁸ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 8.

³⁹ 'To the Reader', in Carron, *Loyalty asserted and the late remonstrance or allegiance*, [unpaginated].

political theology. He was especially concerned about the exercise of papal and spiritual power over state affairs, repeatedly mentioning ‘the Pope’ and ‘the See of Rome’.

Bellings remained firmly committed to maintaining loyalty to the king, stating that,

notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope or See of Rome, or any sentence or declaration ... given by the Pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal proceeding or derived from him, or his See, against your Majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge and perform to the uttermost of our abilities our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your Majesty.⁴⁰

As clearly evident from this quote, Bellings declared to uphold and defend the king’s prerogative even if papal and Roman authority intended to exercise their power over the kingdom. This declaration was not just a theoretical stance. Bellings emphasised his readiness to disavow any foreign power—papal or otherwise—that threatened the king’s person, authority, or the government’s stability. His position reflected not only the principles of Gallican political theology but also his direct experiences with papal intervention during the tumultuous 1640s.⁴¹ Thus, Bellings articulated a clear rejection of any external authority that sought to undermine the sovereignty of Charles II and his government.

Carron pointed out the Gallican principle embedded in *The Remonstrance*—especially its call to ‘render unto Caesar’ by distinguishing temporal from spiritual authority—as particularly contentious among the clergy at Louvain. He argued that the *Remonstrance* demanded a level of obedience to secular rulers that was beyond what could rightfully be expected of or offered by secular subjects, including statements

⁴⁰ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 8

⁴¹ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, p. 8

contrary to Catholic doctrine.⁴² Carron succinctly identified the core of the debate as defining the divinely ordained boundaries between priesthood and monarchy, distinguishing between temporal matters for ‘Caesar’s tribunal’ and purely spiritual concerns for the priesthood’s domain.⁴³ The censure of the *Remonstrance*, therefore, stemmed from its treatment of ‘papal indirect power in temporals’ and the characterisation of the king as ‘God’s Lieutenant’. Recognising the deep-seated resistance to the *Remonstrance*, loyalist Catholics and court royalists like Bellings, Walsh, Ormond, and Clarendon acknowledged the futility of expecting further clerical endorsements.

Bellings’ drafting of *The Remonstrance* was deeply influenced by his experiences during the 1640s war, leading him to adapt Cressy’s text to the Irish context by substituting ‘England’ with ‘Ireland’ and rephrasing references to government from ‘Country’ and ‘the High Court of Parliament’ to ‘royal authority’. This deliberate modification underlined Bellings’ longstanding commitment to the supreme council’s role as a legitimate representative of royal authority, emphasising the sovereignty of the monarchy over parliamentary or papal claims. Carron, echoing Bellings’ sentiments, reflected on the civil war era, implicitly critiquing figures like Rinuccini by advocating for honesty to one’s religion and sovereign over personal gain or foreign influence. Carron held that ‘[n]either ought any learned man to stifle such a truth, who dare be honest to his Religion, and Sovereign, if the corruption of self-interests, and vain pretentions abroad, more then the zeal of Religion, or the safety of his Sovereign, and friends at home, will not give his judgement a stop, and thereby betray his duty to God

⁴² Anthony J. Brown, ‘Anglo-Irish Gallicanism, c.1635 - c.1685’ (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004), p. 213.

⁴³ ‘The epistle’, in Carron, *Loyalty asserted and the late remonstrance or allegiance*, [unpaginated].

and Caesar'.⁴⁴ Here, Carron intended to contrast 'self-interests' and 'abroad' to 'Religion' and 'his Sovereign'/'home'. This stance, suggested a shared critique of papal interference among Bellings, Carron, and potentially Walsh, was rooted in their collective memory of nunciature disputes, reinforcing their allegiance to both religious faith and monarchical rule.

After completing drafting *The Remonstrance* in Dublin, Bellings dispatched it to London for review by Walsh and Ormond, who were both in the city at the time.⁴⁵ Alongside *The Remonstrance*, he included a copy of the lord justice's December 1661 proclamation against the Catholic clergy and evidence disputing the authenticity of a controversial letter attributed to Dermot.⁴⁶ The exact details of Bellings' presence in London remain uncertain, but it was James Fitzsimons, a Franciscan, who carried *The Remonstrance* from Dublin to London.⁴⁷ Walsh subsequently presented the documents to Luke Plunkett, earl of Fingall, related to Ormond, who then appealed to Charles II and the privy council for clemency towards those involved in the 1641 rebellion.⁴⁸ In recognition of Bellings' efforts in the involvement in drafting the oath, Charles II pardoned him as 'innocent' in early February 1662, shortly after endorsing *The Remonstrance*.⁴⁹ At the same time, Fitzsimons and Walsh pressed the noblemen and gentlemen to subscribe to *The Remonstrance*.⁵⁰ Fitzsimons and Walsh also advocated for its adoption among the Irish nobility and clergy in London, resulting in 24 out of 32

⁴⁴ 'To the Reader', in Carron, *Loyalty asserted and the late remonstrance or allegiance*, [unpaginated].

⁴⁵ Walsh possessed procuration from the Irish clergy to represent their interests at Charles II's court to implement the 1649 treaty.

⁴⁶ Creighton, 'The remonstrance of December 1661', pp 27-8.

⁴⁷ Creighton, 'The remonstrance of December 1661', pp 27-8.

⁴⁸ Creighton, 'The remonstrance of December 1661', p. 23.

⁴⁹ 'Pardon to Mr Belings', 4 Feb. 1662 (TNA, SP 63/308/62v)

⁵⁰ Creighton, 'The remonstrance of December 1661', pp 27-8.

clerics present at meetings on 11 and 15 January 1662 signing the document.⁵¹ By the end of February 1662, a total of 121 Irish clergy and nobility in London had subscribed.⁵² Walsh continued this effort in Dublin, securing an additional 45 signatures from clerics and 32 from the nobility and gentry.⁵³

The Irish clergy strongly resisted subscribing to *The Remonstrance*. This steadfast adherence to the papacy in spiritual matters, indicated the improbability of the clergy's support for *The Remonstrance* in Dublin or elsewhere in Ireland. This firm religio-political position culminated in a formal protestation against the *Remonstrance*, drafted by Anthony MacGeoghegan, bishop of Meath, and Eugene Sweeney, bishop of Kilmore, on 24 July 1662, which they circulated to the colleges at Louvain and Rome. Furthermore, Girolamo de Vecchi, internuncio in Brussels, denounced the Irish clerics who endorsed the *Remonstrance*. In a significant move, the faculty of theology at St Antony's college, Louvain, also issued a censure in July 1662, targeting not only *The Remonstrance* itself but also the clerics in Ireland who had signed it.⁵⁴ That said, de

⁵¹ Ormond told Walsh that there were no signatures on the documents, therefore he could not distinguish the trustful ministers from the untrustful, although distinguishing them had been the *Remonstrance*'s prime function. But Walsh tried to convince Ormond because Ormond's approval would suffice for the king's satisfaction. Taking the serious religion-political tension in Dublin into consideration, it would be difficult to persuade the sizeable group of Catholics in Ireland, and because it would take time to contact the bishops abroad. Creighton, 'The remonstrance of December 1661', p. 23. The list of subscribers, see Creighton Appendix B.

⁵² Creighton, 'The remonstrance of December 1661', p. 32.

⁵³ Meanwhile, in September 1661 and August 1662, the English Chapter consulted to take up an oath of allegiance at the price of the Jesuits because they had adhered to the Cromwellian regime in the 1650s. At their general assembly of September 1661, the Chapter, instigated by English Gallicans so-called Blackloists, renounced 'all foreign power, temporal of Prince or ecclesiastical of the Pope, inasmuch as he shall pretend to free us from obedience to his Majesty or depose him from his throne', and that they would not receive any Bulls, Breves or decrees sent by the Pope without the approval and consent of the King if the King desired so. T. A. Birrell, 'English Catholics Without A Bishop 1655–1672' in *British Catholic History*, iv, no. 4 (1958), pp 142–178, pp 150–1

⁵⁴ Walsh, *History et Vindication of Remonstrance*, 1st treatise, pp 16–7, Cardinal Barberini to Noblemen in Ireland, 8 June 1662 (Bodl., Carte MS, 221, fol. 249); Girolamo De Vecchii to the clergy in Ireland, 21 July 1662 (Bodl., Carte MS, 221, fol. 247); Letter to Father Francis Lyons, 221, fol. 245, 22 July 1662 (Bodl., Carte MS).

Vecchi prevented the Louvain censure from being printed, indicating that Rome preferred to maintain distance towards *The Remonstrance* in order to preserve a good relationship with the English monarchy. Importantly, Ormond's inability to process the 1649 peace articles – particularly those concerning the freedom of Catholicism, the restitution of church property and revenues, and the repeal of penal laws – contributed to the clergy's reluctance to subscribe *The Remonstrance*. Had he wished to do so, Ormond was incapable of advancing the treaty articles, in order not to flame up the enmity of Protestant interests towards the duke himself and his clients like Bellings or Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry and earl of Clancarty.⁵⁵ Nor was there any prospect of repealing the penal laws given the dominance of the Protestants in the Irish parliament. In other words, subscription of *The Remonstrance* was largely dependant upon Ormond's attitude and political capacity to realise religious freedom.

6.4 Roman negotiation in 1662-3

This section focuses upon the diplomatic mission to Rome to engage with Pope Alexander VII, in which Bellings, junior, was vitally involved. Contrary to the assumptions of Ruth Clark and Anthony Brown, who attributed the mission to the father, and Lord Acton, who identified Bellings, junior, as the delegate, manuscript evidence from Rome and Paris clearly indicates that it was indeed Bellings, junior, who was dispatched.⁵⁶ The mission entailed negotiating several critical matters with the Rome, including revealing Charles II's intention to marry Catherine Braganza, securing

⁵⁵ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 339

⁵⁶ ?? Feb. 1663, Sir Richard Bellings to Viscount Cornbury, Rome, (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 79 fol. 63r); John E. E. Acton, *Historical essays and studies*, (London, 1908), pp 85-122, which part had been already published as John E. E. Acton, 'Secret history of Charles II' in *Home and Foreign Review*, I (1862); Ruth Clark, *Strangers and sojourners at Port-royal* (Cambridge, 1932), pp 88-100; Brown, 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism', pp 211-58.

confirmation for the nomination of new bishop, seeking papal endorsement of *The Remonstrance*, advocating for the elevation of Ludovic Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, to a cardinal as bishop of England and Dunkirk, and presenting Charles II's *Oblatio ex Parte Carolii II*, an offer of Charles II's conversion to Catholicism.⁵⁷ These objectives underscore the significant diplomatic efforts undertaken by Bellings, junior, presumably underpinned by his father's preparatory work. Relying upon Charles' personal inclination, the mission should be regarded not only as a mere means to sustain their *de facto* toleration by making it official in the monarchy but also as the expression of the loyalist Catholics' ideal church governance.

The diplomatic mission Bellings, junior, to Rome in 1662-3 primarily aimed to secure Pope Alexander VII's blessing for the royal marriage between Charles and Catherine Braganza.⁵⁸ This initiative was part of a broader strategy discussed by Bellings, senior, with Abbé Walter Montagu, Queen Henrietta Maria's chamberlain, focusing on financial arrangements between the French and English monarchies and the matrimonial alliances of Charles with Catherine Braganza and his sister Henrietta Maria with Philip, duke of Anjou, later duke of Orléans.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the correspondence of Bellings, senior, with Montagu emphasised the urgency of the subsidy and marriage arrangements. Charles preferred a foreign subsidy and papal consent to his marriage to Catherine over ecclesiastical appointments, a choice that reflected the pragmatic aspects of his policy,⁶⁰ directly linking it to his approach towards Catholic subjects and their

⁵⁷ Clark, *Strangers and sojourners*, pp 88-100.

⁵⁸ 23 Sep. 1662, De Vecchii to Cardinal Chigi, Rome; 20 Oct. 1662, De Vecchii to Cardinal Chigi, Rome in Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Collection "Nunziatura di Fiandra" Vatican Archives: Part 1, Vols. 1-50' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 1 (1958), pp 7-136, pp 119-20.

⁵⁹ Montague was the counterpart to Bellings at Henrietta Maria's court.

⁶⁰ Bellings to Montagu, 27 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 73 fols 196-7). cf. Gabriel Glickman, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660-72' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxviii, no. 531 (2013), pp 263-291. Henry Jermyn, earl of St Albans, played

faith. In fact, Bellings, senior, communicated to Montagu that Charles considered the royal marriages a key precondition for granting Catholic toleration in his realms.

Likewise the conversion scheme of Henry, duke of Gloucester, discussed in chapter five, the marriages were expected to showcase Charles' leniency towards Catholics in the three kingdoms to foreign Catholic powers.⁶¹

Bellings and Montague discussed important propositions for ecclesiastical policies. They corresponded about Charles' recommendation of new Catholic bishops in Ireland.⁶² In fact, Muskerry's group of loyalist Catholics attempted to seize a political grip through recommending their favourite clerics. They nominated Patrick Maggin, John Burke of Tuam, Thomas Quinn, a Jesuit, and Oliver Darcy of Dromore. Therefore, the loyalist Catholics recommendation of their allied clergymen were being processed through Charles' tacit approval. Concerning the nomination of the bishops, it was reported in a letter to the Franciscans, that the loyalist clergymen appeared to be nominated to the bishops, as the writer emphasised 'they are all of the English race' who had 'openly defend[ed] errors already condemned by his Holiness'.⁶³ The loyalist clerics were criticised for defending positions previously condemned by the pope, possibly alluding to their connections with Jansenist thought, reflecting the loyalist Catholics'

a pivotal role in advancing these objectives as ambassador to France, contributing to the groundwork that would lead to the Anglo-French (secret) Treaty of Dover in 1670, for which Bellings, junior, was delegated as a secretary of the English retinue. The royal retinue was comprised of Richard Bellings, junior, Thomas Clifford, comptroller of the royal family, Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington and Henry Arundell, Lord Arundell of Wardour, in order to negotiate with Charles Colbert, marquis of Croissy, French ambassador to the court of James, duke of York. In the treaty, in return for Charles II's conversion to Catholicism and military help from England to the French war against the Dutch Republic, Charles would receive £230,000 for a yearly pension and military assistance once a rebellion broke out in England. At the negotiation, as seen on the manuscript documents, Bellings served the negotiation cadre as the secretary and translator in French and English.

⁶¹ Bellings to Montagu, 27 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 73 fols 196-7).

⁶² Richard Bellings to Walter Montagu, 23 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 73 fols 182-3).

⁶³ [Unknown] to [unknown], 8 Feb. 1663, *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders*, p. 454.

significant engagement with Jansenist networks during their exile in Paris. However, in 1653, Pope Innocent X had issued *Cum Occasione*, a papal bull to condemn five propositions of Jansen's *Augustinus*. This shows the Franciscans' concern about the loyalist Catholic church established, Jansenist's positions had weakened already. Moreover, the letter critiqued the nominees' Gallican political leanings, suggesting that Bellings favoured alignment with France and Portugal over Spain, a stance seen as compromising the unity of Catholic doctrine.⁶⁴ The clerical evaluation of the mission of Bellings, senior and junior, as potentially schismatic was indicative of the clerical deep concerns over a rift between their and royal religious policy upon religious freedom which Bellings advanced.

Bellings and Montague, meanwhile, corresponded about the elevation of d'Aubigny to cardinal, underscoring the political and religious dimensions intertwined with these negotiations.⁶⁵ D'Aubigny's promotion to the cardinal was driven in part by his own ambition for the office. The mission of Bellings, junior, to Rome, encompassed a request for papal endorsement aimed at facilitating the promotion of Lord d'Aubigny to the rank of cardinal in order to exercise his influence at the papal court to favour the Catholics in Stuart monarchies. Bellings, senior, also recognised d'Aubigny's aspirations to become a leading Catholic figure under Charles II, understanding that his elevation would strengthen the position of Catholics in the three kingdoms among Roman curia. If d'Aubigny was to be elevated to a cardinal, therefore, he would make it possible for the Catholics to rely on his influence in Rome.⁶⁶ In this sense, d'Aubigny's cardinal post and Irish bishops' recommendation demonstrated their envisioned

⁶⁴ [Unknown] to [unknown], 8 Feb. 1663, *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders*, p. 454.

⁶⁵ Richard Bellings to Walter Montagu, 23 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 73 fols 182-3).

⁶⁶ 'Proposition to king Charles II', Thomas Birch (ed.), *A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols, 1742), vol. 1, pp 740-744.

ecclesiastical structure. This is why an author, only indicated as RSP, suggested that successful negotiations by Bellings, junior, could potentially render *The Remonstrance* unnecessary by ensuring that Catholic interests were represented at a high level in Roman curia through d'Aubigny. In support of this objective, Charles II and Clarendon sought to enhance d'Aubigny's standing by proposing the creation of a new diocese. For newly establishing the diocese, Bellings, junior, visited the Dutch Republic in the summer of 1662 to negotiate the purchase of Dunkirk, which had been finally concluded on 4 September. By including Dunkirk as part of England, d'Aubigny was considered to be appointed as bishop of Dunkirk. In addition, on 6 February 1662, Charles II and Clarendon conferred to secure £500 for d'Aubigny.⁶⁷ While Bellings, junior, ultimately failed to secure the papal agreement to appoint d'Aubigny as a cardinal, the pope promised him to advance the issue. It might be assumed that the strategy would have been a realistic solution at that time. In England, their marriage was celebrated by d'Aubigny, chaplain to Catherine Braganza. Pope Alexander's agreement appeared to be conditional on the repeal of the penal law during Charles II's reign, as he asked Cardinal de Retz in spring 1666 whether the English Parliament intended to free Catholics from such constraints.⁶⁸ For the following years, the English court corresponded with Rome

⁶⁷ Clarendon to Walter Father de Melo, 7 Aug. 1662 (Bodl., Clarendon MS, 78 fols 183-4); Louis XIV to D'Estrades, 12 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 77, fols 207-14); D'Estrades to Clarendon, 22 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 77, fols 215); Louis XIV to D'Estrades, 23 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 77, fols 276-7); D'Estrades to Bellings (the junior), 22 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 79, fol. 142); D'Estrades to Bellings (the junior), 26 Aug. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 79, fol. 255); D'Estrades to Clarendon, 17 Sep. 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 79, fols 352i-j); William Dunn Macray (ed.), *Notes which passed at meetings of the Privy Council between Charles II and the earl of Clarendon, 1660-1667, together with a few letters, reproduced in facsimile from the originals in the Bodl.* (London, 1896), p. 61; Justus Colomar to Cornbury, 2 Jan. 1664 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 81, fols 1-2); Bellings (the junior) to Cornbury, 4 Feb. 1664 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 81, fols 79-80).

⁶⁸ Cardinal Azzolini to Charles Cardinal de Retz, 13 Apr. 1666 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 84, fols 124-5)

to proceed in the matter of d'Aubigny. D'Aubigny was eventually appointed a cardinal several years later though only to die in Paris in 1665.

Another task for the delegation to Rome of Bellings, junior, aimed at securing papal endorsement for *The Remonstrance*. John Punch, on 5 December 1662, acknowledged Bellings, junior, as 'very Orthodox' in belief, yet expressed concern over his adherence to potentially broad instructions from figures such as Clarendon, Ormond, Walsh, Carron, or even his father.⁶⁹ The letter underlined apprehensions about Bellings junior's representation of *The Remonstrance* in Rome, and his potential advocacy for controversial Irish Friars' views that challenged papal authority.⁷⁰ Bellings, junior, 'may likely propose something in the behalf of some scribbling Irish Friars not so Orthodox [as] himself, such as busy themselves too forwardly with pressing our English likewise to subscribe their Irish Protestation against the Popes power'.⁷¹ The author, only indicated as RSP, complained that 'some scribbling Irish friars', namely Walsh and Carron, were compelling not only Irish clerics but Irish clergy in London also to sign *The Remonstrance*. *The Remonstrance*, according to RSP, contained three propositions: that the pope had no direct or indirect power to depose kings or princes; that the king was the 'supreme Governor in all causes, both Spiritual and Temporal, so far as they reflect on the civil state'; and that 'they will admit none into the mission that shall not subscribe this oath'.⁷² RSP warned that, if Bellings, junior, failed to satisfy Rome in the negotiations, 'they for the state' would press the oath 'uppon al both Seculars and

⁶⁹ RSP [Robert Pugh?] to John Poyntz, 5 Dec. 1662 (Westminster Diocesan Archives, AAW, 32 fols 391-3).

⁷⁰ Brown, 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism', p. 249.

⁷¹ RSP [Robert Pugh?] to John Poyntz, 5 Dec. 1662 (Westminster Diocesan Archives, AAW, 32 fols 391-3).

⁷² RSP [Robert Pugh?] to John Poyntz, 5 Dec. 1662 (Westminster Diocesan Archives, AAW, 32 fols 391-3).

Regulars', in order to separate their state church from Rome.⁷³ The mission by Bellings, junior, also entailed delivering Charles' proposal, the *Oblatio ex Parte Carolii II*. The *Oblatio* offered a compromise from Charles to the pope, opening with a pledge of Charles' conversion to Catholicism.⁷⁴ The identity of the author of this document remains undisclosed, but according to Brown, it symbolises the Irish Catholics' reaffirmed loyalty to the king, underlining their position that the pope should not interfere in temporal affairs.⁷⁵ This aligned with the broader desire for a clear division of authority between the monarchy and the Vatican, ensuring the pope's non-interference in the kingdom's temporal governance. Crucially, the *Oblatio* articulated that domestic religious policy fell solely within the king's purview, devoid of external influence.⁷⁶ The

⁷³ RSP [Robert Pugh?] to John Poyntz, 5 Dec. 1662 (Westminster Diocesan Archives, AAW, 32 fols 391-3).

⁷⁴ Its authenticity and the king's acknowledgment of it remain subjects of debate. 'Oblatio ex parte Caroli II. Magnae Britanniae Regis pro optatissima trium suorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ cum Sede Apostolica Romana reunione' (Archives diplomatiques du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance Politiques d'Angleterre, 77, fols 346-57 and 81, fols 195-211).

⁷⁵ The *Oblatio* sought reconciliation with the church of Rome through strategic compromises, emphasising the temporal ruler's focus on civil governance without encroaching on canonical dogma. This stance acknowledged the pope's teaching authority, aligning with the Gallican Old English respect for papal doctrinal guidance. Reflecting lessons from the contentious reception of the Remonstrance, the *Oblatio*'s authors including Bellings, senior, explicitly banned public discourse on contentious issues like papal authority over councils, infallibility, the right to appoint or depose kings, and the power to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance. This approach aimed to mitigate further disputes by delineating clear boundaries around the pope's influence in 'their own' church, led by the monarchy, signalling a willingness among loyal Catholics to delineate their national church from Rome. A notable proposal was the elevation of the archbishop of Canterbury as the church's patriarch, with the king nominating and the pope endorsing the candidate. When choosing the patriarch, the king would nominate him, and the pope would approve the king's nomination. This provision marked a departure from the Remonstrance by not positioning the king as God's deputy on earth, instead suggesting a model where the king's authority in nominating the patriarch represented a significant, yet conciliatory, role in church governance. Brown, 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism', pp 243-55.

⁷⁶ It also delineated the conceptualisation of the Catholic church as a communion of 'particular' churches, each with its authority, thereby challenging the notion of the Roman church's universality. Although the *Oblatio* did not extensively explore the dynamics between temporal and spiritual jurisdictions, it unequivocally asserted that the temporal ruler's primary responsibility was the civil welfare of their realm. Walsh's reference to the 'very particular Church of Rome' encapsulated the Gallican view that prioritised national churches' autonomy over a centralised papal authority. Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 2nd treatise, p. 61.

Oblatio, hoped to find a middle ground between the Anglican and Catholic churches and represented a significant attempt at ecclesiastical compromise with Rome.

Although Bellings' involvement in composing *The Oblatio* remains unclear, he indicated an interest in church rites around this period. This engagement underlined Bellings' interest in the theological distinctions between the Church of England and Catholicism. Bellings participated in a theological debate with Sir Charles Cotterell, advisor to Gloucester, in Paris during the autumn of 1659, focusing on whether a priest's intention in sacramental acts was necessary.⁷⁷ The extended correspondence between George Morley, Cotterell, and Bellings over these discussions highlighted Bellings' persistent exploration of these theological differences. The question may have been related to Antoine Arnauld's criticism of the excessive celebrations of communions in his *De la Fréquente des Communions*, a book Bellings was reportedly active in translating. In their 1648 appeal against Rinuccini's excommunication, loyalist Catholics argued that Protestant and Catholic churches could coexist, modeling their approach on German examples where both groups shared the same churches, with masses and services held at different hours. They stated, 'the Lutherans and Catholics on severall houres use their rites in the same Churches in many towns of Germany and even to present day'.⁷⁸

In the event, few of the Charles' demands were fulfilled. Pope Alexander VII did not give Bellings a satisfying response on behalf of the loyalist Catholics, nor did the pope reject his request outright. After the Treaty of Westphalia, the pope could no longer exercise political authority, and his role was limited to advancing the negotiations.

⁷⁷ George Morley to Charles Cotterell, 4 Nov. 1659 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 66, fols 267-8); George Morley to Charles Cotterell, Probably late 1660 (Beinecke Library, Yale, Osborn b44, fols 22-30), fols 25-6.

⁷⁸ Anon., *Queries concerning the lawfulness of the present cessation* (Kilkenny, 1648), pp 10-11.

Within the Roman mission, it is evident that Bellings, junior, was delegated to Rome to negotiate reconciliation with the English monarchy on Charles' behalf, reflecting the king's leniency towards Catholics. The *Oblatio* was notable for its acknowledgement of, and compromise on, jurisdiction in both civil and ecclesiastical matters. Their objectives, however, could not be realised without the involvement of Lord d'Aubigny. During the mission, Bellings, junior, was also tasked with communicating to Rome the ecclesiastical demands of loyalist Catholics, which were inevitably shaped by Gallican proclivities.

6.5 Rejection of the *Irish Remonstrance* at the national congregation in 1666

This section explores the intense political discussions around the *Remonstrance*, culminating in a critical congregation of the Irish clergy in Dublin in July 1666. Indeed, by 1665-6, the Gallican settlement in Ireland had already faltered. Ultimately, Walsh was able to collect considerably fewer signatures out of 2,000 clerics than he and Ormond had expected.⁷⁹ By then, Catholics in Ireland were more convinced of Ormond's inability to realise the 1649 peace articles. This was partly due to Richard Talbot's rise to prominence as the leading Catholic figure, whereas Protestant interest exploited the duke's Catholic associations to undermine his standing. In other words, Ormond's support for comprehensive religious freedom for Catholics would endanger his political standing. Meanwhile, in addition to the significant risk of galvanising Protestant enmity, the clergy's long-running unwillingness to subscribe to *The Remonstrance* diminished the king's interest in promoting the oath.⁸⁰ Furthermore, harassment of French Jansenists by Rome and Mazarin contributed to the Irish clergy's

⁷⁹ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 341.

⁸⁰ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 341.

reluctance by the mid-1660s.⁸¹ Therefore, *The Remonstrance*, which had been designed as a crucial test of loyalty to the king, was steadily losing its momentum.

The Act of Explanation (1665) increased Catholic general grievances. The new act aimed to resolve conflicts amongst royalists, ‘innocent’ Catholics and Protestant grantees. It required Cromwellian settlers to dispose of one-third of their acquired land, which would then be re-allocated to proprietors displaced in the previous Restoration land settlement. Creighton has argued that proposals in the new bill granted Ormond increased power and greater scope to exercise personal patronage.⁸² This was because Ormond could influence the land restoration as a ‘nominee’ on the allocation list. As a result, the settlement was disappointing for most ‘innocent’ Catholics, since the liability for land restoration was applied selectively in favour of the lord lieutenant.⁸³ In July 1665, Bellings assisted Ormond in compiling a final list of names of fifty-four nominees, working alongside Clancarty, Francis Bermingham, baron Athenry, Robert Talbot, a council member at the Confederation, and John Walsh, a Confederate and exile. Ormonds’ close clients – among whom were Bellings, junior, Clancarty, Richard Burke, earl of Clanricard, Charles MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry – received individual provisos.⁸⁴ This bill was engrossed under the Great Seal of England in August 1666 and approved for return to Ireland for consideration by the Irish parliament. It was, eventually, passed by both houses in December. The partiality evident in the nomination

⁸¹ O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 344.

⁸² Anne Creighton, ‘The Catholic interest in Irish politics in the reign of Charles II.’ (PhD thesis, Queen’s University of Belfast, 2000), p. 158

⁸³ Creighton, ‘The Catholic interest in Irish politics’, pp 166-7

⁸⁴ *An act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act intituled, An act for the better execution of His Majesties gracious declaration for the settlement of His kingdom of Ireland and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, souldiers, and other his subjects there* (London, 1665), pp 77-8; Lawrence Arnold, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin*, p. 94; Creighton, ‘The Catholic interest in Irish politics’, pp 169-70

process for the Act of Explanation led not only his opponents, such as Orrery and Richard Talbot, to intensify criticisms of the lord lieutenant but also provoked widespread discontent among the Catholic population in Ireland – laity and clerics alike – who were excluded from the Restoration.⁸⁵

Bellings not only relayed Ormond's views to the clergy at the congregation but also passionately advocated for the acceptance of *The Remonstrance* himself. His vigorous appeal to the assembled clergy underscored his alignment with the political and religious perspectives of Walsh and Ormond.⁸⁶ This effort to sway the congregation reflected the shared objectives among these figures, illustrating Bellings' commitment to bridging the gap between the clergy's reservations and *The Remonstrance's* proposals. According to Walsh, at the congregation, Bellings read the

Message publickly to them [i.e. the Irish clergy] all-together, he spoke of himself moreover at the same time and place, not as from my Lord (which he declared likewise) what he thought fit briefly, substantially, and catholickly to perswade them, not to lose the fair opportunity, then present, to do themselves, and all others of their Communion and Countrey, much right and good withal.⁸⁷

Moreover, on 15 June 1666, Bellings, on behalf of Ormond, received Ormond's opinion and read it to the congregated clergy: 'Subscribing the said Declaration and Protestation, which contains nothing but a necessary and dutiful acknowledgment of the Loyalty they owe His Majesty, and a Condemnation of all Doctrine and Practice contrary thereunto'.⁸⁸ This act went beyond merely relaying Ormond's message. Bellings personally endorsed the sentiments he expressed to the congregation. His involvement signified a genuine concurrence with the principles of loyalty and doctrinal conformity outlined in *The*

⁸⁵ Creighton, 'The Catholic interest in Irish politics', p. 158

⁸⁶ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 4th treatise, p. 74.

⁸⁷ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 4th treatise, p. 74.

⁸⁸ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 674.

Remonstrance, reflecting his own views as much as those of Ormond.⁸⁹

Bellings conveyed to the congregation Ormond's insistence on the adoption of six propositions adopted by the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne faculty in 1663. Originally, the Sorbonne propositions not only affirmed of the French king Louis XIV's supremacy in temporal affairs but also made a clear statement that the pope was not infallible in spiritual matters without the consent of the state church. On 16 June, he presented a statement from Ormond emphasising the importance of not excluding any material propositions and the need for unanimous clergy support. Ormond's message, communicated by Bellings, was clear: 'I think it necessary for them to understand that, alongside the already sent and signed Sorbonne propositions, three significant propositions have been omitted, which are equally relevant to His Majesty and this Kingdom'.⁹⁰ Bellings also persuaded the congregation 'not to demur any longer on this matter of the three last propositions, but subscribe these also'.⁹¹ This interaction underlined the unified stance of Bellings and Ormond, advocating for complete clerical endorsement of all Sorbonne propositions. The proposed articles at the congregation based on the six propositions of the faculty of theology at Sorbonne are below.

1) WE the undernamed do hereby declare, That it is not our Doctrine, that the Pope hath any Authority in Temporal affairs over our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second; yea, we promise, that we shall still oppose them who shall assert any Power either direct or indirect over Him in Civil or Temporal Affairs.

2) That it is our Doctrine, That our gracious King Charles the Second is so Absolute and independent, that he doth not acknowledge, nor hath in Civil and Temporal affairs any Power above Him under God, and that to be our constant Doctrine, from which we shall never recede.

⁸⁹ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 674.

⁹⁰ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 686.

⁹¹ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 448.

3) That it is our Doctrine, That we Subjects owe so natural and just obedience unto our King, that no Power under any pretext soever, can either dispence with, or free us of the same.

4) That the same Faculty doth not approve, nor ever did any propositions contrary unto the French Kings Authority, or true Liberties of the Gallican Church or Canons received in the same Kingdom; For example, That the Pope can depose Bishops against the same Canons:

5) That it is not the Doctrine of the Faculty, That the Pope is above the general Council.

6) That it is not the Doctrine or Dogme of the Faculty, That the Pope without the consent of the Church is Infallible.⁹²

The congregation accepted only the first three out of the six articles, i.e., the articles that concerned the rejection of papal power of temporal affairs, the kings' supremacy in civil matters, and the obedience to the king.⁹³ The other three became a crucial matter of debate between the loyalists and the congregation. The congregated clergy did not agree to the fourth point, which touched on the pope's deposing power.⁹⁴ Nor did they dare to answer if 'the Pope is above the general Council' or not, recollecting the 'odious and horrid dispute' in the civil war period concerning 'the Power of Kings and Commonwealths' in the fifth article.⁹⁵ As such, the issues raised in the fourth and fifth articles concerning the pope's deposing power had been already controversial in *The Remonstrance*.

The sixth article, focusing on papal infallibility in matters of faith, sparked

⁹² Binignus Millett, 'Calendar of Volume 1 (1625-68) of the Collection "Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda"', in Propaganda Archives' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 6/7 (1963), pp 18–211, p. 26. The Latin text is cited in the unpaginated 'Appendix' in Walsh, Peter, *Causa Valesiana epistolis ternis praelibata* (London, 1684). Here, the English translation of the proposition is quoted. Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 685.

⁹³ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 689.

⁹⁴ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 689.

⁹⁵ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, pp 689-90.

significant controversy, particularly in relation to the condemnation of heresies, with Jansenists cited as a pertinent example due to their heretical designation by three popes.⁹⁶ However, the congregation hesitated to engage deeply with this topic, referencing the original Sorbonne proposition's disclaimer that denied endorsing the pope's absolute doctrinal authority. They expressed reluctance to delve into such a contentious issue, emphasising, 'we are loath, Forraign Catholick Nations should think we treat of so odious, and unprofitable a Question, in a Country where we have neither Universitie nor Jansenist amongst us'.⁹⁷ Despite this stance, the clergy did not unanimously dismiss the presence of Jansenist influence, acknowledging the potential existence of some individuals who might provoke doctrinal disputes, thereby causing unrest that could affect both the monarchy and the people in Ireland.⁹⁸ In the contemporary international religious-political context, the congregation's reference to Jansenism reflected their awareness of the papal anti-Jansenist bull issued by Alexander VII in 1665, especially since Cardinal Barberini had reminded the Irish clergy of their obligation to Rome.⁹⁹ In other words, subscribing *The Remonstrance* would be perceived as an act of opposition to Roman authority, which would be detrimental to Irish religious politics.

At the same time, by labelling them as Jansenists, the congregation might criticise Bellings and Walsh for causing an internal conflict amongst the Catholics in Ireland. The congregation's accusation of Jansenism against Bellings appears to have been a tactic to undermine his political credibility, insinuating that he sought to challenge the papal declaration of heresy.¹⁰⁰ Given Bellings' known affiliations with notable

⁹⁶ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 690.

⁹⁷ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 690.

⁹⁸ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 1st treatise, p. 690.

⁹⁹ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p. 343

¹⁰⁰ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 4th treatise, pp 70-2.

figures such as Antoine Arnauld, John Callaghan, d'Aubigny, and Cardinal de Retz during his exile, the clergy likely harboured suspicions about his Jansenist sympathies. Walsh also recollected later that Bellings 'may be the marke aimed at amongst those few Jansenists, because forsooth he had been known to Father N. N. abroad in France and in the time of his exile to have been conversant with or friended by one of those are now called jansenists, though one of his own Country and Religion'.¹⁰¹ Bellings' engagement with Jansenist thought and his social circles abroad were thus instrumental in shaping the clergy's perception of him as a figure aligned with Jansenist principles. The controversy over the sixth proposition on papal infallibility would have likely reminded the clergy of Arnauld's *De la Fréquent Communion* (1643), a work Bellings translated into English in the 1650s. In the preface, both Arnauld and Bellings challenged the notion of papal infallibility, advocating for a clear demarcation between temporal and spiritual authorities.¹⁰² Carron's admission of being accused of Jansenism in Paris in 1663 highlights the broader context of suspicion and controversy surrounding these views.¹⁰³ Bellings' situation exemplifies how being labelled a Jansenist could undermine one's political standing within the Catholic community during the 1660s. Walsh desperately defended Bellings, arguing that 'I am sure notwithstanding, that he is no Iansenist nor ever yet hath been, nor with Gods grace will at any time hereafter; understanding that by a Iansenist, ... an adhearer to, or a better of the doctrine of the five Propositions condemned and in that sense they are condemned by the Roman Catholick Church'.¹⁰⁴ Despite Walsh's vigorous defence of Bellings, asserting his disassociation from

¹⁰¹ The identification of this father N. N. remains under veil. Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 4th treatise, p. 74.

¹⁰² Antoine Arnauld, *De la fréquente Communion* (Paris, 1643), unpaginated Preface.

¹⁰³ Carron to Clarendon, unknown date in 1663 (Bodl., Clarendon State Papers, 92, fols 67-8).

¹⁰⁴ Walsh, *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary*, 4th treatise, p. 74.

Jansenism and its condemned doctrines, the stigma attached to the label posed a significant threat to Bellings' influence among Catholics.

The congregation scrutinised *The Remonstrance*'s legitimacy and the acceptance of six Gallican propositions issued by the Sorbonne in 1663, which Ormond urged the clergy to endorse. Ultimately, the congregation's final verdict on the *Remonstrance* led to Bellings being labelled a Jansenist and, along with Walsh, identified as a schismatic threat to the Catholic church. The Gallican settlement in Ireland faltered under the widespread dispossession of the Irish clergy, causing the majority of them to withhold their support from *The Remonstrance*. In contrast, only a select few, under the direct patronage of influential figures like Bellings, Walsh, and Carron, dared to advocate for an independent Catholic church that would challenge Rome's spiritual authority. Furthermore, as Creighton and O'Connor have suggested, the rejection stemmed from a combination of the king's indifference and Ormond's inability to navigate the competing interests of Protestant and Catholic. The notable lack of signatures endorsing *The Remonstrance* underscored an uneasy dilemma for the Irish clergy.

6.6 The loyalist Catholics and the new social reality in Ireland

Did the rejection prompt Bellings to write his historical account? It is important to recognise that the Gallican movement associated with *The Remonstrance* was primarily initiated by landowners who had regained their lands during the Restoration, suggesting that Gallican Catholicism was a vision attainable only to those who had regained economic and political status. Gallican idealism depended on the economic affluence of loyalist Catholics, as it relied on their financial stability to sustain independence from Rome. During this period, the shifting economic and political landscape among the Irish nobility and gentry challenged the perceived social superiority that loyalist Catholics had

previously enjoyed prior 1641. Thus, the core reason for the rejection did not stem from the Gallican theological foundations of *The Remonstrance* or from the principles of the French Gallican church. In other words, social and political factors outweighed the intellectual differences amongst the Catholics in Ireland in the rejection; it reflected the declining political influence of Ormond and his clients through the land settlement. This decline became increasingly apparent with Ormond's exclusion from office in 1669, following Clarendon's impeachment in 1666. James McGuire and S. J. Connolly have argued that, due to royal policy in religion and diplomacy aimed at securing an alliance with the French, the removal of Ormond and Clarendon – both staunch supporters of Anglican conformity – had become inevitable.¹⁰⁵ Orrery and Colonel Talbot, backed by George Villers, duke of Buckingham, and Henry Bennet, later earl of Arlington, (clients of James, duke of York), intensified their attacks upon Ormond during 1668-9. Given that the economic stability of Ormond's clients depended entirely upon land restoration, which he dispensed as political favouritism or nepotism, the Act of Explanation in 1665 fundamentally determined their socio-political fortunes. Hence, the latter part of Bellings' *History* should be read as a response to these Catholic grievances following 1665.

It appears that Bellings composed *The History* in response to contemporary Irish Catholic discourse, which criticised the perceived partiality of the land settlement during the Restoration. Even before the list of 'nominees' was finalised and the Act of Explanation formally passed, Catholic discontent had become apparent by April 1665.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ J.I. McGuire, 'Why was Ormond dismissed in 1669?' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii, no. 71 (1973), pp 295–312; S. J. Connolly, *Divided kingdom: Ireland, 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008), p. 149

¹⁰⁶ The letter was written on 22 April 1665, and later printed in 1668 on the Continent. 'The English Interest anatomised; and the fallacy of arguments drawn from Obligation and Necessity, for the present settlement of Ireland, sufficiently demonstrated: In a letter from an Irish Gentleman to his friend in England', 22 Apr. 1665 (Bodl. Library, Carte MS, 232 ff 277-285); *A narrative of the earl of Clarendon's*

A paper titled ‘Reasons why the settlement of Ireland is unjust, by some papists’, probably written shortly after the act, claimed that the legislation was ‘against the law of God and nations’, arguing that its true reason was to cement the acquisition of property for grantees.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, on 25 March 1666, a ‘Catholic declaration’ in which fifty Irish Catholics signed emerged, signifying the growing intensity of their grievances.

[These] Acts [are] so detestable that the very promoters of them do themselves detect the foulness and tyranny of them, witness these words of the Duke of Ormond in a late speech of his where he brands the precedent usurpers [i.e. Cromwellian settlers] with the wicked practices of taking away the estates of several persons for no other cause but for their being papists – a tyranny reasonably and justly hinted; but although he abhors it in other usurpers, yet finding it conducive to his party’s profit; by himself [it is] now most exactly imitated and practised.¹⁰⁸

The declaration, framed as a form of petition or remonstrance, directed particular criticism at Ormond, identifying him as a principal cause of their destitution. The declaration lamented that, although Ormond detested the Cromwellian settlers as illegitimate usurpers, the conditions he and his adherents presented were, in effect, indistinguishable from the previous regime — motivated, likewise, by self-interest and personal gain. The pursuit of such gain by Ormond and his clients formed the central charge against them. Hence, Catholic discontent directed at Ormond and his political followers was clearly manifested. Moreover, Nicholas French had completed writing

settlement and sale of Ireland (Louvain, 1668), pp 16-8. Although the publication has been attributed to Nicholas French, McHugh has questioned the validity of French was the writer of a pamphlet. Jason McHugh, ‘Catholic clerical responses to the restoration: the case of Nicholas French’ in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 99–122.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Reasons why the settlement of Ireland is unjust, by some papists’, [undated] (Bodl. Library, Carte MS, 70 ff 262-3).

¹⁰⁸ ‘Copy of “The Catholic Declaration”’, 25 Mar. 1666 (TNA, SP 63/320 ff 160-1).

The Unkinde Deserter on the Continent by 1668.¹⁰⁹ However, the intentions behind their writings were fundamentally different. In contrast to the Pale Old English and a few clergy who could enjoy patronage under them, the vast majority of clerics in Ireland lived in destitution. Representing the impoverished clergy, French composed pamphlets in English.¹¹⁰ French published *In Nomine Sanctissimæ Trinitatis Vera Descriptio Moderni Status Catholicorum in Regno Hiberniæ* (1667), *The Bleeding Iphigenia* (1675) and *The Unkinde Deserter of Loyall Men* (1676). In the Continent, French argued the restoration strengthened Clarendon's political standing, along with Orrery and Coote, and Ormond with an opportunity to plan for the entire extirpation of Irish Catholics. In French's words, Ormond proved himself 'ever fatall to Catholicks'.¹¹¹ Of these figures, Ormond in particular ruined the chances of Irish Catholics by restricting 'equitie and justice' and amassing vast estates through the plundering of Irish lands.¹¹² In all the three publications, French expressed his anger at Ormond's roles in the land settlement. He wrote that 'the noble house of Ormond an infamous den and couch of rapine whose whelps are made fat by the prey and booty made upon their neighbours'.¹¹³ Regarding the 1643 truce, French believed that Ormond had begun undermining the Catholic interest. French continued to accuse Ormond of wasting Confederate funds and imposing military obligations that served his own interests. In the end, the 1646 peace

¹⁰⁹ French began composing *The Unkind Deserter* after Ormond's rejection to allow the bishop to return to Ireland. Jason McHugh, "'Soldier of Christ": the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns (1603-1678)' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005), p. 438

¹¹⁰ Nicholas French, *The bleeding Iphigenia or An excellent preface of a work unfinished, published by the authors frind, [sic] with the reasons of publishing it* ([London, 1675]; Nicholas French, *The unkinde deserter of loyall men and true frinds* ([Paris], 1676). Not only in English but also did he publish pamphlets in Spanish and Latin in the Continent.

¹¹¹ French, *The unkind deserter*, pp [11-12]

¹¹² French, *The unkind deserter*, pp [30-8]

¹¹³ French, *The unkind deserter*, p. 194

offered little in terms of liberty, religion, fortune or honour of the nation.¹¹⁴

Notably, French also took exception to Ormond's 'mercenary pens' – including Bellings, Callaghan and Walsh – who wrote against the proceedings of the clergy in the 1646 rejection of the peace.¹¹⁵ In *The Unkind Deserter*, the supreme council was regarded as a reflection of Ormond's influence, as six of its members were 'his trusty friends' who allowed him 'full scope to worke what he pleased'.¹¹⁶ The negotiations in the early 1640s were the first steps to shift their military policy from self-defense.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, French's focus on his argument was upon Ormond's political manipulation in the Restoration land settlement. According to French, while Ormond's actions in the 1640s suggested his malice towards Catholics, his actions during the Restoration confirmed this hostility. French reserved most of his criticism for Ormond in whom the Catholic inhabitants had placed 'a special confidence' of Catholic inhabitants had been placed and expected. Although French admitted that Catholics themselves were partly responsible for their current situation, he argued that their primary mistake was their misplaced trust in the duke.¹¹⁸ Thus, speaking on behalf of a broader part of Irish clergy, French criticised Ormond and Ormond's clients, such as Bellings, for regaining their lands in the restoration land settlement.

In this light, it is likely that Bellings' historical writing were not only prompted by published works of French but also by a perceived need to respond to more general discontent with the land settlement and with Ormonds' manipulation in it. While their debates during the exiled period centred on the internal division within the

¹¹⁴ French, *The unkind deserter*, pp 38-42

¹¹⁵ French, *The unkind deserter*, pp [79-80]

¹¹⁶ French, *The unkind deserter*, p. 181

¹¹⁷ French, *The unkind deserter*, pp 180-3

¹¹⁸ French, *The unkind deserter*, pp 429-30

Confederation, in the 1660s French's memory-making efforts were shaped by clerical demands for livelihood and revenue. Bellings' *History* was therefore clearly intended as a direct response to the discourse of the dispossessed during the Restoration, aiming to justify the legitimacy for his and his patrons' restored landholdings.

6.7 Conclusion

Gallicanism could have established a new identity and demonstrated an option for loyalist Catholicism. Throughout the 1660s, Bellings was a leading figure in advancing *The Remonstrance*. Ormond's primary objective was to identify loyal and disloyal clergy and lay Catholics through their subscription to *The Remonstrance* to seek for *divide and rule* style of governance. In Dublin, Bellings contributed by drafting *The Remonstrance*, a strategic document designed to counteract the Protestant-dominated parliament's aggressive stance towards Catholics, particularly regarding the land restoration. The *Remonstrance* served a dual purpose: it reassured Charles II of Catholic loyalty and demonstrated obedience to the Dublin government under Lord Lieutenant Ormond. Bellings' advocacy for Gallicanism, particularly his emphasis on negating the pope's power to depose kings, resonated with Walsh and Carron's rejection of papal authority over temporal matters and infallibility. And yet, this stance met resistance from the Irish clergy. Additionally, Bellings' connections with the Jansenists during the exile provided further grounds for clerical rejection of *The Remonstrance* and Gallican proposals from the Sorbonne, casting him in the eyes of the clergy as schismatic. Besides, the political purpose was not achieved for several factors, such as the duke's precarious position among Protestant interests and the king's waning motivation in *The Remonstrance*.

That said, the fundamental reasons for the rejection were not based on theological

content but rather on external socio-economic factors in Restoration Ireland. In the Restoration, the political situation underwent a profound transformation. This was primarily due to the Irish economic structure being drastically altered – with the vast majority of land holding shifting from Catholic landowners to Protestant. This economic shift signified a dramatic transformation in the political power structure. Therefore, Catholic political actions would strain relations with Protestant interest in Ireland. Bellings revived political thinking underlying *The Remonstrance* in his *History*, as examined in chapter four serving to creation of Catholic interest. Therefore, the later sections of *The History* were not only a delineation of civil wars within the Catholic Confederation but also a statement of Gallicanism that had shaped loyalist Catholic political thinking throughout the seventeenth century. In other words, as to Bellings' intention of writing his *History*, the work should be considered and read in a particular social, political and intellectual context in Ireland in the 1660s, not in the 1670s.

This chapter has examined the ways in which the strong Gallican stance evident in the latter part of *The History* partly rooted in Bellings' failed attempt to impose the oath in the 1660s. When considered alongside the tradition of the loyalist Catholics and his involvement in *The Remonstrance*, *The History* should be interpreted within his broader context. Bellings' attempt to depict pre-1641 society as peaceful can be seen as not only a rebuttal to New English settlers like John Temple but also to the clergy who criticised the Gallican tendencies of loyalist Catholics. This was because the peaceful picture can be inferred as a state of society that the loyalist Catholic maintained their ideal Catholic Reformation.

As the identities of the Old English and Old Irish clergy grew closer to formulate 'Catholic interest' despite mutual criticism, the loyalist Catholics were excluded from the broader Old English–Old Irish opposition. Certainly, the Old English found a powerful

and timely patron in Richard Talbot, earl and later duke of Tyrconnell. Tyrconnell's rise and Ormond's decline led Bellings' faction to consider their political opportunities. In fact, the loyalist Catholic identity seen in *The Remonstrance* and Catholic interest combined with 'the Old English and the Old Irish' allegiance to Rome in the later Charles II's reign implied the Bellings and his allies' exclusion from the political influence. And yet, it should be noted that Bellings, junior, did not follow the same path as Bellings, senior. Bellings junior was in Henry, Bennet, later earl of Arlington's circle, probably due to connections established during his diplomatic mission, and therefore belonged to James' political patronage and to political circle opposition to Clarendon in English court. In this light, it can be inferred that Bellings junior maintained his political standing even after the decline of Clarendon, Ormond, and Bellings senior around 1670.

Building upon Creighton's and O'Connor's arguments, it can be inferred that Bellings political thinking was no longer considered part of the Old English identity in the 1670s. The small circle of loyalist Catholics were excluded from the new social order shaped by the land settlement and Catholic dependence on Rome. It is possible to consider that, following the exclusion of loyalist Catholics, the term 'Catholic interest' came to be identified as synonymous with 'Irish' in public discourse from the eighteenth century onwards.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis has criticised the lack of a systematic overview Catholic memory-making debates of the 1640s during the late seventeenth century. It has argued that Bellings' *History* needs to be contextualised within contemporary memory-making debates to comprehend its political implications. *The History* was, in fact, not only a product of the Restoration but also a work of the exiled period. As chapter two has shown, during his exile Bellings debated with clergymen about why Ormond failed to fulfil the clergy's religious demands in the negotiations of the 1640s. Attempting to dispute two clergymen, Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, and John Punch, – both of whom were Franciscans – he published two pamphlets in Latin in Paris in line with John Callaghan, an Old English priest and Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry's kinsman. Indeed, some passages from these pamphlets were also incorporated into versions of *The History* manuscript. It should be noted that Punch's arguments about the conflict between royal and papal authority eventually led Bellings, in *The History*, to focus on the issue of jurisdiction.

In the Restoration period, Bellings wrote *The History* for two purposes, both directly connected to the Acts of settlements in 1662 and 1665. One purpose was to challenge New English writers such as Richard Boyle, earl of Orrery, who sought to consolidate their political influence through lands acquired during the 1650s. As shown in chapter three, Bellings vindicated his patrons' political actions at the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion, while he distinguished the land owning social élites from rioting multitudes in the same narrative. By doing so, Bellings countered accusations of being 'rebels' while exemplifying the staunch loyalty to the monarchy of his and his fellow politicians. The other purpose was to respond to the public discourse that appeared due to the outcome of the Act of Explanation in 1665, particularly to the works by French. In

replying to French's accusations against Ormond and his clients, including Bellings, the loyalist Catholics vindicated their actions and their political trust in the duke in the 1640s in order to justify their current economic and political circumstance after the Acts of settlements. For loyal subjects, defending their reputation at court and appealing to royal favour were essential steps to uphold their dignity and vindicate their political actions. As members of the landowning social class, supporting Ormond's authority was crucial to maintaining their estates under the protection of the most influential figure in Irish political society. In addition to the second point, the central reason for the rejection of *The Royal Formulary of Irish Remonstrance* stemmed from external socio-economic factors in Restoration Ireland, not the theological content. The clergy's rejection was more closely related to the decline of Ormond and his allies' political standing in Irish society, a consequence from the unsatisfactory conclusion of the Act of Explanation. The fact that the two Acts of Settlement led Bellings to writing *The History* underlines that the particular political context of the 1660s was of greater significance than that of the 1670s.

This argument challenges Raymond Gillespie's emphasis that Bellings' *History* should be considered in the political and economic context of the 1670s.¹ Gillespie has acknowledged that the political instability in the early 1670s – following the outbreak of the Second Dutch War in 1672 – was similar to that of the 1640 after the rebellions in Scotland and Ireland. Gillespie has suggested the events of 1673-4 – during which Charles II withdrew his 1672 declaration aimed at improving Catholics' social standing, the Test Act was passed in England in 1673 and subsequently in Ireland in 1674 – 'clearly dashed the hopes of catholic landowners to align their economic position with

¹ Raymond Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 216–7 and 224.

the social authority conveyed by the holding of provincial or civic office'.² However, the identification of Bellings' narratives in *The History* with the political upheavals in the 1670s seems somewhat farfetched. Rather, as explored thus far, the political tension not only between Protestants and Catholics but also within Catholic community over land settlements in the 1660s fundamentally constituted Bellings' authorial motivation, since his core argument was a response to various criticisms directed at Ormond, the duke's allies and himself.

Historians have not agreed whether the Old English as an ethnic label remained relevant during the Restoration period. The thesis has questioned whether Bellings was self-conscious about being Old English so much as the previous studies have discussed. This challenges the assumptions of previous studies that Bellings was a representative of the Old English. At the same time, the thesis questions whether Bellings can be seen as a gentleman in the Pale romanticising the world being lost, as Gillespie and Deana Rankin have argued.³ Rather, the present study suggests that Bellings was more conscious of his identity as a member of the land-owning class and strongly aligned with Gallican tendencies. This alignment reflected his antipathy not only towards New English socio-economic aggression but also towards Roman-led Catholic reform efforts embraced by the majority of the clergy in Restoration Ireland. In addition, Old English identity became increasingly divergent as time passed during the Restoration due to the rise of Richard Talbot, later earl of Tyrconnell. His ascent made the divisions amongst the Old English nobility and gentry more conspicuous, as they had to choose to align either Ormond or Tyrconnell. In other words, the exact timing of Bellings' *History* should be

² Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', p. 217.

³ Deana Rankin, *Between Spenser and Swift: English writing in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 226-7; Gillespie, 'The social thought of Richard Bellings', p. 228

considered in relation to the period during which the notion of *the Old English* was being reconceptualised and which the Catholics in Ireland were being unified as a political entity within the frame work of the ‘Catholic interest’. The reconceptualisation would eventually lead to the identification of all Catholics as the Irish from the eighteenth century onwards.⁴ The process went along with the seventeenth-century Protestant identity formation to differentiate from Irish, while the Old English Catholics also identified themselves as the Irish Catholics.⁵

This thesis has investigated the political thinking of loyalist Catholic laity in the later-seventeenth century, revealing dual aspects of continuity stemming from their land-owning tradition within this intellectual landscape. A prime example of continuity was found in the political ideology of Bellings. As discussed by Gillespie, a cornerstone of Bellings’ ideology was an enduring belief in social conservatism in terms of the economy through the land security. This belief was not confined to his literary expressions in *The History* but was also evident in his practical engagements, including debates and negotiations with the clergy, where he championed the primacy of secular

⁴ William Molyneux’s *The Case of Ireland* (1698) would be one of the earliest example that identified ‘Protestants of Ireland’ with ‘the People of Ireland’ while alienating ‘the Irish papists’. William Molyneux, *The case of Ireland’s being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated Dublin, 1698*, ed. Parick Kelly (Dublin, 2018), p. 35 and especially p. 245.

⁵ See Colin Kidd, ‘Protestantism, constitutionalism and British identity under the later Stuarts’ in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 321–42; Colin Kidd, *British identities before nationalism: ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 162-181; Alan Ford, *James Ussher: theology, history, and politics in early-modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007), pp 219-20. For the early-seventeenth century Catholics, Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), pp 106-120; Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Colonized Catholics: perceptions of honour and history in Michael Kearney’s reading of ‘Foras Feasa ar Éireann’ in Ute Lotz-Heumann and Vincent Carey (eds), *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 150–164; Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2010); David Finnegan, ‘Old English views of Gaelic Irish history and the emergence of an Irish Catholic nation, c.1569–1640’ in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 187–213.

governance over ecclesiastical authority. Such discussions underlined a central contention among the loyalist Catholic land-owning gentlemen and clerics: the question of ultimate authority—whether it lay with the regal government or papal authority. The current study has criticised the assumption that the land-owning conservatism was not the basis only of Bellings' social thinking: rather, it also underpinned his religious thinking.

This thesis has contributed the most to historiography by tackling the religiosity of the land-owning Catholic laity. Their primary concerns were, needless to say, to safeguard their property – especially the lands acquired during the Henrician Reform – from being sequestrated by the state on the one hand, and confiscated by the Roman Catholic church on the other. However, the point was that their religious faith was inseparably interwoven with their social status. In this sense, Gallicanism was not an imported fashionable political idea when Bellings and his fellow politicians were associated with Jansenists in Paris during the 1650s. Rather, the political theology rationalised their *politique* attitudes towards religion, justifying their self-identity in placing the church under civil control. This study has argued that Gallican political attitudes were evident not only in Bellings' *History* but also implied in the peace negotiations of the 1640s. It is interesting that they retained their Catholicism throughout, instead of converting to Protestantism to secure their land. They were certainly quiet about their religious faith, especially concerning the retention or restoration of church lands, but they were not silent about their religious freedom. However, they were not satisfied with the allowance of their private religious practices, but eventually considered their religious faith something to be rendered public. Rather than ignoring the clergy's demands for religious freedom, they tended to regard their religious faith in a framework that balanced sustaining their social standing and

upholding the English constitution while keeping a good relationship to Rome. In this vein, the land-owning Catholics conceptualised their own Catholic reformation within *their English religious culture* – one that was adapted to their land-owning tradition in colonial Ireland – under Protestant kings after the sixteenth century. This is why the current argument has maintained that the loyalist Catholics were inclined to Gallicanism.

Because historians have tended to recognise Gallican political theology as active only during the conflicts surrounding *The Remonstrance*, Irish Gallicanism needs to be more fully explored. Firstly, in comparison with Bellings' *History*, it is necessary to consider memory-making works composed by other Gallicans such as Callaghan, Peter Walsh, both of whom were Muskerry's kin, and John Lynch, Jesuit and archdeacon of Tuam. Secondly, a more detailed investigation is required into the negotiations between Charles II and Rome at the time of the king's restoration to the monarchy. In fact, although this thesis has only slightly referred to it, Bellings, junior, brought a document about Charles' potential conversion to Catholics and concessions to Rome about toleration through establishing a Catholic state church in England and Ireland. The document, entitled *Oblatio ex parte Carlo II*, remains obscure in terms of its provenance and content.⁶ By analysing this text, further studies can clarify Irish Gallicans' ideal vision of church government under Charles' reign, whereby it can explore a more complex picture of the religious politics of Irish Catholics beyond *The Remonstrance* movements. Through the ecclesiastical concern, it will also become clear how Irish Gallicans coexisted not only with Roman Catholic church but also Protestant churches in Ireland, such as Anglican church of Ireland and dissenters. In other words, the text has the potential not only to reveal the envisioned reconstruction of the relationship between

⁶ Anthony J. Brown, 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism, c.1635 - c.1685' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004), pp 243-55.

Charles and Rome but also to uncover the religio-politics architecture that Gallicans had kept largely unspoken since the reformation.

What is more, the international aspect of the Irish political arena in the seventeenth century was exemplified, marked by a dynamic international network spanning the Stuart kingdoms and the European continent. The scholarship of Jane Ohlmeyer, through the concept of the wars of the five kingdoms, alongside Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's analysis of Roman diplomatic strategy and Thomas O'Connor's focus upon the continental Irish colleges' network, has underscored the significance of European interconnected conflicts. However, a closer look at Bellings' efforts revealed the potential for even broader European involvement, hinting at possible support or intervention from regions such as Flanders, the Netherlands, and Italian states like the grand duchy of Tuscany, the republic of Genoa, and the republic of Venice. These possibilities, although never fully realised, suggested a more complex web of alliances and diplomatic engagements previously underappreciated. Moreover, the analysis has extended beyond the 1640s to include Bellings' informal diplomatic roles in the 1650s, engaging with influential Catholic nobles across various European powers, including the Habsburg Empire, Poland, Rome, Flanders and Spain. Bellings' diplomatic missions to the papal states in 1645 and his son's involvement in 1662-63 highlighted the Bellings family's significant contributions to Catholic diplomacy on behalf of the monarchy. For example, in the Treaty of Dover (a treaty Charles promised to convert to Catholicism in return for economic and military assistance), the role of Bellings, junior, as secretary to the royal delegates underscored a vital, yet overlooked, aspect of seventeenth-century Catholic diplomatic history.⁷ Thus, this thesis would suggest that the Clarendon State

⁷ Gabriel Glickman, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660-72' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxviii, no. 531 (2013), pp 263–291; Mark Williams,

Papers should be more explored for reconstructing lay politicians' contributions to state diplomacy in the exiled court. As examined by John Cronin and Mark Williams, further investigation is required to reconstruct the diplomatic network. It is also vital to shed more light upon the Catholic seminaries on the Continent, which functioned as hubs of diplomatic intelligence and intrigue.⁸

This thesis has only shown a particular aspect of Irish Catholic religious cultural history through examining the seventeenth-century Catholic and land-owning laity's political thinking on religious politics. The work, therefore, remains open to comparative studies. Historians have recently paid more attention to Catholic survival under the Protestant states in the early modern period. Initially, Bellings' case should also be compared with the other confessions and denominations. Concerning Gaelic Irish Catholics, Gerard Ferrell's work indicated the potential of Gaelic poetry to explore Gaelic Irish political society and political culture.⁹ Although we have a series of articles by Aoife Duignan, a systematic investigation of Old English Catholic inhabitants in Connaught – such as Ulick Burke, earl of Clanrickard – remains important yet relatively neglected.¹⁰ Regional differences amongst the Old English nobilities and gentry should be more fully explored. Moreover, it needs to synthesise the Catholic experience in the three kingdoms. For example, Micheal Quesier has published the Jacobian and early

'Translating the Jansenist controversy in Britain and Ireland' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxxiv, no. 566 (2019), pp 59–91.

⁸ For English nuns' case, see Caroline Bowden, 'The Abbess and Mrs. Brown: Lady Mary Knatchbull and royalist politics in Flanders in the late 1650s' in *Recusant History*, xxiv (1999), pp 288–308; Claire Walker, 'Prayer, patronage, and political conspiracy: English nuns and the Restoration' in *Historical Journal*, xliii (2000), pp 1–23; Claire Walker, 'Crumbs of News : Early Modern English Nuns and Royalist Intelligence Networks' in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, xlii, no. 3 (2012), pp 635–655.

⁹ Gerard Farrell, *The 'mere Irish' and the colonisation of Ulster, 1570-1641* (Basingstoke, 2017).

¹⁰ Demetri Debe, 'The fifth earl of Clanricarde and the founding of the Confederate Catholic government, 1641-3' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvi, no. 143 (2009), pp 315–331; Aoife Duignan, "'To hold a good opinion of my loyalty and zealous affections": The earl of Clanricarde and the royalist cause in Connacht, 1643–46' in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 61–78.

Stuart Catholic political patronage in the local communities, alongside Alexandra Walsham's analysis of popular culture.¹¹ As Eilish Gregory has recently demonstrated, English Catholics struggled with the land sequestration, strategically defending their property and interest in local communities by negotiating their loyalty not only to the monarchy but also to the Cromwellian regime during the 1640s and the 1650s. Thus, the land problems centrally mattered for Catholics in England as well, worthwhile to compare the regional similarities and differences amongst the Stuart three kingdoms.¹² Furthermore, certainly, we already have a comparable work concerning Catholic communities under Protestant states of the three kingdoms and the Netherlands. And yet, it cannot be said that such attempts have been fully successful, particularly with respect to analyses of the Stuart monarchy.¹³ Genji Yasuhira has recently published a monograph upon Dutch Catholic in Utrecht, arguing that Catholic communities maintained their 'public religious practice' in urban areas by appropriating and thus carefully negotiating the boundary between private and public spheres to evade the Protestant state's policing.¹⁴

Bellings 'died peacefully' in September 1677 at his estate in Crehelpe, County Wicklow, and was subsequently interred in Mulhuddart, County Dublin.¹⁵ His wife

¹¹ Michael Questier, 'Conformity, Catholicism and the law' in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and orthodoxy in the English church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 237–61; Michael Questier, *Catholicism and community in early modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006).

¹² Eilish Gregory, *Catholics during the English Revolution, 1642-1660* (Woodbridge, 2021).

¹³ Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Between conflict and coexistence: The Catholic community in Ireland as a "visible underground Church" in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' in Benjamin Kaplan, Henk Van Nierop and Judith Pollmann (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570-1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp 168–82.

¹⁴ Genji Yasuhira, *Catholic Survival in the Dutch Republic: Agency in Coexistence and the public sphere in Utrecht, 1620-1672* (Amsterdam, 2024). For comparative studies between Ireland and Netherlands, see Benjamin Kaplan, Henk Van Nierop and Judith Pollmann (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570-1720* (Manchester, 2009).

¹⁵ Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Bellings (Bealing), Richard' in *DIB*.

Margaret had died in August 1635, though whether he remarried or not remains unknown.¹⁶ They had four children, Richard, Henry, Mary and Joan. Of those, only the eldest son, Richard Bellings, junior, is well documented.¹⁷ Bellings, junior, was knighted in 1666 and later became comptroller of the household of Queen Catherine Braganza. The Bellings family retained ownership of lands in Counties Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, underscoring their prominent status as landowners would be sustained. In 1671, marriage of Bellings, junior, to Frances Arundell, a lady from a distinguished English Catholic family in Cornwall and attendant of the queen's bedchamber, not only fortified the Bellings family's social position but also elevated their status to that of nobility.¹⁸ Bellings exemplified a pattern of behaviour consistent with previous characterisations of seventeenth-century Old English – a character defined by the prioritisation of private financial security above all else. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the security of this affluence shaped the foundations of socio-political, and, by extension, religio-political thinking. In this sense, he was *typical* of his peers, although the Old Englishness was not possible to be sustained anymore.

¹⁶ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Bellings, Richard (1603–1677)' in *ODNB*.

¹⁷ Toby Barnard, 'Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 326–47.

¹⁸ The Arundell papers at Kresen Kernow in Cornwall, a family collection originating from Wardour Castle in Wiltshire, enriches our understanding of the political life of Bellings, junior. Toby Barnard, 'Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 326–47.

Appendices

Appendix A: Large deletions in the manuscripts

i. TCD MS 747, fols 240r-240v

‘So as my Brother ~~said only[?] to me when he beheld the storage~~ [add: was wont to say merrily that he] thought much of my his time thereafter would be spent in telling and laying vpp money, But the Conde de Olivales who had all power with the King and who was an enemy to the amirante de Castile [~~without considering the danger or disadvantage that might allow to his Maiesties affaires by such against, wch men that hould his ranke in the feueur offenses and have the highest obligation of gratitude vpon them, ought first too look at which is yet worke[?] without making any reflection that when noe prouidence to the Light surrounded accompany this promise, reuenge should not have beene set sweet to him absence it in soe sight another being it was not to be procured without some blemish to the Royall word of his mother solemnly giue on, this Count Olivares (I say) finding his affayre was introduced and manadged without his mediation, and which was worse by his enemy, first in the capacity of a frugall minister began to interpose delayes, the kings more weighty occasions being first to be supplied, and the Exchequer being not then soe well furnished, But this pretence going tedious even to himselfe by the often repeating of it, he acts the provident a would see his Maiesties command executed soe caution might be found to secure his masters monyes in cate of fayler, but this dificulty being ouercome by the very friendly offers of some English merchants, then in Madrid the coming of the plate fleet must then be expected, But by this time my brother being out of Condition to attend what would be his next excuse as well by reason of those designes as the the expences being att~~ [add: may [be?] giuen him by right vstreety in the street of Madrid] while he lay like of his wounds, the cue of which, his portione drawne wounded as he was and expected att all times since in the Church of [blank] in Madrid, speakes to have been miraculleus It will phaps be expected

I should informe you of the ~~ecicententes[?]~~ of the action wherin he receaued them one
moore shine night Capt fitz Gerrald and he being to guard agents that supt with him to
his Chamber, they were sett vpon in the street by seaven men that besides haueing their
tleaks[?] expected to find some money in their packette the guest [hereafter: 240v] The
guest without engaging, escaped and of the two that remained Captain fitz Gerald, after
he had killed one of the theenes, was soe wounded himselfe, that he sunke downe apall
and familed and the rest in rerenge of their companion pressing sagerly vpon him my
brot[her] who posed himselfe, and having killd two more, the rest perceauing that the
noyse, and the continuance of the fight was gathering more company rann away leaving
my brot[her] desperatly wounded in many places, who being carryed the his lodging,
Capte fitz Gerald after death of his wounds was found to be in noe danger, But those of
my brothers were judged mortall, yet after slumbering a little in the extremity of his
weaknesse, he tould those whoe attended him that he thought the blessed virsion (to
whome he all his life bare singular deuotion) appeared to him [added: for he often related
to many that extremety of weakness he thought the blessed Virgin appeared to him] and
tould him he should not dye of those wounds, ____ which the successe proved to be true
to the astonishment of all man, and cheifly of the his surgeons, and being after this
man[n]er perfectly recouered, and having noe more of his three hundred pistols left but
fifty hearing that his owne king was raying an Army to appeas some till in Scotland, he
applied himselfe to his Maiestyes Embassedor then he should at Madrid, who promissed
him be putt in the head of a Regiment in that seruice and gaue him letters to secretary
informing him off that his ingadgment vpon which having at his place in the Earle of
Tirconell Regiment, and drawne his past, he went to take his leaue of his generall, who
tould him that he more friendly intentions for him, then to be an Instrument into dring his
fortune for said he it is the Admirate debated not Captain Bellings that owes this hand

usage to Conde der accompanying him with such atterations of his series after put to give him, he dismise any brother to seeke his our England, who comming to London and delivering his letters to the secretary he understood from him that the King before he man of that expedition had filled up all those place soe at [...]'.

ii. TCD MS 747, fol.241r

‘There was none vacant, but he assured him he should be preferred to be first that fell, while my Bro[ther](who imputed this delay likewise to the Conde de Oliuares attended to haue his dispatches from the Societay, Monsieur Bellie were who was then Embassader for the french kinge meeting my brot[her] in the secretaries antichamber and informed some dayes before of such an officer, and of his hauing quitted the Spanish service, hee tooke occasion [added: among other things] to speake to him ~~whosoeuer haue not of the affayres of Spaine~~ [added: the secretary of Capttan Bellings and to retreat him] ~~of the warrs of the prospectous successe of offence against there and~~ [added: that if his own king had no present implemēt to him, he would not] ~~of the great value igluf[?]~~ and was putt vpon men of moust in the french [added: take it irr that he should seek to engage him to the service of his Master] ~~Count and at length depended to ask him, why he who was not engaged should not thinke of receauing imployment, there my Brother entrusted him that he left spaine upon desire to serve his owne king and departed not shortly to finde an oecasion see to doe, but that after going into france, he had fedd on Spanish breed too long atime; to pull himselfe soe suddenly into the sence of the professe enemy of that Crowne, and that although he was free and a souldier of fortune, yet he conceaned,~~ [added: it fitt] to pay somewhat to the memory of those among whome he [added: up in that militarie dicipline] was bredd a soldier after this and some other discourse the Ambassador went into the secretary and in his returne passing by my Brother he told him he had not yet put an end to his discourse with him; but that he would send to finde him at his lodging, when he was gone Secretary whome there Ambassador had acquainted with his desire of engaging my Brother in the [added: the french Ambassador was no sooner parted, But that the secretary] french service, calling him into his cabinet began to lett him know that he would cause his death to Court to be expedited, but that as his friend he ~~tould~~ him the [added: would not omit to lett him know that as it was vncertaine] vncertainy how soone any place might fall, and what promise of that kinde the king might haue formerly been engaged in [added: so it was doubtful] of what continuance the service might be, which p[er]haps might end in already [added: and that thus] kept to him in suspence; those reasons though as being [added: ~~they were~~] solled in themselues [...].’

iii. TCD MS 747, fol.262v

~~'impression: He upon these considerations in his answere to those Prelats that writt him the letter wherof all we have made mention; let them know that before he tooke armes or stirred from home, his Castle and Islands were surprised and noe restitution offered, his Armes and particuler goodes de taind, companies and forces raysed, and money levied in severall Barronies without his knowledge, or the Kings authorise, all obedience shaken off the goods of his Maties subiects taken by violence, their persons assaulted and murthered, his fortes beseidged the gates of Gallway shott and all possedges thither stopped and mantained by force, and that the disease being growen to that hight, they ought not to wander if the remedies had acerbitie in them and thus continuing to speake in the Language of authoritie he yett layd way open for accomodation where they might be instrumentall, Laying that their powers concurring all might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion, and that be their interceding to him, and his owne made rat inclinations afirme knott of vnitie might be tyed, not informelity of words, but in reality of acts, for the right advancement of the kings service and the good of the Country, and when he comes to take notice of their treated Consures, the consequence whereof he most apprehended, hee thought it his best course not onely to let them know that he had resolved to appeale to higher authority, but left he meant to proceed to other designes he had sayd, & case he were driuen extremity, threatning them thereby with his leaving the kingdome, which he knew would be resolution displeasing to most of them While the Lord of Clanrickard, endeavours after this manner to make vse of all Corte of umber that served for his designe of disingadging the fort and reducing the towne of Gallway, [...]',~~

iv. TCD MS 747, fol.263r

‘[...] But the Lord of Cranrickard iudging that it concernde the dutye of his charge and his owne honnour not to haue the forte stin- ted in making prouission in the markett, and having been formerly directed by the state to be vigilant in preventing the issuing of such dangerous commodities as were armes or amunition into the Countrey insisted soe farre vpon those points, as having not receaued full satisfaccon in them, he dissolved the treaty thereon, yet ~~making vse all the same time of a reporte which vpon profitable grounds was spread amongst them and they intertained willingly of the Kings resolution to come mid Ireland, he lett them know, that if he might haue the priuiledge to be beleeeved as well as others that had noe relation to them, and trusted as he ought to be, he might truly and plainly tell them the dangers towards them were soe suddane and certaine that ther way noe way of preservation of for them, or for the safty of Country, but as he at first expressed totally to submitt to their Governor and to be taken to protection vntill his Majesties pleasure be knowen, to the end his Maiesty vpon his his speedy very expected arrival might find them in such a posture of obedience as might inuite his merey, and that he himself might rather be a mediator for them, then the accuser, which could not be avoyded but by a sudden and fitt submission: there was noe one inducement wch might lead the townsmen and those adhering to them to entertaine quiet thought omitted to be represented to them, and many of the better sorte who from the begining were very averse from the wayes of the multitude fayled not to make the best vse of them, and this of all others seemed to be most taking and affections for it seemed as a thing odious even to many violent spirits that the Towne and their adherents how iust soeure the occasion was should vpon his Majesties arriuall be found in armes against his forte, and if they should irritate by their neglect of his counceills, the Lord of Clanrickard, what was that which an of soe great honnor; a Catholicke and the Governours could say against them~~

which would not find a credit with the king While the people induced by these reflections began to grow calmer in their passions and to effect an agreement a ship of force laden with provision for the fort commanded by Captain Ashley important.

v. NLI MS 16967, fols 23r-v

About this time the Ld. of Ormound whom the King had intrusted as Liuetenant Generall with the Comaund of the English Army to which succors came but sloely notwithstanding that his Matie had putt ouer the managment of the Warr to the Parlam[en]t of Enland was noe sooner in a posture to looke abroad, but he marcht foorth to countenance the En[g]lish who gather to the places of best strength wherof they were possest and to disperse those frequent meeting wch the Irish had in places not farr distance from Dublin, When coming to the Naas which upon his approach was deserted, he saw an aged gentlemanlike man rudely used by some comon souldiers and riding vp to him he askt who he was, my Lord s[ai]d he my name is Higgins a Catholike Preist who might have beene secured from the injury now donn me, by wch drawing my selfe with the rest that forsook this towne, but that I hoped the constant aversion which I alwayes expect to the Criminall actions in which the multitude is ingaged, and the releife and protection which I have afforded to many [hereafter f. 23v] afforded to many of the distressed En[g]lish would have preserved me from being thus Cruelly vsd, and threatnd, as these men doe, to have me suddainly hangd, which I hope yor Lopps will prevent because I desire noe other favor then _____ all that I may receaue a Legall Tryall, which when the Ld of Ormound had promisd he would procure for him, he wisht Sir Thomas Armstrong to take charge of Higgins and to secure him from being abusd by the souldiers, but Sr. Charles Coote the elder who had a Commission for martiall Law, from the Lords Justices, and of his owne inclination & no way doubting it would be a non acceptable service to ye Governt as it then stood, was forward enough to spill the blood of the Irish, hearing that an Irish preist was prisoner sent to have Higgins taken from Sr. Thomas Armstrong, but Sr. Tho: was more observant of his duty then to deliuer him & after some sufte between the horse and foot upon that occasion, he was conveighed lastly

to Dublin, and ye Ld. of Ormound being soone after returned thether he presented the Lds Justices many petitions from the distressed En[g]lish who earnestly requested yt in recompence of many fauors father Higgins had donn them & the saving the liues of some of them he might be freed from his Imprisonm[en]t, but to his great astonishm[en]t. ye Lord of Ormond's servt. Edward Butler brought his Mat. word ye next morning that he saw Higgins hanging on the Gibbett in ye Cornmarkett Whereupon going to the Councell board he tould ye Lds Justices yt hauing ingadged his pause to Higgins for afayre and legall tryall he much resented yt little regard was had of his hon[ou]r wch suffered wth Higgins in his soe precipitate an execution, & desired reparation against Sr. Charle Coote which being not able to procure he protested before them, yt being he could doe noe more Sr. Charles Coote should never serue in one Army with him, nor was it long after when Sr. Charles in an expedition he made to time by ye Lds. Justices appointment was killd and his body was carryed to Dublin and he interred in Christ Church.

vi. NLI MS 16968, fol. 44r

The Supream Councell highly resenting the Earl of Glamorgan's imprisonmt who interpos'd his Ma:ties authority, in secureing to the nation the most important part of them desires, had resolved by force of armes (if they could not-otherwise) to procure his libertie, convened an Assembly, but before their meeting the Earl, by produceing an instrument, which contain'd a full release and disclaimer of his priuate concessions, to which the names of these, that made that contract with him, were putt, was discharged upon twenty thousand poundes bonds Entered into for his appearance; by the Lords of Antrim, and Clanricard; and that assembly which was to be called, to make the distance greater, was now mett to confirme the articles of peace, and to prepare matters for them, the councell and committee, who frequently sake, resolved two difficulties which appeared.

vii. NLI MS 16969, fol. 33r

and because the reader may want now part of the light I can bring him to forme an intire Judgmt upon the troublesome and very intricate affaires of that Kingdome, as they stood within the Limitts of the time to wch I made it my designe to extend this History, I haue caused that Treaty to be pointed among the rest of the Instruments I giue him for his satisfaction, att the end of the Booke

Appendix B: Where Bellings, senior and junior, stayed and travelled in the 1650s

Where Bellings Stayed and Travelled in 1650s		
Month(s) and Year	Bellings, senior	Bellings, junior
1651–1654	Paris	Regensburg
May–Jun. 1654	Paris	Frankfurt
Oct. 1654	Cologne	Berlin
Apr. 1655	Krakow	Regensburg(?)
Nov. 1655	Vienna	(unknown)
1656	Paris	(unknown)
Jun.–Oct. 1656	Antwerp and Brussels	Brussels
Nov. 1656	Paris	(unknown)
Mar. 1657	(unknown)	Bruges
Jul. 1657	Brussels, Leuven and Bruges	Bruges
Sep 1657	Brussels and Breda	(unknown)
Oct.–Nov. 1657	Breda, Ghent and Bruges	Bruges
Dec. 1657	Neuburg	Neuburg
Jan.–Feb. 1658	Cologne(?) and Paris	(unknown)
Mar. 1658	London, Antwerp, and Brussels	London and Brussels
Apr–May. 1658	Paris	Brussels
Aug. 1658 - Sep. 1658	Hague and Paris	Hague(?) and Hoogstraten
Apr. 1659–Apr. 1660	Paris	(unknown)
May. 1660	Breda	(unknown)
Jul. 1660	London	London

Bibliography

i. Primary Sources: Manuscript

National Library of Ireland (NLI), Dublin, Ireland

MS 8642: 'Documents relating mainly to the problems of the Government of Ireland in the reign of Charles I., together with letters to Sir George and Lady Lane, 1623-1660'

MS 16967-16969: 'The history of the late warr in Ireland'

MS 11060: 'Some 40 documents concerning the army in Ireland, 1629, 1642-1680'

Trinity College Dublin (TCD), Dublin, Ireland

TCD MS 747: 'The history of the late warr in Ireland'

TCD MS 808: 1641 Depositions [consulted online: <https://1641.tcd.ie>]

TCD MS 809: 1641 Depositions [consulted online: <https://1641.tcd.ie>]

TCD MS 816: 1641 Depositions [consulted online: <https://1641.tcd.ie>]

TCD MS 818: 1641 Depositions [consulted online: <https://1641.tcd.ie>]

Gilbert Library, Dublin City Library, Dublin, Ireland

Gilbert MS 260: 'Annotationes in R. P. F. Joannis Poncii opus' (with English index)

University College Dublin (UCD), Dublin, Ireland

Luke Wadding Papers [consulted online: <https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:18726>]

The National Folklore Collection [consulted online: <https://www.duchas.ie/en>]

British Library, London, UK

Additional MS 4763: 'The history of the late warre in Ireland' 1641-1642

Additional MS 4781: 'Collection of papers presented to the King and Council by the Commissioners from the Irish Council and by representatives of the Irish Catholics'

Additional MS 4819: 'History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland', 1646-1647

Additional MS 35850-1: 'Proceedings of the two Commissions appointed in Ireland, by the Convention and by the Lords Justices and Council, 1660-1661'

Additional MS 78224: 'Draft poetry sent from Richard Bellings to Sir Richard Brown'

Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK

Catalogue in chronological order of the Carte papers in the Bodleian Library by Edward Edwards [Consulted in microfilms at NLI]

Carte Papers MS 5, 7-29, 44, 46, 50, 142, 155, 214, 221 and 243

Clarendon State Papers MS 16, 43, 45-52, 54-67, 71, 73-85, 90 and 92-3

The National Archives, Kew, London, UK

State Papers Domestic SP18/158, SP29/88 and 93

State Papers Relating to Ireland SP63/199, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265 and 312

State Papers Foreign, Flanders SP77/31 and 32

Westminster Diocesan Archives, London, UK

'Historic' Collection (Pre 1850 Material), AAW 32

Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, France
 Correspondance Politiques d'Angleterre MS 77 and 81: –‘Oblatio ex parte Caroli II. Magnæ Britanniae Regis pro optatissima trium suorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ cum Sede Apostolica Romana reunione’ [consulted in Anthony J. Brown, ‘Anglo-Irish Gallicanism, c.1635 - c.1685’ (2004), Appendix C, no. 8, pp 284-318]
 Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, US
 Osborn Collection MSb44: ‘A copy of a letter from George Morley regarding a dispute about "intention" between his correspondent and Richard Bellings’

ii. Primary Sources: Printed

- A decree of excommunication against such as adhere to the late peace, and doe beare armes for the hereticks of Ireland, or doe aid or assist them by Iohn Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop and Prince of Firmo, and by the ecclesiasticall congregation of both clergies of the kingdome of Ireland* (Kilkenny, 1647)
An exact narrative of the attempts made upon the Duke of Glocester (London, 1654)
 ‘An Irish Diary of the Confederate Wars. (Continued)’ in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, vii, no. 2 (1930), pp 241–257
 Annesley, Arthur, *A letter from a person of honour in the countrey written to the earl of Castlehaven: being observations and reflections upon his lordships memoires concerning the wars of Ireland* (London, 1681)
 ---, *A letter from the right honourable Arthur earl of Anglesey lord privy seal, in answer to his grace the duke of Ormond’s letter of November the 12th, 1681* (London, 1682)
 ---, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Arthur, earl of Anglesey, late lord privy seal intermixt with moral, political and historical observations* (London, 1693)
 ---, *A true account of the whole proceedings betwixt his grace James duke of Ormond, and the right honor [sic] Arthur, earl of Anglesey, late lord privy-seal, before the king and council* (London, 1682)
 Anon., *Queries concerning the lawfulness of the present cessation* (Kilkenny, 1648)
 ---, *A catalogue of the library of the honourable Rich. Arundel Bealing Esq* (London, 1725)
 ---, *The life and character of James Butler: late duke, marquis, and earl of Ormond* (Dublin, 1730)
 Arnould, Antoine, *De la fréquente Communion* (Paris, 1643))
 ---, *Lettre de Monsieur Callaghan docteur en Theologie de la faculté de Paris, trans. Richard Bellings* (Paris, 1652)
 Arnould, Jacqueline-Marie-Angélique, *Lettres de la Révérende Mère Marie Angélique Arnould abbesse et réformatrice de Port-Royal* (3 vols, 1742)
 Baildon, W. Paley (ed.), *The records of the honorable society of Lincoln’s Inn* (1896)
 Barry, Henry Fitz-Patrick, *Register of wills and inventories of the Diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton, 1457-1483: from the original manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1898)
 Bellings, Richard, *A sixth booke to the countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (Dublin, 1624)
 ---, *Illustrissimis ac reverendissimis DD archiepiscopis, episcopis, paesulibus et clero Hiberniæ has innocentiae suae impetita per reverendissimum fernenem vindicias consecrat Richardus Bellings* (Paris, 1652)
 ---, *Annotationes in Johannis Poncii librum, cui titulus, Vindiciae Eversae: accesserunt Belingi Vindiciae* (Paris, 1654)

- , *The eighth day* (London, 1661)
- , 'Fragmentum historicum; or, the second and third Books of the war of Ireland, containing the transactions in that kingdom from the year 1642 to 1647' in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica: or a Select Collection of State Papers* (Dublin, 1772), pp 151–480
- , 'A sixth booke to the countess of Pembrokes Arcadia (1624)' in Marea Mitchel and Ann Lange (eds), *Continuations to Sidney's Arcadia, 1607-1867* (4 vols, London, 2014), i, 193–250 and 468–480
- Birch, Thomas (ed.), *A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols, 1742)
- , *An inquiry into the share, which king Charles I had in the transactions of the earl of Glamorgan: for bringing over a body of Irish rebels to assist that King, in the years 1645 and 1646* (London, 1756)
- Blundell, William, *Crosby records: a cavalier's note book; being notes, anecdotes, & observations of William Blundell of Crosby, Lancashire, esquire* (London, 1880)
- Borlase, Edmund, *The reduction of Ireland to the crown of England* (London, 1675)
- , *The history of the execrable Irish rebellion trac'd from many preceding acts to the grand eruption the 23 of October, 1641* (London, 1680)
- , *Brief reflections on the earl of Castlehaven's memoirs* (London, 1682)
- Boyle, Roger, *The answer of a person of quality to a scandalous letter* (Dublin, 1662)
- , *The Irish colours displayed* (London, 1662)
- Brewer, J. S. (ed.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts: 1589-1600* (London, 1869)
- Brockliss, Laurence W. B. and Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lviii (2004), pp 7–166
- Bullen, William and John Sherren Bower (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth: 1603-1624* (1873)
- Burkhead, Henry, *A tragedy of Cola's furie, or, Lirenda's miserie*, ed. Angelina Lynch (Dublin, 2009)
- Burnell, Henry, *Landgartha: a tragie-comedy*, ed. Deana Rankin (Dublin, 2013)
- Butler, James, *A letter from his grace James duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in answer to the right honourable Arthur earl of Anglesey lord privy-seal...* (London, 1682)
- By the councell and congregation whereas such of the Roman Catholiques as reside within the English quarters feare to be plundered* (Kilkenny, 1646)
- By the ecclesiasticall congregation of the clergy of Ireland for avoyding of unnaturall distinction betweene the old Irish and the old and new English, betweene septs and families* (Kilkenny, 1646)
- By the generall assemblie of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland an establishment for the Court of Generall Iudicature* (Kilkenny, 1647)
- By the Generall Assemblie of the confederate Catholiques of Ireland the ensuing declaration of the Lord Nuncio, & his partie of the clergie, we thinke fit to be printed and published* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- By the generall assemblie of the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland this assembly taking seriously into consideration* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- By the Generall Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland whereas severall declarations and protestations are said to have been unlegally and unduely by secret* (Kilkenny, 1645)
- By the generall assembly of the confederate Catholiques of Ireland mett at the cittie of Kilkenny the tenth day of Ianuary, anno domini 1646 it is ordered that the oath of*

- associatiō* (Kilkenny, 1646)
- By the generall assembly of the confederate Catholiques of Ireland mett at the cittie of Kilkenny the tenth day of Ianuary, anno domini 1646 it is ordered that the oath of associatiō, with the addition thereunto made by this assembly* (Kilkenny, 1646)
- By the Generall Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland whereas divers ill affected to the government of this kingdom* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- [B]y the King, a proclamation declaringe Iames Marques of Ormond to be lieutenant generall and generall governour of the kingdome of Ireland* (Kilkenny, 1649)
- By the lord lieutenant general and general gouernor of the kingdome of Ireland, Ormonde whereas articles of peace, are made, concluded, accorded, & agreed upon, by & between us Iames lord marques of Ormonde* (Kilkenny, 1649)
- By the Lord Lieutenant Generall and Generall Governor of Ireland Ormonde. VWhereas many waightie affaires concerning the settlement of the government* (Kilkenny, 1649)
- By the Lord [Li]eutenant Generall of Ireland. Ormonde. Whereas wee haue graunted our commissions of sequestrations of all the lands, tenements, goods and chattles of such persons as are now absent* (Kilkenny, 1649)
- By the Supreame Councell of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland although wee find our selves much afflicted for the expressions wee are forced to make, of the Lord Nuncio his violent proceedings against the gouernment of the kingdome* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- By the Supreame Councell of the Confederat Catholick[s] of Ireland [it] cannot be expressed by what suttle practices such, as for their own ambitious ends* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- By the Supreame Councell of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland the deepe sense which wee haue of the sadd condition* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- By the Supreame Councell of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland whereas by our late proclamation we have assured all and everie the inhabitants of the province of Ulster* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- By the Supreame Councell of the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland wee the Supreame Councell of the said Confederate Catholiques* (Kilkenny, 1648)
- Caball, Marc, 'Articulating Irish identity in early seventeenth-century Europe: the case of Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa (c. 1570-1614)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxii (2009), pp 271–93
- Caldicott, C. E. J., 'II Patrick Darcy, An Argument' in *Camden Fourth Series*, xlv (1992), pp 191–320
- Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in Bodleian Library* (5 vols, HMC, Oxford, 1872)
- Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny castle* (4 vols, HMC, 1902)
- Callaghan, John, *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniae* (Paris, 1650)
- Campbell, Ian and Todd M. Rester (eds), *Franciscans and Scotists on war: John Duns Scotus's theology, anti-Judaism, and Holy War in early modernity* (Abingdon, 2025)
- Carpenter, Andrew (ed.), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003)
- Carron, Redmond, Loyalty asserted and the late remonstrance or allegiance of the Irish clergy and layty confirmed and proved by the authority of Scriptures, fathers ... and by the evidences of several theological reasons : with a brief answer to Cardinal Peron's Oration and objections / by R. Caron. (London, 1662)
- , *Remonstrantia Hibernorum contra Lovanienses ultramontanasque censuras, de*

- incommutabili regum imperio, subditorumque fidelitate, et obedientia indispensabili : ex S.S. Scripturis, patribus, theologis, &c. vindicata : cum duplici authore R.P.F.R. Caron ...* (London, 1665)
- , *A vindication of the Roman Catholicks of the English nation. From some aspersions lately cast upon them. In a letter from a Protestant gentleman in the countrey, to a citizen of London* (London, 1660)
- Carte, Thomas, *The Irish massacre set in a clear light: wherein Mr. Baxter's account of it in the history of his own life* (London, 1714)
- , *An history of the life of James duke of Ormonde* (London, 1735)
- , *The life of James, duke of Ormond* (6 vols, Oxford, 1851)
- Ceyssens, Lucien (ed.), *Sources relatives à l'Histoire du Jansénisme et de l'Antijansénisme des Années, 1644-1653* (Louvain, 1957)
- Clanricarde, Ulick de Burgh, *The memoirs and letters of Ulick, marquiss of Clanricarde, and earl of Saint Albans* (London, 1757)
- Cole, William (ed.), *The Irish cabinet: or His Majesties secret papers, for establishing the Papall clergy in Ireland: with other matters of high concernment, taken in the carriages of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was slain in the late fight at Sliggo in that kingdom* (London, 1645)
- Corish, P. J., 'Bishop Wadding's notebook' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxix (1970), pp 49–114
- Corish, Patrick J., 'Two seventeenth-century proclamations against the Catholic clergy' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxix (1984), pp 53–57
- Cox, Sir Richard, *Hibernia Anglicana: or, the history of Ireland from the conquest thereof by the English to this present time* (London, 1689)
- Cressy, Hugh, *An epistle apologetical of S.C. to a person of honour touching his vindication of Dr. Stillingfleet* (London, 1674)
- Cunningham, Bernadette, 'A view of religious affiliation and practice in Thomond, 1591' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlviii (1994), pp 13–24
- , 'Clanricard letters: letters and papers 1605-1673' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xlviii (1996), pp 162–208
- Cunningham, Bernadette and Raymond Gillespie, "'The most adaptable of saints': the cult of St Patrick in the seventeenth century' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlix (1995), pp 82–104
- Darcy, Eamon, 'The Spanish-language "Manifesto" of the Catholic Confederation of Ireland, 1642' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxxvii (2014), pp 25–34
- Dodd, R. J., 'Vatican Archives. instrumenta miscellanea: documents of Irish interest [1261-1805]' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xix (1956), pp 135–40
- 'The Down Survey Project' (<https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/>)
- Dunne, Michael, 'Matthew Teige (d. 1652), the Irish pastoral college of Louvain and the "Lectio Catechistica" (1644)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxxvii (2014), pp 35–75
- Empey, Mark, 'The diary of Sir James Ware, 1623-66' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xlv (2014), pp 53–146
- (ed.), *Early Stuart Irish warrants, 1623-1639: the Falkland and Wentworth administrations* (IMC, Dublin, 2015)
- Flower, Robin, 'The Phillips Collection of Irish MSS. at Cheltenham' in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 3 (1931), pp 225–228
- Forkan, Kevin, 'Army List of the Ulster British Forces, 1642-1646' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lix (2005), pp 51–65
- [French, Nicholas], *A narrative of the earl of Clarendon's settlement and sale of Ireland*

- (Louvain, 1668)
- French, Nicholas, *Bleeding iphigenia* ([London], 1675)
- , *The unkinde desortor of loyall men and true frinds* ([Paris], 1676)
- Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, *History of the great civil war, 1642-1649* (4 vols, London, 1893)
- Gerrard, Sir William, 'Lord Chancellor Gerrard's notes of his report on Ireland' in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 2 (1931), pp 93–291
- Giblin, Cathaldus, 'Vatican Library: MSS Barberini latini : a guide to the material of Irish interest on microfilm in the National Library, Dublin' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xviii (1955), pp 67–144
- , 'Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Collection "Nunziatura di Fiandra," Vatican Archives: Part 1, Vols. 1-50' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 1 (1958), pp 7–136
- , 'Vatican archives; lettere di particolari: material relating to Ireland' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxi (1973), pp 112–23
- Gibney, John (ed.), '[Sir Robert Southwell] "Some remarks on those who were friends and enemyes to the duke of Ormonde and to the acts of settlement of Ireland", [c. 1692]' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xlii (2011), pp 25–58
- Gilbert, J. T. (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland, from 1641 to 1652* (6 vols, Dublin, 1879)
- (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and the war in Ireland, 1641-9* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882)
- Gilbert, Rosa M., *Life of sir John T. Gilbert, LL.D., F.S.A., Irish historian and archivist, vice-president of the Royal Irish Academy, secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland* (London, 1905)
- Gillespie, Raymond, 'Catholic religious practices and payments in seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlvii (1993), pp 3–10
- de Gondi, Jean François Paul, *France no friend to England. Or, The resentments of the French upon the success of the English* (London, 1659)
- Green, Mary Anne Everett (ed.), *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria* (London, 1857)
- (ed.), *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria, including her private correspondence with Charles the First* (London, 1857)
- Hensey, Áine, 'A database of Catholic priests reported to be in south-eastern Ireland, 1557–1650' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxviii (2015), pp 7–62
- Hogan, James (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion between 1642-46* (IMC, Dublin, 1936)
- Hutton, Annie and Giuseppe Aiazzi (eds), *The embassy in Ireland of monsignor G. B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, in the year 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1873)
- Hyde, Edward, *Animadversions upon a book intituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted by S.C. by a person of honour.* (London, 1673)
- , *Religion and policy and the countenance and assistance each should give to the other* (Oxford, 1811)
- , *The life of Edward, earl of Clarendon* (2 vols, Oxford, 1857)
- , *The history of the rebellion and civil wars in England begun in the year 1641* (6 vols, Oxford, 1888)
- Hyde, Edward, *Calendar of the Clarendon state papers preserved in the Bodleian Library*, ed. Henry Octavius Coxe (Oxford, 1872)
- Jennings, Brendan, 'The Irish Franciscans in Poland' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xx

- (1957), pp 38–56
- , *Wild geese in Spanish Flanders 1582-1700: documents, relating chiefly to Irish regiments, from the Archives Générale du Royaume, Brussels, and other sources* (IMC, Dublin, 1964)
- Jones, Henry, *A sermon of Antichrist* (Dublin, 1676)
- Jones?, Henry, *An Abstract of some few of those barbarous, cruell massacres and murthers of the Protestants and English in some parts of Ireland, committed since the 23 of Octob., 1641 together with the rise of the rebellion* (London, 1662)
- [Jones, Henry], *A collection of certain horrid murthers in several counties of Ireland. Committed since the 23. of Octob. 1641* (London, 1679)
- Jonson, Ben, ‘Irish Masque at Court (1613)’ in David M. Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson (eds), *The Cambridge edition of the works of Ben Jonson* (7 vols, Cambridge, 2012), iv, 243–250
- Journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1761)
- Keane, Edward, P. Beryl Phair and Thomas Ulick Sadleir (eds), *King’s Inns admission papers 1607–1867* (Dublin, 1982)
- Kenyon, J. P. (ed.), *The Stuart constitution, 1603-1688: documents and commentary* (London, 1969)
- Lange, Ann, ‘A sixth booke to the countess of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by R. B. esq (1624)’ in Marea Mitchel and Ann Lange (eds), *Continuations to Sidney’s Arcadia, 1607-1867* (4 vols, London, 2014), i, 177–191
- Letter-book of the earl of Clanricarde: 1643-47* (IMC, Dublin, 1983)
- Leyburn, George, *The memoirs of George Leyburn: doctor of Divinity, chaplain to Henrietta Maria queen of England. Being a journal of his agency for prince Charles in Ireland, in the year 1647* (London, 1722)
- Lincoln’s Inn and Ronald Roxburgh (eds), *The records of the honourable society of Lincoln’s Inn* (London, 1977)
- Lister, Thomas H., *Life and administration of Edward, first earl of Clarendon* (London, 1837)
- [Ludlow, Edmund], *Murder will out: or, the king’s letter, justifying the marquess of Antrim, and declaring that what he did in the Irish Rebellion, was by direction from his royal father and mother, and for the service of the crown* ([London?], 1663)
- [Lynch, John], *Cambrensis eversus* ([St. Omer], 1662)
- Lynch, John, *Alithinologia* ([St. Malo], 1664)
- , *Alithinologiae supplementum* ([St. Malo], 1667)
- Mac Cuarta, Brian, ‘A document concerning the Irish privy council’s policy towards Catholicism (1629)’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxii (2009), pp 150–3
- , ‘Irish government lists of Catholic personnel, c. 1613’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxxviii (2015), pp 63–102
- , ‘Old English Catholicism in Chester documents, 1609-19’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lvii (2003), pp 1–10
- Macray, William Dunn (ed.), *Notes which passed at meetings of the privy council between Charles II and the earl of Clarendon, 1660-1667* (London, 1896)
- Massari, Dionysio, ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, vi (1916), pp 28–35, 82–8, 153–159, 217–22, 302–8, 367–73, 445–9
- , ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, vii (1917), pp 111–4, 179–82, 246–9, 295–6
- , ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, viii (1918), pp 140–2, 195–7, 247–9, 300–

- 3, 396–8, 439–40
- , ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, ix (1919), pp 66–8, 116–7, 200–1, 310–1, 488–90, 538–40, 603–4, 649–52,
- , ‘My Irish campaign’ in *Catholic Bulletin*, x (1920), pp 735–44
- McDonnell, Hector and Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds), ‘Meditations by Katherine Manners, duchess of Buckingham, 1646’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, xli (2009), pp 67–82
- McGrath, Bríd, ‘Additional Patrick Darcy papers: correspondence and legal opinions, 1632, 1661–62’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, xlviii (2017), pp 73–88
- McHugh, Jason, ‘The obligation of Titus: a theological opinion concerning worthiness for episcopal office in the diocese of Ferns, 1645’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxx (2017), pp 21–40
- McNeill, Charles, ‘Harris: Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 6 (1934), pp 248–450
- McNeill, Charles (ed.), *The Tanner letters: original documents and notices of Irish affairs in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries* (IMC, Dublin, 1943)
- Millett, Benignus, ‘Documents: Massari’s account of the truce with Inchiquin, 1648’ in *Catholic Survey*, i (1953), pp 405–433
- Mitchell, Marea, Ann Margaret Lange, Dianne Osland, Gervase Markham, Richard Bellings and D. Stanley (eds), *Continuations to Sidney’s Arcadia, 1607–1867* (4 vols, London, 2014)
- Molyneux, William, *The case of Ireland’s being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated Dublin, 1698*, ed. Parick Kelly (Dublin, 2018)
- Moody, T. W., ‘Ulster plantation papers’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 8 (1938), pp 179–297
- Morrin, James (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, of the reign of Charles the First* (Dublin, 1863)
- Munby, A. N. L., *Phillipps studies* (no. 1–5, London, 1971)
- Nalson, John, *Impartial collection of the greatest affairs* (London, 1682)
- Ní Mhurchadha, Maighréad, ‘Documents concerning the oath of supremacy in early seventeenth-century Ireland’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxiii (2010), pp 264–273
- Nugent, Richard, *Cynthia*, ed. Angelina Lynch (Dublin, 2010)
- Ó Ciosáin, Éamon, ‘A pamphlet in French on the banishment of Catholic clergy from Ireland in 1653’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxv (2012), pp 209–221
- Ó Ciosáin, Éamon, Pádraig Ó Macháin and Ciaran O’Scea, ‘Two letters in Irish from Domhnall Mac Suibhne OSA in Nantes (1640)’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxviii (2015), pp 103–138
- O’Connor, Tim, ‘Wentworth and Dublin’s Catholic clergy : a document from the Stafford Papers’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lix (2005), pp 37–50
- O’Ferrall, Richard and Robert O’Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per annos 1645–1649*, ed. Kavanagh Stanislaus (6 vols, IMC, Dublin, 1932)
- O’Hart, John, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell Came to Ireland: or, A Supplement to Irish Pedigrees* (Dublin, 1884)
- Ohlmeyer, Jane (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdome of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020)
- Ohlmeyer Jane and Ó Ciardha Éamonn (eds), *The Irish statute staple books, 1596–1687* (Dublin, 1998)
- Olden, Michael, ‘Episcopal comments on the Decreta pro recto regimine ecclesiarum hiberniae, 1635–36’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxvii (1964), pp 1–12

- O'Reilly, Mary, 'Seventeenth-century Irish Catechisms: European or not?' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 1 (1996), pp 102–112
- Ormonde, James Butler, *Memoirs of the life of his grace, James, late duke of Ormond: extracted from his own private memoirs* (London, 1738)
- , *Memoirs of the life of the late duke of Ormond: written by himself* (London, 1741)
- Orschel, Vera and John J. Hanly, 'Calendar of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents at the archives of the Irish College, Rome (with index)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxiii (2010), pp 7–263
- Peck, Linda Levy, 'Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: changing meanings of science and the fate of the Norfolk donation' in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, lii, no. 1 (1998), pp 3–24
- R. S., *A collection of some of the murthers and massacres committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23d of October 1641* (London, 1662)
- Redworth, Glyn, 'Beyond faith & fatherland: "The Appeal of the Catholics of Ireland", c. 1623' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lii (1998), pp 3–23
- Report on Franciscan manuscripts preserved at the convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin* (IMC, Dublin, 1906)
- Sanderson, William, *A compleat history of the life and raigne of King Charles from his cradle to his grave* (London, 1658)
- Scrope, R. and T. Monkhouse (eds), *State papers collected by Edward, earl of Clarendon* (3 vols, Oxford, 1767)
- Simington, Robert C. (ed.), *The civil survey A.D. 1654-1656. Vol.7: County of Dublin* (Dublin, 1945)
- (ed.), *The civil survey A.D. 1654-1656. Vol.8: County of Kildare* (Dublin, 1952)
- (ed.), *The civil survey A.D. 1654-1656. Vol.10: Miscellanea* (Dublin, 1961)
- Siri, Vittorio, *Il Mercurio overo historia de Correnti tempi (1635-1655) di Vittorio Siri* (Paris, 1644)
- , *Mercure de Vittorio Siri, conseiller d'État et historiographe de sa majesté très chretienne, contenant l'histoire generale de l'Europe, depuis 1640 jusqu'en 1655*, trans. Jean Baptiste Requier (18 vols, Paris, 1756)
- State papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Electronic resource* (3 vols, Oxford, 1786)
- Swords, Liam, 'History of the Irish College, Paris, 1578-1800: calendar of the papers of the Irish College, Paris' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxv (1980), pp 3–233
- Temple, John, *Ormonds curtain drawn* (London, 1646)
- , *The Irish rebellion: or, An history of the beginnings and first progress of the general rebellion ... 1641* (London, 1679)
- The copy of a barbarous and bloody declaration by the Irish rebels, against the Supream Councell of Ireland. And the votes of the Popish Assembly at Waterford against peace* (London, 1646)
- The declaration of the Lord Generall of the army of the confederat Catholicks in the province of Leinster* (Kilkenny, 1646)
- The decleration [sic] of Ovven O Neill published in the head of that parte of the Vlster army adhering to him* (Kilkenny, 1646)
- The establishments made by the Generall Assemblie mett at the Cittie of Kilkenny the 12. day of November anno Domini 1647* (Kilkenny, 1647)
- The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, *Admissions Register VOL 1 1420-1799* (London, 1896)
- , *Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Black Books volume 2, 1586-*

- 1660 (London, 1898)
- The manuscripts of the marquis of Ormonde, preserved at the castle, Kilkenny* (8 vols, HMC, 1895)
- The Marqves of Clanrickards engagement of the nineteenth of November, 1646* (Kilkenny, 1649)
- Titus; or the palme of Christian courage* (Waterford, 1644)
- Tjoelker, Nienke and Ian Campbell, 'Transcription and translation of London version of Richard O'Ferrall's report to Propaganda Fide (1658)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxi (2008), pp 7–61
- Touchet, James, *The memoirs of James, lord Audley, earl of Castlehaven, his engagement and carriage in the wars of Ireland from the year 1642 to the year 1651 written by himself* (London, 1680)
- Vecchi, Girolamo di, *La correspondance de Girolamo di Vecchi internonce aux Pays-Bas (1656-1665)*, ed. Valérie Busin (Bruxelles, 1999)
- Wadding, Luke, *Wadding papers, 1614-38*, ed. Brendan Jennings (Dublin, 1953)
- Walsh, Peter, *Some few questions concerning the Oath of allegiance propos'd by a Catholick gentleman in a letter to a person of learning and honour* (London, 1661)
- , *A letter desiring a just and mercifull regard of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland* ([Dublin?], 1662)
- , *Irish colours folded* (unknown, 1662)
- , *The more ample accompt, the answers to the exceptions, the inducements, and invitation, promised in the advertisement annexed to the late printed Remonstrance, Protestation, &c. of the Roman Catholick clergy of Ireland* (London, 1662)
- , *To the king's most excellent majestie the humble remonstrance, acknowledgement, protestation, and petition of the Roman Catholick clergy of Ireland* (London, 1662)
- , *The history et vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance of 1661* (London, 1677)
- , *A prospect of the state of Ireland from the year of the world 1756 [sic] to the year of Christ 1652* (London, 1682)
- , *Four letters on several subjects to persons of quality* (London, 1686)
- White, Ignatius, *Mr. Ignatius White his vindication: as well from all imputations concerning Mr. Scot (of which affaire he doth give herein an exact, faithfull, and authentick account) as also from all other reports raised of him through malice and ignorance, during his employments here in England* (London, 1660)
- Whitelocke, Bulstrode, *Memorials of the English affairs: or, an historical account of what passed from the beginning of the reign of king Charles* (London, 1682)
- Williams, M.R.F., 'John Ponce's response to Kenelm Digby's "A Discourse Concerning Infallibility in Religion" (Paris, 1652)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxxv (2012), pp 189–208
- Wood, Herbert (ed.), *Court book of the Liberty of Saint Sepulchre: within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, 1586-1590* (Dublin, 1930)
- iii. Secondary**
- Acton, John E. E., *Historical essays and studies* (London, 1908)
- Albion, Gordon, *Charles I and the court of Rome: a study in 17th century diplomacy* (London, 1935)

- , *Charles I and the Papacy* (Ilford, 1974)
- d'Ambrières, René and Éamon Ó Ciosáin, 'Irish bishops and clergy in exile in mid-seventeenth-century France' in *Irish historical studies*, xxxvi, no. 141 (2008), pp 16–37
- Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: the Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2020)
- Armstrong, Robert, 'Ireland at Westminster: the Long Parliament's Irish committees, 1641-1647' in Chris Kyle and Jason Peacey (eds), *Parliament at work: parliamentary committees, political power, and public access in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp 79–99
- , 'Ormond, the confederate peace talks and protestant royalism' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis : Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin and Portland, 2001), pp 122–40
- , 'Protestant churchmen and the confederate wars' in Ciarán Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 230–251
- , *Protestant war: the 'British' of Ireland and the wars of the three kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005)
- , 'The Long Parliament goes to war: the Irish campaigns, 1641-3' in *Historical Research*, lxxx, no. 207 (2007), pp 73–99
- Armstrong, Robert and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Alternative establishments? Insular Catholicism and Presbyterianism' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity: alternative models of the church in Britain and Ireland, c. 1570-c. 1700* (Manchester, 2013), pp 1–27
- Arnold, Lawrence, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin, 1660-1688: a history of the administration of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation* (Dublin, 1993)
- Atherton, Ian, 'Cathedrals and the British Revolution' in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 96–116
- Aylmer, Gerald Edward, 'The first duke of Ormond as patron and administrator' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 115–35
- Baker, Geoff, *Reading and politics in early modern England: the mental world of a seventeenth-century Catholic gentleman* (Manchester, 2010)
- Ball, Francis Elrington, *A history of the County Dublin; the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century* (1902)
- Barnard, Toby, 'Aristocratic values in the careers of the dukes of Ormonde' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 161–75
- , 'Farewell to old Ireland' in *The Historical Journal*, xxxvi, no. 4 (1993), pp 909–928
- , *Improving Ireland?: projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008)
- , *Irish Protestant ascents and descents, 1641-1770* (2004)

- , 'Lawyers and the law in later seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxviii, no. 111 (1993), pp 256–282
- , 'Miles Symner and the new learning in seventeenth-century Ireland' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cii, no. 2 (1972)
- , "'Parlour entertainment in an evening'? histories of the 1640s' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 20–43
- , 'Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 326–47
- , 'The Hartlib circle and the cult and culture of improvement in Ireland' in *Samuel Hartlib and the universal reformation: studies in intellectual communication* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 281–98
- , '1641: a bibliographical essay' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster, 1641: aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp 173–86; 223–8
- Barnard, Toby and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000)
- Baumber, M. L., 'The navy and the Civil War in Ireland, 1643–46' in *The Mariner's Mirror*, lxxv, no. 3 (1989), pp 255–268
- Beckett, J. C., *The Anglo-Irish tradition* (London, 1976)
- , *The Cavalier duke: a life of James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond 1610-1688* (Belfast, 1990)
- , 'The confederation of Kilkenny reviewed' in M. Roberts (ed.), *Historical studies, II* (Cambridge, 1959), pp 29–41
- Beiner, Guy, *Forgetful Remembrance: social forgetting and vernacular historiography of a rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford, 2020)
- Bergin, John, 'The Irish Catholic interest at the London inns of court, 1674–1800' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, xxiv (2009), pp 36–61
- Bhreathnach, Edel, Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990* (Dublin, 2009)
- Bignad, Karine, 'Anglais ou irlandais? Fluctuations de l'identité des descendants des colons anglo-normands, 1534-1642' in *Sources*, xv (2003), pp 23–32
- Binasco, Matteo, 'A Powerful "Hibernese": Luke Wadding and His Diplomatic Role in Seventeenth-Century Rome' in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, cxii, no. 1–2 (2017), pp 169–184
- , 'Conclusion' in Matteo Binasco (ed.), *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic world, 1622–1908* (Cham, 2019), pp 263–270
- , 'Introduction: Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World. A Roman Perspective' in *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908* (Cham, 2019), pp 1–20
- , 'Luke Wadding and Irish diplomatic activity in seventeenth-century Rome' in *Studi Irlandesi: a Journal of Irish Studies*, vi (2016), pp 193–203
- , 'Not only a "Hibernese" in the Ubs: Luke Wadding and his entourage in seventeenth-

- century Rome' in Matteo Binasco (ed.), *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic world, 1622–1908* (New York and Oxford, 2020), pp 77–92
- , *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908* (2018)
- Birrell, T. A., 'English Catholics without a bishop 1655–1672' in *British Catholic History*, iv, no. 4 (1958), pp 142–178
- Blair, Ann, *Too much to know: managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven, 2010)
- Bone, Quentin Blane, *Henrietta Maria: queen of the cavaliers* (London, 1973)
- Booker, Sparky, *Cultural exchange and identity in late medieval Ireland: the English and Irish of the four obedient shires* (Cambridge, 2018)
- Boran, Elizabethanne, 'Propagating religion and endeavouring the reformation of the whole world' in *Taking Sides?: Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 20013), pp 165–184
- Bossy, John, *The English Catholic community, 1570–1850* (London, 1975)
- Bottigheimer, Karl S., *English money and Irish land: the 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971)
- , 'The restoration land settlement in Ireland: a structural view' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii, no. 69 (1972), pp 1–21
- , 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée' in *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, xxxvi, no. 2 (1985), pp 196–207
- Bowden, Caroline Mary Kynaston, 'The Abbess and Mrs. Brown: Lady Mary Knatchbull and royalist politics in Flanders in the late 1650s' in *Recusant History*, xxiv (1999), pp 288–308
- Boyle, Patrick, 'a Jansenist agent in Ireland in 1646, John Callaghan DD' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Fifth series, no. 22 (1923), pp 1–9
- Braddick, Michael J., 'History, liberty, reformation and the cause: Parliamentary military and ideological escalation in 1643' in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 117–134
- Braddick, Michael J. and David L. Smith, 'Introduction: John Morrill and the experience of revolution' in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 1–13
- Bradshaw, Brendan, 'Sword, word, and strategy in the Reformation in Ireland' in *Historical journal*, xxi (1978), pp 475–502
- , *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979)
- Brady, Ciarán, 'Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin administration, 1556–86' in Patrick Corish (ed.), *Radicals, rebels and establishments* (Belfast, 1985), pp 11–32
- , *The chief governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588* (Cambridge, 1994)
- Brady, Ciarán and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Making good: new perspectives on the English in early modern Ireland' in *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge,

- 2005), pp 1–27
- Brennan, James, ‘A Gallican interlude in Ireland’ in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxiv, no. 3 (1957), pp 219–237
- , ‘Peter Walsh and the Confederation of Kilkenny’ in *Old Kilkenny Review: Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, iv (1990), pp 760–766
- Brockliss, Laurence W. B., ‘The university of Paris and the maintenance of Catholicism in the British isles, 1426–1789’ in Dominique Julia, Jacques Revel and Roger Chartier (eds), *Les Universités Européennes du Xvie au Xviii Siècle. Histoire Sociale des Populations étudiantes* (2 vols, Paris, 1989)
- Brown, David, ‘The sea adventure to Munster and Connacht, July and August 1642’ in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641–50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 43–60
- Brückmann, Patricia Carr, ‘The “Serene Mr. Cressy”: enlightened and peaceful Catholicism in the late seventeenth century’ in *Religion in the age of reason: a transatlantic study of the long eighteenth century* (New York, 2009), pp 43–58
- Burgess, Glenn, ‘Religion and civil society: the place of the English Revolution in the development of political thought’ in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 270–290
- Burke, Peter, *Cultural hybridity* (Cambridge, 2009)
- , *Varieties of cultural history* (Ithaca, 1997)
- , *The renaissance sense of the past* (London, 1969)
- Burns, Paul J., *The clan O’Byrne of Leinster: AD 400–1700: a compilation of available historical information* (Isle of Colonsay, 2001)
- Byrne-Rothwell, Daniel, *The Byrnes and the O’Byrnes* (Isle of Colonsay, Argyll, 2010)
- Caball, Marc, ‘Articulating Irish identity in early seventeenth-century Europe: the case of Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa (c. 1570–1614)’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxii (2009), pp 271–93
- , ‘Faith, culture and sovereignty: Irish nationality and its development, 1558–1625’ in Peter Roberts and Brendan Bradshaw (eds), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 112–39
- , ‘Innovation and tradition: Irish Gaelic responses to early modern conquest and colonization’ in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 62–82
- , ‘Lost in translation: reading Keating’s *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, 1635–1847’ in Andrew Carpenter and Caball, Marc (eds), *Oral and print cultures in Ireland, 1600–1900* (Dublin, 2009), pp 47–68
- , *Poets and politics: continuity and reaction in Irish poetry, 1558–1625* (Cork, 1998)
- , ‘Religion, culture and the bardic elite in early modern Ireland’ in Alan Ford and John McCartney (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 158–182
- Caball, Marc and Benjamin James Joseph Hazard, ‘A late seventeenth-century, partial English translation of the preface to Geoffrey Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*’ in

- Analecta Hibernica*, xlv (2013), pp 13–49
- , ‘Dynamism and decline: translating Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* in the seventeenth century’ in *Studia Hibernica*, xxxix (2013), pp 49–69
- Campbell, Ian, ‘Aristotelian ancient constitution and anti-Aristotelian sovereignty in Stuart Ireland’ in *Historical Journal*, liii, no. 3 (2010), pp 573–91
- , ‘Book Review: Thomas O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists 1600–70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome*’ in *European history quarterly*, xli, no. 2 (2011), pp 357–358
- , ‘Irish Political thought and intellectual history, 1550–1730’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 506–528
- , ‘John Lynch and Renaissance Humanism in Stuart Ireland: Catholic Intellectuals, Protestant Noblemen, and the Irish Respublica’ in *Éire-Ireland*, xlv, no. 3 (2010), pp 27–40
- , ‘John Punch, Scotist holy war, and the Irish Catholic revolutionary tradition in the seventeenth century’ in *Journal of the history of ideas*, lxxvii, no. 3 (2016), pp 401–421
- , ‘Power after Machiavelli: Richard Bellings, reason of state, and Jansenism in seventeenth century Ireland’ in Jason McElligott, Liam Chambers, Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Power in history: from the medieval to the post-modern world* (Dublin, 2011), pp 45–62
- , *Renaissance humanism and ethnicity before race: the Irish and the English in the seventeenth century* (Manchester, 2013)
- , ‘Rethinking war, nature, and supernature in early modern scholasticism: Introduction’ in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lxxxiii, no. 4 (2022), pp 601–611
- , ‘Truth and calumny in Baroque Rome: Richard O’Ferrall and the “Commentarius Rinuccinianus”, 1648-1667’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxviii, no. 150 (2012), pp 211–229
- Canning, Ruth, ‘“May she be rewarded in heauen for righting her poore subiects in Irelande”: Lawyer Richard Hadsor and the authorship of an Elizabethan treatise on Ireland’ in *Irish Jurist*, lv (2016), pp 1–24
- , *The Old English in early modern Ireland: the Palesmen and the Nine Years’ War, 1594-1603* (Woodbridge, 2019)
- Canny, Nicholas,
- , ‘England’s new world and the old, 1480s-1630s’ in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The origins of empire: British overseas enterprise to the close of the 17th century* (Oxford, 1998), pp 148–69
- , ‘Fashioning “British” worlds in the seventeenth century’ in Nicholas Canny, Joseph Illick and Gary Nash (eds), *Empire, society, and labor* (Pennsylvania, 1997), pp 26–45
- , ‘Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish’ in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800*.

- (Princeton, 1987), pp 159–212
- , *Imagining Ireland's pasts: early modern Ireland through the centuries* (Oxford, 2021)
- , 'In defense of the constitution? The nature of Irish revolt in the seventeenth century' in L. M. Cullen and Louis Bergeron (eds), *Culture et pratiques politiques en France et en Irlande, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1991), pp 23–40
- , 'Ireland and Continental Europe, c.1600-1750' in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of modern Irish history* (Oxford, 2014), pp 333–355
- , *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001)
- , 'Religion, politics and the Irish rising of 1641' in Judith Devlin and Ronan Fanning (eds), *Religion and rebellion: papers read before the 22nd Irish Conference of Historians, held at University College Dublin, 18-22 May 1995* (Dublin, 1997), pp 40–70
- , 'Poetry as politics: a view of the present state of The Faerie Queene' in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 110–26
- , 'The attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: an exemplar of "British history"' in Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 157–86
- , *The formation of the Old English élite in Ireland* (Dublin, 1975)
- , 'The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America' in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, xxx, no. 4 (1973), pp 575–598
- , 'The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America' in David Armitage (ed.), *Theories of empire, 1450-1800* (Aldershot, 1998), pp 179–202
- , 'The intersections between Irish and British political thought of the early-modern centuries' in David Armitage (ed.), *British political thought in history: literature and theory, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 67–88
- , 'What really happened in Ireland in 1641?' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from independence to occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 24–42
- , 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: une question mal posée' in *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, xxx (1979), pp 423–50
- , '1641 in a colonial context' in Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 52–70
- Carey, Vincent, 'A 'dubious loyalty': Richard Stanihurst, the "wizard" earl of Kildare, and English-Irish identity' in Vincent Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds), *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 61–77
- , "'Neither good English nor good Irish": bi-lingualism and identity formation in sixteenth-century Ireland' in *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 45–61
- Carpenter, Andrew (ed.), 'Literature in print, 1550-1800' in *The Oxford history of the Irish book: volume 3: The Irish book in English, 1550-1800* (The Oxford History of the Irish Book, 3, Oxford,

- 2005), pp 301–318
- , *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003)
- Carroll, Clare, *Circe's cup: cultural transformations in early modern writing about Ireland* (Cork, 2001)
- , 'The *Vita Waddingi* and the memory of Confederate and Cromwellian Ireland' in Matteo Binasco (ed.), *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic world, 1622–1908* (Oxford, 2020), pp 185–199
- Casway, J. I., *Owen Roe O'Neill and the struggle for catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia (PA), 1984)
- Casway, Jerrold, 'George Monck and the Controversial Catholic Truce of 1649' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 16 (1976), pp 54–72
- Chambers, Liam, 'Irish boursiers at the Collège de Reims, Paris, 1650–1706' in *Archivum Hibernicum*, lxx (2017), pp 41–46
- Chambers, Liam and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *College communities abroad: education, migration and Catholicism in early modern Europe*, (Leiden, 2018)
- Chapeau, André and Charles N. Bransom, 'Franciscan Bishops' in *Franciscan Studies*, xlvii (1987), pp 287–372
- Clark, Ruth, *Strangers and sojourners at Port-royal* (Cambridge, 1932)
- Clarke, Aidan, 'A discourse between two councillors of state, the one of England and the other of Ireland (1642)' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xxvi (1970), pp 159–75
- , 'Alternative allegiances in early modern Ireland' in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, v (1992), pp 253–66
- , 'Bishop William Bedell (1571-1642) and the Irish Reformation' in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the game: losers in Irish history* (Dublin, 1989), pp 61–70
- , 'Colonial constitutional attitudes in Ireland, 1640-60' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 90C (1990), pp 357–375
- , 'Colonial identity in early Seventeenth-century Ireland' in T. W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the pursuit of national independence* (Belfast, 1978), pp 57–71
- , 'Dónal Cregan: historian' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 248–51
- , 'Ireland and the General Crisis' in *Past & Present*, no. 48 (1970), pp 79–99
- , 'Pacification, plantation and the Catholic question' in Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, III: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 187–232
- , 'Patrick Darcy and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and Britain' in *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 35–55
- , *Prelude to restoration in Ireland: the end of the commonwealth, 1659-60* (Cambridge, 1999)
- , 'Selling royal favours, 1624-32' in T.W. Moody, F. X Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 3: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp

- , 'The army and politics in Ireland 1625–30' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 4 (1964), pp 28–53
- , 'The breakdown of authority, 1640–41' in T.W. Moody, F. X Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 3: early modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 270–88
- , 'The commission for the despoiled subject, 1641–7' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550–1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 241–60
- , 'The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641' in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition* (Belfast, 1981), pp 29–45
- , 'The government of Wentworth, 1632–40' in T. W. Moody, F. X Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 3: early modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 243–69
- , *The graces, 1625–41* (Dundalk, 1968)
- , 'The history of Poynings' Law, 1615–41' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii, no. 70 (1972), pp 207–222
- , 'The Irish economy, 1600–1660' in T. W. Moody, F. X Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 3: early modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 168–86
- , *The Old English in Ireland, 1625–42* (2nd edn., London, 2001)
- , 'The policies of the "Old English" in parliament, 1640–1' in J. L. McCracken (ed.), *Historical studies V* (London, 1965), pp 85–102
- , 'The 1641 Depositions' in P. Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the library: Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986), pp 111–22
- , 'The "1641 massacres"' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 37–51
- , 'The 1641 rebellion and anti-papery in Ireland' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster, 1641: aspects of the rising*. (Belfast, 1993), pp 139–57 and 214–18
- , '1659 and the road to Restoration [in Ireland]' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from independence to occupation 1641–1660*. (Cambridge, 1995), pp 241–64
- Clay, Christopher, *Public finance and private wealth: the career of Sir Stephen Fox, 1627–1716* (Oxford, 1978)
- Collinson, Patrick, *Elizabethans* (London, 2003)
- , *This England: essays on the English nation and commonwealth in the sixteenth century* (Manchester, 2011)
- Connolly, S. J., *Divided kingdom: Ireland, 1630–1800* (Oxford, 2008)
- Considère-Charon, Marie-Claire, 'The Irish Catholic church under Charles II: the "Popish Plot" and the Martyrdom of Oliver Plunkett' in *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique. French Journal of British Studies*, xviii, no. 1 (2013)
- Coolahan, Marie-Louise, "'I doe add this treatise, as a supplement of mine owne experience': subjectivity and life-writing in early modern Ireland' in *Early modern*

- Ireland: new sources, methods, and perspectives* (London, 2018)
- , 'Renaissance Dublin and the construction of literary authorship: Richard Bellings, James Shirley and Henry Burnell' in Kathleen Miller and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (2017), pp 99–118
- Coonan, T. L., *The Irish Catholic confederacy and the puritan revolution* (Dublin, 1954)
- Cooper, J. P., 'Strafford and the Byrnes' Country' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xv, no. 57 (1966), pp 1–20
- Cubitt, Geoffrey, *History and memory* (Manchester, 2007)
- Corens, Liesbeth, *Confessional mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (First edition, Oxford, 2019)
- Corish, Patrick, 'Bishop Nicholas French and the Second Ormond Peace, 1648-9' in *Irish Historical Studies*, vi, no. 22 (1949), pp 83–100
- , 'David Rothe, bishop of Ossory 1618-50' in *Journal of the Butler Society*, ii, no. 3 (1984), pp 315–23
- , 'Father Luke Wadding and the Irish nation' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 88, no. 6 (1957), pp 377–95
- , 'Ireland's first papal nuncio' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxxi, no. 3 (1954), pp 172–83
- , 'John Callaghan and the controversies among the Irish in Paris, 1648-54' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxi (1954), pp 32–50
- , 'Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, and the peace with Ormonde, 1649' in *Bulletin, Irish Committee of Historical Sciences*, xlix (1947), pp 1–2
- , 'Ormond, Rinuccini, and the confederates, 1645-9' in T. W. Moody, F. X Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, 3: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 317–335
- , *Radicals, rebels and establishments* (Belfast, 1985)
- , 'Rinuccini's censure of 27 May 1648' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xviii, no. 4 (1951), pp 322–337
- , 'Two contemporary historians of the confederation of Kilkenny : John Lynch and Richard O'Ferrall' in *Irish Historical Studies*, viii, no. 31 (1953), pp 217–36
- , 'The Cromwellian conquest, 1649-53' in *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 336–352
- , *The Irish Catholic experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985)
- , *The origins of Catholic nationalism* (A History of Irish Catholicism, Dublin, 1968)
- , 'The rising of 1641 and the Catholic confederacy, 1641-5' in T. W. Moody, F. X Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 289–316
- Corthell, Ronald, 'Writing Back: Robert Persons and the early modern English Catholic subject' in *Philological Quarterly*, lxxxvii, no. 3–4 (2008), pp 277–97
- Coughlan, Patricia, 'Counter-currents in colonial discourse: the political thought of Vincent and Daniel Gookin' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 56–82

- , 'Introduction' in Angelina Lynch (ed.), *A tragedy of Cola's furie, or, Lirenda's miserie* (Dublin, 2009), pp 9–32
- , 'Natural history and historical nature: the project for a natural history of Ireland' in *Samuel Hartlib and the universal reformation: studies in intellectual communication* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 298–317
- Covington, Sarah, *The Devil from over the sea: remembering and forgetting Oliver Cromwell in Ireland* (Oxford, 2022)
- Crawford, Jon, *Anglicizing the government of Ireland: the Irish Privy Council and the expansion of Tudor rule, 1556-1578* (Dublin, 1993)
- , *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland: the Court of Castle Chamber, 1571-1641* (Dublin, 2005)
- Cregan, Donal, 'An Irish cavalier: Daniel O'Neill' in *Studia Hibernica*, iii (1963), pp 60–100
- , 'An Irish cavalier: Daniel O'Neill' in *Studia Hibernica*, iv (1964), pp 104–133
- , 'An Irish cavalier: Daniel O'Neill' in *Studia Hibernica*, v (1965), pp 42–77
- , 'Daniel O'Neill, a Royalist Agent in Ireland, 1644–50' in *Irish Historical Studies*, ii, no. 8 (1941), pp 398–414
- , "'Grace and favour': The Cabal ministry and Irish Catholic politics, 1667–73' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 141–60
- , 'Irish Catholic admissions to the English Inns of Court, 1558-1625' in *Irish Jurist*, v (1970), pp 95–114
- , 'The Confederate Catholics of Ireland: the personnel of the Confederation, 1642-9' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxix, no. 116 (1995), pp 490–512
- Creighton, Anne, 'The remonstrance of December 1661 and Catholic politics in Restoration Ireland' in *Irish historical studies*, xxxiv, no. 133 (2004), pp 16–41
- , 'Irish recusant lawyers in politics in the reign of James I' in *Irish Jurist*, v (1970), pp 306–20
- , 'The confederation of Kilkenny' in B. Farrell (ed.), *The Irish parliamentary tradition* (Dublin, 1973), pp 102–15
- , 'The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate 1618-60' in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish history: presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), pp 85–117
- Cressy, David, 'Remembrancers of the Revolution: histories and historiographies of the 1640s' in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino (CA), 2006), pp 253–64
- Cronin, John, 'A courtier in exile: the life of Sir George Radcliffe within the banished Caroline Stuart court, c. 1649-1658' in *Journal of Historical Biography*, xi (2012), pp 1–40
- , 'A play supposedly fitter for the fire than for the stage: the fiction of Roger Boyle, first earl of Orrery and the re-casting of History' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland : always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 69–84

- , 'Honour, duelling and royal power in exile: a case-study of the banished Caroline Stuart court, c.1649-c.1660' in *Crime, histoire et sociétés*, xvii, no. 2 (2013), pp 47–69
- , 'Monarchy and exile: the political activities of an exiled royal court and the role played by its Irish courtiers' in *Monarchy and exile: the politics of legitimacy from Marie De Medicis to Wilhelm II* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp 144–164
- , 'Representing exiled royalists to the Spanish: the Irish courtiers of the exiled Caroline Stuart court and the Spanish alliance of 1656-1660' in *Irlanda y el Atlántico Ibérico : movilidad, participación e intercambio cultural, 1580-1823* (Valencia, 2010), pp 165–176
- Cunningham, Bernadette, 'Annalists and Historians in Early Modern Ireland, 1450—1700' in Julia Wright (ed.), *A companion to Irish literature* (Chichester, 2010), pp 76–91
- , 'Catholic Intellectual Culture in Early Modern Ireland' in Tadhg Ó hAannracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds), *Christianities in the early modern Celtic World* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp 151–163 and 231–235
- , *Clanricard and Thomond, 1540-1640: provincial politics and society transformed* (Dublin, Ireland, 2012)
- , 'Colonized Catholics: perceptions of honour and history in Michael Kearney's reading of 'Foras Feasa ar Éireann' in Ute Lotz-Heumann and Vincent Carey (eds), *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 150–164
- , 'Historical writing, 1660-1750' in *Oxford history of the Irish Book, Volume III: The Irish book in English, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2005), pp 264–281
- , 'John Colgan as historian' in Raymond Gillespie and Ruairi Ó hUiginn (eds), *Irish Europe, 1600-1650: writing and learning* (Dublin, 2013), pp 121–134
- , 'Political and social change in the lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1569-1641' in *Irish History Thesis Abstracts*, iii (1982), pp 13–16
- , 'Representations of king, parliament and the Irish people in Geoffrey Keating's Foras Feasa ar Éirinn and John Lynch's Cambrensis Eversus (1662)' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 131–54
- , 'Review article: Early modern Ireland and Europe' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvi, no. 144 (2009), pp 604–609
- , 'Seventeenth-century constructions of the historical Kingdom of Ireland' in Stephen Paul Forrest and Mark Williams (eds), *Constructing the past: writing Irish history, 1600-1800* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp 9–26
- , *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2010)
- , 'The culture and ideology of Irish Franciscan historians at Louvain, 1607-1650' in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the historians* (Dublin, 1991), pp 11–30 and 221–22

- , *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000)
- Cunningham, Bernadette and Raymond Gillespie, 'The circulation of manuscripts in Ireland, 1625-1725' in James Kelly and Ciarán Mac Murchaidh (eds), *Irish and English : essays on the Irish linguistic and cultural frontier, 1600-1900* (Dublin, 2012), pp 58–95
- Cunningham, John, 'The New English, the past, and the law in the 1640s: Sir William Parsons's "Examen Hiberniae"' in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 89–103
- Daly, J. W., 'Could Charles I be trusted? The royalist case, 1642-6' in *Journal of British studies*, vi, no. 1 (1966), pp 23–44
- Darcy, Eamon, 'Ethnic identities and the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion in Antrim' in *Journal of Irish and Scottish studies*, vi, no. 2 (2013), pp 31–52
- , 'Political Participation in Early Stuart Ireland' in *Journal of British Studies*, lvi, no. 4 (2017), pp 773–796
- , 'The confederate Catholics of Ireland and popular politics' in *Ireland in crisis : war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 172–192
- , *The Irish rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (London, 2013)
- , 'The Social Memory of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland, c.1660s–c.1730s' in *Cromwell and Ireland : new perspectives* (Liverpool, 2021), pp 231–251
- , 'Writing the past in early-modern Ireland: Anglesey, Borlase and the craft of history' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xl, no. 158 (2016), pp 171–191
- Darcy, Eamon, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy, 'Introduction' in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012), pp 1–6
- De Beer, Esmond Samuel, 'The marquis of Albeville and his brothers' in *English Historical Review*, xlv (1930), pp 397–408
- Dennehy, Coleman, *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008)
- , 'The Restoration Irish parliament, 1661–6' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland : always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 53–68
- , *The Irish parliament, 1613–89: the evolution of a colonial institution* (Manchester, 2019)
- , 'The Irish Parliament after the rebellion, 1642–48' in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 100–118
- Eagles, Robin and Coleman Dennehy (eds), *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and His World: Restoration Court, Politics and Diplomacy* (New York, 2021)
- Dix, E. R. McClintock, 'Printing in the city of Kilkenny in the seventeenth century' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, xxxii (1914), pp 125–137
- Dix, E. R. M'Clintock and John T. Gilbert, 'Irish bibliography. Two papers by the late Sir John T. Gilbert, LL.D.' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C:*

- Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, xxv (1904), pp 117–142, i
- Doyle, Anthony Ian, ‘Gallican and Anglican: Henry Holden and John Cosin’ in *British Catholic History*, xxx, no. 1 (2010), pp 67–70
- Duffy, E. P., ‘Clanricarde and the Duke of Lorraine’ in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxxi, no. 1/2 (1964), pp 71–99
- Duignan, Aoife, ‘The Scottish response to the 1641 rebellion in Connacht : the case of Sir Frederick Hamilton’ in *The Scots in early Stuart Ireland : union and separation in two kingdoms* (Manchester, 2016), pp 230–250
- , “‘To hold a good opinion of my loyalty and zealous affections’: the earl of Clanricarde and the royalist cause in Connacht, 1643–46’ in *Ireland in crisis : war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 61–78
- Eagles, Robin and Coleman A. Dennehy (eds), *Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, and his world: restoration court, politics and diplomacy* (New York, 2021)
- Ebben, Maurits A. and Louis Sicking (eds), *Beyond ambassadors: consuls, missionaries, and spies in premodern diplomacy* (2020)
- Ebben, Maurits and Louis Sicking, ‘Introduction’ in Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking (eds), *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (2020), pp 1–16
- Edwards, David, ‘A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations’ in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 95–126
- , ‘Holding on: The earl of Cork’s Blackwater army and the defence of Protestant Munster, 1641–43’ in *Ireland in crisis : war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 20–42
- , ‘Ideology and experience: Spenser’s View and martial law in Ireland’ in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 127–57
- , ‘Introduction: Union and separation’ in *The Scots in early Stuart Ireland: union and separation in two kingdoms* (Manchester, 2016), pp 1–28
- , ‘Ireland: security and conquest’ in *The Elizabethan world* (London, 2011), pp 182–200
- , ‘Out of the blue? Provincial unrest in Ireland before 1641’ in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 95–114
- , ‘Political change and social transformation, 1603–1641’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 48–71
- (ed.), *The Ormond lordship in county Kilkenny, 1515-1642: the rise and fall of the Butler family* (Dublin, 2003)
- , ‘The poisoned chalice: the Ormond inheritance, sectarian division and the emergence of James Butler, 1614-1642’ in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 55–82
- Edwards, David, Pádraig Lenihan and Clodagh Tait (eds), *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007)

- Ellis, Steven, 'Economic problems of the church: why the Reformation failed in Ireland' in *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, xli, no. 4 (1990), pp 239–65
- , *Ireland in the age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* (London, 1998)
- Empey, Mark, "'A real credit to Ireland, and to Dublin":' in Kathleen Miller and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (2017), pp 119–138
- , 'Ireland, Spain and "the protection and defence of the Christian religion", c.1622-35' in Declan M. Downey and Julio Crespo MacLennan (eds), *Spanish-Irish relations through the ages* (Dublin, 2008), pp 103–122
- , 'State intervention in disputes between secular and regular clergy in early seventeenth-century Ireland' in *British Catholic History*, xxxiv, no. 2 (2018), pp 304–326
- , "'Value-free" history? The scholarly network of Sir James Ware' in *History Ireland*, xx, no. 2 (2012), pp 20–23
- Erll, Astrid, *Memory in culture*, trans. Sara Young (Basingstoke, 2011)
- Farrell, Gerard, *The 'mere Irish' and the colonisation of Ulster, 1570-1641* (Basingstoke, 2017)
- Fenlon, Jane, "'They say I build up to the sky": Thomas Wentworth, Jigginstown House and Dublin Castle' in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011), pp 207–223
- Finnegan, David, "'For the Greater Glory": Irish Jesuit letters and the Irish Counter-reformation, 1598-1626' in *International Archives of the History of Ideas*, ccix (2013), pp 91–106
- , 'Irish political Catholicism from the 1530s to 1660' in Oliver Rafferty (ed.), *Irish Catholic identities* (Manchester, 2013), pp 77–91
- , 'Old English views of Gaelic Irish history and the emergence of an Irish Catholic nation, c.1569–1640' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 187–213
- , 'The influence of the Irish Catholic clergy in shaping the religious and political allegiances of Irish Catholics, 1603-41' in Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds), *Insular Christianity: alternative models of the church in Britain and Ireland, c. 1570-c. 1700* (Manchester, 2013), pp 107–128
- , 'The Irish Catholic clergy, Stuart sovereignty and the 1650 appeal to the Duke of Lorraine' in *E-rea. Revue électronique d'études sur le monde anglophone*, no. 11.2 (2014)
- , 'What do the Depositions say about the outbreak of the 1641 Rising?' in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012), pp 21–34, 203–208
- Fletcher, Anthony, 'Manhood, the male body, courtship and the household in early modern England' in *History*, lxxxiv, no. 275 (1999), pp 419–436
- Fogarty, Anne, 'Introduction' in Angelina Lynch (ed.), *Cynthia* (Dublin, 2010), pp 9–45
- Ford, Alan, "'Firm Catholics" or "Loyal Subjects"? Religious and political allegiance in

- early seventeenth-century Ireland' in David Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland* (Basingstoke and New York, 2001), pp 1–31
- , *James Ussher: theology, history, and politics in early-modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007)
- , 'Past but still present: Edmund Borlase, Richard Parr and the reshaping of Irish history for English audiences in the 1680s' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: Colonization and Its Consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 281–99
- Forkan, Kevin, 'Inventing an Irish protestant icon: the strange death of Sir Charles Coote, 1642' in *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 204–218
- , "'The fatal ingredient of the covenant': the place of the Ulster Scottish colonial community during the 1640s' in *Reshaping Ireland 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 261–80
- , 'The marquess of Ormond, Lord Montgomery of the Ards and the problem of authority in Ulster, 1649' in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 155–171
- Forrestal, Alison, *The Catholic synods in Ireland, 1600-1690* (Dublin, 1998)
- Forster, M., 'Walter Montague, courtier, diplomat and abbot, 1603-77, pt. 1' in *Downside Review*, xcvi (1978), pp 85–102
- Foyster, Elizabeth, *Manhood in early modern England: honour, sex and marriage* (Abingdon, 1999)
- Fradkin, Jeremy, 'Protestant unity and anti-Catholicism: the Irenicism and Philo-Semitism of John Dury in context' in *Journal of British Studies*, lvi, no. 02 (2017), pp 273–294
- Freist, Dagmar, 'Popery in perfection? The experience of Catholicism: Henrietta Maria between private practice and public discourse' in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 33–51
- Gasse, Pernal and Andrew Rosan, 'The 1651 Polish subsidy to the exiled Charles II' in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, xxxii (1999), pp 1–50
- Gibney, John, *The shadow of a year: the 1641 rebellion in Irish history and memory* (Madison, 2013)
- Gillespie, Raymond, 'Books, politics and society in Renaissance Dublin' in Kathleen Miller and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (2017), pp 38–54
- , 'Catholic religious cultures in the diocese of Dublin, 1614-97' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 127–43
- , 'Catholic religious practices and payments in seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlvii (1993), pp 3–10
- , 'Contrasting communities: a comparative approach to Irish communities in baroque

- Europe' in Mary Ann Lyons and Thomas O'Connor (eds), *The Ulster earls and Baroque Europe: refashioning Irish identities, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2010), pp 166–82
- , *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997)
- , 'Devotional landscapes: God, saints and the natural world in early modern Ireland' in *Studies in Church History*, xlv (2010), pp 217–36
- , 'Early modern Ireland as multiconfessional state' in Thomas Max Safley (ed.), *A companion to multiconfessionalism in the early modern world* (Leiden, 2011), pp 317–340
- , 'Gaelic Catholicism and the Ulster plantation' in Oliver Rafferty (ed.), *Irish Catholic identities* (Manchester, 2013), pp 124–136
- , 'The Gaelic Irish and the Ulster Plantation' in John Dooher and Brendan Scott (eds), *Plantation: aspects of seventeenth-century Ulster society* (Lisnaskea, 2013), pp 13–31
- , 'The Louvain Franciscans and the culture of print' in Raymond Gillespie and Ruairi O'hUiginn (eds), *Irish Europe, 1600-1650: writing and learning* (Dublin, 2013), pp 105–120
- , 'Lay spirituality and worship, 1558-1750: holy books and godly readers' in Raymond Gillespie and William G. Neely (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000 : all sorts and conditions* (Dublin, 2002), pp 133–51
- , 'Nature, politics and historians in early modern Ireland' in Mark Williams and Stephen Paul Forrest (eds), *Constructing the past: writing Irish history, 1600-1800* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp 181–196
- , 'Political ideas and their social contexts in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 107–27
- , *Reading Ireland: print, reading and social change in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005)
- , *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern – the quest for a settlement* (Dublin, 2006)
- , 'Temple's fate: reading the Irish rebellion in late seventeenth-century Ireland' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British intervention in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 315–333
- , 'The problems of plantations: material culture and social change in early modern Ireland' in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), pp 43–60
- , 'The religion of the first duke of Ormond' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 101–13
- , 'The social thought of Richard Bellings' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 212–28
- Gillespie, Raymond and Ruairi O'hUiginn (eds), *Irish Europe, 1600-1650: writing and learning* (Dublin, 2013)

- Glickman, Gabriel, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660-72' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxviii, no. 531 (2013), pp 263–291
- , 'Political Conflict and the Memory of the Revolution 1689- c. 1745' in Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The final crisis of the Stuart monarchy: the revolutions of 1688-91 in their British, Atlantic and European contexts* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp 243–272
- , *The English Catholic community, 1688-1745: politics, culture and ideology* (Woodbridge, 2009)
- Gouhier, Pierre, 'Mercenaires irlandais au service de la France (1635-1664)' in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine*, xv, no. 4 (1968), pp 672–690
- Green, Ian, *The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1978)
- Green, Ian and Alexandra Walsham, 'Providence in early modern England' in *The American Historical Review*, 2001, cvi, 638
- Greenspan, Nicole, 'Public scandal, political controversy, and familial conflict in the Stuart courts in Exile: the struggle to convert the Duke of Gloucester in 1654' in *Albion*, xxxv, no. 3 (2003), pp 398–427
- , 'Charles II, exile, and the problem of allegiance' in *The Historical Journal*, liv, no. 1 (2011), pp 73–103
- Gregory, Eilish, *Catholics during the English Revolution, 1642-1660* (Woodbridge, 2021)
- Gres-Gayer, Jacques M., 'An Irish opportunist in Paris : Dr Piers de Girardin' in Nigel Aston (ed.), *Religious change in Europe, 1650-1914* (Oxford, 1997), pp 59–74
- Griffith, Eva, 'James Shirley and the earl of Kildare: speculating playhouses and dwarves à la mode' in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011), pp 352–371
- Groenveld, Simon, 'The English Civil Wars as a cause of the First Anglo-Dutch War, 1640-1652' in *The Historical Journal*, xxx, no. 3 (1987), pp 541–566
- Groot, Jerome de, *Royalist identities* (Basingstoke, 2004)
- Hadfield, Andrew, 'Edmund Spenser's Dublin' in Kathleen Miller and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (2017), pp 55–72
- Halbwachs, Maurice, *On collective memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago, 1992)
- Hardacre, P. H., 'Patronage and purchase in the Irish standing army under Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, 1632-1640' in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, lxxvii, no. 269 (1989), pp 40–45, 94–104
- , 'The royalists in exile during the puritan revolution, 1642-1660' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xvi, no. 4 (1953), pp 353–70
- Harris, Tim, *London crowds in the Reign of Charles II. Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987)
- , 'The British dimension, religion and the shaping of political identities during the reign of Charles II' in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds), *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 131–56

- , 'Perceptions of the crowd in later Stuart London' in Julia Merritt (ed.), *Imagining early modern London: perceptions and portrayals of the city from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge, 2001), pp 250–72
- , *Restoration. Charles II and his kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London, 2005)
- , 'Restoration Ireland – themes and problems' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 1–18
- , 'The Restoration in Britain and Ireland' in Michael J. Braddick (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2015), pp 204–219
- , 'Understanding popular politics in Restoration Britain' in Alan Craig Houston and Steven Pincus (eds), *A nation transformed : England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001), pp 125–53
- Hart, A. R., *A history of the king's serjeants at law in Dublin: honour rather than advantage?* (Dublin, 2000)
- Hayton, David William, 'Anglo-Irish attitudes: changing perceptions of national identity among the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland c.1690-1750' in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, xvii (1987), pp 145–57
- Healy Thomas F. and Sawday Jonathan, *Literature and the English civil war* (1990)
- Herron, Thomas, 'Introduction: a fragmented Renaissance' in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), pp 19–42
- Herron, Thomas and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007)
- (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011)
- Hessayon, Ariel and David Finnegan, 'Introduction: reappraising early modern radicals and radicalisms' in *Varieties of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English radicalism in context* (Farnham, 2011), pp 1–29
- Hibbard, Caroline M., 'Early Stuart Catholicism: revisions and re-revisions' in *The Journal of modern history*, lii, no. 1 (1980), pp 2–34
- , *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983)
- Hicks, Philip Stephen, *Neoclassical history and English culture: from Clarendon to Hume* (Basingstoke, 1996)
- Highley, Christopher, *Catholics writing the nation in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2008)
- Hinds, Peter, *The horrid Popish plot: Roger L'Estrange and the circulation of political discourse in late seventeenth-century London* (Oxford, 2009)
- Hodgers, Don, 'Richard Hadsor (c. 1570-1635), the Solicitor for Irish causes and crown counsel for Irish affairs' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxvi, no. 1 (2005), pp 83–106
- Hodgers, Don, 'Richard Hadsor (c. 1570-1635), the Solicitor for Irish Causes and Crown Counsel for Irish Affairs' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxvi, no. 1 (2005), pp 83–106
- , 'Richard Hadsor (c. 1570-1635), the Solicitor for Irish Causes and Crown Counsel

- for Irish Affairs' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxvi, no. 3 (2007), pp 421–445
- Holohan, Carole, 'The Glamorgan affair, 1643–46' in *History matters* (Dublin, 2004), pp 58–74
- Hoppen, Theodore, 'The Hartlib Circle and the origins of the Dublin Philosophical Society' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xx, no. 77 (1976), pp 40–48
- Hsia, R. Po-chia, *The world of Catholic renewal, 1540–1770* (2nd ed, New York, 2005)
- Hughes, Ann, "'The Accounts of the Kingdom': memory, community and the English Civil War' in *Past & Present*, ccxxx, no. suppl. 11 (2016), pp 311–329
- , "'The Accounts of the Kingdom': memory, community and the English civil war' in *Past & Present*, ccxxx, no. suppl_11 (2016), pp 311–329
- Hutton, Ronald, 'Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*' in *The English Historical Review*, xcvi, no. 382 (1982), pp 70–88
- , *Charles the second: king of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1989)
- , 'The religion of Charles II' in *The Stuart court and Europe: essays in politics and political culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 228–46
- Hynes, Michael, *The mission of Rinuccini: nuncio extraordinary to Ireland, 1645–1649* (Dublin, 1932)
- Ivic, Christopher, "'The memorye of their noble ancestors': collective memory in early modern Ireland' in Oona Frawley (ed.), *Memory Ireland volume 1. History and modernity* (Syracuse, 2011), pp 37–51
- Jackson, Brian, 'Henry Fitzsimon, the Irish Jesuits and Catholic identity in the early modern period' in Oliver Rafferty (ed.), *Irish Catholic identities* (Manchester, 2013), pp 110–123
- , 'Sectarianism: division and dissent in Irish catholicism' in John McCafferty (ed.), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 203–215
- Jacobs, Thomas Donald, 'The constraints of public diplomacy: Don Alonso de Cárdenas in London, 1638–1655' in *The Seventeenth Century*, xxxvi, no. 3 (2021), pp 439–461
- Jardine, Lisa and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": how Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy' in *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990), pp 30–78
- Jefferies, Henry, 'Review article: the English Reformation and the Church of Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xlii, no. 161 (2018), pp 175–180
- Jefferies, Henry A., 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xl, no. 158 (2016), pp 151–170
- Jenner, Mark, 'Print Culture and the Rebuilding of London after the Fire: The Presumptuous Proposals of Valentine Knight' in *Journal of British Studies*, lvi, no. 01 (2017), pp 1–26
- , 'The politics of London air John Evelyn's *Fumifugium* and the Restoration' in *The Historical Journal*, xxxviii, no. 03 (1995), p. 535
- Johnston, Neil, 'State formation in seventeenth-century Ireland: the Restoration financial

- settlement, 1660–62’ in *Parliaments, estates & representation*, xxxvi, no. 2 (2016), pp 115–136
- , ‘Charles II’s legal officers and the Irish restoration land settlement, 1660–5’ in *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 325–354
- Jones, Inga, “‘Holy War’? Religion, ethnicity and massacre during the Irish Rebellion, 1641–2’ in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012), pp 129–142, 225–229
- Kane, Brendan, , ‘A world of honour: aristocratic mentalité’ in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550–1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 482–505
- , ‘Domesticating the Counter-Reformation: Bridging the Bardic and Catholic Traditions in Geoffrey Keating’s “The Three Shafts of Death.”’ in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xl, no. 4 (2009), pp 1029–1044
- , ‘Languages of legitimacy? An Ghaeilge, the earl of Thomond and British politics in the Renaissance Pale, 1600–24’ in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c.1540–1660* (Dublin, 2011), pp 267–279
- ‘Making the Irish European: Gaelic honor politics and its continental contexts’ in *Renaissance Quarterly*, lxi, no. 4 (2008), pp 1139–1166
- , ‘Scandal, Wentworth’s deputyship and the breakdown of Stuart honour politics’ in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550–1700: colonization and its consequences : essays presented to Nicholas Canny* (Dublin, 2011), pp 147–62
- , *The politics and culture of honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541–1641* (2010)
- Kearney, Hugh F., ‘The court of wards and liveries in Ireland, 1622–41’ in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C*, lvii (1955), pp 29–68
- , *Strafford in Ireland, 1633–41: a study in absolutism* (Manchester, 1959)
- Keay, Anna, *The magnificent monarch: Charles II and the ceremonies of power* (London, 2008)
- Keblusek, Marika, ‘A tortoise in the shell: royalist and Anglican experience of exile in the 1650s’ in Philip Major (ed.), *Literatures of exile in the English revolution and its aftermath, 1640–1660* (Farnham, 2010), pp 79–90
- Kelley, Donald R. (ed.), *Versions of history from antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven, 1991)
- Kelly, William P., ‘Ormond and Strafford, pupil and mentor?’ in *Journal of the Butler Society*, iv, no. 1 (1997), pp 88–106
- Kemp, Anthony, *The estrangement of the past: a study in the origins of modern historical consciousness* (Oxford, 1991)
- Kennedy, Máire, “‘Politicks, Coffee and News’: the dublin book trade in the eighteenth century’ in *Dublin Historical Record*, lviii, no. 1 (2005), pp 76–85
- Kenny, Colum, *King’s Inns and the kingdom of Ireland: the Irish ‘Inn of Court’, 1541–1800* (Cork, 1991)
- Kenyon, J. P. (ed.), *The Stuart constitution, 1603–1688: documents and commentary* (London, 1969)
- Kettering, Sharon, ‘Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV’ in *The Historical Journal*,

- xxxvi, no. 1 (1993), pp 69–87
- Kewes, Paulina, 'History and its uses: introduction' in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino (CA), 2006), pp 1–30
- Kidd, Colin, *British identities before nationalism : ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999)
- , 'Protestantism, constitutionalism and British identity under the later Stuarts' in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British consciousness and identity : the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 321–42
- Kishlansky, Mark A., 'JSM' in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp xvii–xxxvi
- Knights, Mark, 'How rational was the later Stuart public sphere?' in Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (eds), *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England* (Manchester, 2007), pp 252–67
- , *The devil in disguise : deception, delusion, and fanaticism in the early English enlightenment* (Oxford, 2011)
- , 'Religion, anti-popery and corruption' in Michael J. Braddick and Phil Withington (eds), *Popular culture and political agency in early modern England and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp 181–202
- , *Representation and misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain : partisanship and political culture* (Oxford, 2004)
- , 'Roger L'Estrange, Printed Petitions and the Problem of Intentionality' in John Morrow and Jonathan Scott (eds), *Liberty, authority, formality : political ideas and culture, 1600-1900* (Exeter, 2008), pp 113–30
- , 'Shifting ideologies in Stuart England' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxviii, no. 1 (1999), pp 112–18
- , 'The Tory interpretation of history in the rage of parties' in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 347–66
- Lake, Peter, 'From Leicester his Commonwealth to Sejanus his Fall: Ben Jonson and the politics of Roman (Catholic) virtue' in Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'protestant nation': religious politics and identity in early modern England* (Manchester, 2005), pp 128–61
- , 'Reading Clarke's lives in political and polemical context' in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Writing Lives* (2012), pp 293–318
- , 'Retrospective: Wentworth's political world in revisionist and post-revisionist perspective' in Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 252–83
- Lantry, Margaret, 'Some Cork Neo-Latin writers', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 108 (2003), pp 51-74 (2003)
- Leerssen, Joseph, *Mere Irish and Fíor-ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Cork, 1996)
- Ligon, Edward, *Revolution remembered: seditious memories after the British Civil Wars*

- (Manchester, 2019)
- Lenihan, Pádraig, 'Confederate Ireland 1642-49: A Constitutional and Political Analysis Mícheál Ó Siochrú' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvi (1999), pp 135–136
- , 'Catholicism and the Irish confederate armies: for God or king?' in *Recusant History*, xxii (1994), pp 182–98
- , *Confederate Catholics at war, 1642-49* (Cork, 2001)
- , 'Confederate military strategy, 1643-7' in Mícheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis : Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 158–75
- , 'Confederate Catholics and Covenanters, 1644-6' in William Kelly and John Young (eds), *Scotland and the Ulster plantations : explorations in the British settlements of Stuart Ireland* (Dublin, 2009)
- , *The last cavalier: Richard Talbot (1631-91)* (Dublin, 2014)
- Lennon, Colm, 'Ireland in the renaissance: recent work and new directions' in *Renaissance Quarterly*, lxvi, no. 2 (2013), pp 568–580
- , 'Pedagogy and reform: the influence of Peter White on Irish scholarship in the Renaissance' in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), pp 43–51
- , 'Political thought of Irish counter-reformation churchmen : the testimony of the "Analecta" of Bishop David Rothe' in *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 181–202
- , 'Recusancy and counter-reformation' in *Two thousand years of Christianity and Ireland : lectures delivered in Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, 2001-2002* (Dublin, 2006), pp 119–132
- , *Richard Stanihurst the Dubliner 1547-1618: a biography with a Stanihurst text on Ireland's past* (Dublin, 1981)
- , 'Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618) and Old English identity' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxi, no. 82 (1978), pp 121–43
- , *The lords of Dublin in the age of reformation* (Dublin, 1989)
- Lindley, David, 'Embarrassing Ben: the masques for Frances Howard' in *English Literary Renaissance*, xvi, no. 2 (1986), pp 343–359
- Lindley, Keith, 'The impact of the 1641 rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii (1972), pp 143–76
- Lindquist, Thea, 'John Taylor (1597-1655), English Catholic Gentleman and Caroline Diplomat' in *Recusant History*, xxviii, no. 1 (2006), pp 75–94
- Little, Patrick, "'Blood and friendship" : the Earl of Essex's protection of the Earl of Clanricarde's interests, 1641-6' in *English Historical Review*, cxii (1997), pp 927–41
- , 'The Marquess of Ormond and the English parliament, 1645-1647' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 83–99
- , *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2004)

- , 'Introduction: the confederate wars revisited' in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 1–19
- Lloyd, Howell A., 'Constitutionalism' in Mark Goldie (ed.), *The Cambridge history of political thought 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 1991), pp 25–297
- Loeber, Rolf, 'English and Irish sources for the history of Dutch economic activity in Ireland, 1600–89' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, viii, no. 1 (1981), pp 70–85
- Loeber, Rolf and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, 'The survival of books formerly owned by members of Old English and Gaelic Irish families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011), pp 280–290
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute, 'Church Discipline in a Biconfessional Country: Ireland in a European Context' in Herman Willem Roodenburg and Petrus Cornelis Spierenburg (eds), *Social control in Europe: vol. 1. 1500-1800* (Columbus, 2004), pp 99–112
- Lowe, John, 'Charles I and the confederation of Kilkenny, 1643-9' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xiv, no. 53 (1965), pp 1–19
- , 'Some aspects of the wars in Ireland, 1641-9' in *Irish Sword*, iv, no. 15 (1959), pp 81–7
- , 'The campaign of the Irish royalist army in Cheshire, November 1643-January 1644' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, cxi (1960), pp 47–76
- , 'The Glamorgan Mission to Ireland 1645-6' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 4 (1964), pp 155–196
- Lozano, Cristina Bravo, *Spain and the Irish Mission, 1609-1707* (2018)
- Lynch, Michael, 'National identity in Ireland and Scotland, 1500-1640' in Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and Keith John Stringer (eds), *Nations, nationalism and patriotism in the European past* (Copenhagen, 1994), pp 109–36
- Lyons, Mary Ann, *Franco-Irish relations 1500-1610: politics, migration and trade* (Woodbridge, 2003)
- , 'St Anthony's College, Louvain: Gaelic texts and articulating Irish identity, 1607-40' in Raymond Gillespie and Ruairi Ó hUiginn (eds), *Irish Europe, 1600-1650: writing and learning* (Dublin, 2013), pp 21–43
- , 'The limits of Old English liberty: the case of Thomas Arthur, MD (1593-1675) in Limerick and Dublin' in Salvador Ryan and Clodagh Tait (eds), *Religion and politics in urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750* (Dublin, 2016), pp 70–88
- , 'Towards a Catholic history for a Catholic nation: the contribution of Irish emigre scholars in Europe, c.1580-c.1630' in Jacqueline R. Hill and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Representing Irish religious histories: historiography, ideology and practice* (Basingstoke, 2017), pp 3–19
- Mac Cuarta, Brian, *Catholic revival in the North of Ireland, 1603-41* (Dublin, 2007)
- , 'A document concerning the Irish privy council's policy towards Catholicism (1629)' in *Archivum Hibernicum*, lxii (2009), pp 150–3

- , 'Irish government lists of Catholic personnel, c. 1613' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxviii (2015), pp 63–102
- , 'Scots Catholics in Ulster, 1610–41' in *The Scots in early Stuart Ireland : union and separation in two kingdoms* (Manchester, 2016), pp 141–168
- MacGillivray, Royce, 'Edmund Borlase, historian of the Irish rebellion' in *Studia Hibernica*, no. 9 (1969), pp 86–92
- , *Restoration historians and the English civil war* (Hague, 1974)
- Macinnes, Allan and Jane Ohlmeyer, *The Stuart kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (Dublin, 2002)
- Maddison, R. E. W., 'Robert Boyle and the Irish Bible' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, xli, no. 1 (1958), pp 81–101
- Maginn, Christopher, 'Civilizing' *Gaelic Leinster: the extension of Tudor rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole lordships* (Dublin, 2005)
- Malcolm, Alistair, 'Pretending to be catholic? Sir Henry Bennet, the alliance with Spain, and the Stuart dalliance with Rome, 1656–62' in Robin Eagles and Coleman Dennehy (eds), *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and His World: Restoration Court, Politics and Diplomacy* (London, 2020), pp 31–51
- Malcolm, Joyce Lee, 'All the king's men: the impact of the crown's Irish soldiers on the English civil war' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxii, no. 83 (1979), pp 239–264
- Malone, Nessa, 'Henry Burnell and Richard Netterville: lawyers in civic life in the English Pale, 1562–1615' in Salvador Ryan, Clodagh Tait and Colm Lennon (eds), *Religion and politics in urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750* (Dublin, 2016), pp 89–107
- , 'Henry Burnell's Landgartha: family, law and revolution on the Irish stage' in *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 65–88
- Margey, Annaleigh, 'Plantations, 1550–1641' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550–1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 555–583
- Marsh, Bethany, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641–1651' in *Midland History*, xlii, no. 2 (2017), p. 194
- Marshall, Alan, 'Irish spies and plotters in seventeenth-century Europe' in *Irish Studies Review*, iii, no. 9 (1994), pp 7–12
- Marshall, Alan, *Intelligence and espionage in the English Republic c. 1600–60* (Manchester, 2023)
- , '"Secret Wheelles": clandestine information, espionage, and European intelligence' in Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking (eds), *Beyond ambassadors: consuls, missionaries, and spies in premodern diplomacy* (Leiden, 2020), pp 185–216
- Martin, Henri-Jean, *The history and power of writing*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago; London, 1994)
- McArdle, Aran, '"Necessarye to keepe order in Ireland": martial law and the 1641 rebellion' in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Law and revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2020), pp 47–64
- McCafferty, John, 'John Bramhall and the Church of Ireland in the 1630s' in Alan Ford,

- James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (eds), *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), pp 100–11, 246–49
- , “‘Precedent Covenants’: Daniel Maclise’s marriage of Strongbow and Aoife and the writers of Irish history’ in Judith Devlin and Howard Clarke (eds), *European encounters : essays in memory of Albert Lovett* (Dublin, 2003), pp 270–281
- , ‘The communion of saints and Catholic reformation in early seventeenth-century Ireland’ in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Community in early modern Ireland*. (Dublin, 2006), pp 199–214
- , *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-1641* (Cambridge, 2007)
- McCafferty, John, ‘Irish bishops, their biographers and the experience of revolution, 1656-1686’ in Michael J. Braddick and David L. Smith (eds), *The experience of revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 253–269
- , ‘John Bramhall’s second Irish career, 1660-3’ in James Kelly, John McCafferty and Charles Ivar McGrath (eds), *People, politics and power: essays on Irish history 1660-1850 in honour of James I. McGuire* (Dublin, 2009), pp 16–27
- , ‘Leuven as a centre for Irish religious, academic and political thought’ in Éamonn Mac Aodha and Aileen Murray (eds), *Ireland and Belgium: past connections and continuing ties* (Brussels, 2014), pp 27–48
- , ‘The churches and peoples of the Three Kingdoms, 1603-1641’ in Jenny Wormald (ed.), *The seventeenth century* (Oxford, 2008), pp 51–8
- McCaughey, Terence, *Dr Bedell and Mr King: the making of the Irish Bible* (Dublin, 2001)
- McClain, Lisa, *Let we be damned: practical innovation and lived experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642* (London, 2004)
- McCormack, Danielle, *The Stuart restoration and the English in Ireland* (Martlesham, 2016)
- McCormick, Ted, “‘A proportionable mixture’: William Petty, political arithmetic, and the transmutation of the Irish’ in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 123–40
- , ‘Political Arithmetic and Sacred History: Population Thought in the English Enlightenment, 1660–1750’ in *Journal of British Studies*, lii, no. 4 (2013), pp 829–857
- , ‘Restoration politics, 1660–1691’ in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland, vol. II: 1550-1730* (2018), pp 96–119
- , *William Petty and the ambitions of political arithmetic* (Oxford, 2009)
- McElligott, Jason, *Royalism, print and censorship in revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, 2007)
- McElligott, Jason and David Smith, *Royalists and royalism during the Interregnum* (Manchester, 2010)
- McGowan-Doyle, Valerie, ‘Elizabeth I, the Old English and the rhetoric of counsel’ in Brendan Kane and Valerie McGowan-Doyle (eds), *Elizabeth I and Ireland*

- (Cambridge, 2014), pp 163–183
- , *The Book of Howth: Elizabethan conquest and the Old English* (Cork, 2011)
- McGrath, Bríd, ‘Ireland and the third university attendance at the inns of court, 1603–1649’ in David Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650* (Dublin, 2004), pp 217–236
- , ‘Parliament men and the Confederate association’ in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 90–105
- , ‘Poets and patronage under Falkland and Wentworth: the commendatory verses to Richard Bellings’s *Arcadia* (1624) and James Shirley’s *The Royal Master* (1638)’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxxiv (2021), pp 7–26
- , ‘The Irish elections of 1640–1641’ in *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 186–206
- , *The operations of the Irish House of Commons, 1613–48* (Dublin, 2023)
- , ‘The recruiter returns to the Irish Parliament, 1642–48’ in *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641–50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 119–137
- McGuire, J.I., ‘Why was Ormond dismissed in 1669?’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii, no. 71 (1973), pp 295–312
- McHugh, Jason, ‘Catholic clerical responses to the restoration: the case of Nicholas French’ in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 99–122
- , ‘The obligation of Titus: a theological opinion concerning worthiness for episcopal office in the diocese of Ferns, 1645’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxx (2017), pp 21–40
- McKenny, Kevin, ‘The restoration land settlement in Ireland: a statistical interpretation’ in Dennehy Coleman (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 35–52
- McLaughlin, Joseph, ‘New light on Richard Hadsor. II: Richard Hadsor’s “Discourse” on the Irish state, 1604’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxx (1997), pp 337–53
- McShane, Bronagh, *Irish women in religious orders, 1530–1700: suppression, migration and reintegration* (Woodbridge, 2022)
- McShane, Bronagh, ‘Negotiating religious change and conflict: Female religious communities in early modern Ireland, c .1530– c .1641’ in *British Catholic History*, xxxiii, no. 3 (2017), pp 357–382
- Merritt, Julia F., ‘Introduction. The historical reputation of Thomas Wentworth’ in Merritt, Julia F. (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 1–23
- Miller, John, *Popery and politics in England 1660–1688* (London, 1973)
- Miller, Kathleen, ‘Introduction’ in Kathleen Miller and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (2017), pp 1–15
- Miller, Kathleen and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (The Manchester Spenser, Manchester, 2017)
- Millett, Benignus, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665* (Rome, 1964)

- Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and reformed: the Roman and Protestant churches in English Protestant thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995)
- , *Laudian and royalist polemic in seventeenth-century England: the career and writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007)
- , 'Thomas Wentworth and the political thought of the Personal Rule' in Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 133–56
- Montaño, John Patrick, *The roots of English colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011)
- Moody, T. W., 'Early modern Ireland' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, III: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp xxxix–lxiii
- Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne, *A new history of Ireland* (2009)
- Mooney, Canice, 'Father Francis Magruairk, O.F.M.' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, ii, no. 2 (1957), pp 229–252
- Morales, Oscar Recio, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600-1825* (Dublin, 2010)
- Moran, Gerard P. and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Galway: history & society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1996)
- Morgan, Hiram, 'Beyond Spenser? A historiographical introduction to the study of political ideas in early modern Ireland' in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 9–21
- Morgan, Rhys, *The Welsh and the shaping of early modern Ireland, 1558-1641* (Woodbridge, 2014)
- Moriarty, Michael, 'The problem of freedom in Arnauld's *Defence of Jansenius*' in Sarah Alyn Stacey and Véronique Desnain (eds), *Culture and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century France and Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), pp 103–116
- Morrill, John, 'An Irish Protestation? oaths and the Confederation of Kilkenny' in *Popular culture and political agency in early modern England and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp 243–265
- , 'Cromwell, Parliament, Ireland and a Commonwealth in Crisis: 1652 Revisited*' in *Parliamentary History*, xxx, no. 2 (2011), pp 193–214
- , *Revolt in the provinces: the people of England and the tragedies of war 1630-1648* (London, 1999)
- , *Stuart Britain: A Very Short Introduction* (2005)
- , 'The Drogheda massacre in Cromwellian context' in *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 242–265
- , 'The English Revolution as a civil war' in *Historical Research*, xc, no. 250 (2017), pp 726–741
- , *The nature of the English revolution* (London, 1993)
- , 'The war(s) of the three kingdoms' in Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The new British history: founding a modern state 1603-1715* (London, 1999), pp 65–91
- Morrill, John, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf (eds), *Public duty and private conscience in seventeenth-century England* (1993)

- Morrissey, Mary, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford, 2011)
- Mortimer, Sarah, *Reason and religion in the English revolution: the challenge of socinianism* (Cambridge, 2010)
- , 'Sovereignty beyond natural law: Adam Blackwood's Catholic royalism' in *History of European Ideas*, xlviii, no. 6 (2022), pp 682–697
- , 'Warfare, Christianity, and the law of nature' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lxxxiii, no. 4 (2022), pp 613–627
- Muldoon, Andrew, 'Recusants, church-papists, and "comfortable" missionaries: assessing the post-Reformation English Catholic community' in *Catholic Historical Review*, lxxxvi, no. 2 (2000), pp 242–257
- Murphy, Elaine, *Ireland and the War at Sea, 1641–1653* (Woodbridge, 2012)
- Murphy, John, 'Inchiquin's changes of religion' in *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, lxxii (1967), pp 58–68
- , 'The expulsion of the Irish from Cork in 1644' in *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, lxix (1964), pp 123–131
- , 'The politics of Munster protestants, 1641–9' in *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, lxxvi (1971), pp 1–20
- Murtagh, Harman, 'Irish soldiers abroad, 1600–1800' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 294–314
- Neufeld, Matthew, *The Civil Wars after 1660: public remembering in late Stuart England* (Woodbridge, 2013)
- Nicholas, Donald Louis, *Mr. Secretary Nicholas (1593–1669): his life and letters* (London, 1955)
- , *Mr. Secretary Nicholas (1593–1669): his life and letters* (London, 1955)
- Ní Chuilleanáin, Eiléan, 'Translation and collaboration in Renaissance Dublin' in Kathleen Miller and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Dublin: Renaissance city of literature* (2017), pp 139–157
- Noonan, Kathleen M., "'Martyrs in Flames": Sir John Temple and the conception of the Irish in English martyrologies' in *Albion*, xxxvi, no. 2 (2004), pp 223–255
- Nora, Pierre, 'Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire' in *Representations*, xxvi (1989), pp 7–24
- Norbrook, David, *Poetry and politics in the English renaissance* (Oxford, 1984)
- Ó Buachalla, Breandán, 'James our true king: the ideology of Irish royalism in the seventeenth century' in David Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political thought in Ireland since the seventeenth century* (London, 1993), pp 7–35
- Ó Ciardha, Éamonn, 'Irish soldiers and regiments in the French service before 1690' in *Franco-Irish military connections, 1590–1945* (Dublin, 2009), pp 15–31
- , "'The Unkinde Deserter" and "The Bright Duke": contrasting views of the dukes of Ormonde in the Irish royalist tradition' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610–1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 177–93
- Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, 'A typical anomaly? The success of the Irish counter-

- reformation' in Judith Devlin and Howard Clarke (eds), *European encounters : essays in memory of Albert Lovett*. (Dublin, 2003), pp 78–94
- , *Catholic Europe, 1592-1648: centre and peripheries* (Oxford, 2015)
- , *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645-49* (Oxford, 2002)
- , 'Catholic Reform in Ireland in a European Context' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, cvi, no. 424 (2017), pp 456–465
- , *Confessionalism and Mobility in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford, 2021)
- , 'Conflicting loyalties, conflicted rebels: political and religious allegiance among the confederate Catholics of Ireland' in *English historical review*, cxix, no. 483 (2004), pp 851–872
- , 'Counter Reformation: the Catholic Church, 1550–1641' in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 171–195
- , 'Disappointing friends: France and the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, 1642-48' in *E-rea: revue d'études anglophones*, xi, no. 2 (2014)
- , 'Disrupted and disruptive: continental influence on the Confederate Catholics of Ireland' in Allan Macinnes and Ohlmeyer (eds), *The Stuart kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (Dublin, 2002), pp 135–50
- , 'Guerres de religion ou guerres ethnique? Les conflits religieux en Irlande, 1500-1650' in *Revue historique*, dcxlix (2009), pp 65–97
- , 'Imagining political representation in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Community in early modern Ireland*. (Dublin, 2006), pp 34–50
- , 'Irish diplomatic missions to Rome during the 1640s' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 395–408
- , 'The alternative establishment: the evolution of the Irish Catholic hierarchy 1600-1649' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity: alternative models of the church in Britain and Ireland, c. 1570-c. 1700* (Manchester, 2013), pp 190–206
- , 'The consolidation of Irish Catholicism within a hostile imperial framework: a comparative study of early modern Ireland and Hungary' in Hilary Carey (ed.), *Empires of religion* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp 25–42
- , 'The Jesuits and issues of political and ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, 1620–1648' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, ciii, no. 412 (2015), pp 414–427
- , 'Theory in the absence of fact: Irish women and the Catholic Reformation' in Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (eds), *Studies on medieval and early modern women: pawns or players?* (Dublin, 2003), pp 141–154
- , 'The poet and the mutinies: Pádraigín Haicéad and the Munster army in 1647' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C*, cviii (2008), pp 65–74
- , "'Though hereticks and politicians should misinterpret their good zeale": political ideology and Catholicism in early modern Ireland' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland : kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp

- , 'Vatican diplomacy and the mission of Rinuccini to Ireland' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlvii (1993), pp 78–88
- Ó Muraíle, Nollaig, 'Aspects of intellectual life in seventeenth century Galway' in Gerard Moran (ed.), *Galway : history & society : interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1996), pp 149–212
- Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Atrocity, Codes of Conduct and the Irish in the British Civil Wars 1641-1653' in *Past & Present*, cxcv (2007), pp 55–86
- , 'Catholic Confederates and the constitutional relationship between Ireland and England, 1641-1649' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2004), pp 207–229
- , 'Civil autonomy and military power in early modern Ireland' in *Journal of Early Modern History*, xv, no. 1–2 (2011), pp 31–57
- , *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999)
- , *God's executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the conquest of Ireland* (London, 2008)
- , *Kingdoms in crisis : Ireland in the 1640s. Essays in honour of Donal Cregan* (Dublin, 2001)
- , 'Propaganda, rumour and myth: Oliver Cromwell and the massacre at Drogheda' in David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan and Clodagh Tait (eds), *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 266–282
- , 'Rebuilding the past: the transformation of early modern Irish history' in *The Seventeenth Century*, xxxiv, no. 3 (2019), pp 381–404
- , 'The duke of Lorraine and the international struggle for Ireland, 1649-1653' in *The historical journal*, xlviii, no. 4 (2005), pp 905–32
- Ó Siochrú, Micheál and David Brown, 'The Down Survey and the Cromwellian land settlement' in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 584–607
- O'Connor, Thomas, 'A justification for foreign intervention in early modern Ireland' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820* (Dublin, 2003), pp 14–31
- , 'Aspects of the role of the Holy Office in Irish church affairs in the early seventeenth century' in *Marsh's Library – a mirror on the world: law, learning and libraries, 1650-1750* (Dublin, 2009), pp 88–103
- , 'Custom, authority, and tolerance in Irish political thought: David Rothe's *Analecta Sacra et Mira* (1616)' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, lxxv, no. 2 (2000), pp 133–56
- , *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland, and Rome* (Dublin, 2008)
- , *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001)
- ,
- Towards the invention of the Irish Catholic nation: Thomas Messingham's *Florilegium* (1624)' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, lxiv, no. 2 (1999), pp 157–77

- O'Connor, Thomas and Mary Ann Lyons, *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820* (Dublin, 2003)
- , *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006)
- O'Dwyer, Michael, 'The adventures of Bishop Edmund O'Dwyer, 1641-1654' in *Studies: An Irish quarterly review*, xxii, no. 85 (1933), pp 12–28
- O'Hara, David, *English newsbooks and Irish Rebellion, 1641-1649* (Dublin, 2006)
- Ohlmeyer, Jane, ---, 'A failed revolution? the Irish Confederate war in its European context' in *History Ireland*, iii, no. 1 (1995), pp 24–28
- , 'A laboratory for empire?: early modern Ireland and English imperialism' in Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004), pp 26–60
- , 'Aristocratic identity formation in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Elisabeth Marieke Geever and Mirella Marini (eds), *Dynastic identity in early modern Europe: rulers, aristocrats and the formation of identities* (Surry, 2015), pp 25–42
- , 'Calculating debt: the Irish statute Staple records' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvii (2000), pp 63–65
- , "'Civilizing of those rude partes': colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The origins of empire: British overseas enterprise to the close of the 17th century* (Oxford, 1998), pp 124–47
- , *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: the career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Dublin, 1993)
- , 'Introduction: Ireland in the early modern world' in *The Cambridge history of Ireland. Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2018), pp 1–19
- , 'Introduction' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *A short view of the state and condicon of the kingdome of Ireland/The history of the rebellion and civil wars in Ireland* (Oxford, 2020), pp xiii–lviii
- , 'Introduction' in Ohlmeyer Jane and Ó Ciardha Éamonn (eds), *The Irish statute staple books, 1596-1687* (Dublin, 1998)
- , 'Introduction: "For God, king or country?": political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 1–31
- , *Ireland from independence to occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995)
- , 'Ireland independent: Confederate foreign policy and international relations during the mid-seventeenth century' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 89–111
- , 'Irish privateers during the civil war, 1642–50' in *The Mariner's Mirror*, lxxvi, no. 2 (1990), pp 119–133
- , 'Irish recusant lawyers during the reign of Charles I' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*. (Dublin, 2001), pp 63–89
- , *Making Ireland English: the Irish aristocracy in the seventeenth century* (New Haven, 2012)
- , *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland: kingdom or colony* (Cambridge, 2000)

- , 'Power, politics and parliament in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Maija Jansson (ed.), *Realities of representation: state building in early modern Europe and European America*, (Basingstoke, 2007), pp 113–32
- , 'Seventeenth-century Ireland and Scotland and their wider worlds' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 457–484
- , 'Strafford, the "Londonderry Business" and the "New British History"' in Julia F. Merritt (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 209–29
- , 'The Irish peers, political power and parliament, 1640-1641' in Ciarán Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 161–185
- , 'The "Antrim Plot" of 1641 - a myth?' in *The historical journal*, xxxvii (1994)
- , 'The aristocracy in seventeenth-century Ireland: wider contexts and comparisons' in *History Compass*, xii, no. 1 (2014), pp 33–41
- , 'The "old" British histories?' in *The Historical Journal*, 1, no. 2 (2007), pp 499–512
- Ohlmeyer, Jane and Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Introduction. 1641: fresh contexts and perspectives' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 1–16
- Ohlmeyer, Jane and Steven Zwicker, 'John Dryden, the house of Ormond, and the politics of Anglo-Irish patronage' in *The historical journal*, xlix, no. 03 (2006), pp 677–706
- O'Neill, Stephen, '1599: 'Sir John Oldcastle': the Irish wars and the Elizabethan stage' in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), pp 150–169
- , *Staging Ireland: representations in Shakespeare and renaissance drama* (Dublin, 2007)
- O'Sullivan, M. D., 'The lay school at Galway in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xv, no. 1/2 (1931), pp 1–32
- Palmer, Thomas, *Jansenism and England: moral rigorism across the confessions* (Oxford, 2018)
- Peacey, Jason, 'Led by the hand: manucaptors and patronage at Lincoln's Inn in the seventeenth century' in *Journal of Legal History*, xviii, no. 1 (1997), pp 26–44
- Peck, Linda Levy, 'Ambivalence and Jacobean courts' in David Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (eds), *The theatrical city : culture, theatre and politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 117–36
- , 'Beyond the Pale: John Cusacke and the language of Absolutism in early Stuart Britain' in *The Historical Journal*, xli, no. 1 (1998), pp 121–149
- , *Court patronage and corruption in early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1990)
- , 'Kingship, counsel and law in early Stuart Britain' in John Greville Agard Pocock (ed.), *The varieties of British political thought, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1993), pp 80–115

- , 'Peers, patronage and the politics of history' in John Alexander Guy (ed.), *The reign of Elizabeth I: court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 87–108
- , *The mental world of the Jacobean court* (Cambridge, 1991)
- Perceval-Maxwell, Michael, 'Sir Robert Southwell and the duke of Ormond's reflections on the 1640s' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 229–47
- , 'The Anglesey-Ormond-Castlehaven dispute, 1680-1682' in *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 213–230
- , 'The Irish restoration land settlement and its historians' in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 19–34
- , *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641* (Québec, 1994)
- Pestana, Carla Gardina, *Protestant empire: religion and the making of the British Atlantic world* (Oxford, 2009)
- Peters, Erin, *Commemoration and oblivion in Royalist print culture, 1658-1667* (London, 2017)
- , "'The deep stains these Wars will leave behind': psychological wounds and curative methods in the English Civil Wars' in David J. Appleby and Andrew Hopper (eds), *Battle-scarred: mortality, medical care and military welfare in the British civil wars* (Manchester, 2018), pp 156–173
- , 'Trauma narratives of the English Civil War' in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, xvi, no. 1 (2016), pp 78–94
- Pocock, John G. A., 'British history: a plea for a new subject' in *Journal of Modern History*, xlvii (1975), pp 601–28
- , *The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition* (Princeton, 1975)
- Pollmann, Judith, *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2017)
- Porter, Linda, *Royal renegades: the children of Charles I and the English civil wars* (London, 2016)
- Power, Gerald, 'An expression of Old English identity : Richard Nugent's "Cynthia" (1604)' in *History studies: University of Limerick History Society journal*, vii (2006), pp 66–81
- Prest, Wilfred, 'Legal education of the gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560-1640' in *Past & Present*, no. 38 (1967), pp 20–39
- Price, Liam, 'The Case of Phelim MacFeagh O'Byrne and the Lands of Ranelagh' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xiii, no. 2 (1943), pp 50–59
- Pritchard, Arnold, *Catholic loyalism in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1979)
- Questier, Michael, 'Arminianism, Catholicism, and Puritanism in England during the 1630s' in *Historical Journal*, xlix, no. 1 (2006), pp 53–78
- , 'Conformity, Catholicism and the law' in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and orthodoxy in the English church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 237–61
- , *Catholicism and community in early modern England: politics, aristocratic*

- patronage and religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006)
- , 'Catholic loyalism in early Stuart England' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxiii, no. 504 (2008), pp 1132–1165
- , *Dynastic politics and the British reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford, 2019)
- , 'Loyalty, religion and state power in early modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean oath of allegiance' in *Historical Journal*, xl (1997), pp 311–29
- , *Newsletters from the Caroline Court, 1631-1638: Catholicism and the politics of personal rule* (Cambridge, 2005)
- , 'The government of this church by Catholic bishops hath always been a strength and defence unto the kingdom': episcopacy and the Catholic community in early seventeenth-century Sussex and beyond' in Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield and Paul Quinn (eds), *Art, literature and religion in early modern Sussex: culture and conflict* (Farnham, 2014), pp 169–194
- Rankin, Deana, *Between Spenser and Swift: English writing in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005)
- , "'If Egypt now enslav'd or free a kingdom or a province be': translating Corneille in restoration Dublin' in Sarah Alyn Stacey and Véronique Desnain (eds), *Culture and conflict in seventeenth century France and Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), pp 194–209
- , 'Introduction' in Deana Rankin (ed.), *Landgartha: a Tragie-comedy* (Dublin, 2013)
- , "'More Worthy Patronesse": Elizabeth Cary and Ireland' in Heather Wolfe (ed.), *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp 203–22
- , 'The Emergence of English Print and Literature, 1630–1730' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Ireland, Volume 2, 1550-1730* (Cambridge, 2017), pp 458–481
- Rapin, René, *Mémoires du P. René Rapin de la Compagnie de Jésus sur l'église et la société, la cour, la ville, et le jansénisme* (Farnborough, 1972)
- Rhodes, J. T., 'English roots and French connections: the English Benedictine nuns in Paris' in *Recusant History*, xxxi, no. 4 (2013), pp 535–547
- Richardson, R. C., 'Re-fighting the English revolution: John Nalson (1637–1686) and the frustrations of late seventeenth-century English historiography' in *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, xiv, no. 1 (2007), pp 1–20
- Rigolot, François, 'The renaissance crisis of exemplarity' in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, lix, no. 4 (1998), pp 557–563
- Robertson, Barry, *Royalists at war in Scotland and Ireland, 1638-1650* (Farnham, 2014)
- Robinson, Andrew, "'Clotworthy is a zealous man, yet hath his purse well lined": Sir John Clotworthy, John Davies and the politics of supply, 1644–45' in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Ireland in crisis: war, politics and religion, 1641-50* (Manchester, 2020), pp 79–99
- Rodén, Marie-Louise, *Church politics in seventeenth-century Rome: Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden and the squadrone volante* (Stockholm, 2000)
- Ronan, Myles V., 'Mulhuddart' in *Dublin Historical Record*, ii, no. 4 (1940), pp 158–

- Routledge, F. J., 'The Negotiations between Charles II and the Cardinal de Retz, 1658–59' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vi (1956), pp 49–68
- Rowlands, M. B., 'Recusant women, 1560-1640' in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500-1800* (London, 1985), pp 149–80
- Russell, Conrad, 'Parliament, the Royal Supremacy and the Church' in *Parliamentary History*, xix, no. 1 (2000), pp 27–37
- , 'The British problem and the English Civil War' in *History*, lxxii, no. 236 (1987), pp 395–415
- , *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford, 1990)
- Ryan, Salvador, Clodagh Tait and Colm Lennon, *Religion and politics in urban Ireland, c.1500-c.1750* (2015)
- Salmon, J. H. M., 'Catholic resistance theory, Ultramontanism, and the royalist response, 1580—1620' in Mark Goldie (ed.), *The Cambridge history of political thought 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 1991), pp 219–253
- Sato, Sora, *Edmund Burke as historian* (Cham, 2018)
- Schultz, Karie, 'Catholic political thought and Calvinist ecclesiology in Samuel Rutherford's *Lex, Rex* (1644)' in *Journal of British Studies*, lxi, no. 1 (2022), pp 162–184
- Scott, Brendan, 'Accusations against Murtagh King, 1638' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxxv (2012), pp 76–81
- Scott, David, 'Rethinking royalist politics, 1642-9' in John Adamson (ed.), *The English civil war: conflict and contexts, 1640-1649* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp 36–60 and 240–52
- Scott, Eva, *The king in exile: the wanderings of Charles II from June 1646 to July 1654* (London, 1905)
- , *The travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders, 1654-1660* (London, 1907)
- Scott, Jonathan, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000)
- Seaward, Paul, 'Clarendon, Tacitism, and the Civil Wars of Europe' in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 285–306
- Serjeantson, Deirdre, 'Richard Nugent's Cynthia (1604): a Catholic sonnet sequence in London, Westmeath, and Spanish Flanders' in David Coleman (ed.), *Region, religion and English renaissance literature* (Aldershot, 2013), pp 67–86
- Serjeantson, R. W., 'Elizabeth Cary and the Great Tew Circle' in Heather Wolfe (ed.), *The literary career and legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp 165–82
- Shagan, Ethan, *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation': religious politics and identity in early modern England* (Manchester, 2009)
- , 'Constructing discord: ideology, propaganda, and English responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxvi (1997), pp 4–34

- , 'Early modern violence from memory to history : a historiographical essay' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 17–36
- , 'Introduction: English Catholic history in context' in *Catholics and the 'protestant nation' : religious politics and identity in early modern England* (Manchester, 2005), pp 1–21
- Sharpe, Kevin, *Criticism and compliment: the politics of literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987)
- , *Reading revolutions: the politics of reading in early modern England* (London, 2000)
- Sharpe, Kevin and Peter Lake, 'Introduction' in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and politics in early Stuart England* (London, 1994), pp 1–20; 321–25
- Shaw, Catherine M., 'Landgartha and the Irish dilemma' in *Éire-Ireland*, xiii (1978), pp 26–39
- Shell, Alison, *Catholicism, controversy, and the English literary imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge, 1999)
- Shepard, Alexandra, *Meanings of manhood in early modern England* (Oxford, 2008)
- Signorotto, Gianvittorio and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds), *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492-1700* (Cambridge, 2002)
- Silke, J. J., 'Primate Lombard and James I' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxii, no. 2 (1955), pp 124–50
- Simms, John Gerald, 'The restoration, 1660-85' in *A new history of Ireland, 3: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp 420–453
- Simonova, Natasha, *Early modern authorship and prose continuations: adaptation and ownership from Sidney to Richardson* (Basingstoke, 2015)
- Skinner, Quentin, *The foundations of modern political thought. Vol. 2: the age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978)
- Slack, Paul, *From Reformation to improvement* (Oxford, 1998)
- Smith, Anthony D., *The ethnic origins of nations* (Oxford, 1986)
- Smith, David, *Constitutional royalism and the search for settlement, c. 1640-1649* (Cambridge, 1994)
- , 'Diplomacy and the religious question: Mazarin, Cromwell and the treaties of 1655 and 1657' in *E-rea. Revue électronique d'études sur le monde anglophone*, no. 11.2 (2014)
- Smith, Geoffrey, *The cavaliers in exile, 1640-1660* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- Smith, James M., 'Effaced history: facing the colonial contexts of Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court*' in *ELH*, lxv, no. 2 (1998), pp 297–321
- Smyth, William, 'Exploring the social and cultural topographies of sixteenth and seventeenth century County Dublin' in *Dublin, city and county: from prehistory to present* (Dublin, 1992), pp 121–180
- , 'Making the documents of conquest speak : the transformation of property, society, and settlement in seventeenth-century counties Tipperary and Kilkenny' in *Approaching the past: historical anthropology through Irish case studies* (New York, 1992), pp 236–92

- , 'Property, patronage and population - re-constructing the human geography of mid-seventeenth century Tipperary' in *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin, 1985), pp 104–38
- , 'Towards a cultural geography of the 1641 rising / rebellion' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 71–94
- , 'Towns and town life in mid-17th century Co. Tipperary' in *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1991), pp 163–169
- Sommerville, Johann, 'Absolutism and royalism' in Mark Goldie (ed.), *The Cambridge history of political thought 1450–1700*, 1991, pp 345–373
- , 'English and European political ideas in the early seventeenth century: revisionism and the case of absolutism' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxv, no. 2 (1996), p. 168
- , 'Papalist political thought and the controversy over the Jacobean oath of allegiance' in *Catholics and the 'protestant nation': religious politics and identity in early modern England* (Manchester, 2005), pp 162–84
- , 'The royal supremacy and episcopacy "Jure Divino", 1603–1640' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxiv, no. 4 (1983), pp 548–558
- Spurlock, Scott, 'Confessionalisation and clan cohesion: Ireland's contribution to Scottish Catholic renewal in the seventeenth century' in David Edwards and Simon Egan (eds), *The Scots in early Stuart Ireland: union and separation in two kingdoms* (Manchester, 2016), pp 169–202
- , 'Confessionalization and clan cohesion: Ireland's contribution to Scottish Catholic renewal in the seventeenth century' in *Recusant History*, xxxi, no. 2 (2012), pp 171–194
- , 'Problems with Religion as Identity: the case of mid-Stuart Ireland and Scotland' in *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, vi, no. 2 (2013), pp 1–29
- , 'The laity and the structure of the Catholic Church in early modern Scotland' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity: alternative models of the church in Britain and Ireland, c. 1570-c. 1700* (Manchester, 2013), pp 231–251
- Stanwood, Paul, 'Community and social order in the Great Tew circle' in *Literary circles and cultural communities in Renaissance England* (Columbia (MO) and London, 2000), pp 173–86
- Stevenson, David, *The Scottish revolution, 1637-1644: the triumph of the covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973)
- , *Scottish covenanters and Irish confederates: Scottish-Irish relations in the mid-seventeenth century* (Belfast, 1981)
- Stoyle, Mark, *Soldiers and strangers: an ethnic history of the English Civil War* (London, 2005)
- Stradling, R. A., *The Spanish monarchy and Irish mercenaries: the wild geese in Spain 1618-68* (Dublin, 1994)
- Swords, Liam, *The Irish-French connection, 1578-1978* (Paris, 1978)
- Tait, Clodagh, "'Whereat His Wife Tooke Great Greef & Died": Dying of Sorrow and

- Killing in Anger in Seventeenth-century Ireland' in Michael J. Braddick and Phil Withington (eds), *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp 267–284
- Tapsell, Grant, 'Laurence Hyde and the politics of religion in later Stuart England' in *English Historical Review*, cxxv, no. 517 (2010), pp 1414–1448
- , 'Royalism revisited' in *The historical journal*, liv, no. 3 (2011), p. 881
- , *The personal rule of Charles II, 1681-85* (Woodbridge, 2007)
- Tarantino, Giovanni, 'Jacques de la Cloche: a Stuart pretender in the seventeenth century' in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, lxxiii, no. 146 (2004), pp 425–42
- Thomas, Keith, *In pursuit of civility: manners and civilization in early modern England* (New Haven, 2018)
- , *Man and the natural world: changing attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London, 1983)
- , *Religion and the decline of magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England* (Repr, London, 1991)
- , *The ends of life: roads to fulfilment in early modern England* (Oxford, 2009)
- , *The perception of the past in early modern England* (London, 1983)
- Tibbutt, H. G. (ed.), *The life and letters of Sir Lewis Dyve, 1599-1669* (Streatley, 1948)
- Till, Barry, 'The Worcester House Declaration and the restoration of the Church of England¹' in *Historical Research*, lxx, no. 172 (1997), pp 203–230
- Tostado, Igor Pérez, *Irish influence at the court of Spain in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2008)
- Trappes-Lomax, Michael, 'Who was John Taylor the diplomatist?' in *Recusant History*, vii, no. 1 (1963), pp 43–45
- Treadwell, Victor, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-1628* (Dublin, 1998)
- , 'New light on Richard Hadsor. I: Richard Hadsor and the authorship of "Advertisements for Ireland", 1622/3' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxx (1997), pp 305–36
- , 'The Irish court of wards under James I' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xii, no. 45 (1961), pp 1–27
- Tucker, Norman, *North Wales in the civil war* (Wrexham, 1992)
- Tutino, Stefania, *Empire of souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian commonwealth* (Oxford, 2010)
- , *Law and conscience: Catholicism in early-modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot, 2007)
- , 'Obedience and consent: Thomas White and English Catholicism, 1640-1660' in *Redrawing the map of early modern English Catholicism* (Toronto, 2012), pp 309–330
- , *Thomas White and the Blackloists: between politics and theology during the English Civil War* (Aldershot, 2008)
- Underdown, David, *Royalist conspiracy in England, 1649-60* (New Haven, 1960)
- Valkenberg, Augustine, 'Peter Higgins, OP' in *The Irish martyrs* (Dublin, 2005), pp

- 148–156
- , 'The beatified martyrs of Ireland (9): Peter Higgins, O.P.' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, lxvi, no. 1 (2001), pp 67–74
- , 'The Ven. Peter Higgins, Dominican, 1601? -1642' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, xv (1973), pp 284–309
- Valkenburg, Augustine and Hugh Fenning, *Two Dominican martyrs of Ireland* (Dublin, 1992)
- Vallance, Edward, *Loyalty, memory and public opinion in England, 1658-1727* (Manchester, 2019)
- Walker, Claire, 'Crumbs of news: Early modern English nuns and Royalist intelligence networks' in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, xlii, no. 3 (2012), pp 635–655
- Wall, Thomas, 'Irish enterprise in the university of Paris (1651-1653)' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxiv (1944), pp 94–106, 159–172
- Walsham, Alexandra, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014)
- , *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006)
- , 'Chronicles, memory and autobiography in Reformation England' in *Memory Studies*, xi, no. 1 (2018), pp 36–50
- , *Church papists: Catholicism, conformity and confessional polemic in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993)
- , 'History, memory, and the English Reformation' in *The Historical Journal*, lv, no. 4 (2012), pp 899–938
- , 'Relics, writing, and memory in the English Counter Reformation: Thomas Maxfield and his afterlives' in *British Catholic history*, xxxiv, no. 1 (2018), pp 77–105
- , *The Reformation of the landscape* (Oxford, 2011)
- , 'Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation' in *Historical Research*, lxxviii, no. 201 (2005), pp 288–310
- Walter, John, *Covenanting citizens: the protestation oath and popular political culture in the English Revolution* (2016)
- , 'Performative violence and the politics of violence in the 1641 depositions' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 134–152
- Ward, Matthew, *Thomas Hobbes and political thought in Ireland, c.1660-c.1730: the Leviathan released* (Oxford, 2024)
- Webster, Charles, *The great instauration: science, medicine and reform, 1626-1660* (London, 1975)
- Wheeler, James Scott, *The Irish and British wars, 1637-1654: triumph, tragedy and failure* (London, 2002)
- Williams, Mark, 'Between king, faith and reason: father Peter Talbot (SJ) and Catholic royalist thought in exile' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxvii, no. 528 (2012), pp 1063–1099
- , 'History, the Interregnum and the exiled Irish' in Mark Williams and Stephen Paul

- Forrest (eds), *Constructing the past: writing Irish history, 1600-1800* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp 27–48
- , 'Service and survival : the impact of Irish Royalists in the exiled court of Charles II, 1649-1660' in Brian Griffin (ed.), *Irish studies in Britain : new perspectives on history and literature* (Newcastle, 2010), pp 19–32
- , 'The devotional landscape of the royalist exile, 1649-1660' in *Journal of British Studies*, liii, no. 4 (2014), pp 909–933
- , *The king's Irishmen: the Irish in the exiled court of Charles II, 1649-1660* (Woodbridge, 2014)
- , 'Translating the Jansenist controversy in Britain and Ireland' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxxiv, no. 566 (2019), pp 59–91
- Woolf, Daniel, 'Historical writing in Britain from the late middle ages to the eve of the enlightenment' in José Rebassa (ed.), *The Oxford History of historical writing. Volume 3 1400-1800* (Oxford, 2012), pp 473–496
- , 'Little Crosby and the horizons of early modern historical culture' in Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (eds), *The historical imagination in early modern Britain: history, rhetoric, and fiction, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1997), pp 93–132
- , 'Narrative historical writing in restoration England: a preliminary survey' in Gerald Marshall (ed.), *The Restoration mind* (London, 1997), pp 207–51
- , 'News, history and the construction of the present in early modern England' in Brendan Maurice Dooley and Sabrina Alcorn Baron (eds), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, 2001), pp 80–118
- , *Reading history in early modern England* (Cambridge, 2000)
- , *The idea of history in early Stuart England: Erudition, ideology, and 'the light of truth' from the accession of James I to the civil war* (London, 1990)
- , *The social circulation of the past: English historical culture 1500-1730* (Oxford, 2003)
- Worden, Blair, 'Ben Jonson among the historians' in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and politics in early Stuart England* (London, 1994), pp 67–89; 336–43
- , 'Ben Jonson and the monarchy' in Headlam Robin, Glenn Burgess and Rowland Wymer (eds), *Neo-historicism: Studies in Renaissance Literature, History and Politics* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 71–90
- , 'Historians and poets' in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The uses of history in early modern England* (San Marino, 2006), pp 69–90
- , *The sound of virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan politics* (London, 1996)
- Worthington, David, "'Unfinished work and damaged materials': historians and the Scots in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania (1569–1795)" in *Immigrants & Minorities*, xxxiv, no. 3 (2016), pp 276–296
- Wright, Ball, 'Notes on the sepulchral slab of Sir John Eliot, in Balsoon Graveyard, co. Meath' in *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, viii, no. 76 (1888), pp 463–465

Yasuhira, Genji, 'Transforming the Urban Space: Catholic Survival Through Spatial Practices in Post-Reformation Utrecht' in *Past & Present* (2021)

Young, John, *Faith, medical alchemy, and natural philosophy: Johann Moriaen, reformed intelligencer and the Hartlib circle* (Aldershot, 1998)

iv. Unpublished Theses

Brown, Anthony J., 'Anglo-Irish Gallicanism, c.1635 - c.1685' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004)

Campbell, Ian, '*Alithinologia*: John Lynch and seventeenth-century Irish political thought' (PhD thesis, University of Dublin, 2009)

Cregan, Donal, 'The confederation of Kilkenny: its organisation, personnel and history' (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1945)

Creighton, Anne, 'The Catholic interest in Irish politics in the reign of Charles II' (PhD thesis, Queen's University of Belfast, 2000)

Cronin, John, 'The Irish royalist elite of Charles II in exile, c. 1649-1660' (PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2007)

Finnegan, David, 'Impact of the Counter-Reformation on the political thinking of Irish Catholics, c.1540 - c.1640' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2007)

Johnston, Neil, 'Politics, parliament and the restoration land settlement in Ireland, 1660-1665' (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2012)

Lowe, John, 'The negotiations between Charles I and the Confederation of Kilkenny, 1642-1649' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1960)

Malone, Nessa, 'The social, cultural and intellectual milieu of the Burnell Family of Dublin, 1552-1660' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2008)

McGrath, Brid, 'A biographical dictionary of the membership of the Irish House of Commons 1640-1641' (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1998)

McHugh, Jason, "'Soldier of Christ": the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns (1603-1678)' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005)

Morrison, Klein, 'Readers turned writers: the dynamics of the sequels to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1997)

Murtagh, Eleanor, 'Kingship, religion, culture and order: the native Irish and the Old English in early seventeenth-century Ireland' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2012)

Reynolds, Neil, 'The Stuart court and courtiers in exile 1644-1654' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1996)