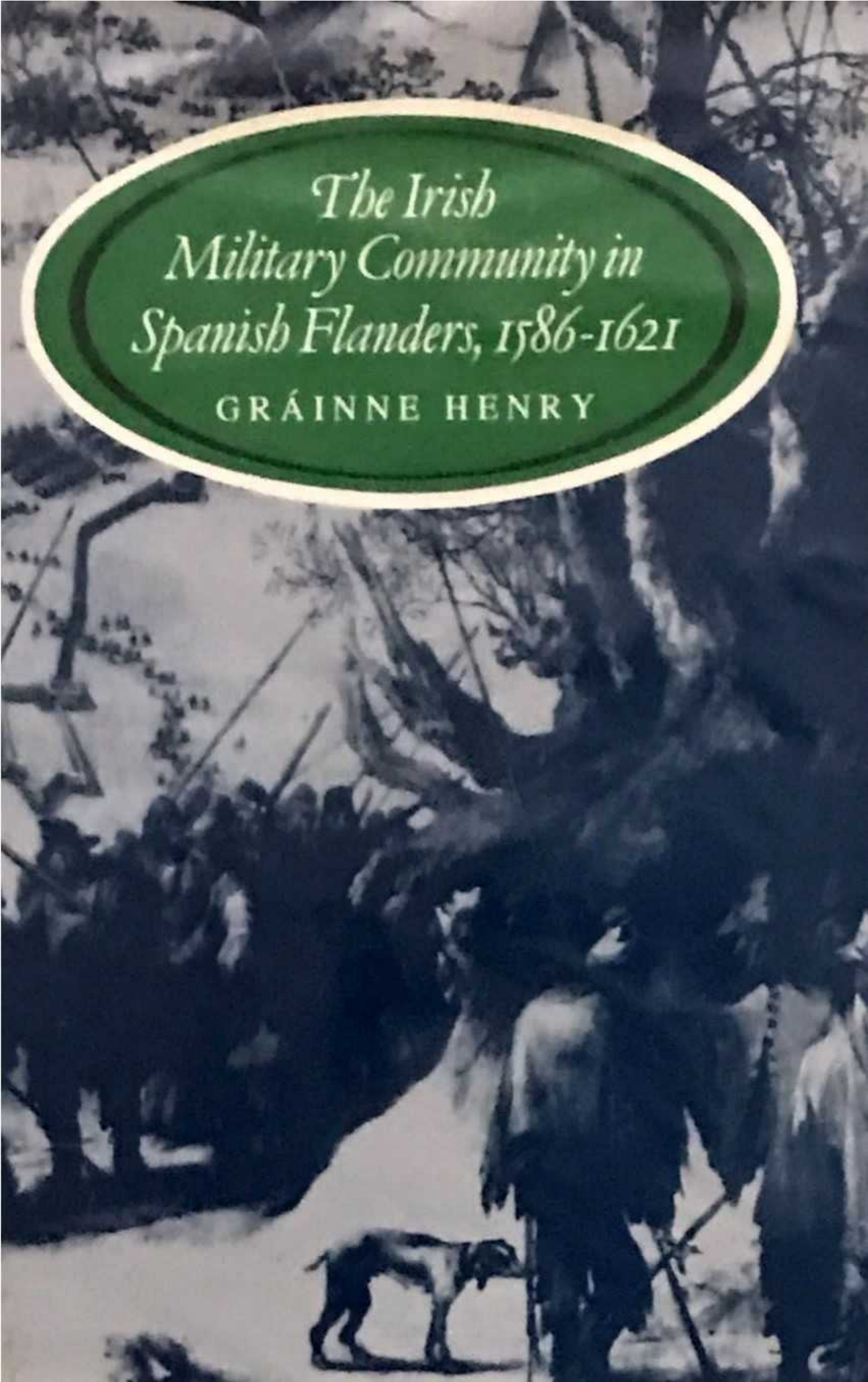

The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586-1621

GRÁINNE HENRY

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Preface

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people and institutions but first I wish to thank Monsignor P.J. Corish and Colm Lennon, whose humanism, talent and love of history contributed so much to the ideas in this book. I wish also to thank the staff of the National Library of Ireland (where I consulted Brendan Jennings' microfilm collection of military records from Flanders), Micheline Walsh (then in charge of the Overseas Archives in Earlsfort Terrace), who made available to me the parish records of Irishmen and women living in Belgium, and the staff at Maynooth College libraries, who have helped me over many years. Thanks are also due to the Berkeley and Manuscript Libraries in Trinity College Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy and not least the Archives de l'Hotel de Ville in Brussels, where language barriers were overcome by a great deal of kindness. I also take this opportunity to thank the Scholastic Trust Fund Committee and the Department of Modern History in Maynooth College for their financial contribution to my work.

To my own family and friends, Mike and Helen, I can never express enough thanks for their unfailing help, patience and encouragement to me. Finally, I wish to also thank Ciarán Brady, Brian Jackson, Mary O'Dowd and Tony Sheehan of the Early Modern Irish seminar group and those of the IHSA conferences for their suggestions and encouragement. A special word of thanks also to R.V. Comerford and Geoffrey Parker for their advice and kindness and to Michael Adams and Irish Academic Press, my patient publishers.

Dedicated to my father and
Mother John Bosco who inspired my love of history

Notes on Spelling,

Terminology, Dates and Currency

Except where there is a recognised English version of a foreign place name (Brussels, Bruges, etc.) I have used the original Spanish or English spelling of places. In the case of personal names I have modernised spelling where there is no doubt of the name in question. Otherwise all personal names are in the original Spanish or English form.

The term 'Old English' has been used to refer to Anglo-Irish lords and the Pale community only after 1600 with the exception of individuals or emigré groups of Anglo-Irish origin who can obviously be identified with a Catholic counter-reformation religion and culture in the sixteenth century. The term 'Low Countries' has been used to denote the whole of the Netherlands, while 'Flanders' or the 'Spanish Netherlands' has been used to refer to that part of it under the control of Spain and later the archdukes. It should be noted therefore that 'Flanders' does not designate the province of that name.

During the period 1582-1700 the Old Style or Julian calendar, used in Ireland and in England, was ten days behing the new Style or Gregorian calendar, introduced by Gregory XIII in 1582 and adopted by most continental countries. Moreover, the beginning of the year Old Style generally used in England and Ireland was Lady Day (25 March), but in the New Style dating as used on the continent it was 1 January. In this study, dating is according to the New Style for the year, but the day and month is left at the date on the original document. Thus any document written in, or sent from, the continent is dated according to the New Style, while documents from Ireland and England have the Old Style day and month.

The principal money of account used in the Netherlands was the *florin of 20 pattards*. Somewhat confusingly, however, the commonest coin used by the Army of Flanders in the sixteenth century was the gold *escudo*, of which there were three main types (Spanish, Italian and French), each of slightly different weight and therefore valued differently. The value of the escudo also changed at different times, though from 1590 a new system was devised: the normal unit of account in the army became the *escudo of ten reales*, a money of account based on silver instead of gold, worth for most of the seventeenth century just

50 pattards (each *real* was valued at 5 pattards). Finally, the term *ducat* was often used by Spanish army officials to denote rates of pay. It referred simply to a Spanish gold coin which varied in value and weight according to the price of gold. In order to help the reader and make comparisons possible, the following list gives a rough estimate of the comparative value of coins between 1586 and 1620.

Before 1590:	6 florins	= £1 (sterling)
	4 escudos	= £1 2*s*. (sterling)
After 1590:	10 florins (200 pattards)	= £1 (sterling)
	1 escudo (de real)	= 60 pattards
	4 escudos	= £1 (sterling)

To give the reader an idea of the real value of this money, 3 escudos a month remained the basic wage of a Spanish foot-soldier between 1534 and 1634, while in the mid-1600s Henry Fitzsimon SJ calculated that 1,500 florins a year would support a house of fifteen Jesuits.

It should be noted that all documents from Spanish administrative sources are written in the third person since it was the custom for every petition to the council of war or state to be processed and summarized by the secretary of council.

Glossary

SPANISH

alférez	company lieutenant or 'ensign'
auditor	judge-advocate
barracas	huts made by soldiers for shelter
cabo de escuadra	corporal of the field
cavellero (cabellero)	gentleman
contaduría mayor de cuentas	audit office of the Spanish exchequer
emprezza	military expedition (naval)
entretenido	a gentleman or gentlewoman in receipt of a permanent monthly salary or grant from the military treasury. English sources translated it misleadingly as 'pensioner' but although a person in receipt of such a grant was not obliged to do military service, almost all *entretenidos* did. It was particularly common for a gentleman serving as a rank and file soldier to receive an extra allowance as an *entretenido*.
entretenimiento	the salary or maintenance grant received by an *entretenido*
escuadra	'section' of twenty-five men under a *cabo de escuadra* (corporal)
hidalgo	a person of gentry stock
maestre de campo	the commander of a *tercio*
pagador	a paymaster; *pagaduría* = his department
placa muerte	'dead pay', the allowance of a man killed or discharged which became available from army funds. There was no commitment on the receiver's part to serve in the army.
reducción	a general reduction of numbers in the Army of

	Flanders followed necessarily by a reorganisation of companies
reformación	the amalgamation of several units of the army into one, in order to reduce cost. Under the archdukes in the mid-1590s it also involved the reorganisation of army companies into units of different nationalities.
reformado	an officer who lost his post through *reformación*
teniente	lieutenant
tercio	a unit comprising about 12 companies and about 2,500 men, commanded by a *maestre de campo*. Usually translated as 'regiment'.
veedor	inspector of the forces; *veeduría* = his department
ventaja	a wage supplement usually granted to a soldier for long or valiant service. It was a monthly addition of between one and ten escudos to a soldier's basic wage and was conferred by a special warrant of the captain-general.

ENGLISH

band	this word preceded the word 'company', and denoted a much more loosely organised group of soldiers. It consisted usually of 100 men but on occasion could have up to 200 men.
cassed	cashiered or disbanded companies
impress	advance payment
kerne	Irish light infantryman
levy	verb: to levy troops. It could imply voluntary recruitment or the conscription of troops for an army.
provost marshal	originally a military post for maintaining discipline within the army; the powers of this office were extended, however, to include the punishment of vagrants and the maintenance of civic orders in a certain area.
Walloon	French-speaking resident of the Netherlands

FRENCH

echevins	aldermen

Abbreviations

SPANISH

A.G.R.	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels
A.G.R. E.A.	Ibid., Papiers d'État et de l'Audience
A.G.R. E.G.	Ibid., Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre
A.G.R. E.G.C.	Ibid., Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, Correspondances des Gouverneurs
A.G.R. C.P.E.	Ibid., Conseil Privé, Régime espagnol
A.G.R. E.A.R.	Ibid., Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, negoc. de Rome
A.G.S.	Archivo General de Simancas, Spain
A.G.S. E.	Ibid., Secretaría de Estado (with *legajo* and folio of the document following)
A.G.S.	negoc. de Roma, leg.
A.G.S.	negoc. de Flandes, leg.
A.H.E.	Archivo Histórico Español (a collection of documents published at Valladolid)
A.H.N.	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
A.H.V., Brussels	Archives de L'Hôtel de Ville, Bruxelles
A.H.V., St. Michel et Gudule	Ibid., paroisse de Saints Michel et Gudule
A.H.V., St. Catherine	Ibid., paroisse de Saint Catherine
A.H.V., Bruges	Archives de L'Hôtel de Ville, Bruges
A.H.V., St. Giles	Ibid., paroisse de Saint Giles
A.H.V., Notre Dame	Ibid., paroisse de Notre Dame

ECCLESIASTICAL

A.J.	Archives Jesuitiques in the Archives Générales de Royaume in Brussels
	Archivo Vaticano

All other abbreviations are listed according to Rules for Contributors, *Irish Historical Studies*, Supplement, 1968. Note also that the term 'negoc. de' means simply 'in relation to'.

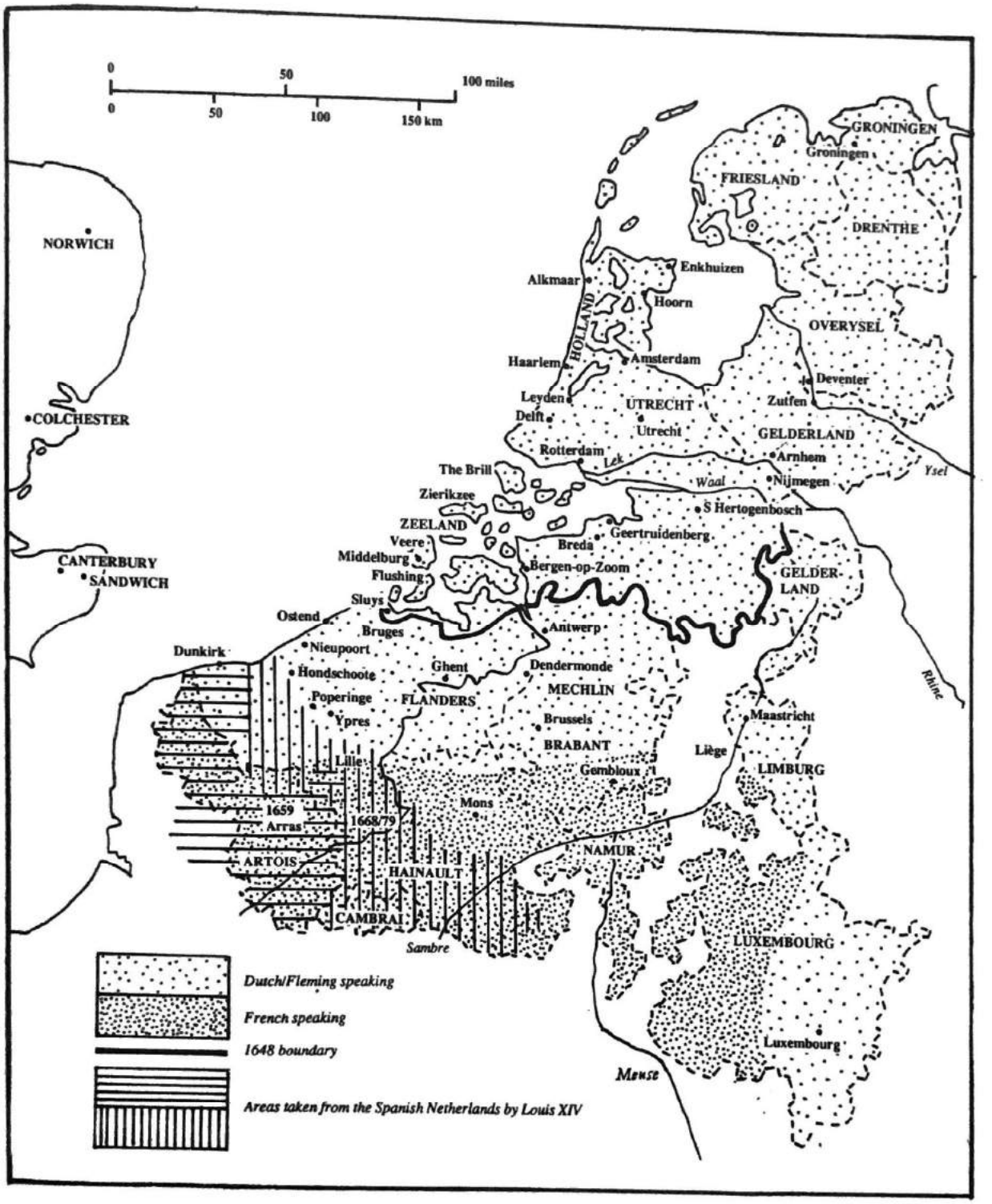


Figure 1: The Netherlands: boundaries and divisions

Throughout the Eighty Years War, the Irish Infantry was organised in *tercios* of about 12 companies (the number was not fixed). The *estado coronel* (staff officers) of the *tercio*, at least in theory, were:

maestre de campo (colonel, and captain of the first company of the *tercio*), his page and 8 halbardiers

sergeant-major (and captain of the second company)

two assistant sergeant-majors

a judge-advocate (*auditor*), clerk and two guards (always Spanish)

a provost marshal (*barrachel de compāna*; almost certainly Spanish), a hangman and four horsemen

one chief-chaplain and two ordinary chaplains

a quartermaster-general (*furier mayor*)

a surgeon-major (*chirurgeano mayor*)

a drum-major (*atambor mayor*)

11 officers (per company)

219 pike men or 224 arquebusiers (per company)

20 musketeers or 15 musketeers (per company)

The officers consisted of the captain and his page, lieutenant (*alférez*) or 'ensign', sergeant, two drummers, piper, chaplain, quartermaster and barber per company.

Source: A.G.R. Contadorie des Finances 4 in Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659* (London, 1972), p. 274.

Figure 2: Unit organisation of the Irish Infantry in the Army of Flanders

Introduction: The 'Wild Geese'

In foreign fields
it is their doom to seek their fame—
to find their tomb.

John Dalton (19th century)

For many centuries Irish poets and writers as well as Irish historians have been fascinated with the meaning and cause of emigration. Kerby Miller and Robert Fortner[1] have noted the unfavourable attitude towards emigration evident in Irish writings on emigration and the persistent identification of emigration with involuntary exile. Both Miller and Fortner from their studies on emigration to North America concluded that Irish attitudes to emigration were rooted in a world view that regarded the emigrant, without 'kinfolk' or 'social place', as a kind of 'non-person' to be pitied, while the development of a Catholic nationalist tradition tended to channel this resentment towards emigration against Protestantism and English imperialism. In such a context the emigrant was represented in Irish literature and history either as a victim of fate or of the tyranny of England.

The term 'Wild Geese' needs to be analysed against the background of such a cultural and historical tradition. Fundamentally applied to those Irish leaving England for European armies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it also became an ideological concept giving a specific historical identity to this group of Irish migrants to Europe. Within a concept of history that regarded the Irish past exclusively in terms of a conflict between English and Irish, Protestant and Catholic, 'Wild Geese' was used by Irish historians from the seventeenth century onwards to refer to a group of 'Irish' noblemen who, in the face of English and Protestant oppression, fled Ireland and thereby led to the collapse of Gaelic resistance to English rule in Ireland.

Within such an historical perception the only relevance of the 'Wild Geese' to Irish history lay in recounting their banishment to misery as martyrs or in their glorious return to battle agianst England as triumphant heroes. There could be little merit in examining the economic or social background of those who left Ireland for foreign service or, indeed, in detailing too closely their lives in

Europe. In short the fate of this group of emigrants in Irish history was to lead a shadowy existence re-emerging in the pages of history only when such men as Owen Roe O'Neill and Thomas Preston made a rare dramatic impact on the course of the conflict between England and Ireland. Such an historical identity, therefore, not only limited our perception of the 'Wild Geese' but prevented the construction of new roads of enquiry into the complex phenomenon of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century migration to European armies from Ireland.

Recent attempts have been made to reassess the traditional identity of the 'Wild Geese' by a closer examination of this group's existence abroad. Brendan Jennings and Micheline Walsh have uncovered a wealth of detail on Irish families, particularly in Spain and the Netherlands, from military records, hospital reports, wills and parish registers, thus extending the term 'Wild Geese' to include those from the lower as well as the upper levels of Irish society, from merchant communities as well as military ones.[2] These records have until now, however, remained largely untouched. Some recent biographical works on exiles such as Richard Stanihurst[3] and Owen Roe O'Neill[4] give us a further insight into the mentality of this group, while a number of studies have been completed on Irish cultural achievements and developments on the continent.[5] Some emphasis has also been put by historians on the complex socio-economic and political conditions in Ireland that contributed to the departure of some for Europe. Nicholas Canny in his article 'The flight of the earls, 1607' (*I.H.S.*, xvii (1971), pp 380-99) has analysed the economic infrastructure as well as English policies which prompted the removal of Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell to the continent in 1607, while Ciarán Brady's articles on James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald ('Faction and the origins of the Desmond rebellion of 1579', *I.H.S.*, xxii (1981) pp 289-313) and the O'Reilly lordship ('The O'Reillys of East Breifne and the problem of Surrender and Regrant', *Breifne*, vi (1985), pp 233-62), have attempted to assess the alienation of the military class within the process of Tudor reform.

Some attention has also been given by historians specifically to the Irish military group in Flanders. R.D. Fitzsimon in his articles 'Irish soldiers in Flanders in the sixteenth century' and 'Irish swordsmen in the imperial service of the 30 years war' (*Ir. Sword*, ix (1969-70), pp 69-70, 22-31) has concentrated on the policy of the English administration towards foreign levies in Ireland. Brendan Jennings in 'Irish swordsmen in Flanders' (*Studies*, xxxvi (1947), pp 402-10; xxxvii (1948), pp 189-202) examines the structure of the Irish companies in Flanders and their military campaigns there, while Jerrold Casway in two articles entitled 'Henry O'Neill and the formation of the Irish Regiment in the Netherlands, 1605' (*I.H.S.*, xviii (1972-3), pp 481-8) and 'Owen Roe O'Neill's return to Ireland in 1642: the diplomatic background' (*Studia Hibernica*, ix (1969), pp 48-64) details the changing fortunes of the Irish

military group in a somewhat unpredictable diplomatic climate between England and Spain.

These recent studies have made real attempts to refute earlier ideological assumptions concerning the motivations and activities abroad of some of those who left Ireland. They have, however, only dealt with a single aspect of the phenomenon of Irish migration to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; moreover, historical analysis has been confined to the examination of merchant and landed élites who have left Ireland. Even Jerrold Casway's biography on Owen Roe O'Neill, somewhat ambiguously entitled *Owen Roe O'Neill and the Struggle for Catholic Ireland*, while giving a valuable insight into the political world of Owen Roe, fails ultimately to give a comprehensive analysis of the exile community surrounding him. A systematic examination has yet to be undertaken by Irish historians on the process of early modern Irish migration to Europe and the 'Wild Geese' as a distinct group within the rapidly changing societies of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ireland and Europe. In this book I propose to distinguish such a group with specific relation to the Irish soldiers in Spanish Flanders. I hope to achieve this by analysing this Irish military group within the context of a continuing process and colonization and social change in Ireland and the political and religious ideology of counter-reformation Europe.

I shall examine the first thirty-five years of Irish service in the Spanish Army of Flanders (1586-1621) under the following headings: the role of foreign service in Irish society, the structural and social character of the Irish military group in Flanders, and this military group as part of a wider Catholic emigré community in Europe. While certain aspects of the study cannot be confined exactly to within specific years, the period 1586-1621 forms a convenient unit of study. The year 1586 saw the first large group of Irish in Spanish service overseas, while 1621 provides an ideal finishing point as it marks the end of the Twelve Year Truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic and was followed closely by the death of Philip III. These thirty-five years, then, witnessed the first generation of Irish military service on a large scale in Europe and therefore marked a crucial stage in the development of an identity within this group. While the years 1622-40 were to represent a different type of Irish military community—one where its members were, for the most part, born and certainly reared on the continent—this previous generation formed the essential link between the 'old' world of Ireland and the 'new world' of Europe. As such it is one of the most fascinating groups of people in Irish history.

This period, 1586-1621, also consisted of four distinguishable phases of Irish service in the Army of Flanders. From 1585 to 1586 Sir William Stanley organised the levy and transport of over 1,000 troops from Ireland as part of an English expedition sent by Elizabeth to assist the northern states in the Low Countries, then in rebellion against Spain. In January 1587, however, he

surrendered the garrison of Deventer to Spanish forces; Irish military service with Spain in Flanders began from this date. The first phase of this service can be identified as 1587-95, when most Irish troops in Flanders served under Stanley as part of his regiment of English, Irish and Scots troops. The second phase (1596-1604) saw the establishment of independent Irish companies under Irish captains; while the third and fourth phases (1605-10 and 1610-21) witnessed the consolidation of all Irish companies into a regiment, initially under Colonel Henry O'Neill and later under Colonel John O'Neill. These were both sons of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone.

The second half of Elizabeth's reign in Ireland witnessed the final military confrontation between the Tudor administration and 'over mighty subjects'—the Anglo-Irish lordships and the ambitious claimants to the dynastic succession of the Gaelic lordships. A centralising Tudor and later Stuart monarchy was slowly gaining the upper hand and the process of conquest and colonisation was beginning to become effective at local level by the end of the sixteenth century.

Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ireland was a society, therefore, that was undergoing not only political but enormous social and economic change, while the economic and political power structures were coming increasingly to be dominated by New English planters. Such a process of colonisation alienated Old Irish and Anglo-Irish landed classes, but it alienated particularly the profession 'swordsmen' of the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish overlords whose military function became obsolete within the framework of a composition settlement or a planter community. The English administration embarked on a deliberate policy or ridding the country of this group, directly through the state-funded levies for the Low Countries in 1586 and for Sweden between 1609 and 1613, and indirectly by supporting the levies for the archduke in 1605-06. This government policy will form the theme of Chapter 1, while Chapter 2 will examine the response to it at all levels of society within the context of harvest failures and the economic devastation wrought by a continuous series of major wars in the 1580s and 1590s.

During the course of the Eighty Years War betweeen Spain and the Dutch rebels the Spanish so-called Army of Flanders grew from approximately 10,000 soldiers to over 60,000 by 1585[6] and included soldiers of six 'nations'. The Irish soldiers, therefore, formed only a small part of a multilingual and multiracial military bureaucracy. Drawing on the records of licences and grants issued in this army, Chapter 3 examines the structural organisation of this Irish group as part of the Army of Flanders, while noting a changing pattern of membership that related to political and economic circumstances in Ireland. A picture of a military group emerges that was characterised by a series of kingroups and inter-family connections and which finally became a consolidated unit under the colonelship of Henry O'Neill in 1610. Chapter 4

examines the social development of the Irish military group in Flanders, paying particular attention to family migration, women 'Wild Geese' and community development, while assessing the links established between the military group and the local Flemish community.

Finally, the Irish military groups in Flanders formed part of a wider emigré and religious community on the continent characterised by a counter-reformation religion and culture and a political allegiance that lay primarily with Spain. This wider community, consisting of both Irish and English exiles as well as the religious communities centred around the counter-reformation colleges, had close links with the Irish military group through family ties and social interaction, while at the same time exerting a large degree of financial and organisational control over it. Chapter 5 examines the assimilation of the military group into this wider Irish exile community, while Chapter 6 analyses the emerging political identity of this Irish military group within the context of an ideological confrontation between the Catholic counter-reformation world and Protestant England.

1

Departure: The Policy

> . . . and now my whole charge consists of ancients, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies . . . and such as indeed were never soldiers but discarded unjust servingmen, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters, and ostlers trade-fallen, the cankers of a calm world and a long peace.
>
> Falstaff (*Henry IV*)

One of the most discernable trends in sixteenth-century Irish society was the extension of Tudor law and civility taking place there since the 1540s. With the elevation of Henry VIII from lord of Ireland to a kingship over the whole of Ireland, the Tudor monarchy had committed itself to extending its authority throughout the country, rather than just the Pale area, and it was first and foremost within the context of an English centralising authority that foreign levies for the Low Countries, Flanders and Sweden took place in Ireland between 1586 and 1621. It is intended therefore in this chapter to begin the study of those Irish who embarked on military service overseas, by the examination of English government attitudes and policy towards this group.

Irish soldiers were highly regarded in Europe in the sixteenth century. Groups of Irish kerne could be found in Flemish ports as early as the 1520s,[1] and the group of Irishmen brought over to the Low Countries in 1586 by Sir William Stanley were particularly requested by the earl of Leicester who was in charge of Queen Elizabeth's forces there. In December 1585 he wrote to secretary Walsingham asking for six hundred to a thousand Irishmen, explaining that the 'cause of my desire to have them is for that they are hard and will abide more pains than our men'.[2]

As early as 1544 Lord Deputy St Leger had also stressed the endurance of the native Irish soldier while levying in Ireland at that time for France. He described the kerne and gallowglass as being 'of such hardiness that there is no men that ever I saw, that will or can endure the pains and evil fare that they will sustain'.[3]

Nor was praise of the Irish soldier's merits confined to English sources. The *Fugger Letters* recounted that the 'wild Irish' were 'quick runners' who could walk on stilts or climb any garrison wall.[4] Famianus Strada SJ described them as fighters who fought with the ferocity of Brazilians,[5] and a tabulated

description in the British Museum catalogue, of an Irishman in the Swedish army of the early seventeenth century, confirmed this favourable view noting:

> The Irrländer are strong enduring people, contented with plain (or little) food; when they have no bread, they can endure hunger for three or four days, feeding instead on water, crests, roots and grass: when necessary they can walk more than twenty miles a day.[6]

Strength, endurance and ferocity in battle, then, were the qualities of the native Irish which made them 'fit to be made soldiers' as John Dowdall remarked in 1596.[7] In sending out over 500 Irish[8] to Flanders in 1586, there was a recognition on the part of the English administration of these qualities, as well as an answer to the urgent demand for soldiers in the Low Countries.

However, from an examination of the correspondence between the lords of councils in London and Dublin for the period from 1586 to 1621 it is clear that the policy of recruiting Irish for service overseas was more complex than a response to military requirements. Indeed, the attitude of the English administration to foreign levies in Ireland appears to have been ambiguous and sometimes inconsistent. Therefore it is not only the realisation of English government policy towards foreign levies in Ireland that needs to be looked at, but also the thinking that lay behind this policy. While recognising the limitations of using purely state paper and other central government documentation, it is hoped at least to achieve a comprehensive overview of English policy on overseas military service by examining it under three headings—the pattern of English government thinking particularly in relation to levies for the Low Countries; the rationale behind such a pattern; and relations between the English government and those Irish soldiers who were serving in Flanders.

The basic pattern of English government thinking on recruitment for Flanders became obvious at the very initial stages of the Stanley expedition. Lord Deputy Perrot wrote to the lords of the privy council on 10 August 1585, 'If soldiers are wanted for Flanders he (Leicester) can choose 1,500 (native Irish) to be sent hence, that might do good service there and be well spared here.'[9] The implication of this statement was that the native Irish would be of better service abroad than creating disturbances in Ireland. In recruiting them for Flanders then, the English administration were doing themselves a double favour. They were sending excellent soldiers to fight in 'her Majesty's wars' and they were getting rid of potential troublemakers. It was a factor that the earl of Leicester, anxious for men for the Low Countries, was also quick to point out. In a letter to Walsingham of December 1585 he requested 'six hundred or a thousand of Irish, idle men, such as be not only in her Majesty's pay, but be very meet to be out of the country'.[10]

Leicester's plea was noteworthy, in that he referred specifically to native Irish

soldiers 'in her Majesty's pay', obviously a reference to those Irish soldiers who served in English 'bands' or companies in Ireland; and there is much evidence to suggest that many of those who went with Stanley were 'in her Majesty's pay' before going to the Low Countries. Walsingham noted to Leicester in March 1586, that while Her Majesty did not wish to send English subjects to aid the Dutch,

> I find her dyposed to lyke that certeyn cashed bandes in Ireland, uppon dowbt that otherwyse they wyll put her to some charge here, shall be transported into the Lowe Countreys, so yt may be don without her burden.[11]

That this policy was carried out is clear from later military reports from Ireland. Captain Thomas Woodhouse wrote to Geoffrey Fenton for a pension in September 1586 since he had been 'discharged' of his command and 'my soldiers sent into Flanders'. Likewise, according to a report by Henry Wallop to Burghley, fifty of those who had gone to Flanders were from the garrison of Carrickfergus, and in 1588 Captain Henshaw of the Knockfergus garrison complained, that the fifty who had been 'taken from him' to go with William Stanley 'were never replaced'.[12]

Further study needs to be done into the correlation between the personnel in Stanley's companies in the Low Countries and those in English companies in Ireland. However, even from a cursory examination, Stanley's officers appear to have come from Ireland. For example, Jacques and Thomas de Franceschi and Henry Hovenden, who both served with Perrot in Ulster, formed part of Stanley's expedition to the Low Countries, while Thomas Stanihurst, who later served under Stanley as an ensign and lieutenant, served in the English army in Munster as clerk of the munition at Limerick.[13]

Fundamental to Stanley's expedition in 1586, then, was the levying for foreign service of cashiered or discharged bands of soldiers who were perceived as a threat while they remained in Ireland. Basically, the disbanded soldier posed a threat as a disruptive force to political and social stability. It was not a problem that was unique to Ireland. Disbanded soldiers whether returned from foreign or from domestic wars, were regarded with grave suspicion by those in authority in many sixteenth-century societies.[14] In England, with the increase of English military involvement overseas, particularly after 1588, soldiers and sailors returning from European battlefields created a real social problem. Tough legislation was passed in the English parliament to ensure that those returning from the wars in France and Portugal would settle down 'in service, labour or other course of life without wandering',[15] and Lindsay Boynton in an article on 'The Tudor provost marshal' has illustrated the growing powers of the provost-marshal over disbanded sailors and soldiers from 1588, a development which mirrored the growing concern in England, to keep this group under

tight control.[16] Essentially, as Penry Williams concluded in his book *The Tudor regime*, the soldier was a unique threat among the 'masterless men' of the sixteenth century to the stability of any system: he was a trained fighter and he could easily organise himself as part of a group.[17]

Within a colonial context, the potential threat of the disbanded soldier in Ireland was compounded by the lack of political authority exercised by the Dublin administration. A disbanded soldier was a potential recruit for any rebel faction opposing the crown's authority and the problem was accentuated by the fact that most of the troops who were serving in English companies by 1598, were Irish.

In the early part of Elizabeth's reign the number of Irishmen allowed to serve her English company was reduced to five or six, but from the mid-1590s under the deputyship of de Burgh the native Irish were recruited wholesale. By 1598 they were estimated to make up three quarters of the English companies,[18] though the average level during the 1590s was probably between one third and two thirds.[19] English officials were under no illusion about the extent of the problem these Irish soldiers would pose if and when they were discharged. In 1598, justices Loftus, Gardiner and Ormonde wrote to the privy council in England, that one of the gravest political problems facing them now was 'how they (native Irish soldiers) may be changed (dismissed) . . . without a further danger to run to the rebel'. On 18 November 1597, the privy council, in answer to a complaint that the bands were generally 'stuffed with Irish', were emphatic that if the bands were reduced the Irish would 'repair to the rebels of those two provinces (Ulster and Connaught) and thereby not only strengthen the rebels with their persons, but instruct and inform them with the knowledge they have gained'.[20]

Impression or 'voluntary persuasion' into foreign service was seen in most sixteenth century societies as the logical solution to troublesome groups who threatened social order.[21] In Spain, with the growing shortage of manpower in Europe during the Thirty Years War, compulsion was used to press 'masterless men' into service. In France in 1637, whole regions were systematically combed by 'press gangs'. Even as early as 1587-8, a Spanish *tercio* was raised in Catalonia from brigands and bandits who received a free pardon in return for their enlistment.[22] Foreign service was a particularly ideal solution for 'idle' soldiers who were, after all, trained in warfare. It was a tactic applied to Ireland in the case of Stanley's expedition, and although there was no major expedition to France or the Low Countries during the 1590s there were some calls for one. In July 1594 Captain Drury, requesting some 1,500 or 2,000 trained soldiers of 'mere Irish birth' to form part of an expedition to Brittany, argued that by sending this group to France it would 'disarm her ill-diposed subjects of Ireland, whose unnatural mutinies and rebellions are supported by those trained soldiers'.[23]

With the general demobilisation on both the English and rebel sides after the Nine Years War, discharged Irish soldiers from English bands were joined by their counterparts from the rebel factions, and the problem of disbanded soldiers in Ireland became a matter of urgency. There seems to have been no dissent among the English administrators, about the political and military danger they represented and the only remedy for it. Hugh Cuff, commissioner for Munster wrote to George Carew, in August 1600,

> I could wish that as soon as conveniently it may be, that by little and little, their (the Rebel) swordmen should be drawn away to be employed in Her Majesty's foreign wars, as well those that have served Her Majesty (I mean the idle men) as others, for that otherwise you shall find them in the end to become rebels as always they have done heretofore.[24]

Enchoing these sentiments, Lord Deputy Mountjoy in 1601 noted that in the interests of peace,

> there rests little now to settle this kingdom but some way to rid the idle swordsmen of both sides, and that the English owners would or were able to inhibit their own lands.[25]

The remedy proposed to the problem of 'idle swordsmen' on both sides, was clearly to 'rid the country' of this group. The statements of Cuff and Mountjoy, however, also show clearly that the problem of the disbanded soldier was a complex one. Both implied that this group could not be incorporated into the society they envisaged, Cuff implying that the 'swordsmen' would exercise an unstable influence within the Gaelic lordship and Mountjoy stating clearly that they would prevent the emergence of a stable planter community. The threat of these swordsmen lay then, not only in the military challenge that they could provide to the authority of the crown, but also in the obstacle they posed to political stability in Ireland.

It was against the background of such sentiments towards swordsmen, that the English government once again become involved in the levy of Irish troops for the Low Countries. Under the terms of the Anglo-Spanish Peace of 1604, the British Isles became a neutral territory for recruitment, for both the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces. Probably due to the tremendous scarcity of manpower in Europe after the 1590s, negotiations for recruits had begun with the English council by 1605. On 30 April 1605, the baron de Hoboken, ambassador to England, negotiated the levy of 2,000 Englishmen, 1,500 Scotsmen and 500 Irish for the archdukes.[26]

Recruiting appears to have begun in Ireland by October but there were of course essential differences between these levies and the Stanley expedition of

some twenty years earlier. Firstly, although the United Provinces were entitled to recruit 'voluntaries' from Ireland, most of the levies were in fact made for the archdukes, and not therefore, for the service of the English government or her interests. Apart from 166 English soldiers collected in Ireland by Captain Boyes for the United Provinces, the response seems to have been unfavourable to levies for this part of the Netherlands.[27] A Captain William Nuse wrote to Salisbury in January 1606, that 'the Irish would not serve against the King of Spain', thus making any recruitment for the Provinces extremely difficult in Ireland, while both Sir William Browne and Salisbury maintained that even when the Irish originally joined the Dutch side they invariably switched to the Spanish, shortly after their arrival.[28]

Secondly, foreign levies in 1605 were carried out under the contract system.[50] Under this system a country could employ a contractor, usually a man with military experience, who was empowered to take charge of the recruiting, feeding and transportation of troops in territories outside the country's own jurisdiction. At least four contractors—Captain Walter de la Hyde, Captain Maurice Fitzgerald, Captain William Darcy, Captain Thomas Preston—and probably more,[29] were employed by the archduke to recruit men in Ireland for the Army of Flanders. Also, under the terms of the contract system in the Army of Flanders, companies recruited by contractors were allowed to become permanent by recruiting reinforcements each year whereas the troops commissioned within Spanish territory, were theoretically at least, meant to be disbanded if they fell below a certain level. Unlike Stanley's expedition in 1586 then, the levies for the archduke after 1605 were not, at least on the ground level, to be conducted by the English administration in Ireland.

Nevertheless, the English administration did play a crucial role in these levies for the archduke. It was at the negotiating table between the baron de Hoboken and Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, that permission to levy troops from the British Isles was granted to the archduke, and ultimately the English government had the legal say, in whether recruitment for Flanders could proceed or not. This was admirably demonstrated by the subsequent restrictions put on recruitment for Flanders by the English government after the gunpowder plot. In May 1607, the house of commons made it a felony to enroll in a foreign army without previously taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, while an overall ban was imposed on levies both for the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands which lasted until the end of 1606.[30] Such opposition was undoubtedly effective in halting the levies for Flanders. An entry in the Army of Flanders records for 2 June 1606, noted that

> On account of the difficulties met with in England against the recruiting of the Irish infantry lately decided upon, that 7 new companies which had been authorised for Henry O'Neill's regiment could not be recruited.[31]

As Salisbury himself had predicted, this total ban on levies to the Low Countries did not last long, because the anxiety to promote the goodwill of both the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands was too strong. By 19 November 1606, the English lords of council had restored the right of any subject 'to serve the king of Spain if they so wished'.[32] Such intervention served to indicate however, the extent of the control English authorities exerted over the levies.

Moreover, the English administration in Ireland appears to have played a large part in overtly encouraging suitable candidates to take on the job of levying troops in 1605. At least four of the men who took on the role of contractor[33] for Spain during 1605 in Ireland were favoured in their task by the English government, both in England and in Ireland. The English lords of the council wrote to Lord Deputy Chichester specifically on this question in June 1605:

> Though the country be in peace and the people freed from war, yet there are many there unfitted to live in quiet, who, it is thought, would willingly betake themselves to the wars of other foreign countries if they might find persons by the following of whom they might get entertainment. To this end, Captain Walter Delahoid, Captain Maurice Geraldin, and Captain William Darcy are to be permitted by the President of Munster to assemble in an orderly manner, as many as they can get in Munster to go with them.[34]

These contractors were to be allowed '200 voluntaries a piece into the Low Countries warres', a figure already significantly higher than that negotiated officially with the baron de Hoboken, and Chichester was also requested to give them liberty to recruit in all parts of Ireland if numbers were too low from Munster. Significantly, the only restriction imposed on the contractors by the English administration was some regulations regarding food and orderly transport of troops.[35]

Unfortunately, we know little about any help English government officials may have given to men like Darcy or Preston in actually recruiting men, but it seems safe to assume that some comparison could be made between government policy on levying in 1605 and that adopted in the state-sponsored Swedish levies between 1609 and 1613. Organised by Chichester, these levies began with the conscription of '240 idle swordsmen', mainly from 'O'Dogherty's country', by Captain Bingley in August 1609.[36] The aim of this expedition was to transport 1,000 Irish soldiers out of each province by the summer of 1610, and in October 1609 roughly 1,000 soldiers were shipped from Ulster to Sweden under Colonel Stewart.[37] Another 600 followed under Bingley in 1610 and by May 1614 Chichester maintained that he had sent 6,000 'disaffected Irishmen to the wars in Sweden'.[38] The rationale behind these levies was, as in 1605, to get rid of the excess number of soldiers, particularly in Ulster, who were now unemployed. Chichester, commenting on the success of the 240-troop levy made for Sweden,

noted that 'most of them (were) idle swordmen that served on the one side or the other in the last rebellion of Tyrone, and some of them were with O'Dogherty'.[39]

The Swedish levies, however, were probably more comprehensive than earlier ones. In effect making way for the plantation of Ulster, they were carried out almost entirely in Ulster. They also incorporated a large number and a wide variety of recruits outside of the military class, who might have been thought to present a threat to political stability or social order in that province. In August 1609 Sir John Davies wrote in a letter to Salisbury that there had been 'no execution of any prisoner in Coleraine gaol' because all of the prisoners were to be sent to the 'wars of Swethen', while in September 1609 he noted that Colonel Stewart had been a 'better justice of gaol delivery in clearing the country of malefactors than the Lord Chief Justice'.[40] On 31 October 1609, with Stewart's cargo of 900 men ready to depart from Loughfoyle, Chichester gives us some insight into the constituent of this levy. He noted there were 'natives of Ulster and such as troubled the quiet therefore', thirty who had fought with O'Dogherty, 'cessers upon the Pale' who were of the 'septs of the Cavanaghtes, Byrnes and Tooles . . . and to speak generally, they were all but an unprofitable burden of the earth, cruel, wild malefactors, (and) thieves . . .'.[41]

Due to the Twelve Year Truce between Holland and Spain from 1609 to April 1621 there were no further official levies made in Ireland for the continent; but the chief function of these recruitment campaigns was already well established.[42] A general clearance would be made of those who might cause any sort of a disruption to an orderly society. However, there can be no doubt that by far the biggest group targetted for foreign service from the time of Stanley's expedition to the Swedish levies was the disbanded soldiers or swordsmen. To understand fully the reason for this, one would have to pose the question: why did these 'idle swordsmen' present the kind of threat that could not be settled within the confines of their own society?

The answer to this question is largely explained in the term 'idle swordman' itself. Traditionally, a term reserved, even after the Desmond rebellion, to describe the personal retainers and professional soldiers used by Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords, the word 'swordman' implied the professional fighter, the man who lived entirely by the sword. It was, throughout the reign of Elizabeth, the term most often used to describe the bonnaughts or 'buonies', a professional military class which had emerged in the fourteenth century and who were billeted during wartime on the local population.[43] The constant and indiscriminate application of this term throughout the state papers after 1601 to gentlemen soldiers, 'buonies', woodkerne or disbanded soldiers from English companies, was significant. It attributed a professional title and status to them which implied that they were 'idle' or useless in a stable community.

That this observation was true to a large extent for many 'swordsmen' there

can be little doubt. Fundamentally, 'buonies' and kerne formed the backbone of the Gaelic military class in the sixteenth century. The bonnaughts, having to a degree, replaced the mercenary gallowglass of the fifteenth century, formed the core of the Old Irish heavy infantry during the Nine Years War. 'Fighting men without other profession', as Cyril Falls described them, they usually carried pikes, while the kerne or woodkerne forming the light infantry of the Old Irish army, carried a sword, bow, spear and later, firearms.[44] As part of a military class, a feature of both groups, commented upon by planters, was their tendency to look down on the 'menial' tasks of farming and husbandry. Speaking on the state of Munster in 1587, Sir Edward Phyton wrote to Burghley:

> The country (is) generally wasted, but yet not a pike in any place, but full of the poorest creatures that ever I saw, so lean for want of food as wonderful, and yet so idle as they will not work because they are descended either of kerne, horsemen or galloglas all three the very subversion of this land.[45]

Over thirty years later in 1621, when levies by nine Irish captains were again carried out in Ireland for Spain, Thomas Carte similarly noted:

> There were in the remote parts of the Kingdom and especially in the late plantations, great numbers of idle, young and active fellows, who being unprovided for a livelihood, and not caring to earn it at the sweat of their brow, were full of complaints, eager after alterations, and fit for a rebellion, whenever the least opportunity should offer.[46]

Such observations were not however a wholly accurate reflection of the complex nature of the Gaelic military class. 'Buonies' were the only real mercenaries in Gaelic society, kerne being loosely applied to both mercenary bands or just to the able-bodied population who served according to their means in the general 'rising out' or levy of a country.[47] The Scottish gallowglass, on the other hand, were farmers as well as soldiers and formed semi-independent communities within the Gaelic lordships, particularly of Ulster.[48] Such statements, however, did adequately reflect English planter perception of these military groups and significantly, next to 'idle', the most common adjective used to describe kerne was 'unprofitable'. Chichester, writing to the privy council in October 1609, for example, referred to them as 'the unprofitable burden of the earth', while Sir Henry Dowcra in 1603 reported a daily increase of 'unprofitable kerne . . . coming in of the Irish who were in rebellion'.[49]

The nature of the soldier's work made his role obsolete in a plantation or composition settlement, and that the 'swordman' or disbanded soldier could not be incorporated into such a society was openly expressed by English admin-

istrators. John Davies in 1604, spoke of the 'insolency of those mountain kerne' who 'continually affront and contemn the public justice', and Mountjoy also seems to have felt that there was only one kind of lifestyle a swordman could follow. He wrote to Robert Cecil on 25 April 1603 that:

> the country can hardly be free from stealths and petty eruptions, till it be delivered of these idle swordsmen; and although there be no rebellion, yet necessity will make them war upon somebody.[50]

As Mountjoy pointed out, without any alternative means of livelihood the swordsmen had to nevertheless live and the liability of this group in any economy was demonstrated amply by the 'buonies' in Munster. After Kinsale, Carew calculated that the buonies who were maintained by 'coyne and livery' in O'Sullivan Beare's country after Kinsale, were going through 50 head of cattle a night and he noted that 'the country is weary of the charge'.[51] Obviously this was a case where soldiers were being kept in one spot, 'on alert' for Spanish aid, and it was the viewpoint of a sworn enemy of coyne and livery. However, the 1,500 buonies reckoned to be in Munster in 1602[52] must have represented a severe disruption of the economy of that province, and it was significantly from Munster that most of the levies of 1605 were drawn.

However, the problem swordsmen and particularly the bonnaught posed was more fundamental than the military nature of their work and the economic strain they imposed on the native population. This group had a specific political role within both the Gaelic and the Anglo-Irish lordship and were in fact an inherent element in the political structure of the lordship.

The support of the professional swordman was needed if a lord, or claimant to a lordship, was to gain or maintain a position of political autonomy in an area. Within the context of a centralising Tudor administration the claimant whose title was approved by the monarchy had no need for the support of this military class and as such, they became an alienated and therefore a politically dangerous group within a lordship. This was undoubtedly what Cuff and Mountjoy recognised when they maintained there would always be a rebel faction within the Gaelic or Anglo-Irish lordship as long as this military group remained in Ireland to promote it. Ciarán Brady in this article on the origins of the 1597 Desmond rebellion paints a fascinating picture of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald as an example of a swordman who found he had no place in the lordship of Desmond as reconstructed along the requirements of the lord deputy and commissioners.[53] Fitzmaurice, a professional military retainer, was a key target of Tudor reform within the Desmond lordship and his presence became not only a financial, but a political liability to Desmond, who hoped to advance his fortunes under crown patronage. Within a Gaelic context, Turlough MacHenry, who had 'three sons who are swordsmen', and Cahill O'Connor

occupied a similar position to Fitzmaurice in the O'Neill and O'Connor lordships respectively and were both singled out by two different English administrations as men 'fitter to be employed elsewhere'.[54] Such examples, however, relate only to a very élite group of professional soldiers, and further study needs to be done into the socio-economic and political role that military classes, at all levels, played within the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic lordships.

Occasionally English government officials did express their belief that at least some of the swordsmen could be incorporated into a peaceful society. Sir John Davies wrote to Salisbury in August 1607 that the 'kerne and idle gentlemen who have not departed to the wars abroad now apply themselves to husbandry'. Chichester even suggested enthusiastically that the swordsmen who were abroad be recalled as some could be:

> reserved for the plantation and re-peopling of Ulster, where the principal men may be provided for in lands and by entertainment of a longer time, and the common sort will soon vanish or settle themselves.[55]

These however were viewpoints seldom voiced, and the support that both of these men gave to the Swedish expedition, as a means of getting rid of swordsmen, belied their own words. John Davies in fact gave unqualified praise to Chichester's organisation of this expedition. In September 1609 he wrote to Salisbury that Chichester had:

> . . . left the province of Ulster in more complete peace and obedience than has ever been seen since the Conquest. For the Lord Deputy has taken in all the woodkerne and loose people in every county, and has bound them with sureties to depart into Sweden.[56]

To sum up then, the English administration's perception of foreign service as a means of 'ridding the country of idle swordsmen' was based essentially on a belief that these men could not be incorporated into the socio-economic and political structures of Tudor society.

It would be false to imply that there were not at the same time, grave misgivings about Flanders as a destination for the swordmen. We shall now look at the relationship between the English authorities in England and Ireland and those troops who were serving in Flanders.

From Sir William Stanley's switch of allegiance to the Spaniards in January 1587, there seems to have been some anxiety manifested on the English side, with regard to the Irish bands[57] serving in the Irish regiment. Suggestions were made as early as 1 May 1587 to bring those Irishmen back to the service of Her Majesty. Sir John Perrot wrote to the privy council that the eldest son of Edmund Fitzgerald alias the White Knight, 'be made an apt instrument . . . to entice from

Sir William [Stanley], many of the Irishmen that are now with him'.[58] In August 1590, a somewhat elaborate plan was made between Sir Thomas Morgan and Lieutenant Jacques[59] to disperse Stanley's regiment. Morgan, with the help of secret information supplied by Jacques, was to take over the fort of Ordam, where Stanley's regiment was then stationed. The plan received the full approval of both Elizabeth and Burghley, and the queen was to pardon Jacques and any who willingly yielded themselves to the English side. Unfortunately, due to Morgan contacting a fever and the removal of Stanley to another place, the plan never came off. A further plan by Morgan and Edward Sparrowhawk 'to draw away the Irish regiment' was formulated by 15 October 1590,[60] and there is little doubt that Sir Thomas Finglas' three attempts to draw Stanley's Irishmen, gradually into the service of the duc de Mayenne was funded by English sources.[61]

Although the Irish, as a large contingent, never again served under the English crown in the Low Countries, any opportunity that they might do so seems to have been encouraged by the English. It is interesting to note that while Lord Deputy Mountjoy spoke of the need to get rid of idle swordsmen, he also appears to have anticipated some opposition to this course of action. He wrote in 1601

> . . . if it be objected that they (idle swordsmen) will return more able soldiers and more dangerously affected, I can assure your lordships there is no experience can better the knowledge already they have attained unto; . . . and it hath ever been seen that more than three parts of four of their countrymen never return being once engaged in any such voyage.[62]

Even while English authorities in both countries gave support to the levies of 1605, the fear that Irishmen might in some way be 'evilly effected' by service in the Low Countries seems to have been widespread. Chichester wrote in 1605 that:

> (I) cannot think such as serve with the archduke to be truly hearted and affected to the King and his government; the difference in religion being such and other hatreds to this country so naked.[63]

The jurisdiction Irish soldiers now served under in Flanders was Catholic and Spanish and, despite the peace treaty between England and Spain in 1604, Catholic Spain was the proclaimed enemy of Protestantism. As such there was an obvious danger that 'disaffected' swordsmen might find political and military allies there. Chichester went as far as to say that in these soldiers 'lies, the firebrands of new rebellion here',[64] while Sir Geoffrey Fenton described the regiment of Henry O'Neill in Flanders as 'a cloud hanging in the sky, prepared

to break forth upon this realm'.[64] Nor were such sentiments confined to the Dublin administration. When all levies from the British Isles, for both the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands were stopped for a period in 1606, Sir Thomas Edmondes in writing to Brussels spoke specifically of the Irish as being:

> a people, though the most part ignorant yet generally addicted to superstition, which by means of these foreign services they would be more and more misled by it.[65]

Edmondes was, obviously, referring to the possible impact of counter-reformation Catholicism on the Irish soldiers in Flanders.

Such caution on the English government's part certainly affected their policies with regard to those serving under the archduke. Some members of the Dublin administration felt that attempts should be made to disband the Irish regiment and bring the soldiers home. Sir Geoffrey Fenton suggested, in February 1607 that:

> both Tyrone's son and St Lawrence should be withdrawn from the Archduke in time, and either returned home into their country or else dismissed to follow a course of travel if they have desire to see foreign service and customs abroad.[66]

Chichester went even further and claimed in February 1608 to have had considered ways of disbanding the regiment during 'sundry conferences with such as have resorted hither from thence'. His solution was that 'There can be no other course now than that the king should entertain and employ them for a time.'[67]

The regiment, however, was never disbanded and during the period 1606 to 1608 seems, on the contrary, to have grown quite considerably in numbers.[68] How representative then were Fenton's and Chichester's views that the Irish regiment should be dissolved and brought home? The best way to approach this question is to examine government response in England and Ireland to those who wished to come home from Flanders.

This response appears to have been positive initially for those who came after Stanley's switch of allegiance. In March 1587, the lords of council wrote to the lord deputy about 'divers Irishe souldiours who lately served' with Sir William Stanley, noting that 'thoughe they had greate offers of entertainment made unto them to have tarryed, (had) cum awaye, a matter which her Majesty greatly commendeth in them'. The soldiers were to be allowed to

> repayre into Ireland, placed in some of her Majesties bandes as he shall

> find any roome in the same to be voyde, to thend that being entertayned in her paye, in maye be an incouragement both to themselves and others of their nation to continue true subjects to her Majestie in all service.[69]

In 1589, five men—Daniell O'Morroghe, Thomas Conway, Patrick Kelly, Arthure Morroghoe and Robert Johns—who had likewise 'withdrawn themselves' from Stanley, were given permission, by the lords of council, to be employed in 'conveniente places of service' in Ireland,[70] while in December 1593, eleven suitors for pardon from Stanley's regiment were graciously given pardon by the queen, who wrote, 'We do not wish the destruction of such as innocently were forced to disobey us and voluntarily . . . crave remission for the same'.[71]

Nevertheless a distinct word of warning was clearly added in this pardon:

> . . . if ever hereafter they (the soldiers) . . . offer the least piece of service to him (Stanley), or any other of our known rebels or traytors whatever, that they they shall receive no manner of benefit by any pardon promised.

They were also expected to report any rebel activities and the Dublin administration were to ensure that they had friends 'to stay upon to keep them from wandering up and down the country'.[72] While these soldiers were welcomed from Stanley's fold, they were obviously to be kept under surveillance in Ireland. Moreover, it was almost certainly only limited number of soldiers from the enemy camp, who were encouraged to come home. In granting leave to the 'divers' Irish soldiers from Stanley's regiment in 1587 to serve in English bands in Ireland, the privy council stipulated, that the lord deputy should 'have care there be not more of them put in any one bande than by the auncient custome hath bene used'. Sir John Conway went as far as to suggest that these soldiers of Stanley's should not be permitted home at all. Referring to an 'Irishman' who had brought eight men 'over' from Stanley, he commented that:

> These Irishmen are very eager to return to Ireland. They are good soldiers, might well be sent to serve her Majesty somewhere else 'but not here' rather than allowed to return to Ireland.[73]

The reason for such a cautious attitude towards the soldiers soon became clear, as Conway continued:

> I think they have seen more courses of war than is fit for savage men to be acquainted with if they should become untrue there (Ireland).

This then was the kernel of the problem. If the Irish soldiers returned home,

their experience and training as soldiers could be used against English government interests.

Perhaps the most powerful evidence in favour of this argument is the very scarcity of people who received permission to come home from Flanders. Apart from a pardon given to Dowling MacBrian Kavanagh and 'divers other' soldiers in 1587, only five soldiers in 1589, and eleven in 1593, appear from the evidence of the patent and close rolls and privy council records, to have returned legally to Ireland before 1604.[74] It is possible the demand among Stanley's Irish soldiers for permission to return to Ireland may not have been high, but there is certainly some suggestion that it was quite difficult to gain access legally to Ireland once one had decided to desert the enemy camp in Flanders.

Unless one joined the English forces serving in the Low Countries two items appear to have been necessary before one could leave the Low Countries. In John Berington's case, these were clearly stated as being a passport from an English commander and a recommendation for pardon from a person 'in authority' in England.[75] Berington was English, but the same rules appear to have applied to Irishmen. Looking closely at the eleven soldiers who got a pardon and licence to come to Ireland in 1593, it is clear that they had not only convinced Sir Francis Veere 'of their penitent minds' and received passports from him, but it is mentioned specifically in their pardon that they were 'able to find friends of theirs, being our own good subjects, who will give testimony, or rather assurance of their good behaviour hereafter'.[76] A guarantee of good behaviour and a strong protector would seem to have been a necessary prequisite to the granting of a pardon to any soldier and the surveillance under which such soldiers were kept is further borne out by an order of the lords of council in October 1587, that all licenced soldiers 'come out of the Low Countryes', were to be given 'severall pasportes expresing the places where they were taken to serve' and not be allowed 'to wander out of way to said places or commit disorders'.[77]

Nor were such regulations restricted to rank and file members of companies. John Daniel,[78] a former gentleman soldier of Stanley's regiment, stated specifically that the passport for himself and his family to go to England had been 'obtained through the earl of Ormonde in September in 1592', while Sir Thomas Finglas applied to a friend in the inns of court, near London, for a passport 'to be obtained for him' out of the Low Countries.[79]

On the whole, then, the attitude of the English government towards those wishing to return home was essentially a guarded and unfavourable one, and, despite the voices of men like Chichester and Fenton,[80] English policy after 1605 could still be seen in this context. Salisbury, in an interview with the baron de Hoboken, expressed this attitude clearly, with regard to those serving the archduke. He said he preferred the Irish to remain in Flanders 'better than in Ireland as long as the men can do us no harm there'. In December 1607, an offer

made by one Captain de la Hyde 'to employ himself for the breaking of the regiment' was refused,[81] Sir Thomas Edmondes advising him that 'he may rather continue the holding of his company, in order that he may the better discover such practices as may here after be broached to those who serve in the said regiment'. Similarly in July 1609, Salisbury's instructions to Sir Thomas Edmondes on the disbanding of the Irish regiment were clear

> You shall do all in that kind to hinder any such matter, rather than approve it; for they cannot be better than where they are though you need not say so, as if you had any such directions.[82]

Overall then, English government policy towards those serving in Flanders was somewhat ambiguous. They mistrusted the archduke's camp, for what they not only saw as a focal point for Irish fugitives, but also as a military training ground for those who could give support to any rebel faction. There is no doubt however that this potential threat was seen as a very secondary one to the presence of 'idle swordsmen' in the country and return was made very difficult for any soldier who went to Flanders. The ultimate aim of government policy was, as Edmondes explained to his successor,

> that it is the better those men should live in any sort there (in Flanders) than to have any of them return into Ireland, and there is very little care taken here of dangers which do not nearer press us.[83]

Despite the misgivings then, English policy with regard to Irish military service in Flanders remained in 1621, what it had been in 1586—a means of social control. Once the 'idle swordsmen' had departed from the realm, they were not welcome back, leaving the soldier with little alternative but to form a life for himself outside of Ireland.

2

Departure: The Response

A la guerra me lleva mi necesidad:
Si tuviera dineros, no fuera en verdad.
(I was driven to the wars by my necessity;
If I had money truly I would never go.)

Cervantes (*Don Quixote*, ii)

It would be extremely misleading to examine the departure to European armies of several thousand Irish men purely from the perspective of the English administration. Such an approach would limit our concept of foreign service to an institution of social control. The medieval socio-economic organisation as well as the political structures of Irish society were undergoing tremendous change in the sixteenth century, partly due to a process of colonisation but also due to the fundamental changes in the nature of the urban and rural economies. The 1580s and 1590s witnessed a period of upheaval and ensuing economic devastation as a reaction to this change. Against the background of such upheaval this chapter examines public response to foreign service not just as a response to a government formulae for social stability but as the response of different sections of a community to the more fundamental changes taking place within Irish society.

One way to approach the question of public response to foreign service is to try to find evidence of expressed public opinion on the foreign levies. This is notoriously difficult. Official correspondence gives the Dublin administration's *perception* of public response. Nevertheless we do have some clues that foreign levies were not universally popular in Ireland.

In July 1586 Sir Henry Wallop wrote to secretary Walsingham 'in what harsh sort Sir William Stanley hath come by the companies he hath levied here, and how troublesome it hath been to him'.[1] Wallop went as far as to say that 'two bands'[2] extra of soldiers could have been levied 'supposing if care and diligence had been used . . . the impediment he will tell you'. The 'impediment' was explained by the earl of Leicester to secretary Walsingham in a letter of July 1586:

Sir William Stanley, as the Lord Deputy and Secretary doe advertyse me,

> have been greatly hyndered and crossed by dyvers malytyouse and sedytyous brutes geven out in that realm, in the levye of the 1,000 men, as though there were an intent and meaning to bring them to the butchery. Were yt not that the Deputye doth assys(t)e him to the uttermost of his power he should not, as I am informed, be able to raise halfe the numbre.[3]

Sir Richard Bingham, writing to Burghley on the levy of troops in Connaught for the Low Countries, also pointed to the unpopularity of service in Flanders. In a letter of 6 October 1586 he claimed that 'The levying of man here for the service in the Low Countries did cause many idle men to repair to (the Burkes) who had no zeal to the said service beyond the sea.'[4]

Certainly it would have been by no means remarkable if foreign service in Flanders appeared unattractive to many. The death rate and level of disease were notoriously high in the continual siege warfare of the Low Countries,[5] and without any formal system of leave in the armies of the Low Countries, the percentage rate of return for foreign soldiers was between one and two per cent per month.[6] Undoubtedly, when Deputy Mountjoy pointed out in 1601 that only a quarter of those who went on military service abroad would ever return,[7] he was probably painting an accurate if not somewhat optimistic picture. Nor were wages for ordinary foot soldiers particularly high in the Army of Flanders. Apart from the irregularity of payments,[8] the average monthly wage for an Irish foot soldier in 1587 was approximately three escudos (or approximately sixteen shillings sterling) a month, while after 1580 in Ireland a foot soldier could command eight pence per full day.[9]

On the other hand, life as a soldier in foreign wars had many attractions. A soldier could collect rich plunder and be free from any form of seigneurial dues, tithes and taxes, while most of those going from Ireland were no strangers to the hardships of a soldier's life.[10] Moreover, the impression given by both Wallop and Leicester was that the opposition to the levies came from organised external forces, rather than reluctance on the part of the individual recruits themselves. Wallop spoke of 'the impediment' which prevented the recruitment of two extra bands, and Leicester spoke of the 'malytyouse and sedytyous brutes geven out in that realm' which, he implied, were deliberately circulated to lead many to think they were going to be slaughtered. Who or what these external forces were, is open to conjecture. In the 1544 levy to France and Scotland the then lord deputy, St Leger, spoke of the kind of opposition he encountered by explaining 'that no captain of Irishmen, knowing his neighbours, was in any hurry to denude his country of fighting men, unless they did the same'.[11] In this he referred to the political instability of both the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lordships which necessitated the maintenance of professional soldiers to ensure a balance of power between opposing groups. Since such stability was by no means accomplished in 1586 one suspects that a similar kind of reluctance on

the part of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords to part with 'fighting men' from their territories, also accounted for some of the opposition to the levies of Stanley, and may have been the root source of some of these 'malytyouse' rumours.

Certainly the rumours were contrived by some source in whose interest it was to have these levies stopped. More than that is pure speculation without sufficient local evidence. We can, therefore, really only assess attitudes to military service in the Low Countries by looking at the system of levying troops for Flanders and the level of success they appear to have enjoyed.

Stanley's levy for the Low Countries in 1586 as part of an English military expedition to aid the Dutch, was state-funded[12] and -organised. Stanley was paid forty shillings as 'impress' per man[13] to carry out the levy, and food and transport were also organised by him and the state-appointed purveyor, Thomas Lynyall.[14] Nevertheless the voluntary nature of the levy was heavily emphasised. Although commissions of array, (which granted the holder the right to conscript troops between the ages of sixteen and sixty) were common in England at this period, Sir Thomas Sherley wrote to the earl of Leicester in March 1586 that, due to the expense involved for Elizabeth, 'pressing men by commission' in this expedition from Ireland would probably be forbidden.[15] Sherley's prophecy appears to have been realised. While Elizabeth was reluctant to transport any troops out of Ireland, she was persuaded to do so on the assurance that 'voluntaries' and discharged bands in Ireland could be transported to the Low Countries 'without her burden'.[16] On 30 March, Sir William Stanley wrote to secretary Walsingham of his appointment and duties noting, that he had 'been appointed by his Excellency to fetch a thousand voluntaries from Ireland', while Leicester in April 1586 thanked the queen for assisting him in 'her service here, with licensing of voluntary men to come over'.[17]

This voluntary element was even more pronounced in the levies for the archdukes which took place in 1605 and 1621 for Flanders. In contrast to Stanley's expedition these levies were entrepreneurial in spirit. Any contractor could recruit a given number of soldiers, for whom he would be well paid, and he was of course responsible therefore for all costs incurred during the levy. In October 1605, for example, Captain Walter de la Hyde obtained an impress of 1,000 ducats from the Spanish government for the transport of soldiers to Flanders,[18] and the records of the Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre[19] reveal that commissions as captains were awarded in 1605 to Thomas Preston, 'who recruited a company of Irish infantry at his own expense, and William Walshe, 'who has come to this country with 60 men recruited by him in Ireland at his own cost'.[20] Similarly between May 1621 and December 1622 commissions for captaincies were given to nine Irishmen—Edmond O'Morra [O'Moore], Carlos O'Neill, George de la Hyde, Walter de la Hyde, John Maguire, Henry O'Hagan, Patrick Daniel, George Fitzgerald and Edmund Butler—all of whom

offered to 'raise a company of 200 men of the Irish nation at their own expense'.[21] Moreover, it was made clear to those who applied to levy soldiers for Flanders that these soldiers should be volunteers as opposed to conscripts. In accordance with the terms agreed upon with the baron de Hoboken in England, the lords of the council instructed Chichester with regard to contractors in Ireland, that

> it is not meet that any man be taken up by sound of drum or displaying of ensign but only such as may be voluntarily procured by themselves and by means of their friends.[22]

'200 voluntaries' was the allotment recommended by the privy council for each contractor and during the levying in October they again emphasised that those seeking 'employment under foreign Princes' went 'under title of voluntary soldiers'.[23]

Even in the Swedish expedition from 1609 to 1613 the essential nature of the levy was voluntary. While the commanders of the expedition were chosen by Chichester[24] and transport, clothing and food organised by England, Chichester made it clear in the 1608 contract with Sweden that this levy would be for those who 'freely proffered themselves to this service'. In August 1609 he again emphasised this fact, issuing the order that 'men are not to be compelled but . . . only as will voluntarily put themselves into service'.[25]

In all of the levies between 1586 and 1622, then, it was officially illegal to conscript or 'press' a soldier. One can, of course, speculate on how the term 'voluntary' was interpreted in practice. The Dublin administration were anxious to be rid of any 'idle swordsmen' from the provinces and voluntary bands were notoriously difficult to recruit. In 1586 Sir Thomas Sherley in fact listed the problems a levy entailed, the basic one being that 'Yt wyll . . . be very chargeable to rayse bandes in that sort'. Contrary to expectations voluntary recruitment did prove to be expensive in Ireland. While only the lord deputy or lieutenant was required to organise a commission of array, officers were needed to cover a wider area of recruiting ground where levies were voluntary. Secondly, as there was no legal binding on the voluntary soldier,

> to everye small companye ther must soome offycer be imployed, for yf monney shall be delyvered unto suche soldyars owne handes for prest and conduct, they wyll sewrely rune awaye, bycawse ther is noe suche lawes to meete wyth them as is for men prest by commyssyon.[26]

Certainly Leicester's indication of July 1586 that Stanley had been helped out in these levies by Deputy Perrot, implied that some degree of force was used in recruiting this expedition.[27] Overall, however, there was little likelihood that the Dublin administration or the contractors of 1605 and 1621 would go very

much against a legal stipulation so heavily emphasised by London. Thomas Sherley's very grievances implied on the contrary that they had little intention of doing so.

What then was the public response to these levies? Numerically it certainly appears quite favourable. Despite the difficulties involved in recruiting his soldiers, Stanley appears nevertheless to have brought over at least 1,000 men to the Low Countries.[28] In May 1586 he wrote to Burghley that 'I have travailled to make provisions for victuals to be sent to Waterford in Ireland for the thousand men there to be sent by sea to Flushing'. Thomas Lynyall confirmed two days later that the victuals had in fact been transported for 1,000 and in Burghley's 'Memorial of Ireland' under Sir John Perrot, he noted that '10 bands of footmen were delivered to Sir William Stanley'.[29] What Stanley's quota was is somewhat more difficult to ascertain. According to Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador to Paris, Stanley's commission was to recruit 1,500 soldiers from Ireland, but in fact Sherley's letter to Leicester noted that the levy wold probably be for 'one thousand men, and perhaps more'.[30] Whichever report was accurate it seems likely that Stanley was not far off fulfilling the maximum quota of troops allowed.

The numbers of recruits got for the archduke's levies in 1605 are more difficult to determine. Nevertheless, we do have information that most captains who were recommended by London did well. In a report to Salisbury it was stated specifically that Captain Walter de la Hyde had got his full quota of 200 men with whom he travelled from Waterford to London. William Nuse claimed that levying for the Army of Flanders, he could have the 'choice of as many men as he desired' and also brought 200 with him to Spain, while in December 1605 Thomas Preston arrived in the Low Countries with 'a full comapny' that he had recruited in Ireland.[31] On the other hand William Walshe recruited only 60 men and Captain William Darcy was reported at Southampton to have 'only 90 men',[32] though the fact that these small numbers were specifically commented upon by government sources might have indicated they were unusual.

Similarly in the 1621-2 levies there appears to have been no difficulty filling quotas. Thomas Carte wrote that 'there was no want of men' for these Irish captains noting that Walter de la Hyde had in fact got 300 men, a 100 over the quota he had been assigned to recruit by the authorities in Flanders. By March 1623 all of the nine captains contracted to recruit in Ireland were again on active service in Flanders with full companies,[33] and by 1624 the formation of a second Irish regiment in place of the English and Scots one was already under discussion.[34]

Certainly there is no evidence, from either Spanish or English sources, to suggest that any of the contractors had difficulty in finding recruits. On the contrary, English officials were convinced that the response to such levies would be very favourable. Both Sir Henry Docwra and Mountjoy pointed out

that after Kinsale they found the 'Irishery' 'coming in' from rebellion at this time 'much to affect some journey into the Low Countries' or 'other place of foreign service'.[35] In recommending the captains who were to act as contractors in 1605, the lords of the council stated clearly that if good leaders could be found 'there are many . . . who, it is thought, would willingly betake themselves to the wars of other foreign countries'.[36] The alternative for many of the professional military class was made clear by Sir George Carew who wrote to Cecil in 1602: 'The buonies in Munster do begin to shake knowing I will now have time to hunt them, they are beginning to ask for my leave to depart this province'.[37]

In assessing the levies of 1586, 1605 and 1621 one must agree with Geoffrey Parker that these levies were essentially voluntary in spirit.[38] The English administration certainly provided opportunities, and often the resources, to serve abroad, but public response to the levies for Flanders appears to have also been favourable. Numbers of volunteers were high and many likely to have been 'well affected' to foreign service as part of an unemployed professional military class. Moreover, response to foreign service cannot be assessed merely in terms of official levies. Many went to serve in Flanders independently of the 1586, 1605 and 1621-2 levies, and departure for foreign service was a continuous process that spanned the thirty-five years of our study.

Various sources indicate that many went 'freelance' to serve on the battlefields of the Low Countries. Some names like John Stanihurst and Thomas Butler[39] appear in the records of the Army of Flanders before the Stanley expedition took place at all, while the same records map the continuous arrival of Irishmen for service with the archduke right through the period from 1587 to 1621. As a source, the Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre reports are certainly incomplete. Records were confined to lists of officers or holders of *entretenimientos* and *ventaja* grants so that rank and file names only appear under grants for special services and licences.[40] However, these records do give an indication of the trend of arrivals from Ireland, and between 1588 and 1601 and 1611 and 1620, for example, they register the arrival of soldiers from Ireland at a period when there was certainly no organised levy in Ireland.[41]

English sources, too, indicate a steady stream of men from Ireland going to serve in the Low Countries. Some of these apparently served on the Dutch side, like Hugh O'Molloy, who petitioned Burghley in 1585 for a pension 'for his service in the Low Countries', or James FitzGarret, who served under Sir William Russell in the Low Countries and had, by 1595, seen service there for fifteen years.[42] Most, however, appear to have gone into Spanish service. On 10 December 1588, Sir Thomas Morgan reported to Walsingham the arrival of 'some twenty men, who were in Ireland and shipped out of Scotland' to the duke of Parma's camp, while in 1616 a memorial to the archduke noted the arrival at Dunkirk of 'fifty-two persons, Irish and Scots and amongst them some

very close relatives of the highest nobility of the both kingdoms' who were to be granted 'places in the Irish and Scots infantry'.[43] After Kinsale the exodus of Gaelic lords and their retainers to Spanish armies can be seen in this context. Hugh Mostyn, Connor O'Driscoll and Tieg MacDonnell MacCarthy were later listed as officers in the Irish regiment under Henry O'Neill,[44] and likewise some like Henry O'Hagan, John Bathe and Hugh O'Gallagher,[45] who left with the earls in 1607 or shortly afterwards, went to serve under the archduke.

It would not be accurate to say that those leaving illicitly for military service in Flanders were isolated cases or confined to groups from the upper levels of society. On the contrary, much of the evidence points to the departure of large groups and from all classes. In 1597 a report in the *Fugger Newsletters* noted that:

> Although the Spanish General (Cardinal Albert) has suffered loss and only gets very slender assistance from foreign troops the wild Irish troops join him in great numbers daily. In this way he does the English considerable harm.[46]

Similarly, a list of 'Emigrants from Munster to Spain', compiled by George Carew in 1602,[47] contained approximately 150 names ranging from Connor O'Driscoll, 'heir to Sir Fynnen O'Driscoyle of Castlehaven', to 'Domynicke White', a carpenter's son, and Andrew and William Butler, who were classed as 'kearne'. Nor was this list exhaustive. The names of most of the followers and 'train' of particular lords were not included, and Carew himself admitted that there were probably many more 'stolen thither without his knowledge'.[48] In July 1602, he claimed that, had there been sufficient shipping, 'half of the provincials of Munster would fly thither (to Spain),' a comment borne out by Charles Wilmot, who noted in January 1606 that since his time in Ireland 'he saw no passage that had been for Spain but had been stuffed with Irishmen to seek for pensions of the Spanish King'.[49]

Obviously not all of these sought military service as a means of making a living, but that many of them did seems to be indicated by the fluctuating levels within the Irish companies under the archduke. The number of independent Irish companies in the Army of Flanders rose from two in 1597 to five by April 1605,[50] and it seems probable that these three extra companies were formed to accommodate those who left Munster and Connaught after the battle of Kinsale in 1601 or shortly before. A testimony of one Jordan Roche of Kinsale claimed that 'The Irishmen who went with Connougher O'Driscoyle and the Irish of Munster which went with Don Juan into Spain are all . . . in sundry companies in the King's wages', while at least two of the three new companies appear to have been formed between 1602 and 1605. Significantly 900 of the Irish regiment's total of 1,400 in July 1607 were reported to be 'Munstermen'.[51]

These freelance departures also continued after the official levies negotiated with the archduke in 1605. In June 1606, at a period when the hysteria over the gunpowder plot was at its height, and all levying for the Low Countries strictly forbidden, forty-three Irishmen were reported in the Army of Flanders records to have 'recently arrived from Spain by way of France' to be enrolled in the archduke's service.[52] Chichester also noted in 1606 the growing numbers of 'loose men of this nation flocking unto' Henry O'Neill and, on 19 and 22 July 1607 respectively, two commissions were granted to Teig MacCarthy and Neil MacLoughlin to form new companies in Henry O'Neill's regiment.[53] After the flight of the earls, more joined the regiment from Ulster. In November 1607 Sir Thomas Edmondes reported to Salisbury that 'a company of Irish infantry pikemen' was to be 'formed of the men of that nation who have recently come from Ireland in the trains of the Earls'.[54] Between 1610 and 1620, in fact, at least twenty grants to serve in the army of Flanders were issued to Irish soldiers.[55]

Essentially, then, departure to foreign service was a form of migration. Whether with a contractor, an expedition of by private means, a continuous stream of people voluntarily chose to enter military service in Flanders. In this final section of this chapter, I shall examine the meaning of foreign service for many in this context.

For many of the poorer classes, military service in Flanders seemed to be an alternative to starvation or at least tremendous economic misery at home. The devastation of Munster after the Desmond rebellion has been well documented,[56] and the subsequent 'unseasonable harvest' in 1586 left Munster, according to Lord Deputy Perrot, 'destitute both of corn, beef, and all other victual for men and horses'.[57] It was therefore in this context that the vice-president of Munster, Thomas Norreys, wrote to the lord deputy in December 1585 that many of his company of soldiers 'hoping to better their estates are ronne frome me into Flanders or other places'.[58]

Many, besides soldiers, also sought refuge abroad throughout the late 1580s and 1590s because of the prevailing social and economic conditions. The problem of Irish migrants was particularly acute in England after the Desmond rebellion. A private letter of one M. de Mauvissière to an Archibald Douglas in November 1585 remarked on the commonplace sight of 'exiled Irishmen, who solicit alms in England'.[59] The problem had obviously reached crisis proportions in 1587, when the lords of the council in England demanded of the lord deputy, that order be given 'unto the Governors and Counsell in Munster and the principall officers of the corporate townes in those partes for the receyvinge and bestowing of the poore Irish people . . . to be transported backe into that Realme'.[60] In future 'the officers of the portes' were to ensure that no

more 'poore Irish' were transported from Ireland to England. The order however did not prove an effective deterrent, for in 1591 the lords of the council again complained of the

> great nombers of vagrant and masterless persons of the Irish byrthe that a long tyme, contrarie to good orders and lawes in that behalf provided go begging in and about the cittie of London and the subburbes thereof.[61]

Moreover, the flow of 'poore Irish' almost certainly gathered momentum during the Nine Years War. In May 1606 Chichester, on receiving complaints from England about the 'multitude of Irish beggars' there, defended his own position by reference to the restrictions he had lately introduced to curb emigration from Ireland.[62] Referring to the Nine Years War period, he maintained that 'those fugitive beggars'

> had stolen from thence (Ireland) in the time of the late rebellion, rather than since the peace began to grow, and that having been in France, Spain, and the Low Countries to seek relief they made England on their way homeward.[63]

Looking at conditions during the Nine Years War it is hardly surprising that so many did leave. Citing an example of one area in the Bernes, Sir Henry Harrington wrote to Mr Waad in 1597 of the misery of the inhabitants, noting it was '. . . pitiful to hear what famine and extremity the poor inhabitants of the Bernes (Cavan) are driven to. They eat horses, a quarter of a bad garron is sold for five schillings, their stud mares, their best relief.' In 1603 Captain Charles Blessington wrote to the earl of Nottingham that 'victuals are so scarce in the country that it is thought most of them (the rebels) will starve this year'.[64] Such cases of extremities were certainly not unusual at the turn of the century. Describing the effects of the Nine Years War on the Irish economy, Steven Ellis in his recent publication *Tudor Ireland*, gave the following poignant picture:

> Large parts of Ireland had been devastated, crops burned, cattle slaughtered, buildings razed: Ulster was almost a wilderness, Munster west of Cork almost uninhabited, trade disrupted, the coinage debased, towns ruined or declining, and the population decimated by famine. The contrast with England could hardly have been starker.[65]

Inevitably the lower levels of society bore the blunt.

Moreover, the effects of constant warfare combined with terrible harvest failures from 1601 to 1603 so that the price of wheat in 1602 was almost six times the 1589 level. Famine thus began to spread particularly in the towns, and

by 1604 'plague' had been reported in Kilkenny, Waterford and Dublin.[66] The harvest was good in 1606, but even as late as 1607 Bishop William Lyons, of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, described to the lord deputy the kind of devastation in evidence in Munster:

> The country is waste, especially in these parts of his diocese, by reason of Her Majesty's army lying against Kensall (Kinsale), the Spanish forces and the rebellious route. They that escaped the sword died through famine.

Not all, however, were dead. Despite Chichester's claim, migration continued to be the solution for many and Bishop Lyons continued that:

> . . . out of these parts of his dioceses, by credible report, 4,000 or 5,000 are departed, some for France, some for Spain, so that the country is without inhabitants, especially from Cork to the West, as far as Berehaven, even 60 miles.[67]

Obviously not all of these made their way abroad to serve in the Low Countries, but as has been already noted, the growing numbers of Irish serving the archduke must have reflected an imput from large numbers leaving Ireland. Furthermore, it is probably significant that the 'wild Irish troops' were reported to have joined the archduke in 'great numbers' towards the middle and end of the Nine Years War, when this exodue of 'fugitive beggars' was at its height.

Many of course only went to the continent to seek a pension from Spain, or just simply to beg for a living. Micheline Walsh in her article on 'Womenfolk of the Wild Geese' pointed out that she found records of 769 Irish refugees for the month of December 1605, receiving allowances in Corunna[68] and Henri Martin in his *Histoire de France* noted that the countryside in France was crowded with poor Irish begging from door to door during the first decade of the seventeenth century.[69] However, the connection between those in the military service of the archduke and those 'fugitive beggars' came to be very closely forged in the minds of many. In an anonymous series of 'Questions and Answers' concerning the 'State of Ireland' under 1604 in the English state papers, Irish beggars and soldiers were seen to pose an equal threat to the state. The answer to the question relating to the numbers of Irish abroad noted:

> The regiment in the Low Countries is about 1,700 but I have heard, I know not how truly, that in pay, pension, and proud beggars in Spain and France, all squared for rebellion, are 4,000 at least.[70]

There was no Irish regiment in existence until December 1605, and it is possible that the calendered date of 1604 on this document is incorrect and may more

likely have been 1607.[71] However, the idea that all these diverging groups might unify was significant and was also a view held by Charles Cornwallis, English ambassador to Madrid. In 1609 he wrote to the privy council that 'the wandering Irish in France and Spain' would be called home to aid any invasion as would 'the practised Irish soldiers . . . in Flanders'.[72]

The connection between beggars and soldiers was also made within the Irish regiment itself. The line between military service in the Army of Flanders and mendicancy was narrow, and many supplemented often unreliable army incomes with begging. Daniel O'Farrel, for example, obviously a gentleman *entretenido* serving under Cornelius O'Driscoll, on receiving a reduction from forty escudos to ten escudos a month in his grant, requested from the archduke 'a written licence . . . to go about the country begging, until such time as a general decision shall be made concerning all such practitioners'.[73] Many 'wandering Irish' were, on the other hand, encouraged to enter the service of the archduke, either by Spanish civil and military authorities to whom they posed a social problem, or by interested parties in the regiment. On 4 July 1606, Chichester wrote to Salisbury that some of the Irish 'beggars' who had arrived back in Munster from the continent told him 'that they were commanded to resort to the service of the Archduke' by Spanish authorities. However, once they had got impress of their wages for a month or two, they had 'taken off', which Chichester felt was all to the good as it made them 'more contemptible with that nation [i.e. Spain] which hath long allured them to its service to no good purpose'.[74] On a more important level, Henry Wotton, the English ambassador in Vienna, reported to Salisbury, April 1608, that the earl of Tyrone had gone into Italy leaving 'one Captain Symonds (Fitzsimons?) and some others . . . appointed to go into France to make a collection of all the Irish beggars who are there, and to reduce them into companies'.[75]

Migration to European armies from 1586 then was closely linked to a wider pattern of migration occurring at a period of political upheaval and economic stress. It seems undeniable that military service in Flanders was closely connected for many to social and economic conditions at home and as such represented, if not perhaps a better way of life, at least an opportunity to make a better life for oneself. Many of those in the upper levels of society also appear to have regarded foreign service in the same light.

For the sons of Palesmen who wished to follow a military career, the chance of obtaining any officer positions in the English army in Ireland were becoming very slim by 1605. Large-scale demobilisation left officers as well as rank and file without jobs and like those who served beneath them many sought foreign service as a way to recoup their losses. An indication of the kind of numbers involved in changing from military service in Ireland to service under the archduke, is suggested by two statements from Sir Robert Napper and Deputy Chichester. On 18 November 1599, Sir Robert Napper wrote to Cecil that 'all

the younger brothers almost of the Pale were in pay (of Her Majesty)', while Chichester, ironically using almost the same words, wrote on 12 September 1606 that 'most of the Lords and principal gentlement of the Pale have either a son or a near kinsman with the Archdukes, who are kindly entertained'.[76] Of particular significance was the fact that most of the 1605 levies were conducted by Palesmen. Chichester wrote to Salisbury in October 1605, that the levies had mostly attracted 'divers young gentlemen of the Pale and the borders'.[77] Of those whom we know received such commissions, this certainly appears to have been the case. Walter de la Hyde, William Darcy, Maurice (Fitzgarret?) Fitzgerald, Thomas Preston, William Walsh (of Galway) were all from Old English or Anglo-Irish areas, while Art O'Neill seems to have been the only Old Irish captain involved.'[78]

There seems little reason to doubt Chichester's claim, in June 1606, that after the peace with Spain in 1604 one friend drew on another from 'principal houses of the Pale' to serve with the archduke.[79] While we have not as yet any comprehensive guide to the names of Irish serving in the English army in Ireland, initial research on captains in the English army indicate that at least three Irishmen—Edward Fitzgerald, Christopher St Lawrence and Hugo Mostyn—were 'foot captains' in the English army in Ireland before serving in the same capacity in the Army of Flanders.[80]

For younger sons or those awaiting their inheritance, a post of command in some army was often the only means of livelihood available. The case of Christopher St Lawrence demonstrated this point admirably. Despite the fact that Christopher was heir to a baronetcy,[81] in the interim period he had to earn his living and appears to have had a distinguished career in the English army in Ireland. He fought against the O'Byrnes in 1595 and was knighted at court and made commander of the garrison at Cavan following this campaign.[82] During 1598-99 he fought with Essex against Tyrone and in August 1599 was in charge of 500 horse and 50 foot near Louth. Under Mountjoy's administration he still continued to serve as colonel and was present at Kinsale.[83] His last command however appears to have been as governor of Monaghan about 1602 and by 29 October 1605 he was already bemoaning his financial state. Chichester wrote to Salisbury that:

> . . . his want of competent means compels him to seek some employment or other fortune for a time—either from the King unto whom he intends to make this known by petition, or from some other Prince to whom, should he be refused by his Majesty, he intends to address himself.[84]

Chichester indeed requested that James I 'be pleased to favour this gentleman with some pension or other entertainment during the life of his father', but from a letter of Chichester to Salisbury on 17 July 1606 we find in fact that this request was not granted. Chichester tells us:

> Being now, upon this last reducement hopeless of receiving any means from His Majesty for his maintenance; until by the death of his father other fortunes may befall him, and having here small helps of his own, he has importuned Chichester for licence ot pass through France (to Flanders).[85]

Although St Lawrence had in fact returned by the end of 1607[86] the development of his case and the role foreign service played in it, was clear. He had to seek some means of funds and service in Flanders clearly provided him with the opportunity to do so.

Though information is not so detailed on others who served with the archduke we can make similar conclusions about some. George de la Hyde claimed in 1617 that he had 'abandoned his estate' in order to serve in the Army of Flanders.[89] Thomas Finglas, who served under Stanley and later in France, was also heir to property which he committed to the charge of his brother John, while abroad.[88] In an autobiographical account of his service abroad, he claimed that his inheritance was 'charged with many debts', and the responsibility of having to support his cousin's[89] widow, Mrs Alson Plunket, and three other cousins, forced him to go 'for better relief of my land and discharge of the said preferment of my cousins into France'. He further noted that in between service to the English in the Low Countries and Henri III's French wars, he was reduced to living on 'such little portion of my livings as my wife sent my yearly'. Although he applied for a passport to England in 1591 he was still listed as an *entretenido* in the archduke's service in 1593 and probably did not return home until the end of Elizabeth's reign.[90]

A similar trend was discernible within the circles of the Gaelic landed aristocracy. Some Old Irish soldiers who served with the archduke were also heirs to property and spent only a short time in Flanders before coming back to Ireland again. One example was Dowling MacBrian Kavanagh, who went out with Stanley in 1586 but by 1592 had received a pardon for this service and initiated proceedings for the surrender and regrant of his lands 'in the countie of Carlough'.[91] Maurice Fitzgibbon, who returned from service with Sir William Stanley in 1589,[92] was heir to the property of his father, Edmund Fitzgibbon the White Knight, although title to this land was under contention for most of the 1590s.[93] Similarly Hugh Boy O'Dogherty, son and heir to Sir John, served with Sir William Stanley in Flanders until he came home in 1595 to assist the rebels in the Nine Years War.[94] Later records show that after the truce with Holland in 1607, the subsequent *reducción* in the Army of Flanders saw eighty-nine licences granted to mainly Old Irish between 9 September 1611 and 30 September 1613.[95] Since few of these names appear again in the Army of Flanders records it can be assumed that they must have found some means of livelihood in Ireland.

There were, of course, those for whom service in Flanders was the only means

of making a living. Bagwell in his book on *Tudor Ireland* noted that recruits for foreign service tended to mostly include 'penniless young men of good Irish families who knew no trade but fighting'.[96] It was an epitaph that described elements within the upper levels of all sections of Irish society. Among the younger sons of the Pale, for example, foreign service was not regarded as a means of extra funds but as the only way of life they were ever going to lead. In January 1608, when Captain Walter de la Hyde offered to attempt the 'breaking' of the Irish regiment, he stressed to Salisbury that he would have to be reimbursed by keeping his company or by alternative employment in English service:

> I will resigne my company to the Cardinall (Archduke), but I hope they shall nott stay long under his commande. Your Lp. shall understande, that I am a younger brother and I have no means to liv but my company; but I do not dubte of your Lps honourable bounty to reconsider of my to bestow means on my whereby I myght live.[97]

The number of younger sons who served with O'Neill—like Thomas Stanihurst,[98] Alexander Eustace of Castlemartin[99] and Thomas St Lawrence,[100] for example,—was also a testimony to this, though some came home from the archduke's service as early as 1608.[101]

Similarly within the Gaelic context, Chichester described Donnell (?) younger brother and heir to Sir Donogh O'Connor as 'an unstaid man (who) in the late Queen's days long served the Spaniards'.[102] Cormac Ros O'Connor and Cornelius O'Reilly, who both served with the archduke, were younger brothers to those who held land under crown title within Gaelic lordships.[103] Foreign service had also obvious attractions for such families as the MacSweeneys—captains of the gallowglass of Cormac MacDermott, lord of Muskerry, at least three of whom served after 1605 in Spanish armies.[104] Within Anglo-Irish circles Thomas Stafford described Redmond Burke as a 'son of Shane of the Clover Baron of Leitrim, Co. Galway, son of Ricard, earl of Clan Ricard a famous professional soldier'.[105] There must have been many more in Burke's position.

A final category attracted to foreign service were those Anglo-Irish and Old Irish rebels who had their land confiscated and sought refuge in Spanish service. Maurice Fitzgerald (brother of the lord of Kerry), whose name appeared on the records of the Army of Flanders from the early 1590s to 1605, was a case in point. His wife Elena, in a statement to the Spanish council of state in 1610, claimed that Maurice had gone 'to serve in the Spanish Army of Flanders' at the end of the 'recent wars in Ireland (when) . . . his estates were confiscated by the English'.[106] Some of the grants issued to Irish wishing to serve in the Army of Flanders indicated a similar background for many of the arrivals. Grants to the five Burke brothers, James Ricardo, Arthur Querman, John Bal,

and a group of 'six Irishmen'[107] between 1588 and 1594, noted that they were men who, due to 'devotion and zeal . . . have left their own country and possessions to come and serve his Majesty in these States'.[108] Between 1601 and 1607, many of the grants followed the pattern of that given to John Maqueshy. He received ten escudos a month as he 'has represented to us the many years during which his father and several of his vassals and dependants in Ireland served against England, with the Catholic party, and lost their possessions'.[109] In 1614 Daniel O'Farrel claimed that his 'inheritance and possessions' had been confiscated by the king of England, while memorials by Oghy O'Hanlon, John Maguire and Cormac O'Neill in 1617 testified that the 'heretics' had deprived them of their estate. The three received captaincies in the regiment of John O'Neill.[110]

In defining what military service in Flanders represented to people, or the role it played in the years 1586 to 1621, an important trend of development can be seen. Although the survey conducted here is far from complete, service in Flanders was obviously becoming, for an increasingly wider group, a temporary or long term solution to their problems at home; attracting to it 'poore Irish' beggars and kerne as well as 'idle swordsmen', younger sons in pursuit of a career and heirs to estates severely in debt. It was above all within this concept of foreign service that Hugh O'Neill's advice to Rory O'Donnell in 1607 was 'to repair into England and seek licence from the King which he thought would easily be granted, as it was to Christopher St Lawrence and others'.[111] That many of the followers of the earls in 1607 and the rebels of Munster after Kinsale had political motives in going abroad, or that they even regarded the Irish regiment as a tool in these motives, is undoubtedly true, but lies beyond the scope of this chapter. What military service in Flanders had fundamentally become during this period was an inherent social tradition in Irish society—a means of establishing social order on the part of a Tudor government and an alternative way of making a living on the part of the soldier.

3

The Formation of a Regiment

> Five hundred Irishmen left Ireland
> in order to assist the Queen of England
> in the Flemish War; and though the
> greater part of them were cut off,
> their name and renown for heroism and
> bravery spread throughout Europe.
>
> *Annals of the Four Masters*

The Army of Flanders remained at an average strength of 65,000 men throughout the Eighty Years War between Spain and the United Provinces. Although the commander corps was Spanish, the soldiers came mainly from six diffferent 'nations'—units from Spain, Italy, Burgundy, Germany and the British Isles serving along with the local troops of the Spanish Netherlands—the Walloons.[1] Since most of these soldiers came from Habsburg or Spanish dominion they were subjects of Spain rather than mercenaries but it was nevertheless in the context of a multiplicity of nationalities, languages and cultures, that the Irish were to serve. Having assessed the role that foreign service had begun to play in Irish society by the end of the sixteenth century, it is intended in this chapter to establish a structural model for the Irish as a unit within the Army of Flanders. It is hoped to achieve this by a close analysis of the numerical trends and membership patterns identifiable within this group.

Probably the most fundamental question that arises in trying to analyse a group is to actually elucidate the names and numbers of people we are dealing with. In the case of the Irish in the Army of Flanders, two sources are of use here: firstly, the accounts of the *pagadores generales* or the paymasters general of the Army of Flanders whose *Datta a tropos irlandesas* after 1587 list, the numbers in each company at each muster; and secondly, the Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre in the Archives Générales du Royaume at Brussels cited in Chapter 2.[2] However, within these sources there are serious deficiencies. In the first source few individual names are given, while even in the records at Brussels the racial origins of the soliders from the various parts of the British Isles are either not given or wrongly identified.

These limitations make it necessary not only to examine often unreliable eye

witness accounts of the Irish serving in the Low Countries but also to examine the terms of reference used in these reports where they speak of the 'Irish' in the Army of Flanders. Therefore, most of this chapter deals with the definition of the Irish 'group' in Flanders as well as its numerical development while the final section of the chapter deals with the people who made up this group and the inter-relations within it. For the purposes of this chapter 'Irish' is defined as Anglo-Irish, Old English or Old Irish as opposed to the New English who also served in the Low Countries.

As has been established in previous chapters the group of Irishmen who went with Sir William Stanley to serve in the Low Countries in 1586 almost certainly represented the largest group of Irishmen to go as a unit to serve on the continent. Stanley's group probably consisted of about 1,100 and of these, 500 were described by Lord Deputy Perrot as 'kerne'. The other 600 of the 'discharged royal bands from Ireland' almost certainly contained many Irish too who had fought in the English army in Ireland so that the numbers of Irish among this group may well have been in the region of 700.[3] Whatever about the figures before the surrender of Deventer by Stanley in January 1587, the number that actually went over to the Spanish side is cited in exact terms in the Valladolid archives. These figures noted that 626 soldiers and 90 officers went over to the Spanish side, making a total of 716 then under Stanley.[4]

The officers of this group appear to have been mostly English. This is clear both from Sir Ralph Sadler's list of the original six captains of companies to surrender to the Spanish, and the slightly later list given in the Valladolid document itself. Of fifteen names of captains given, the only one that was Irish is the Sergeant Major, Simon Scurlocke, who was described as an 'Irish gentleman' and was probably one of the Scurlocks of Rathcreedan.[5] In fact for the entire period from 1587 to 1596 the only Irish captains mentioned who served under Stanley were Thomas Finglas, Oliver Eustace and Lawrence Fullan (Phelan?). The same pattern emerges with regard to the 'inferior' officers or officers of lower rank. In an English list of Stanley's officers compiled in 1587 there appears to be only one name out of the twenty which could have been Irish. This exception was Sergeant Brenan, who could just as well have been English. Even after March 1587 when many of the English officers had sued for pardon and it was reported to England that 'some Irisch nobleman' had come to Stanley to serve, the Irish element of the officer corps was minimal. Between 1587 and 1596 the only names in the military records with an Irish background, besides the three captains previously mentioned, were lieutenants Thomas Butler, Edward Fitzgerald, Morgan Kavanagh, Ferdinand O'Donnell, George Caffoyr, Edward Bermingham and ensigns Patrick Dillon, John Kelly, Thomas Stanihurst, George Barret and Hugh [Doherty?], all of whom were described specifically as 'Irish'. There were obviously more, and it is extremely difficult to judge the origins of names like Barrett or Barnwall which had also

English connections. However, fourteen of the eighty-five officer names that we can definitely identify in Stanley's regiment indicates a low percentage of Irish involvement.[6]

There is, however, little doubt that Irish soldiers constituted the bulk of the rank and file of Stanley's regiment. Sir Ralph Sadler described the force that went with Stanley into Spanish service as being for 'the greatest part Irish'. On 4 December 1587 John Giles confirmed this to secretary Walsingham by describing Stanley's regiment as being 'the most part Irish and Scots and the rest English'. The military reports of both the English and the Spanish significantly regarded the terms 'Stanley's regiment' and the 'Irish regiment' as synonymous. Commanders like Sir Thomas Morgan and Sir John Norris consistently referred to the 'Irish regiment' of Stanley in their military reports, and offical reports of the Army of Flanders were similarly persistent in juxtaposing the title 'Stanley's regiment' with 'Stanley's Irish'. From 1588 onwards, in fact, these records always listed this group under the heading *infantería irlandesa* or Irish infantry. In all, despite the addition to Stanley's group in March 1587[7] of Captain Rowland York's group of Scots and English who had surrendered at Zutphen, we would be justified in regarding this group as Irish.

The fate of Stanley's regiment during its initial years does not seem to have been a very fortunate one and the numbers serving in it declined rapidly. The addition of Captain Rowland York's group and some two hundred 'Catholic refugee English gentlemen' had brought the numbers up to 1,200 officers and men by March 1587 and the official report in the Army of Flanders records corroborated these figures in April 1588 where the 'irlandeses del coronel Guillermo Stanley' were listed as 918 men in seven companies excluding *entretenidos*.[8] However the years 1588 to 1593 saw a huge decline in these numbers. Even by the end of March 1588 a report under the heading 'occurrences from Antwerp' described Parma's army as being in a 'state of misery' and Stanley's men as 'diminishing daily'. Perhaps based on a study of this report Cecil wrote to Burghley on 30 March 1588 that 'The Regiment of Sir William Stanley is so exceedingly dissolute as the duke (of Parma) intendeth often to dissolve the bands'. In August 1588 Captain Rowland York's company of Lancers had to be disbanded and in May 1591 Captain Edward Stanley's company met with the same fate.[9] The discontent and decreasing membership of the regiment was emphasised in report after report sent to England during the period from 1589 to 1591. On 3 August 1589 Sir John Conway in his report to Burghley described Stanley's regiment as 'weak and deserting' and Sir Francis Vere a year later continued to give much the same bleak outlook, claiming in a report in June 1590 that in particular 'the Englishmen of Stanley's regiment . . . deserted daily to the States'.[10]

Reports on the precise numerical strength of the regiment during this period differed widely. The figures of the Castilian treasury the *contaduría* for

February 1589, showed 890 men in Stanley's regiment, and 739 men in January 1590. In May 1590 Sir Thomas Morgan reported that Stanley was at Dumbrugge near Antwerp with 600 men in eight companies and in January 1591 Sir E. Norris put the numbers of the regiment as low as 250 men.[11] This last figure was probably an under-estimate even though Norris as a commander of English forces in the States was in a good position to known the strength of Stanley's group. He was almost certainly involved in plots at this stage with several members of that regiment to reduce its numbers,[12] and may well have been tempted to claim his goal was nearly accomplished. Equally unlikely was the figure of five to six hundred 'of his countrymen' whom Christopher Roche in January 1592 claimed to be serving with Stanley. The *pagaduría's* official figure for Stanley's regiment in November 1591 was 424 officers and men and a special report sent to Spain in July 1592 put the number at 427 though it noted this 'regiment on the march does not have 350 soldiers according to a count'. In July 1592 and June 1593 the official reports on the Army of Flanders to the king of Spain listed 259 men and 350 men serving in seven companies of the *infantería irlandesa* respectively.[13] Thus overall, despite the disparity in figures from different sources the total number serving in the regiment appears to have at least been halved from approximately 900 to 450 during the four years from 1588 to 1593.

Moreover, Stanley's regiment certainly stood in the balance between being 'filled up' with Dutch and Walloon soldiers or being disbanded altogether. As early as June 1589 a report from an English agent in the Low Countries claimed that William Stanley had asked the duke of Parma's permission 'either to fill up his regiment with Walloons and Flemings or else to "cass" (disband) it', and in 1589 Fr Henry Walpole, chaplain to the regiment, wrote that 'our regiment stands in difficulties and danger of dissolving'.[14] Jacques Franceschi's attempt to deal with England for a pardon and the resulting bitter rift between himself and Stanley, caused further demoralisation and desertion within the ranks, so that Sir E. Norris, in summing up the situation to Burghley from Flushing in January 1591, believed it was only a matter of time before the regiment was 'cassed altogether'.[15]

The regiment, then, was at a very low ebb by 1591 though attempts were made to revitalize it. On 6 May 1591 a grant of 3,000 ducats was given to Stanley for 'pay and provisions for the field' and he was given commission to 'take up more Englishmen' sometime before August 1591. By February 1592 Sir Thomas Morgan reported to Burghley that Stanley 'was making provision to make (the regiment) ten strong companies' and numerous reports from both merchant sources and the conscientious Sir E. Norris confirmed this was to be done by 'filling it with Walloon and Durch'.[16] In reality however, little appears to have been achieved. The detailed report on Stanley's regiment at the *reducción* of the Army of Flanders in August 1593 noted 'that nothing has been

done about the Irish regiment as the men were so few. Advice will be asked of Colonel Stanley of what should be done about the reduction of the companies' though the men were said to be 'reliable and serve well'. Some progress was made by 1596 in revitalising the regiment. In the 1594 army report, the regiment had been 'reorganised' and brought up to ten companies. By March 1595 there were 318 Walloons and 232 Irish serving in the ranks plus 36 officers, and in 1596 the numbers listed in Stanley's regiment under 'Irlandeses' were 580 men with 54 officers'.[17]

However, an overall picture of the Irish in Stanley's regiment between the years 1587 and 1596 was one of decline. Even a reorganisation of the regiment in 1596 had brought its numbers up to only half its size ten years previously and that was with the addition of Walloons. To conclude from this, however, that the Irish in the service of the Army of Flanders had declined so radically in numbers would have to be severely tempered.

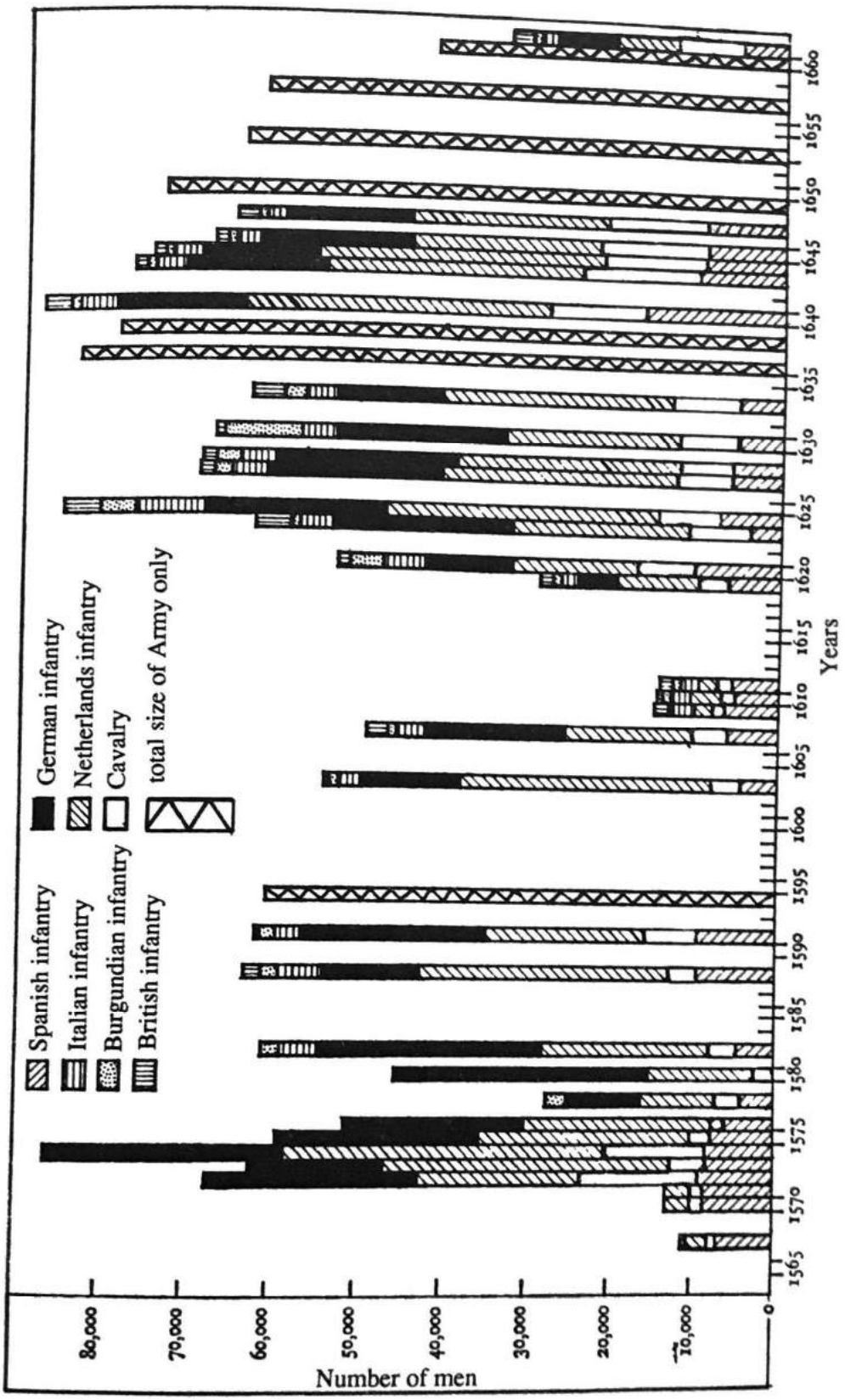
Although the vast majority of grants given to Irishmen to serve in the Army of Flanders were for the *infantería irlandesa*, both for Stanley's and later periods, many Irish soldiers served in other regiments and companies of the Army of Flanders. Richard MacHenry got a grant from the inspector general of the Army of Flanders in 1589 to serve in the Spanish infantry as did Oliver Hackett in 1590. Similarly Thomas Barry was serving in a company of German infantry under Captain Martin Heyk in 1602.[19] The Light Horse companies attracted many like Davie Cablet, Charles Maguire, Bernard Mullegan and Maurice Devine and it is important to note that there was a good deal of mobility between companies. John Kennedy, for example, switched from Captain George Barnwell's group of Irish infantry to the German infantry in 1605 where he could receive four escudos more and David Roche made a similar switch to the Spanish infantry in 1605 thus gaining likewise four escudos extra a month.[20]

Others served Spain in regions outside of Flanders and there was obviously a fair degree of flexibility between the Spanish armies in different countries. In February 1589 Thomas Roncen, who according to the army record had 'served his Majesty for some years in Italy', now came 'to conclude his services in these states'. Similarly John Slatimor was given a passport to leave the Army of Flanders in 1589 in order to join the Spanish fleet and Richard Burke had served Spain in both Naples, the West Indies as well as the Low Countries.[21] It was above all the passports granted to many of Parma's army in 1589 to enlist with the duke of Mayenne as part of the Catholic League that affected Stanley's regiment. Although Stanley's own regiment was not to play a role until later in these wars in France, on 15 June 1589 he offered passports to any of those in his regiment who wished to depart 'provided they went to France and not England'. 'Fourscore' were reported to have availed of this opportunity, and at the end of 1589 Captain Thomas Finglas reported that he 'found sixteen or seventeen of my countrymen in the duke de Mayenne's camp'.[22] Combined

with this drain on the manpower of Stanley's regiment were the attempts made by Thomas Finglas to draw many of Stanley's men to the English side who were also in France. He claimed he reduced Stanley's regiment from 700 to 300 between the years 1589 and 1592 and although his attempts were ultimately a failure there is little doubt that 'the oft going and coming' of his men between France and Flanders saw many lost on the way. John Daniel reporting to Sir Robert Cecil in 1597 spoke of 'O'Connor's brothers' and one 'Richard Fullam alias Phelan' as well as 'others of their country' who were then serving under Sir Arthur Savage in France, having previously come from Stanley's regiment.[23]

In a wider context the duke of Parma's heavy commitments between 1588 and 1592 both in Flanders and in France on two military 'fronts', saw some of the worst death tolls of the Eighty Years War. Parma, in a letter to Philip II in 1588, noted the 'legitimate and astonishing mortality amongst the troops' and whether because of high mortality rates or desertion to the side of the English or of the States, the numbers of those serving overall from the British Isles in the Army of Flanders dropped dramatically during these years. In April 1588 there were 1,722 soldiers from the British Isles serving in the Army of Flanders. By November 1591 this figure had dropped to 463 as compared to 2,442 who were serving in March 1607.[24] It is also probable that the numbers of Irish coming to serve in the Army of Flanders were fewer. There were very few grants given to Irish who had just arrived to serve in comparison with later years. Besides the five Burke brothers who received grants in 1588 to 'serve his Majesty in these states' only three other monthly grants were given to those who had come from Ireland between 1588 and 1596, namely, twenty five escudos to Walter Cuin (Quinn?), seven escudos to Richard MacHenry and twelve escudos to James Ricardo (Richards?).[25] This may have indicated that the numbers of Irish in the Army of Flanders were not being replenished but in real terms the reports of the Spanish council of war in Flanders probably misrepresented the extent of the decline in the Irish serving under Parma. Rather the official figures should be set against the background of large death tolls and diversification of forces and the real value of the reports on Stanley's regiment lies in the fact that they point to a continuing disintegration at this time of an Irish 'group' serving in the Army of Flanders. The period 1595 to 1605 was to see a distinct change in this pattern beginning with the formation in 1596 of the first independent Irish companies.

Between the years 1594 and 1596 the longest mutiny ever in the Army of Flanders was staged mainly by the Italians at Pont sur Sambre and at Zichem-Tienen. The Italians, who had not received pay for six years, were demanding payment of arrears and 6,000 troops from all of the 'six nations' in the army were involved, so that there were reported to be thirteen different languages spoken in the garrison of Zichem where the mutineers were holding



Throughout the Eighty Years' War the German and Netherlands troops formed the bulk of the Army, although the Italian, Burgundian and British infantry played a prominent role between 1582 and 1640. The number of cavalry units was low between 1574 and 1635 (the outbreak of war with France). Source: Parker, *Spanish Flanders*, p. 28.

Figure 3: Size and composition of the Army of Flanders, 1567-1665

out.[26] Irish troops also took part, though they were of course only a small percentage of the whole. Stanley's own opinion of the matter is recorded. He felt that 'those English, Scottish and Irish persons who are still with the mutineers at Tirlement [Tienen]' should be paid 'what is still due and not to make any further use of them at any price', and several soldiers 'del regimento de infantería irlandesa del coronel Guillermo Stanley' received a free pardon from the archduke in June 1596.[27]

It was in the face of such a mutiny that these years also saw attempts to reorganise the army, including Irish companies, into more economical and manageable units. Spanish policy favoured the segregation of the 'nations' into their own companies as far as possible, feeling that this reduced friction and made administration easier. This policy was prominent during the detailed *reformación* or reorganisation of the whole Army of Flanders in 1596 by the newly installed Archduke Albert and that, combined with the request of the Irish mutineers themselves to be put under the command of a 'capitán natural irlandés', resulted in the formation of two independent Irish companies under two Irish captains. The rank and file were to consist of those that had mutineed. John de Claramonte was given a commission on 15 June 1596 to levy the 300 mutineers at Tirlemont and two months later Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald was given a commission as captain of eighty men in the castle of Granloy 'who had deserted on the withdrawal from Stanley'.[28]

1596 probably represented a landmark for the Irish in the service of the Army of Flanders. For the first time they were recognised as a group separate from the English and Scots and they appear to have recognised this difference themselves. It is of course true that the English element within Stanley's regiment had been diminishing for some time with the withdrawal of many of its original English officers and soldiers shortly after Deventer. We have already seen that 'Stanley's regiment' and the 'Irish regiment' were titles that had become synonymous in military reports but the decline in the English membership of the regiment before 1596 should not be exaggerated. Although the Spanish officials were notoriously unreliable in the listing of names, often misspelling and confusing the Irish, English or Scottish origins of the soldiers, we can, with qualification, establish certain trends. A list of grants to 'fourteen gentlemen' of the regiment of Colonel Stanley in 1589 indicated that at least thirty percent of the names were probably still of English origin.[29] The list consisted of Cormas Ros O'Connor, Gerald Fitzgerald, Gerard Nugent, Doolin O'Byrne, Gerod Mas Hul (?), John Lockwood, John Laynden, Bartholomew Gardiner, James Egan, Denis O'Connor, William Caddel, Edmund Wesley, Hugh O'Reilly and Denis Fitzgerald, of whom Mas Hul, Lockwood, Laynden and Gardiner were almost certainly English. A similar list of grants to 'nineteen Irish and Englishmen', dated 2 February 1591[30] contained only the names of Edmund Fitzmorris, James Egan (?), Walter Talbot, Terence MacSweeny

(Terreloch Macene(?)), Denis MacCarthy, Patrick Cullen, George Plunkett and Richard Carroll, who were possibly Irish and although these percentages can not be taken as representative of those in the rank and file of the regiment, here too many English names appear. We know, for example, that men like George Amount and Andres Gips, both on the pay of an ordinary soldier, were stated specifically to be English, whereas others like Robert Johns, William Jordan, William Harris, Robert Heath or William MacEdmond, we know to have been English or Scottish from the licences they received to go home.[31] In fact although percentages are impossible to calculate with no comprehensive report on grants and licences, it seems likely that a fair percentage of those in Stanley's regiment were still English in 1596 and that the formation of the independent Irish companies did constitute a real change for both the new officer corps of these groups and the rank and file.

The establishment of Irish companies did not imply, either, the complete segregation of the Irish from the English and Scottish troops of the Army of Flanders. Scottish and English names continued to appear in the ranks of the Irish companies right through our period of study to 1621. In February 1605, for example, 'ten English soldiers who had served with the Irish company of captain Lawrence Barnaval' received a licence to return to England.[32] Similar licences to go to England were recorded in 1607 for Sergeant James Dunn and Ensign William Perceval of Art O'Neill's and Maurice Fitzgerald's companies respectively and licences were granted to James Cherensi and Donoch Na Calen to Scotland in 1608 and 1605.[33] The former had served in the company of Owen O'Neill and the latter in Lawrence Barnwall's independent company, while in fact captains Paul Raddock and Alan Norris had a Scottish and English company in the Irish regiment right up to the end of the Twelve Year Truce with Holland in 1621.[34]

On the other side of the coin a number of Irish continued to serve in the regiment of Colonel William Stanley. How many is impossible to tell but that, some at least did, was indicated in 1598 by a grant of 400 escudos to Captain Robert Bostock describing him as 'captain of a company of Irish infantry of the regiment of Colonel Stanley'. The military action of 'these Irish' at the capture of Amiens was particularly praised in this grant and in his famous account of the 'Wars of Flanders', Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio referred to the 'valour and brave deeds' of the Irish with Bostock, and Captain Thomas Barry at Amiens and Valenciennes. Similarly, individual accounts of Irish soldiers showed a continuing trend of service in English companies up to 1605. In 1603 John Kennedy, for example, was serving in the English company of Captain Henry Flood, while one Owen Con (?) 'Irish', in 1605 was listed amongst the military records as 'sergeant major to Sir William Stanley'.[35]

The numbers, meanwhile, serving in the independent Irish companies can first be ascertained from a military report sent to Spain in 1597. They were not

large. John de Claramonte's company consisted of 106 men and Edward Fitzgerald's of 116 men. As these were the only companies listed in the report under *infantería irlandesa*, we can only conclude that a mere 222 soldiers served in these independent Irish companies. Even taking into account that Robert Bostock's company probably consisted of Irish soldiers, the numbers of Irish in the Army of Flanders would not appear to have been large. His company had only 52 men out of Stanley's full total of 736.[36]

Before 1605, however, there was a large growth in the numbers serving in these independent Irish comnpanies. Firstly, the actual number of independent companies increased. By 1602 grants appear in the Army of Flanders records in relation to soldiers of Irish infantry under Captain Lawrence Barnwall and Captain Alexander Eustace.[37] Mention of a Captain Walter Butler, serving at least since 1595 indicated he had 'a company under the Archduke' though whether it was a company of Irish infantry we do not know. An English memorandum on those serving under the archduke in 1602 listed William Barrett, Donogh Moel MacCarthy and John Barry Oge (MacCarthy) as 'captains of companies', though the accuracy of this report is called into question by the fact that the latter two names appear in a 1606 report on Henry O'Neill's regiment as ensigns.[38] At the very least, two new companies under Lawrence Barnwall and Eustace then were set up between the years 1597 and 1605 and the large increase in the numbers of grants given to Irish soldiers also confirmed that greater numbers were coming from Ireland and elsewhere to serve in the Irish infantry. Between the years 1597 and 1601 only two grants to serve in the Army of Flanders were recorded. In 1601, four men received such grants and in 1603 the names of three men were added to the military roll.[39] In 1605, on the other hand, twenty nine such grants were given. Judging from the type and the size of the grants of basic pay given, which ranged from ten to forty escudos, these names were more representative of those in the upper ranks of the companies. Nevertheless the number of these grants to serve, and the fact that the applicants had nearly all arrived recently from Ireland,[40] probably indicated that the greatest influx of soldiers to Flanders came immediately after the battle of Kinsale.

In September 1605, when Henry O'Neill was given a commission to form an Irish regiment, this was merely the logical culmination of a pattern already established between 1596 and 1605. The Irish serving in the Army of Flanders could already be defined in structural terms as a separate and growing entity. Irish companies had been established which had, on the whole, both an Irish officer corps and a rank and file membership that was mainly Irish while already by 1605 there was a significant growth in the numbers of Irish coming from Ireland to serve the archduke. These factors were recognised by the Spanish council of war which, in its commission to Henry O'Neill stated, he was 'to draw together all dispersed Irish' in Flanders and Spain. By the end of 1605 he

had already brought 1,000 Irish soldiers together, gathered obviously from the existing Irish companies.[41]

The years 1606 to 1610 saw an extension of this pattern of growth and consolidation. The detailed reports from both the Spanish and English authorities at this time were particularly informative on the numerical development of the Irish regiment and the years especially from 1606 to 1608 were ones of unprecedented growth. In June 1606 the regiment was already reported to be between 1,000 and 1,200 strong and a detailed report that year to the English privy council on the 'captains and officers of Irish pay with the King of Spain attending the Archduke' gave the names of fourteen captains of companies, twenty-five 'inferior officers' and eight *reformados* in the regiment. On 22 July 1607 the account of an English agent, D.M. son to R.N. of C., put the regiment at '1,400 strong'. In his report he listed fifteen captains who had companies in this regiment and Sir Thomas Edmondes reported to London in November 1607, that the Irish regiment had between 1,600 and 1,700 men.[42]

The twin factors involved in this growth were both the economic and political pressures in Ireland which forced more than the normal numbers to leave Ireland, and the official licence granted by England to the archduke to levy Irish soldiers for his army. The background of these raw recruits was particularly clear from the four commissions for captaincies, granted between 1606 and 1607 to Art O'Neill, Thadeus (Teig) MacCarthy, Neil MacLoughlin and John Bathe. Neil MacLoughlin, for example received a commission which stated he was to form his company both from the men he had levied in Ireland and 'conducted from England as well as those other Irishmen who have come from the enemy'. Teig MacCarthy was to recruit those of his nation 'who have come from Spain and other parts', and Art O'Neill's patent similarly emphasised he was to 'assemble his quota of 200' men from those Irish already in Flanders.

In Ireland itself we know from the reports of the Dublin administration that at least six captains William Walshe, Walter de la Hyde, Christopher St Lawrence, Thomas Preston, William Darcy and Maurice Fitzgerald had been busy levying troops for the archduke and were mostly successful in recruiting their quota of 200 soldiers for the regiment.[43] Not surprisingly, the largest number ever of grants listed for Irishmen coming to serve in the Army of Flanders was between 1606 and 1608. There were fifty-eight grants to Irishmen, recorded in the Spanish military records, and at the end of 1607 Thomas Edmondes' assertion that the Irish regiment stood at a new high of 1,700 men was probably accurate.

The policy of segregation of the English, Irish and Scottish, moreover, continued to become more effective. In January 1605 orders were given by the Spanish council of war that on the disbandment of the company of Captain Lawrence Barnwall 'the English and Scots of the company (were) to be sent to their own national companies and the Irish to theirs', while a similar order in

April 1609 stated that Scottish troops, who had been taken into service with the Irish infantry, on their own company being disbanded were to return to Scottish companies. Also if the various lists and records of names within the officer corps of Henry's regiment can serve as evidence, the percentage of English or Scottish in the upper ranks was minimal. The only names we can identify from the officer ranks between 1605 and 1610 which were presumably non-Irish, were those of Nicholas Erlens (drum-major), Denis Meable (ensign), Thomas Goodman (ensign), John Kivett (corporal of the field) as well as the Scottish captain, Paul Redico (Raddock) mentioned earlier. In all, for this period, we have reference to thirty-two names of captains who served at some stage under Henry O'Neill and roughly fifty names of junior officers.[44]

Between the years 1608 and 1610 the Irish regiment declined to some extent in numbers. A report to Salisbury by James Rathe (Bathe?) in 1608 claimed that from a muster done of the Irish regiment 'six days past,' five of the fifteen companies contained only 500 men and between them 'the other nine companies are not so strong as those five'. In all he calculated the regiment was 'not above 1,000 strong'. Rathe put this decline in numbers down to the fact that many 'gentlemen of the English Pale of Ireland (were) procuring their licence to go home' listing such names as 'Capt Gerald's brother, Sir Edward Fitzgerald's brother, Justice Dillon's son and Walter Butler, the Baron of Dunboyne's son' as examples of these.[45] Certainly for the period July 1607 to June 1609, there are forty-three grants of licence to go to Ireland though at least some of these like Peter Geraldine and Richard Morris came back after a two to three month period. However the sudden drop in numbers was due mainly to the order in June 1609 to disband the companies of captains James Garland (Gernon?), Thomas St Lawrence, Walter de la Hyde, John Bathe and Owen O'Neill. These men were to be 'distributed amongst the remaining companies' and a later report on the pay of the Irish soldiers that year listed only six companies between 'Towns and garrisons' receiving a total of 2,390 escudos.[46]

These occurences within the regiment were influencd by external events. April 1607 saw a six-month armistice concluded between the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces and April 1609 marked the beginning of the Twelve Years Truce between the two countries. Grants of leave of absence to the troops or passports to leave the Low Countries was only to be expected. Nor could the archduke afford to keep his army at a war time level. The Army of Flanders, which had a total of 63,455 in April 1588 and a total of 49,765 in March 1607, dropped to 15,259 in March 1609.[47] Moreover, the Irish regiment during this period seems to have been particularly affected by sickness. Sir Thomas Edmondes in 1607 noted that of the 1,600 to 1,700 within the ranks there were about '400 to 500 of them' who were 'sick and at the hospitals', while the seriousness of the situation obviously prompted Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell to make a lengthy plea to the king of Spain in July 1608 to improve the conditions of the regiment:

> We have heard that, since we left Flanders, close on three hundred soldiers of the Irish Regiment serving your Majesty in those states have either died or left it. This is because, for the past two years, they have been given very bad quarters and have been very badly treated worse indeed than any other soldiers in your Majesty's service. . . . We therefore beg that the Irish soldiers be transferred to better quarters and be better treated; otherwise this regiment will be destroyed, for many will die and the miserable conditions will force more to leave it.[48]

The Spanish council of state voted that these measures be put into effect to eleviate the position of the regiment and whether due to their implementation or not, the regiment was maintained at a level a little above 1,000 men throughout the truce with Holland from 1609 to 1621. The Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre recorded 84 officers, 1,020 men and 8 *entretenidos* in the regiment for October 1613. In 1614 the total number on the muster roll was 1,050 men and a report on the regiment to the English privy council in 1614 listed eight companies under Colonel John O'Neill. These were 'the companies of the *Maestro de Campo* [Owen Roe O'Neill], Edward Fitzgerald, Captain O'Driscoll, Captain Garland [Gernon], Captain Art O'Neill, Captain Paul Raddock, Captain Thaddeus Carty, Captain Gerald Fitzgerald and Captain Preston', containing a total of 981 men and 70 officers. In 1616, 1,070 were serving in the regiment, 781 of whom were in Irish companies. The captains names again included Garland, O'Driscoll, Preston, MacCarthy and Art O'Neill with the addition of Maurice Fitzgerald and Teig O'Sullivan. The rest of the figures were made up by the company of English under Captain Alan Norris and a Scottish company under Paul Raddock.[49]

The figure 1,000 was, moreover, an artificially low one. Philip III had given a personal directive to the archduke before the truce of 1609, that the number of Irish in the regiment be kept at 1,000 men and while this was a major concession in peace-time, this directive was obviously proving to be restrictive by 1616. In August 1616 the archduke wrote to Philip III that it was impossible to accept Roderick O'Donoghue's company of disbanded Irishmen from France into the regiment, as there were already more than enough men to fill the 1,000 places.[50] Roderick O'Donoghue's plight was significant. In the *reducción* of 1609 he had left the Army of Flanders with a company of men to go to France and now wanted to return with these men seven years later. In fact, during the truce it was quite common for Irish soldiers to temporarily offer their services to the armies of countries allied to Spain. In 1620 Major Edward Fitzgerald was granted leave to serve the duke of Bavaria as part of the Catholic League in Germany. In 1622 ensigns Teig MacCarthy and Denis Kelly requested permission to serve again in the Irish regiment having 'served the king of France for some years'[51] and even within the Army of Flanders, Irish soldiers as in

former times, served in companies other than those attached to the Irish regiment. A licence for Ireland granted to Edward Barnwall in June 1622 noted that he was serving in the Spanish infantry under Juan Gonzales while an account of the past services of John Burke in 1623 showed him at that time to be attached to an Italian company.[52] Numbers in the Irish regiment then for the period of the truce did not necessarily indicate the total numbers of Irish serving either in the Army of Flanders or on temporary leave from it. Significantly four of the nine Irish captains given leave to recruit soldiers between 1621 and 1622 were commissioned to recruit companies of Irish infantry in Artois, where a 'walled town on the coast' was to be assigned them. Obviously a number of these recruits were expected to come from France rather than Ireland. By December 1622 these recruits, added to those from Ireland, brought the Irish regiment up to the capacity of eighteen companies with 2,500 men.[53]

Overall then, during the period of the truce from 1609 to 1621 the pattern of growth and consolidation established under Henry O'Neill's colonelship was continued. The numbers of Irish soldiers serving in the Army of Flanders or its allies appear to have grown steadily despite the truce with Holland. Although many of these Irish served outside the Irish regiment, the regiment itself was maintained at a level of 1,000 Irishmen making it in effect the largest group of Irishmen up to this time, to serve under the flag of Spain as a distinct national unit.

A numerical analysis of any group is of fundamental importance to its assessment; for the Irish serving in the Army of Flanders from 1586 to 1621 the facts and figures in relation to those Irish help us to establish patterns of development within this group. The overall growth of the numbers of Irish serving in the army, the initial disintegration and later consoldiation of this group and the developing 'separateness' of these men from their English and Scottish counterparts are all an important part of a definition of the structure of this group and these made the military group in Flanders a focal point for those Irishmen wishing to go to Spain or her dominions. Given Geoffrey Parker's estimation that between two and seven percent of 'wastage' occurred amongst foreign troops in the Army of Flanders per month,[54] we can make a rough estimate as to the numbers of Irish soldiers we are dealing with over this thirty-five year period. Although the figure of two to seven per cent assumes long periods of active engagements, it is noteworthy that the numbers of Irish were at their highest at two of the most intense periods of fighting in Flanders, e.g., 1586-1588 (Dutch blockade) and 1600-1602 (Siege of Ostende), while, even during the truce with Holland, Irish companies were involved in fighting in Cleves-Jülich (1614), Bohemia (1619), and the Rhine Palatinate (1620). Given this information, the following estimates can be made. As we have already seen, the number of Irish in the Army of Flanders was maintained at an

average level of 500 between 1586 to 1605, and 1,000 between 1605 to 1621. Assuming an average 'wastage' level of 3% per month (36% per annum) up to the truce in 1609, this would imply that between 1586 to 1609 a total of 4,860 men saw service in Flanders, while a 'wastage' level of 1% per month (12% per annum) during the truce years from 1609 to 1621 would indicate a further 1,440 who saw service during these years. A total figure therefore of 6,300 would seem to be roughly the number of Irishmen who served in the Army of Flanders during the thirty-five year period of our study (see Figure 4).

Years	No. of years	Average no. in regiments	Loss of lives per annum	Totals
1586-1605	19	500	180	3,420
1605-1609	4	1,000	360	1,440
1609-1621	12	1,000	120	1,440
				6,300

Figure 4: Number of Irish serving in the Army of Flanders between 1586 and 1621

Based on the above calculations this figure is probably an over-estimate. A certain percentage of soldiers could possibly have gone back and forth to Ireland or elsewhere a few times and would have been calculated more than once. It is also difficult to judge how often the Irish group was involved in heavy campaigning. However, given that the average levels of 500 and 1000 in the regiment are conservative estimates in the first place, a figure of 5,000 should indicate at least roughly the numbers of Irish in service during this period.

The limits of such an evaluation in the definition of a group are obvious. We know little from facts and figures about the people they represent and a greater insight into the structure of the Irish serving in Flanders necessitates a study of the personnel of this group. We have already seen in Chapter 2, the complexity of motivations and diversity of groups within Irish society who were attracted to foreign service and the rest of the chapter will examine the membership pattern of the Irish group in the Army of Flanders. In his biography of Owen Roe O'Neill, J.F. Taylor in 1906 noted:

> Thousands of brave Irish soldiers did good service in these long Low Country wars, and in most of the Belgian towns the garrisons were largely made up of Irish clansmen serving under their chiefs, or of adventurous Palesmen or townsmen who had gone abroad to learn the soldiers glorious trade.[55]

This observation obviously assumed the existence of certain social and family bonds amongst the Irish military group and even the most cursory examination of the Irish serving in Flanders is enough to confirm at least the predominance of certain Irish groups at certain times in the army.

A changing membership pattern is particularly clear in the changing structures of the officer corps between the period of Stanley's regiment, the period of independent Irish companies and the regiments of Henry and John O'Neill. The predominance of the Anglo-Irish group from the outlying regions of the Pale and former lordships appear to have been striking, particularly for the earlier part of our period of study. The three Irish captains in Stanley's regiment—Thomas Finglas, Oliver Eustace and Lawrence Fullan (Phelan?)—all came from the borders of the English Pale. Each of the five Irish captains mentioned in relation to independent companies, were Anglo-Irish—John de Clarmonte and Edward Fitzgerald receiving the original commissions for Irish companies and the other three, George and Lawrence Barnwall and Alexander Eustace, similar commissions at a later date. This pattern was continued to a certain extent in the lower officer ranks, though the Old Irish had also a significant presence here. In Stanley's regiment, Thomas Butler, who had previous experience in the Army of Flanders, was a lieutenant up to 1597. Lieutenant Morgan Kavanagh left for Ireland in 1596 and Lieutenant Ferdinand O'Donnell obtained a similar licence in 1597. Two other Irish lieutenants mentioned were George 'Caffoyr', stated specifically to be Irish, and Lieutenant Bermingham.[56] The ensigns mentioned were John Kelly who received a grant in 1588, Thomas Stanihurst, who came to serve sometime prior to 1593, Patrick Dillon and George Barret who also received grants in 1594, and an Ensign Hugo who received a licence for Ireland in 1594.[57] Although, at least four of these officers were obviously of Old Irish stock, the majority were Anglo-Irish. The only other names of Irish officers to appear in the ordinances of grants and licences up to 1600 were Sergeant Victor Brae, Ensign Thomas MacCarthy, Ensign Robert Daniel and Sergeant Oliver Wesley, only one of the four being of Old Irish stock.[58]

The pattern of Anglo-Irish dominance shifted to a certain extent after 1600. In 1606 an English report on the state of Henry O'Neill's regiment listed the captains as follows:

> Capt. James FitzMorris, Gerald of the house of Kildare, Capt. Thomas Stanyhurst of Dublin, Capt. James Gerald (meant to be Garland or Gernon), Capt. Thomas Preston, Capt. William Walsh of Gallwaye, Capt. Alexander Eustace, Capt. William Barrett, Capt. Teig MacDonnell ne(?) Countye Cartye, Capt. Conaghor O'Dryshall (O'Driscoll), Capt. Morris FitzGerald (alias Capt. Gerald), Capt. Art Oge MacArt MacBaron, Capt. Owen Mac Art, his brother, Capt. Robert Daniell of Waterford.

The growth in the influence of the Munster and particularly Ulster Old Irish was obvious and fifteen of the twenty-five inferior officers listed in this same report appear to be of Old Irish descent. Nevertheless the fact that nine of the thirteen captains listed here were of Anglo-Irish or Old English stock was significant.[59] The Anglo-Irish group outside of the towns (significantly Thomas Stanihurst and William Walshe were the only two from towns), continued to be a strong force within the Irish military group in Flanders. In a report of the regiment in July 1607 they accounted for ten of the fifteen companies, while in June 1614 three of the seven Irish captains with companies were of Anglo-Irish origin.[60]

Obviously since we know little of the backgrounds of many of these officers, some of the surnames may have borne little relationship to the genealogical history of these men. Some of the Anglo-Irish families listed had intermarried so extensively with Old Irish families that a man might have an Anglo-Irish surname and be three parts Old Irish. Certainly this was true of such families as the Fitzgeralds, Butlers, Barretts, Barrys, Berminghams and Daniels, the last name being actually an anglicised form of O'Donnell. Captain William Barrett, for example, was described in 1607 as a 'kinsman' to Florence MacCarthy, while Captain Fitzsimon, described 'as a McRawe of Drogheda' had fought with O'Neill in the Nine Years War and accompanied the earls from the Low Countries to Rome.[61] On the other hand, precise genealogical knowledge that we do have for certain of the captains shows that many had no connections, at least within the previous two generations, to Old Irish families. Thomas Finglas who came from the Wespalstown branch of the family was connected with the Luttrells, the Sedgraves, and the Barnwalls of Turvey. Alexander Eustace of the Castlemartin branch was connected with the Nugents of Mayrath, the Cusacks, St Lawrences and the Butlers,[62] and the families of Thomas Stanihurst, the de la Hydes, the St Lawrences and the Gernons had likewise no Old Irish family ties.[63]

It seems safe to assume that, at least many of the Anglo-Irish names of soldiers, can be accepted at face value and with some qualification, therefore, the pattern of development in the structure of the officer corps could be defined as strongly Anglo-Irish with the growth of the Old Irish influence coming after 1600. As such this pattern had an obvious relation to the political upheavals in Ireland. It was hardly a coincidence that the names of Finglas, Butler, Fitzgerald, Kavanagh, Dillon and Eustace of Stanley's regiment were so closely associated with the Baltinglass and Geraldine revolts. After 1601 the 'Munster' names of Cornelius O'Driscoll, Neil MacLoughlin and Teig MacCarthy appear as captains, while after 1607 it is not surprising that the northern Old Irish militant group, such as the O'Neill and O'Donnell families, Henry O'Hagan, John Bathe and Hugh O'Gallagher, appear to predominate in the regiment. However, an in-depth analysis of the membership patterns within the Irish

military group in Flanders indicates a much more complex set of relationships within this broader trend.

A study of the names we do have from the Army of Flanders records corroborates J.F. Taylor's theory of the existence of family or kin groups within the ranks of those Irish serving in Flanders. Out of the very few names we have of Old Irish stock in the rank and file of Stanley's regiment there are two O'Doynes, three O'Moroghoes, two O'Shaughnessys and two O'Byrnes. Similarly in the ranks of the independent Irish companies, out of eighty names receiving some form of grant (whether wage or special *entretenido* pay), there are ten groups of people listed under the same surname. These in alphabetical order are two Barnwalls, two Butlers, two Eustaces, five Fitzgeralds, two Hackets, three MacCarthys (two of whom only arrived in 1605), three O'Connors, three O'Shaughnessys, two Roches and two Walshes. Significantly in Henry O'Neill's regiment, for which more detailed information is available, this pattern becomes even more pronounced. Fifty-four 'groups' of soldiers under the same surname emerge out of the two hundred and fifty soldiers overall receiving ordinary pay.[64]

Since not every grant and licence accorded to Irish soldiers is listed, these figures are of little real statistical merit. They only represent a tiny proportion of the people who actually served in Flanders and even in the higher ranks there is no mention of grants or licences to people like Walter Butler, or Hugh Boy O'Dogherty, whom we know from English and other contemporary reports to have held important positions under Stanley or as captains of independent groups. However, even from these figures it is clear that family interconnections existed within the ranks of the companies and they give us an indication of the likelihood that with more detailed information, this pattern of 'groupings' within the Irish companies would become far more pronounced.

One such detailed grouping to exist is that of 112 names from captain James Gernon's company in a list of contributions made by those soldiers to the Franciscans at Louvain in 1616. As we know that in 1614 Captain Gernon's company consisted of 151 soldiers with ten officers, we can conclude that 112 names constituted almost the entire body of his company.[65] As such, it is an invaluable example of a pattern of family grouping which might emerge within an Irish company and such a pattern does indeed appear evident. Of the 112 names, fifteen groups of soldiers had the same surname. Some groups like Alexander, Brian, Dionisio (Denis), Dualtagh, Edmund and Malachy O'Kelly, or Diego (James), Donagh, Edmund and Flahartag O'Dea, constituted well over three names and though those listed may not have been related to each other, the fact they were serving in the one company in the same year strongly suggest that they were (see Appendix VI).

Perhaps of greater value than the random sampling of names from the army records, is the evidence from the levies in Ireland itself that those coming to

serve did so in family or kin groups. In accordance with the official policy already examined in Chapter 1, recruits were to be levied from specific 'troubled parts' in Ireland and following these instructions recruiting officers seem to have collected troops from very restricted areas. Although details concerning Stanley's levy are practically non-existent, it is probable that his kerne were recruited, to a large extent, from the areas involved in the Baltinglass rebellion. The names of the Old Irish in Stanley's regiment that we do have, are certainly of families around this areas, comprising chiefly of the names O'Connor, O'Byrne, Kavanagh, O'Doyne, O'Davitt, O'Moroghoe and O'Toole, while other names to occur frequently like O'Reilly and O'Shaugnessy were also from the midland areas.[66] It was probably in this context that the 'servants and retainers' of Florence MacCarthy appear to have gone as a group with Stanley, serving under Captain Jacques, who had fought with Florence MacCarthy in Munster against Desmond.[67]

The recruiting of 'servants and retainers' of the captain or a connection of his appears in fact to have been one of the cornerstones of both the 1605-6 levies for Flanders and the Swedish levies organised after 1609. A report of William Waad, lieutenant of the tower of London, gives us some insight into the make up of Captain Walter de la Hyde's levy in 1605. Although his levy was officially meant to have been taken from the three provinces of Connaught, Leinster and Munster, a large proportion seem to have been retainers of the titulary earl of Desmond who was then in the tower. Waad reported that the 200 levies of de la Hyde 'demonstrated such affection' for Desmond 'in such numbers' that he had to be removed to Coldharbour prison. Similarly Christopher St Lawrence recruited most of his quota of men from the Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan area where he had been governor and was, accordingly to Chichester, 'well beloved of the people'.[68] In the Swedish levies which are well documented, this pattern of kin-grouping was very pronounced. Oghy Óg O'Hanlon brought '50 persons of the O'Hanlon and O'Doherty 'kinsmen and followers' with him in 1609 to Sweden, where he later defected with this company to the Army of Flanders. Likewise Donogh M'Ouin Óge O'Cahan brought with him 80 men raised in 'O'Cahane country'[69] and in a letter to the Infanta Isabella in 1612 one Charles O'Daly referring to a period probably prior to the Twelve Years Truce in 1609 noted:

> After I had been for a long time a prisoner and persecuted by the heretics of my own country, I found a means of escape and fled with two hundred of my relations, kinsmen and friends, to France where I left them all and came here myself with the purpose of bringing them into the service of his Majesty and . . . obtain(ing) a commission as their captain.[70]

While O'Daly's reason for entering foreign military service may not have applied to all recruiting officers, it seems reasonable to assume that the constituents of his levy typified that of the levies conducted by many captains.

The records of the Army of Flanders also indicate that close family ties often existed between the upper and lower ranks of a company. The captains in some companies, particularly those that had levied their troops in Ireland, seem to often have had relatives in their company. Denis Fullan, for example, received a grant in March 1606 to serve in the company of 'Captain Lawrence Fullan, his father' and there are innumerable examples of members of the lower rank officers having the same surname as the Captain. An Alexander and Simon Gernon, for example, served under Captain James Gernon. Christopher and John Fitzgerald were both serving under Maurice Fitzgerald at the siege of Rheinberg, as were Peter Preston with Captain Thomas Preston and Richard Barrett in the service of Captain William Barrett.[71] With others the actual relationship between the captain and his officers is specifically stated or can easily be identified. Ensign Patrick O'Donnell in the 1606 English report, was recorded as a 'foster brother to the Colonel'. Sergeant William MacAuliffe of Muskerry, had obvious connections with Captain Teig MacDonnell MacCarthy (cousin germain to Cormac MacDermot), while Teig O'Sullivan, son of Owen, was a kinsman of Connor O'Driscoll for whom he was acting as ensign.[72] Similarly in an Anglo-Irish context, the ensign to Captain James Gernon was James Bellewe, also of Louth and related to James through marraige.[73]

Within the upper ranks of the varying Irish companies where more information is available, examples abound of family and kin relationships. The numbers of brothers, uncles and cousins serving together in the Irish military group is quite amazing. In 1588 a report in the Army of Flanders records described five members of the Burke family, William, David, John, Richard and Walter as 'five Irish gentlemen, all brothers who have left their own country and possessions to come and service his Majesty in these States'. Similarly James and William O'Shaughnessy described themselves in a petition to the pope in 1602, as brothers who had 'served against the heretiques in Flanders' for seventeen years, while Patrick and Zepherinus Prendergast were described in an English report to Ireland as coming from 'a sept near Clonmel'.[74] Even amongst the captains themselves many were brothers. George and Walter de la Hyde were both sons of Lawrence de la Hyde of Moyglare, Co. Kildare. Captains Christopher and Thomas St Lawrence of Howth were brothers, both sons of Nicholas the eighth baron by his first marriage, while the four sons of Art MacBaron O'Neill—Owen, Art, Filemeo and Carlos—served together under Henry O'Neill.[75] Relationships that were more distant could not hope to be traced, but there is little doubt that they were numerous. There were obvious examples like Owen and Henry O'Neill who were cousins but some were less obvious like Thomas Preston's relationship to Owen O'Neill through marriage

or, that of the St Lawrence brothers and Alexander Eustace who were related through the marriage of Alexander's father.[76]

The overall pattern, then, that can be established among those, both in the officers corps and the rank and file of the Irish in the Army of Flanders, is that of an amalgamation of cohesive kin groups. Not all who served in Flanders were automatically caught up in a series of inter-family connections. William Paule in describing to Cecil one Captain James Blake, who had served on both the Spanish and States side in the Eighty Years War, wrote that he is 'a traveller the most part of his life, and professes arms, having had charge both by land and sea'.[77] There must have been many adventurers and wanderers like him and as we have seen in previous chapters there were certainly many who led a hand to mouth existence and switched their allegiance often. However, there is little doubt that the majority were bound up in some form of kin or family group. Therefore in defining this Irish military group from 1586 to 1621, it was not only true to say that a structural development took place towards consolidation. It is equally important to recognise that those whom we are talking about were a collection of interacting kin groups—to a large extent a microcosm of Irish society at that time and not merely fighting machines for Parma or the archduke.

4

The Growth of a Community

First they took my brethren twain
Then wiled my love frae me:
O, woe unto these cruell wars
In low Germanie'

Scottish Folk Song

Closely related to the increasing cohesiveness of the Irish soldiers in Flanders was their social development as a group, and any analysis of this group must of necessity include their women and families, the conditions in which they lived and their relations with the local population. It is therefore within the context of social development that I intend now to examine the Irish soldier under the headings, family migration, women 'Wild Geese', Irish settlements and integration into the local community.

When one considers the family and kin ties that existed among Irish soldiers serving in Flanders it is perhaps not surprising to find that the womenfolk and children of these soldiers appear to have frequently accompanied them to Flanders. The Jesuit John Howlin spoke of this phenomenon quite incidently in his account of Catholic martyrs in the reign of Elizabeth, noting how common it was for wives and families to go with their menfolk as refugees abroad.[1] Although Howlin was referring particularly to Spain and a merchant or wealthy émigré circle, family migration seems to have also been common among those in the service of the Army of Flanders. Within the upper ranks of the Irish military circle in Flanders, specific reference is made to the wives of several officers. In 1591 Captain Thomas Finglas requested a passport from Nicholas Fitzwilliam for himself and his wife and family to come from Antwerp to London. The reference was obviously to Kathleen Barnwall, daughter of Sir Christopher of Turvey, who accompanied her husband both to Brussels and Antwerp, where he had been posted.[2] Similarly John Daniel, described in the army records as a 'gentihombre de Irlandes' and *entretenido* in Stanley's regiment, received a licence for four months in November 1589, to go to Italy and Spain, 'in which latter country he has his wife and children', while a petition of 1620 to serve in the Army of Flanders from one Owen O'Riordain claimed that 'the heretics banished him from his country, together with his wife and children'.[3]

Other female relatives also accompanied their menfolk abroad. From among the upper ranks of military service, numerous examples can be cited. George Carew referred to 'Ellyne ny Donnough', late wife of Dermot Moel MacCarthy, who left Ireland in 1602 with Connor O'Driscoll's group. Lord Danvers reported to Salisbury on one Owen O'Loughye (MacSweeney) 'captain of the Gallowglass to Cormack McDermot', who had brothers in the Irish regiment, as well as a 'mother and sisters in Spain'.[4] A list of pensions or *entretenimentos* for army dependants (1635) noted several female relatives of soldiers, among them Captain Teig MacCarthy's sister Elena and the sister and daughter of Ensign Denis MacCarthy.[5] Mothers, too, seem to have accompanied their sons who had come to serve on the continent, and their heart-rending petitions were sometimes recorded by the Spanish and English bureaucracies. In 1589, a petition to the privy council, by one Katherine Ny Tean (Tehan?), widow of Gubone McShane, requested a pass and some money for herself and family to return to Ireland 'in commiseration of the loss of her husband killed in Ireland and of late, her son in the Queen's service, before Berghen Op Zoom'. A letter written almost twenty years later, by Rose Geoghegan, contained a similar plea. On 12 March 1607 she wrote to Philip III, requesting permission to leave Spain for Flanders as 'my brothers and my sons have gone to serve Your Majesty in Flanders and without them here in Galicia I am sad and lonely'.[6]

Some of these women were educated in religious institutions in the Low Countries. A letter of one William Awes of Dublin to Fr Thomas Deyse in 1605 referred to two daughters of a Mr James Stanihurst who were 'presently in a monastery at Louvain', while Dermot O'Mallun, who served on the archduke's personal staff, placed his eldest daughter Maria in the abbey of Avesnes to 'be educated in religion and virtue'.[7] Indeed the convent often provided career opportunities for women in the Irish military community. Elena O'Sullivan, whose three brothers died in Flanders fighting the Dutch, noted in a petition to the Infanta Isabella in 1627 that being now 'very poor and without protection' she desired to become a nun. Similarly in 1618 on the death of their father, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, in the Army of Flanders, his two daughters requested and received permission to enter a convent in Brussels.[8] It is noteworthy that two of the founder members of the Irish Poor Clares at Gravelines in 1625 were Cecilia and Eleanor Dillon, whose brother James later became a captain in the regiment of Colonel Owen O'Neill; while four of the five other founder members—Magdalena Nugent, Maria-Petrus Dowdall, Maria Power and Bridget Eustace—had also relatives in the army of Flanders.[9]

The numbers of Irish women in convents on the continent do not, however, appear to have been large. These Poor Clares were the first Irish order of nuns to be formed on the continent, and although Irish girls may have gone to English convents, the first group of English nuns to settle in the Spanish Netherlands did not arrive until shortly before 1598; in Brussels and Louvain they catered

in 1598 for twenty-five and forty-four women respectively. Private tuition was of course always available to upper class women in schools attached to nunneries and some Irish women went to the White Ladies at Louvain or like Mary O'Mallun to the abbey of Avesnes near Arras. However, the lack of an Irish order of nuns and indeed of any form of elementary classes for girls on the continent until Mary Ward's in 1619, might well have indicated that the demand for such institutions was not great.[10]

Were these women mentioned then, the exception rather than the rule? It may be thought that family and female migration might be confined to those with wealth enough to pay their families' passages but in fact the evidence indicates that family migration was common among the lower ranks as well as the higher. In 1603, one Jacque Martin, 'ordinary soldier' serving with Captain John de Claramonte, was considered 'unfit for further service' but given a grant of a 'dead place' in the castle of Ghent 'to assist him to support his wife and family'.[11] He was by no means the exception. In 1605 William Waad, lieutenant of the tower of London, noted that there were 'many women' among the Irish levies on their way through London to Flanders. Women and children were consistently included in complaints against the Irish vagrants who flooded Irish ports and highways on their way to the continent. In October 1605 the lords of council in England issued a formal complaint to the English administration in Dublin about the number seeking 'employing under foreign Princes'. These 'poor and miserable inhabitants' of Ireland, they claimed, were coming 'with their wives and children', thereby putting the towns of England 'to continual charges' and 'greatly augmenting the threat of plague'. The blind and lame inmates of the hospitals of Middlesex sent a petition to the 'King and Parliament' stating that 'the roads near hospitals are infested with beggars, particularly Irish mendicants, men, women and children', thus, they claimed, straining the channels of charity and support to the utmost; while in France, Henri Martin noted in his *Histoire de France* that the Irish beggars in the first decade of the seventeenth century arrived 'avec leurs Femmes et leurs enfants'.[12]

The extent to which women were a customary sight on the battlefield of Flanders was probably best exemplified by the earl of Leicester's disciplinary code as early as 1585. Formulated for the benefit of the newly arrived Irish and English recruits to the Low Countries, rule five of this code stated clearly that due to the 'sundry disorders and horrible abuses committed' caused by the existence of 'many vagrant idle women in an armie':

> . . . no man shall carrie into the fielde or deteine with him in the place of his garrison any women whatsoever other than such as be known to be his lawful wife or such other women to tende the sicke and to serve for launders.[13]

Whether as wives or as unlawful companions, women, certainly in the lower ranks of those serving in the army, appear to have had an important supplementary economic role in accompanying their menfolk 'to the warrs'. The pay of a soldier was both poor and irregular and H.J.C. von Grimmelshausen, although he wrote in the context of the later wars with Sweden, probably referred also to the Army of Flanders when he spoke of the possible duties of a soldier's wife. He noted that many soldiers 'took to themselves wives . . . for no other cause than to be kept by the said women's work, either with sewing, washing and spinning . . . selling old clothes and haggling or even with stealing'. The work wives did was remarkably varied. While some worked as midwives, according to Grimmelshausen, '. . . others did sell tobacco and provide pipes . . . others dealt in Branntwein; another was a seamstress, and . . . another gained a livelihood from the fields', collecting 'snails . . . salad herbs . . . birds' nests, and . . . fruit of all kinds . . . anything to turn an honest penny which might augment the soldiers meagre and overdue receipts'.[15] Begging, as already noted in the English reports, was probably the prime duty of poor Irish women. Daniel Farrell, 'belonging to the company of Captain Cornelius O'Driscol', claimed that after the *reformación* of 1613 he had 'not more than five crowns, for himself, his wife and his three children'. He requested not only a licence for himself, but one also for 'his wife and children, to go about the country begging'.[16] An interesting Spanish chronicle entitled *Memorial histórico español* and written between 1652 and 1660 probably gave an accurate picture of the poorer Irish women's role in army life. The following extract from this chronicle is not only relevant to Irish army life in Spain but can also be applied to Flanders.

> The Irish came to Spain with their wives and families and they were numerous for their province was as extensive as Catalonia. Some were famous and handsome men and women . . . others were forced to beg for alms around Spain. The women would do the begging dressed like gypsies with blankets or shawls over their heads. The men served in the army and there were some very good and brave soldiers among them but also robbers who did a great deal of damage in Catalonia.[17]

Many women had to survive on their own and as such deserve to be included on their own merits as part of any definition of 'Wild Geese' in Flanders. In an article on 'Womenfolk' in the Wild Geese, Micheline Walsh commented upon the 'extraordinary' numbers, of women who went 'without money or possessions' to seek some form of income abroad. Some of these, with more powerful connections, applied and received pensions or grants, particularly from the governor of Galicia, conde de Caraçena.[18] 'Catalina Geraldine' was a case in point. Describing her as one of 'four poor sisters' left behind by the earl

of Desmond, Sir William Power wrote to Secretary Cecil in 1602 to say that they are 'much distressed as the annuity allowed them by the Queen is very small' and they are 'friendless'. However, by 1607 'Catalina' had obviously gone to Flanders and applied for a pension. On 24 November, she received a grant of forty escudos a month 'upon the castle of Antwerp' from the Spanish secretary of war in which she was described as:

> a sister of the Earl of Desmond, who died in prison in London, for his devotion to the Catholic faith and the service of his Majesty; she is herself an exile for the same cause and all her estate has been confiscated.[19]

Other women, also, followed this course. 'Dona Catalina Brennan', whose husband 'died at the hands of the English in Irish wars', received ten escudos a month in 1610 from the Spanish treasury in Spain, while 'Dona Elena Sulivana', whose husband 'was hanged by the English', similarly received thirteen escudos a month.[20] The careers of Ellen 'Countess of Clancarty' and Mary Stuart O'Donnell were particularly fascinating. Wife to Florence MacCarthy, who from 1607 was in the tower of London, Ellen had an extremely colourful career in Ireland and applied in 1610, for a licence to transport 'certain tins of beer, into the Low Countries'. In 1612, she sought a pension in Flanders without obtaining the permission of her husband or worse still Don Alonso, the Spanish ambassador in England! Some months later she went to Madrid, where she lived until 1621, returning again to Brussels in April of that year.[21] Mary Stuart O'Donnell, resisting attempts by Charles I in 1627 to have her marry a Protestant in England, 'disguised herself as a man and fled with two other young girls and a male relation' to Flanders. Here she sought refuge with her O'Donnell cousins in the Irish regiment in Brussels and successfully negotiated a pension from the king of Spain.

These stories were unusually dramatic but a special report to the archduke, in August 1614 shows a large number of women in receipt of *entretenimentos* from the funds of the Irish infantry. Providing a woman could prove she was of noble birth and impeccable virtue it was not uncommon for women to receive army funds in their own right.[22]

For poorer women, begging and prostitution were the chief means of survival, if one was without a husband or relatives. When her husband Hugo O'Shaughnessey was killed in Flanders in 1629, Mariana MacMahon applied for a licence and a passport for 'her and another honest widow . . . to go through the country asking for alms for three or four months, to enable her to find some support for herself and her children'.[23] The extent to which this practice was popular among Irish women particularly after the Nine Years War, was best reflected in the legal action taken to prohibit these activities. An English statute of James I in 1605 was designed specifically 'to restrain women and children

(including Irish) to pass out of the realm without special licence', though in 1606 the lord warden did suggest this 'statute should be extended to men'. Likewise in 1610 the city administration in Madrid issued a series of decrees expelling both male and female Irish gypsies and vagabonds from the capital. These measures appear to have been effective, as Chichester noted to Salisbury in 1606 that the 'great numbers of . . . women, and children of this country' who had been in France and Spain were returning.[24]

Prostitution was certainly another option though a far more difficult topic to find information on. In the Army of Flanders between four and eight prostitutes were allowed per company of two hundred men. Under Parma the figure was eight but the more austere Cardinal Archduke Albert reduced the number to three, while prostitutes were expected to carry out their trade 'under the disguise of being washerwomen or some other servile task'. In reality there were probably many more 'companions', though the number of Irish women among these, is completely unknown. In London there were certainly dubious connections established between Irish women and Irish soldiers levied for Flanders. The indefatigable Lieutenant Waad complained of the visits of these soldiers to 'a cluster of base tenements termed Knockfergus' where '. . . there were . . . 20 children at least . . . of which there is no father known'.[25]

Of course many of the soldiers who went to Flanders left their families or womenfolk behind them. One Mrs Thickpenny, widow of a New English planter in 'Dungarton', John Thickpenny, wrote in 1586 to the English administration at Dublin that as her sons were serving in Flanders under Stanley, she had no family income to live on. She was still receiving a grant from the English administration fourteen years later in 1600. Likewise Peter Barnwall in 1608 bluntly advised his sisters to remain in Ireland as he was in severe debt and their brother Patrick 'obliged to break off his studies'.[26] Noteworthy also is that among the list of names compiled by George Carew of those Irish who 'shipped themselves for Spain forth of Munster', the names of only two women appear, although the sons of many of the men accompanied their fathers. Whether Carew omitted to mention them or whether these women did not accompany their husbands is difficult to know, for Carew made no pretence that his list was comprehensive and put many simply under the category of 'followers' or the 'train' of the Old Irish lords. Information on those who went with Hugh O'Neill, O'Donnell and Maguire to the continent is perhaps more comprehensive; the entourages certainly included women. Among the train of the earl of Tyrone was his wife Countess Catherine Magennis, two ladies in waiting and three maidservants, while with the baron of Donegal there were two maidservants, two noblewomen acting as wet nurses, Nuala O'Donnell, her lady-in-waiting, a maid and Rosa O'Dogherty, who had with her 'a woman attending on her son'.[27] However, of the ninety-nine claimed by O'Cianáin to be on board the ship this hardly represented a large proportion and obviously most of the wives

and families of the men who undertook this journey in 1607 remained, at least for the present, in Ireland. In the 'Distribution of the goods of the fugitives' in 1610, most of the goods of these men, many of them then serving in the Irish regiment, went to their wives and children at home. Teig O'Kena's (Keenan's?) wife got 'all her husbands goods', as did the wives of Murgagh O'Quin and Henry O'Hagan. In the case of Henry Hovenden's wife, she specifically received 'all her husband's goods . . . to maintain her children at school', as well as, 'for her relief'.[28]

Probably the greatest indication of the number of those in the Army of Flanders who had families in Ireland were the leave of absences frequently granted to Irish soldiers, to return to Ireland 'a negocios de su casa' that is, 'on family business'. Such leave was, for example, granted to Art and John O'Connor in 1609, and to Lieutenant Ferdinand O'Donnell in 1597, while others, like Darbi Dempsey in 1601 or 'Dunacho O'Madin' in 1608, received a licence to see to the 'affaires of their family and property'.[29] In fact, of the 130 leave of absences or licences granted between 1587 and 1610 for Ireland, at least seventeen were for reasons specifically related to 'family' or property. The term *casa*, however, could relate as easily to the 'house' or extended kin of a soldier as to his immediate family, and such a licence did not prove a soldier's wife and children were not with him in Flanders. The licence of this nature granted to Edmund Wesley, for example, in 1591 was related to the death of his father.[30]

Without port records or census material it is impossible to speculate on the proportion of women attached to the Army of Flanders. It is probable from our source material that it was more customary for women of the rank and file members of the Army of Flanders to brave the journey, as they had little to leave behind, but this is mere supposition. Despite the lack of detailed information, however, it is clear that it was certainly not unusual for women to accompany their menfolk to Flanders. Between 1637 and 1682, death certificates of fifteen Irish women can be found in the church of St Michel et St Gudule in Brussels. Several of these, including Celine Barry, Anna Carnie, Marquerite Kelly, Catharina Carti, Margaret Maquar (Maguire), Jozina O'Willsch (Walsh), Luise Marlae (Malley?) and Eleanore Flin, have surnames which correspond to those serving in the Irish regiment at that time in Brussels and were almost certainly connected. An analysis of 226 legatees who claimed the inheritance of a dead soldier in the Army of Flanders between 1604 to 1606 revealed 34 relatives, 39 comrades or fellow soldiers, 39 religious houses, charities or chaplains and 130 widows[31] (see Figure 5). The Scottish verse bemoaning the departure of loved ones to war was certainly relevant for some women but many others either went on their own or stayed with their husbands and male kin, forming an important part of their lives in Flanders.

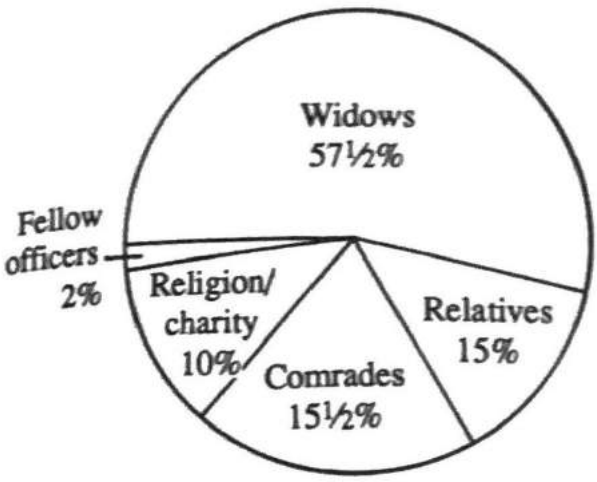


Figure 5: The legatees of soldiers of the Army of Flanders. Source: Parker, *Spanish Flanders*, p. 173.

The greatest significance of family migration to the wars in Flanders lay in the implication it had for the emergence of Irish military settlements or communities there. In the introduction to his book, *The English Catholic refugees on the continent, 1588-1795*, Peter Guilday remarked that from about 1569 'a little colony of noble Catholic men and women gathered in the chief towns of the Low Countries, at Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, Bruges and Douay', forming English communities in these places. Similarly a pattern of Irish communities can be found in Spanish territories. In Barcelona the Irish tended to settle in the old part of the city around the harbour, whereas in Madrid the area of San Martin was a famous 'Irish quarter'.[32] An examination of the parochial records of Flanders indicates that the same process also occurred among the Irish population there. Although sources are very scarce and incomplete, particularly for regions outside Brussels, there is no doubt about the existence of clusters of Irish names in the parish registers of certain churches, thus indicating the emergence of 'Irish communities' in these areas.

The oldest and largest number of records of Irish interest seems to be contained in the parish registers of St Michel et St Gudule and the registers of St Catherine in Brussels. These records date from 1568 and 1587 respectively, and as no records of Irish interest appear outside of these parishes in that city, this points to the existence of Irish quarters around these churches. Likewise, in Bruges, parish records (though on a much smaller scale) exist for the parishes of St Giles and Notre Dame from the years 1605 and 1607 respectively and do not extend beyond these parishes for the first few decades of the seventeenth century.[33] The keeping of parish records was only made compulsory in the Spanish Netherlands from 1565 and even then were kept in a very haphazard fashion until, at least, the early 1600s. The starting dates of these parishes therefore give no indication of when and where the Irish began to settle in Flanders and being incomplete are of little use in attempting to quantify the numbers of Irish settlers. They do, however, indicate that the largest Irish community was in Brussels—the headquarters of the Irish regiment—and although it is difficult to ascertain the backgrounds of many of the Irish names in these records, it is certain that many had military connections.

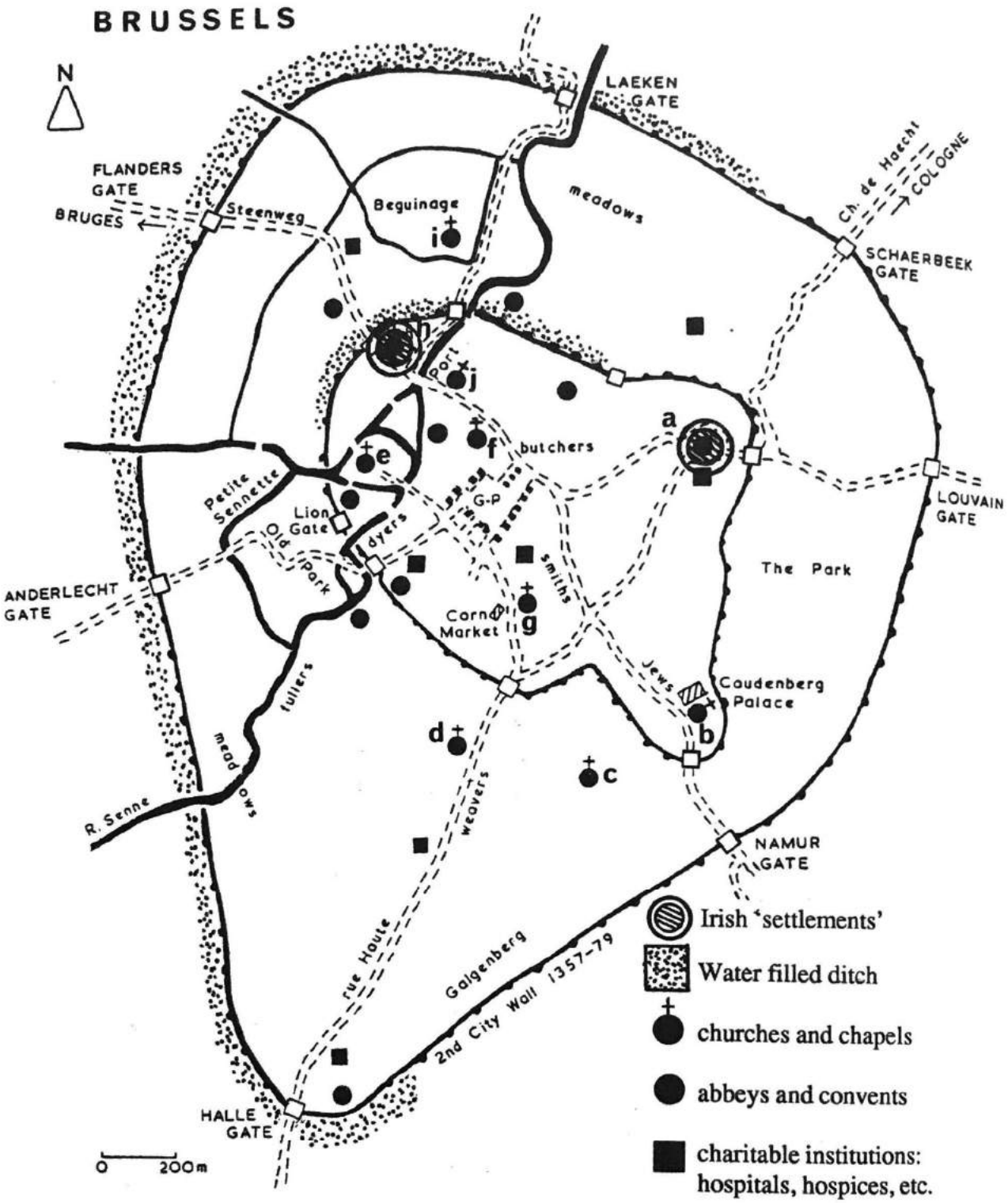
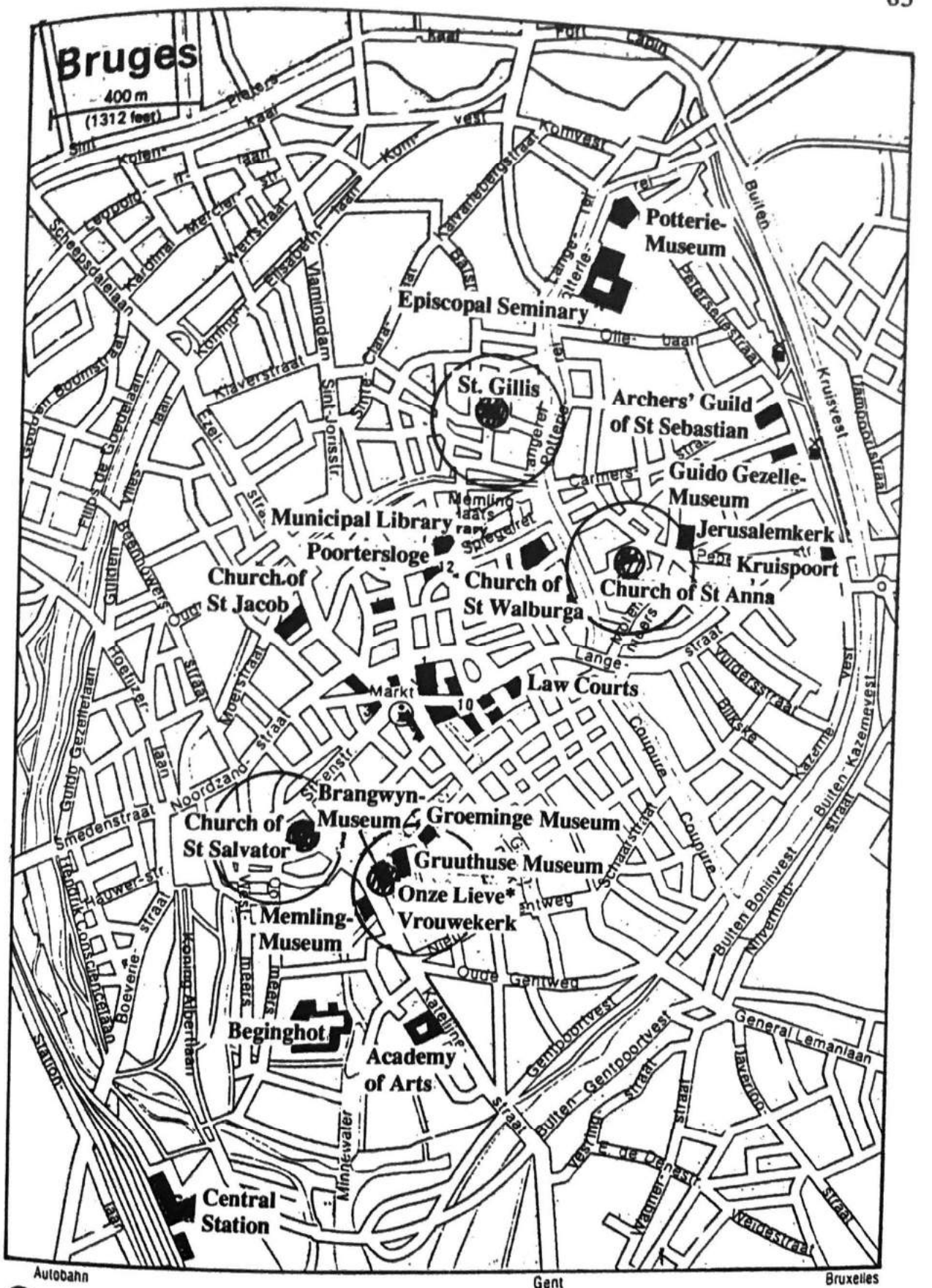


Figure 6: Irish settlements in Brussels

a–Church of St. Michael and St. Gudule; b–Church of St. Jacques sur Coudenberg; c–Church of Notre Dame du Sablon; d–Church of Notre Dame de la Chapelle; e–Church of St. Gery; f–Church of St. Nicholas; g–Chapel of St. Marie-Madeleine; h–Church of St. Catherine; i–Church of St. John the Baptist of the Beguinage; j–Church of Notre Dame au Quai.

Figure 6: Irish settlements in Brussels



Irish 'settlements'

*Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk = Church of Notre Dame

Figure 7: Irish settlements in Bruges, shown superimposed on a modern map

Perhaps the greatest single indicator that military communities actually existed is the marriages that took place between Irish soldiers and Irish women. Pointing very much to the close interaction of Irish families, such marriages frequently took place. According to the testimony of Owen O'Loughye MacSweeney, captains Cornelius O'Driscoll and Teig MacCarthy married two of his sisters in 1608 (though the ceremony took place in Rome). Rosa O'Dogherty and Captain Owen Roe O'Neill were married in Flanders sometime between 1613 and 1614,[34] while for other members of military circles actual marriage certificates survive. For example in July 1614, Thomas O'Connell of the Irish regiment married Helen O'Grady in the church of St Catherine.[35] In the church of St Michel et St Gudule, Elizabeth Barrett and Richard Stanihurst were married in 1606, while her sister Joanna was also married there to Julian Portier (Porter?) in 1608. Richard was a cousin of Captain Thomas Stanihurst, while Joanna and Elizabeth were almost certainly related to William, Richard and John Barrett serving in the Irish regiment at that time.[36]

A number of children of Irish captains who obviously grew up on the continent later served in the Army of Flanders. Captain Maurice Fitzgerald, who in 1626 had 'served his Majesty in these States for over forty years', had four sons, Peter, Richard, Macellus and Gaspar serving with him by 1630, some at least of whom must have been born on the continent.[37] Likewise Captain Henry O'Hagan had two sons, Arthur and Terence, serving in his company in 1626 and Stephen son of Walter de la Hyde was also in the company of his father by 1636 and later became a captain.[38] The age at which it was sometimes necessary for these children to begin service in the army was indicated in the case of Daniel Gallagher 'aged twelve years, eldest son of Juano Barri, widow of Hugo Gallocyur' who received 'a place in the Irish infantry' on account of his father 'who had served his Majesty for 18 years and had left four children without means of support'.[39]

Some of the baptismal records also indicated a father's name with military connections. John Kelly, who was baptised in June 1612, was the son of Cornelius Kelly, *entretenido* and later soldier in the Irish regiment[40] while children like William Burke, baptised in 1599, Nicholas and Jeanne Barry baptised in 1606 and 1609, or Joseph and Jeanne Donnell in 1601 and 1604, almost certainly had fathers among the numerous Burkes, Barrys and O'Donnells who appeared in the army grants of the Army of Flanders.[41]

The number of marriages that took place within military circles do not at first sight appear to have been very large. Between 1586 and 1621 there is evidence of only fifteen marriage certificates and fifty-eight baptismal certificates of Irish interest in the two parishes of Brussels. It is clear, however, that these parish registers are far from containing a complete record of military marriages, baptisms or deaths. Firstly, these registers are in themselves incomplete. The baptismal records, for example, for the entire period from 14 June 1579 to 25

March 1585 in St Michel et Gudule were destroyed 'à cause des gueux', while only one volume of baptisms exists for St Catherine's for the entire period between 1586 and 1625. Likewise with marriage records, few entries for any nationality are made before 1600, while no Irish death certificate exists in the registers before 1636.[42] Secondly, it is possible that such records exist elsewhere. The existence of garrison churches certainly at San Filippe in Antwerp[43] and most likely at Ghent, Valenciennes and Cambrai would lend credence to the theory that army records of marriages and deaths, particularly of the rank and file, may well have been housed here. It is significant that in his study of marriages between Spanish soldiers and Netherlands at Antwerp, Geoffrey Parker discovered that the register at the garrison recorded twenty military marriages among the Spaniards per year from 1599 to 1658 and it seems likely that the marriages of Irish soldiers also took place at these garrisons.

If it is impossible to assess the size of these Irish settlements, the trend towards their growth was very marked. Even given the fact that parish records were so incomplete and not representative of trends within the entire military community, there is a pattern of increase in the number of records of Irish interest. In the period after 1600 when registers were more complete there were, for example, forty-eight 'Irish' baptisms registered at St Michel et St Gudule for December 1605 whereas for October 1610 that number had increased to eighty-six. Likewise the period after 1600 also saw the spread of these Irish settlements. In Bruges names of Irish interest were recorded outside of Notre Dame in St Salvador from 1619, in St Donalus from 1630 and in St Anne's from 1646. On the other hand, no Irish records have been found at least in substantial numbers outside Brussels or Bruges, until the 1770s at Mons, though of course many of the parish records outside the major towns, were lost in the Napoleonic wars or the later world wars.

Apart from the close interaction of Irish families, other factors also indicated an introverted Irish military community. Chief among these was language. Although some like Maurice Fitzgibbon, Owen Oghy MacSweeney and Thomas Stanihurst were able to speak Spanish or French or had, like Dermot O'Mallun, been brought up in Flanders and could speak Flemish fluently,[44] many of the rank and file soldiers would appear to have been unable to speak Spanish or the local language. Le Clerc noted that the Irish at Deventer 'spoke an unintelligible language and could not have any intercourse with the inhabitants'. This of course was written only a few months after the arrival of the Irish troops, but Irish seems to have continued to be the language that Irish soldiers spoke among themselves. As late as 1630 the marqués de Aytona wrote to Philip IV that while the Irish are 'good people, and attached to the Spaniards, their captains do not treat them well, and defraud them of their pay; for as with people who do not know the language, they cheat them easily'.[45] This would imply perhaps that the officer class, at least at the level of captain, had a

knowledge of the Spanish language, though it is impossible to speculate how many soldiers did or did not master the language. It does however seem clear that some at least, at all levels, never spoke any language other than Irish or English. Micheline Walsh, in a study on some Louth exiles in Spain, noted that one John Handsor could not speak Spanish after ten years trading in Madrid and always required an interpreter, while in 1610, after three years at Louvain, neither the young earl of Tyrconnell's tutor, 'Hugo O'Galuchor', nor his wife Cecilia, could speak a word of Flemish.[46]

As a long-term development, there was a conscious effort made by Irish families, including those in military circles, to preserve their own 'Irish' identity. This can be seen most fundamentally in the preoccupation of many of the noble and gentry families with genealogy and ancestry. Two Old English families who settled in Bruges were a case in point. The inscription on the memorial cabinet of Jean Antoine Preston, son of Thomas Preston, bore not only the Preston arms, but also those of the Fitzwilliams, Geraldyns and Finglas families, to whom the Preston family in Ireland were related. Similarly, the inscription on the tomb of Jean Lea (Lee), who married Margaret Butler and later Margaret Walshe, bore the arms of all three of these families.[47] Among Old Irish circles, this preoccupation manifested itself in the continued employment of chroniclers, such as Tuileagna MacTorna Conry OFM or Thomas O'Gorman who specialised in Irish genealogies, even at the end of the eighteenth century. Anxious to retain a link with the past glories of their families, O'Sullivan Beare in the 1620s recorded the names of several poets who continued to fulfil a traditional role in the household of Gaelic Irish lords on the continent.[48]

In a society where birth and lineage not only determined one's social class but were an inherent part of one's identity as a person, whether rich or poor, such records were vital to maintain. Suitable lineage had to be proven in order to gain admission to the royal courts, attain any kind of high office, win promotion or become a part of any élite social group, and a preoccupation with lineage was thus hardly surprising. What is more surprising is the practice among Irish soldiers, even born on the continent, of identifying themselves closely, with the lands and birthplace of their fathers. In a study of the register of the Santa Cruz hospital, Dorothy Molloy noticed among the personal details of the sick and wounded soldiers, the tendency of Irish soldiers born on the continent, to give their father's birthplace as their own.[49] From what few examples we have, a similar identification with the origins of their families (at least in upper class circles) prevailed also in Flanders. The tombstone inscription of Dermot O'Mallun in 1639, who 'was exiled when a boy from my own country' noted first and foremost that he was 'Baron de Glenomallun' despite the many titles and distinctions later conferred upon him in the household service of the archduke. Captain William de Brugo, Thomas de Burgo and Don

Cornelius Kelly who had all served in the Irish regiment, signed themselves respectively, 'Lord of Bealatury', 'Lord of Clonaloe and of Ballynanean', and 'Lord of Theboynan' in 1616 at an attestation in favour of Dermot O'Mallun.[50] Even more significantly from a number of wills found at Barcelona, is the evidence of several Irishmen who bequeathed to their families, their lands and estates in Ireland 'at present confiscated', including a soldier Marcos MacGrath in 1760, who left his ten-year-old son John a favoured position in the Spanish army or 'all his possessions, in the Kingdom of Ireland at present confiscated'.[51] There can be no doubt that some at least of those serving in the Army of Flanders perceived their careers as short-term or enforced. Perhaps the reply of Art O'Neill, then colonel in the Army of Flanders in 1662, when asked for his papers, exemplifies the bond felt by many with their ancestors and country. He wrote:

> The rank of my family is well known in the Kingdom of Ireland that it has never been necessary for me to keep any papers whatsoever, much less bring them to Spain where I came only to serve in the wars. In the Kingdom of Ireland it is the custom to employ chroniclers who have the duty and obligation of keeping a record of all noble families and their descendants.[52]

The preoccupation with lands and lineage was one, of course, confined to the upper levels of the military circle and it would be a fallacy to identify such trends too closely with our more confined study of the first thirty-five years of Irish military presence in Flanders. By 1621, however, there were signs of an emerging Irish military community. There was obviously close interaction between Irish families with military connections—certain parts, particularly of Brussels, could be identified as 'Irish quarters' while Irish or English was almost certainly the language spoken there.

Such a term 'military community' should not, however, be too closely identified with our modern day perception of an Irish community in England or the United States. Records of Irish interest may appear to be clustered in certain parish registers, but Irish names were listed among many others of different nationalities, particularly the local Walloons, and these parishes or quarters were by no means exclusively Irish. In fact, despite the interaction of Irish families, there were surprisingly close links between the Irish military group and the local Flemish and Walloon population.

Intermarriage between the two groups certainly occurred. One of the first records we have of such a marriage, took place on 8 November 1601, between Luis Poolnia, a Walloon, and Elizabeth Clerke, who was probably a sister of the Thomas Clarke, later serving in Teig MacCarthy's company. In July 1606 Francis Burke, almost certainly of the Irish infantry, married a Margareta de

Vrome, another Walloon, while similar connections between Irish and Walloons included the marriage of Jacques Carney and Margareta de Pres and that of William Long and Camil de Was in 1602 and 1604 respectively.[53] Irish and Flemish also married. 'Benoit Feroilli' and Mari Verrein were married in 1606. Thomas Preston married the daughter of Charles vander Eycken shortly after 1612, while Cornelius Kelly and Margaretae vander Grye had their first child in 1612.[54] All three of these men were attached to the Army of Flanders while the vander Eycken family and Hannedors, into whom Dermot O'Mallun and Thomas Preston married, were two of the most powerful and wealthy families in Brabant.[55]

Such individual cases could hardly claim to be representative of all Irish in foreign service, and it is extremely difficult to gauge the proportion of soldiers who married Netherland women. A case study of the marriages of Spanish soldiers in the church of the Antwerp garrison from 1599 to 1658 pointed to a high and increasing level of intermarriage between the soldiers and the Netherlanders.[56] Such extensive information is not available on the marriages of Irish soldiers, but of the fifteen marriage records surviving in the parish registers of Brussels before 1621 ten at least, seem to have had Netherlands brides, while of the baptismal certificates where both parents names are mentioned, thirty-two of the forty-one children were of mixed marriages. These figures would argue a high level of intermarriage between the Irish and Netherlanders, but they could be deceptive. The names on these registers seem to come mainly from the upper ranks of the military group and may not in fact be representative of the rank and file, while it has already been suggested that family migration was most common among the poorer sections. Nevertheless, from an army list of widows pensions in 1635 including the wives of both soldiers and officers, about one third of the marriages were mixed and it is noticeable that most of the rank and file widows had in fact Netherlands partners. Hence, twelve florins was granted to Juan van de Velde, widow of William Halpun, who was a 'soldier of the company of Captain Walter de la Hoyd', and twelve florins given to Onor Niteyge, widow of Mortagh Obely (O'Reilly?), 'soldier of Captain Constantine O'Neill'.[57] An examination of the marriages amongst the various captains of Irish companies is equally interesting. Of eleven captains for whom we have records of marriage, five and possibly six—Thomas Finglas, Hugh O'Gallagher, Henry O'Hagan, Christopher St Lawrence, Art O'Neill and possibly Thomas Stanihurst—married women in Ireland;[58] four—Maurice Fitzgerald, Cornelius O'Driscoll, Owen Roe O'Neill and Teig MacCarthy—married Old Irish women on the continent; and two—Thomas Preston and James Gernon—married either Walloons or Flemings.[59] There would appear to be no particular pattern of marriage from these figures, although within the upper ranks Old English rather than Old Irish seem to have commonly married Netherlanders. Such figures could not be

classified as statistics when the wives of at least fifty captains remain unknown and the widows list is by no means complete. Their real value lies in the indication they give that intermarriage between the Irish and the local population was not uncommon.

Even closer links between the Irish military and the Walloons and Flemings, can be established from Irish baptismal certificates for this period. In accordance with the Council of Trent decrees, only two godparents were named for each child and these often appear to have been either Flemish or Walloon. 'Ludovici Kellee', baptized in St Giles Church, Bruges, in 1607, had as godparents, one William van Bussche and Sesecia van Marcisc(?), while the godparents for Dermot O'Mallun's seven children were all of Walloon origin.[60] This latter may not have been so surprising, as Dermot was brought up in Flanders, but from thirty-two complete baptismal certificates before 1623 in St Michel et St Gudule only three in fact have not, at least, one Flemish or Walloon godparent. In the case of John, son of Cornelius Kelly, and Albert Connelly son of Bernard, both godparents were Netherlanders, despite the fact that one parent was Irish,[61] and this appears to have been the case in at least eighteen certificates. This system of choosing foreign godparents indicated the highest level of integration possible between, at least some Irish with military connections, and the local population. Given the important role of the godparent in European kingroups, even as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, this particular link signified a degree of intimacy and mutual acceptance between two groups that was remarkable.

Family ties were of course not the only links established between the Irish military and their new environment. Many of those who went to serve in the Army of Flanders forged important military and political careers for themselves. Several of those with suitable background were admitted into the Spanish military orders of Santiago, Alcántara and Calatrava. Daniel and Dermot O'Sullivan, Walter M'William Burke and Henry O'Neill, became members of the Knights of Santiago before 1614, while at a later period Hugh Albert O'Donnell, son of Rory, was made Knight of Alcántara and Art O'Neill, John O'Neill and Dermot O'Mullan became 'chevalliers' of the prestigious order of Calatrava in Flanders.[62] Such positions could have an income as lucrative as a landed estate and Micheline Walsh noted in her introduction to *Spanish knights of Irish origin* that, between the years 1607 and 1706, about 200 Irishmen or men of Irish extraction connected with the Spanish armies were to become members of the Spanish Knights of Santiago.[63] Others, received positions of administrative and political authority. Thomas Preston was appointed governor of Geneppe in North Brabant in 1641 and six years later became a member of the Society of St George and St Sebastian of Bruges. Colonel Count Edward Fitzgerald, hailed as the 'Hero of Ostend' in 1602, was made governor of Udenheim and eventually counsellor of war to the duke of

Bavaria, while before 1612 John Bal, Dermot O'Mallun, Edward Fitzgerald, Walter de la Hyde and in 1619 Robert Daniel were all given positions as 'entretenidos cerca la persona' in the archduke's service. This rank effectively meant that these men were staff officers in the household of the archduke. By 1608 there were only 138 such places; it was the highest position a non-Spaniard could attain in the Army of Flanders.[64]

Such promotion was of course possible under Spanish law, where legal privileges accorded to the Irish who settled in the Low Countries were the same as those of a Spanish subject. A royal decree of Charles II in May 1680 noted that

> the Irish have always enjoyed in the Spanish dominions, the same rights as Spaniards, in respect of the obtaining of officers or employments. No obstacle has ever been placed in the way of their obtaining political or military appointments.[65]

Already in the late 1590s a special consul was appointed in Spain to oversee the rights of the Irish merchants resident there and whereas there were severe restrictions on English subjects in Spain, particularly with regard to trade and property ownership, a decree published by Philip V in Madrid in June 1701 confirmed that 'the privileges and graces to the Irish' would continue. These included the rights of the Irish in Spain 'to live, trade and acquire property in the Spanish dominions' whether 'domiciled or resident', and in fact it was not until April 1701 that the English in Spanish territories were accorded the same privileges as the Irish, these even then applying only to those 'who had married Spaniards or had been ten years resident in Spain'.[66] Some Irish serving in the Army of Flanders took advantage of these privileges to acquire land. According to a disposition of Ellyne Nye Connor, in 1602, Conor O'Driscoll's ambition, if his plans failed in Ireland, was 'to go to Spain to get a grant of land'. Although he does not seem to have acquired such lands, others certainly did. John Kennedy, who had worked his way up the ranks to adjutant and had served in 1641, 'for fifty years' in the Army of Flanders, held property in Frisia 'by his wife', while Marguerite de Namur in a letter to her husband, Thomas Preston, referred to 'their estate' at Beets in Brabant in 1647.[67]

The Irish military group then established firm roots in their new environment and should not be regarded in terms of an isolated unit. It would be a mistake, however, to exaggerate the integration of this group particularly at the level of rank and file. Relations between the soldier and civilian population were never at any period harmonious in the Spanish Netherlands and those between the Irish soldier and the Walloon and Flemish at times bordered on contempt. This was particularly true before 1600 when the Irish were new to the Low Countries. In 1586 Parma requested that thirty of the 'wild Irish' be brought before him

for inspection whereupon, according to the *Fugger Newsletters*, finding them 'to be ill of the plague he immediately had them killed like dogs'.[68] Such treatment implied a condescending and contemptuous attitude towards the Irish soldiers sent over, and certainly such an outlook was characteristic of the image of Irish soldiers in Flanders presented by contemporary writers. Grotius wrote that the citizens of Deventer in 1586 were 'provoked to madness by a garrison of Irish soldiers, strangers both to humanity and civility', while Le Clerc described these Irish soldiers as 'half naked, and extraordinarly savage, and rude in their manners'.[69] Although written from an enemy viewpoint there may have been some justification in these descriptions. Sir John Norris noted, in November 1586, that upon entering the town of Deventer, 'the Irish have committed every excess', while Thomas Wilkes, secretary of the council of the province of Gueldres, in December 1586 put forward the specific complaints of the magistrate of Deventer, in a letter to William Stanley himself. These complaints noted

> . . . that the Irish soldiers do commit many extortions and exactions upon the inhabitants; that a soldier drew his sword upon a woman with child because he might not have what he listed, that you have imprisoned some of their burgesses and done many things against their laws and privileges to the wonderful discontentment of the whole inhabitants.[70]

Such complaints were normal among the burgesses of the towns for whom army occupation meant billeting, loss of trade and a crushing expense and Stanley himself immediately refuted these complaints as lies.[71] Nevertheless an account by Ralph Sadler, although written with a strong anti-Catholic and pro-English bias, probably reflected with some accuracy the gruesome levels that relations between soldiers and peasants could come to. Describing the fate of Sergeant Major Simon Scurlocke with 'a group of Stanley's Irish soldiers', he wrote:

> While stragling with certain of the soldiers abroad (Scurlocke) was incountred (encountered) by the peasants and chased up into a church steeple, where finally both he and they refusing to submit themselves to the fury of the clownes (peasants) were burnt alive.

According to a report by an English agent in 1589 such an occurrence was not infrequent. Under the heading 'News from Calais', it stated that the regiment was at 'Deaniewt and Owdenert and (moving) towards Brudges and Curtrick spoiling the country. The peasants often kill some of them. They are allowed in no walled towns.'[72]

These reports must, however, be viewed in the context of the years 1587-9,

which witnessed an horrific famine in the Spanish Netherlands. A succession of harvest failures in these three years was made fatal by a blockade imposed by the Dutch on the southern provinces, preventing the arrival of the vital Baltic grain. The population of the south was decimated and the battle for food between the soldiers and civilians was universally savage.[73] Moreover, the English in the Low Countries, anxious also to discredit Stanley after his defection to Spain, undoubtedly embellished these stories, and these tales of savagery significantly died out after 1589.

Relations between the army and civilian population certainly improved during the 1590s. Archduke Albert, as sovereign prince of the Spanish Netherlands as well as captain general of the army had to balance the interests of the army against those of his citizens and initiated several new army regulations that took the financial burden of the army off the local population. From the 1590s onwards, soldiers were issued with food rations in return for a reduction in wage. For a certain percentage of their wages per year soldiers received their food from victuallers employed on contract by the Spanish government while, from the same time, soldiers in winter were no longer billeted on the unfortunate population of the towns but were catered for, at least in part, in special barracks erected inside the town and castle walls.[74] These regulations, however, did not always solve the problems between the varying interests of the two groups. Victuallers sometimes went bankrupt or were unable to provide enough food and some troops still had to be quartered on the townspeople. In July 1609 Colonel Henry O'Neill wrote to the archduke that

> . . . the companies of my regiment which are stationed at Hulst complain seriously that the governor of the garrison will not permit their sutlers to sell necessaries as they have hitherto done in the town of Ostend, and in conformity with the laws formerly issued by his Highness. The men are consequently in great need and there is no one who will allow them credit for any purchase.[75]

Even as late as 1622 a letter of Louis Verreyken to the Infanta Isabella complained of 'a band of Irishmen' in Brussels 'pillaging all they can', though he admitted that this was because the company was not with the rest of the Irish regiment.[76] The notion therefore of a stable and harmonious civilian and military community in Flanders in 1621 would be essentially false and the social development of this group must be seen in the context of the soldier's profession and, particularly, that profession within the Army of Flanders.

The soldier's life in the battlefield of Flanders was determined very much by military authorities who were chronically short of money. The coffers of the Spanish treasury were never able to cope with the expenses of the Spanish armies—particularly in the late 1580s and 1590s, when Spain was involved in war on six fronts. Hence, although the soldier's wage in the Army of Flanders

remained on a relative par with price rises,[77] the difficulty lay in actually getting the money from the Spanish authorities. It was not unusual for wages to be years in arrears and there were some soldiers who never received a full-pay from the day of their enlistment.[78] This tended of course to result in soldiers getting into debt with their captain who had a chest (*caja*) from which he could advance subsistence wages (*socorro*) and continuous lack of funds led generally to a miserable standard in the soldier's living conditions despite the provision after 1600 of food, clothes, arms and medical needs to soldiers in kind.

A survey of some of the reports on the Irish infantry shows that they were no exceptions to the bad conditions that prevailed throughout Flanders, even on the side of the United Provinces and England. According to Stanley, the 'misery and poverty' of his situation at Deventer had been one of the chief causes of his defection. On 26 December 1586 Stanley wrote to Walsingham begging to be removed with 'my whole troops' and giving a harrowing picture of his plight.

> I am at this time driven to lay all may apparell to pawn in the Lomberde, for money to pay for meat and drink. . . . Were it not in respect of my duty to her Majesty I could as well run my head into a stone wall as endure it. The captains that are here with me have not a penny to buy them meat or drink but are fain to live upon bread and cheese. The soldier had lived and so doth still upon half a pound of cheese by the day, and where they fall sick, as they must needs do for want of some warm meat to nourish them sometimes withal . . . neither myself nor any captain hath money to relieve them. . . . We have not received a month's pay since our coming into these countries, which is now almost six months.[79]

Conditions do not seem to have improved after the surrender of Deventer in January 1587, a factor noted almost gleefully by various English military personnel and agents. Edward Burnham typifies the moralistic tones employed by many Englishmen in condemning Stanley's defection. In March 1587, he wrote to Walsingham that '. . . the traitor Stanely groweth frantic, a just punishment of God, his men very poor and in misery', while about a year after the surrender Ralph Sadler described the terrible condition of the regiment under Spanish control. He wrote: 'They were wintered in the field and fed on dried acorns', so that 'one Oliver Eustace—an Irish gentleman told him (Stanley) to his face, that he was the author of these poor men's miserie and therefore bound in conscience to procure them relief.'[80]

Such accounts were undoubtedly exaggerated as a moral reflection on the inevitable fate of a traitor, but the involvement of Irish in the numerous mutinies of the Army of Flanders give substance to the reports on the bad conditions prevailing there. Between 1580 and 1601 no less than twenty-three mutinies

occurred within the Army of Flanders, most lasting well over six months.[81] Apart from the biggest mutiny at Tirlemont and Zichem from 1594 to 1596,[82] the Irish were involved in a number of other mutinies. In March 1588, an English report noted that the duke of Parma was 'weary of Stanley's disordered soldiers who are in mutiny'. In June 1589, William Humbarsten wrote to his cousin, Peter Proby, that 'Sir William Stanley's troops have mutinied. He hanged 2 or 3 and the rest say they will desert'. Despite such severe penalties the Irish were involved in a mutiny at Antwerp in July 1590 with the Walloons and 'Dutches', while in April 1591 Sir E. Norris wrote to Burghley of another threatened mutiny in Stanley's regiment.[83] Despite the reorganisation of the Army of Flanders and the improvement in conditions initiated during the 1590s, conditions in the period after 1600 were far from ideal. In a report of Sir Robert Cecil to the master of Gray in November 1602, he noted that 'From the Low Countries, there is nothing but misery in the archduke's camp for there are no less than a body of 7,000 foot, Spaniards and Italians, that have continued in mutiny this three months'. This report probably referred to a number of mutinies between 1600 and 1602 which took place at several garrisons, including Weert where at least forty-two Irish were involved. Between 1600 and 1609, eleven major mutinies took place and whereas most of the previous mutinies had involved Spanish and Italian garrisons, it is noteworthy that the three longest mutinies of these years—Weert July 1600–March 1602 (see figure 8); Hamont-Hoogstraten-Grave, September 1602–May 1605; and Diest, December 1606–November 1607—included soldiers of 'all nations'.[84]

The most frequent and fundamental request of mutineers in the Army of Flanders was the payment of arrears and in his pardon to those mutineers 'el año passado de 1594 en la Villa de Siquen y despues en la de Tirlimont' Archduke Albert noted that the chief grievance of these Italian and Irish troops was the question of pay.[85] Moreover, such financial difficulties were by no means confined to the rank and file. After the disbanding of Rowland Yorck's company in 1588, many were left 'without pay' including Ensign John Kelly, who later begged for a grant from the military authorities in Flanders. Owen O'Neill, whose company was disbanded in 1609, petitioned Philip that year and in 1610 for another company in the Irish regiment or a

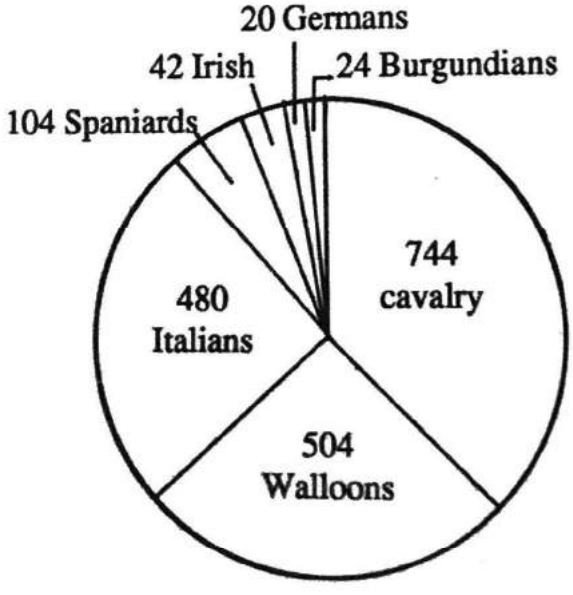


Figure 8: The mutiny of Weert, July 1600–March 1602, involved 1,927 men.
Source: Parker, *Spanish Flanders*, p. 197.

company of Lancers. It was not until 1612 that he received another command when he was owed 'a year and a half allowances by Spain' and 'was without means to present himself in a decent manner'.[86] Seniority of rank was no safeguard against impoverishment either. In the years after the surrender of Deventer, Leicester claimed that Sir William Stanley was constantly in debt and 'liveth now more like a clowne (peasant) than a lord', and Henry O'Neill complained constantly of being in debt due to arrears in pay. He made several requests directly to the council of Spain between 1605 and 1610, asking that 'the entire amount of pay that is due to him be paid'. On his death he was owed 7,000 ducats in pay.[87]

Food scarcities and financial constraints were of course not the only hardships in the life of a soldier in the Army of Flanders. Although death was of course the common lot of his way of life, accidents and injuries also posed considerable problem for Irish troops. The kind of dangers facing a soldier is probably best exemplified in some of the special grants of licences given to individual soldiers. Thomas Butler, soldier in Captain John de Claramonte's company, received a special grant in 1597, as he 'was wounded in the leg and burnt in the face at the siege of Hulst'. In 1602 Dermot MacHenry got the grant of a *placa muerta* or 'dead place' as compensation for his services at Ostend, where 'his left arm was shot off by a canon-ball', while Daniel Cablet in 1603 became completely deaf as the result of a canon-ball and was considered 'unable for further service'.[88] Like Cablet, who was granted a licence for Ireland, many others obtained permission to go to Ireland who were deemed unfit for service. For example, in the two years from 1603 to 1605, eight of the twenty-two licences for Ireland granted to Irish soldiers were given on the grounds of being 'unfit for further service', while two more licences recorded soldiers having 'disfiguring scars' from previous wounds 'received on their bodies'.[89] Sickness seems to have been a particular problem amongst Irish soldiers. As noted previously in Chapter 3, illness spread to epidemic proportions amongst the Irish from 1607to 1610. On 19 September 1610, William Trumbull, referred to the extent of the crisis within the Irish regiment:

> If the sickness which is now reigning in the regiment of that nation do proceed as it hath begun, there may more of them go in that way, because there are 50 of one only company sick at the present in the hospital at Macklen (Mechelen).[90]

In 1621, when another outbreak of illness occurred, the quartermaster of the Army of Flanders Louis Verreyken noted that fifty-two beds were required for the Irish at Nieuport as 'several have fallen ill on account of the bad accommodation'.[91]

The truce with Holland provided a valuable breathing space in the Army of

Flanders in which trade and industry flourished. Harvests were good and huge improvements were made in the conditions of service for the soldier—the hospital, the impartial and independent judiciary and above all a guaranteed supply of bread, clothes and shelter to every man. Mutinies died out after 1609, but death, disease, pay arrears and food shortages formed an inherent part of the Irish soldier's life in Flanders, and the essential nature of his occupation was one of insecurity and transience rather than stability and permanence. Apart from the obvious inroads death and illness made on the numbers of those serving in Flanders, many, not surprisingly, did not regard service in Flanders as a permanent occupation. The pattern of service among the captains of our thirty-five year period is perhaps a useful case in point. Of the fifty-six captains whom we know had companies during this interval, nine died in service,[92] thirty remained for ten years or more, while seven (we can conclude from English sources), almost certainly went home after less than three years of service (see Figure 9 below).[93]

	Total	Returned to Ireland	Ten years or more service	Unknown
Stanley's regiment to 1596	3	1	1	1
Numbers who died in this period	—			
Independent Irish Companies	7	2	3	1
Numbers who died	1			
Henry O'Neill's regiment	31	3	16	9
Numbers who died	3			
John O'Neill's regiment up to 1621	29	1	15	1
Numbers who died	5			

Figure 9: Service of Irish captains in the Army of Flanders, 1587-1622

Among both officers and the rank and file, 231 licences were granted to Irish men to return home between 1588 and 1621. Some of these included leave of absences for certain periods, so that soldiers like Richard Mores, Donoch O'Madin, or Florence MacCarthy,[94] received licences only for a few months, while others like Peter Geraldine and Victor Brae returned after a few years to Flanders.[95] Moreover, movement, especially in the seventeenth century, was constant, and this also included the transfers to different armies in Europe. Richard MacHenry got a licence to Spain where he heard he could 'better serve

his Majesty', while Walter Butler, Hugh Mostyn, Peter Geraldine, Thomas Burke and Dermot MacCarthy all served in the Imperial Army against Sweden.[96] Richard Burke, mentioned in Chapter 3, was a fascinating example of the kind of life possible for a soldier in sixteenth century Europe. Having served for many years under the Spaniards in Naples, he was sent to the West Indies and later returned to Spain. From there he came to the Low Countries where he was probably the Richard Burke receiving a grant in Robert Bostock's company in 1594. He was finally made governor of Leghorn by the duke of Florence 'where he hath lived in great esteeme'.[97] Not many soldiers could expect to have such a colourful career, and only a handful of men like John Kennedy, Patrick Daniel, Denis MacCarthy or John Burke, could claim to have served between thirty and forty years in the Army of Flanders.[98]

Transience and movement, then, were the constant factors in a soldier's life that form a background to any examination of an Irish military community, and the term 'Irish military community' needs careful definition. Certainly the years 1586 to 1621 saw increasing migration of Irish families and women, a growth in the size and spread of Irish settlements, and links established with the local Netherlanders. Ultimately, however, these thirty-five years, represented only the first generation of an Irish military presence in Flanders and the number of soldiers who settled in Flanders by 1621 was possibly a great deal smaller than the numbers who had not. The importance of the social development of this group lay in its development towards a sense of community or belonging. The traditional view of the soldier in exile which saw him purely in terms of a dispossessed wanderer from camp to camp was wholly inaccurate. Not only did he form a part of a cohesive collection of kin groups and family units, but he was also establishing certain links with his new world in the Netherlands.

5

The Wider Community

What stars are ruling this country [Sweden]
That we poor Irrn [Irish] are sent here
Far 'cross water and land?
I have never head the name of this place.

Thirty Years War ballad (*British Library*)

The 'new world' of the Irish soldier was that of counter-reformation Europe. The southern provinces of the Netherlands were first and foremost dominated by Catholic Spain. Not only did these provinces owe political allegiance to Spain but they were characterised by an emerging Catholic identity[1] and the flowering of a counter-reformation movement that was directed largely from the Habsburg government. From the patronage of traditional shrines and new religious orders to the implementation of regulations regarding discipline and education for the laity and the clergy, Philip II and the archdukes Albert and Isabella (1598-1633) consciously reshaped the Catholic church of the Spanish Netherlands in the Tridentine image. From the 1590s, then, the archdukes and to some extent the nunciature at Brussels[2] created in the Spanish Netherlands a spirit of Catholic reform as well as a political asylum for recusant Catholics, that attracted English and later Irish, religious and émigré groups to these provinces. An essential part of the soldier's world then was a wider circle of Irish and English Catholic counter-reformation groups in the Low Countries, and it is with an analysis of the soldier within the context of this wider Irish community that this last section of our study is concerned.

For convenience sake those that formed part of the soldier's 'wider world' can be divided into two categories. There were those Catholic clergy and students who made up the Irish religious community of the Low Countries, and there was the exile group, who, while also embracing Catholicism as their religion, had left Ireland and settled on the continent for a variety of complex motives.[3] The links between these groups and the military community were close, in terms of both personal contacts and the influence and control exerted by the religious and exile groups in military domains.

In studying the formative influences on the soldier in Flanders perhaps the most controversial at the time was that exerted by the religious community.

English reports clearly emphasised a close association between Irish soldiers and 'popish priests' in Flanders right through the period from 1586 to 1621. Sir William Stanley's defection to Spain at Deventer gave rise to much speculation in English circles regarding the extent of Jesuit influence on those now serving under the duke of Parma. Sir Ralph Sadler referred to Stanley's regiment, now predominantly Irish, as 'a regiment of seminarie soldiers' and John Strype, describing the situation shortly after Deventer, wrote that 'priests thicke and threefolde from France and Italie [came] catechizing these newe souldyers with many masses and continual sermons'.[4] By 1610, English administrators like Arthur Chichester and John Davies in Ireland automatically regarded Irish soldiers and Irish priests as a twin threat to the security of the Irish realm.[5] Whether this association can be justified must be examined by reference to both the development of the religious community in the Low Countries and the relations built up between it and the military group.

The growth and consolidation of the Irish military group in the Low Countries had been paralleled in the 1580s and 1590s by a similar process among those Irish going to the continent to study at counter-reformation colleges. The pursuit of education on the continent by Irishmen and women was not new and had in fact become an established trend by the 1580s.[6] However, the growth in the numbers of Irish names in the registers of universities like Louvain and Salamanca, and the subsequent establishment of Irish colleges and religious orders in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, indicated that more and more Irishmen and women were opting for religious training on the continent. During the 1590s Irish colleges were established at Valladolid, Salamanca, Alcalá de Henares and Lisbon in Spain and Portugal, while in the Spanish Netherlands an Irish college at Douai was founded in 1594 by Christopher Cusack and St Anthony's at Louvain was founded by Florence Conry OFM in 1607.[7] It was these two centres and the small appendages of Douai like Lille, Tournai and Antwerp that were to form the Irish centres of post-Tridentine Catholic learning in the Spanish Netherlands.

These colleges, however, did not represent a complete break with the past. In reality the setting up of such a college meant the segregation of an Irish group already studying at other institutions, the search for private sponsorship, and a very precarious existence in a small private house dependent on irregular funding. Some, like the short-lived Irish college of 'Galasio' O'Lorcan, did not survive, while others, such as Douai, were continually short of funds.[8] Instability and constant movement were the features which characterised both the colleges and the houses of the religious orders set up until well into the 1620s, but this did not undermine their importance. Douai and Louvain were modelled on the Tridentine ideal of the diocesan seminary and unlike older institutions were devoted exclusively to the Catholic mission in Ireland.[9] J.J. Silke estimated that approximately 300 priests, both diocesan and regular, were

ordained from these seminary colleges in the period 1590-1615,[10] and both formal and informal contacts existed between the personnel of religious and military from the beginning of our period of study.

A formal channel of communication between the two groups was initiated by the Spanish army officials. It was the usual practice in the Army of Flanders to appoint a chaplain to each company of soldiers and accordingly chaplains were appointed to Irish companies a few months afer the surrender of Deventer. A report to Salisbury in 1592 noted that '8 priests and Jesuits' were on the pay-roll in Stanley's regiment.[11] Most of these chaplains appear to have come from the English Catholic émigré community. By November 1588 John Fenn, Nicholas Laghley [Langton?], Philip Ward and Thomas Worthington had been appointed official chaplains to Stanley's regiment. Fr Henry Walpole was serving as chaplain in the regiment by 1589. Fr Richard Sherwood received a reward for service with Stanley in 1591 and Captain Thomas Finglas, as part of a testimony in 1594, referred to one 'Fr Nicolas [Smith?] in Sir William Stanley's regiment'.[12]

Some Irish chaplains were, however, also appointed to Stanley's regiment. James Archer SJ, appointed as an official chaplain in Parma's army in 1587, seems to have been charged specifically with the task of working with the Irish kerne in Stanley's regiment.[13] Miler Candell [MacConnell], provincial of the order of St Augustine in Ireland, served with the regiment for a short time, while in 1598 Walter Talbot SJ was reported to be serving the needs of the Irish in Stanley's regiment even after the independent Irish companies had been established.[14]

In the period of the independent Irish companies from 1595 to 1605 the only official appointment we have evidence of is that of David Sutton as chaplain to Alexander Eustace's company sometime before 1605.[15] It can be assumed, however, that chaplains must have served the other companies as well.

The formation of an Irish regiment undoubtedly stimulated a more regulated approach to the appointment of priests to minister to these soldiers needs. Nicholas Brae, William Barry, Edmund O'Donoghue, John White, Dermot O'Hullacayn and John de la Hyde were appointed by the Spanish authorities as chaplains to six of the fifteen companies established by 1608,[16] while the names listed as *sacerdotes* were obviously employed in the specific capacity of preachers or confessors to the soldiers. There were thirteen, possibly fifteen, appointees that we know of and all were Irish with the possible exception of Rodrigo Magel. The pattern was further consolidated in the regiment of John O'Neill where records of no less than thirty-three chaplains (all Irish) serving in the regiment up to 1628, appear in the Army of Flanders records.[17]

A. Poncelets' study of the Society of Jesus in the Low Countries outlined the nature of a chaplain's work in the Army of Flanders. He noted:

> they preached, catechised, heard confessions and celebrated mass in the presence of the army. On campaign they accompanied the soldiers, living under tent, following them unto the field of battle, animating them before combat and thereafter comforting the wounded and dying under enemy fire.

In times of peace, he wrote, these chaplains visited hospitals, settled quarrels between the men and 'encouraged the men to frequent the sacraments and to become members of confraternities or sodalities'.[18]

No doubt the picture is somewhat idealised, and at least one Irish Jesuit, Henry Fitzsimon, offended the duke of Austria in the Bohemian war by 'going around the camp wearing a sword, two muskets . . . and playing games of chance'![19] On the whole, however, eyewitness accounts bear out this picture as being accurate, particularly in terms of what the Jesuits hoped to achieve. The curate and echevins (aldermen) of Zichem in 1598 noted that Walter Talbot SJ worked regularly amongst the Irish soldiers as their 'preacher and ghostie father'. Nicholas Brae SJ heard confessions and administered the last rites to both Irish and English soldiers at the military hospital at Malines (Mechelen), while in the period 1611 to 1612 the infamous Henry Fitzsimon worked with victims of the plague until he contracted it himself.[20]

The catechising of counter-reformation doctrine among the soldiers in Flanders was also a factor recognised and attacked by Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English ambassador at Brussels. Following the official negotiations between the archduke and James I for levies from Ireland and England, Edmondes complained consistently about the 'meddling by Jesuits' among the Irish serving in Flanders. On 5 April 1606 he wrote to Salisbury that 'the practising with any for change of their religion be forbidden' in the service of the archduke, and 'that order be taken for the affording of charitable burials to the Protestants' who volunteered for service there.[21]

The Catholic counter-reformation's emphasis on religious instruction and devotional works was obvious in the work done by priests and chaplains, but the chaplain's role was by no means restricted to these areas. Equally important was his wider role in administering the sacraments in accordance with the rules laid down by Trent and carried out under the strict jurisdiction of the vicar general of the army and the archbishop of Malines. The decree *Tametsi* of 1563 had laid down that marriage between Christians was henceforth invalid unless celebrated before the bishop or authorised priest and at least two witnesses.[22] The chaplain's duties in this context almost certainly extended to the performance of marriage ceremonies within the Irish military community. Although there appears to be no documented evidence of this, the scarcity of marriage records in the parishes particularly relating to the rank and file soldier (as seen in chapter 4) would indicate that such ceremonies were performed in

garrison churches by army chaplains. This is further borne out by the fact that records of the marriages of Irish soldiers have been found in the garrisons of Spain, while it is interesting to note that army chaplains were called upon to testify to the validity of the marriages of Irish soldiers. In 1639 an Irish chaplain, Cajetan Callaghan, testified to the marriages of four Irish widows, and it was undoubtedly this duty that prompted the description of the regimental chaplain in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* as 'a fellow that gives wives to others and takes none himself'![23]

Moreover, religious instruction and ministration among soldiers was not confined to the chaplains or priests appointed by the army authorities. In the Jesuits' annual letters of Tournai in 1606, a report related the activities of 'two Jesuits from the Novice House of Tournay' who went to the Irish soldiers then in winter quarters at Mildeburg. There, it claims, 'they converted thirty eight heretics, taught soldiers to say the Angelus on their knees, and encouraged soldiers to give up swearing, observe fast days and do penances'.[24] Such a report indicated the close relations established between the soldiers and the religious houses in their proximity. Likewise in the case of Louvain, Hugh Mac-Caughwell's dual appointment as chief chaplain of the Irish regiment in 1606 and guardian of St Anthony's, Louvain, in 1607 ensured that there was frequent contact between the Franciscan friars and the soldiers. In fact, since fundraising and other work often took MacCaughwell out of the Netherlands, the friars at St Anthony's were granted special permission by the archbishop of Malines to carry out his duties as chaplain in the regiment.[25] It was no coincidence that Bonaventure O'Hussey's catechism was produced at Louvain to cater 'for the instruction of Irish soldiers in the doctrine of Trent'.[26] Based on Bellarmine's *Copiosa Explicatio* and the teachings of Trent, the essential articles of faith in verse form and the simple presentation of the catechism were ideal for the instruction of the predominantly Irish-speaking soldiers. The *rationale* behind such industrious activity by the priests and religious among the soldiers was best expressed by Fr Robert Persons in a letter to Philip III in 1605. He wrote that the purpose of 'instructing' soldiers was that they should 'return as Catholics to their homeland' where they could further spread the faith.[27]

How far the priests were actually successful in influencing the soldiers can perhaps best be demonstrated by an extract from the Jesuit annual letters of Tournai which gives an account of the priest's role in a dispute over precedence that arose among some Irish soldiers. This occurred on Good Friday, 1606 and the extract is worth quoting in full.

> One officer had all his regiment with guns loaded and pikes ready, under arms, awaiting his adversary, who was coming with his men to attack him, at 11 o'clock at night our priests were called, and went half-dressed to the scene of strife. Having in vain exhorted the leaders to reconciliation, one

> father threw himself at their feet, and, all in tears, reminded them of the Passion of our Lord, and of the self-inflicted wounds and strifes offered to God that night by Christians all over the world. The two officers were softened, prostrated themselves on the ground, and then ran to embrace each other and, to cement their union, they went to confession, and the following day received Holy Communion together, with tears in their eyes, in [the] presence of their respective regiments.[28]

The strategy adopted by the priests in bringing about a reconciliation was significant. Apart from the emphasis put on the sacraments as an outward sign of genuine repentance, the priest's appeal was to the officers, whose conformity they obviously hoped would be followed that by that of the rank and file. It is unlikely that post-Tridentine doctrine was thoroughly understood by the uneducated, but the constant activity of priests among the soldiers must have made them fairly familiar with counter-reformation piety. There was, moreover, another link that helped the soldier bridge the gap between the old and new religion. Recent research by John Bossy and Christopher Haigh[29] has pointed out the integral part played by the 'conservative survivalism' of the old religion as a transition stage in the development of counter-reformation Catholicism. Such a survivalist religion seems to have existed within the military community in Flanders.

The 'Catholic Irish' in Stanley regiment were regarded with suspicion by both the Dutch and English, from the start of their career in the Low Countries. Thomas Wilkes, secretary of the council of the province of Gueldres, warned Stanley on 17 December 1586 'to have a careful eye' on the 'Irish of your regiment being for the most part papists'. Other reports from both the council and the magistrates at Deventer claimed that the Irish were attending Mass secretly at the garrison and were 'in close friendship with the burghers of the Roman religion' there.[30] These latter claims were undoubtedly aimed in part at discrediting Stanley and there is little evidence to support them.[31] The emphasis, however, in these reports on the Catholic practices of the *Irish* soldiers as opposed to the English or Scots may have been significant, and religious devotion and ritual do seem to have formed a part of the Irish soldier's life in Flanders. The curates and echevins of Zichem noted that '. . . the Irish of the regiment of Sir William Stanley, . . . were wont to use no other phisik or remedy for their diseases, but to make their prayers at . . . Montague [a local shrine] amongst whome many were healed'.[32] Individual soldiers also frequently requested leave of absence to go on pilgrimage. John Daniel in November 1589 received licence to go to the shrine at Loreto 'in fulfilment of a vow'. In July 1608 Donoch O'Farrel of Walter de la Hyde's company received a similar licence to go 'on pilgrimage to Santiago in Galicia, in fulfilment of a vow'. In June 1611, on being questioned at the criminal court about his presence in

Brussels, William Kelly of the garrison at Ostend stated he was 'on his way to our Lady of Montaigu'.[33]

Such devotion could undoubtedly be attributed at least in part to the absence of a regular leave system in the Army of Flanders. Only temporary leave could be granted at all—and that only in the cases of a death of a relative leaving an inheritance to be claimed, incurable illness, incapacitating wounds or the performance of a religious vow. The last-mentioned was thus probably regarded by the soldier in the nature of a holiday. The smooth operation of this special leave of absence right through our period does, however, indicate that the soldiers did in fact visit these shrines and points to the existence of a certain level of devout practice among Irish soldiers.

In the feud of Good Friday it is unclear who called in the priests. It may have been one of the officers, and probably priests were regarded more as arbitrators than as instruments of reconciliation with God in this incident. What is clear is that the priest had already established himself as a figure of authority within the Irish military group.

Another factor that linked the soldiers to the religious colleges was the number of clerical students who appear to have served as soldiers in Irish companies in order to finance their studies. These must also have represented an influence from the religious group on the soliders. Edmund O'Kelly obtained special permission in 1606 to transfer his army grant 'to assist him in his studies at Louvain', while in May 1608 Florence Carty received a grant of fifteen escudos monthly on the citadel at Cambrai 'without obligation to serve while studying at the University of Louvain'.[34] Others who were priests received 'pay out of the army' including Fr Edward MacEgan, Fr Florence Conry, Fr [Christopher?] Cusack, Fr Hugh O'Brien and Dr Robert Chamberlain[35] although none of them, apart from Hugh O'Brien, ever worked directly with the soldiers.[36] In fact a measure of the extent to which the Spanish authorities identified the religious and military groups can be seen in the number of contributions made frequently to religious institutions from army funds. In 1614 nine Irish and English institutions, including the college of Douai, lost all or part of their annual allowance due to the 1613 *reformación* of the army.[37]

Perhaps the most important link between the two groups, however, were family ties. Although statistics are difficult to gauge, the numerous examples of those serving in the army of Flanders who had brothers or near kin in the colleges and religious institutions must indicate that the percentage of such ties was high. Christopher Cusack, founder of the Irish college of Douai, was specifically described as a 'near kinsman' to Christopher St Lawrence who had levied troops for the archduke in 1605.[38] Nicholas Brae, who was a chaplain in Henry O'Neills regiment had a brother, William Brae, serving as a soldier, and they in turn were probably related to a Victor Brae, also of Clonmel, a sergeant who had served in Captain Edward Fitzgerald's company during the 1590s. Fr

Edward Geoghegan had two and possibly three brothers serving in Flanders, while John Preston, who entered the Franciscan order at Louvain in 1607, was described as a member of the 'Gormanston family' and a close relative of Captain Thomas Preston.[39]

Moreover, there were almost certainly family and kin connections between the officer corps and those religious appointed to the Irish infantry. Significantly, David Sutton of Castletown, Maynooth, was appointed chaplain to the company of Alexander Eustace, to whom he was not only related by marriage, but whose family was also involved in the Baltinglass Revolt.[40] Walter Talbot SJ was related to both Thomas Finglas and Alexander Eustace through the marriage of his sisters.[41] In Henry O'Neill's regiment the increase in the number of Old Irish chaplains and preachers was definitely related to the growth of the Old Irish group serving in the army. A system of clientage existed between the military and religious groups in Old Irish circles. The chaplains, Cornelius MacCarthy and Dermot O'Hullacayn, for example, were dependants of the MacCarthy and O'Neill clans,[42] while Hugh MacCaughwell had a long tradition of service to Hugh O'Neill as tutor to his son Henry.[43]

Even a cursory examination of the registers of the religious houses and colleges in the Low Countries would seem to bear out the close family relationship between members of the religious and military groups. For example, of the twenty-eight Irish names listed as clerical students in the archdiocese of Malines (including Louvain) between 1600 and 1610, there appears to be only five who did not have either a brother or near relative serving during the same period in the Irish regiment.[44] In 1625, this pattern had not changed. Six of the seven founders of the Irish Poor Clares appear to have had brothers serving in the army of Flanders.[45]

The official appointment of chaplains and priests to cater for the soldiers spiritual needs, the close association between clerical students and the army camp, and finally, the family ties between the two groups represented a deep bond between the army and religious personnel. It was a bond that was probably strengthened by the growth in the number of Irish colleges and the number of Irish students going to study in the Low Countries. The shift from a corp of army chaplains and priests who were predominantly English to an all-Irish one was in itself an indication of this. Closer contacts undoubtedly existed between the religious and the military groups in the period after 1600 than in Stanley's time, when in the first instance language problems would have created a tremendous barrier between the English chaplains and the Irish soldiers.

Apart from the close links established between army and religious personnel, the clergy exerted a considerable degree of influence on the structure and organisation of the Irish infantry. This occurred principally in the areas of advancements, recruitment and finance.

From 1587 those Irish priests and religious with influence at the duke of

Parma or the archdukes' court consistently used this influence to get military grants or positions for those favoured by them. A letter written to the archbishop of Tuam at Antwerp in 1581 commended the son of Robert More and requested that the archbishop procure a good position for him 'in the service of the Spanish king'.[46] From his appointment as one of the chief advisers to the Spanish council on Irish affairs, Florence Conry vouched for several of the Irish then entering Spain. Typical of the commendations he gave was a certificate he made out for James Geraldine in 1609 whom he described as a 'Knight of Ireland... suffering persecution from the English heretics and deprivation of property remaining always constant to the faith'.[47] The internuncio at Brussels, Bentivoglio, recommended several 'converts' for positions within the Irish infantry, including William 'Gibene', who wanted a command in the Irish regiment in 1612.[48]

An English agent reported in 1607 that 'no man can get a pension' without Florence Conry's recommendation,[49] but this was undoubtedly an exaggeration. The granting of positions and awards in the Army of Flanders was very much the business of the captain-general and his household, and the authority of the Irish priests (in the area of advancement) lay in their literacy and intimate knowledge of genealogies and social divisions in Ireland. As Charles Wilmot, joint commissioner for Munster noted in 1606, all Irish going to Spain received a position or pension 'allotted to him as his quality required, there being religious men of the Irish nations appointed to that office, to distinguish upon the degree of such as come'.[50] Within a military context the role of the religious was almost certainly to advise Spanish authorities on the granting of *entretenimientos*, promotions and honorary titles.

This was obviously true in the case of Irish applicants for admission into the Spanish military orders. When, in 1607, Daniel O'Sullivan and Walter Burke were admitted into the Spanish Order of Santiago, five priests—Bernard O'Donnell, Eugene MacCarthy, Edmund Neill, Francis MacVeahy(?) and Andrew Wise, 'prior of England'—were listed among the sponsors.[51] Clerical influence in fact became so prevalent in the organisation of both the Irish and English infantries that Sir Thomas Edmondes asked James I in 1606 for a temporary halt to the levies allowed the archduke in England and Ireland. He wrote bitterly that promotion and good commands were impossible to get 'without becoming obsequious to Baldwine the Jesuit, Owen and other of like condition'.[52] Likewise one Henry Smith, gent., wrote to Salisbury in 1605 that he and five other Protestant English captains, had sought employment with the archduke's army, where they had all been refused commission unless they 'would take an oath of the Pope's supremacy' from the Jesuits.[53]

By 1606 this influence exerted by the religious on the structure of the Irish military groups seems to have extended to recruitment in Ireland for foreign armies. While there seems to be no evidence of clerical opposition to Stanley's levy in 1586, one complaint of interference by priests during the 1605 levies

was very significant. Captain William Nuse noted in January 1606 that it was almost impossible to recruit a company in Ireland for the United Provinces because the Irish under the influence of the priests would 'not serve against the king of Spain'. On the other hand, he claimed, if he were to recruit for the archduke he would have 'not only choice of as many men as he desired, but the lords of the countries would arm them and give them cess till their embarking ... at the procurement of the priests'.[54] This may well be an indication that there was a high level of co-operation between priests and some Catholic gentry.

It was not, however, until the levies for the Swedish expedition from 1609 to 1613 that the interference by priests became pronounced. Both friars and Jesuits were opposed to this state-organised scheme to sent 'the worst sort' from Ireland to serve the king of Sweden. Furious reports were sent to England by Arthur Chichester and John Davies on the activities of these priests. Sir John Davies wrote to Salisbury in October 1609 that

> ... on the one side the priests of Ulster gave out that this was but a pretence and policy of the English to draw the swordmen out of the country ... [while] the Jesuits and seminary priests in Leinster and Connaught persuaded the people that it was altogether unlawful to go to such a war where they should fight for a heretic and an usurper against a Catholic and a rightful King.[55]

Not all the arguments used, particularly by the friars, were so rationally based. Several rumours were circulated by preachers that all those going to 'Sweveland' would 'be cast overboard and drowned' once out at sea, a story that was not totally unfounded since drowning was the fate which befell the first group to go out.[56] Whatever the tactics, they do seem to have had some impact. Many of these Irish sent to Sweden appear to have ended up serving in the Spanish army anyhow. Oghy Óg O'Hanlon and Art Óg O'Neill were both driven by storms onto the coast of England and made their way to the Army of Flanders.[57] Even those who did arrive in Sweden were reported to have been drawn by Cornelius O'Reilly and 'friars in the habits of soldiers' to the Polish or Imperial armies.[58] In fact Chichester twice urged the privy council that the destination of this expedition be changed from Sweden to Russia.[59]

Finally, being literate, the clergy exerted a degree of financial control over the soldier in Flanders. Chaplains were, until 1596, responsible for the will and testament of a soldier, though this was later entrusted to a new officer appointed by the captain-general. (This change was apparently due to the number of cases where confessors had forced dying soldiers to leave them money!)[60] Nevertheless regular contributions were made to the religious houses. These took the form of individual private donations like Cornelius O'Reilly's gift of 120 escudos to the 'Irish Franciscans at Louvain' in 1616 or more often, organised

collections among the rank and file of the Irish infantry. Henry O'Neill organised a major collection among the regiment towards the building of St Anthony's college and chapel at Louvain, while in 1616 we have a detailed example of a collection made in James Gernon's company for the building of the convent and chapel, also at Louvain. Eight hundred and fifty escudos was the total collected from 112 men, a figure almost equal to the annual salary of a captain in the Army of Flanders. Most of the soldiers contributed four to eight escudos, the equivalent of over a month's salary.[61]

The Irish clergy in Flanders, then, did exert a significant degree of control over not only the religious practices but also the organisational structure within the Irish military group. Given the growth in both the religious and military communities the overall pattern during the years 1586 to 1621 was one of increasing influence by the religious group on those following a military career in Flanders. Counter-reformation Catholicism had to varying degrees become a factor in every soldier's life by 1621. A similar pattern of influence was to emerge in the military group's connection with the wider circle of Irish exiles on the continent.

The term 'exile group' needs careful examination. Although the term obviously applied to Irish who, in this case, had settled in Spain and the Low Countries, the word 'exile' could have many connotations. J.J. Silke defined the different categories of Irish going abroad as exiles of conscience or recusants, those who went abroad for political and economic reasons, and those who sought help from foreign Catholic rulers in the struggle against the English crown.[62] Although such categories are of necessity artificial they probably represented adequately the different strands identifiable within the exile group, and while the word 'exile' implies enforced asylum in a foreign country, the decision for many of this group to go to the continent was, at least in part, opportunist.

The 'exile' group incorporated people who had gone to the continent for a variety of complex reasons and saw their position in relation to Ireland in many different ways. However, an emphasis on the distinctions within the Irish exile group could be misleading. The term 'exile' had certain political connotations. During the 1580s and 1590s the exile group, whether for religious ideals or out of a desire to regain the social and political status they had enjoyed before Tudor encroachment, sided with Spain in her war against England and Protestantism and became increasingly associated with Spanish aggression and counter-reformation Catholicism.

The exile group had from the late 1580s close associations with the emerging military community in Flanders. Exiles such as Richard and Walter Stanihurst, Denis MacCarthy, Walter Talbot, Terence MacSweeney, Denis Fitzgerald and Cormac MacRos O'Connor[63] received an *entretenimiento* or monthly salary from the army funds allotted to the Irish infantry in Flanders. This meant they

were resident in Flanders and, while most of the leaders in the Geraldine and Baltinglass revolts fled to Spain and were identified chiefly with the Spanish court at Madrid, many of the leading members of these exile groups actually spent time in Flanders. Thomas Fitzgerald, cousin of Maurice Fitzgerald, was noted in the Army of Flanders records of 1589 to have 'served his Majesty in the royal armada' where he was 'lost off Scotland whence recently he came to these states'. John Lacey, described as an *entretenido* in the Army of Flanders, received a passport for Spain 'on personal business' in 1589.[64] Gaelic Irish, who had been associated with revolts in Ireland, were also the recipients of such grants. O'Connor Falvey, claimant to the lordship of Offaly, 'served in the Army of Flanders for 28 years', while Cormac Ros O'Connor, Dowling O'Byrne and Hugh O'Reilly all appear to have spent a number of years attached to the army in the capacity of gentlemen soldiers.[65]

It would be a mistake, moreover, to regard the interests of the 'exile' group as being confined to a small élite Old English and Old Irish corps who were determined to regain their property or the social and political status they had enjoyed in Ireland before the extension of New English authority. Their position in Ireland affected a whole range of people, not only within their own family circles or extended kin, but also their former dependants and the 'idle swordsmen' who had been employed by the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic lords. In this context the vested interests of the exile group were represented at every level within the ranks of the Irish military group. Not only did the Anglo-Irish families involved in the Geraldine and Baltinglass revolts predominate within the officer corps of the Irish companies, both under Stanley and the independent Irish captains,[66] but the bulk of the rank and file also appear to have consisted mostly of the vassals and dependants of their families. Moreover, this was also a pattern that continued clearly from 1601 to 1621 with the arrival on the continent of the Gaelic lords and their dependants, and the second phase in the development of the exile group. Apart from the fact that the dependants of Hugh O'Neill, Teig MacCarthy and Connor O'Driscoll were accommodated both within the officer corps and the rank and file of the Irish infantry, the presence of the 'exile' group was clearly evident in the impressive list of *entretenidos* in Henry O'Neill's regiment. In an English state paper list of 'Irish officers and pensions in the sevice of Spain in 1606' thirty-nine Irish were cited as *entretenidos* in the army having no command. Twenty-seven of these names were of Munster origin while there were none from Ulster indicating clearly that most of these had left Ireland with the Gaelic lords shortly after Kinsale.[67] The influence of the community of exiles was not only growing in relation to the military group, but its members were increasingly becoming an inherent part of the latter's structure.

Nowhere was the influence of the exile group more obvious than in the figure of Henry O'Neill, colonel of the Irish regiment from 1605 to 1610. Similar to

Colonel William Stanley twenty years earlier, the position of Henry O'Neill as colonel of the Irish regiment undoubtedly had an impact on the structure of the Irish companies serving under the archduke. In a memorial to Philip III, in September 1608, Henry requested permission to 'discharge and expel' those from the regiment 'who are of the English race and who are understood to be receiving payment from the king of England'. He received permission from the Spanish council to 'dismiss from his regiment quietly and covertly, those who do not conduct themselves with due loyalty to his Majesty [of Spain]'[68] and there was definitely a concerted effort to establish and maintain a strong Old Irish presence in the regiment.[69] Teig MacCarthy, Neil MacLoughlin, John Bathe and Owen and Art O'Neill all received captaincies under Henry O'Neill, while Thomas Edmondes claimed that 'the colonel hinders by all means he can' any of the Irish who wished to leave the regiment.[70] In June 1609 Edmondes summed up the considerable influence he felt Henry O'Neill exerted within the regiment. He wrote to the lord treasurer:

> There is discontentment among them here in the regiment because in the intended reformation of companies the Colonel favours the standing of the captains which are Northern men, and employs himself to procure the cashiering of those which be Palesmen.[71]

The extent of Henry's control over the structure of the Irish infantry should not however to overestimated. It is true that the companies which were disbanded in 1609 were mostly under Old English captains from the Pale areas including the companies of James Garlant [Gernon?], Thomas St Lawrence and Walter de la Hyde, but the other two companies which were disbanded were those of Owen Roe O'Neill and John Bathe, both of whom were close relatives and allies of Henry and his father, Hugh O'Neill. The real factor that determined which companies were to be disbanded was probably the reason given in the notice of *reformación* issued by the Spanish council of war. These Irish companies, it stated, were to be disbanded 'on account of the smaller number of their men who are to be distributed amongst the remaining companies'.[72]

Moreover, Henry's power to influence the granting of commissions to captains may also be in question. Of the original commissions granted to captains in December 1605 for the formation of the Irish regiment only two of the seven grantees were Old Irish.[73] The grantees were Thomas Preston, Jenquin Fitzsimon, Henry O'Hagan, Miler MacConnell, Thomas Barry, George de la Hyde and Thomas St Lawrence, all obviously chosen for their birth and long experience, though it is significant that Fitzsimon and the two Old Irish chosen were allies of Tyrone. Moreover, in his memorial to Philip III in 1608, Henry had particularly requested that Major Edward Fitzgerald be dismissed from his post. This never happened and Major Edward Fitzgerald continued in his

position as major in John O'Neill's regiment until December 1611 when he was moved to the very prestigious position 'cerca la persona' of the archduke.[74] A comparison of the captains who had companies in the years 1608 and 1614 may serve as the most accurate reflection of Henry O'Neill's influence. In February 1608 the Irish captains with companies at the siege of Rheinberg included Captains William Barrett, Walter de la Hyde, Maurice Fitzgerald, Art O'Neill, Owen O'Neill, Thomas Preston and Thomas St Lawrence, while in June 1614 an account of the 'state of the Irish regiment' listed six Irish captains—Connor O'Driscoll, James Garland, Art O'Neill, Teig MacCarthy, Gerald Fitzgerald and Thomas Preston.[75] The ratio between Old Irish and Old English although certainly in favour of the Old Irish group in 1614, did not indicate a dramatic drop in the number of Old English serving at this level. In fact, between the years 1610 and 1622 forty-two per cent of the commissions granted to Irish captains in the Irish regiment went to those of Old English descent. Ultimately the organisation of the Irish companies was the domain of the Spanish military authorities in the Army of Flanders—under the direction of the inspector-general. While they may have complied with specific and often important requests made by Henry O'Neill, their first priority was to suit their own needs.

It may have been the pressure put on the Spanish military authorities from outside the regiment by the Irish exile group which was most successful in gaining some control over the organisation of the Irish infantry in Flanders. While there is little evidence that the Irish exiles at the Madrid court during the 1580s and 1590s exerted any degree of control on the organisation of the Irish military group there is no doubt that the northern group of exiles after 1607 did. This was particularly true in the case of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone.

In the first instance, Henry O'Neill undoubtedly owed his own appointment as colonel of the Irish regiment in Flanders to Hugh O'Neill's prestige in Ireland and well-established diplomatic network at the Madrid court.[76] Henry, at eighteen years of age, had less than two years' military experience before his appointment as colonel in 1605. Hugh O'Neill's arrival with O'Donnell and Maguire and their dependants on the continent further enhanced Hugh's influence within the Irish regiment. Many of Hugh O'Neill's 'company were ... disposed into the regiment' in 1608,[77] and in the following years he consistently used his influence to recommend his allies for positions in the Irish regiment. In October 1608 he wrote to Henry directing him 'to procure for the bearer James O'Gallagher, the late earl of Tyrconnell's servant, a safe passage through England, if possible, or else the place of a soldier in his regiment', while in 1612 he made a special request to the archduke that Cornelius O'Reilly receive the payment he had previously enjoyed in the Army of Flanders.[78] In both these cases O'Neill's suit seems to have been successful, and at times his requests could be more ambitious. In 1613 he asked Philip III that seven Irish companies, which had been dismissed by the king of Poland, be incorporated into the Irish

regiment. These men had been part of an expedition originally sent by Chichester, 'to serve the heretics of Moscow and Sweden in their wars against the King of Poland', but had 'passed over to the Catholic army'.[79] The circumstances of this plea made by Hugh O'Neill on their behalf were interesting. The Spanish ambassador at Rome, conde de Castro noted:

> . . . the poor men go begging from door to door and many of them have come to the Earl for they feel that he has an obligation towards them; this is true for, in his cause, they were exiled. The hardship they suffer is a cause of great sorrow to the Earl, all the more as he knows that, if they return to their country, all of them will be beheaded.[80]

These soldiers had obviously been dependants of either Hugh O'Neill or Rory O'Donnell in Ulster, and O'Neill's desire to see them enlisted in the Irish regiment was undoubtedly related to this factor. It was a measure of O'Neill's determination that these men be established 'as soldiers among those of their nation' in Flanders, that he turned to Philip III after a flat refusal from the archduke.[81] Significantly O'Neill was successful in this request. Philip III promised to persuade the archduke and the Marqués de Spinola to 'examine what could be done with them and the manner of admitting them'. The Spanish council finally agreed to incorporate these men into the Irish regiment.[82]

Sir Arthur Chichester was convinced of Hugh O'Neill's all-powerful influence over the Irish regiment. In 1608 he wrote to Salisbury that the regiment 'would disband of themselves if the fugitive Earls had not come amongst them and dealt with the Archduke for their stay and better usage'.[83] This, however, was an exaggeration. The archduke had always wished to maintain a strong military force in what he saw as a vulnerable Spanish Netherlands between France, England and Holland, and he had shown this to be his priority when he refused to allow Irish companies to go to Ireland in 1600. At least until the truce with Holland in April 1609 he was continually adverse to losing any part of his force.

There was, however, no doubt that Hugh O'Neill's ambition, with regard to the Irish regiment, was to preserve it intact. In expressing concern to Philip III in 1608 on the numbers of Irish either sick or leaving the regiment, he made his position clear. He wrote: 'It is of great importance to the service of Your Majesty and to the benefit of our country that the Irish regiment should be preserved' and further begged his Majesty to 'ensure that the soldiers remain in their regiment'.[84] Right through his period of exile until his death in July 1616, O'Neill continuously pestered the Spanish council with regard to the 'conservation', pay and living quarters of the Irish regiment, and he obtained the support of Pope Paul V in ensuring that the regiment was not disbanded during the truce between Spain and Holland which was to last from 1609 to 1621.[85]

If Hugh O'Neill's success in this regard was attributable largely to the fact that his requests coincided with the Spaniards' wish to retain men in Flanders, this is not to underestimate the position of influence that O'Neill had built up in relation to the regiment. Already by July 1608 there were several references in discussions in the Spanish council of state to 'The Regiment of Tirone' in place of the Irish regiment, and in October 1610 the conde de Castro wrote to Philip III on the occasion of Henry O'Neill's death, that

> ... at the end of his days, Colonel Don Enrique Onel begged Your Majesty not to allow his appointment as Colonel to be filled by any other than a person nominated by the Earl of Tirone, his father.[86]

It was a measure of Hugh O'Neill's success in identifying his interests with the Irish regiment that this request made by Henry O'Neill was granted. Against both the wishes of the English ambassador at Brussels and such an influential person as Florence Conry, who favoured Owen Roe O'Neill,[87] it was Hugh O'Neill's own twelve year old son John who was appointed as Henry O'Neill's successor as colonel of the Irish regiment in 1610. In 1610 Juan de Mancicidor wrote to Andrés de Prada that in appointing John, 'The first consideration which guided this decision was the wish expressed by His Majesty [Philip] that the appointment should be pleasing to the Earl [of Tirone]'.[85] There can be no doubt that Hugh O'Neill saw the Irish regiment as a body over which he intended to have complete control and his ambitions appear to have been acceded to by Spain.

By 1621 the military community had become thoroughly immersed in the ideological world of the counter-reformation. It had become not only an inherent part of such a wider community in the Low Countries through a network of family ties, social interaction and financial interdependence, it was also increasingly becoming part of this wider community's religious and political ambitions in Ireland. The precise role which Hugh O'Neill envisaged for the regiment was made clear in a 'Memorial of Hugh O'Neill to the King of Spain' in 1610. In requesting Philip to send 'an army secretly and in the name of His Holiness' to Ireland, O'Neill assured Philip that his army 'with the help of the Irish who are in these parts, especially . . . the Irish regiment of one thousand, five hundred men serving Your Majesty in Flanders . . . would be sufficient to take Ireland with speed'.[89] The Irish regiment was obviously to be used as a vanguard in the military overthrow of the English administration in Ireland.

It was this question which was to involve the Irish military community in Flanders in the ideological conflict which emerged within the Irish religious and exile communities in the early seventeenth century.

6

The Emergence of a Political Identity

Fo. a anam cona chorp
. . . ní bhí commaith einigh Finn
a nduine re a linn a cclí
(As regards his soul and his body
. . . no man living in the age had
nobility equal to that of Fionn).

Duanaire Finn, ii

The ideological conflict prevailing within the Irish religious and exile communities on the continent revolved essentially around the twin problem of Catholic allegiance to a Protestant ruler and the accommodation of the Old Irish and Old English groups within the system of Tudor administration in Ireland. The problems were inherently linked. While both Old English and Old Irish counter-reformation groups on the continent regarded Ireland as a country under siege from Protestantism, the political system necessary to facilitate the survival of counter-reformation Catholicism in Ireland was open to question. The religious group questioned whether it was possible for Catholics to be tolerated as loyal subjects under a Protestant ruler, while within the wider Irish exile community a similar dilemma emerged. In seeking Spain's help to redress their problems in Ireland, the question arose, Was it better to seek Spain's help as a mediator between themselves and the English crown or would Spanish aid be better channelled into giving manpower, arms and financial backing to a military invasion of Ireland? The first thirty-five years of Irish service in the Army of Flanders saw the increasing incorporation of this military group into these conflicts within the wider Irish community on the continent.

The nature of the ideological conflict among Irish groups on the continent was instrinsically linked to the political and economic position of the Old English and Old Irish groups in Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century. While both groups were slowly being excluded from the colonial ruling class with all its privileges, the fact that they were coming to share a common religion did not remove aspirations that made them totally different. The Old English and some Old Irish essentially hoped to retain their colonial status as 'loyal

Catholics', while the Old Irish ruling élite had little hope of maintaining their regional autonomy and system of property holding within an English colonial system. The question of land and social control stood behind both the religious controversy of dual loyalty and the desire, particularly, on the part of the Old English, to maintain conciliatory relations with England.

The conflict however was one also closely related to the changing European political and diplomatic scene. Under Philip II, Spain had pursued a military course in defence of counter-reformation Catholicism, but after Philip's death in 1598, the political and religious climate of Europe initiated from 1592 by Pope Clement VIII was one of conciliation. The changing balance of economic power from the Mediterranean to northern Europe, the increasing wealth and strength of France, the defeat of the Armada by England in 1588 and a slow recognition that the United Provinces could not be so easily subdued, had contributed to an increasing desire for peace between Spain and her enemies by the turn of the seventeenth century. A peace treaty was made with France in 1598 and already by 1600 overtures were made to England at the conference of Boulogne[1] which culminated in a peace treaty between England and Spain in 1604.

One should not, however, exaggerate the progression in Spanish policy from aggression to conciliation during the period of our study. By the mid-1590s Spain had effectively admitted defeat in the Atlantic war against England and France, but she acknowledged it only reluctantly and under financial duress. Spain still wished to maintain her hegemony in Europe and relations with France and England, particularly over Germany, remained hostile and uneasy. Firstly in Cleves-Jülich in 1610 and 1614, and then in Bohemia between 1618 and 1620, war between Spain and the Dutch States, France and England was only narrowly averted. Moreover, although Spain signed a twelve-year truce with the Dutch in 1609, by the end of 1619 both king and council were unanimous that to renew the truce in 1621 would do irreparable damage to the Catholic faith and to Spain's trade with the Indies.[2]

Nowhere was the continuing hostility between Spain and England more evident than in the case of Ireland. Spain had continued to give moral, financial and military support, however little, to Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell until 1601. The advantages of creating a diversion in England's 'back-yard' was an opportunity never fully dismissed in the Spanish council of state and a military expedition to either Ireland or England continued to have the active support of Ambrosio and Federico Spínola, both chief commanders of the Spanish forces in Flanders after 1600.[3] Furthermore, it became obvious that Philip III as well as Clement VIII intended to play an active role in both Britain and Ireland after 1604 as protector of the Catholic population there. Not only did Spain increasingly act as mediator on behalf of Catholic recusants in England through her embassy in London, but the entire English and Irish Catholic mission from the

continent had a strong hispanic financial basis and was directed, until 1622, from Brussels by the papal nuncio there.[4]

The implications, for the Irish exile communities, of the diplomacy of the Catholic counter-reformation world and the political and economic situation in Ireland could be seen on two levels. At a political level two strands of thought could be identified within the Irish religious and émigré communities by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The first was a militant view, which held that the Catholic mission and the present position of the Old English and Old Irish groups in Ireland could only survive by the overthrow of English authority in Ireland; while the second, a conciliatory view, tended towards a policy of reconciliation with the English crown that would enable Catholics to practise their religion as 'loyal Catholic subjects' to their temporal ruler.

Given the relative positions of the Old English and Old Irish in Ireland it tended to be those of Old English stock who came to adopt the conciliatory view, while those with Old Irish connections, particularly to the Ulster and Munster rebel faction of the Nine Years War, tended to support the militant views. As such, this political conflict could also be identified at a cultural level. While both Old Irish and Old English came to share a common religion and a consciousness of historical identity and nation, their pattern of cultural development diverged. The Old English had inherited anglicised assumptions and standards which, in fact, corresponded closely to Tridentine ideals, while the Old Irish, attempted at least to a degree,[5] to accommodate counter-reformation Catholicism to their own social traditions and economic organisation. This non-religious counter-reformation culture was, however, an aspect that impinged more on the literary and clerical circles on the continent. It is thus proposed for this chapter to concentrate on the impact of this ideological conflict on the political identity of the Irish military community in Flanders.

The Irish soldiers in Flanders were, in fact, closely identified with Spanish Catholic militancy and subversive activities against the English crown since the surrender of Deventer in 1587. Reports of a possible invasion of Ireland, which included Stanley and his predominantly Irish regiment, were rampant among the letters of the Dublin officials in the late 1580s and early 1590s. As early as January 1587, Sir John Norris enclosed 'an attestation of a Scottish captain' in a letter to Burghley from the Low Countries, which claimed that Sir William Stanley had 'sent some Irishmen into Ireland a month past to prepare a way for his entry there'.[6] It was particularly feared that Stanley with his previous experience of military service in Ireland would be used by Spain in her preparations for war with England. Sir Henry Wallop, referring to 'the preparations which are made in foreign parts . . . for invasion here in this realm', in a letter to Burghley, February 1587, described 'Sir William Stanley with those Irish bands he carried from hence' as being 'over-well acquainted with the service and state of this country'.[7] From Wallop's statement it was clear that

it was not just Stanley but the Irish character of his regiment that was seen as a potential threat to the English system of security in Ireland. The numerous reports from Walsingham's extensive spy ring in the Low Countries, of an impending invasion of Ireland during the summer and autumn of 1588, significantly emphasised that the threat of invasion came from both Stanley and his regiment. An intelligence report listed under August 1587 noted that 'The Irish regiment goes into Spain, to be employed into Ireland about the beginning of October' while another report in November to England under the heading 'Advertisements from Flushing', claimed that 'Sir William Stanlie . . . with his regiment of Irish and others . . . shall be presently employed from Dunkirk by sea into Ireland, or else about some attempt not far off.'[8]

Reports of Stanley and his regiment's involvement in invasion plans for Ireland continued, to a degree, into the 1590s.[9] However already by mid-1590, Sir John Conway and the English spy Chateaumartin in the Low Countries, had cast doubts on the credibility of such stories and the rumours died out almost completely by the end of 1591.[10] There is little doubt, however, that at least during the period 1588-90, such reports had been taken very seriously in England. On 21 December 1588 a list of instructions sent by the privy council to the lord deputy in Ireland specified the details of the preparation to be made in Ireland for an invasion, due to 'a secret advertisement' of the enemy 'resolution . . . to dispatch Sir William Stanley, the traitor from (the Low Countries) with his regiment . . . to land in some part of Ireland'. A report to Philip II in 1590 claimed, that 'The Queen is arming both by sea and land, and is sending 4,000 or 5,000 men to Ireland, fearing that Sir William Stanley may effect a landing there'.[11]

It is clear that Stanley wished to promote his own standing and prestige in the Spanish military service by playing a prominent part in an invasion to some part of the British Isles. In the spring of 1591, for example, he drew up detailed plans for an invasion of Alderney, one of the Channel Islands. In the mid 1590s he appears to have had a plan with some 'Scottish noblemen' to launch a military expedition to Scotland backed by Spain. In 1597 he actually won Philip's backing to prepare a squadron of seven ships with 1,200 men, to raid the coastline of England, and, when this idea fell through, continued to press the Spanish council with his plans for a diversionary expedition to England while Spain and England were at war in Brittany.[12]

However, despite the claims of English agents in the Low Countries and the hysteria of the Dublin administration, there is little evidence to suggest that Stanley was actually involved in any preparations by Spain for the invasion of Ireland. While Chateaumartin claimed in 1590 that 'Stanley had promised the King of Spain that if he were given forces and means, he would win Ireland from the Queen's obedience',[13] an expedition to England was almost certainly Stanley's primary goal. Moreover, Stanley was not consulted during the

Armada preparations against England, and apart from the squadron idea of 1597, seems to have been almost entirely excluded from Spanish policy decisions relating to Ireland or England.[14] It was significant that Stanley's services were not requested in the Spanish force sent to Kinsale in 1601. Fr Joseph Creswell noted in a letter to the duke of Lerma in October 1602, that Stanley was

> very disheartened at the bad results in Ireland, as there was ready at hand a man well informed on that country, but of all that could have been suggested or done there was never requested a word.[15]

Furthermore, the English and Irish troops in Flanders had little part in Stanley's schemes during the 1590s, although Stanley did emphasise the role 'certain officers and captains' of his regiment could play in his plan for a squadron of ships to raid the English coastline. Any proposal to divert personnel from his army was steadfastly opposed by the archduke, both in April 1597 and later, in relation to a similar proposal by Stanley in 1600.[16] In the autumn of 1597, Stanley's regiment had, in fact, to be disbanded due to the low membership, and those remaining members scattered until 1599 to serve in other units.[17] The conviction, then, that Stanley's regiment would form an integral part of any Spanish force sent to Ireland would appear to have been rooted in fears of the potential rather than the actual danger this group posed. Stanley did not appear to have had the confidence or the support of the Spanish council of war and his ambitions seem to have lain more with the English exile community and their plans for an invasion of England or Scotland.

Of far greater significance to the ideological development of the Irish military group in Flanders, were the close links of Stanley and his regiment to the English militant Catholic cause on the continent. Many of those English living in Europe, who had become alienated from the political and religious policies of the English crown, served in this regiment. Some of these were from the oldest and wealthiest families in England including Sir George Chamberlain's son Hugh Owen, Charles Paget, son of Lord Paget and the Throckmorton brothers. Moreover, Stanley himself, after an initial hesitation, came to share most of the aspirations of the Catholic exile group on the continent and remained throughout his life in close correspondence with Dr William Allen and Fr Robert Persons.[18]

The ideas prevailing within the English exile community were of course varied in relation to the course of action Spain should take with Protestant England. However, three general trends of thought that emerged within this group during the 1590s, were summarised in a report to the Spanish council by Fr Joseph Creswell *c.*1600. The first was to prepare a military expedition of 15,000 troops in the Low Countries, for the invasion of England after the death

of Queen Elizabeth. The second was to place Colonel William Stanley at the head of an expeditionary force funded by Spain, which would seize and fortify certain English locations; and the third, put forward by Fr Persons, proposed, that while the Spanish crown was not in a position to grant sufficient armed forces to support English Catholics in an insurrection against the English crown, the proclamation of the rights of the infanta to the throne of England would be enough to peacefully unite forces within and outside England in support of a Catholic crusade there.[19]

While this summary is an extreme simplification of those ideas then current within the English militant Catholic movement, it is obvious that at least in the context of the first two strands of thought, Colonel Stanley and his regiment were seen as a key force. In 1598 Stanley, Hugh Owen, Richard Stanihurst and Fr William Holt drew up a report on the military resources of the English exiles 'in the event that Your Majesty has the intention of proceeding further in the claiming of the realms of England and Ireland for the Infanta'.[20] Most of this report emphasised the importance of the regiment under Stanley and the need for more recruits and better pay. This specific identification of the regiment as the military force behind the Catholic exile group in the Low Countries, was obviously shared by William Stanley's brother, Sir Edward. In 1601 he asked Philip III for a new patent to re-establish the regiment that had been previously under Stanley:

> . . . since little by little the number of Englishmen is increasing and they are necessary for any enterprise . . . for from these men can be selected the officers and captains to guide the Catholics in England when they rally to defend the cause of religion in due time.[21]

Stanley's regiment had then, almost from its inception, a clearly defined role in the militant counter-reformation cause and, although its militant role under Stanley, was confined chiefly to a Catholic crusade to England or Scotland, a possible expedition to Ireland was not ruled out while the overthrow of the English monarchy and Protestantism in England would have obvious repercussions in Ireland. Furthermore, as in the English case, an Irish circle emerged on the continent from the mid-1570s, dedicated to the cause of a Catholic crusade to Ireland and these were also to have links with the Irish military circle in Flanders.

This circle was probably initiated by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald and Sir Thomas Stukeley who, along with such English exiles as Nicholas Saunders and Dr William Allen, had organised a papal expedition to Ireland in July 1579. In the 1580s a group of Irish exiles, supporting first the claims of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald and then those of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, continued to put pressure on Philip II and the pope to support a military

enterprise to Ireland. Also in parallel to the English Catholic exile group was the predominance of the clerical influence in the manufacture of these militant schemes and it was David Wolfe SJ and bishops such as Patrick O'Hely of Mayo, Cornelius O'Mulrian of Killaloe, Thomas O'Herlihy of Ross and William Walsh of Meath, who pleaded Fitzmaurice's cause at the Catholic courts in Europe.[22]

It was not, however, until the 1590s that a 'political Catholicism' was fully formulated within the Irish exile group which merged the interests of counter-reformation Catholicism in Ireland with Spanish political objectives. This exile group had by the 1590s grown to include such Anglo-Irish and Old Irish nobility as Edmund Eustace, brother of James, Maurice Fitzjohn Fitzgerald, Thomas Fitzgerald, Cahil O'Connor, John Lacey and Darbie O'Carey and almost certainly a group of Irish merchants[23] in that they had become alienated from the English administration in Ireland. However, it was the envoy of the Old Irish ecclesiastics in 1593 to the Madrid court, and the growth of Hugh O'Neill's political and military stature in Europe, that really linked the cause of all discontented Irish groups to the Catholic counter-reformation cause and the prospect of Ireland as a Spanish kingdom.[24] During the Nine Years War, Hugh O'Neill had effectively formulated a new ideology of 'nationhood' to transcend the ethical and factional in Ireland. As part of this ideology he had established an efficient diplomatic network from 1593 between the northern Gaelic lords and Irish parties at the Madrid, Lisbon and papal courts. Again the medium of ecclesiastics was used—Edmund MacGauran, James O'Hely, Edmund MacDonnell and later Matthew de Oviedo and Peter Lombard. These were to constitute the vital link between the Irish Catholic exile group and the militant Old Irish in Ireland.

Sir William Stanley was certainly perceived by the Dublin administration to have associations with the Irish militant group on the continent and correspondence with the rebel faction in Ireland. In January 1589, Sir Thomas Norreys, vice-president of Munster, wrote to the lord deputy that he suspected Stanley of being involved in 'treasonable practices' with Ensign Edward Wainemann,[25] Florence MacCarthy and the seneschal of Imokilly (John FitzEdmund Fitzgerald), while at later examinations of Cormac MacCarthy and Maurice Fitzgibbon, the White Knight's son, in 1590, charges of conspiracy with Stanley were brought against them.[26] A charge later brought against Florence MacCarthy by Lord Barry, claimed that Florence had been in contact with Sir William Stanley and that he had sent many of his most important retainers over to him. Florence, however, denied these charges, claiming that his servants and retainers had gone to Stanley of their own accord, and the charges were actually dismissed.[27]

The basis of these changes would appear to have been the fact that each of

the accused served at one time or another under Sir William Stanley. Florence MacCarthy had served with Stanley in the Desmond rebellion for seven or eight years, while Cormac MacCarthy and Maurice Fitzgibbon had served with him for a period in Flanders.[28] I could uncover no evidence of correspondence between any of those charged and Stanley. Florence MacCarthy protested at his trial in 1589 that he had 'never had any dealings with him (Stanley) since his departure from Her Ma(jes)tys servyce or with any other of Stanley's crew'. Significantly, while Maurice Fitzgibbon at his examination affirmed he had 'remained at the Duke of Parma's court at Brussels' with John Lacey, his contact with the English community there seems to have been slight.[29]

Stanley's associations with the Irish militant circle on the continent do not, in fact, appear to have been extensive. This was particularly the case with Old Irish groups. While there is some evidence to indicate that he may have had some form of correspondence with Cahil O'Connor and possibly Hugh Cahill,[30] evidence of such interaction is rare. He had almost certainly closer contacts with the Old English Catholic group and was involved in diplomatic schemes with Richard Stanihurst to promote the English and Irish Catholic cause in Spain.[31] Their 'English' origins and outlook as well as their allegiance to counter-reformation Catholicism was something shared by the Old English and English Catholic émigré groups and while the question would require more detailed research, initial indications would seem to suggest, that relations between the Old Irish and 'English' exile groups in general were not as close as might be perceived by the researcher. This may have been due to the fact that both exile groups were, at least to a degree, in competition for the favours of Spain and the papacy, but it could also be attributed to the mutual mistrust between English and Old Irish groups on the continent. Richard Stanihurst, although he later supported Hugh O'Neill's cause, obviously mistrusted the initial envoy sent to Spain by ecclesiastics and Maguire in 1593. Portraying his mistrust of the Gaelic character, he wrote to Philip II, 'I think myself bound to foreward his Majesty of the fickleness, weakness, of these people: being indeed with us of the English pale, of no great reputation in the world'.[32] The feeling was certainly mutual. A memorial of 'Con O'Conor Faly', lord of Offaly, in 1613 to the conde de Castro, argued somewhat obscurely that he had been involved in a mutiny within Stanley's regiment in 1596 '. . . not through any sedition against His Majesty but to evade an English colonel they had who, on the advice of the Queen of England, was treating them like slaves'. Not surprisingly, Thomas Fitzherbert, in his book *A defence of the Catholyke cause*, remarked on the extent of the ill-feeling between the Irish and English at the court of Philip III in the preparations for the Kinsale expedition. Hugh O'Neill's agent Hugh Boy, he noted:

> . . . never yet broke the matter with him, nor was willing that any

> Englishman at all should be privy thereunto, as men whome both he and other Irishmen treating therabout presumed to be contrary to their desires and designments therein.[33]

Such feelings undoubtedly created a barrier between the English and Irish exile groups and may have somewhat isolated Stanley's regiment from having a role in Spanish policies relating to Ireland. It seems certain, however, that some of those Irish serving in the officer corps of Stanley's regiment and later independent Irish companies became actively involved in the militant 'Spanish' Catholic cause in Ireland.

Captain Oliver Eustace, for example, certainly was in close correspondence with the exile group in Spain. A letter from Edmund MacGauran, primate of Armagh, to Captain Eustace in June 1591 from Madrid, indicated clearly that correspondence was regular between the two. MacGauran's letter, obviously militant and anti-English, referred to a previous matter between himself and Eustace:

> I think myself much beholden unto you touching these matters you have written to me of late and notwithstanding that (you) and a great many more of our country have been wronged by those nations of Saxons. I hope in God it will not be long ere we be discharged or delivered from the cruelty of those kind of people.[34]

Furthermore it is evident that Eustace was acquainted with a wide circle at the Madrid court, and that the letter in fact was addressed to other Irish in the regiment as well. At the end of the letter MacGauran noted: 'The Bishop of Limerick, Edmond Eustace, Morish MacShane, Thomas MacShane, and John Lacey and his kinsmen hath them commended unto you and to the other Irishmen that are there.'

Some details on the career of Oliver Eustace further illustrate his involvement with Irish militant Catholic groups. In the 1590s he made several trips to Spain in relation to plans for a military expedition to Ireland thus incurring the wrath of the army authorities in Flanders who described him as 'a troublesome Irishman'.[35] In the mid-1590s he was approached by Richard Stanihurst with a plan to assassinate Antonio Perez, a Spanish politician who had defected to England with government papers, though Eustace did not in fact carry this operation out.[36] In 1599 Eustace received a letter from Hugh O'Neill, almost certainly requesting his services in the war he was then raging, and significantly Eustace was one of the fourteen experienced officers requested by O'Neill in a list sent to the archduke in 1600.[37]

Others with close connections to the Irish militant Catholic group in Spain, also served in the regiment. James Blake, who among other occupations, had

served as a captain in the Army of Flanders, solicited the king of Spain in 1597 to invade Ireland. Hugh O'Davitt serving with Stanley in 1588, in a similar letter to Philip III, rejoiced 'at his Majesty's intention to send succour for those who are warring for the faith',[38] while Thomas Stanihurst, then a lieutenant in Stanley's regiment, acted as messenger between the archduke and Hugh O'Neill in 1600. That Stanihurst supported Hugh O'Neill's war as a Catholic crusade was clear from a letter he wrote to a 'frere' at Louvain on 2 November 1600, in which he expressed the hope that they would all, 'by the help of Almighty God in shorte tyme receave benyfitt', from O'Neill's correspondence with the archduke'.[39]

How typical were these of other Irish in the Army of Flanders? Certainly we know that, while the Irish serving in Flanders were never allowed to return to Ireland as a group to assist Hugh O'Neill, some officers did in fact leave the Low Countries to take part in the Nine Years War. In September 1595 a list was sent to Salisbury of those who 'with divers others . . . have been sent from Sir William Stanley out of the Low Countries to the rebel of Tyrone'. The names given were Hugh Boy O'Dogherty, Richard Burke, John Fitzgarret, Edward Toby and Bartholomew Owen.[40] Between 1597 and 1601 Morgan Kavanagh, Victor Brae and Richard Owen were reported to have left Flanders to join Hugh O'Neill,[41] while at least nine 'experienced captains from the Low Countries' were reported in 1600 and 1602 to be fighting with Florence MacCarthy and O'Sullivan Beare.[42] In all, we have sixteen definite names of Irish officers who came from Flanders to assist in the Nine Years War, though there were almost certainly some others whose names have not survived. It is impossible, however, to judge the extent of support for the rebel faction, that these men may have represented within the Irish military group in Flanders. Moreover, it it possible that some, at least, of those men named went to the assistance of the Irish rebels for reasons of family and dynastic loyalties and cannot necessarily be identified with a development within the Irish military group of a 'Spanish Catholic' ideology. The most, in fact, that we can suggest was that some consciousness of this cause and their role in it had emerged in the minds of people like Oliver Eustace and Thomas Stanihurst.

Of far greater relevance to our study of the military group was the role envisaged for it by the militant Irish Catholic circle, which undoubtedly saw the Irish soldiers in Flanders as forming a key part of any military expedition from Spain to Ireland. Archbishop MacGauran in his letter of June 1591 to Oliver Eustace wrote that, while Spain was slow to send aid to Ireland, 'The Irish regiment is written for, and whether they come or not, come you in any wise in all haste'.[43] Hugh O'Neill saw the Irish soldiers in Flanders as forming a central part of his plans in the Nine Years War. In 1595, he actively encouraged certain Old Irish and Anglo-Irish serving under Spain to join him in the Nine Years War; he went a step further in September 1599 and requested the archduke

to permit all Irish troops in the Low Countries to return to Ireland.[44] The precise nature of the request put to the archduke by 'the Northern rebels' in Ireland, was made clear in a report on Irish affairs by the Spanish council of state to Philip III in 1600. These 'Irish gentlemen', they noted, not only requested financial and military aid from Spain but had specifically asked 'that the Irishmen serving in Flanders should also be sent to Ireland to take part in the defence . . . of their lands . . . against the heretics'.[45]

The consensus of the council was to leave the decision in this matter of the Irish soldiers 'to the Archduke', and as had happened in the case of a similar request by Stanley in relation to his regiment, the archduke refused to allow any depletion of his forces.[46] The plans, therefore, of O'Neill, and those of the Irish exile group regarding the Irish soldiers in Flanders, were not successful. However, it is evident that this military group had by 1600 to some degree become a part of the ideological and political conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism, Spain and England. Definite contacts had been established between some members of the Irish military group and the pro-Spanish Catholic Irish and English exile circles. Some members of this military group, particularly the Anglo-Irish were beginning to show an affiliation with some of the ideals of the exile groups. Above all, those Irish soldiers in Flanders were increasingly becoming important in a strategy put forward in the Nine Years War by the militant Irish groups in Spain and in Ireland—a strategy which was inspired both by counter-reformation Catholicism and a growing disillusionment with the New English administration.

The impact of a militant circle and pro-Spanish ideology on military circles in Flanders increased after the battle of Kinsale in relation to the growing influence exerted by the Old Irish and clerical group there. After 1601, as noted in previous chapters, most of the rebels of the Nine Years War were incorporated into Henry O'Neill's regiment. In March 1603, an examination of Archibald Blighe and others noted that 'The King (of Spain) daily takes into pension all Irishmen of note and quality'. This statement was compounded by others from Piers White and James Lombard[47] while letters poured into the Dublin administration to the effect that these fugitives would be used in an expedition to Ireland.[48] The reaction among English administrators in Ireland bordered on hysteria. Chichester and the council of Ireland, in an address to the privy council, insisted that Henry O'Neill be returned home, while in 1606 Sir Geoffrey Fenton wrote to Salisbury that

> They (the Irish) repose much in the Earl of Tyrone's second son and his regiment of Irishmen now serving under the Archduke, who it is to be wished were called home before any breach grow, for they are of opinion that he is the man that must be thrust over hither upon the first commodity.[49]

The fears concerning the imminent arrival of the Irish regiment were without doubt unfounded. In 1606 the lords of the council chastised Chichester for creating hysteria in Ireland, pointing out that while the 'better sort of that nation may be sending to and fro towards the archdukes, it could not be held an offence, as liberty had been given them for their sons and friends to serve the King of Spain as they do'. They further advised Chichester that it was unlikely Spain would support any military expedition to Ireland, pointing out that it was 'evident that the King of Spain is unable to engage in open hostilities against England'.[50]

This was indeed true. Spain was clearly reluctant to support any involvement by the Irish regiment in aggressive policies against England. In 1605 Philip spoke to the council of state of the need to assure the king of England that these Irishmen were only serving in the wars against the Dutch states 'and employed for no other purpose'.[51] This assurance was reiterated by the baron de Hoboken, ambassador to the archduke at a conference with the earl of Salisbury in July 1608 and in a letter to the archduke that same month the Spanish council made it clear that the primary function of the Irish regiment was to fight in the wars of the Low Countries. Referring to the disbandment of troops in the Army of Flanders, the council noted:

> This [Irish] regiment should be treated in such a way as to ensure its continuance, not only because of the reasons that exist to favour the Irish, but also because there is a great need for seasoned soldiers.[52]

The existence of an Irish regiment in Flanders might 'cheaply embarass' England but it was not among Spain's intentions to dispatch this regiment on a military expedition to Ireland. Moreover, apart from Spanish policy, the militant element within Henry O'Neill's regiment before 1607 was probably exaggerated by the English. Jerrold Casway has pointed out[53] that this exaggeration was possibly deliberate in an attempt by English administrators in Ireland to undermine London confidence in Henry's father, Hugh, earl of Tyrone. Certainly, despite English protestations to the contrary, the Irish regiment does not seem to have been formed with an explicit military objective to overthrow English authority in Ireland.

Henry O'Neill's petition to the Spanish authorities for permission to establish the regiment was concerned purely with the military service that the Irish could offer Philip in the war against the Dutch.[54] Furthermore Henry O'Neill, who was only eighteen years of age when he received this commission, was unlikely to have had strongly developed militant views. This appears, in fact, to be borne out by Charles Cornwallis, English ambassador to Spain who, in a letter to the privy council in August 1605, wrote that he had been 'unable to discover any malignant humour about Henry O'Neill'.[55] There was in fact an effort made on

Henry's part to seek English approval in the formation of this regiment. In October 1605, according to a report by Sir Thomas Edmondes, Henry on his arrival in the Low Countries immediately reaffirmed his allegiance to the English king and told Edmondes he would not accept the command unless he had the support and approval of King James. In December 1605, Henry wrote to Salisbury of his

> . . . great desire to employ myself in his majesties service when it shall please his highness to command me, and that I refused to be employed hither (Flanders) until I understand (*sic*) by the Council of Spain that it was my sovereign's will (that) I should be employed hither upon. I am most desirous to serve your honour to the uttermost of my power.[56]

Such a conciliatory tone was almost certainly prompted by instructions from Spanish authorities and from Henry's father, Hugh O'Neill. However it does, nevertheless, attest to a non-militant motive in forming the regiment. The obvious fears of both Spain and Henry O'Neill that this regiment could jeopardise their relative positions to England is in fact a powerful indication that the idea of an Irish regiment probably sprang from Henry's military ambitions rather than a provocation to England.

To a large extent, however, the motives behind the formation of the Irish regiment are irrelevant in attempting to gauge the militant character of it. The claims of Fenton and the Dublin administration were based on fears that were largely justified. The regiment may not have been in a position to launch an attack on Ireland, but there is no doubt as to the desire of some within the regiment to do so. The regiment from its formation attracted discontented parties in Ireland and the predominance of the Old Irish militant group within its ranks was promoted by Henry O'Neill as its colonel. The aims and aspirations of a large section of the regiment were now identical to those of a rebel faction in Ireland. They were to further merge with the arrival of Hugh O'Neill and his entourage on the continent in 1607.

There is little doubt that Hugh O'Neill and most of the other northern exiles regarded the Irish regiment as a vehicle of their restitution. In a letter to Philip III of April 1608, Pedro de Zuñiga, Spanish ambassador to London, noted the extent of English fears that an invasion spearheaded by the Irish regiment would follow O'Neill's arrival on the continent.

> The (English) have become so deeply alarmed they think that the *tercio* which has been in Flanders is going mainly to Ireland so that there be veteran soldiers on hand who know how to handle weapons.[57]

It was a statement which reflected, however, not only English fears of an

invasion, but the undesirable influence exerted by Hugh O'Neill over the Irish regiment. The Irish regiment was linked with Hugh O'Neill's name from the moment of his departure from Ireland in September 1607. Geoffrey Fenton, in a letter to Salisbury that month, maintained that the 'first endeavour' of the northern earls 'will be to thrust over that Irish regiment hither to being a stir before Winter' and Chichester in February 1608, somewhat more realistically, voiced the fears of many of his administration noting, that 'they (the Irish) will never resolve upon honest and good courses so long as those fugitives are of such grace and that regiment is in pay on that side'.[58] Nor were such fears merely confined to the English administration in Ireland. Thomas Edmondes' instructions, issued immediately after the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell, were, to inform himself on how the earls were 'apprehended there (in Flanders), and especially amongst the Irish that are there in service'. Although both Edmondes and later Trumbull denied that there was any intention on the part of Spain to send troops from Flanders to Ireland,[59] the issue of Hugh O'Neill's influence on the regiment was to form one of the main areas of contentions in the conference between baron de Hoboken and the English privy council on 4 June 1608.[60]

Hoboken's letter to the archduke in July 1608 gave a report on this conference, clearly outlining the nature of English fears with regard to Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and the Irish regiment. The charges against the archduke, Hoboken noted, had centred mainly on the

> ... evil reports ... about the Irish who were in the service of his Highness, according to which they only awaited the return of the earl of Tyrone, their father, to go back to their own country and cause trouble there, and that when peace should be made, his Highness would free all his troops so that they might nurture sedition in Ireland.[61]

The reference in this report to Hugh O'Neill as the 'father' of the Irish regiment clearly represented how closely the interests of the Irish regiment were now identified with those of Tyrone, and ultimately how far this group was associated with subversive Old Irish elements in Ireland. While the baron denied this accusation, claiming that 'for the Irish who are in the service of his Highness, nothing is less true than what has been imagined' this was mere diplomatic expediency. There is no doubt that the Irish troops serving in Flanders formed an important part of Hugh O'Neill's diplomacies and strategies in Europe.

Hugh O'Neill's flight from Ireland was, unlike that of Maguire and O'Donnell, a recognition of the futility of short-term respites from English civil and legal encroachments, and a bid to secure his autonomous position in Ulster through Spanish mediation. To this latter end he pursued a series of diplomatic

negotiations with Philip III, the archduke, Clement VIII and Paul V during his period of exile from 1608 to 1616,[62] requesting their intervention on his behalf with England and allying himself with counter-reformation Catholicism as he had done in the Nine Years War.

O'Neill's primary option, after his arrival on the continent, was to persuade Spain to back a military expedition to invade Ireland. In this plan, he clearly perceived the Irish regiment to have a key role. In fact, Hugh O'Neill's personal option in 1607 would appear to have been to remain with the Irish regiment in Flanders and a later report in 1613 of one Robert Lombard, nephew of Peter, maintained that O'Neill's persistent requests, to be allowed go to Flanders, was really a request to join the Irish regiment 'from whence . . . he intends to transport these Irish companies which are there in the king of Spain's service, into Ireland, and there raise rebellion'.[63] This testimony of Robert Lombard to Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to Vienna, was interesting in that Robert had lodged in Rome with Hugh O'Neill and had been an intimate of his circle there. According to Robert Lombard, O'Neill mistrusted Spanish forces and ultimately hoped that the Irish military community on the continent would form the basis of any military expedition against England. In his report to Carleton, Lombard concluded that '. . . these Irish do not desire the assistance of strangers whom experience shows to be unfit for the service of that country, only they require to have writings from Rome and dollars from Spain'. Although Hugh O'Neill was not allowed to go to Flanders, his consistent battle with Philip from Rome regarding the welfare of the regiment, the expenses allotted to it, and his insistence of the maintenance of high numbers within it, envisaged a central role for the regiment in his ambitions. When relations between Spain and England became strained in 1614-5, with the collapse of the proposed marriage alliance between the infanta and Charles, O'Neill begged the Spanish council of state in letter after letter to be allowed to launch an invasion of Ireland using 'the Irish regiment and some 200 Walloons'.[64] At the most, for O'Neill the regiment would form part of a Spanish army backed by papal funds for Ireland or, at the least, a political weapon which could be used to improve his bargaining position with England.

Moreover, some members of the regiment were kept well informed of these strategies employed by Hugh O'Neill. Apart from those members of the northern earls' entourage who were left behind in the Army of Flanders, Hugh O'Neill had also made contact with other members of the regiment on route to Rome in 1607/1608. The earls and their entourage met with Henry O'Neill, Jacques Francheschi and several other members of the regiment between Binche and Nivelles, while a report by Bentivoglio noted that the two earls were accompanied part of the way to Italy by soldiers 'mostly Irish, under command of his nephews'.[65]

Although concrete evidence on actual communication between Hugh O'Neill

and the Irish regiment is lacking, a network of contacts between Rome and the Irish regiment was certainly established. Significantly Rory Albanagh, messenger for Hugh O'Neill during the Nine Years War, was appointed steward to Henry O'Neill. Nicholas Lynch of Galway, previously servant to Hugh O'Donnell, remained in residence in Brussels and continued to bring letters to and from there for the earls in Rome. John Bathe, who had brought the earls from Lough Swilly to Flanders, received a commission as captain in the Irish regiment and acted as liaison between O'Neill, the regiment and, apparently, Florence Conry in Madrid.[66] Furthermore, Henry O'Neill appears to have kept in close contact with his father. His determination to ensure on behalf of his father that the regiment not be disbanded during the truce with Holland led him, according to Edmondes, 'to hinder the going away of many from thence that have sought to procure their passports'.[67] In 1609 the archduke noted that Henry had been allowed to go to Spain 'to attend to business matters of the Earl of Tiron, his father'. Significantly he was accompanied on this journey by captains Jenquin Fitzsimon, John Bathe and Owen Roe O'Neill of the Irish regiment.[68]

Henry O'Neill died in Spain in October 1610 but his period of colonelship had seen a twofold development. Firstly, it had witnessed the emergence of a militant, predominantly Old Irish element who clearly regarded the Irish regiment as a vehicle with which to reassert their former political and economic position in Ireland. Secondly, it saw the cementing, chiefly through the diplomatic manoeuvres of Hugh O'Neill up until 1616, of a role for the regiment within the politics and ideologies of the counter-reformation world.

The militant Old Irish faction was not, however, the only group to become increasingly influential within the Irish military community. The years 1600 to 1621 saw a dramatic growth in the power exerted by the counter-reformation clergy and colleges on this group and this was an equally important factor in contributing to the development of a militant counter-reformation ideology amongst the Irish serving the archduke.

The links between the clergy and the Old Irish nobility both in terms of family ties and social cooperation had traditionally been very close.[69] This tradition was continued by O'Neill and O'Donnell in their relations particularly with the friars who were on the continent. In 1599, for example, Hugh O'Neill had requested the archduke to 'grant an annual subsidy to the college at Douai', while O'Donnell and Florence Conry petitioned Philip III in 1602 that the Irish college at Salamanca 'receive one half of its students from Ulster and Connaught'.[70] Some of the Old Irish students at the Irish colleges, moreover, almost certainly received their passage fare from Old Irish patrons and in their proclamation of grievances from the Low Countries, both O'Neill and O'Donnell reaffirmed their commitment to the sponsorship of Catholic education.[71]

Henry O'Neill was a typical example of the close relations that existed between the Old Irish and the Franciscan friars. Tutored by Hugh MacCaughwell as a boy, Henry was sent under his care by his father as a hostage to Philip III in 1600. Henry and MacCaughwell stayed at the convent of the friars in Salamanca, where he made several friends among those Irish studying for the priesthood. He was in fact rumoured to have himself 'adopted the Franciscan habit'.[72] The contacts, particularly with Florence Conry, appear to have been ones which he maintained over a the period of his colonelship of the Irish regiment. In July 1607, a report by an English agent claimed that Henry O'Neill was being 'guided by' several key clerical figures in the Low Countries, particularly Dr Robert Chamberlain, Dr Eugene MacMahon and Hugh MacCaughwell, while in October 1607 information by one James Bathe, brother to Captain John Bathe of O'Neill's regiment, noted that 'Henry O'Neale' was 'conversant and very great with . . . Father Florence'.[73]

Significantly Chamberlain, MacMahon, MacCaughwell and Conry were closely bound up in the interests of Hugh O'Neill and a brief profile on each of these clerics is worth sketching here. Florence Conry or Flaithrí O Maolconaire, the most famous of these four, was born into a professional Gaelic class and was confessor to Hugh Roe O'Donnell. He came to Ireland in 1601 with de l'Aguila's expedition and escorted Hugh O'Donnell to Madrid in 1602 to request further military aid from Spain. He was appointed archbishop of Tuam in 1609, chiefly at Hugh O'Neill's instigation, and by 1610 had established himself firmly at the court of Madrid as spokesman, 'on behalf of the Earl of Tiron and the Irish Catholics by order of His Holiness and of the said Earl', a position he was to occupy for the next twenty years.[74] Eugene or Owen MacMahon, like Conry, an Ulsterman, similarly supported Hugh O'Neill's Nine Years War as a crusade in defence of Catholicism. Both he and Conry met the northern earls at Douai on route to Rome, and MacMahon similarly owed his appointment as archbishop of Dublin to Hugh O'Neill's influence in Rome.[75] Robert Chamberlain or MacArthur, as he was also known, was a native of Louth. Educated at Salamanca, he was ordained in 1599 for the diocese of Armagh and eventually became a Franciscan in 1611, having studied for a period at Louvain. Although he was of Old English stock, he was appointed chaplain to Hugh O'Neill in 1599, and worked closely with O'Neill during the Nine Years War. On the continent Chamberlain continued to organise support for a military expedition to Ireland and was reported in 1609 to have written a book in defence of O'Neill's struggle during the Nine Years War as a Catholic crusade.[76] Finally, Hugh MacCaughwell, a native of Down, had, similarly, close connections with the O'Neill family. Like Conry, of a Gaelic bardic class, he had been employed as tutor at Dungannon Castle with Fr Peter Nangle to Hugh O'Neill's two eldest sons. He accompanied Henry O'Neill to Salamanca and though he did not become a Franciscan until 1604, by June 1607 he had been appointed professor

of philosophy and theology at Louvain and chief-chaplain of the Irish regiment. While he and Conry supported Hugh O'Neill's militant aims in Spain, he was not as active in O'Neill's diplomancies as Conry. He does, however, appear to have taken a leading role in negotiations conducted through William Trumbull for a reconciliation between James I and Hugh O'Neill in 1613.[77]

Apart from Conry, who was a native of Roscommon, three of these men had northern origins and had close associations both with the O'Neill family and the problems confronting Gaelic society. They had all supported the Nine Years War as a Catholic crusade and, with the possible exception of MacCaughwell, continued actively to support Catholic counter-reformation militancy on the continent. Since they and others of like mind were resident in Brussels from 1605 it is very probable that regular contact was established with Henry O'Neill as Hugh O'Neill's son, and later with Owen Roe O'Neill. Certainly the Franciscans appear to have exerted a considerable degree of influence on Henry's personal commitment to militant Catholicism and very close links were also established with Owen Roe O'Neill from the start of his career in the Low Countries. Florence Conry was largely instrumental in getting the position of major in the regiment for Owen Roe O'Neill in 1611 and according to Trumbull, Owen Roe O'Neill, Florence Conry and that 'perfidious Machiavellian friar' Dr Robert Chamberlain formed a small conspiratorial clique that met regularly in Brussels and Louvain with a view to keeping the Irish regiment intact and its members in accord with each other. In fact, a close friendship and a similar political vision was shared by Conry and Owen Roe O'Neill up to the end of the 1620s.[78] Of greater significance for the climate of the regiment, however, was the undoubted connection between Henry and Owen's close friendship with the Franciscans and the influx of this group into the Irish military community as chaplains and preachers.

It was hardly a coincidence that Hugh MacCaughwell was appointed chief chaplain of the regiment of Henry O'Neill. Through his influence and that of Henry O'Neill those appointments made after 1605 to cater for the religious needs of the Irish soldiers, included for the first time Old Irish and Franciscans.[79] From the point of view of the Old Irish clerical group it is noteworthy that Henry, as Hugh O'Neill's son was identified immediately on the receipt of his commission, as a patron to the clergy. Bonaventure O'Hussey, in a letter to Fr Robert Nugent in 1605, wrote that he wished to go to Louvain, not only because it 'is the best place where learning is acquired', but also because he would be 'near the son of O'Neill if he comes to the country', from whom 'it is likely that I would get what I might require'.[80]

Moreover, while information is unfortunately not available on all of these appointments, such information as exists indicates that some at least of these were actively involved in the militant Catholic cause. Cornelius O'Desmond alias MacCarthy, appointed as preacher to O'Neill regiment in 1606, was one

of two friars sent by Florence Conry and Robert Chamberlain in 1607 to

> withdraw the hand of the gentlemen of Munster from the King's obedience and to bring them an exact report what Lords and gentlemen they might count upon if any aid should be sent thither from the Pope or the King of Spain for the advancement of the Catholic cause.[81]

Thomas Geraldine, also a preacher in the regiment, was acting as an agent for Hugh O'Neill in Ireland in 1610, while Dermot O'Hullacayn, chaplain in the regiment in August 1606, became a trusted messenger between the militant Irish group in Brussels and Madrid.[82]

The strong presence of such a militant group within the Irish religious community of the Low Countries can perhaps best be signified by the reception given the northern earls in 1607 in the Irish colleges. O'Cianáin in his account of the earls' arrival at Douai noted that they were met there by Florence Conry and Robert MacArthur [Chamberlain], while 'Assemblies of the Colleges received them kindly and with respect, delivering in their honour verses and speeches in Latin, Greek and English'. In February 1608 when they visited the Irish college at Antwerp, O'Cianáin further recorded that they 'heard High Mass that was sung, with sweet, melodious organs and instruments of music of all kinds'. Although O'Cianáin makes no mention of the earls' reception at St Anthony's, Louvain, the earls certainly visited their children there and, according to a report by John Roche, 'were often entertained . . . very sumptuously' at this college.[83]

The earls would appear to have been welcomed by the religious colleges and the conclusion of one of the Latin orations recited at Douai and reported to the English, makes clear the role envisaged for Hugh O'Neill on the continent by, at least some members of the Douai college. Addressed specifically to Hugh O'Neill the concluding section is worth quoting in full:

> . . . for it sufficeth not to have once subdued the enemy and chased him out of the borders of that kingdom, but you must wrest this afflicted country (which at length by reason of the sins thereof is come into the power of cruel tyrants) out of their jaws and impious dominion. For this cause doth Ireland lift up to you humbly suing hands, hoping that you will speedily succour her, and beseecheth you, by Him who hath suffered death for all of us, that you will not leave her any longer under the unworthy oppression and bondage of faithless enemies.[84]

The oration was an obvious statement not only of a determination to withstand the spread of Protestantism, but a determination to overthrow English authority in Ireland. Its greatest significance with regard to our study, however, was the

assumption that the earl's flight signalled, not the end, but the beginning of a glorious era. Within this context, the Irish regiment, under O'Neill's son Henry, and incorporating by this time so many of those who had fought in the Nine Years War, was inevitably seen by this militant clerical group to have a specific role in the establishment of the Catholic counter-reformation in Ireland.

There can be little doubt that the Irish regiment did in fact become intrinsically allied to the militant Catholic cause for many priests. Many of these, particularly the friars, who returned to Ireland, appear to have equated the salvation of the Church with an invasion spearheaded by the Irish regiment. Complaints to the Dublin administration, particularly from Ulster, were numerous, concerning 'priests' who were 'inciting' the people with stories of Henry O'Neill's imminent arrival in Ireland with his regiment. As early as December 1605 Edward Brabazon wrote to the earl of Salisbury

> The Popish priests are the messengers and producers of these wars (in Ireland). Their greatest hope consists of the troops now in service under the Archduke, which upon occasion proffered may work some desperate action amongst evil and discontented people.[85]

Naturally such activity was particularly prevalent among the friars in Ulster. Chichester reported to Salisbury on 4 April 1606 that it is:

> lately given out upon all the northern borders, on the alleged authority of two priests lately come from beyond the seas, that Henry, second son of the Earl of Tyrone, and now with the Archduke, will come into the land this summer, in command of 4,000 of this nation, who went to the King of Spain and Archduke.[86]

Such reports were not, however, confined to Ulster. In 1606 Sir Francis Barkley, constable of Limerick castle, for example, noted that 'it is confidently reported by the priests, that if the wicked [Gunpowder] plot in England against his Majesty had taken place (succeeded) all the Irish soldiers in the Low Countries would presently have been shipped for Ireland'.[87]

Certainly sermons delivered by clergy with possible dynastic loyalties to O'Neill, were often apt to be more in the spirit of factional politics than that of the counter-reformation. However, in identifying the Irish regiment with a Catholic crusade and the prospect of an imminent invasion, these priests helped to create a subversive element, particularly within the Gaelic areas where many faced the prospect of losing land or employment. It was this aspect of the priest's work rather than the prospect of such an expedition occurring, that led to such anxiety on the part of the English authorities. In a letter to Chichester in 1607 the English council commented on the negative effect that 'the discourses of

the priests' were having by creating 'ill intention on all sides in Ireland'.[88] Similarly, Chichester complained that many of the priests openly encouraged opposition to the Ulster plantation by portraying Hugh O'Neill and the Irish regiment as a panacea for all ills in Ireland, while implying that a reversal of religious policies in Ireland would result in a reversal of plantation ones. In a report to Salisbury in 1610 Chichester wrote that the

> priests now preach little other doctrine to (those living in 'Tryone, Ardmagh and Colerayne') but that they are a dispised people, and worse dealt with than any nation, that their bodies, goods, and lands were taken into the King's protection, but now they are injuriously thrust out of their houses and places of habitation, and be compelled, like vagabonds, to go they know not whither.[89]

Such statements reinforced the feeling of some in Ulster that military intervention was necessary to solve their problems. The result of these sermons, Chichester claimed, was that these people had 'dispatched a priest to the traitor Tyrone, to hasten his return or to send his son Henry . . .'.

It is difficult to assess how widespread among the clergy this militant perception of the Irish regiment was, or indeed the extent of its effect on military circles in the Low Countries. However, we can be sure that an element which not only supported a military overthrow of Protestantism in Ireland but in fact attempted to undermine the English plantation did exist among the clergy and that it was widespread enough to arouse the anxieties of the English administration. It seems reasonable to assume that the role envisaged by these clergy for the soldiers in Flanders, as the defenders of the Catholic faith and Gaelic order in Ireland, must have been one conveyed to them by the militant clerical group in the Low Countries.

While there is little source material concerning the actual content of sermons given by priests to the Irish soldiers in Flanders there is some evidence that these may well have emphasised such a role for the Irish military community. One Richard Golborne, a Dublin merchant, described to Chancellor Loftus in 1601 how a friar (Father Browne) had addressed him and others in Bordeaux. The friar, concluding his speech, noted:

> Now you Irishmen comfort yourselves for ye shall be relieved and released from all the oppressions and tyrannies that the English do daily persecute you with. . . . Tyrone's son [Henry] is gone into a monastery of Grey Friars and hath taken habit therefore the King is high displeased, and saith he will have him thence to go into Ireland with the fleet.

Ten years later William Trumbull, outlining how powerful the influence of

the friars had become on the Irish regiment, wrote to Sir J. Digby in 1611 that '. . . the Friars (who rule the roste here) . . . brag that Tyrone will come into Spain and Owen (O'Neill) with him'.[90] Both of these statements intimated that the friars identified their enemy not only in terms of Protestantism but as English rule in Ireland *de facto*. The reference to Owen and Henry O'Neill—both recognised leaders within the Irish military group in Flanders, implied the role of this group in a military overthrow of this English authority, as well as closely identifying the military group with Hugh O'Neill.

It is noteworthy that Trumbull referred to the friars rather than the secular clergy, as the predominant clerical influence within the Irish regiment. While the English authorities made little distinction between the seditious sermons preached by the 'seminarie priests' and the friars in Ireland, there can be little doubt that it was the friars, with their traditional links with Gaelic Ireland, who were most outspoken in favour of militant Catholicism and who identified most with the predominantly Old Irish military circle in Flanders in the years after Kinsale. Likewise it was religious books printed at St Anthony's in Louvain that were to initiate the Irish soldier into the world of post-Tridentine Catholicism and it is worth giving some examination to the values transmitted to the Irish soldiers and their instructors from some of these books.

A report by Richard Morrés, a former student of the college of Douai, in 1611 noted that

> After his coming from Prague, he saw one of the books among the Irish soldiers, printed in Irish at Antwerp, and set forth by the friars of Louvaine confirming their own religion, and to the contrary infirming and refusing that of the Protestants.[91]

The book referred to, was almost certainly Bonaventure O'Hussey's catechism, which was published at Antwerp in 1611. Its influence on the Irish military community merits some examination of its content. Morrés' summary of the contents of the catechism was essentially correct: O'Hussey's *Teagasg Críosdaithe*[92] was a defence of counter-reformation doctrines. It also, however, combined a refutation of Protestantism with an attempt to emphasise the continuity between the old religion in Ireland and post-Tridentine Catholicism. In lines 533 to 557 he wrote, for example,

> It is beyond all reason that the old holy fathers of the Church Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory . . . or St Patrick who brought Ireland to the faith, who banished the snakes from Ireland, who performed miracles, or other Irish saints such as Colm Chill, Bridget, Ciaran and many more besides whose holiness and miraculous deeds cannot be verified, should be accused of going astray in their faith . . . that Luther whose Master is the devil . . . should have correct and precise knowledge of his faith.[93]

Also of significance to the Irish community in the Low Countries, were the works of Hugh MacCaughwell and Florence Conry, whose books, *Scathán Shacramuinte na nÁithridhe* (Mirror of the Sacrament of Penance) and *Sgathán an Chrábhaidh* (Desiderius)[94] were devotional works aimed at the clergy and leaders of the Catholic community. Similar thematically to O'Hussey's catechism, MacCaughwell noted the false *rationale* behind Protestantism and particularly English arguments with reference to the historical roots of the reformation:

> If it is false faith which Rome sent to us with Patrick after she lost the proper faith, therefore it is extremely false faith which Augustine on the Order of Gregory the Great, was sent to England with.[95]

Like most other Catholic apologists at the time, the most striking characteristic of these works was their dogmatic assertions against Protestantism, but their significance also lay in less tangible areas. In emphasising the continuity of the faith, these writers contributed to a sense of Irish history and subsequently to the development of a national consciousness. This was a feature particularly marked in MacCaughwell's work, who several times throughout his book, referred to Ireland as a 'Catholic nation', thus explicitly identifying Ireland as a separate unit from England. MacCaughwell claimed at the start of this book that this work on penance was necessary for Ireland, as 'every other Catholic nation has a little book like this'. Further on in the book he lamented how ignorant the 'people of our nation' were on the nature of this sacrament.[96] Although the term 'nation' did not appear in the works mentioned above by Florence Conry or Bonaventure O'Hussey, a recognition that Catholicism was part of a cultural heritage, common to all Irish in Ireland and a feature which set her apart from England, was implicit in their works. Moreover, such a national consciousness was evident in contemporary Old English clerical writings. John Roche, who worked in the service of the nuncio in Brussels, drew up a report for Bentivoglio in 1611 on the *State of Ireland*, where he spoke of Ireland as a 'Catholic nation . . . always inclined to the Catholic faith and the see of Rome . . . even before the Norman invasion'.[97] Even in Peter Lombard's *Episcopion doron*, which essentially affirmed Irish Catholic loyalty to the crown, he emphasised the continuity in the development of Catholicism in Ireland over the centuries, concluding that Catholicism was 'the fact that makes an Irishman'.[98]

The concept of an Irish 'nation' in early seventeenth-century Old English and Old Irish religious works is a complex one. Certainly such a 'national consciousness' could not be identified simply with separatism. Like Lombard, Hugh MacCaughwell, for example, in his *Sgathán*, referred to James I as 'our King', thus implicitly acknowledging the legitimacy of his claim as king of

Ireland.[99] The term 'nation' was probably an attempt to transcend local particularism by emphasising a common land and a common religion, though much greater research would need to be done into this fascinating subject. As a general observation, however, it seems fair to conclude that the writings of this clerical group in the Low Countries combined an adherence to counter-reformation catholicism with a sense of national identity and opposition to New English Protestantism. Although this could only be recognised by an élite group in military circles, it seems probable it permeated at an unconscious level to the religious climate of the Low Countries and in the long term ultimately to the military community there.

The clerical influence on the Irish military group was a radical and obviously an increasingly militant one. Identifying the Irish regiment with the cause of counter-reformation Catholicism, it compounded at the same time, an image of English tyranny and a sense of national consciousness. The militant group within the religious community of the Low Countries and the ambitions of Hugh O'Neill, had identified the Irish regiment from 1607 onwards with a militant Catholic and separatist cause. It was up to the members of the regiment whether they were willing to accept the role imposed upon them.

The extent to which such an ideology reflected the views prevailing within the ranks of the Irish regiment is difficult to assess. A certain element, particularly within the officer corps of the regiment after 1601 certainly hoped to form part of an expedition to Ireland. In 1606, Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin, on questioning one Evers on his return from the Irish regiment, reported to Salisbury, Evers' conviction that 'amongst them all (in the Irish regiment) they carry most malicious hearts to this state and live there in daily expectation of some stirs in Ireland that they might come hither to second them'.[100] This, however, undoubtedly exaggerated the extent of militant feeling in the regiment. A report from the English council to Chichester in December 1607 noted it was only 'the priests and the private soldiers of the Irish regiments . . . (who had) any expectation of any invasion of foreign forces'. By 'private soldiers' the council possibly meant the *entretenidos* in Henry O'Neill's regiment though by June 1608, it is clear that the council believed that the militant faction was becoming more influential within the regiment. In a letter to Chichester recommending Captain Henry Fitzgarret for service in Ireland, they warned that he had 'of late served beyond seas among very many of that Irish nation that are very ill affected and apt to corrupt' and a report by an English agent on the internal politics of the regiment, noted that 'among the captains in the Irish regiment he evermore heard it spoken that they hoped 'ere it were long to be in Ireland'.[101]

There is no doubt that among the Old Irish militant group who had entered the regiment after the battle of Kinsale, there existed an expectancy that a military expedition to Ireland would secure their property and former position

in Ireland. Teig MacDonnell MacCarthy, later a captain in O'Neill's regiment, was a case in point. According to a confession by John Wise, a Waterford merchant, Teig, on hearing in 1603 in Spain that his cousin germain 'Cormac MacDermod' had submitted to the English, 'was grieved, and said "a pocks on the knave! Why did he not stay a while longer for help?".'[102] Similarly in March 1603, Cornelius O'Driscoll, in a memorial to the conde de Caraçena, begged 'leave to go to Ireland and help the other Catholics there' taking with him one hundred soldiers, money and the 'Irishmen who are in Corunna'. Neither of these men could be said to have regarded their flight in 1602 from Ireland in the nature of a final defeat and O'Driscoll, at least, seems to have allied his own ambitions to the counter-reformation cause. His plea, he told Caraçena, was not made merely on his own behalf, but on the behalf of 'the other Catholics' in Ireland who if

> they were not soon helped to struggle for the faith of Christ in their own land, the supplicant and the rest of the Catholic gentlemen will have but little confidence . . . they (the Catholics) are so hardly pressed by the heretics that they cannot sow their fields and have no food.[103]

Such sentiments were unlikely to have changed two years later when both these men received commissions as captains in Henry O'Neill's regiment and although 'Ellyn ney Connor' had claimed in 1602, that O'Driscoll would accept 'a grant of lands (in Spain) . . . in return for his services and the loss of his men in Dunboy and the Dorseys',[104] this was almost certainly a second option on O'Driscoll's part. Moreover, it is certain some officers were active within the Irish regiment in their support of the military crusade planned by Hugh O'Neill after his arrival on the continent. Apart, from Jenquin Fitzsimons, John Bathe and Owen Roe O'Neill who were almost certainly kept informed of Hugh O'Neill's plans in Rome,[105] a report by an English agent, John Crosse, from Louvain in February 1608, claimed that 'one Barnwall and Butler with others whose names I knew not' of the Irish regiment, had spoken with the earl of Tyrconnell and Tyrone and made plans 'to furnish the land (Ireland) speedily with shot, powder, and lead, by Irish merchants'. Since Crosse referred to these men as 'captains', it would seem probable that the names mentioned referred to captains Walter Butler and Lawrence Barnwall.[106]

To some extent at least, these militant Catholic views also seem to have infiltrated to the rank and file of the regiment. Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador at Venice, wrote to Salisbury on 1 April 1608 noting that

> . . . there had been a general collection lately made among the captains and soldiers of the said (Irish) regiment for the charge of one Thomas Mac Crofte, a friar, who is appointed to go into Ireland to the White Knight and

> some others, to invite them to take arms against his Majesty, and to be ready to assist the Earl of Tyrone when he should come hither with his forces.[107]

While it is probable that the ideological implications of such activities went above the heads of most of the rank and file, it is significant that through the medium of the friars and officer corp the wider role envisaged for the regiment did in fact impinge to some degree on their lives.

To regard the military community on the continent, however, merely as a group being systematically infiltrated by a militant Old Irish group and an anti-English, Catholic ideology would be a wholly simplistic assessment. Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century was a complex society, with a rapidly changing religious, political and economic climate which also influenced the Irish military group. Particularly after the peace treaty between England and Spain in 1604, and the cool reception given to the earls and Maguire by the European powers in 1607, it was obvious to many that James I's position on the throne of England was to remain unchallenged. Assessing pragmatically the changing attitude towards England within papal and Spanish circles, there was a subsequent growing movement within the Irish exile community, away from subversive politics towards conciliation with England. A policy of reconciliation with the English crown and the accommodation of the Catholic mission within the framework of English law, could be identified, particularly amongst the Old English on the continent, who were anxious to maintain or regain their former status and wealth in Ireland.

Peter Lombard probably typified this conciliatory movement within religious circles. In 1600 his *Commentarius* clearly promoted the Nine Years War as a war fought to liberate the Catholic church from oppression.[108] However, it appears, both from the preface of his *Episcopion doron* to James I in 1604, and his *Memorandum* addressed to the pope in 1612, that he had come to believe that subversive activity against the English administration would in fact hinder the survival of the Catholic mission in Ireland.[109] Central to Lombard's philosophy, of course, was the belief that Catholics could be loyal to James I as their temporal, if not their spiritual ruler. This was a policy adopted by some members of the Catholic party in England and encouraged by Clement VIII, who accorded James full right of kingship in return for religious toleration to Catholics under his rule.[110] It was also a policy adhered to by such members of the Irish religious community in the Low Countries as John Roche. Entering the service of Guido Bentivoglio in 1607, Roche concentrated on the reorganisation of the church in Ireland along Tridentine lines, rather than on gaining support for a military expedition to Ireland in defence of the Catholic faith.[111] In the Irish colleges of the Low Countries, quarrels between 'old and new Irish' constantly revolved around where the priority of the Catholic Church

in Ireland should be on this question.[112] If militancy was a prevalent feature of the clerical influence on the military group a conciliatory movement could also be identified.

The military community did not remain unaffected by this conciliatory climate. The Old Irish militant faction appear to have taken advantage of it to open up discussions with James I regarding a possible reconciliation. In 1609 overtures were already made by Hugh O'Neill to James I about a pardon and possible restoration of his property. According to William Trumbull, Henry O'Neill was to be a central figure in this scheme. In November 1609 Trumbull wrote to Thomas Edmondes that

> These insolent brainsick people, nothing weighing the nature of Tyrone's treason, do now maintain that seeing their colonel was never in action against our State, his Majesty cannot refuse to give him entrance upon those lands which were his Fathers.[113]

Whatever about the truth of this scheme, Henry O'Neill's mission to Spain, according to the archduke, was certainly to request Philip 'to act as mediator with the King of Great Britain that the lands of the Earl of Tiron in Ireland be not confiscated'.[114] A similar attempt was made at reconciliation between Hugh O'Neill and James I in 1612 with the help of Thomas Shelton and Captain Rathfert (Bathe?) of the regiment and through the medium of William Trumbull. With the initiation of negotiations between Spain and England regarding the possible marriage of the infanta and Charles, O'Neill seized the opportunity to ask Philip III to include a restoration of his estates and liberty of conscience for the Irish in a possible marriage settlement.[115]

That such overtures were made at this time to England was undoubtedly linked to the policy of plantation then being implemented, particularly in Ulster. Many of the Old Irish militant group feared they would never regain their property if they lost their titles to it, and the fact that Hugh O'Neill worked through the medium of some members of the Irish regiment indicated that at least some in the regiment recognised this threat and identified their interests with a conciliatory policy towards England. This was a feature in the regiment recognised by Edmondes as early as December 1607, when he noted that many of the Irish who had come over with the northern earls 'repented' their action and were now 'discontent' at how they had been received in Europe. Not surprisingly, some of these attempted an independent reconciliation with James I. On 30 December 1607, Edmondes reported to Salisbury that

> Henry Hovenden was of late with me to renew his suite for obtaining leave and to be restored to his state in Ireland . . . He says there are many other gentlemen, whom he declares as innocent as himself of partaking in any of Tyrone's council, who have the like desire to return.[116]

However, the trend towards seeking a reconciliation with England had begun prior to 1607. In June 1605, David Nelis received a licence for Ireland 'from a company of Light Horse in Flanders' to go to Spain to obtain from the English representative there the restoration of his property by the King of England', while a letter from Sir Richard Greame to Chichester in 1606 noted that the son of Art O'Hagan, a captain in the Irish regiment, had 'come into England under a show and colour that he is much discontented with the Earl's son.[117] Any signs of reconciliation between Spain and England provided an opportunity for some to return to Ireland. In 1613 Captain John Bathe applied to James I for a pardon and the unprecedented number of licences for Ireland (eighty-nine) granted to Irish soldiers in this period, 1611 to 1613, was obviously significant. Nor was this rush for reconciliation merely evident before the meeting of the Irish parliament in 1613. In 1622, for example, John O'Neill wrote to Philip IV that in the event of an agreement between Spain and England over the palatine in Germany, he 'be treated of or included in the said agreement so as to secure that the king restore to him his estate in Ireland, which was confiscated from the Earl his father'.[118]

Apart from the attempts of mainly Old Irish groups to manipulate a situation to their own ends, there almost certainly existed within the Irish regiment a group, principally associated with the Old English officers, who were completely opposed to the subversive role envisaged for the regiment against England. Most of the Old English officers in O'Neill's regiment had come to serve the archduke in 1605 as 'free English subjects' under the terms of peace agreed between the archduke and England. They were not in any immediate danger of losing their lands or political status in Ireland, but rather regarded service in the Army of Flanders as a means of employment and financial opportunity. In 1608, despite the increase in the militant Old Irish group within the regiment, over half the officer corps and at least a third of the priests in the service of the regiment, were of Old English origin. Although some of these, were closely related to the Old Irish in outlook, there is no doubt that by 1608 a feud had emerged within the regiment mainly along Old English/Old Irish lines. Sir Thomas Edmondes wrote to Salisbury in June 1609 that

> There is discontentment among them here in the regiment because in the intended reformation of companies the colonel favours the standing of the captains which are Northern men, and employs himself to procure the cashiering of those which be Palemen.[119]

According to a report in September by Edmondes' successor, William Trumbull, the 'division' had become so serious, he, Trumbull, was convinced the 'Irish regiment . . . cannot long stand'.[120]

The conflict may well have had roots in provincialism and the traditional

mistrust between the Old English and Old Irish. Two new companies had been formed to incorporate the followers of the two earls to the continent and three of Hugh O'Neill's close relatives had been granted captaincies. Henry was being accused, not without good reason, of looking after his own[121] and a good deal of the mutual hostility and suspicion between the groups in the regiment was undoubtedly due to the coming together of two different racial and cultural groups who had probably had little contact with one another in Ireland. However, William Trumbull's conclusion to this letter would seem to indicate there were more immediate reasons for the division. He noted:

> The religious of that nation are much discontented with the advancement of Florence MacCarthy (Conry), and there is almost a deadly feud between the laymen which are natural born Irish and those of the English Pale.[122]

The reference to Florence Conry was obviously to his appointment in March 1609 as archbishop of Tuam, which was instigated by Hugh O'Neill. The association made between the religious and lay feuds would seem to indicate that both were connected, and probably both opposed to the favour being shown to Hugh O'Neill and his militant adherents on the continent. In fact this conflict between the Old English and Old Irish became so serious that Owen MacMahon, archbishop of Dublin, was given a special commission from Rome in1611 to reconcile the animosities.[123]

Certainly reports to England during 1608 indicated that the Old English group were opposed to the militant views propounded by Hugh O'Neill within the regiment. On 9 January 1608, James Bathe, an English agent in the regiment, reported to Salisbury that, with the arrival of 'Tyrone and Tyrconnell' in the Low Countries, 'many of the English Pale in Ireland are procuring their licences to go home'. In February 1608, Chichester, in a detailed report to Salisbury on the regiment, referred to 'some differences between Henry O'Neale the colonel' and some Old English captains including Thomas Preston and Christopher St Lawrence. The conflict, Chichester explicitly stated, had grown

> from a speech of Preston's upon Henry's discourse tending to make war and raise troubles within this kingdom; to which he answered, it was not lawful, neither would he ever bear arms against his sovereign, at which Henry, like a true child of his father took offence.[124]

By September 1608, Henry was demanding of the Spanish council that he be allowed to eject Major Edward Fitzgerald and 'others . . . of the English race' from the regiment as they were sending constant reports to the English ambassador in Flanders with a view to destroying the regiment. Though no English officer appears to have been removed from the regiment the Spanish

authorities were aware of the rift between Old Irish and Old English cirlces. In choosing John O'Neill as successor to Henry O'Neill, Juan de Mancicidor noted that the decision would be pleasing to 'all the Irish gentlemen and soldiers . . . who are not of English descent'.[125]

The argument between Henry O'Neill and Thomas Preston had a remarkably close affiliation to the later division between Owen Roe O'Neill and Preston, and it is clear that the conflict between the Old English and Old Irish in the regiment was, at least in part, an ideological one related to the militant versus conciliatory conflict of the wider Irish exile community. Moreover, while the issue may have been confined in the regiment to a few officers, there is no doubt that it was a conflict deliberately fostered by English agents in Brussels to weaken the strength of the regiment. William Trumbull, in a letter to Edmondes dated 1609, outlined his intentions clearly. 'If', he wrote, 'there may be some underhand course taken for the formenting of those animosities which are among them . . . the rest of the Irish regiment may . . . be disposed of'.[126] Later letters by Captain Walter de la Hyde and Captain John Bathe bear out that this policy was implemented. Both men operated within the Irish regiment as spies for the English administration[127] and at least in John Bathe's case his duties clearly included:

> acquainting . . . those of the English race which are in Ireland, and abroade, with the mallice and hatred borne against them by the meere Irish; and their will to doe harme if they had power; which may be a means that those of the English race shall not have any desyer to joyne with the others.[128]

Recognising the influence exerted by the English in the regiment, Florence Conry in a memorial to Philip III on the death of Henry O'Neill warned that

> Should there be any delay in providing a colonel for the regiment, the king of England's ministers will, on behalf of their King, intercede with Your Majesty and with His Highness to have an Irishman of their faction appointed as colonel. They will then accomplish their purpose and destroy the regiment.[129]

To identify the Irish regiment after 1607 exclusively, then, with a militant counter-reformation Catholicism and separatist ideology would be an utter fallacy. This was certainly a philosophy gaining influence in the military circle of the Low Countries. However, this circle came to include also, a largely Old English element anxious to dissociate the regiment from the label of a subversive group and an Old Irish group who, particularly before the Irish parliament of 1613, were willing to become reconciled with the English crown should the opportunity arise.

A memorandum on the Irish military group in Flanders by Edward Eustace in ?1616 constitutes an interesting observation by one who had been an interpreter between the militant Irish group at the Madrid court and the Spanish council of state. He noted that:

> All the Irishmen in the service of Spain, with the exception of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and their kindred, may be brought home by giving them some means to live upon. They love their country; few of them have money abroad; they have no property there; O'Neill keeps his posts in the Irish service for his men; and the last reductión of pensions did breed a general hatred between all the reformed captains and the pensioners of that nation and the Spaniards.[130]

Eustace recognised the distinctions within the Irish regiment which many of his English counterparts did not or did not wish to. His conclusion, however, that this group's relation to Spain was merely that of mercenary soldiers was, I feel, simplistic. While material reward would lure most of the soldiers home, the military community in Flanders has for too long been assessed in terms of mercenaries or militant nationalists. In its structure and social organisation the military group in Flanders formed part of a wider Irish community on the continent and had over a thirty-five year period from 1586 become immersed in the perceptions and ideological conflicts of its wider counter-reformation world. The political identity of the Irish regiment in 1621 may have been a complex and developing one. There were certainly regional and cultural differences, individual aspirations and political loyalties amongst the soldiers within it. However, by the end of the truce with Holland this identity had come to include an identification with counter-reformation Catholicism and a growing sense of national consciousness. In 1626 Captain Sorley MacDonnell of the Irish regiment commissioned the friars of Louvain to collect and transcribe certain Old Irish manuscripts; significantly the manuscripts in question, recounted the story of the epic of the Fianna,[131] the protectors of Ireland against outside forces, and Fionn, the personification of perfection both in body and soul.

Conclusion

> There is a grey eye which ever turns to Ireland,
> but never in this life shall it see Ireland again,
> nor her sons and daughters, and great stars
> are in my eye when I turn to Ireland. . . . My
> heart is broken in my breast.
>
> *Lament of St Colmcille*

It is likely that up to 10,000 people migrated from Ireland to the Low Countries during the years 1586 to 1622, where the vast majority served in some capacity in the Army of Flanders. In identifying the characteristics of this group of 'Wild Geese' three basic features are distinguishable; a) a distinctive pattern of migration from Ireland; b) a pattern of community development in Flanders; and c) the assimilation of this military group into a European counter-reformation world.

The reason for this migration to Flanders was to find employment in foreign (predominanty Spanish) armies, but it had much wider social implications in Ireland. Foreign levies were deliberately used by the English administration to 'rid' the country of a redundant military class and other beggar and vagrant groups who could not be incorporated within the Tudor notion of an ordered society. But this migration was a continuous process independent of any government organisation and it spanned the entire period of our study. It involved men, women and children from all levels of society and was closely linked to a wider migration towards England and Europe in response to economic devastation and poverty in Ireland. Departure for foreign service in the Low Countries was above all a response both to an English government policy of social control and to a political and economic structure which failed to accommodate many different groups of people in Irish society.

Both in terms of its structure and social organisation, the Irish military group in the Army of Flanders formed a closely knit community. The tendency for Irish both to migrate and to be levied in family groups or from specific areas combined with a trend towards consolidation within the different nations in the Army of Flanders and resulted in a military structure characterised by a network of cohesive kin-groups. The social organisation reinforced this trend of

cohesiveness. The Irish seem to have been attracted to particular areas of Brussels and Bruges, while intermarriage, a sense of self-identity and a surprising degree of integration with the local population were evident within the Irish military group despite the transient nature of the soldier's occupation.

The military community also formed part of a wider Irish community in the Low Countries. Characterised by counter-reformation Catholicism, this wider community consisted predominantly of the students and clergy of the Irish counter-reformation colleges and convents and a Catholic émigré group which owed its allegiance primarily to Spain. The military community had close links with these groups through family inter-connections; additionally, both the religious and émigré groups exerted a great deal of influence over the organisation and ultimately the self-perception of this military group. Counter-reformation priests practised zealously among the Irish soldiers, while the militant Catholic group on the continent forged a role for the Irish regiment as the vanguard of a Catholic crusade to Ireland. Particularly with the growing numbers of militant Old Irish who joined its ranks after Kinsale, the military group became gradually assimilated into the political and religious ambitions of a wider counter-reformation community.

The political identity of the 'Wild Geese', beginning to emerge in 1621, was influenced, then, by counter-reformation Catholicism, by a sense of 'national' consciousness and, at least among a predominant Old Irish section, by a militant separatism which perceived the root of their problem to lie with the encroaching power of the English administration and the Protestant religion. It was essentially a political identity which bore little relation to the reasons why most of these soldiers had left Ireland.

In presenting a case for an emerging identity within the military community in Flanders it has been necessary somewhat to over-emphasize this identity at the expense of the fundamental mercenary nature of the soldiers' work in the Army of Flanders. It is not intended to imply that such an aspect did not exist. Similarly within the confines of this study it has only been possible to give an overview of the political and economic background to sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century migration from Ireland, while concentration has been on the involvement in foreign service of those living in rural communities. Further research would need to be done, for example, on migration from Irish towns, while a more systematic analysis needs to be carried out on the economic and political circumstances of the different groupings attracted to foreign service. I can only hope that this pioneer study of a fascinating and much neglected group in Irish history will prompt others to explore further.

Appendix I

IRISH CAPTAINS IN STANLEY'S REGIMENT, 1587-95

Oliver Eustace
Thomas Finglas
Lawrence Fielan (Phelan?)

CAPTAINS OF INDEPENDENT IRISH COMPANIES, 1596-1604

George Barnwall
John de Claramonte
Edward Fitzgerald+
Lawrence Barnwall+
Alexander Eustace*
(Other Companies: Water Butler+, Thomas Barry+ John (O'Connor?) Falvey)

CAPTAINS OF HENRY O'NEILL'S REGIMENT, 1605-10

William Barrett*
Gasper Croin (N.C.)
Robert Daniel*
John Bathe
William Darcy*
George de la Hyde (N.C.?)
Walter de la Hyde
James Fitzmaurice Gerald*
Henry Fitzgerald (N.C.)
Maurice Fitzgerald*
Jenquin Fitzsimons (N.C.)
Denis Gernon
James Garland (Gernon? Gerhard?)*
Miler MacConnell (N.C.)
Teig McDonnell MacCarthy*
Hugh Mostyn
Neil Muloghlyn*
John O'Connor (N.C.)
Cornelius O'Driscoll*
Henry O'Gerig (N.C.)
Henry O'Hagan++
Henry O'Neill*
Art McBaron O'Neill*
Owen O'Neill*
Thomas Preston*
Paul Raddock (Scottish)
Christopher St. Lawrence
Thomas St. Lawrence
Thomas Stanihurst*
? Symonds (Fitzsimons?) (N.C.)
John Tyrrell*
William Walsh(e)*

\+ Served later in Henry O'Neill's regiment

* Those serving in Henry O'Neill's regiment by 1606

++ This Henry O'Hagan appears to have been the son of Art Bredagh O'Hagan and should not be confused with the Henry O'Hagan who accompanied Hugh O'Neill into exile in 1607 as his secretary. Like some of the other captains listed, he was refused permission in June 1606 to recruit soldiers in Ireland and he may well have been the Ensign Henry O'Hagan who received permission to recruit a company in 1622 (see 17 April 1622, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 27/508v.).

N.C. Those refused permission to recruit soldiers in 1606 and/or do not appear to have received a company in Henry O'Neill's regiment.

CAPTAINS IN JOHN O'NEILL'S REGIMENT, 1610-22

William Barrett
Edmond Butler (1622)*
Patrick Daniel (1622)¶
George de la Hyde (1622)
R.I.P. 1622
Walter de la Hyde
Edward Fitzgerald (major to 1611)
George Fitzgerald (1622)*
Maurice Fitzgerald+
James Garland [Gernon]+ (1622)
R.I.P. 1622
Teig MacCarthy+
Sorley MacDonnell (1622)
John Maguire 1622
Alan Norris (English)
Roderick O'Doherty R.I.P. 1621
Daniel O'Donnell R.I.P. 1620
Hugh O'Donnell (1622)*
Cornelius O'Driscoll+
(wounded 1616)
Hugh O'Gallagher
(campaign-captain) (1622)
Henry O'Hagan (1622)*
Owen [Oghy] O'Hanlon (1622)
R.I.P. 1622
Edmund O'Marro [Moore] (1622)*
Art O'Neill+ (1622)
Carlos [Cormac?] O'Neill (1622)*
Owen Roe O'Neill [major till
1633]+ (1622)
Teig O'Sullivan+ (1622)
Thomas Preston+ (1622)
Paul Raddock+ (Scottish)
Wiliam Walshe (wounded 1616)

\+ Names on English list in 1614. See 8 June 1614, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, p. 485
(1622) Those holding companies after end of truce with Holland in 1621. There were 18 companies in December 1622
(1622)* Newly appointed captains after 1621
¶ There is also mention of a 'capt. Danly' in 1614 which may refer to Daniel or Donnelly though there is no more mention of this name after that date. See 28 July 1614, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 1938.

Appendix II

NOTES TO APPENDIXES II, III, IV

1. It is noteworthy that the names listed are from miscellaneous English and Spanish sources and the collection of material relating to Irishmen collected by Brendan Jennings from the Archives Generales du Royaume, secrétairerie d'État et de guerre (i.e. A.G.R. E.G.). Since the material examined from the A.G.R. E.G. related mainly therefore to Irish personnel in the Army of Flanders, the names listed cannot be said to be proportionally representative of the number of English and Irish serving in the army between the years 1587 to 1621.
2. The list of names under Rank and File include those receiving *ventajas, entretenimientos* and 'pay of an ordinary soldier'.

OFFICERS IN STANLEY'S REGIMENT 1587-96

Richard Amery (Capt.)
? Anderson (Serg.)**
Robert Ashton
Josiah Barney (Capt.)
George Barrett (Ensign)*
William Barrett (Ensign)
Thomas Barry (Lieut?)+
John Baynam
Edward Bermingham (Lieut.)+
Robert Billing (Lieut.)
Robert Bostock (Capt.)* **
? Brenen (Serg.) **
? Brereton (Capt.)
Richard Burke (?)+
(Garret?) Burne (Serg.)** +?
Thomas Butler (Lieut.)
William Carre (Capt.)
Anthony Chambers (Capt.)
George Caffoyr (Capt.)* +
George Chamberlain (Capt.)
Dimiez Conmer (Denis O'Connor?) (Ensign)* +
Edward Cripps (?)
? Daire (Dyar?), (Serg.)
Patrick Dillon (Ensign)* +
Robert Dyer (Capt.)
John de Marsella (Capt.)* (Italian)
James Eaton (Capt.)
Owen Eaton (Serg. Major)
? Elliott (Capt.)
Oliver Eustace (Capt.)+
? Fanning (Serg.)**
Piers Fears (Capt.)
Thomas Finglas (Capt.)** +
Edward Fitzgerald (Lieut.)* +
Jacomo (Jacques) Francisco (Franceschi)* **
Thomas Franceschi (Lieut.)
Lawrence Fallan (Phelan?) (Capt.)* ** +
Henry Flud (Capt.)
John Flud (Lieut.)
John Garrett (Ensign)**
James Gaston (Ensign)*
Henry Gervaise (Capt.)
Patrick Giles (Capt.)*
? Gleige (Lieut.)**
Edward Greffette (Lieut.)*
Thomas Gréne (Capt.)
? Griffyn (Lieut.)**
William Grimston (Capt.)
John Guierne (Quartermaster)*
Peter Gynn (Capt.)
Matthew Hart (Lieut.)
William Heynes (Serg.)
Hugo (O'Dogherty?) (Ensign)* +
? Hunings (Ensign)**
? Inge (Lieut.)**

Morgan Kavanagh (Lieut.)* +
John Kelly (Ensign)* +
? Laurence (Serg.)**
? Macknowede (Gunner)**
? Malone (Serg.)**
Martin Meinart (Maynard) (Capt.) (German)*
? Meryman (Serg.)**
? Morgan (Lieut./Capt.)**
? Morgan (Ensign)**
Ferdinand O'Donnell (Lieut.)* +
? Parker (Capt.)
William Paton (Capt.)*
John Petite (Lieut.)* **
Robert Piers (Capt.)
Thomas Roberston (Major)
? Sclenger (Ensign)**
John Smyth (Ensign)**
Owen Salisbury (Capt.)
Thomas Stanihurst (Ensign)* +
Edward Stanley (Capt.) (brother to William)*
Edward Stanley (Capt.) (counsin to William)*
John Stanley (Ensign)*
Thomas Syse (Suige) (Capt.)
? Tate (Serg.)**
Clement Throckmorton (Lieut.)*
Edward Vilieres (Capt.)*
Edward Waineman (Ensign)
William Ward (Campaign Capt.)*
? Willis (Capt.)**
Peter Winne (Capt.)
Roland York (Capt.)*
Richard Zouche (Lieut./Capt.)

* A.G.R. E.G.
\+ Stated on document to be Irish
** From English list of Stanley's Officers, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, p. 351.
Note: According to Ralph Sadler, the original six companies to go over to the Spanish side were those of captains Peter Winne, Salisburie, James Eaton, Reinolds, Harrison and Gwin and Sergeant Major Simon Scurlocke (+). See Sadler, *Papers and Letters*, pp. 239-40.

Appendix III

OFFICERS IN INDEPENDENT IRISH COMPANIES, 1596-1605

	Company
Ensign/Lieutenant Thomas Birmingham	Edward Fitzgerald
Sergeant Victor Brae	Edward Fitzgerald
Lieutenant Thomas Butler	John de Claramonte
Ensign Robert Daniel	John de Claramonte / Edward Fitzgerald
Sergeant Maurice Douvam (Devine)	Irish Infantry
Ensign Maurice Fitzgerald	George Barnwall
Ensign Aeneas Lane	John de Claramonte
Ensign Thomas MacCarthy	John de Claramonte
Sergeant Michael MacSweeney	Lawrence Barnwall
Ensign Cornelius Morris	Irish Infantry
Ensign Darbi O'Dempsy	Edward Fitzgerald
Lieutenant Ferdinand O'Donnell	None given
Ensign Lawrence O'Mallun	Lawrence Barnwall
Ensign Thomas Stanihurst	None given
Ensign John Stanley	Lawrence Barnwall
Sergeant Oliver Wesley	George Barnwall

RANK AND FILE IN INDEPENDENT COMPANIES, 1596-1605

Name and Date	*Companies given*
Thomas Adams (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
Henry Arembe (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
John Baes (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
Thomas Barry (1598)	Edward Fitzgerald
James Bedlow (1605)	Edward Fitzgerald
Henry Bodkin (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
John Brandon (1602)	Edward Fitzgerald
Richard Burke (1596)	Edward Fitzgerald
John Butler (1597)	Irish Infantry
Art Conrad (1603)	George Barnwall
James Eustace (1605)	?
Edmund Fitzmorris Fitzgerald (1597)	George Barnwall
Edmund Thomas Fitzgerald (1605)	George Barnwall
John Fitzgerald (1603)	George Barnwall
Walter Fitzsimon (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall

William Freyne (1603)	George Barnwall
Thomas Frost (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
Thomas Hacket (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
Walter Hacket (1605)	Irish Infantry
Barnabas Harquot (1597)	Irish Infantry
John Hin (Martin?) (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
John (Hu)ghes (1605)	Alexander Eustace
Maurice Kearney (1605)	George Barnwall
Thomas Kelly (1605)	George Barnwall
John Kennedy (1603)	Henry Flud
John Lorquan	Edward Fitzgerald
Cormac MacCarthy (1605)	Irish Infantry
Teig Macarag (1599)	John de Claramonte
Teig MacDonnell (MacCarthy?) (1605)	Irish Infantry
Dermot MacHenry (1602)	Edward Fitzgerald
Terence Mahony (1603)	Irish Infantry
Zierlock(?) Meagher (1602)	Edward Fitzgerald
John Maqueshy (1601)	Edward Fitzgerald
Jerne Men (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
James Min. (Martin) (1598)	John de Claramonte
Cornelius Moran (1603)	George Barnwall
John Mertran (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
Donoch na Calen (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
Cormac Ros O'Connor (1605)	George Barnwall
John O'Connor (1603)	George Barnwall
Patrick O'Connor (1605)	Alexander Eustace
Manus O'Doherty (1602)	George Barnwall
Dermot O'Doneven (1605)	Alexander Eustace
John O'Doyne (1602)	George Barnwall
Dermot O'Maher (see Meagher) (1602)	Irish Infantry
Denis O'Mally (1605)	Alexander Eustace
Hugo Shaghanes (O'Shaughnessy) (1602)	George Barnwall
James Shaghanes (1586)	George Barnwall
William O'Shaughnessy (1586)	?
Humphrey Plunquet (1603)	George Barnwall
David Roche (1605)	George Barnwall
Thomas Roche (1601)	Irish Infantry
James Riordan (1602)	George Barnwall
Walter Sacket (1603)	George Barnwall
John Smith (1601)	Edward Fitzgerald
Thomas Tullenan (1605)	Lawrence Barnwall
John Terquol (Tyrrell?) (1605)	George Barnwall
Henry Walshe (1598)	Irish Infantry

Source: A.G.R. E.G. dates indicate year when names first recorded. The 1605 entries are nearly all licences received for Ireland.

Appendix IV

OFFICERS IN HENRY O'NEILL'S REGIMENT, 1605-10

	Companies
John Oge Barry (ensign)	William Barrett
James Bathe (ensign)	James Gernon
James Bellewe (ensign)	William Darcy
	James Gernon
Martin Brangan (ensign)	Thomas Stanihurst
Patrick Daniel (ensign)	Henry O'Neill
Gerald Darcy (ensign)	William Darcy
Robert de Assiliers (judge advocate)	—
Maurice Devine (sergeant)	Irish Infantry
James Dunn (sergeant)	Art O'Neill
Nicholas Erlens (drum major)	Irish Infantry
Patrick Eustace (sergeant)	Maurice Fitzgerald
Thadeus (Teig) Fa (Fay?) (sergeant)	Walter de la Hyde
Peter Geraldine (Fitzgerald) (ensign)	Maurice Fitzgerald
Salamon Geraldine (quartermaster)	Irish Infantry
Thomas Goodman (ensign)	William Walsh
Owen Groome (sergeant)	*reformado*
Dionisio (Denis) Hallen (ensign)	Thomas Preston
Walter Husse (ensign)	John Bathe Henry O'Neill
? Kelly (ensign)	Neil Melaghlin (MacLoughlin)
Thomas Kelly (sergeant)	John Bathe
John Kivett (corporal of the field)	—
Nicholas Lince (Lynch) (ensign)	Walter de la Hyde
Andrew Lynaugh (sergeant)	William Barrett
Denis Meable (ensign)	Owen O'Neill
William MacAuliffe (sergeant)	Teig MacCarthy
Dionisio (Denis) MacCarthy (ensign)	Teig MacCarthy
Donogh MacCarthy (ensign)	Teig MacCarthy
William Mauris (MacMorris?) (sergeant)	'Captain Gerald'
Mack Ogg MacOghie (Keogh?) (ensign)	?
Morart Murrtaogh (sergeant)	James Gernon
John MacSheehiee (corporal of the field)	—
Morrogh MacSheehiee (sergeant)	Thomas Preston
Rory MacSweeney (ensign) (Desmond)	Robert Daniel
Rory MacSweeney (ensign) (Ulster)	Robert Daniel
Richard Nangle (ensign)	Alexander Eustace
Donnell O'Connor	?
Patrick O'Donnell (see Daniel)*	—
John O'Donowaine (sergeant)	Cornelius O'Driscoll

Mortagh O'Donowaine (see Devine)*	William Barrett
Hugh O'Brien (sergeant)**	Henry O'Neill
Ferinand O'Donnell (lieutenant)	?
Manus O'Dogherty (sergeant)	Irish Infantry
Connor O'Driscoll (?)	?
Macon (?) O'Driscoll (sergeant)	*entretenido*
Derbi O'Grenane (ensign)	Thomas Stanihurst
Dermicio O'Grenane (ensign)	Henry O'Neill
Donogh O'Grenane (ensign)	Art O'Neill
Donogh O'Nolan (ensign)	Thomas Preston
Shane O'Pounty (?)	?
Teig O'Sullivan (ensign)	Cornelius O'Driscoll
Dermot Ros (sergeant)	Owen O'Neill
John Ralfe (ensign)	Capt. Owens? (O'Neill)
Thomas Walter Reogh (MacCarthy?) (ensign)	Maurice Fitzgerald
James Sheale (?)	?
Edward Sherle (sergeant)	Maurice Fitzgerald
Thomas Tuite (sergeant)	Robert Daniel
Doctors: Thomas Lodgies, Murgan Collin	

Sources: A.G.R. E.G./*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 396-8. All names are given in the original English or Spanish form. It is therefore noteworthy that some of the names could relate to one person in two different forms.

** Possibly the Hugh O'Brien who also served as a priest within the regiment (see App. V)

Appendix V

CHAPLAINS/PRIESTS OFFICIALLY APPOINTED TO SERVE IRISH SOLDIERS IN FLANDERS

WILLIAM STANLEY'S REGIMENT

John Fenno (Fenn?)	Fr Haddocke
Nicholas Laghley	Richard Sherwood
Philip Ward	Milar Candal (MacConnell?)
Thomas Worthington	James Archer
	Henry Walpole
	Fr Nicholas (Smith?)

IRISH INDEPENDENT COMPANIES

Walter Talbot, SJ	?
David Sutton (Chaplain)	Comp./Alexander Eustace

COL. HENRY O'NEILL'S REGIMENT

Nicholas Brae, SJ (Chaplain)	Comp./William Barret
Rodrigo Magel (Sacerdote)	Comp./Art O'Neill
Galasio Lurcano (Sacerdote)	?
William Barry (Chaplain)	Comp./Walter de la Hyde
Hugh O'Brien (Sacerdote)	?
Henry Fitzsimons, SJ (Chaplain)	?
Edmund O'Donoghue (Chaplain)	Comp. not specified
David Queno. Order of St Bernard	?
John White (Chaplain)	Comp./James Garlant
Dermot O'Hullacayn (Chaplain)	Comp. not specified
*John de la Hyde (Chaplain)	Comp. not specified
Cornelius O'Desmond (Connogher MacCarthy)	?
Hugh MacCaughwell	Chief-Chaplain

* Possibly the John Hykes of the 1613 list of Douai graduates

COL. JOHN O'NEILL'S REGIMENT, 1611-21

Bernard Gormlaeus [Gormley?] (Chaplain)	Comp./Teig MacCarthy
Gelasio Lurcano (Sacerdote)	?
Dermot O'Hualono (Chaplain)	Comp./Maurice Fitzgerald
Donat O'Maelano (Chaplain)	Comp./Maurice Fitzgerald
Ferdinand Fuadano* (Chaplain)	Comp./Art O'Neill
Philip Cardillo* (Chaplain)	Comp./Teig O'Sullivan
John Corcoran (Chaplain)	Comp./Teig O'Sullivan
Nicholas Mede* (Chaplain)	Comp./Art O'Neill
Edward Commin (Sacerdote)	Comp./James Garland
Richard Birn* (Chaplain)	Comp./Edmund O'Moore
Donat Luneo* (Chaplain)	Comp./Carlos O'Neill
Terence Finigan* (Chaplain)	Comp./George de la Hyde

* Receive licences to serve between 1618 and 1621

Note: Thomas Fitzgerald and Donogh Mooney were both granted licences to preach to soldiers in 1607. For names of other chaplains serving in John O'Neill's regiment up to 1628 see Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 6-7.

Appendix VI

COMPANY OF CAPT. JAMES GERNON, 1616

Donogh Albanagh

William Audle
Robert Audle

William Ban
Thomas Baret (Barrett?)

David Barry
John Barry
Nicholas Barry

John Bedlon
Mortagh Begley
John Brena
Valentin Brow
David Burk
Pedro Cantuel * (Spanish?)

Patrick Carrol
Peter Carrol

Edmund Comin
Patrick Conway
Gerald Condon
William Deverus (Devereux)?)

Henry Dowdall
Lawrence Dowdall
Richard Dowdall

Henry Drumgul (?)
Carlos Friermont* (Spanish?)

John Gafney
Lawrence Gefrey

Alexander Gernon
Simon Gernon

Richard Goldinn
Redmond Gras

Robert Gray
Dermot Grin (Greene?)
Henry Haray (?)
Thomas Harbart
David Huburt
Serg. Robert Hodson

Alexander Quely (Kelly?)
Brian Kelly
Dionisio Kelly
Dualtagh Kelly
Edmund Kelly
Melaglen Kelly

John Quen (Keane?)
Andrew Lainag
Patrick Lawles
Teig Lois
Walter Mabe (McCabe?)
Martin MacArdre
Donal MacBrien

Francisco Carty (Mac?)
John MacQuort (Court?)
Doinogh MacCreas? (?)
Philip McGibbon
Tadea (Teig?) MacRori

Edmund MacSweeney
Quen Macscy (MacSweeny?)

William MacTeig
Charlos Maguire
David Moriagh
Walter Morley* (See O'Morley)
Hugo Morgan
David Murtagh

Diego O'Brien
Donough O'Quelehan (Callaghan)

Donogh O'Quire (Carey?)
Patrick O'Quirre

Diego O'Daly

Donogh OChey (O'Dea?)
Edmund O'Dea
Flahartag O'Dea

William O'Dolan
Serg. Martin O'Donelan
Donogh O'Hay
James O'Farrel
John O'Fogarty

Owen O'Hickey
William O'Hickey

Donal O'Hogan
Quennedy O'Hagab (Hogan?)

Dermot O'Houlehan
Morog O'Quennedy (Kennedy)

David O'Mackey
Thomas O'Mackey

Morogh O'Melaghlen (MacLoughlin?)
Malachy O'Molinn

Patrick O'Moloney
John O'Morrissey
Conor O'Morley*

Diego O'Morroughu
Terlough O'Morroughu

Don Carlos O'Neill
Terence O'Neill
Hugo O'Raghten
Owen O'Shiel (Chief Surgeon)
Conor O'Tiernan
Edward Poole
Dominy Ponsey
John Pursel

Morogh (M) Quinn
William Squin (Quin?)

John OReilly (O')

James Roche
Philip Roche

Roland Seis
John Sisera* (Spanish?)
John Sinnan
Bearnard Slaton
Philip Smith
Lawrence Taf (Taffe)
Diego Terell
Antonio Tully

Source: Spanish Archives, J.2, Dun Mhuire, Killiney, Dublin.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Kerby Miller, 'Emigrants and exiles: Irish cultures and Irish emigration to North America, 1790-1922', in *I.H.S.*, xxii (1980), pp 97-125; *Emigrants and Exiles, Ireland and Irish emigration to North America* (New York, 1985); Robert Fortner, 'The culture of hope and the culture of despair: the print media and nineteenth century Irish emigration', in *Éire-Ireland*, xiii (Autumn, 1978), pp 32-48. For other works on this topic see Daniel Weinberg, 'Viewing the immigrant experience in America through fiction and autobiography—With a Select Bibliography', in *Hist. Teacher*, ix (1976), pp 409-31; Florence E. Gibson, *The attitudes of the New York Irish towards state and national affairs, 1848-1892* (New York, 1951); Thomas N. Brown, 'The origins and character of Irish-American nationalism' in *Review of politics*, xviii (1956), p. 329.
2. See Brendan Jennings, *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, 1582-1700* (Dublin, 1964) (hereafter cited as Jennings, *Wild Geese*); Micheline Walsh, 'Some notes towards a history of womenfolk of the Wild Geese', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), pp 98-106; 133-45; M. Walsh, *Spanish knights of Irish origin: documents from continental archives*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1960, 1965, 1970); M. Walsh, 'The Handsors and some other Louth exiles in France and Spain', in *Louth Arch. Hist. Jr.*, xviii (1976), pp 263-71. For some of the few studies made recently on the Wild Geese, see J.J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, iii, pp 587-633; H.D. Gallwey, 'Irish wills from Barcelona', in *Ir. Geneal*, vi (1980-1), pp 212-18. Dorothy Molloy, 'In Search of the Wild Geese', in *Éire-Ireland*, v (1970), pp 3-14.
3. Colm Lennon, 'Conflict and change in Old English society: the testimony of Richard Stanyhurst's life and works' (unpubl. M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1975).
4. Jerrold Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1984).
5. See, for example, James Carney, *The Irish bardic poet* (Dublin, 1967); Nicholas Canny, 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish Literature, 1580-1750', in *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), pp 91-116. Breandán O'Buachalla,, 'Annála Ríoghachta Éireann agus Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: An comhthéacs comhaimseartha' in *Studia Hib.*, xxii-xxiii (1982-3), pp 59-105; J.J. Silke, 'Irish scholarship and the renaissance, 1580-1673' in *Studies in the Renaissance*, xx (1973), pp 169-206; Tadgh O'Dushláine, 'Gnéithe den bharocacahas Eorpach i litríocht na Gaeilge, *c.* 1600-1650' (Ph.D. thesis, N.U.I. (Maynooth), 1985). For synopsis of the period, see Brian Ó Cuív, 'The Irish language in the early modern period', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, iii, pp 509-45; Benignus Millett, 'Irish literature in Latin, 1550-1700', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, iii, pp 561-86.
6. See Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish road, 1567-1659* (Cambridge, 1972), pp 25-31 (hereafter cited as Parker, *Spanish road*).

CHAPTER 1

1. See John Hennig, 'Notes on early representations of Irishmen in German books', in *R.S.A.I. Jr.*, lxxxii (1950), pp 158-6.
2. John Bruce (ed.), *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his Government of the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586*, Camden Society (London, 1844), p. 26 (hereafter referred to as *Leycester Correspondence*); Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 515.
3. Gunther White, 'Henry VIII's Irish kerne in France and Scotland', in *Ir. Sword*, iii (1957-8), p. 213. For further references to the soldiering skills of the Irish abroad, see Edmund Spenser's *View of the state of Ireland*, Perrot to Leicester, in Charles McNeill (ed.), 'The Perrot Papers', in *Analect. Hib.*, xii (1943), p. 51; Walsingham to Leicester, 22 December 1585, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1585*, p. 232; Wallop to Walsinghom, 6 Jan. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 5.
4. *The Fugger Newsletters, 1568-1605*, ed. Victor von Klarwill, trans. L.S.R. Byrne, 2nd series (London, 1926), p. 118. These letters are the correspondence of the Fuggers of Augsburg, bankers to the Spanish crown. One of the most powerful merchant families throughout Europe, having connections in nearly every part of the known world, their letters formed a kind of news report on political, financial and even local events of cities, such as London, Paris, Antwerp and Venice. The 2nd series cited above has documents relating entirely to England.
5. Famianus Strade, *De bello Gallico decas secunda . . .* (Antwerp, 1648), p. 120.
6. See John Hennig, 'Irish soldiers in the Thirty Years War' in *R.S.A.I. Jr.*, lxxii (1952), pp 30-36, for illustrations and German descriptions of Irish soldiers in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, 1631. There were, according to Hennig, as many as 800 Irish who went with the marquess of Hamilton and David Ramsey to serve Gustavus in 1630. These illustrations are to be found in nos 123, 124 and 125 of the *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in Div. I Political and Personal Satire I* (1870), See broadside no. 123, p. 33; broadside no. 125, pp 35-6.
7. Dowdall to Burghley, 9 Mar. 1596, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 484.
8. According to Deputy Perrot there were 600 soldiers and 500 kerne sent to Flanders, 14 Dec. 1588, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588- 92*, p. 83.
9. *Perrot Papers*, p. 28.
10. Leicester to Walsingham, 15 Dec. 1585. *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 26.
11. 20 Mar. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 179.
12. 29 Sep. 1586, *Perrot Papers*, p. 19; Wallop to Burghley, 12 Aug. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 131; Capt Christopher Carleill (writing on behalf of Henshaw) to Walsingham, 12 Oct. 1588, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 58. Also Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence ...*, p. 5; 28 Sep. 1586, MacCarthy, *Life and letters . . .*, p. 66.
13. Perrot, *Chron. Ire. 1584-1608*, p. 27. For a good account of the Franceschi brothers, Jacques and Thomas, see Micheline Walsh, *Destruction by peace—Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale* (Árd Mháca, 1986), p. 35; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 40. See also 1 Feb., *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580-6*, p. 558; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 416.
14. For examples from continental sources see Michael Roberts, 'The Military Revolution, 1560-1600', in *Essays in Swedish history* (London, 1968); Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 25-49.
15. C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1966), pp 26-30, 36-40.
16. Lindsay Boynton, 'The Tudor provost-marshal', in *E.H.R.*, lxxvii (1962), pp 437-55.
17. See Penry Williams, *The Tudor regime* (Oxford, 1979), pp 212-3.

18. See Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars* (London, 1950), for an account of this growth.
19. Amongst the state papers of the English administration for the 1590s, there are innumerable entries on the problem of Irish serving in English bands. Cecil maintained in a letter of the 17 Aug. 1598, that he had written nineteen times on this subject in the past few months. For some of the more important discussions on this subject see, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, p. 450, 456; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, pp 13-19, 218, 234, 273.
20. Justices to privy council, 4 May 1598, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, pp 13-19; 18 November 1597, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, p. 450.
21. Sources on foreign levies in England include Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars*, pp 51-2, Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army*, pp 17-40; F.W. Maitland, *The consitutional history of England* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 275. The most comprehensive work on recruitment policies employed in Spain and the Spanish dominions is of course Geoffrey Parker's *Spanish road*, particularly pp 25-49. 'Impression' or conscription in all of these countries was legal, though the recruitment of voluntary troops was common up to the 1590s. The pattern for Ireland however was not necessarily the same and the citation here of parallel systems in Europe is not meant to imply that it was.
22. Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 46-7. See also Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars*, pp 51-2.
23. Dautrey to Robert Cecil, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, pp 566-7. This solution was also put forward in 1598 by chief justices Loftus, Gardiner and Ormonde. See 4 May 1598, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, pp 13-19; 28 May 1598, *Acts privy council, 1597-8*, p. 470.
24. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 401.
25. 1 May 1601, *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601-3*, pp 50-1; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 305.
26. Englishmen were given 'equal liberty to serve all Princes', see A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans* (London, 1963), p. 177. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 42 for some details on this population crisis. Memoires du baron de Hoboken, A.G.R. E.A., reg. 365/13v. 'Archdukes' was the title given to Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella during their joint viceroyship of Flanders from May 1599 to Jul. 1621.
27. See G.D. to Sir Everard Digby, 11 Jun. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 253 for the king's order permitting the United Provinces to levy 1,000 'voluntaries' from his desmesnes. See also earl of Bath to Salisbury, 26 June 1605, ibid., pp. 278-9; Carew to Salisbury, late Jun. 1605, ibid., p. 579 for Captain Boyes' story.
28. William Nuse to Salisbury, 8 Jan. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, p. 11; Sir William Browne to Viscount L'Isle, 2 Nov. 1605, *H.M.C. D'Isle and Dudley MSS*, p. 223. See also 3 Mar. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 412-3.
29. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 38-9 for full explanation of the term 'contract'. 23 Jun. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 298. One William Walshe also apparently recruited sixty men with whom he arrived in Flanders on 2 Apr. 1605. Since however, this was prior to the negotiations of the baron de Hoboken which took place during April, this levy may have been illegal. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/120v; Some confusion also arises over the name Fitzgarret. In a letter to Salisbury, in Oct. 1605, Chichester refers to the letters of recommendation he has received from the council for 'Delahyde, Darcie and Fitz- garret'. Since Fitzgarret occurs in conjunction with De la Hyde and Darcy, it appears to refer to Maurice Fitzgerald. However, it is noteworthy that a Captain James Gerald appears on a 1606 list of Irish captains with the archduke, and a Captain Fitzgarret of Kildare appears alongside Captain Maurice Fitzgerald in a 1607 list. For this letter of Chichester see 29 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 339. For the 1606 list see Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp. 529-30; and for report of D.M. on the Irish regiment, 22 July 1607 see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-30.
30. Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 52; Edmondes to Salisbury, 12 Feb. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury,*

MSS, xviii, pp 50-51; ibid., 7 Mar. 1606, ibid., pp 71-2. This ban seems to have been due to the hysteria following the gunpowder plot.

31. 2 June 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/304v. The seven captains, who had been appointed on 15 Dec. 1605, were, Jenquin Fitzsimon, Henry O'Hagan, Miler MacConnell, Thomas Barry, George de la Hyde, Thomas Preston and Thomas St Lawrence, ibid., reg. 22/413.
32. See earl of Northampton to Salisbury, Mar. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, p. 92, 428-9; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 27; for some discussion on the relaxation of the ban on levies to the Low Countries.
33. The role of the contractor in Ireland differed somewhat from the classic type described by Parker. As will be seen from this chapter they appear to have been employed by the Spanish authorities on the recommendation of the English administration and, at least in some cases, paid their own expenses until they could be reimbursed at Brussels.
34. 23 Jun. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 298. See also Chichester to Salisbury, 29 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 339-40.
35. The contractors were instructed to 'set down' in a book the 'quality, country and conditions' of the soldiers and to whom belonging'. They were also to ensure that the soldiers had a month's food supply before embarkation. 'They could go either directly from ship to Europe or by the 'overland sea route' through England. Irish merchants were paid for transporting the troops. I could find no evidence as to whether the first part of this request was complied with. However, undoubtedly the instructions specifically related to the trouble wandering Irish soldiers were apparently causing on their way through England. See 2 Nov. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 345-6; Lords of council to Chichester, 12 Oct. 1605, ibid., p. 336. Passage overland for troops on their way to the continent was forbidden by the end of October. See Leysaghe O'Connor to earl of Devonshire, 14 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 451; Devonshire to Salisbury, 25 Oct. 1605, ibid., p. 468. A more in-depth treatment of this topic is given in Chapter 2.
36. Privy council to Chichester, 3 Aug. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 25-6; 17 Aug. 1609, ibid., p. 272.
37. However, Stewart's expedition ran into storms and upon setting ashore at Kent, many of the Irish mutinied and only 400 appear to have been finally shipped as far as Sweden, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 196, 201.
38. For Bingley's second levy see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 458-9, 461; Bagwell, *Stuarts*, pp 99-100; See also 18 Sept. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 287; 30 Oct. 1609, ibid., pp 304-5; R.D. Fitzsimon, 'Irish swordsmen in the Imperial Service in the 30 Years War', in *Ir. Sword*, ix (1969-70), pp 22-4. The real figure was probably more in the region of 2,000 though many volunteers followed the organised expedition between 1611 and 1613.
39. As above No. 36.
40. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 281, 292.
41. Some were also taken from Connaught and Leinster. Chichester to privy council, 31 Oct. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 304-5.
42. 1 May 1621, A.G.R. E.A., carton 1980. For more details on these levies see Chapter 2.
43. The role of the bonnaught in Irish warfare was most prominent under Tyrone, who put well over 1,000 under arms during the Nine Years War. They had, however, as a class been in existence since the fourteenth century. For further details on this group, see Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars*, pp 67-9; Cyril Falls, *The birth of Ulster* (London, 1936), p. 180.
44. Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars*, pp 69-72.

45. 30 Jul. 1587, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 392. For a more detailed account of the various functions of the military classes and attitudes towards the 'churl' or farmer, see G.A. Hayes McCoy (ed.), *The Irish at war* (Cork, 1969); Nicholls, *Gaelic Ire.*, pp 84-90. Carte, *Life of Ormonde*; see Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 558.
46. K. Nicholls described the kerne 'less as a specific type of soldier than as ordinary able
47. bodied freemen who, although unable to afford the horse and mail of a horseman bore arms as a matter of course'. Nicholls, *Gaelic Ire.*, pp 85-6. The term is further complicated by the existence of purely mercenary bands of kerne that had hereditary captaincies, ibid., p. 86.
48. It was this feature that distinguished the gallowglass from the bonnaughts in the sixteenth century, though the terms are often confused both in contemporary and later writings. For some detail on the gallowglass see Nicholls, *Gaelic Ire.*, p. 88; Hayes-McCoy, *Scots mercenary forces in Ireland, 1565-1603* (Dublin, 1937).
49. As above No. 41; Dowcra to privy council, 23 Feb. 1603, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 567.
50. Sir John Davies to Cecil, 19 April 1604, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 158-61; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 24. For a summary on these 'masterless men' see Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986), pp 144-5.
51. The term *coyne* meant the billeting of a soldier on the native population while *livery* applied to the stabling and maintenance of the soldier's horse. See Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars*, pp 68-9. Carew to Cecil, 29 May 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 394.
52. See Carew to Cecil, 19 Apr. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 370; 29 May 1602, ibid., pp. 393-5; F.M. Jones, 'Correspondence of Father Ludovico Mansoni, SJ' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xvii, pp 23-6 for O'Sullivan Beare's letter to Philip III; 20 Jul. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 450.
53. Ciaran Brady, 'Faction and the origins of the Desmond rebellion of 1579', in *I.H.S.*, xxii (1981), pp 289-313.
54. Sir Robert Jacob (solicitor-general) to Salisbury, 15 Apr. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 195. See Vincent Carey, 'Gaelic reaction to plantation', unpubl. M.A. thesis (Maynooth, 1985), pp 211-65. Deputy and council to privy council, 20 Feb. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-88*, pp 29-30.
55. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 250; Chichester to Salisbury, 14 Feb. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 414-5.
56. 30 Sep. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 292.
57. 30 Jan. 1587, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, pp 250-1.
58. The reference is to Maurice Fitzgerald, eldest son of Edmund. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 337.
59. Jacques de Francisco or Franceschi, popularly known simply as Jacques, was lieutenant colonel of Stanley's regiment. Born in Antwerp of Italian parents, he was, according to Cardinal Allen, brought up in England from infancy. See Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, p. xxxiii. He served with distinction in Ireland under Stanley, see ibid.; also Archbishop Loftus to Burghley, 16 Jun. 1585, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574-85*, p. 568; William Stanley to Burghley, 9 July 1583, ibid., p. 571, but appears to have been involved in conspiracies against Her Majesty even before Deventer and in general gives the impression of being a born opportunist. For more details on the conspiracies he was allegedly involved in (including one with Hugh O'Neill), see Stanley to Walsingham, 10 Oct. 1586, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, pp 188-9; *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i. (Aug. 1589-Jun. 1590), no. 188; 1 Apr. 1588, *Cal. S.P. for., 1588*, p. 245; Jul. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, pp 460-1; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 521, 526; Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp 151-2.

60. Thomas Morgan to Burghley, 2, 18 Aug. 1590. *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 102. Includes Sparrowhawk to Burghley, 30 Aug. 1590; Thomas Morgan to Burghley, 15 Sep., 1590. There were almost certainly other plans of this nature proposed to the English authorities but to what extent any of them received support is difficult to judge. See, for example, *Lyly to Walsingham*, 20 Mar. 1590, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i (Aug. 1589-Jun. 1950), no. 493.

61. See *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, pp 64-7, for Finglas' own account of how he 'debauched' men from Stanley's regiment between February 1589 and November 1591. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 214-5 for an interesting interpretation of Finglas' activities. See also Captain Oliver Lamberts attempts to 'bring over' the Irish from Stanley in 1595. See 6 Mar. 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 132. The duc de Mayenne was leader of the French opposition to the Catholic League.

62. 1 May 1601, *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601-3*, pp 50-51; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 305.

63. 29 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 340.

64. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Salisbury, 15 Sep. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 275. See also views of Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin to Salisbury, 27 Sep. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 579-80; 21 Mar. 1607, *Cal S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 128; Advertisement from Sir Francis Barkley, 23 Apr. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 454; 14 Sep. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 572.

65. Thomas Edmondes was English ambassador to Brussels, Jan. 1605 to Sept. 1609. His former secretary and successor was William Trumbull. 27 Feb. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, pp 62-3.

66. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Salisbury, 12 Feb. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 107. The references here are to Henry O'Neill and Christopher St Lawrence.

67. Chichester to Salisbury, 14 Feb. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 414-5.

68. The strength of the Irish regiment at this period was about 1,500 soldiers. See Chapter 3 for a numerical analysis of the regiments.

69. 14 Mar. 1587, *Acts privy council, 1586-7*, p. 377. See also 8 Sep. 1588, *Cal. S.P. for., 1588*, ii, pp 190-1.

70. 1 May 1589, *Acts privy council 1588-9*, p. 230. It is possible that these were the 'divers soldiers' referred to in 1587, but a two-year gap before the trial of these men seems unlikely.

71. They were Robert Jones, Garret Byrne, Thomas Carroll, David Bourke, William MacEdmond, Turlough MacKeyne, Tybott Bourke, Ennis O'Neale, Patrick Morahoe, William Jordan, Griffin Cavanole (Kavanagh?), (original spelling). *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz.*, pp. 255-6; see also *Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz.*, no. 5846, p. 245. They got 40 shillings each, see *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 448.

72. Lord deputy to Burghley, 30 January 1594, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 200.

73. The ancient custom referred to above was the custom at the start of Elizabeth's reign of having five to six Irish per English band. Sir John Conway to Walsingham, 31 Mar. 1589, *Cal. S.P. for., 1589*, p. 185; *H.M.C. Hatfield MSS*, xiii, p. 398.

74. See pardon granted to Dowling MacBrian Kavanagh, 14 Mar. 1587, *Acts privy council, 1586-7*, p. 376. Only two sets of pardons were in fact recorded for Englishmen returning from Stanley's regiment to England. '8 Englishmen' who in 1588 were 'minded to come into England' seem to have received a pardon, and seven of Stanley's officers received a pardon in 1590. See *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiii, p. 398, for names of these soldiers. The officers were Captains Gwyn, O. Salisbury, P. Wyn, R. Bellingsle, Lieutenant Matthew Hart and two former *entretenidos* of Stanley: T. Reynolds and W. Haynes, 28

Jul. 1590, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 358. After 1604, of course, 'British' subjects were legally entitled to serve in the Army of Flanders.

75. See examination of John Berington of Herefordshire, 6 Oct. 1596, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, vi, pp 420-1.

76. Veere was the commander-in-chief of the 8,000-strong English army in the Low Countries. *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz.*, pp. 255-6.

77. 9 October 1587, *Acts privy council, 1587-8*, p. 255.

78. Originally from Waterford, John Daniel or O'Donnell, was serving in the archduke's army in Nov. 1588 (A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/70). He obtained a grant to serve with Stanley in Apr. 1590 (ibid., reg. 12/183v) but by 1595, was in England acting as informer to Robert Cecil. See intelligence of John Daniel, 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 132; vi, p. 165, 398-9, 423-4, 539; vii, p. 2, 106, 144-5, 198, 209, 299, 483, 506; viii, p. 169, 302, 380; ix, p. 312, 411, 436; x, p. 15, 18, 27, 83-4, 141; xi, p. 546. For a broader biographical outlook, see Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 522, 524, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiv, pp 106-7, *Cal. S.P. dom., 1598-1601*, p. 236.

79. John Daniel of Waterford, to the queen, Feb. 1599, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiv, p. 107. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 398. See also Finglas to Burghley, 4 Feb. 1594, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 207.

80. See above, nos 66, 67. Besides an anonymous document of ?1604, entitled 'Questions and Answers concerning State of Ireland', which also suggested that those serving in the Low Countries be called home, the two letters of Chichester and Fenton are in fact the ones I found promoting such a scheme. See *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 299 for above document cited.

81. 21 May 1608, A.G.R. E.A., reg. 365/244. See also Walter de la Hyde's offer 'to employ himself for the breaking of the regiment'. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 642-3.

82. 18 May 1608, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, pp 58-9. See also 18 Oct. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 299.

83. 18 March 1610, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 258.

CHAPTER 2

1. 8 Jul. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 96.
2. A loosely organised military unit of about 100 men, it preceded the modern company.
3. 11 Jul. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 344; 21 Mar. 1586, ibid., p. 181; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 516. See also for another account of Stanley's problems, Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 134.
4. 6 Oct. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 172.
5. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 167-70, 207-18. For more details on this problem see below Chapter 4, pp 90-6. Also G.C. Cruickshank on some of the improvements of medical care in the Netherlands, *Elizabeth's army*, pp 178-82.
6. A relic of medieval warfare, no regular leave system or short-term military service existed, in either the Army of Flanders or the army of Count Maurice. Soldiers, in other words were expected to serve until death, leave only being granted in the cases outlined in Chapter 1. Even these exceptions tended to be granted to the officer class so the percentage figure of one or two percent who returned home would have consisted mainly of deserters or mutineers who perhaps got free passage home. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 207-18.
7. 1 May 1601, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 305.

8. See Chapter 4, pp 94-5 for details on the problem of pay arrears on the Army of Flanders.
9. The rate of exchange between Spain, Flanders and England was 1 escudo to 5s. 6d. (sterling) in 1582. P.R.O., S.P. 12/153/182. The figures for wages of foot soldiers in Ireland were supplied to me by Tony Sheehan.
10. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 183-4 for a fascinating insight into the life of a soldier on the continent.
11. Gunther White, 'Henry VIII's Irish kerne in France and Scotland' in *Ir. Sword*, iii (1957-8), pp 213-25. An interesting contrast here can also be made to reactions to the Swedish levy, 1609-13. See *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 296.
12. This bill was, however to be footed by the council of states in the Netherlands. See Walsingham to Leicester, 21 Apr. 1586, *Lycester Correspondence*, pp 229-30; also Charles Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the revolt of the Netherlands* (Los Angeles, 1970), pp 86-122.
13. Walsingham to Leicester, 21 Apr. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, pp 229-30; 3 May 1586, ibid., p. 257. 'Impress' was an advance payment allowed for expenses.
14. Stanley got the food for the expedition in Flushing, where it was 'better cheap' than in Ireland. For details on the 'victualling' and transportation of the troops to the Low Countries, see for victualling: Sir William Stanley to Burghley, 8 May 1586, *Cal. S.P. for., 1585-6*, pp 618-9; Thomas Lynyall to Burghley, 10 May 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 51; Lynyall to Walsingham, 12 Jul. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 104. On transportation: see Walsingham to Leicester, 21 Apr. 1586, *Lycester Correspondence*, p. 23, 237; Perrot to lord treasurer, 24 May 1586, *Perrot Papers*, p. 63.
15. A commission was basically a warrant which authorised a holder to raise, equip and command a body of soldiers. By this stage of Elizabeth's reign in England, the most usual form of commission was the commission of array granted to the lord lieutenant. It gave him the right to call up all men, between the ages of 16 years to 60 years in his county for military service. See Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army*, pp 2-18; Maitland, *Constitutional history*, pp 278-9. Nevertheless, the expedition to the Netherlands in 1586, was in England as in Ireland, a volunteer force. See *Acts privy council, 1586-7*, pp 55-6. For Sherley's remarks see 21 Mar. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 181.
16. See Leicester to Perrot, 7 Feb. 1586, *Perrot Papers*, p. 50; Walsingham to Leicester, 20 Mar. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 179.
17. 20 Mar. 1586, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-6*, p. 466. Leicester to Walsingham, 30 Apr. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 250.
18. Lords of the council to Chichester, 21 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 336.
19. Roughly translated as the council of war records in the Army of Flanders, this dealt with pay claims, grants to serve in certain companies, licence to leave etc., its full title being, Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre, registres des patents, titres, ordres et dépêches.
20. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/412v. For Preston, see 14 Dec. 1605, 4 Sep. 1607, ibid. reg. 24/40v.-41; for Walshe see 2 April 1605, ibid. reg. 22/120v.
21. For each commission see respectively A.G.R. E.G., 23 May 1621, reg. 27/317, 5 Jul. 1621, reg. 27/336v., 17 Apr. 1622, reg. 27/508, 508v., 509, 11 Nov. 1622 reg. 28/148, 15 Dec. 1622, reg. 28/163. See also 9 Jun. 1622, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 2043(i). It seems that in all of these cases remittances were not even given on their return.
22. 23 June 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 298. For a good account of the negotiations between the baron de Hoboken and the privy council see earl of Southampton, 25 Jun. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 276. See also Salisbury to Edmondes, 11 May 1605, ibid., pp 197-8, and for details of Spanish levies, see Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 40-2.

23. 12 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 336.
24. 31 Oct. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 304-5.
25. 18 Sep. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 287; 17 Aug. 1609, ibid., p. 272.
26. 21 Mar. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 181.
27. Bingham also implied that 'voluntary persuasion' had been applied to the idle men of his province. See 6 Oct. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 172. Note also that during the Swedish expedition of 1609. Chichester felt compelled 'to add force to persuasion' in removing the 'swordsmen' of seven troublesome septs 'anywhere out of Ulster'. 17 Jun. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 217. However this letter to Salisbury is the only indication of force used in relation to this expedition.
28. There is some confusion over the number of soldiers Stanley brought with him. According to an account of the levy be Denis O'Roghan (priest), 900 were taken from the 'royal bands', who with 'kerne' made up a total to 1,400, Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, pp v-vi. The *Fugger Newletters* similarly noted in Sep. 1586 that 'fifteen hundred Irishmen' were serving under Leicester, 15 Sep. 1586, *Fugger Newsletters*, p. 118. 1,500 men may have been the number under Stanley's command in the Low Countries as opposed to the number of those he brought to Ireland.
29. *Cal. S.P. for., 1585-6*, pp 618-9; 10 May 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 51; P.R.O., S.P. 63/125/32; July 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 125.
30. Dec. 1585, *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580-6*, p. 689; Sherley to Leicester, 21 Mar. 1586, *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 180.
31. 7 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 448. See also lords of the council to Chichester, 12 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 336. Captain William Nuse was originally assigned to recruit for the States. See 'Case of—Nuse', 8 Jan. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, p. 11. Also A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/412v; an Irish comapny in the Army of Flanders consisted of 200 to 250 men.
32. See above no. 27. Also 1 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Southampton MSS, Rep. xi, app. iii*, p. 26. Two other reports on Darcy claimed he had 70 and 120 men respectively, see Leysaghe O'Connor to earl of Devonshire, 14 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 454 and William Waad to Salisbury, 7 Oct. 1605, ibid., p. 449.
33. See Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 559. George de la Hyde, however, died on 21 Nov. 1622. See 9 June 1622, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 2043(i); 17 Dec. 1622, ibid. liasse 2003(i); 22 Dec. 1622, ibid. liasse 1995(i). Also 9 Mar. 1623, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 28/235; 21 Apr. 1625, ibid., reg. 29/25. Thomas Preston also appears to have recruited a company some time in 1624. See 19 Mar. 1625, ibid., reg. 29/13.
34. Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, 12 Sep. 1624, E.G.C. reg. 191/141. The second Irish regiment was not formed, however, until 1632 under Hugh O'Donnell.
35. 1 May 1601, *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601-3*, pp 50-1; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 305; 23 Feb. 1603, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 567. Also Mountjoy to Cecil, 25 Apr. 1603, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 24.
36. 23 Jun. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 298.
37. 13 Apr. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 361.
38. 'Soldiers of the Thirty Years War', T.C.D. seminar, Feb. 1984, paper by Geoffrey Parker.
39. 1 June 1582, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 10/77, p. 65; 1 Jun. 1585, ibid., reg. 9/274v.
40. There are 764 entries relating to 'Irishmen' in these records for the period 1586 to 1621 inclusive.
41. 17 Oct. 1588, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/45v; 20 Jun. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/63; 26 Sep. 1611, ibid., reg. 25/64; 27 Jul. 1612, ibid., reg. 25/260; 23 Jan. 1613, ibid., reg. 25/361v; 25 Jul.

1618, ibid., reg. 26/107v; 30 Jul. 1618, reg. 26/115; 31 Jul. 1618, ibid., 26/116v. ff.

42. 7 Dec. 1585, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574-85*, p. 587. William Waad to Cecil, 5 Sep. 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS* v, p. 440.
43. 10 Dec. 1588, *Cal. S.P. for., 1588*, p. 370; 20 Dec. 1616, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 180, 309-10. This group almost certainly included Oghy O'Hanlon, John Maguire and Cormac O'Neill. See their memorials, 3 Feb. 1617, ibid., E.G.C., reg. 181/34-5.
44. *Cal. Carew MSS 1601-3*, pp 200-2; 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp. 396-8; 22 Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp. 227-30; 14 Feb. 1608, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/121v; 8 Jun. 1614, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, p. 485; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 4-5.
45. For list of those who went with O'Neill, see C.P. Meehan, *Fate and fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnel* (Dublin, 1886), p. 371; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 260, and those left behind in Flanders, see Canice Mooney, 'A Noble Shipload', in *Ir. Sword*, ii (1956), pp 199-203.
46. *Fugger Newsletters*, no. 584, p. 281.
47. As above, no. 44.
48. 20 July 1602, *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601-3*, p. 276.
49. 16 Jan. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 385.
50. See Chapter 3, pp 60-2.
51. Nov. 1602, P.R.O., S.P. 63/212/78A; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 529; 22 Jul. 1607, 'Intelligence report', *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-30.
52. 26 Jun. 1606, A.G.R. E.A., reg. 365/29.
53. 4 Apr. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 442-3; 19 July 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/285v.; 22 Jul. 1606, ibid., reg. 23/391.
54. 4 Nov. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 632; 9 Nov. 1607, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/78v. The concern shown by the English authorities regarding the growth of the Irish regiment was probably a clear indication that the numbers of those going to serve in Flanders were very much out of their control.
55. See grants from 20 Sep. 1611 to 20 Nov. 1620 in A.G.R. E.G., reg. 25/44v., reg. 25/64, reg. 25/260, reg. 25/361v., reg. 26/1v., reg. 26/115, reg. 26/253v., reg. 26/267v., reg. 26/277, reg. 26/276, reg. 26/338v., reg. 27/69, reg. 27/69v., reg. 27/87, reg. 27/239. See also A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 181/34-5, 46.
56. See Edmund Spenser's famous description of Munster after the wars in Spenser's, *View*, in Ware, *Anc. Ir. hist. i*, p. 166; Bagwell, *Tudors*, iii, p. 114; G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The completion of the Tudor conquest and the advance of the counter-reformation, 1571-1603', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, iii, pp 108-9; Perrot, *Chron. Ire., 1584-1608*, pp 7-9. See 'Account of Don Francisco de Cuellar' in Constantia Maxwell (ed.), *The stranger in Ireland* (London, 1954), pp 38-52.
57. Perrot to privy council, 31 Jan. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 18.
58. 30 Dec. 1585, P.R.O., S.P. 63/121/47; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574-85*, p. 588.
59. 3 Nov. 1585, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iii, p. 113.
60. 5 May 1587, *Acts privy council, 1587-8*, p. 109. Similar orders were given to the mayors and officers of ports in England.
61. 7 Aug. 1592, *Acts privy council, 1592*, pp 99-100.
62. Chichester, after numerous complaints about Irish beggars in England, had sent out 'several penal restraints to all the ports and port towns in the kingdom to stop their passage' and advised the English council to command the beggars home by proclamation. See Chichester and council to lords of council, 29 May 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp

486-7. This proclamation appears not only to have been carried out in England, but also in France, where Teig O'Falstaf in his examination mentioned that 'some direction came to the officers of that kingdom to see the beggars transported to their country'. See 12 Sep. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 30-1.

63. Lord deputy and council to lords, 29 May 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 486-7.
64. 9 Aug. 1597, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, vii, p. 340, 22 Feb. 1603, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xii, pp 649-50.
65. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland*, p. 315.
66. See Raymond Gillespie, 'Harvest crisis in early seventeenth century Ireland,' in *Ir. Econ. Soc. Hist.*, xi (1984), pp. 7-9.
67. Mar. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 132.
68. Micheline Walsh, 'Some notes towards a history of womenfolk of the Wild Geese', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), pp 98-106, 133-145.
69. Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, x (Paris, 1864); Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 234.
70. 1604, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 229.
71. This is only supposition but the figure 1,700 in the document would seem to indicate the year 1607 when the Irish regiment was calculated to contain this number of men.
72. Cornwallis to lords of the privy council, 10 May 1609, Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 234; Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of affairs of state in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, iii (London, 1725), pp 36-7.
73. 4 Feb. 1614, A.G.R. C.P.E., carton, 1356; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 142. See also the case of William Roche and Peter Bellemy, 11 Jan. 1613, Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 138-9.
74. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 512-13.
75. Intelligence from Brussels, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 652-3.
76. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1599-1600*, p. 258; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 526-5; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 531.
77. 29 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 339.
78. There were two Maurice Fitzgeralds who served in the Army of Flanders from the 1590s onwards. See Chapter 4, n. 59. See also below no. 92. For commission granted to Art O'Neill, 30 Jan. 1606, see A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/95. Note also that in the 1621-2 levies, there were, however, four Anglo-Irish or Old English to five Gaelic Irish. See above no. 21.
79. 5 Jun 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 495.
80. I am indebted to Tony Sheehan of Q.U.B. for providing me with this information.
81. He was heir to the baronetcy of Howth, the peerage being held by his father Nicholas at that time. For information on this family's genealogy see F.E. Ball, 'Howth and its Owners' in *A history of County Dublin*, Pt. v (Dublin, 1979); Vincent McBrierty, *The Howth peninsula: its history, lore and legend* (Dublin, 1980), p. 61, 140-2.
82. See respectively, *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, pp 229-30; *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, vi, p. 214, 558; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, p. 5; *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, p. 254.
83. See respectively F.E. Ball, 'Howth and its Owners', p. 82; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1599-1600*, pp 57-8, 146. In fact he seems to have been very active during the latter stages of the Nine Years War, having fought at the Moyrie Pass and later at what became known as, Tyrrels Pass. For good summary of his activities during the Nine Years War, see F.E. Ball, 'Howth and its owners', pp 85-7.
84. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 487, 520, 523, Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, Pt. ii, p. 225, 245; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 94, 535; 29 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 338-9.
85. See 2 Nov. 1605, ibid., p. 346. Chichester to Salisbury, 17 Jul. 1606, ibid., p. 519.

86. The death of Christopher's father was announced on 11 May 1607 (see Ball, 'Howth and its owners', p. 93) and Christopher seems to have arrived back sometime between September and October. See ibid., p. 95; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 203, 226, 265.
87. 17 Sep. 1617, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 181/363. He first received a commission in 1606. See ibid., E.G., reg. 304v. and died on 21 Nov. 1622. E.G. reg. 28/148. Possibly some relation to Walter of Moyglare, Co. Kildare though I could find no evidence of this.
88. 'Stanley's regiment', Jan. 1587, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, p. 351. Despite his own autobiographical account (see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, pp 63-7), where he claimed to have served only the queen's friends after Deventer he nevertheless turns up as an *entretenido* in the archduke's army as late as 1593. See Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 249: For brother see *Cal. pat rolls Ire., Eliz.*, pp 202-3.
89. He inherited his land from his cousin, Patrick Finglas. See, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 64.
90. Thomas Finglas to Mr Nicholas Fitzwilliams, 29 Jun. 1591, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 398; as above no. 88. All trace of Thomas Fingals disappears from the Army of Flanders records after 1594.
91. See Col. Cavenagh, 'Clan Kavanagh in the Imperial Service', in *R.S.A.J. Jr.*, xii, p. 42; he served under Stanley, but remained loyal after Deventer. For pardon see *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz.*, p. 241; *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 217; *Acts privy council, 1586-7*, p. 376.
92. For examination of Maurice Fitzgerald on his return to Ireland see 28 Jul. 1589, P.R.O., S.P. 63/145/84. For reference to his career in the Low Countries, see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 337, 392 and for his activities in Ireland see especially 16 Aug. 1597, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, p. 386; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1599-1600*, p. 8, 163; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 24; Jul. 1604, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 182.
93. Edmund Fitzruddery, Fitzgibbon or MacGibbon Fitzgerald, sheriff of Ballinboy, Co. Tipperary, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 235. Edmund Fitzgibbon was charged for his part in the Desmond rebellion. For details of his struggle with the English authorities see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 386; Refused pardon, 3 Sept. 1588, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 25; 7 Dec. 1588, ibid., p. 77, 353; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, p. 350, 386. Eventually this land was restored to his son, 7 Jul. 1604, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 182.
94. For information on his career in Ireland and the Low Countries see particularly 'Intelligence of John Danyell', 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 440, 515; also *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 235; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 56, 95, 256.
95. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 25/33 to reg. 25/505v. A number of these had come over with the earls in 1607. See Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 551. More research needs to be done in this area but the service of at least some of these men may well have been connected to the declining incomes of the Gaelic lords upon their submission to the English crown. For a good summary of the financial situation of the Gaelic lords at this time see Mary O'Dowd, in Brady & Gillespie (eds), *Natives & newcomers*, pp 142-3.
96. Bagwell, *Stuarts*, i, p. 99.
97. Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 484.
98. He was first cousin to Richard Stanihurst. See Genealogical Office, MS 48, p. 15. For his career in the Army of Flanders, see A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/19; ibid., reg. 24/68v; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 11, 12, 133-4, 529; *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 141, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 393-4. After 1612 he disappears from the military records and he may have been the Thomas Stanihurst who was M.P. for Newry in 1640. See also Chapter 4, n. 58.
99. See Eustace-Tickell, 'The Eustace family and their lands in County Kildare', in *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jr.*, xiii, (1958-60), p. 335, for descendants of William Eustace of Castlemartin. For his military career, see A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/62v.; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 77, 529; 'lately cashiered', p. 533.

100. Younger brother to Christopher. See F.E. Ball, 'Howth and its owners', p. 105, 108-9, for Christopher's life, once home from the archduke's army. For his period there, see A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/413; ibid., reg. 23/304v.; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 82, 87, 92, 102, 117.
101. See above, no. 54.
102. The name is not stated in this document but from the context it would appear to be Donnell. See 'Donnel O'Connor, brother to O'Connor Sligo', Robert Jacob to Salisbury, 18 Oct. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 298; Chichester to Salisbury, 17 Aug. 1609, ibid., p. 273.
103. For further details on the career of *Cormac Ros O'Connor* in Flanders, see 20 Jul. 1589, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/137v.; 29 Jul. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/257v.; 20 Feb. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/62v.; 1592, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 66. For *Cornelius O'Reilly*, see 10 May 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/286; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 86, 483, 135. For details on the genealogies of the O'Connor and O'Reilly families see Appendix, *New Hist. of Ire.*, ix, pp 150-1, 164; Genealogical Office, MS 163.
104. For MacSweeney's service with Cormac MacDermott, see Dawers to Salisbury, 20 Mar. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 440. An Owen and Robert MacSweeney are listed in the records of the Army of Flanders between 1608 and 1609, while Owen O'Loughye MacSweeney claimed that some of his brothers were also serving in Spain. See 14 Feb. 1608, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/122(b); 12 Sep. 1609, ibid., reg. 25/456.; 20 Mar. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 440; 20 Apr. 1608, ibid., p. 479.
105. Dec. 1601, Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hib.*, p. 36.
106. A.G.S. E.2744; Walsh, 'Womenfolk', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), p. 100.
107. Martin Hernigton, Rowland Blondt, Roland Owens, Thomas Arden, Calloc MacDermott, Marroc Aurache. The names, however, were almost certainly not all Irish.
108. See Burke, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/45v; Ricardo, ibid., reg. 12/135; Querman, ibid., reg. 13/116v., ibid., reg. 15/6.
109. 3 Nov. 1601, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 20/123. See also grants issued between 1603 and 1607, ibid., reg. 21/348ff.
110. See above no. 73. 3 Feb. 1617, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 181/34-5, 46.
111. 26 Jan. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 93-4.

CHAPTER 3

1. Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 28-9. See figure 3.1, the size and composition of the Army of Flanders, 1567-1665.
2. See Geoffrey Parker, *Guide to the archives of the Spanish institutions in or concerned with the Netherlands*, 1556-1706 (Brussels 1971). The Archives Générales du Royaume and the Simanca records *negoc. de Flandes* are normally referred to simply as the Army of Flanders records in the text.
3. See 29 Dec. 1585, *Cal. S.P. for., 1585-6*, p. 253. A list of Stanley's 'band' in Ireland can be found under the heading 'Severall companies of footemen resydent in the garrison at Carigfergus', 17 Mar. 1586, P.R.O., S.P. 63/121/14.
4. See 'Papers of Colonel Stanley, an English Knight', Jan. 1587, in David Matthew, *The Celtic people and renaissance Europe* (London, 1933), p. 484.

5. The six captains named by Sadler were Capt. Peter Winne, Capt. Gwin, Capt. Owen Salisburie, Capt. James Eaton, Capt. Reinolds and Capt. Harrison. Peter Winne was almost immediately replaced by his former lieutenant Matthew Hart. See Sadler, *Papers and Letters*, pp 239-40. See also 'List of those who came over with Stanley to the Duke of Parma', Jan. 1587, from the Valladolid Archives in David Matthew, *The Celtic People and renaissance Europe* (London, 1933), p. 484. These names were Capt. Martin Maynard (a German), Capt. George Throckmorton, Capt. Robert Piers, Capt. Henry Floyd, Capt. Henry Jervis (Gervase), Capt. Piers Fears, Major Thomas Robertson, and Capt. William Carre while finally a list of 'old' captains who stayed with Stanley after Deventer is given in one 'William Gogh's testament in *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1587*, pp 488-9. The following names are listed—Capt. Grain, Capt. York, Capt. Eaton (probably James), Capt. Owen Eaton and Capt. Salisbury. It is quite possible that all these captains were serving with Stanley at Deventer in 1587 since there is no doubt that the turnover was very rapid. We know, for example, that Salisbury, Gwyne, Winne, Hart and Owen Eaton sued for pardon very shortly after the surrender and that Harrison and Reinolds died shortly after. It appears that the only three captains to leave immediately at the surrender were Henry Hovenden, Capt. Cosbie and Edmund Carey. See 'Description of Surrender' in Heywoods, *William Allen's defence . . .*, pp xxiii ff; Norreys to Walsingham, 11 Apr. 1587, *Cal. S.P. for. 1587*, p. 15; 16 April 1587, ibid., p. 21. Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 139. For Scurlocke see John Kingston, 'Catholic families of the Pale', in *Report Novum*, i (1955), pp 76-91.

6. See Appendix I-II. See also above no. 5, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, p. 351; 28 Jul. 1590, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 358. For more names, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i (Aug. 1589-Jun. 1590), pp. 158-9. Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, p. xliv. The term 'officer corps' was in fact one that was only emerging in armies at the end of the sixteenth century. Although there were soldiers of varying rank prior to this in bands, specific duties, precedence, a separate code of honour and corporate spirit were notions that only became part of an officer corps in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term in this chapter applies only in the more restricted sense to Irish soldiers who obtained a rank in the Army of Flanders. For more detailed information on this subject see Michael Roberts, *Military revolution*, pp 197-8.

7. See Sadler, *Papers and letters*, p. 239; *Cal. S.P. for., 1587*, p. 431; Owen Salisbury to Walsingham, 17 Nov. 1589, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i (Aug. 1589-Jun. 1590), no. 589. See also Sir E. Norris to England, Sir Thomas Morgan to Burghley, 25 Jan. 1592. *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, iii (Jun. 1591-Apr. 1592), no. 41 for examples. For Rowland Yorks group see 'Memoirs of Fr Robert Persons, *Cath. Rec. Soc., Misc.*, ii, p. 69.

8. Duke of Parma to Philip II, 2 April 1588, A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.594/5.

9. *Cal. S.P. for., 1588*, i, p. 238, pp 233-4; A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/81, ibid., reg. 15/168.

10. *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i (Aug-1589-Jun. 1590), no. 165.

11. A.G.S. *Contaduría mayor de Cuentes*, 2a/6 unfol., *pliegos de asiento* with Stanley's regiment, 1587-94; 9 May 1590, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i (Aug. 1589-Jun. 1590), no. 157; 13 Jan. 1591, ibid., 11 (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 624(c), 623(d).

12. Norris was almost certainly the man that both Lieut. Col. Jacques Franceschi and Thomas Finglas were dealing with. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 214-15; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, pp 64-7 for plot of Finglas. See Chapter 1, n. 59 for Jacques Franceschi's activities.

13. 'Examination of Christopher Roche', *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 456; A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.603/89, ibid., E.603/94, ibid., E.605/259; ibid., E.608/193.

14. 13 Jul. 1589, *Cal. S.P. for., 1589*, pp 337-8; Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 145.

15. This rift seems to have been at it's worst in the period 1590-91. See *List & Anal. S.P. for.*,

ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 623(d), no. 624.

16. Sir Thomas Morgan to Burghley, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 624ff; Aug. 1591, 'Advertisements', *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, iii (Jun. 1591-Apr. 1592), no. 697. Sadler, *Papers and Letters*, p. 239; A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.605/93; ibid., 606/100.

17. Ibid., E.608/193, ibid., E.610/49, ibid. E.609/91, ibid., E.611/132-3ff. For the first time in an official report, the regiment of Col. William Stanley is listed both under 'infanteria irlandesa' and 'infantería Walona'. The entire regiment at this point consisted of nine companies with 1,084 men. Ibid., E.611/169.

18. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 31-5. Of the 'British' troops, the Irish and Scots were considered to be superior. It is also noteworthy that certain companies got extra pay if they were involved in special assignments. Even within a regiment different companies could receive different sets of pay. See for example, payments allotted to Stanley's regiment in 1600. A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.617/180; E.622/206. This may have accounted for John Kennedy receiving extra money at this time in a German company.

19. 3 Nov. 1589, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/64; 31 May 1590, ibid., reg. 12/224; 30 Jun. 1602, ibid., reg. 20/254v.

20. See respectively 6 Jun. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/216; 14 Mar. 1599, ibid., reg. 19/40; 30 Jun. 1602, ibid., reg. 20/254v; 23 Dec. 1605, ibid., reg. 23/63; Kennedy was receiving twelve escudos monthly in the Irish infantry at this time which was now increased to sixteen escudos in the German infantry, 4 Aug. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/323v; 6 Oct. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/354.

21. See 2 Feb. 1589, ibid., reg. 11/128; 15 Oct. 1589, ibid., reg. 12/11v; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 522. See also Chapter 4, n. 97.

22. Stanley's regiment was one of the four ordered by Parma to remain in Flanders in 1592. *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, iii (Jun. 1591-Apr. 1592), no. 380. See also accounts of Irish at Valenciennes, Amiens and Rheinberg under the archduke between the years 1596 to 1598 in Cardinal Bentivoglio's, *The History of the Warrs of Flanders*, trans. Humphrey Moseley (London, 1654), pp 34-7, 336, 351, 335, 372, 380. Also A.G.R. E.G., reg. 18/95v. and for English reports on Stanley in France, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 614; 'An extract out of A.D.'s letter', 23 Jun./13 Jul. 1589, *Cal. S.P. for., 1589*, pp 337-8; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 64.

23. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, pp 64-7; *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, vii, p. 506.

24. Geoffrey Parker points out that in this period Spain eventually became involved in fighting on six fronts—Languedoc, Brittany, Lombardy, Franche-Comté, Spanish Netherlands and Hungary. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 42; *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 237. A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.594/192, ibid., E.601/103, ibid., E.2289/56-7.

25. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/45v; 15 June 1589, ibid., reg. 12/50v. 3 Nov. 1589, ibid., reg. 12/64; 22 Mar. 1590, ibid., reg. 12/135.

26. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 198 for a comprehensive account of this mutiny in the context of the organisation of the Army of Flanders as a whole.

27. A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.613/126; 12 Jun. 1596, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 16/104-5.

28. See Albert's grant of pardon to the mutineers, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 16/104-5v; 15 Jun. 1596, ibid., reg. 16/113v. For commissions see ibid., reg. 16/112v-14.; 5 Aug. 1596, ibid., reg. 16/153v-4.

29. 20 Jul. 1589, ibid., reg. 12/137v.

30. Ibid., reg. 13/121. The other names were John Sherley, Thomas Greenfield, George Solker, John Tippen, Clement Throckmorton, Richard Green, Thomas Walpole, William Moore, Richard Sherwood and Thomas de Franceschi.

31. 15 Mar. 1594, ibid., reg. 15/6v; A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.599. For passports see 8 Dec. 1593, *Cal. pat. rolls Ire. Eliz.*, pp 255-6; post 1588, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiii, p. 398; 3 Mar. 1588, *Acts privy council, 1587-8*, p. 409.
32. 19 Feb. 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/59v. The names were John Bertan, John Baes, Thomas Hacht, Walter Vitsum (Fitzsimons?), Thomas Adams, Hendre Harembe, Thomas Tullenan, Jenne Men, Henry Botfin and John Hin.
33. See 27 Nov. 1607, ibid., reg. 24/84v; 27 July 1607, ibid., reg. 24/4; 8 Sep. 1609, ibid., reg. 24/226, 26 Feb. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/71.
34. 17 Jun. 1621, ibid., reg. 27/331v. and 16 Nov. 1629, Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 241.
35. 27 May 1598, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 18/95v. For Thomas Barry's role in the capture of Amiens in 1597 see Bentivoglio, *Warrs of Flanders*, p. 355; Jennings, 'Irish Swordsmen in Flanders', in *Studies*, xxxvii (1948), pp 192-3; 6 Jun. 1603, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 21/216; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 379.
36. 23 Oct. 1597, A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.614/65. Other captains with companies in Stanley's regiment were Pierre Fiars (62 men), Min (Martin) Meinart (61 men), Lawrence Fullam (37 men), Edward Stanley (62 men), William Carre (68 men), Thomas Robertson (72 men), Thomas de Franceschi (82 men), the Lieutenant Colonel (88 men) and William Stanley's own company (159 men). Note that Lawrence Phelan remained in Stanley's regiment and may well have had some Irish in his company.
37. 17 Jan. 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/3v; 20 Feb. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/62v. George Barnwall received a commission *c.* Jun. 1602 for the captaincy made vacant by the departure of Capt. Edward Fitzgerald for Ireland, which he held until his death in 1606. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 20/259-9v; 6 Oct. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/351v.
38. Addenda, 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, pp 536-7. He was 'son of the Lord Baron of Dunboyne'. ?1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 379; Examination of John Gough, 21 Dec. 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 504, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, pp 536-7. Thomas Barry, as previously mentioned, was also a captain during this period and he may have had a company under Stanley before 1598. In May 1598 however he only received a 'paga ordinaria', or an 'ordinary place' in the Irish infantry, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 18/116v-17.
39. John Butler and Barnaleas Hackett. See 1 Jan. 1597, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 17/232-32v. Thomas Roche, 20 Jun. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/63; Richard Nugent, 'cavallero Irlandes', 27 June 1601, ibid., reg. 20/66v; John Maqueshy, 'gentihombre Irlandese', 3 Nov. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/123, Thomas Birmingham, 12 escudos *ventaja*. He had already served as lieutenant to Capt. Edward Fitzgerald, 18 Oct. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/139. The grants of Thomas Roche and John Maqueshy were *ventajas particularia* which were normally bonus grants for good or long service. This almost certainly indicated that these men were serving for a while before this, although gentlemen willing to serve as common soldiers were also awarded a *ventaja*. Darbi Demsi, 'cavallo Irlandese', 30 Apr. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/190; Terencio Mahoni, 24 Aug. 1603, ibid., reg. 24/1603. Hugo O'Shaughnessy, 28 Nov. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/340v.
40. Ibid., reg. 22/3v. ff. The type of grants given to Irish soldiers came under three categories —an *entretenimiento*, a *ventaja* or wage supplement and a grant of 'ordinary pay'. Many of the grants given during this period were entretenimientos, a grant reserved normally for those of 'noble birth'. From the grants of many of the names mentioned above it is not always stated whether these had served before this in the army. In at least two cases, that of Derbi Dempsey and Hugo O'Shaughnessy—we know they did so despite the fact they are given grants here 'to serve'. Grants of this nature then were not always proof that the recipients were new arrivals from Ireland.
41. 28 Jun. 1605, A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.624; 30 Jan. 1606, ibid. He got a licence in

1606 to recruit another 2,000.

42. *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 10; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 396-8; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp. 227-30, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xix, p. 313.

43. See respectively 22 Jul. 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/391-91v; 19 Jul. 1606, ibid., reg. 23/385v-86; 30 Jan. 1606, ibid., reg. 22/95. See also John Bathe, 9 Nov. 1607, ibid., reg. 24/78v-79; see Chapter 1, pp 26-7 for 'official' 1605-6 levies.

44. 17 Jan. 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/3v, 10 April 1609, ibid., reg. 24/350. See also Appendix I and IV.

45. 9 Jan. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 643.

46. Lic., 20 Dec. 1607, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/100v; Returns, 12 Mar. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/169v. Lic., 6 Mar. 1608; Returns, 12 May 1608, ibid., reg. 24/167. See 18 Jun. 1609, ibid., reg. 24/384v-5; Also 14 July 1609, reg. 24/402v; ?1609, A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.626/142. The names James Garland and James Gernon both occur separately in the military records but from their period and rank of service they would appear to be one and the same person. See also MacLysaght, *Irish surnames*, p. 89.

47. See 'The Size and Composition of the Army of Flanders 1567-1661' in Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 271-2.

48. Nov. 1607, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xix, p. 313; A.G.S. negoc. de Roma, E.988; 14 Jul. 1608, Walsh (ed.), 'Last Years', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), pp 223-4.

49. See figures respectively 14 Oct. 1613, A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes E.628; 8 Jun. 1614, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, p. 485, 20 April 1616, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 179/162-3.

50. 13 Aug. 1616, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 180/66.

51. See 5 Jul. 1616, ibid., reg. 180/23; 31 March 1620, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 27/109; 13 May 1622, ibid., reg. 28/6v, 27v.

52. 23 Jun. 1622, ibid., reg. 28/40v; 11 Jan. 1623, ibid., reg. 28/250v.

53. See 22 Dec. 1622, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 1995(i). Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 186-7; 17 Jun. 1624, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25*, p. 504.

54. Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 208-9.

55. J.F. Taylor, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (London, 1906), p. 46.

56. Butler was already serving in the Army of Flanders on 1 Jun. 1585. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 9/274v. For more details of his career as a lieutenant, see 13 Mar. 1586, ibid., reg. 10/190v; 12 Jan. 1597, ibid., reg. 17/204v; Kavanagh was lieutenant in Capt. Jacques company. 21 Sep. 1596, ibid., reg. 17/16. For O'Donnell see 15 Feb. 1597, ibid., reg. 17/229. Caffoyr was lieutenant to Capt. Eustace in Sir William Stanley's regiment. See 12 Aug. 1598, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, viii, p. 302. Bermingham was in Edward Fitzgerald's company. Had also served in France prior to this, see 18 Oct. 1601, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 20/139.

57. Kelly was with the disbanded company of Rowland York's, 7 Aug. 1588, ibid., reg. 11/81. Stanihursts' name appears in a list of grants in Col. William Stanley's regiment in 1593. See A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E.599; as ensign on 28 Dec. 1594, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 15/202v-21v; Lic. for Ireland, 3 Apr. 1599, ibid., reg. 19/59v; In George Barnwall's company, 31 Feb. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/116. Dillon and Barret were in Col. Stanley's company and Capt. Giles company respectively, 14 Oct. 1594, ibid., reg. 15/154. Possibly Hugh O'Dogherty. See licence to 'Alferez Hugo Irlandes soldado de la compa. de Capitan Roberto Bostock', 6 Oct. 1594, ibid., reg. 15/144v.

58. Brae 'of Clonmel'. See 'Archers Information', *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xii, p. 535; Sergeant in Capt. Edward Fitzgerald's company, 20 Jul. 1599, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 19/148; Lic. for Ireland, 28 Oct. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/141; Returns, 28 Apr. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/216-16v. Could be MacCarthy or MacCarrick. He served with Capt. John de

Claramonte, 8 Jun. 1599, ibid., reg. 19/104v. Daniel served under John de Claramonte between the years 1594 to 1598, see grant 31 Feb. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/116v-17; He was previously in Stanley's regiment but does not seem to have held a position of rank. See 1588, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiii, p. 398. See also lic. for Ireland, 2 Mar. 1603, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 21/142; Returns 29 Jul. 1606, ibid., reg. 23/394-94v. Wesley was of Capt. George Barnwall's company. Lic. for Ireland, 25 Oct. 1602, ibid., reg. 21/43.

59. See also Chapter 5, pp 109-10. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 396-8. Both the terms Anglo-Irish and Old English apply to this group after 1600 but Anglo-Irish is used for convenience in this chapter as it refers to a genealogical rather than a political grouping.
60. See Appendix I. 22 Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-30.
61. William Barret of Ballincollig, Co. Cork, brother of the knight of Kerry. See 'Thomas Fitzgerald's Information', Oct. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 314. See also 'Extract of William Barret FitzUlick's examination at Cork', 18 Dec. 1607, ibid., p. 357-59. For Fitzsimon see also Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 114.
62. See Chapter 2, p. 50 and notes 88-90 for Finglas's own autobiographical accounts. See also A.G.S. *negoc. de Flandes*, E.606/96. See also Kingston,'Catholic Families of the Pale', *Report. Novum*, ii, pp 245-56; E. Tickell, 'The Eustace Family and their lands in County Kildare', *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jr.*, xiii, pp 270-87, 307-341, 364-413. I am also indebted to Colm Lennon of Maynooth College for some material on families of the Pale from the Genealogical Office, Dublin.
63. Genealogical Office MS, 48; See also Chapter 2, n. 98; Genealogical Office MS, 182, pp 138-40, 170-7; See Chapter 2, n. 100 for information relating to the family of St Lawrence and Burke, *Landed gentry*, pp 437-8.
64. That a soldier was receiving 'ordinary pay' did not however necessarily imply he was of the poorer classes. Gentlemen volunteers often held such grants until a post of command came up. For these figures see Gráinne Henry, 'Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders—an emerging identity' (unpubl. M.A. thesis, Maynooth, 1986), pp 372-84.
65. The money was to help in building a convent and chapel for the friars at Louvain, 27 Sep. 1616, Franciscan Library, Killiney MS, J.2; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 486-8. As above no. 60.
66. This was also the theory of Thomas Heywood in his introduction to *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, p. x.
67. For an account of some of the contacts between Florence MacCarthy and Captain Jacques, see MacCarthy, *Life and Letters*, pp 68-9, 113-4; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 548; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 339; *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, pp 514-16; *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 58, 515. For servants and retainers see *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, p. 516; 2 Nov. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 4; 28 Jan. 1589, MacCarthy, *Life and Letters*, pp 68-9, 113-4.
68. 7 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, pp. 448-9; 29 Oct. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp. 338-9.
69. See *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 305-6; 3 Feb. 1617, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 181/34-5.
70. Although the letter is dated 14 May 1612, a reference by O'Daly to 'four new captains' who had 'been named to go to Ireland for men before he had arrived' would seem to indicate he was referring to the levies initiated by Henry O'Neill for his regiment in 1605. A.G.R. E.A., carton 1944.
71. 12 Mar. 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/205v; 14 Feb. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/121v-23v. For Gernon as above no. 65.
72. 1606 report on regiment, as above no. 59.
73. Thomas Gernon of Killincool (b. 1544), was married to Catherine, daughter of Sir John

Bellewe of Castleton. Their children were cousins of the Drogheda branch of the family to whom James Gernon belonged. See Burke, *Landed gentry*, pp 437-8.

74. 17 Oct. 1588, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/45v; T.C.D., MS 567, E.3.15; 13 Jan. 1590, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 290.

75. See respectively Sept. 1607, Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 151; P.R.O., S.P. 77/11/351-2; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 485. See above, no. 63; 14 Oct. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 62. Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 269.

76. See genealogical tables of the family of Owen Roe O'Neill in Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp 273-4. William Eustace of Castlemartin who was Alexander's father, married Mary St Lawrence (his third wife). She was sister to Christopher and Thomas St Lawrence. See Tickell, 'The Eustace Family of Co. Kildare', in *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jr.*, xiii, p. 335.

77. Alias Capt. Caddell. For accounts of him see 4 Feb. 1594, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 206; 27 May 1596, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 522; 15 Jun. 1596, ibid., p. 533, 2 Feb. 1598, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, p. 53; 14 Feb. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1599-1600*, pp 472-3; 12 Jan. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 270; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 4.

CHAPTER 4

1. Moran, *Spicil. Ossor.*, i, pp 82-109.
2. 1592, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 65; 19/29 Jun. 1591, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 398.
3. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/92; 11 May 1620, A.G.R. C.P.E., liasse 1357.
4. *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601-3*, p. 202; 20 Mar. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 440-1.
5. A.J. carton 1973, liasse 1974; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 277-80.
6. ? Dec. 1589, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 287; M. Walsh, 'Some notes towards womenfolk in the Wild Geese', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), p. 98.
7. 1 Sept. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 309; 1619, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 1895(2).
8. Daughter of Philip O'Sullivan. 18 Jan. 1627, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 196/85; 23 May 1618, A.G.E. E.G., reg. 26/60; see also Morina Mahun to Infanta Isabella, 18 Dec. 1629, A.G.R. C.P.E., carton 1357.
9. A. O'Flanders, *Toen Vlaanderen groat was: zantingen in Italie, Groat Brittannie en Ierland* (Bruges, 1930), p. 235. Their father was Theobald Dillon, visc. of Costello. For James see 24 July 1636, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 35/19.
10. See Peter Guilday, *The English catholic refugees on the continent, 1558-1795* (London, 1914), pp 15-16. In Bruges there were at least two schools maintained for the poor children of the city though I have no evidence whether any Irish availed of them. See W.D. Phillips, 'Local integration and long-distance ties', in *Sixteenth Cent. Jr.*, xvii (1986), p. 43.
11. 29 Jun. 1603, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 21/232v or 235v?
12. See 7 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 449; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 336-7, 512; ? James I, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xxiv, pp 254-5; Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 234.
13. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army*, p. 298.
14. 4 Oct. 1609, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 141. See also Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 227.
15. H.J.C. von Grimmelshausen, *Simplicissimus the vagabond*, trans. A.T.S. Goodrick (London, 1924), p. 256. This book is set during the Thirty Years War.
16. Daniel Farrell to Archduke Albert, 30 Jan. 1614, A.G.R. C.P.E., carton, 1356.
17. 'Memorial Historico Español', Cronica 1652-60, ed. M. Paret, *Instituto de Historia de la*

Ciudad, vol. xxv quoted in Dorothy Molloy, 'In Search of the Wild Geese', in *Éire-Ireland*, v (1970), p. 6.

18. As above no. 6, p. 98 a selection of documents from original Spanish sources on Irish women who went to Spain and Spanish Flanders. Sources are mainly from A.G.S. material and A.H.N. Madrid.
19. 17 Jan. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 288; 24 Nov. 1607, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/85.
20. A.G.S. E.235, 843, 2513, 2744; M. Walsh, 'Womenfolk', p. 99.
21. 23 July 1601, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 482. For a more detailed account of her life in Ireland see 20 July 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 450; M. Walsh, 'Womenfolk', pp 102-4; A.G.S. E.844, 1758; A.G.R. E.G., reg. 27/307. For examples of other women who received these kind of grants see A.G.S. E.199, 212, 219, 228, 235, 794, 843, 1751, 2513, 2744, 2745, 2760. Among these are included Elena Daniel Carti, Cecilia Sulivan, Cecilia Carthy, Maria Suyne, Margarita Carti, Joana Falvi, Geromma Connor, Leonor Sulivan, Leonor Suyne, Joana Carti, Elena Ni Dongo (mother of Joana Carti).
22. Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 567. This actual list seems to be missing but see A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 179 ff, 162-3.
23. 18 Dec. 1629. A.G.R. C.P.E., carton 1357.
24. Aug. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, p. 269; 4 Jul. 1606, Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6, p. 512; T.C.D. MS, 9892.
25. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 175-6; 7 Oct. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 449.
26. 15 May 1586, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 58; *Acts privy council, 1586-7*, pp 178-9; 26 Oct. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 500; 28 Oct. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 90.
27. See list under 'Emigrants to Spain', in *Cal. Carew MSS, 1601-3*, pp 200-2. Canice Mooney, 'A noble shipload', in *Ir. Sword*, ii (1956-7), pp 195-204. No complete list of this group has survived but from a list made out by the archduke of those wishing to continue to Rome and a list by Matthew Tully of those remaining in Flanders, most of the ninety-nine can in fact be accounted for. For chronicle of journey see Tadgh O'Cianáin, *The flight of the earls*, ed. Paul Walsh (Dublin, 1916).
28. 18 Dec. 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 543-4.
29. 14 Aug. 1609, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/429v; 15 Feb. 1597, ibid., reg. 17/229; 10 Apr. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/10; 8 May 1608, ibid., reg. 24/162.
30. In many cases however the reasons for the granting of a licence is not given. 4 Oct. 1591, ibid., reg. 13/177v.
31. A.H.V. (Bruxelles) St Michel et St Gudule. Deaths, bk. 152/n.f., Bb/1; Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 174.
32. As above, no. 10, p. xvii. For Spain see D. Molloy, 'In search of the Wild Geese', p. 8. See M. Walsh, 'The Handsors and some other Louth exiles in France and Spain', in *Louth Arch. Hist. Jr.*, xviii (1976), p. 263. Parish records can be found in increasing numbers in Santiago from 1552, Corunna from 1568, Bilbao from 1588, Seville from 1607, Cadiz from 1623 and Valladolid from 1632. Noteworthy, also, was the Spanish policy of grouping Irish refugees in different parts of Spanish territory (including Flanders) which obviously accelerated the pattern of group settlement. See M. Walsh, 'Womenfolk', p. 101; Phillips, 'Local integration', pp 33-49.
33. I owe a great debt to Ms Micheline Walsh under whose supervision this parish material was collected and housed in the Overseas Archives, U.C.D. While isolated occurrences of Irish names in parish registers may have been missed, most of the parish registers of the Low Countries likely to yield Irish names have been systematically searched. The records that I myself have studied in Brussels (baptismal and marriage certificates) will be given their MS title while the remaining records will be given the headings they are

listed under in the Overseas Archives.

34. Danvers to Salisbury, 20 Apr. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 479; Jerrold Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Pennsylvania, 1984), pp 25-6. For an interesting account of Rosa's life, see J. Casway, 'Rosa O'Doherty: a Gaelic woman', in *Seanchas Árdmhaca*, x (1980-1), pp 42-62.
35. A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Catherine, reg. 210/38. Probably the same Thomas O'Connell 'of the Irish infantry' who received a licence to Ireland in 1611. See 20 Oct. 1611, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 35/71. Most of the 'military' names appear to be in the records of St Catherine.
36. A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Michel et St Gudule, reg. 130/34r; For example see 13 May 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/286v. for a special grant to John Barrett; 14 Feb. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/121v for the services of Richard at Rheinberg. Capt. William Barrett was one of the Barretts of Ballincollig, Co. Cork. See Chapter 3, n. 61. Also A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/348v; reg. 24/121v; reg. 24/223ff.
37. Richard was already an ensign in 1626. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 30/11v. Gaspar received a similar commission in 1630, ibid., reg. 31/103, while Marcellus and Peter were serving in the 'company of Captain Maurice Geraldin, their father' by 1632, ibid., reg. 32/196v.
38. 7 Feb. 1626, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 30/140; 11 Mar. 1626, ibid., reg. 30/139v; 22 Jun. 1636, ibid., reg. 36/123v; ibid., reg. 40/336v.
39. 15 Nov. 1625, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 29/237.
40. June 1612, A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Michel et St Gudule, reg. 84/86; 6 Jul. 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/372; 13 Jan. 1616, ibid., E.G.C. reg. 179/27.
41. 30 Mar. 1599, A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Catherine, reg. 177/94; 22 Feb. 1606, ibid., reg. 177/172; 24 Jan. 1609, ibid., reg. 177/196; 4 Aug. 1601, ibid., reg. 177/115; 30 Sep. 1604, ibid., reg. 177/? (not under this date).
42. Between 1636 and 1680 there are only sixty one death certificates that survive.
43. See G. Parker, Review essay: 'New light on an old theme: Spain and the Netherlands, 1550-1650', in *Eur. Hist. Quart.*, xv (1985), p. 220.
44. Maurice Fitzgibbon was described by John Flud on 15 Mar. 1587 as 'a youth of 12 years, who spoke good Spanishe'. See T. Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, p. xliii. See also letter in French of Thomas Stanihurst, 2 Nov. 1600, P.R.O., S.P. 77/6/218. For Oghy MacSweeney see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-24*, p. 535. For an insight into his background and upbringing in Flanders see Dermot O'Mallun's petition to the Archduke Albert, 12 Aug. 1609, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 1885, (2).
45. T. Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, pp xviii-xix; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 569-70.
46. Walsh, 'The Handsors . . .', p. 264. The prioress of the White Ladies, to Luys Verreyken, 16 Jun. 1610, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 1947(i).
47. See Archives de L'État, Bruges, 'Inscriptions Funéraires', Notre Dame, chapelle de Saint Marguerte, pp 328-29. In Overseas Archives, Bruges material Ba/21. Also G. Steinman, 'Sepulchral Memorials of the English formerly at Bruges', in *Top. and Geneal.*, ii (1853), pp 469-73; ibid., chapelle du Saint Sacrement, p. 371.
48. J.J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad, 1534-1691', in *New Hist. Ire.*, p. 606; D. Molloy, 'In search of Wild Geese; p. 7. O'Sullivan Beare, *Zoilomastix*, ed. O'Donnell, p. 92.
49. These registers which recorded hundreds of Irish soldiers treated from mid-seventeenth to eighteenth century, give a wealth of personal detail on the sick or wounded soldier including his age, place of birth, parents name, rank, regiment, company, possessions at moment of admission, clothes, arms and (less often) money. D. Molloy, 'In search of Wild Geese', pp 4-8.
50. 12 Aug. 1609, A.G.R. E.A., liasse 1885(2). Death recorded 1 May 1639. For tomb inscription see A.G.R. bibliothèque. N.2569 'Extracts from monumenta antíqua

Inscriptiones et Coenotaphia Insignis Ecclesiae Collegiatae, S.S. Michaeli Archangelo et Gudulae Virgini Sacrae', Caput. vii (Pt. i). See Overseas Archives, Bruges material, Bb/7. His other titles included Seigneur de Hageru, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Calatrava, Gentilhomme de l'Empereur Ferdinand, Baron de Glean et Guerchy. For attestation see 13 Jan. 1616, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 179/27.

51. D. Molloy, 'In search of Wild Geese', in p. 10; H.D. Gallwey, 'Irish wills from Barcelona', in *Ir. Geneal.*, vi (1980-1), pp 212-18.
52. M. Walsh, 'Womenfolk', p. 136.
53. For marriages see respectively 8 Nov. 1601, A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Michel et St Gudule, reg. 129; 30 Jul. 1606, ibid., reg. 130/34r; 25 Nov. 1602, ibid., reg. 129; 8 Jan. 1604, ibid., reg. 129. For Thomas Clarke see A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/28. Also Maurice Long, ibid., reg. 22/365v, reg. 24/31v. A Maurice and Neill Kearney were serving at this time in the army. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/221; reg. 25/281.
54. 25 May 1606, as above no. 53; reg. 130/31. See G.E.C., *Complete peerage*, xii, p. 641. Preston later married one Margaret de Namur, a widow, sometime before 1624. See ibid., pp 638-41 and funeral inscription as above no. 47. Cornelius and Margaret had a son John who was baptised in June 1612, A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Michel de St Gudule, reg. 84/86.
55. The Vander Eycken family had been involved in the financial administration of Brabant since the fifteenth century and Thomas Preston's father-in-law, Anthony, was a member of the Society of St George. See G.S. Steinman, 'Sepulchral Memorials', pp 470-1. 'Sebastian Handouche' in petitioning the archduke to favour his 'son-in-law' Dermot O'Mallun, gives us some indication of the standing of his family. He himself was not only seigneur of Hunctun, but his brother, Dermot's uncle-in-law, was a colonel in the Army of Flanders and governor of Hesdin. See 9 Jun. 1614, A.G.R. E.A., liasse, 1887(3).
56. G. Parker's study as above no. 43. Between 1638 to 1647, almost half the Spanish soldiers married Netherlanders.
57. 3 Jan. 1635, A.G.R. A.J., carton 1973, liasse 1974; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 277-80. For two examples see sections (F) and (H).
58. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 29/237; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 544. According to G. Seavers in his article, 'The Seavers of Lusk and Rogerstown, Co. Dublin', in *R.S.A.I. Jr.*, lxxii (1942), Thomas Stanihurst as a close relative of the Seavers, continued to keep up the connection, returned from Flanders in 1610 and settled in Ireland eventually marrying the daughter of Nicholas Seaver. The Brussels military records, however, note the existence of a company of 'Captain Thomas Stanniers', in the regiment of the 'Earl of Tyrone', in 1640, which may have been one and the same person as Thomas Stanihurst. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 39/91v.
59. There may in fact have been two 'Captain Geralds' in O'Neill's regiment, Dona Elena Geraldina attested, sometime after 1605, that her husband Maurice Fitzgerald, 'brother of the Lord of Kerry', who had served 'in the Spanish Army of Flanders' was dead, while the army records document the activities of a Captain Maurice Fitzgerald until 1641. See A.G.S. E.2744. It was presumably this latter Maurice Fitzgerald, who married Owen MacSweeney's daughter, in 1608. It is, of course, possible that those who had wives in Ireland before 1610, remarried at a later date, on the continent. The names of the wives that survive include Kathleen Barnwall (Thomas Finglas), ? Vander Eycken, and later Margaret de Namur (Thomas Preston), Elizabeth Wentworth (Christopher St Lawrence), ? Seavers (Thomas Stanihurst), Elena Ni Cosun (James Gernon), Elen Fitzgerald and a ? MacSweeney (Maurice Fitzgerald), ? MacSweeney (Cornelius O'Driscoll), ?MacSweeney (Teig MacCarthy). Joanna Barry (Hugh O'Gallagher). Note that a Hugh O'Gallagher, tutor to the earl of Tyrconnell was married to a Cecilia Gallagher in 1610.

This may well have been the same Hugh though it is more likely that the Hugh here was a misprint for James Gallagher.

60. 20 Jan. 1607, A.H.V. (Bruges), St Giles, baptisms Bk/2, BA 3. For O'Mallun family see A.H.V. (Bruxelles), St Michel et St Gudule, reg. 85/100; reg. 85/185; reg. 86/99r, reg. 86/149, reg. 88/206, reg. 86/39r, reg. 87/41.
61. See above no. 54. The godparents were Johannes de Trybere (?) and Elizabeth de Mises. For Albert see 7 Jun. 1605, ibid., reg. 81/172r. The godparents are Odamy (?) van Fooche and Joanna Rocfandot.
62. Daniel O'Sullivan was the first Irishman to become a member in 1607. See J.J. Silke, 'The Irish Abroad . . .', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, pp 605-6; Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 127. See also 1619, A.G.S. E.A., liasse 1895(2), ibid., E.G. reg. 62/181v.
63. M. Walsh, *Spanish knights*, i, p. vi.
64. See G.S. Steinman, 'Sepulchral memorials', p. 471; G.E.C., *Complete peerage*, xii, pp 638-41; H. Fitzsimon, *Words of comfort . . .*, p. 97, 108; John Ball, see *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, p. 200, 204; A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 182/38; Dermot O'Mallun, ibid., E.G., reg. 25/355v; Edward Fitzgerald, ibid., reg. 25/106v; Walter de la Hyde, ibid., reg. 25/324v.; Robert Daniel, ibid. reg. 27/28. G. Parker noted that even those from *hildalgo* families could expect no higher position. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 108.
65. John MacErlean, 'Ireland and World Contact', in *Studies*, viii, iii, Pt. i (1919), p. 307. See also 21 Aug. 1587, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 400; A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', in *Cath. Hist. Review*, lx (1964), p. 46, 48.
66. 28 Jun. 1701, John MacErlean, 'Ireland and world contact', pp 308-9.
67. Of course in these two cases the men may have come into this property through their wives. 20 Jul. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 448; 16 Mar. 1641, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 40/158v; 24 Apr. 1647, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 613.
68. *Fugger Newsletters*, pp 120-1.
69. Hugo Grotius, a Dutchman, born in Delft, he actually wrote this history some years after the event. He was born in 1583 and died in 1645. See T. Heywood, *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, p. xviii. Jean Le Clerc, born in Amsterdam, 1657—he was a famous encyclopaedist and Calvinist biblical scholar.
70. *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, p. 241, 261-2.
71. 14 Dec. 1586, ibid., pp 271-2.
72. Sadler, *Papers and Letters*, p. 240; 9 Jan. 1589, *Cal. S.P. for., 1588*, p. 398.
73. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 244.
74. The standard 'barrack' contained accommodation for 4 persons sleeping in 2 beds–4 single or 2 married men. Even well into the seventeenth century, as many as 5 soldiers could be billetted on small houses since it was better houses who usually obtained exemptions. Beds and furniture for the 'barracks' had to be provided by the local magistrates. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 166-7. The *sutler* was the official appointed by the Army of Flander's authorities to oversee the provision of food to the soldiers in each company.
75. A.G.R. E.A., carton, 1930.
76. Ibid., liasse 2007(3).
77. An excellent analysis of the relationship between wage and price rises is done in Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 158-61.
78. The German regiment of Baron Polwiller, for example, received one full pay upon enlistment in 1572, but no more until 1579, when they received only part of what they were due. See Polwiller to Philip II, 10 Feb. 1579, A.G.S. E.580/23.

79. *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, pp 287-8.
80. 7 Mar. 1587, ibid., p. 392; Sadler, *Papers and letters*, p. 236.
81. See Parker, *Spanish road*, pp 290-2. Sources are from the accounts of the *contaduría del sueldo*, and A.G.S. Estado, Flanders.
82. See Chapter 3, pp 58-60.
83. *Cal. S.P. for., 1588*, p. 185; *Cal. S.P. for., 1589*, p. 312; T. Lovell to H. Killigrew, 31 July 1590, *List and Anal. S.P. for.*, ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 4, 'News about Parma', ibid., no. 624, 631.
84. *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xii, pp 493-4; Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 197, 292.
85. 12 Jun. 1596, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 16/104.
86. 7 Aug. 1588, ibid., reg. 11/81; 18 June 1609, ibid., reg. 24/384v-5; Jerrold Casway, 'Unpublished Letters of Owen Roe O'Neill', in *Analect. Hib.*, xxix (1980), pp 222-3.
87. 22 May 1587, *Cal. S.P. for., 1587*, pp 62-3; 19 Dec. 1608, A.G.S. E.1750; M. Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), p. 231; 6 Nov. 1610, M. Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 146. A ducat was a Spanish gold coin of varying weight and value. See glossary for details of its value.
88. 12 Jan. 1597, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 17/204v; 1 Jan. 1602, ibid., reg. 20/192v; 6 Jun. 1603, ibid., reg. 21/216.
89. See ibid., reg. 21/116 to reg. 22/270v. It is noteworthy that the most common age of those receiving such licences was only 22 years.
90. See Chapter 3, pp 64-5; 19 Sep. 1610, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 363. Mechelen was the hospital for expatriate soldiers in Flanders. For more details of Irish involvment with this hospital see Patrick Logan, 'Owen O'Shiel, ?1584-1650', in *Ir. Sword*, vi (1963-4), pp 192-5.
91. 7 Oct. 1621, A.G.R. E.A. liasse 2009.
92. Captain William Darcy, died in service sometime before 1606, Captain Neil O'Mullaoghlyn and George Barnwall died in 1606, while Henry O'Neill died due to illness, in 1610. According to Bentivoglio, Thomas Barry was killed in action at the siege of Amiens, but his name continues to appear on the day roll as captain and later, as an *entretenido* until 1608. Bentivoglio, *Warrs of Flanders*, Pt.iii, p. 355; A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/227v. In John O'Neill's regiment the five captains who died in service were George de la Hyde, Oghy O'Hanlon and James Garland [Gernon] in 1622, Roderick O'Doherty in 1621 and Daniel O'Donnell in 1620. George Fitzgerald died after only four years of service in 1626.
93. See Appendix I for those with long years of service. Those who returned home were Lawrence Barnwall, Alexander Eustace, Thomas Finglas, Henry Fitzgarret Fitzgerald, Christopher and Thomas St Lawrence and William Barrett. For this information on William Barrett I am indebted to Kenneth Nicholls. William Walshe was wounded in 1616 and since no further reference relating to him appears in the Army of Flanders, it is possible that he also went to Ireland. See A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 179/239.
94. 12 May 1608, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/167; 17 May 1608, ibid., reg. 24/170-1; 20 May 1608, ibid., reg. 24/173.
95. Peter Geraldine: Lic., 20 Dec. 1607, ibid., reg. 24/100v; Ret. 12 Mar. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/69v; Victor Brae: Lic., 28 Oct. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/141; Ret. 28 Apr. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/216-16v.
96. 3 Nov. 1589, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/64; John Hennig, 'Irish Soldiers in the Thirty Years War', in *R.S.A.I. Jr.*, lxxxii (1952), pp 28-9.

97. Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 522; A.G.R. E.G., reg. 15/220v-21v.
98. For details on their length of service see A.G.R. E.G., reg. 40/158v, reg. 59/60v, reg. 30/46v, reg. 28/250v. John Kennedy (50 years), Patrick Daniel (47 years), Denis MacCarthy (35 years) and John Burke (30 years).

CHAPTER 5

1. For an excellent review in English of Dutch and Flemish works on the Spanish Netherlands in this period see James Tracy, 'Miscellany—with and without the counter-reformation: the Catholic church in the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic, 1580-1650', in *Cath. Hist. Review*, lxxi (Oct. 1985), pp 547-75. Many of these works claim that, resulting from the aggression of the Protestant north, the southern provinces developed a distinctively 'religious patriotism'.
2. A nunciature was established in Brussels in 1596 by the papacy. However since papal decrees could not be promulgated in the Netherlands without a placet from the council of state, initiative in religious affairs passed more and more to the archduke.
3. I am only examining relations with the merchant community in so far as the merchants may have formed part of the exile group as a whole. It is certainly worth looking at this group as a separate unit who may have had specific grievances with England relating to trade, though unlike Spain there seems to have been no large Irish merchant community in the Low Countries. For a good analysis of this group in the English context see A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', in *Cath. Hist. Review*, (1964), pp 27-51.
4. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation . . .*, ii, p. 428; Sadler, *Papers and Letters*, p. 235.
5. See for example, Hugh Cuff, ? Aug. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 402.
6. See Holinshed's, *Irish Chronicle*, pp 95-112 for names of those in 1577 who had studied various disciplines on the continent. Also John Brady, 'Some Irish scholars of the sixteenth century', in *Studies*, xxxvii (1948), pp 226-31; J.J. Silke, 'Irish scholarship and the Renaissance, 1580-1673', in *Studies in the Renaissance*, xx (1973), pp 169-206.
7. For further information on these colleges see Helga Hammerstein, 'Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reign of Elizabeth I', in *Hist. Studies*, viii (1971), pp 37-54; J.J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, pp 614-23; Canice Mooney, 'The Golden Age of the Irish Franciscans, 1615-50' in S. O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra i gcuimhne Mhichil Ui Chléirigh*; John Brady, 'Father Christopher Cusack and the Irish College at Douai', in S. O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra . . .*; 'The Irish Colleges in Europe and the counter-reformation in *Ir. Cath. Hist. Comm. Proc.*, 1957, pp 1-8.
8. Archduke Albert to Don Francisco de Benavides, 12 Nov. 1605; Jennings (ed.), 'Documents of the Irish College at Douai', in *Archiv. Hib.*, x (1943), pp 200-1. See particularly, John Brady, 'Father Christopher Cusack and the Irish College at Douai', in S. O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra . . .*, and for original sources, Jennings (ed.), 'Documents of the Irish College at Douai;, in *Archiv. Hib.*, x (1943), pp 163-210.
9. They were not however exclusively attended by those training for the priesthood and while their missionary aim had to be emphasised in order to get funding from Spain, many who trained here for the priesthood, did not in fact return to Ireland.
10. See J.J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, p. 624. A list presented to the

archduke and archduchess in 1613 on the Irish students in the college of Douai gave the names of 149 'alumani' who had attended Douai up to 1613. See list in *Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24*, pp 285-6.

11. 1592, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 262. These were almost certainly part-time since there were only 24 Jesuits after 1585 and 12 Franciscans after 1599 employed full-time in the Army of Flanders. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 172.
12. See A.G.R. E.G., reg. 11/80v; Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 145; A.G.R. E.G., reg. 13/121, ibid., reg. 15/220v-21v; 4 February 1594, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, pp 205-7; 1/11 June 1593, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 327 respectively. See Appendix V.
13. See Thomas Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1979), pp 5-9; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 578.
14. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/63v; ibid., reg. 12/61(i). Talbot probably served in Captain Robert Bostock's company. Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 524.
15. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/93v.
16. Nicholas Brae may actually have been the 'Father Brae' referred to in a statement by Simon Cutler on the regiment of Stanley. See 30 March 1594, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 497; Appointment of William Barry as chaplain, 11 December 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/407v; Edmund O'Donoghue, 7 Feb. 1606, ibid., reg. 23/119v; John White, licence granted to him, 30 August 1607, ibid., reg. 24/35v; Dermot O'Hualahayn (Hullacayn?], 22 Aug. 1606, ibid., reg. 23/410; John de la Hyde, 21 Oct. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/260v. (O'Donoghue had previously served in the Spanish navy).
17. See Appendix V. The senior chaplain was Hugh MacCaughwell. This is by no means a total figure as it merely refers to the priests who, for some official reason, came to the attention of the Spanish authorities.
18. A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Campagnie de Jésus aux Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1927-8), pp 408-11.
19. Matius Vitellescus to Gregory Rumer, Rome, 26 Jun. 1621, A.R.S.I. Austria 3(i) p. 157 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu). I am very grateful to Brian Jackson for allowing me to use this reference.
20. Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 524. 14 Nov. 1607, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/81. Fitzsimon recovered however and according to his own account later worked in Flanders, with prisoners who were condemned to the gallows. See Henry Fitzsimon, *Words of Comfort . . .*, pp 263-4.
21. Thomas Edmondes to Salisbury, 5 Apr. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS, xviii, p. 99.*
22. P.J. Corish, *The Catholic experience* (Dublin, 1985), p. 107.
23. See Geoffrey Parker, 'New light on an old theme: Spain and the Netherlands, 1550-1650', *Eur. Hist. Quart.*, xv (1985), pp 219-37. This information on the Irish in Spain was given to me by Micheline Walsh to whom I am very grateful for advising me on this question; A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 18/66. The testimonies were requested by Catherine Dergane, widow of Cornelius Hullurane, Margaret Daly, widow of William Tracey, Nuala Mulrian, widow of Oliver Hackett and Isabella Tax, widow of Raphael Hely. This was probably a necessary procedure to receive an allowance from the funds of the Army of Flanders. See 17 Dec. 1639, A.J., carton 1962-72, liasse 1969, ibid., carton 1963-72, liasse 1968; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 310-11; Grimmelshausen, *Simplicissimus*, p. 127.
24. Henry Fitzsimon, *Words of Comfort . . .*, p. 253.
25. Patrick Kearns, *Down's angelic genius—Aodh Mac Aingil* (Gúr Chinn Trá, 1985), p. 27; 10 Feb. 1609, A.G.R., E.G., reg. 24/324v; 24 Jul. 1627, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 30/364v.
26. O'Hussey, *Teasgasg Crìosdaithe* (Antwerp, 1611). See statement of Richard Morrés, Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 552. A number of other devotional volumes printed at St Anthony's included works by Florence Conry, Antoin Gernon, Brian MacGoilla Coinne.

See Canice Mooney, 'The Golden Age of the Irish Franciscans, 1615-50' in *Measgra . .*, pp 23-33 for summary of these.

27. Robert Persons to Philip III, May 1605, A.G.S. E. 843/12; A.J. Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics, 1603-12(i)* Catholic Record Society lxiv (London, 1906), pp 66-7.
28. Henry Fitzsimon, *Words of comfort . . .*, pp 253-4.
29. See particularly, John Bossy, 'The character of Elizabethan Catholicism', in *Past and Present*, 21 (1962), pp 39-57. Christopher Haigh, 'The continuity of Catholicism in the English reformation', in *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), pp 37-69.
30. *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, pp 278-9; ibid., p. 273; see letter of 19/29 Jan. 1587 in Leicester's, *Correspondentie*, ii, p. 48; Magistrates of Deventer report, 14 Dec. 1586, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, pp 272-3, 337, 418-9; Also 13 Aug. 1586, *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580-6*, p. 604; Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp 136-8.
31. Le Clerc somewhat contemptuously claimed that these 'soldiers had very little knowledge of what religion they were'. See Heywood (ed.), *Cardinal Allen's defence . . .*, pp xviii-xix.
32. Robert Chambers, *Historie of the miracles wrought by the intercession of our Blessed Ladie, at a place called Montague*, ? 1600 quoted in Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 524.
33. 24 Nov. 1589, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/29; 4 Jul. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/196v; Santiago de Compostella; 9 June 1611, ibid., E.A. carton 1939.
34. 1 Feb. 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/105v-6. Receives another grant on 12 Apr. 1608. See ibid., reg. 24/149-49v. 30 May 1608, ibid., reg. 24/175v. See also 8 Jun. 1608, ibid., reg. 24/165v.
35. See B. Jennings, 'Irish preachers and confessors in the archdiocese of Malines, 1607-1794', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxiii (1960). Also Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 541; Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-30.
36. 9 Feb. 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/118v, reg. 24/135v.
37. These were the Jesuits, the Scots seminary at Douai, the Irish students at Douai, the English Benedictine nuns at Brussels, the English Carthusians at Malines, St Dominics, Our Lady of Mount Carmel's, St Francis's and St Augustine's. A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 177/167. In 1596 the money allotted to the Irish infantry included a grant to the forty-three students at Douai. See A.G.S. negoc. de Flandes, E. 612/125-6.
38. John Brady, 'Fr Christopher Cusack and the Irish College of Douai, 1594-1624', in *Measgra . . .*, p. 100.
39. William Brae, 16 Sep. 1609. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/457v.-8. For accounts of Victor Brae see 20 July 1599, ibid., reg. 19/148; 28 Oct. 1601, ibid., reg. 20/141, 28 Apr. 1605; ibid., reg. 22/216-v; 'Archer's information', 1602, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xii, p. 535; Walsh (ed.), 'Womenfolk', p. 98. See B. Jennings, 'The indictment of Fr John Preston, Franciscan', in *Archiv. Hib.* xxvi (1963), pp 50-55.
40. Almost certainly brother to Garrett who was attainted after the Baltinglass revolt. For those Old English gentry families involved in this revolt see Peter Woulfe, 'Some martyrs of the Pale', in *Catholic Emancipation centenary record*, pp 30-35.
41. I am indebted to Colm Lennon of the Maynooth modern history department for this information.
42. For Cornelius MacCarthy alias Cornelius O'Desmond see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-8. For O'Hullacayn, see Walsh (ed.), 'Womenfolk', p. 103.
43. For Hugh MaCaughwell's association with the O'Neills. See Canice Mooney, 'The Irish sword and the Franciscan cowl', in *Ir. Sword*, i (1949), p. 82. The close link between the friars and the Old Irish continued until the rebellion of 1641. See P.J. Corish, *Catholic experience*, p. 42, 54-5, 97-8; J. Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill*, p. 132, 139-40.

44. See B. Jennings, 'Irish names in the Malines ordination registers, 1602-1794', in *I.E.R.*, lxxv (Jan.-Jun. 1951), pp 149-62; lxxvi (Jul.-Dec. 1952), pp 44-48, 128-30, 222-33, 314-18, 399-408, 483-87; lxxvii (Jan.-Jun. 1952), pp 202-7, 366-69. For other lists of Irish names in counter-reformation colleges see John Brady (ed.), 'The Irish colleges in the Low Countries', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xiv (1949), pp 75-83; 'List of Irish Priests and Jesuits' of Douai presented to the Archdukes', see *Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24*, pp 285-6; 'Louvain College of Irish Franciscans', *H.M.C. Rep. iv, App.* pp 602-3. The five names were Thomas Bere, Walter Cheever, Dermot Coffrie, Patrick MacDevitt and Francis Foord. However, three other names from the twenty-eight are difficult to determine from their latin version.
45. The exception was Martha Cheevers. O'Flanders, *Toen Vlaanderen groat was . . .*, p. 235; Helen Concannon, *The Poor Clares of Ireland* (Dublin 1929), pp xxiii-xxv.
46. 13 Aug. 1591, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 410. This letter was allegedly written by O'Connor Sligo but he denied it and it seems Burghley felt that this evidence against O'Connor Sligo was a forgery. Nevertheless, the fact that such a charge was made, indicates how customary such a practice was between Catholics in Ireland and their counterparts on the continent.
47. A.G.S. E. 2745; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 142; 12 Oct. 1609, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 154.
48. J. Hagan (ed.), 'Borghese Collection', in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), p. 267, 270.
49. 22 Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 229.
50. 16 Jan. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 385.
51. M. Walsh, *Spanish knights*, i, pp 1-3.
52. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, viii, pp 428-9. See also Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 242ff.
53. 1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 640. This was perhaps an exaggeration as Christopher St Lawrence got a captaincy although he was a Protestant. See 21 Mar. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 128.
54. Enclosure of Sir Thomas Fane to Salisbury, 8 Jan. 1606, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xviii, p. 11.
55. 19 Oct. 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 300.
56. Beaulieu to Trumbull, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 196; see also memorial of Hugh O'Neill to the king of Spain, 28 Feb. 1612, A.G.S. negoc. de Roma, 997; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 336.
57. As above no. 56, Also, 14 Dec. 1609, Beaulieu to Trumbull, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 201.
58. Richard Moores to Salisbury, end 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, pp 184-5.
59. 1614, Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 557.
60. See Parker, *Spanish road*, p. 172.
61. 20 Jun. 1616, Franciscan MS, J.2, Dun Mhuire, Killiney; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 483. For a later example of this, see Walter Butler's substantial grant to the Franciscans at Prague, Canice Mooney, 'The Irish sword and the Franciscan cowl', in *Ir. Sword*, i (1949), p. 85. Kearns, *Aodh MacAingil*, p. 24. For Gernons collection, see 29 Sep. 1616, *Jennings, Wild Geese*, pp 486-88.
62. A recusant as defined by C. Haigh was a man or woman who made a conscious and public decision to refute the beliefs and practices of the Protestant religion. See Christopher Haigh, 'The continuity of Catholicism in the English reformation', in *Past and Present*,

93 (1981), pp 37-69; See J.J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, pp 591-9. For some example of the motives of 'exiles' see Colm Lennon, 'Richard Stanihurst and the Old English identity, 1547-1618', in *I.H.S.*, xxi (1978), pp 121-43; Colm Lennon, 'Conflict and change . . .', unpub. MA thesis (UCD, 1975); Nicholas Canny, 'The flight of the earls, 1607', in *I.H.S.*, xvii (1971), pp 380-99 for a very good analysis of this question. Also 'Petition of Garret Sutton of Castletown' [undated? 1601], *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiv, p. 196.

63. For first three names, see 2 Feb. 1591, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 13/121. For other grants see 1593, A.G.S. *negoc. de Flandes*, E.599; 12 March 1596, ibid., E. 612/126; 18 Jul. 1598, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 18/147v. Grant to serve 'cerca la persona', 10 November 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/370. He was eventually ordained and became physician and chaplain to Archduke Albert. See also *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-30; Jennings (ed.), 'Malines ordination registers', p. 483; 12 Mar. 1596, A.G.S., *negoc. de Flandes*, E. 612/126; 10 May 1598, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 18/168; 6 Mar. 1599, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 19/30v-31.

64. Thomas was titulary earl of Desmond, son of Sir John of Desmond; see 15 Oct. 1589, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 12/12; ibid. reg. 12/11v.

65. 23 Apr. 1613, A.G.S. E. 999; M. Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, viii (1967-8), p. 231; See above no. 63; Licence for Ireland, 20 Feb. 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/62v.

66. See chapter III, pp 68-9.

67. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 396-8.

68. 19 September 1608. Micheline Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 236.

69. Bathe can in this context be considered to have Old Irish interests since his family had close links with Hugh O'Neill in trade and he was related to O'Neill through marriage. See 17 Aug. 1597, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, p. 386; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 301, 419; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 533-4.

70. 18 May 1608, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 59.

71. 21 Jun. 1609, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xxi, p. 72.

72. Orders for the disbandment of certain Irish companies, 18 Jun. 1609, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/284v-5.

73. 15 Dec. 1605, ibid., reg. 22/413; Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 237.

74. It seems that Edward Fitzgerald had his own influential connections at the court of the archduke. See Florence Conry to Antonio de Aroztegui, 25 Oct. 1610, in Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 271.

75. 14 Feb. 1608, ibid. reg. 24/121v; 8 Jun. 1614, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, p. 485. See Appendix I.

76. See J.J. Silke, 'The Irish Abroad', pp 596-7. Also Silke., 'Spain and the invasion of Ireland, 1601-2', in *I.H.S.*, xiv, pp 300-1.

77. See pp 58-60, 93-5. Also Robert Lombard to Dudley Carleton, 8 Mar. 1613 quoted in Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, pp 250-3.

78. 8 Oct. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 47; 23 Jun. 1612, A.G.R. E.A.R., reg. 447, vol. 13/58; Jenning's *Wild Geese*, p. 135. See Archdukes Albert and Isabella to Philip Maes, 13 Jul. 1612, ibid., reg. 447, vol. 13/130v. James O'Gallagher appears later in the military records as a soldier of the company of Capt. Charles O'Neill in 1623. See 15 July 1623, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 28/391; Also 8 May 1626, ibid., reg. 30/35.

79. 16 May 1613, M. Walsh (ed.), 'Last years' in *Ir. Sword*, viii (1967-8), p. 234; MacCurtain, 'Fondo Santa Sede', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxvi (1963), p. 42.

80. 26 Feb. 1613, A.G.S., negoc. de Roma, E. 999; M. Walsh (ed.), 'Last years' in *Ir. Sword*, viii (1967-8), pp 230-1.

81. Ibid.
82. Ambrosio Spinola, commander-in-chief of the Spanish troops in Flanders, 16 May 1613, as above no. 80. For council agreement see 20 Apr. 1613, in Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 302.
83. 14 Feb. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-9*, p. 414.
84. 14 Jul. 1609, A.G.S. negoc. de Roma, E. 988; M. Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), p. 223.
85. See 9 Dec. 1615, 12 Feb. 1616, in Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 368, 371; Pope Paul V to Archduke Albert, 5 Jul. 1608, Giblin (ed.), 'Barberini Latini', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xviii (1955), p. 92; Hagen (ed.), 'Borghese Collection' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 260-1.
86. 12 Oct. 1610, A.G.S. negoc. de Roma, E.1861; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 146.
87. See account of Edmondes' attempts to prevent this appointment, see Casway, 'Henry O'Neill and the formation of the Irish regiment', *I.H.S.*, xviii (1972-3), pp 485-6. See memorial of Florence Conry to king of Spain, 9 Sep. 1610, A.G.S. E. 1751; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 145.
88. Note John was the son of Catherine Magennis, Hugh's fourth wife. There seems to be some dispute in the Spanish documents as to whether John was in fact twelve or fourteen. 12 Oct. 1610, A.G.S. negoc. de Roma E. 1861; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 146; Mancicidor to de Prada, 10 Oct. 1610, in Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 268.
89. 24 Jan. 1610, A.G.S. negoc. de Roma, E. 994; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 138.

CHAPTER 6

1. A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan commerce with Spain', in *Cath. Hist. Review*, lx (1964), pp 42-3.
2. By far the best treatment of Spanish diplomatic policies is done by A.J. Loomie. See his *Spanish Elizabethans*, and *Jacobean Catholics*, i.
3. J.J. Silke, 'Spain and the invasion of Ireland, 1601-2', in *I.H.S.*, xiv (1964-5), pp 311-12.
4. See for example letter of Fr Persons, A.G.S. E.843/12: Loomie, *Jacobean Catholics*, i, pp 66-9; Kearns, *Aodh MacAingil*, pp 20-2; Hammerstein, 'Aspects of continental education', in *Hist. Studies*, viii (1971), pp 145-50.
5. For an analysis of the emerging cultural identity of the Old English group, see Colm Lennon, 'Richard Stanihurst and the Old English identity, 1547-1618', in *I.H.S.*, xxi (1978), pp 121-43; Aidan Clarke, 'Colonial identity in early seventeenth century Ireland', in T.W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the pursuit of national independence* (Belfast, 1978), pp 57-71. On Old Irish 'Catholic loyalism', see Mary O'Dowd, 'Gaelic economy and society' in Brady & Gillespie (eds.), *Natives & newcomers*, pp 120-47.
6. 21 Jan. 1587, *Cal. S.P. for., 1586-7*, pp 327-8.
7. 20 Feb. 1587, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-8*, p. 266. See also 'Declaration of Capt. Gwyn', P.R.O., S.P. 63/149/156.
8. 'Advices from Brussels', *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iii, p. 271; *Cal. S.P. for., 1588(ii)*, p. 351. See also ibid., p. 349, 365, 403.
9. See 18 Jan. 1591, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 671; 14 Oct. 1591, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 145, 156.

10. For details see *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, i (Aug. 1589-June 1590), no. 651; *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 633. Apart from two private reports of John Calville and John Daniel to Salisbury in 1599 there seems to be no other report of this nature concerning Stanley and his regiment, between 1592 and 1602. For these two accounts see, *H.M.C. Salisbury, MSS*, ix, p. 33, ibid., xiv, p. 106.
11. 21 Dec. 1588, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*; pp 88-9; 20 Mar. 1590, *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 576.
12. See Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp 141-4, 147-51, 157, 164. See also *Acts privy council, 1590*, p. 155, 164; July 1593, *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 606.
13. 5 Jul. 1590, *List & Anal. S.P. for.*, ii (Jul. 1590-May 1591), no. 657; Also 18 Oct. 1590, ibid., no. 652.
14. A.G.S. E.598/23, 27.
15. 18 Oct. 1602, A.G.S. E.2512/64; Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 172.
16. Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp 157-8, 165.
17. Ibid., p. 163.
18. Ibid., pp 141-5, 150, 255. Dr William Allen's book, *Concerning the yieldinge up of the Citie of Daventrie* (Antwerp, 1587); Robert Persons, *A manifestation of the great folly ...* (Antwerp, 1602).
19. A.G.S. E.2288.
20. 5 May 1598, ibid.
21. 17 Feb. 1601, A.G.S. E.1743. The patent was actually given to Sir Henry Flood.
22. See J.J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, pp 595-6; T. Veech, *Dr Nicholas Saunders and the English reformation* (Louvain, 1935), p. 202, 228ff; Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp 22-4.
23. For example, see *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, pp 608-11, 617, 619, 623, 657; A.G.S. E.839, 840/67. For a good overall summary of the position of the towns of the pale see Anthony Sheehan, 'Irish towns in a period of change 1558-1625', in Brady & Gillespie (eds.), *Natives & newcomers*, pp 93-119.
24. Hiram Morgan, 'Hugh O'Neill and the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland, in forthcoming *Hist. Jr.*, pp 7-9; J.J. Silke, 'The Irish appeal of 1593 to Spain', in *I.E.R.*, xcii (1959), p. 289.
25. Servant to Lord Chancellor Hatton.
26. Cormac was brother to Florence MacCarthy. Examination of Cormac MacCarthy, 14 Jan. 1589, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 109; Examination of Maurice Fitzgibbon, 20 May 1590, ibid., p. 345; P.R.O., S.P. 63/145/84.
27. MacCarthy, *Life and letters*, pp 104-7.
28. 23 Mar. 1589, MacCarthy, *Life and letters*, p. 68, 104; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-88*, p. 337.
29. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1586-88*, pp 68-9; P.R.O., S.P. 63/145/84.
30. 23 Apr. 1593, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, p. 93; Feb. 1599, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xiv, p. 106.
31. See Colm Lennon, 'Conflict and change in Old English society', Unpubl. M.A. thesis (U.C.D., 1975), p. 139.
32. Ibid., pp. 142, 152.
33. 23 Apr. 1613, A.G.S. E.999; Thomas Fitzherbert, *A defense of the Catholyke cause* (Rome, 1602), p. 5.
34. 18/28 Jun. 1591, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 118. The letter was written in Irish.
35. 24 Apr. 1593, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1592-6*, pp 93-4; 15 Feb. 1599, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, p. 481; Report on 'Quality of entretenidos for the Archduke', 1596, A.G.S. E.612/125-27; E.617/24.

36. As above, no. 31. See also *Cal. S.P. dom., 1591-4*, p. 427.
37. 15 Feb. 1599, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, p. 481; For list see 18 June 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 254.
38. 7 Oct. 1596, A.G.S. E.839/657; *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 642.
39. See archduke to Hugh O'Neill, 15 June 1600, in Hagan (ed.), 'Borghese Collection', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 236-7; Fenton to Cecil, 28 Aug. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 382; Micheline Walsh, *Destruction by peace—Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale* (Árd Mhàca), p. 158; 2 Nov. 1600, P.R.O. S.P. 77/6/218.
40. 'Intelligence of George Herbert', Sept. 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 515; MacCarthy, *Life and letters*, p. 240.
41. Waad to Cecil, 5 Sept. 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 440. For reports on Kavanagh's activities with Hugh O'Neill, see 24 Mar. 1597, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1596-7*, p. 248; 30 Oct. 1598, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, viii, p. 401. For Richard Owen, see 28 Nov. 1600, A.G.S. E.480/696; *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 674.
42. Those from the Low Countries with Florence MacCarthy were Richard Burke, Theobold Burke, Teig O'Malley, Owen O'Malley and the Scottish Donnell Oge MacDonnell Gorme. See 18 Mar. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 53. Those with O'Sullivan Beare at Dunboy Castle were William Burke, Donnell MacCarthy, son of Sir Fynn O'Driscoll, Donnogh Moyle MacCarthy, Dermot Moel MacCarthy. For full list of officers with O'Sullivan see, 29 May 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 395. It is noteworthy that some of these soldiers may well have served in the English army in the Low Countres, as was certainly the case with Teig O'Malley.
43. 28 Jun. 1591, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, iv, p. 118.
44. 1595, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, v, p. 515; 27 Sep. 1599 in Hagan (ed.), 'Borghese Collection', in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 235-6.
45. 4 May 1600, A.G.S. E.840/679; *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587- 1603*, pp 657-8.
46. Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 153, 157, 165, 167.
47. See Chapter 2, pp 44-5, Chapter 3, pp 63, 68-9. 24 Nov. 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 527, 573-4, 582.
48. See particularly detailed report of Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Robert Cecil regarding these rumours. 7 May 1603, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 47.
49. 30 Dec. 1604, P.R.O. S.P. 63/216/56; 14 Sep. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 572.
50. 19 Nov. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 27.
51. 7 May 1605, A.G.S. *negoc. de Flandes, E.225/2*.
52. A.G.R. E.A., reg. 365/224-5; 14 Jul. 1608, A.G.S. negoc. de Roma, E.988; Walsh (ed.), 'Last Years', in *Ir. Sword*, v (1961-2), p. 224.
53. Casway, 'Henry O'Neill and the formation of the Irish Regiment in the Netherlands, 1605', in *I.H.S.*, xviii (1972-3), pp 481-8.
54. For his request for a commission, see below no. 55.
55. B.M. Harleian, MS 1875/73v-74.
56. See Casway, 'Henry O'Neill and the Irish Regiment', pp 486-7.
57. 8 Apr. 1608, Loomie, *Jacobean Catholics*, i, p. xix, 115-16.
58. 15 Sep. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 275; 14 Feb. 1608, ibid., pp 414-15.
59. 30 Sep. 1607, ibid., p. 624; 18 May 1608, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, pp 59-60.
60. For the fifteen page long report of this conference by the baron de Hoboken to Archduke Albert, see A.G.R. E.A., reg. 365/202-5v, 365/208-10, 365/213-14, 365/218-18v.
61. A.G.R. E.G., reg. 24/365-6.

62. For a series of documentation relating to Hugh O'Neill's political diplomacies on the continent, see Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .* as above no. 39.

63. 11 Nov. 1608, Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 6; 8 Mar. 1613 in Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, pp 250-3.

64. See Chapter 3, pp 64-5, Chapter 5, pp 111-13 for details of this battle by O'Neill on behalf of the regiment. For correspondence between 1614-15, see letters of 6 Dec. 1614, 30 Apr. 1615, 13 Sep. 1615, 9 Dec. 1615 in Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 339, 345, 363-4, 368 respectively.

65. 14 Oct. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 626; O'Cianáin, *Flight*, p. 43; ?26 Dec. 1607 in Giblin (ed.), 'Barberini Latini' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xviii (1955), p. 94.

66. See respectively Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 533; 4 Dec. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 345; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6); p. 141; 9 Sep. 1610, Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 267; 13 Sep. 1615, ibid., p. 361.

67. 23 Mar. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 649; 18 May 1608, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 59.

68. 13 Aug. 1609, A.G.S. E.1752; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 12; Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, pp 113-14. The 'business matters' referred to will be dealt with below in this chapter.

69. Very little concrete research, however, has been done in this area. See Corish, *Catholic experience*, p. 42, 54-5, 97-8.

70. Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 372, 352-4.

71. See for example, the case of Thomas Mulcloy, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, ix, p. 156. Also see Dec. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 364-83.

72. Fenton to Cecil, 26 Apr. 1600, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600*, p. 124; Friar Matheu de Caria to Hugh O'Neill, 5 Jan. 1601, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 107. See report of Matthew Wadding, 13 Jul. 1601, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 425; Fr Ludovico Masoni, SJ to Aldobrandini, 24 Jan. 1602, 'Correspondence of Fr Ludovico Masoni, SJ', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xvii (1954), pp 16-19. He appears to have been disuaded from the religious life by the combined efforts of Hugh MacCaughwell and Cardinal Guevara, archbishop of Santiago, both of whom felt Hugh O'Neill would strongly disapprove of such a career for his son. See Kearns, *Aodh MacAingil*, pp 12-14.

73. Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 227-30; 7 Oct. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 301-2.

74. Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 69, 175-6; J.J. Silke, 'Hugh O'Neill, the catholic question and the papacy', in *I.E.R.* (Jul.-Dec. 1965), pp 65-79; Report of the Spanish council of state to Philip III, 10 Jul. 1610, A.G.S. E.2745; Walsh (ed.), 'Last years' in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), pp 141-2; 13 Jun. 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 461. Also letter of Infanta Isabella to Philip IV, 22 Oct. 1626, A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 195/219.

75. See 'Pacification, plantation and the catholic question', in *New Hist. of Ire.*, p. 210 for details of his connection with Hugh O'Neill; Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 83, 242.

76. He was born in Mullacrew. See respectively Brady (ed.), 'Irish colleges in the Low Countries', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xiv (1949), p. 67; 6 Feb. 1599, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598-9*, p. 475; 12 Sep. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 569; 22 Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-8*, pp 227-8; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 418-19.

77. Kearns, *Aodh MacAingil*, p. 4, 15, 41; Meehan, *Fate and fortunes*, p. 249, 322; Jennings, *Wild Geese*, pp 553-4.

78. See Jerrold Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp 24-32. Regarding Owen's commission as major see 25 Oct. 1610, Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 271.

79. Of the eight official appointments made between 1605 to 1610 four were of Old Irish

stock. See Appendix V.

80. 19 Sep. 1605, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 312.
81. The other friar was William Ferir. See 22 Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 227.
82. 27 Jun. 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 475; 22 Aug. 1606, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 23/416v. For details of his career after 1606, see Walsh (ed.), 'Womenfolk', p. 103. See also Henry Fitzsimon, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 660-1; Perrot, *Chron. Ire., 1584-1608*, p. 158.
83. 21/22 Oct. 1607, O'Cianáin, *Flight*, p. 37, 69; Examination of James Loache (Roche?), 18 Dec. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 358-9.
84. Almost certainly composed by Florence Conry and Robert Chamberlain. For good English summary of this entire oration, see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, pp 122-5.
85. 4 Dec. ?1605, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xvii, p. 542.
86. 4 Apr. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 442-3.
87. 23 Apr. 1606, ibid., p. 454.
88. Lords of council to Chichester, 22 Jul. 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 231-2.
89. 27 Sept. 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 503.
90. Enclosure from Carew to privy council, 6 Jul. 1601, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1*, p. 416; 13 Sep. 1611, *H.M.C. Wingfield-Digby MSS*, p. 535.
91. 'Seminarie priests' was normally the term applied by the English authorities to those priests, usually Jesuits, who had been trained on the continent, though it was also used to distinguish between the secular clergy and those of religious orders. For Morrés' report see *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, p. 184.
92. O'Hussey received help from Robert Chamberlain in writing this catechism, a debt which O'Hussey acknowledges at the end of this work. See O'Hussey, *Teagasg Críosdaithe*, p. 95.
93. Ibid., p. 18. See also O'Hussey's two poems on exile and a sketch of his work in de Blacam, *Gaelic Lit.*, pp 157-8.
94. *Scathán Shacramuinte ne hAithridhe* (Louvain, 1618); *Sgathán an Chrábhaidh* (Louvain, 1616). The latter was a translation from the Spanish work *Deseoso*, though written with some interesting adjustments to suit the Irish context. For a brief summary of the works of MacCaughwell and Conry, see de Blacam, *Gaelic Lit.*, p. 161, 219-25.
95. S.S.A. lines (6132-5).
96. See S.S.A. (61-73), (2852-6). See also (1550-5) (3073-88) for further examples.
97. A.V. Fondo Borghese, series 1, vol. 269/85; Hagan (ed.), 'Borghese Collection', in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), pp 300-2. See also P.J. Corish, 'An Irish counter-reformation bishop: John Roche', in *Ir. Theol. Quart.*, xxv (1958), pp 30-1.
98. See J.J. Silke, 'Primate Lombard and James I' in *Ir. Theol. Quart.*, xxii (Apr., 1955), p. 128; Hagan (ed.), 'Borghese Collection', in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), p. 277.
99. Kearns, *Aodh MacAingil*, p. 24.
100. 27 Sept. 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 579-80.
101. See *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 351, 557, 227 respectively.
102. 30 Mar. 1603, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 8.
103. 3 Mar. 1603, *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587-1603*, p. 737.
104. Deposition of Ellyn ney Connor, 20 July 1602, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 448.
105. See above in this chapter.
106. Walter Butler, son of the baron of Dunboyne. 19 Feb. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 420.
107. 1 Apr. 1608, *Cal S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, pp 652-3.
108. Lombard, *De regno Hiberniae sanctorum insula commentarius* (Louvain, 1632). See also J.J. Silke, as above, no. 98.

109. For excellent analysis of the progression in Lombard's thought, see J.J. Silke, 'Hugh O'Neill, the catholic question and the papacy', in *I.E.R.* (Jul.-Dec. 1965), pp 65-79.
110. See Guilday, *Catholic refugees*, i, p. 20; Christopher Haigh, 'The continuity of Catholicism in the English reformation', in *Past & Present*, 93 (1981), pp 37-69; Moran, *Spicil. Ossor.*, i, pp 109-11.
111. As above, no. 97.
112. Corish, 'An Irish counter-reformation bishop: John Roche', p. 27; Hagan (ed.), 'Borghese Collection', in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), pp 284-6. The priority of establishing a solid church organisation in Ireland was, however, one shared by such Old Irish as Cornelius Ward and Patrick Hegarty. This point was made by B. Jackson in a paper on 'Irish friars in the Western Isles' to a T.C.D. Seminar, 1986.
113. See 'Memorial of Hugh O'Neill to King of Spain', 29 July 1610, Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), pp 143-4; 1 Nov. 1609, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, pp 167-8.
114. Archduke to duke of Lerma, 13 Aug. 1609, Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 13.
115. 4 May 1611, MacCurtain (ed.), 'Fondo Santa Sede' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxvi (1963), p. 42; Trumbull to sec. of State, 13 Feb. 1612, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, iii, pp 236-7.
116. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 642. See also ibid., p. 632, 641.
117. 21 Jun. 1605, A.G.R. E.G., reg. 22/213v; April 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 453.
118. Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 551; A.G.R. E.G.C., reg. 187/259-60.
119. 21 Jun. 1609, *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, xxi, p. 72.
120. 20 Sep. 1609, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 132.
121. See for example testimony of James Bathe in Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 536.
122. As above, no. 120.
123. J.J. Silke, 'Hugh O'Neill, the Catholic question and the papacy', pp 65-79; Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill . . .*, p. 24.
124. James was brother to Captain John Bathe. 9 Jan. 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 643; 14 Feb. 1608, ibid., p. 415.
125. Juan de Mancicidor to archduke, 10 Oct. 1610, Walsh, *Destruction by peace . . .*, p. 268.
126. 20 Sep. 1609, *H.M.C. Downshire MSS*, ii, p. 132.
127. Edmondes to Trumbull, 19 Oct. 1609, ibid., pp 161-2; P.R.O., S.P. 77/9/203; P.R.O., S.P. 77/11/351-2.
128. Nov. 1613, P.R.O., S.P. 77/10/364.
129. 9 Sept. 1610, A.G.S. E.1751: Walsh (ed.), 'Last years', in *Ir. Sword*, vii (1965-6), p. 145.
130. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32*, pp 191-3. Although this memorandum is calendered under the year 1626, it was almost certainly written prior to 20 Jul. 1616 since Eustace refers to Hugh O'Neill as 'now old and decaying'.
131. The work commissioned by Sorley was *Duanaire Finn* or *The Book of the lays of Fionn*. 3 Pts. (Louvain, 1626).

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MS 171	Gernon de Gernstown, Killincoole, Co. Louth (pp 157-60)
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E.G., regs10-28	Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre
E.G.C., regs 177-188	Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre, correspondences des Gouverneurs
C.P.E. carton 1356	Conseil Privé, Régime espagnol
E.A.R., 447/13/58	Papiers d'État et de l'Audience, negoc. de Rome

Netherlands, Bruges

BA/3	Archives de l'Hôtel de Ville, paroisse de Saint Giles
BA/5	Archives de l'Hôtel de Ville, paroisse de Notre Dame
BA/14	Archives d'État, reg. van Poorterien
BA/17	Archives de Familie du Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove
BA/21	Inscriptions Funéraires de Bruges

Netherlands, Brussels

Bb/1, Bb/2	Archives de l'Hôtel de Ville, paroisse de Saints Michel et Gudule
Bb/3	Archives de l'Hôtel de Ville, paroisse de Saint Catherine
Bb/7	Archives Générales de Royaume, Bibliothèque, N.2569. 'Extracts from Monumenta Antiqua Inscriptiones et Coenotaphia Insignis Ecclesiae Collegiatae, S.S. Michaeli Archangelo et Gudulae Virgini Sacrae', Caput vii (Pt i)

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E.606/96	Report on Stanley's regiment, 1593
E.606/100	Report on pensioners in Stanley's regiment, 1593
E.612/125-7	Report on quality of pensioners of Archduke, 1596
E.617/24 and E.617/56	Pensioners in the Army of Flanders after the *reformación*, 1600
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Legs 593-619	Documents relating to Irishmen, 1587-1601
Legs 619-34, 2027-35	Documents relating to Irishmen, 1601-22

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