# THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND

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The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland by John P. Prendergast

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# JOHN P. PRENDERGAST

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THE

## **CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT**

of

## IRELAND.

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Or all possessions in a country Land is the most desirable It is the most fixed. It yields its returns in the form of rent with the least amount of labour or forethought to the owner. But, in addition to all these advantages, the possession of it confers such power, that the balance of power in a state rests with the class that has the balance of Land.

The laws of most of the states of Europe since the days of the Northern invasions have been made by the landowners. They have been enabled to prescribe to the mass of the people on what conditions they shall live on the land, or whether indeed they shall live there at all.

The term "Settlement," of such great import in the history of Ireland in the Seventeenth century, means nothing else than the settlement of the balance of land according to the will of the strongest; for force, not reason, is the source of law. And by the term Cromwellian Settlement is to be understood the history of the dealings of the Commonwealth of England with the lands and habitations of the people of Ireland after their conquest of the country in the year 1652. As their object was rather to extinguish a nation than to suppress a religion, they seized the lands of the Irish, and transferred them (and with them all the power of the state) to an overwhelming flood of new English settlers, filled with the intensest national and religious hatred of the Irish.

Two other settlements followed, which may be called the Restoration Settlement and the Revolution Settlement. The one was a counter-revolution, by which some of the Royalist

English of Ireland and a few of the native Irish were restored to their estates under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.\* The other (or Revolution Settlement) followed the victory of William III, at the battle of the Boyne. By it the lands lately restored to the Royalist English and a few native Irish were again seized by the Parliament of England and distributed among the conquering nation. At the Court for the Sale of Estates forfeited on account of the war of 1690, the lands could be purchased only by Englishmen. No Irishman could purchase more than the site for a cabin ; for to the condition of cottagers it was intended that the relics of the nation should be reduced.<sup>†</sup>

The Penal Laws, which lasted nearly in full force till the breaking out of the first American War, were nothing but the complement of the Forfeited Estates Act. Their main purpose was, on the one hand, to prevent the Irish from ever enlarging their landed interest beyond the low state to which it had been reduced after the sales by the Forfeited Estates Court—for which reason they were forbid to purchase land; and, on the other hand, to contrive by all political ways, and particularly by denying them the power to make settlements of their property by deed or will, and by making their lands divisible equally among their sons at their death, to crumble and break in pieces the remnant that had escaped confiscation,

\* Such was the national hatred of the Royalists of England to the Irish (who fought, and lost country and every thing for the King), that even in their common exile abroad they rejoiced at Cromwell's proceedings in stripping the Irish of their lands :--

"We are at a dead calm [writes Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, from Paris, in 1654] for all manner of intelligence. Cromwell, no doubt, is very busy. Nathaniel Flennes is made Chancellor of Ireland : and they doubt not to plant that kingdom without opposition. And truly, if we can get it again, we shall find difficulties removed which a virtuous prince and more quiet times could never have compassed." Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Betius, Paris, 29th May, 1654.—Clarendon's "State Tracts," vel, iii., p. 244. Folio. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

<sup>+</sup> They could be purchased by Protestants (i. c., English) only. Ist Anne, st. 1, c. 26, sec. 8, English Statute. Two acres was the utmost an Irishman could take a lease of.—Ib., sec. 10.

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and thereby to deprive them of all power and consideration in the state.\* It will thus be seen that these three Settlements are only parts of one whole, and that the Cromwellian Settlement is the foundation of the present settlement of Ireland.

The term Settlement being understood in this sense, the present sketch is conversant directly with the measures taken by the Parliament of England in dealing with the land. The history of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the personal character of Cromwell and the chief actors, the account of the war from 1649 to 1653, are no further touched upon than has been thought necessary to the main purpose of this sketch. But it will be seen from the Introduction, and in treating the details of the Cromwellian Settlement, how large a share of the history of Ireland is involved in the Land question.

From the days of the first invasion, the King and Council of England intended to make English landed proprietors in Ireland the rulers of Ireland, as William the Conqueror had made the French of Normandy landlords and rulers of the English. Though the Government of England were interrupted in this course by the wars of Edward II for the subjection of the Scotch, by the wars of Edward III and his successors for the crown of France, and finally by the civil wars of England, called the "Wars of the Roses," the design was never abandoned. And when Henry VIII, disencumbered of any foreign war or domestic treason, had time to destroy the house of Kildare, he projected the clearing of Ireland to the Shannon, and colonizing it with English. But the new conquest of Ireland only really began in the reigns of his three children, Edward

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;As to the intention of the Act," it is plain the legislature had a double view; first, to disable Pupists from enlarging their landed interest, so as they should soon moulder away in their hands: the second view was to encourage them to become converts' by throwing some temporal invitation in their way." Vicars against Carrol, in the Exchequer, 10th February, 1728. "Several Special Cases on the Laws against the further Growth of Popery in Ireland. By Gorges Edward Howard, Esq." Svo. Dublin, 1775, p. 87.

VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, when the conquest of the lands of the Irish for the purpose of new colonizing or planting them with English was resumed, after an interval of During this interval the more than three hundred years. English Pale, or that part of Ireland subject to the regular jurisdiction of the King of England and his laws, had been gradually contracting-partly by the English of Ireland throwing off the feudal system, and partly by reconquests effected by the Irish, until in the reign of Henry VI. the Pale was nearly limited by the line of the Liffey and the Boyne. Beyond the Pale the English and the Irish dwelt intermixed. And in all the plans for restoring the regular administration of the King's laws in Ireland, previous to the reign of Edward VI., it was always proposed that the English of Ireland should be brought back to their ancient military discipline, and should conquer from the Irish the lands in their possession, in order that they might be given to English under grants on feudal conditions by the King.

But the English of Ireland clearly foresaw that the effect of the complete conquest of the Irish would be to give the Government of Ireland to the English of England. Their armed retainers, called Gallowglasses and Kerne, would be put down, as there would no longer remain the pretence of defending the land from the King's Irish enemies. With the regular administration of English laws would come back wardships, marriages, reliefs, escheats, and forfeitures, which they were only too happy to have thrown off in the days of Edward II.; and the final result would be to bring over new colonists from England, who would be rivals to supplant them in the favour of the Government, and in all the offices of the State. The English of Ireland, consequently, were secretly indisposed to effect the reconquest, and it was not until they were subdued that the second conquest began.

The first blow to the English of Irish birth was the limiting the power of Parliament. In the reign of Henry VII., Sir Edward Poynings forced from the Irish Parliament a statute

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