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History Studies: University of Limerick History Society Vol (19)

Item Type	Other
Authors	University of Limerick History Society,
Download date	2026-06-09 09:08:01
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Link to Item	https://hdl.handle.net/10344/8910

History Studies



University of Limerick

Volume 19

2018

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Cover design by Jennifer McCaffrey and Nora McGillicuddy, Limerick School of Art and Design, Limerick Institute of Technology. The cover incorporates the concepts of past, present and future, which is depicted, firstly by the use of the Buddhist symbol Aum. The idea is secondly represented by the illustrative heads looking in different directions. They symbolise the search for history by past, present and future historians.

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Foreword

In a recent article in *The Times* Jenni Russell acclaimed the discipline of history for its achievements in analysing the universality of human experiences and the conditions that framed them.¹ History, she writes, teaches the reasons for the waxing and waning of power, and seeks to explain the often unintended consequences of political decisions. At its heart is its appeal to societies, like our own, that are in the process of questioning their identities.

But for all the good reasons for studying history, Russell laments a decline in university enrolments, and attributes this to recent negative developments in a subject that has allegedly become inward-looking and overspecialized. Moreover, such is the obsession with accumulating evidence, that some modern history books have the appearance of undigested transcriptions of source material, rather than lucid and insightful interpretations that bring the past alive.

There is much to be said for these criticisms. Anyone with experience as a manuscript reviewer or journals editor will be familiar with the shortcomings of bad history—the meaningless jargon, archival clutter, disorganised presentation of information and argument, historiographical name-checking, obsession with minor anecdotal information at the expense of broader conclusions, verbatim repetition of material already published elsewhere, and near total obliviousness to the experience of the unfortunate reader.

And yet, not all history suffers from these failings. At its best, historical writing shines a light on the complexities of past civilisations to reconstruct and contextualize the way people used to think and behave. As an example we can point to the six

¹ Jenni Russell, 'Studying History tells us who we really are', *The Times*, 7 Nov. 2019.

excellent articles presented here in the most recent volume of *History Studies*. Together they show that by re-examining old questions with new evidence, and by applying innovative approaches to carefully selected topics, history may continue to enlighten and inform. The areas that are discussed in these essays include religious history, representations of gender and identity, high politics, cultural perceptions, social reform. What is common in all of them is a freshness of interpretation that allows the reader to think of apparently familiar subjects in new and interesting ways.

Talitha Maria Schepers has considered Antonio de Salazar y Frías's rational approach to the business of investigating allegations of diabolic heresy in seventeenth-century Navarre. Her essay conveys an idea of the beneficial role of the Inquisition in limiting the spread of witch persecution south of the Pyrenees. Gillian Sarah Macdonald, meanwhile, has provided a vigorously written examination of the uncertainties of the Williamite revolution in Scotland at a time when the new government had its back to the wall in dealing with Jacobite insurgency. Her essay provides an important contextualization to the more familiar events surrounding the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim. This emphasis on contextualization is also to the fore in Stephen Griffin's analysis of the process behind the selection of John Walkingshaw of Barrowfield as the Jacobite representative in Vienna in 1716. It is set within a wider discussion of the requirements and practices of diplomacy in the early eighteenth century, and the use of social relationships as a means of obtaining practical ends.

These authors' achievements are echoed in the three essays dealing with more recent history. Triona Waters has examined the limited provisions made to take care of the poor and insane during the years before the passing of legislation for the establishment of district lunatic asylums in Ireland. Her research into travel journals

and the records of Houses of Industry, as well as the report of the 1817 Commons Select Committee on the Lunatic Poor in Ireland amounts to a harrowing account of pre-famine poverty and the mistreatment of the mentally ill.

The essays by Holly O’Farrell and Lynda Ganly are concerned with the exclusion of subordinated viewpoints from academic study. Holly O’Farrell has looked at the ways in which museum curatorship in the late nineteenth century has been responsible for creating and defining artificial hierarchies of cultural identity whilst all but ignoring the contributions of non-western civilisations. In a not dissimilar way, traditional narratives of Irish independence have tended to leave out the part played by women. Lynda Ganly has reconstructed the role of Alice Ginnell as a supporter of the 1916 rebellion, advocate of gender equality, diplomat’s wife in South America, and agent for the perpetuation of the original egalitarian ideals of the Irish struggle for freedom.

Taken together, these six essays show graduate research in history at its very best, and are a delight to read.

Alistair Malcolm MA (St Andrews), D. Phil. (Oxon),

Acting Head of Department

23 November 2019

Editorial

Given that the years 2018 and 2019 mark the centenary of the conclusion of the First World War and the outbreak of numerous attempts at radical political, social and cultural change, the theme of this volume was designated to be ‘Moments of Revolution’. When one thinks of the term ‘revolution’, France in 1789 or Russia in 1917 may automatically spring to mind. In his study of the rule of Louis XIV, David Sturdy noted that while the word, in its modern sense, may denote political change, in its seventeenth century incarnation it bore both cosmological and political connotations; a ‘revolution’ was a return to a previous condition in addition to implying violent change.² This present volume notes change in all its variant forms, be they political, social, cultural or otherwise and its effects. The contents in the first half of this volume discuss revolutions and their aftermath, be they in the years 1916-21 or 1688 and thereafter. In the second half, our contributors discuss social and cultural change from the early modern to modern periods. As always, our papers are drawn from amongst undergraduate and postgraduate students from various institutions across the world. Our new editorial team further this trend to make this a volume that has been compiled by the efforts of individuals from five different countries in three different continents. We hope that this transnational trend may continue to bear fruit in order to ensure the excellent quality of this journal in the coming years.

As editors, we wish to thank Professor Desmond Fitzgerald, President of University of Limerick, for his generous sponsorship and support of this journal. Dr Alistair Malcolm, Acting Head of the Department of History, University of Limerick,

² David J. Sturdy, *Louis XIV* (London, 1998), p. 37.

for the continued financial support which this journal enjoys from the Department of History. We are also extremely grateful for the ongoing and generous financial support of Dr Niamh NicGhabhann, Assistant Dean of Research. The editors also extend their gratitude to the Dean of the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Professor Helen Kelly-Holmes for her continued support of this journal. We wish to thank Stephen Griffin, our predecessor as editor, for his guidance and instructions. To Dr David Fleming, we offer our thanks for his guidance and representations on our behalf. Finally, we wish to express our thanks to our contributors, whose hard work has made this possible.

The editors:

Milena Cosentino

Maelle LeRoux

Tracy McCarthy

Alice Ginnell and other defenders of women's rights in early twentieth century Ireland

Lynda Ganly*

In Dianne Dugaw's book, *Warrior women and popular balladry, 1650-1850*, the word 'heroine' is used to describe the stereotype of a woman who 'masquerades as a man and goes to war'.¹ Gráinne Ní Mháille is a female figure in Irish history who is one example of this. She is recalled for being a determined pirate and commander in Ireland in the 1500s.² Ní Mháille allegedly cut her hair short like a man before her first voyage. In the wake of the Irish revolution, this was still the case as Countess Constance Markievicz is primarily remembered for being one of the only women who physically engaged in battle during the 1916 Easter Rising. While the women who fought in Ireland's name were certainly courageous and are worthy of commemoration, this article will argue that they were not the only heroines in Irish history. It explores another group of women who showed their bravery not through violence, but by consistently speaking up for what they believed was right. In particular, it will examine female activists who fought for gender equality in Ireland during the early twentieth century.

Many of these women are not well-remembered but through primary source research, their stories can be unearthed. One such example is Alice Ginnell. A native of County Westmeath, she was present at the 1915 Cumann na mBan meeting during which Ó hAnnrachain delivered his speech. She kept a printed programme containing

* Lynda Ganly is the Brian Faloon award recipient, 2017-18. The Brian Faloon Prize is awarded to the student, who in the opinion of the Department of History, University of Limerick, submits the best Final Year Project. The prize is in honour of Brian Faloon (d. 2008) who was the founding member of the History faculty at the University of Limerick.

¹ Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior women and popular Balladry, 1650-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), p. xi.

² Mary O'Dowd, *A history of women in Ireland, 1500-1800* (New York, 2005), p. 31.

the speech for almost forty years, before donating it to a local archive in the 1950s.³ Ginnell and her husband Laurence were significant in Irish public life in the early 1900s. From their wedding in 1902 until Laurence's death in 1923, they were dedicated to advocating not only for an independent Ireland, but also a fair and equal Ireland. In particular, they were both outspoken about the rights of Irish women. *The Monitor* newspaper noted after Laurence Ginnell's death that 'the love [he] had for his native land was equalled by the love which his wife had for the same subject'.⁴ This quote is telling regarding Alice's own views.

While there is somewhat more information available about Laurence Ginnell, a Member of Parliament (M.P.) for North Westmeath, there has been very little written about his wife Alice; even her dates of birth and death are unknown. Yet before her death, Alice made a point of leaving behind a record of herself and of her husband. In July 1953, she gave a comprehensive statement to the Bureau of Military History. This statement was an extremely useful source, which provided Alice's account of events as she remembered them. While one could suggest that the years might have tarnished Alice's memory somewhat, she used her diaries and those of Laurence's to cross reference her stories and ensure accuracy. There is also a collection which Alice donated to the Westmeath County Library between 1954 and 1957. This includes newspaper clippings, photographs, handwritten letters and cards, pamphlets, menus and other items from the early twentieth century. These both provide a depth of primary source material about the Ginnells.

³ From the careful way she kept this programme, and the relevance of the speech to her life, it seems that it must have been important to Ginnell.

⁴ *The Monitor*, Jun. 1923.

Laurence was an important figure in Ireland during his lifetime. Involved in the Land Wars of the 1880s, he joined Sinn Féin in 1917 and was elected to the first Dáil in 1918 as well as the second and third Dáils.⁵ He became Minister for Propaganda for Sinn Féin in 1919.⁶ Following this, he was asked to do diplomatic work on behalf of Ireland and he spent years representing Ireland in the U.K., U.S.A. and in South America. While on that continent, Laurence spent most of his time in Argentina alongside other revolutionary figures such as Éamon Bulfin; this man was an Irish republican who escaped execution in 1916 because he had been born in Argentina.⁷ He also visited Chile and Peru. Alice was by his side for all of this and played an active role in diplomacy. An example of her dedication to this political work can be seen when she took Spanish lessons with her husband before departing for South America.⁸ As the wife of a diplomat, Alice would not have been expected to be as prepared as he was, but she seemed to have been just as committed to representing Ireland abroad as Laurence. Another example of this enthusiasm was to be seen in August 1921 when, Alice and Laurence had a private audience with an Argentinian minister.⁹ According to her BMH statement, the only people present during the meeting were Alice, Laurence and the foreign minister himself. That she was privy to this meeting shows the level of her involvement, as well as the respect that this foreign minister must have had for her.

Though Alice and her husband were evidently important figures in Ireland during their lives, they are rarely discussed in any general histories of Ireland. While

⁵ Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile, *Laurence Ginnell: father of the Irish republic movement* (Donegal, 2016), p. 148.

⁶ Statement by Alice Ginnell, 23 Jul. 1953 (Military Archives Ireland (M.A.I.), Bureau of Military History (BMH) Witness Statement (WS) 982, pp 19-22).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 24-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 32-3.

it is problematic that Laurence Ginnell has been scarcely commemorated, there is certainly more information available on him than on his wife Alice, who has been almost entirely forgotten in Irish history. At the beginning of Alice's 1953 statement, she noted 'it will I hope be of use to the future historian'.¹⁰ In retrieving Alice's voice from the papers that have been left behind, questions arise about the kind of country she hoped Ireland would become. How did it live up to the expectations of 1916 during her lifetime?

The evidence indicates that Alice was fiercely independent. In 1918, she became the first ever female election agent in the British Isles when she took over her husband's election campaign that year.¹¹ As well as this, she almost single-handedly ran a boarding house in Dublin which was an important meeting point for many nationalist figures in the 1910s, particularly in 1916. The boarding house was allegedly a point through which secret documents about the revolution often passed, according to Mag Fhionnghaile. When Laurence became involved in the founding of the Sinn Féin party, Alice was present and in fact, became active as part of a group of women delegates to Sinn Féin. This is where her views on Ireland are most apparent, as this group were outspoken about their beliefs.

Alice was elected secretary of a group known as *Cumann na dTeachtaire* (League of Women Delegates) in 1917. Other prominent figures who were involved included Kathleen Lynn, Madeleine Ffrench-Mullen, Jennie Wyse Power, Kathleen Clarke and Countess Plunkett. *Cumann na dTeachtaire*'s resolution stated that 'the equality of men and women in this organisation [will] be emphasised in all speeches

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

and leaflets'.¹² This statement conveys just how important gender equality was to the group. Sources suggest that Alice's husband Laurence was wholeheartedly supportive of her advocacy for gender equality. In 1916, he stated in an interview that:

the Proclamation of the Irish Republic in Easter Week 1916 placed women and men on precisely the same level, with no distinction whatever arising through sex... That is the spirit of the present Irish National movement, and I personally regard it as of the utmost importance.¹³

This statement was atypical in 1916 and Laurence was brave to voice it in a deeply patriarchal country. He used his influence to speak up for women's rights more than once in his lifetime. Another example is when he proposed to Sinn Féin that women should form half of all members of its executive.¹⁴ While this suggestion was dismissed, it is noteworthy that Laurence even made it and he was clearly a progressive man. In his bold support of the women's rights movement, he defied the norms that many Irish men were holding on to in the 1910s and 1920s. He should be remembered not only as an ally to the feminist women of the time, but also for his diplomatic and political role in the early years of Ireland's independence. It was not easy for him or Alice to dedicate years to building the country in the way that they did. In fact, they almost lost everything they had in doing so.

Laurence's career in politics throughout the revolutionary period was unpredictable and did not provide a regular wage for the Ginnells to live on. This is clear from Alice's 1953 statement. Even in the early years of their political activity, they were under great financial strain. In 1917, for example, Laurence was working with Éamon de Valera, who was a former commander from 1916 and a member of the Sinn Féin party on a political campaign. The same year, Laurence wrote to Alice

¹² Mag Fhionnghaile, *Laurence Ginnell*, p. 149.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp 224-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

and asked her to sell their house, as they had no source of income at that time.¹⁵ He was clearly worried but reassured her in a note that ‘God is good’ and that they would get by somehow. Five years later, after returning from their diplomatic tour of South America, they were in financial trouble once more. Despite her marriage to an influential figure, Alice had no choice but to leave Ireland to find work. She had to do so out of necessity; as she put it ‘to provide their future means of living’.¹⁶

Alice demonstrated great resolve when she left Ireland to find work in 1922. She was a married woman, and patriarchal values at the time dictated that married women should not work. There were very few jobs to be found in Ireland in the early 1920s, and especially not for a woman. To find work, Alice had to pretend to be single and travel under her maiden name, as Miss Alice King, to get a passport.¹⁷ She was discouraged from doing this but despite warnings, she travelled to the United States of America where she worked and sent money to Laurence, so he could continue his political work. The type of work that she did there is unclear, but the hours were gruelling; as she described in 1953, she was sometimes unwell after working twelve and a half hour shifts.¹⁸

While Alice was in New York, her husband was also sent to the USA to give lectures on Ireland, however they were across the country from one another. In Washington DC on 17 April 1923, while he was still working, Laurence died. Alice described in her statement how she travelled to collect his belongings where he passed away but his ‘papers’ had gone missing before she arrived.¹⁹ This is where Alice’s

¹⁵ Statement by Alice Ginnell, 23 Jul. 1953 (M.A.I., BMH WS 982 p. 17).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

story in her statement ends – she does not describe her life after her husband’s death. It seems that she was attempting to ensure his legacy and memory in Irish history. For all that Laurence and Alice Ginnell did for Ireland, they should certainly be remembered, as it seems, she was hoping they would be.

The years between 1916 and 1923 were volatile and there was much conversation over what kind of country Ireland was to become. The cultural nationalism movement, which had begun in the 1890s, was a part of conversation around Ireland’s image. Traditional Irish culture was embraced and as well as this, the Irish language revival began, in which many Irish people learned to speak *Gaeilge* for the first time. For some, it was also considered to be the time for women’s rights to be claimed. As well as being involved in building the state in other ways, Alice and Laurence Ginnell were evidently very much a part of this gender equality campaign. There were many others who shared their views and who are discussed below.

1916 was a momentous year in Irish history. Members of the Irish Volunteer Force and the Irish Citizen Army seized the General Post Office (GPO) in Dublin on Easter Monday, 24 April 1916 and declared Ireland to be a Republic. They remained there and fought until 29 April. While most of the fighting took place in Dublin, there were also smaller insurrections scattered throughout the country.²⁰ On the first day of the Easter Rising, volunteers declared Ireland to be an independent Republic outside the GPO in a document known as the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. The Proclamation granted equality of rights and opportunities to all its citizens and emphasised equality between Irish men and women.²¹ This was vital as it outlined the

²⁰ S. J. Connolly, *The Oxford companion to Irish history* (New York, 1998), p. 514.

²¹ For the text of the proclamation, see: Arthur Mitchell and Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, *Irish political documents, 1869-1916* (Dublin, 1989), pp 17-18.

kind of Ireland that those fighting in 1916 were striving for – a fair Ireland, where all citizens, men and women, would be treated as equals. This was a radical view to declare in 1916, when women had not even yet gained the right to vote. This document was intended to be the basis on which an independent Ireland was built. It was fitting that the Proclamation pressed for gender equality, as there were many Irish women who were as committed to establishing an independent nation as the men.

One woman who was active during the Rising in more ways than those outlined above was Countess Markievicz. Born Constance Gore-Booth, she first became involved in the nationalist group *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* (Daughters of Ireland).²² She was a commandant during the fighting in 1916 and was imprisoned, but unlike most of the men she fought alongside, she was not executed. She remained politically active after 1916, when many of her contemporaries were no longer alive. Markievicz became the first woman elected to parliament in the United Kingdom in 1918, but did not take her seat, instead choosing to sit at the first *Dáil* the same year. She is one of the most discussed women in Irish history for her activity during these years.

Many Irish women played an important role in the 1916 Rising through non-violent means. Several were involved with *Cumann na mBan*, a group founded in 1914. While it was an independent group, it was connected to the Irish Volunteer Force. Members made uniforms for the volunteers to wear, made flags, provided food to the men who were fighting, as well as distributing first aid, carrying messages and signalling. One of its members, Margaretta Keogh, was killed during the Rising. Additionally, another member of *Cumann na mBan*, Elizabeth O'Farrell, eventually

²² Connolly, *Oxford companion to Irish History*, p. 364.

announced surrender alongside Padraig Pearse on 29 April.²³ Still, it was not only as members of this group that women were active in the Rising.

Others include the wives of men who were executed, such as Maud Gonne MacBride. She and other widows of 1916 were passionate about commemorating the Rising as well as carrying on the work of their husbands. Yet another figure, Kathleen Lynn, was a doctor who administered first aid during the Easter Rising.²⁴ It is clear from all the above that numerous Irish women had important roles in the events of the 1916 Easter Rising – and it could be argued that they took part in these events to ensure that Ireland would be the place it was envisioned as in the 1916 Proclamation.

In 1922, the Constitution of the Irish Free State was published. This document was certainly progressive in that it echoed the sentiments of the 1916 Proclamation discussed above. It acknowledged the rights and opportunities of Irish citizens ‘without distinction of sex’ in Article 3.²⁵ What is striking when examining the legislation of this time is how the rights of Irish women seem to have been frequently undermined from 1922 onwards. Nonetheless, this did not occur without protest. While the women discussed so far worked towards gender equality in the 1910s and early 1920s, this cause continued to be fought for several years afterwards, even after the supposed end of the Irish Revolutionary Period in 1922.

In 1924, the *Civil Service Amendment Act* led to the introduction of a marriage bar - a regulation that would make it obligatory for women who held established jobs within the civil service to resign upon marriage.²⁶ At the time, many female workers

²³ *Ibid.*, pp 137-8.

²⁴ Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh, *Kathleen Lynn: Irishwoman, patriot, doctor* (Dublin, 2006), p. 24.

²⁵ Article 3 of *Constitution of the Free State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1922).

²⁶ Jennifer Redmond and Judith Harford, ‘“One man one job”: the marriage ban and the employment of women teachers in Irish primary schools’ in *Paedagogica Historica*, xlvii (2010), p. 643.

were already retiring upon marriage voluntarily.²⁷ In fact, the marriage bar was reported on straightforwardly and did not seem to cause controversy.²⁸ Yet though it may have been considered a small change in 1924, it was one of the first aspects of 1920s legislation that infringed on a woman's right to work, and it would not be the last. The 1924 marriage bar was shortly followed by a related 1926 act.

The Civil Service Regulation (Amendment) Act of 1926 added to the restrictions on women working in the civil service. This act allowed for anyone to be refused permission to sit a civil service exam based on their 'sex, age, health, character, knowledge, and ability'.²⁹ The act would prevent women from progressing within their civil service careers and would force them into the lower grades of the civil service.³⁰ In November 1925, Ernest Blythe, who had proposed the legislation, spoke in the Dáil about it during debates on the bill stage. He stated that some jobs 'could not in many cases be satisfactorily performed by women'.³¹ However, this statement did not go uncontested.

Those who objected to this included Eileen Costello. Costello was one of only four women appointed to the first Seanad.³² She served as an independent member of the Seanad for twelve years from 1922 until 1934. Like Alice Ginnell, there is little information to be found on Costello. Only her date of death is noted in the Seanad Members' Directory and not even her date of birth. Costello's willingness to speak

²⁷ Eoin O'Leary, 'The Irish National Teachers' Organisation and the marriage bar for women national teachers, 1933-1958' in *Saothar*, xii (1987) p. 47.

²⁸ *Irish Independent*, 1 May 1924.

²⁹ 1926/41 [I.F.S.] (22 Sept. 1926).

³⁰ Caitriona Beaumont: 'Women, citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-1948', *Women's History Review*, vi (1997), p. 568.

³¹ *Dáil Éireann deb.* xiii, (1925) (<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1925-11-12/34/member-speech/Ernest-Blythe.D.1919-01-21/>) (28 Mar. 2019).

³² Sarah O'Connor and Christopher C. Shepard (eds), *Women, social and cultural change in twentieth century Ireland* (Newcastle, 2008), p. 11.

out about matters she was passionate about is clear from her quotes in Seanad Debates. According to O'Connor and Shepard, she was one of the only female senators who regularly spoke on matters raised in the Seanad.³³ In December 1925, Costello read aloud parts of the 1922 constitution in the Seanad, including the section that promised all Irish people the same rights and responsibilities 'without distinction of sex'.³⁴ After quoting this document, which was a supposed foundation of the state, she stated that she considered the bill morally wrong on the grounds that it was unconstitutional.

Even stronger protests within the Seanad came from Jennie Wyse Power, a member of the Seanad from 1922 to 1934. She was the first president of Cumann na mBan, as well as being a member of several cultural and nationalist organisations such as the Gaelic League and Inghinidhe na hÉireann.³⁵ There is considerably more written about Wyse Power than many other Irish women in history. Joining in protests about the 1925 bill, Wyse Power argued that there were posts within the civil service that women did not take up only because of 'prejudice against their sex' and that the bill would be 'maintaining that prejudice'.³⁶ While these objections did succeed in delaying the publication of the controversial bill, they were not enough to prevent it from eventually becoming legislation in September 1926.³⁷ This meant that, while women working in the civil service were already required to retire upon marriage, from 1926, they were barred from working in certain areas of the sector altogether which had been open to them before, limiting their opportunities further.

³³ O'Connor and Shepard, *Women, social and cultural change*, p. 11.

³⁴ Article 3 of *Constitution of the Free State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1922).

³⁵ O'Connor and Shepard, *Women, social and cultural change*, p. 10.

³⁶ *Seanad Éireann deb.* vi, (1925) (<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1925-12-17/6>) (28 Mar. 2019).

³⁷ *Leinster Express*, 14 Sep. 1926.

1927 was the year that Fianna Fáil entered politics, meaning a cohort of new politicians entered the Dáil and the Seanad. Kathleen Clarke was one member of the party who would be particularly influential in Irish politics over the next few years. She had been one of the founding members of Cumann na mBan in 1914.³⁸ She was involved in preparations for the 1916 Rising as her husband was one of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation, Tom Clarke. After his execution, she became a TD in 1927 for Fianna Fáil. Clarke is one of the most well-known of the female figures that have been mentioned so far, and one of the most influential. Like Costello and Wyse Power, Clarke was outspoken in the Seanad, particularly regarding issues of importance to women.

Seán Lemass, when presenting the Conditions of Employment Bill to Dáil Éireann in 1935, said that ‘certain avenues should be reserved for men’.³⁹ He also suggested that the notion of equal pay for equal work was dangerous. This reveals the sexist mindset that the act was written from. Section 16 gave the Minister for Industry and Commerce the ability to limit the number of females working in any industry.⁴⁰ It was quickly challenged by female Senators Wyse Power and Clarke. Clarke argued that the bill was in opposition to the 1916 Proclamation.⁴¹ The bill would restrict women’s ability to earn, and therefore their opportunities. On the other hand, Wyse Power pointed out that the poorest women in Irish society had no choice but to work. When another senator argued that it was a husband’s job to earn an income, Wyse Power reminded the cabinet that there were more women than men in Ireland and

³⁸ Kathleen Clarke, *Kathleen Clarke: revolutionary woman* (Dublin, 1991), p. 45.

³⁹ Mary McAuliffe, ‘The Irish woman worker and the Conditions of Employment Act, 1936: Responses from the Irish Free State women senators’, *Saothar*, xxxvi (2011), p. 38.

⁴⁰ 1936/2 [I.F.S.] (14 Feb. 1936).

⁴¹ *Seanad Éireann deb.* xx, (1935) (<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1935-12-11/1/>) (28 Mar. 2019).

suggested sarcastically that a bureau be set up to supply women with ‘husbands and homes’.⁴² Their arguments were ignored, and the bill became law in 1936. With this act, and with every gendered bill that was passed, Ireland was straying further and further from the country it had been proclaimed as in 1916.

Clarke once again spoke of the rights that were promised in the Proclamation, when the 1937 Draft Constitution was being debated.⁴³ The 1937 Draft Constitution caused alarm, mainly due to Article 41. This article stated that

...the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the state a support without which the common good cannot be achieved... the State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.⁴⁴

While some historians have discussed how Irish feminists and nationalist women often did not see eye-to-eye in the early twentieth century, on this matter, both groups were united in their protest.⁴⁵ At a meeting of women encouraging them to vote against the draft constitution, a statement from Clarke was read aloud which said ‘...it is up to every Irish woman to see that no man or group of men robs us of our status enshrined in [the] Proclamation’.⁴⁶ Ultimately, those who protested against the 1937 Constitution of Ireland were unsuccessful; it was largely accepted by the people. Despite this, the protests that took place were still significant and it is important to remember those who stood up for these rights in the name of a fair Ireland.

Although Irish women’s history is now slowly being recovered, such a revival never would have been necessary, had their stories not first been omitted. Whereas

⁴² *Seanad Éireann deb.* xx, (1935) (<https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1935-12-11/1/>) (28 Mar. 2019).

⁴³ Maria Luddy, ‘A sinister and retrogressive proposal: Irish women’s opposition to the 1937 draft constitution’ in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xv (2005), p. 189.

⁴⁴ Constitution of Ireland (*Bunreacht na hÉireann*), (Dublin, 1937).

⁴⁵ Louise Ryan, ‘A question of loyalty: war, nation and feminism in early twentieth-century Ireland’ in *Women’s Studies International Forum*, xx (1997), pp 21-32: 24.

⁴⁶ Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable revolutionaries: women and Irish nationalism* (London, 1983), p. 243.

more women are now included in histories from that era, this article has attempted to show the life of another figure, Alice Ginnell, who had been forgotten. Though Alice did not fight in the 1916 Rising or speak in the Seanad, she showed her patriotism and devotion to Ireland in other, more subtle ways. She ran a boarding house which was a hub of activity for nationalist figures. She supported her husband in his diplomatic role. Her role as secretary to the political group Cumann na dTeachtaire is also noteworthy, through which she asserted women's autonomy alongside figures such as Kathleen Clarke, Madeleine French-Mullen and Jennie Wyse Power.

Some of the women discussed above were brave in traditional ways, such as Countess Markievicz. Others did not fight but were crucial to Ireland's cause during these years through other means - Elizabeth O'Farrell and Kathleen Lynn had vital, though non-violent, roles in the 1916 Rising. Eileen Costello, together with Clarke and Wyse Power, spoke up to defend women's rights in the Seanad. All of these women, and more, played imperative roles in Ireland's foundations during this period.

This article has outlined the non-violent ways in which ordinary Irish women defended their rights and advocated for a fair Ireland. From the evident bravery of the women discussed, it is undeniable that they were heroines of their time. The steps they took in their lifetimes for fairness and equality in Ireland must be highlighted, and they should be commemorated accordingly. Alice Ginnell is a forgotten figure in Irish history; there has been very little written about her, and even her dates of birth and death are unknown. However, through primary source research, it was possible to recover some of her story. Politically active in her own right, she was married to Laurence Ginnell, a public and political figure in Ireland in the late 1800s and early 1900s, she supported his career. In 1918, she became the first ever female election agent in the British Isles. Later, she was a member of Cumann na dTeachtaire, a group

which advocated both Irish independence, and women's independence. This article has highlighted her life and work, as well as that of her husband and other defenders of women's rights in Ireland in their time.

‘A fit man to be sent’: establishing a Stuart representative in
Vienna, 1714-17

Stephen Griffin

The birth of a catholic heir to James II of England, Scotland and Ireland precipitated the Glorious Revolution in 1688. The landing of William of Orange in the south of England saw the flight of James II and much of his court to France while the English government offered William the throne which he accepted.¹ James’s son, James Francis Edward spent his life in exile. Marked by much bad luck, his court moved from France to the duchy of Lorraine, then to the Papal enclave of Avignon and finally to Rome in 1719 as the British government put political pressure upon his host states. Pessimistic by nature, by the late 1720s James had resigned himself to permanent exile.² The authority of James Francis Edward Stuart, later James III after his father’s death in 1701 was always to be contested and he was to become known so famously as the Pretender. Yet James Stuart was recognised by Louis XIV, Philip V and the Pope as James III of Britain and Ireland. As Edward Corp has stressed:

A king in exile might or might not be eventually restored, but such an outcome, depending on a combination of unpredictable political developments, cannot retroactively confer legitimacy. Neither Charles II nor Louis XVIII, nor even James II after 1689 is ever referred to as a ‘pretender’... James III was recognised by several contemporary European sovereign princes, notably the kings of France and Spain, and the pope, as a legitimate king...³

However, James’s steadfast refusal to convert from Catholicism to Protestantism, the predominant religion of Britain did not gain the support of European statesmen who viewed this as the greatest barrier to the restoration of his

¹ John Miller, *James II* (London, 2000), p. 209; Wouter Troost, *William III, the Stadtholder-king: a political biography* (Aldershot, 2005), pp 189-90.

² Eveline Cruickshanks, ‘Lord Cowper, Lord Orrery, the Duke of Wharton and Jacobitism’ in *Albion: a quarterly journal concerned with British Studies*, xxvi (1994), p. 39. Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766: a royal court in permanent exile* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 188.

³ Edward Corp, *A court in exile: the Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 9.

house.⁴ Furthermore, in order to defeat the British government and effect a successful restoration, James would always need help from a foreign power.⁵ A European power was always necessary to occupy the British army on the Continent and to provide military aid and resources to the Jacobites planning to rebel at home. If a foreign power was willing to grant aid to the Stuarts the threat of restoration was real.⁶ That necessity for foreign aid led the Stuarts to send diplomats to the Habsburg court of Vienna. Following the Glorious Revolution, the Imperial outlook towards the Jacobite cause was hostile as James II's requests for help from Leopold of Austria were met with refusals due to James's close alliance with Louis XIV who 'lately brought upon us' a war with the Ottoman Turks.⁷ After this request for help the Stuarts remained in France until 1712 when improved relations between France and Britain meant they could no longer rely on French aid. Thereafter they were forced to approach other courts throughout Europe. One such court was that of Leopold of Austria's son Charles VI.

Choosing diplomats in the early modern world was largely dependent on the questions of who to send and where to send them.⁸ For the Stuart court in exile, a strong choice was required to represent James Stuart in the court of 'His Imperial Majesty' Charles VI. What can be drawn from their correspondence on this matter is that careful thought and consideration went into this search. However, not only did they consider men who were experienced hands at diplomacy, when other factors

⁴ Edward Gregg, 'Monarchs without a crown' in Robert Oresko, G.C. Gibbs and H.M. Scott (eds), *Royal and republican sovereignty in early modern Europe: essays in memory of Ragnhild Hatton* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 383.

⁵ Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, 1994), p. 85.

⁶ Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 11.

⁷ Leopold I to James II, 9 Apr. 1689 in J. S. Clarke, *The life of James the Second, king of England etc., collected out of memoirs writ of his own hand. Together with the King's advice to his son and his majesty's will* (2nd vol, London, 1816), pp 324-6; Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena: her life and letters* (London, 1905), p. 238.

⁸ Jeremy Black, *British diplomats and diplomacy, 1688-1800* (Exeter, 2001), p. 18.

cancelled the possible use of such men, the Stuarts turned to others of lesser capabilities. It is also important to ask why the Stuarts should send diplomats to Vienna. Arranging a marital alliance between James and the Emperor was a strong early factor. The establishment of a Stuart diplomat in Vienna was very heavily reliant on Austrian attitudes in the aftermath of the War of the Spanish Succession. Any prospect of aid depended on the Emperor's relationship with the monarch of Great Britain. If relations between both powers were poor, then the Jacobites were willing to attempt a solicitation for aid. This paper will therefore examine the events which led to the Jacobites deciding upon a representative to send to the Habsburg court in 1717. It shall examine the reasons Jacobites had for wanting a representative in Vienna, the process by which the Stuarts went about choosing a man, the suitability and capabilities of their candidates and how this process fits within the idea of early modern diplomacy. Overall, this paper should reveal how events which often took place beyond the control of the Stuart court determined the Stuarts's choice of envoy.

In 1713 James was residing in Lorraine and Bar, the duchy of Léopold I and with a pass of safe conduct from Charles VI.⁹ In accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht he had been forced to oblige Louis XIV and depart the old Stuart court of Saint Germain-en-Laye in Paris in 1712. In Britain, James's half-sister Anne reigned as Queen but given her record of miscarriages and stillborn children and her increasingly poor health the British government had settled upon a European heir designed to cut James off from ascending to the throne. It was decided by Act of Succession in 1701 that Sophia, the Protestant Electress of Hanover and daughter of James's great-aunt

⁹ Charles VI to Léopold, 1713 in Gilbert Parke, *Letters and correspondence, public and private of the right honourable Henry St. John, Lord Visc. Bolingbroke; during the time he was secretary of state to Queen Anne; with state papers, explanatory notes and a translation of the foreign letters* (London, 1798), iii, p. 582.

Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine would succeed to the throne in the likely event of Anne's death.

The electorate of Hanover was a small state in north central Germany and well within the domain of the Holy Roman Emperor. By the early eighteenth century, the position of the Emperor was being challenged by the electoral principalities of Hanover and Brandenburg who were growing in power and no longer willing to bend the knee as vassals.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the Emperor's authority continued to be respected throughout the Empire and Habsburg propaganda presented him as a universal ruler.¹¹ Though the Habsburgs were not despotic, for a contemporary in the early modern period, reference to Austria meant the ruling house of Austria, the Habsburgs.¹² The French had always feared being enveloped by Habsburgs in both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire since the reign of Charles V. In return and to counter French territorial expansion both on land and at sea the English and the Dutch had traditionally looked to the Emperor for an ally. The War of the Spanish Succession had been a quintessential example of the struggle between both the Habsburgs in Austria and the Bourbons of France and Spain attempting to hold the balance of power in Europe. At the conclusion of the majority of fighting the old alliances had been put on hiatus as Britain and Holland, tired of war, sued for peace and in one statesman's words:

The allies as well as the French seem indifferent, whether the Emperor, at the conclusion of the peace, should renounce to those parts of the Spanish monarchy which the King of Spain is to possess, and consequently his Catholic Majesty not renounce to those parts of the monarchy the Emperor is to possess.¹³

Charles VI, angry at being abandoned by his allies, refused to accept the treaty

¹⁰ Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. volume II, the Peace of Westphalia to the dissolution of the Reich, 1648-1806* (Oxford, 2012), pp 106; 151; Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: the courts of Europe's dynastic rivals, 1550-1780* (New York, 2003), p. 273.

¹¹ Whaley, *Germany*, ii, pp 134-6; 150.

¹² R.J.W. Evans, 'The Austrian Habsburgs: The dynasty as a political institution' in A.G. Dickens (ed.) *The courts of Europe: politics, patronage and royalty, 1400-1800* (London, 1977), p. 145.

¹³ Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke, 23 Mar. 1713, in Parke, *Bolingbroke*, iii, p. 503.

and continued his war against the Bourbons. In the meantime, James had been sent away by his traditional allies in France and was in need of new powerful backer without whom the Jacobite cause would have little chance.¹⁴ Among those he was now to court was Charles whose disaffection with his 'indifferent' allies provided attractive potential.

At some point in early 1714 it seems that the duke of Lorraine was in contact with his envoy in Vienna with regards to procuring one of the sisters or nieces of Charles VI for a marriage to James. The Stuarts needed both a powerful ally and a son and heir to keep the hopes of a restoration and line of succession alive.¹⁵ The duke's ambassador had reported back that while Charles was not hostile to the idea:

... his Majesty had appeared to relish the proposal, but found the present times too critical to be able to come to a determination; adding, that he did not believe that it was the interest of the Chevalier de St. George [James] to determine anything positively, in the present conjuncture, and that he was disposed to give the Chevalier marks of esteem and regard when the occasions offered.¹⁶

Lorraine attempted to procure portraits of Charles's female relatives for the benefit of James.¹⁷ In early 1714, the duke of Berwick, the half-brother of James, had been made aware of the project. Berwick favoured the possibility of a marriage with the eldest niece of the Emperor, Maria Josepha:

She is sole heir to the Austrian family and consequently both your Majesty and your posterity would be sure of a large dominion. There are motifs of religion and even of policy to be given for his preferring your Majesty to any other Prince of Europe. If you were once in alliance with the Emperor, you might find means to force Hanover to renounce his pretensions to England, or make him repent by attacking his German

¹⁴ Basil Williams, 'The Foreign policy of England under Walpole', in *English Historical Review* (*E.H.R.*), xv, nos 58-60, (Apr.-Oct. 1900), p. 268.

¹⁵ Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite cause* (Glasgow, 1986), p. 72; Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (London, 1998), p. 52.

¹⁶ Desamoise to Léopold, 22 Feb. 1714 in James Macpherson, *Original papers, containing the secret history of Great Britain from the Restoration, to the accession of the House of Hannover: to which are prefixed extracts from the life of James II as written by himself. The whole arranged and published by James Macpherson* (London, 1775), II p. 523.

¹⁷ James to Dicconson, 17 Feb. 1714 in Historical Manuscripts Commission (H.M.C.), *Calendar of the Stuart papers belonging to His Majesty the king, preserved at Windsor Castle* (7 vols, London, 1902-23), i, p. 297; Léopold to Desamoise, Mar. 1714 in Macpherson, *Original papers*, ii, p. 524.

territories'.¹⁸

The idea as described by Berwick was by no means a ridiculous one. Additionally, there were similarities between James and Charles which made James an ideal candidate for Habsburg sympathy. Both men had been displaced of kingdoms which they believed were theirs by right; in James's case Britain and Ireland and in Charles's case Spain. In fact, the Emperor himself had expressed sympathy towards James's situation when he wrote to Lorraine in 1713:

... the person called the Chevalier St. George, who is to remove to your dominions, may remain there secure from my troops and those of the allies; and though I am happy to show, on all occasions, my readiness to grant your requests, and though I know full well the reasons why you could not refuse the intimation given you upon this affair, and though I myself lament the unfortunate situation of the Chevalier, yet from circumstances worthy of reflection, and which may be easily imagined, it is difficult to grant him the passport required in its full extent.¹⁹

With a prestigious Habsburg bride there was much to be gained. Charles's eldest niece alone was the heiress presumptive to the Habsburg Monarchy. Emperor Leopold I had issued a pact of succession in 1703 which decreed that should the male lines of his sons Charles and Charles's elder brother Joseph fail, the eldest daughter of Joseph would stand to succeed to all the Habsburg possessions.²⁰ Though Charles was to overrule this with the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 and move any of his female children to be his immediate successor, it was not until 1717 that his own daughter Maria Theresa was born. Therefore, through a marriage to Maria Josepha in 1714, James could have stood to inherit the Habsburg thrones. The fact that Lorraine had gone so far as to request portraits of the Habsburg duchesses for James's own viewing reflects on how seriously the idea was being taken.

In January of 1715 Berwick once again made the suggestion of a potential

¹⁸ Berwick to James, 28 Mar. 1714 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, i, p. 311.

¹⁹ Charles VI to Léopold, 1713 in Parke, *Bolingbroke*, iii, p. 582.

²⁰ Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 128-9.

marriage between James and one of the Emperor's sisters or nieces: 'If his sisters be anyways passable, and that he would not give a niece, I should be for taking one of them'.²¹ The possibilities of a Habsburg-Stuart union were not lost on Berwick and he remained steadfast in his support of it:

As to what relates to the Emperor, I wish M. Raucourt [James] could in general terms intimate something to the Duke of Lorraine. Nay even the term of alliance may be made use of. I am assured that there is a sister of not above five or six and twenty, if that be so, and that she be not horrible, I could heartily wish M. Robinson [James] had her, for I do not see anything at present so much for his advantage, both as to his making a figure and being considered in the world, but even for to hasten the recovery of his paternal estate.²²

A diplomat was needed in Vienna if any attempt was to be made at the plan. In January 1715 the name of Nathaniel Hooke was being suggested to represent James. Hooke had been in James II's entourage upon the monarch's arrival in Ireland in 1689.²³ After the Battle of the Boyne he made his way to France to serve in the army of Louis XIV, continuing to act as an agent between the Stuart court at Saint Germain and their Jacobite supporters in Scotland travelling there to establish communications in both 1705 and 1707. In 1711 he had represented Louis XIV as an ambassador to the court of the Elector of Saxony.²⁴ Hooke was not to be underestimated and his credentials spoke for themselves. While Hooke certainly fit the bill as a diplomat and an agent of intrigue the prospect of sending him to Vienna was not to last long. In March it was suggested that Owen O'Rourke, a chamberlain to Léopold of Lorraine and 'a man of sense' would be 'a fitter person to employ near' the Emperor.²⁵

O'Rourke came from an old Gaelic family in Leitrim, Ireland.²⁶ In 1689 he had

²¹ Berwick to James, 1 Jan. 1715 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, i, p. 340.

²² Berwick to James, 11 Jan. 1715 in *ibid.*, i, p. 343.

²³ Thomas Byrne, 'From Irish whig rebel to Bourbon diplomat: the life and career of Nathaniel Hooke' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2006), p. 100.

²⁴ Byrne, 'Nathaniel Hooke', p. 330.

²⁵ Berwick to James, 1 Mar. 1715 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, i, p. 350.

²⁶ Certificate that Owen O'Rourke, grand chambellan to the Duke of Lorraine and major of his guards, is son to Con O'Rourke, son to Con, son to Tiernan, son to Owen, etc. 24 Sept. 1708 in *ibid.*, iv, p. 5.

served under James II before going into exile in France. After the Peace of Ryswick, which ended the War of the Grand Alliance and saw the disbandment of his regiment in 1697, O'Rourke had then entered the service of the duke of Lorraine becoming a chamberlain and counsellor of state.²⁷ The prospect of sending O'Rourke to Vienna seemed to at least appeal to James. The close relationship which Lorraine enjoyed with the Habsburgs would also have given weight to the decision. Despite O'Rourke's own admissions of his unsuitability for 'mere intrigue' were often at odds he was held in good esteem by the Stuarts while the agents of the British government (perhaps with some exaggeration) wrote that he was 'one of the best fitted to negotiations'.²⁸

Berwick applauded the decision to send O'Rourke in a letter dated 10 March 1715.²⁹ However, James was sceptical:

I shall speak to Mr. O'Rourke about going to see the Emperor, and shall also consult the Duke of Lorraine about it, though I fear all that will signify nothing, and that without greater and more powerful intercessors the Emperor's friendship will not be obtained... I never disputed the great advantage would accrue to [me] from that friendship. I only thought this not an effectual means of getting it, since the Duke of Lorraine's intercession had proven difficult.³⁰

Regardless of James's thoughts on the issue any further thought toward the Habsburg marriage project now stopped. A Jacobite rising gathered momentum in Scotland and Northern England and James departed Lorraine to take part in it. Queen Anne had died in 1714 only two months after her successor, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, leaving Sophia's son George Ludwig to succeed to the thrones to become George I of Britain and Ireland. The Fifteen, as it was called, broke out when John

²⁷ Henry Massue Melville de Ruvigny et Raineval, *The Jacobite peerage, baronetage, knightage and grants of honour* (London, 1904), pp 20-21 (Hereafter Ruvigny et Raineval, *Jacobite peerage*).

²⁸ See for example O'Rourke to Mar, 27 Jun. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, ii, p. 238; O'Rourke to James, 17 May 1727, (Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, England Varia 8, 99: microfilm, National Library of Ireland, p5307); L. Inese to Mar, 29 Oct. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, iii, p. 149.); Mary of Modena to Mar, 19 Nov. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, iii, p. 232; Monsieur La Roche to Horatio Walpole? 18 Aug. 1727 in H.M.C., *Townshend MSS*, p. 198.

²⁹ Berwick to James, 10 Mar. 1715 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, i, p. 352.

³⁰ James to Berwick, 19 Mar. 1715 in *ibid.*, i, p. 354.

Erskine, 1st Duke of Mar, the Scottish Secretary of State was disregarded by George I and seeing no chance for advancement under the new monarch, Mar raised the Stuart banners in Scotland in September 1715 without the knowledge of the Stuart court.³¹ Despite mustering a numerically superior Jacobite army, the indecisive Battle of Sheriffmuir against a smaller Hanoverian force caused Mar to retreat and his army began to suffer from desertion while government forces grew stronger.³² By the time James landed in Scotland the rising had effectively ended and he was forced to return to the continent.³³

To make matters worse Louis XIV had died on 1 September 1715 leaving his great grandson, five-year-old Louis XV, as king of France. Acting as regent for the king was Philippe II, duc d'Orléans. Orléans was the sole member of the French royal family who disliked the Stuarts and was also next in line to succeed Louis XV provided Philip V of Spain did not press his own claim as Louis XIV's grandson.³⁴ As a result he established and maintained good relations with George I until his death in 1723. Therefore James, having journeyed to Scotland to see the end of the rising of 1715, was refused entry to Lorraine following pressure from Orléans and forced to settle in the Papal enclave of Avignon.³⁵ Here for the next three years James and Mar, who had secured himself a position as James's new secretary of state, attempted to establish good relations with various European monarchs.

In the aftermath of the rising there was little else for James to do save search for assistance among the great powers of Europe.³⁶ The attraction of an agent at the

³¹ Frank McLynn, *The Jacobites* (London, 1985), p. 97; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London, 1980), pp 126-7.

³² McLynn, *The Jacobites*, pp 97-9; 101; Lenman, *Jacobite cause*, pp 53-6.

³³ Lenman, *Jacobite cause*, pp 57-8.

³⁴ Corp, *Stuarts in France*, p. 295; Lenman, *Jacobite risings*, pp 180-1.

³⁵ Corp, *Stuarts in France*, p. 301.

³⁶ Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, p. 180.

Emperor's court still remained. His relations with Britain were cooler than they had once been given Britain's foreign policy at the time.³⁷ Thus the need for a suitable man to represent the Stuart interest at the Emperor's court was an essential issue. With the same care as was taken in considering a representative two years earlier the Stuarts now set about looking for an agent once again. On 26 May 1716, Mar wrote to Father Thomas Southcott sending him a set of instructions and the news that he been appointed as the Stuarts's ambassador to Vienna.³⁸ The choice of Southcott seems quite obscure. A Benedictine monk, at first sight he does not appear to have been on the scale of Nathaniel Hooke or O'Rourke. However, Southcott was a chief revenue collector for the Stuarts often collecting money for the court in Saint Germain from England in the years prior to 1720.³⁹ Such a duty required immense secrecy. Due to the nature of a secret and diplomatic mission to a Catholic court where state and church strongly complemented one another Southcott the Benedictine must surely have appeared all the more appealing.⁴⁰

Southcott declined his appointment a week later. Having mastered a network of communications between England and Saint Germain and believing himself to be ignorant of the language and customs of Vienna he had declined his position.⁴¹ This was approved by James in a letter dated 14 June 1716 and the next day Mar wrote to Owen O'Rourke informing him that 'if the Duke of Lorraine has no objection' he was now to be the Jacobite representative to Vienna.⁴² O'Rourke's response came on 27

³⁷ Williams, 'Foreign Policy', p. 274.

³⁸ Mar to Southcott, 26 May 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, ii, p. 184; James to Southcott, 26 May 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, II pp 188-9; Ruvigny et Raineval, *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 232.

³⁹ Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 137; for an example of Southcott's collections see H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, iv, p. 97.

⁴⁰ Evans, 'Austrian Habsburgs', pp 136-8.

⁴¹ Southcott to Queen Mary, 5 Jun. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, ii, p. 206.

⁴² Mar to Southcott, 14 Jun. 1716 in *ibid.*, ii, p. 220; Mar to O'Rourke, 15 Jun. 1716 in *ibid.*, ii, p. 221.

June 1716 following a discussion with Lorraine. They were in a perfect position to decide upon the next step to be taken when one considers the position of Lorraine within the Empire and the information which could be gathered from the regular flow of travellers from Germany. Lorraine and O'Rourke had concluded that if O'Rourke were to make such a move to Vienna he 'would not be long there' before being 'bid away shamefully'.⁴³

This decision by O'Rourke and Lorraine was not unwise. Since the beginning of 1716 George I's governments in both Hanover and London had been attempting to establish good relations with Charles VI.⁴⁴ British foreign policy following the ascendancy of George had been to ensure the Hanoverian succession and freedom from any foreign crises which could provide James with any foreign aid.⁴⁵ Therefore in the summer of 1716, George I and Charles VI had entered into the Treaty of Westminster which guaranteed the possessions of both powers and allowed for Charles's ambitions in Italy in return for George I's objectives of Hanoverian expansion.⁴⁶ For James to send an envoy to Vienna now would have been pointless. As O'Rourke had outlined: 'a man employed by our King will either be not received there at all or kept at such a distance from affairs as may render him very despicable'.⁴⁷

A few months after the Treaty of Westminster yet another situation arose. In compliance with a policy of avoiding foreign complications the British had entered into an alliance with Regency France and this had left Charles particularly frustrated despite the alliance initially being believed to be favourable to the Empire.⁴⁸ In

⁴³ O'Rourke to Mar, 27 June 1716 in *ibid.*, ii, p. 239.

⁴⁴ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: elector and king* (London, 1978), pp 183-14.

⁴⁵ Williams, 'Foreign policy', p. 267.

⁴⁶ Hatton, *George I*, p. 184; Williams, 'Foreign policy', p. 274.

⁴⁷ O'Rourke to Mar, 27 June 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, ii, p. 238.

⁴⁸ Stanhope to Walpole, 6 Oct. 1716 in William Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford. With original correspondence and authentic papers, never before published* (London, 1798),

fairness to Charles, his annoyance was understandable given that his traditional allies were now in league with his traditional rivals. With reports of Charles's anger the Stuarts were determined to make as much of the situation as possible.⁴⁹ All that was required was a suitable candidate. On 29 October 1716 Father Lewis Innes, a principal of the Scots College in Paris and secretary for James wrote to Mar:

But the great question is to find a fit man to be sent. One every way qualified is, I fear, not to be found, but you must take the best you have. A man of any great figure would make too great noise, and therefore were not fit, especially at first. One that could be absent without being missed and that had some pretext of going thither, such as to serve as a volunteer against the Turk, were the best. Mr. Hooke were certainly a fit man, but he would soon be missed, and besides, I fear he would not risk losing what he has here, for asking leave is not to be thought of. Mr. O'Rourke were as fit as any, and perhaps the fittest, because of his acquaintance at that court, and his knowing the language, and I cannot think that his master, the Duke of Lorraine would refuse him leave in the present circumstances to which Patrick [James] is reduced.⁵⁰

The consideration of Hooke and O'Rourke yet again is a clear mark of the belief held in their abilities. They were skilled negotiators and had firmly established themselves within the respective courts they served. However, for many Jacobites such as Hooke, having achieved success in a foreign court there was little reason for them to risk it all in Jacobite ventures.⁵¹ Even more so, Hooke was not above self-gain. In 1708 he had refused to hand over the plans for the Scottish invasion claiming no one in Saint Germain could be trusted with them while he actually sought to increase his own standing in the eyes of the French.⁵² Innes wrote that Hooke 'would not risk losing what he has'.⁵³

O'Rourke was in a far easier position than anyone else. He was after all in the service of the Duke of Lorraine, a sympathiser of James. The proximity of the duchy

ii, p. 99.

⁴⁹ Jerningham to Ingleton, 22 Oct. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart Papers*, iii, pp 120-1; Mar to Jerningham, 26 Oct. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, p. 140; Dillon to Mar, 28 Oct. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, p. 146.

⁵⁰ L. Innes to Mar, 29 Oct. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, p. 149.

⁵¹ Pittock, *Jacobitism*, p. 125.

⁵² Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (eds), *The Stuart court in exile and the Jacobites* (London, 1995), p. xxii.

⁵³ L. Innes to Mar, 29 Oct. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart papers*, iii, p. 149.

within the Holy Roman Empire also made it a perfect post from which to receive news. Yet if a move on James's behalf was considered unwise by Lorraine then O'Rourke could effectively be cancelled out. By November the Stuarts were becoming desperate for an envoy to represent James's interests in Vienna. Rather than wait for an O'Rourke or Hooke they were leaning increasingly toward finding any man to represent them regardless of his past credentials.⁵⁴

There was among the most recent influx of Scottish Jacobites one John Walkingshaw of Barrowfield who had fought in the Fifteen under Mar. Walkingshaw had escaped Scotland and arrived in Leiden in June 1716.⁵⁵ He was related through marriage to Sir Hugh Paterson, a brother-in-law of Mar, who served as a Jacobite agent in Holland keeping the Stuarts abreast of the goings on both in the Austrian Netherlands and reporting any information which was received concerning the Emperor. Walkingshaw gradually made his way to join James's court in Avignon where, on 6 November 1716 and with Mar fully aware of Charles's attitude regarding the Anglo-French alliance, he was appointed to travel to Vienna 'to negotiate with the Emperor or his ministers'.⁵⁶

The lack of an experienced man such as O'Rourke in Vienna was lamented in the Stuart court.⁵⁷ O'Rourke, was probably the most qualified candidate due to his service to the duke of Lorraine and he was very well respected by James.⁵⁸ Walkingshaw may have had no prior diplomatic experience but the selection of diplomatic envoys without any type of training or expertise was not a new

⁵⁴ L. Innes to Mar, 5 Nov. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, p. 178.

⁵⁵ Hugh Paterson to Mar, 23 Jun. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, p. 231.

⁵⁶ James to Walkingshaw, 6 Nov. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, pp 192-3.

⁵⁷ Queen Mary to Mar, 19 Nov. 1716 in *ibid.*, iii, p. 232.

⁵⁸ Mar to O'Rourke, 6 Jul. 1716 in *ibid.*, ii, p. 257; James to O'Rourke, 12 Apr. 1738 in Patrick Fagan (ed.), *Ireland in the Stuart papers* (Dublin, 1995), i, p. 278.

phenomenon in the early modern period. Diplomacy was not taught and individuals were appointed to their positions as a consequence of their social standing and contacts.⁵⁹ Early modern diplomacy was an aristocrat's game and as a result, diplomats drawn from the ranks of the nobility were generally unwilling to undergo training.⁶⁰

Even so, the idea of training at this time simply meant that a diplomat was well travelled and spoke several languages. The diplomatic envoy of Louis XIV, François de Callières, wrote in his famous treatise, *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains*, that it was desirable that young men embarking on diplomatic missions 'should have travelled to the principal courts of Europe', and additionally 'learn foreign languages'.⁶¹ Callières placed emphasis on knowledge of Latin 'the common language of all Christian nations'.⁶² In Vienna, German and Italian were the languages of choice although the foremost Imperial minister, Eugene of Savoy, never mastered German and primarily used French.⁶³ By and large, in the eighteenth century, French became the predominant language of diplomacy in no small part due to France's cultural and political prestige.⁶⁴ It is a further sign of the connection between diplomatic and noble culture that French became the main diplomatic language just as it also became the second language of the European nobility.⁶⁵ From Walkingshaw's correspondence, it seems evident that he spoke Latin and more than

⁵⁹ Black, *Diplomats and diplomacy*, p. 21; Derek McKay and Hamish Scott, *The rise of the Great Powers: 1648-1815* (Harlow, 1983), p. 206.

⁶⁰ McKay and Scott, *Great Powers*, p. 207; Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, *The practice of diplomacy: its evolution, theory and administration* (London, 1995), p. 78.

⁶¹ François de Callières, *The practice of diplomacy* (trans. A.F. Whyte, London, 1919), pp 48-51; Hamish Scott, 'Diplomatic culture in old regime Europe' in Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms (eds), *Cultures of power in Europe during the long eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 73.

⁶² Callières, *Diplomacy*, p. 50.

⁶³ Scott, 'Diplomatic culture', p. 68; McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London, 1977), p. 10.

⁶⁴ Scott, 'Diplomatic culture', p. 65.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

likely French.⁶⁶

Attempts to properly train diplomats in academies were made at different times throughout the eighteenth century in France, Russia and Britain but they had made little impact.⁶⁷ Furthermore, such attempts at training for diplomatic service were carried out by the greater powers while lesser princes and those in exile such as James had no established offices or embassies and relied upon sending courtiers to represent their interests.⁶⁸ Additionally, upon examining the diplomatic appointments found in the *Jacobite Peerage* it is clear that the Stuart court did not maintain permanent embassies and normally relied upon a range of diplomats appointed at different times to represent their cause.⁶⁹

Overall, it is evident that a heavy reliance was often placed upon the nobility to represent a monarch's interests. As diplomats represented their monarchs, the latter usually sent the men most capable of glorifying themselves while also not wishing to offend their fellow ruler by sending a diplomat of low-born status.⁷⁰ Evidently, the Stuart court was no different in this trend. Even among other Jacobite diplomats in Europe it is clear that they were of noble status. Owen O'Rourke and Toby Bourke, the Jacobite ambassador to Madrid from 1705-13 were of Irish noble descent as was Lieutenant General Arthur Dillon, plenipotentiary to Paris in 1717.⁷¹ Walkingshaw's successor to Vienna in 1725, Philip Wharton, 1st Duke of Wharton together with James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormond, the plenipotentiary to Sweden in 1717 and

⁶⁶ Walkingshaw to John Paterson, 9 Nov. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart Papers*, iii, pp 195-6; Walkingshaw to John Paterson, 2 Dec. 1716 in H.M.C., *Stuart Papers*, iii, p. 280.

⁶⁷ McKay and Scott, *Great Powers*, pp 206-7.

⁶⁸ Black, *Diplomats and diplomacy*, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Ruvigny et Raineval, *Jacobite Peerage*, pp 232-3.

⁷⁰ McKay and Scott, *Great Powers*, p. 205.

⁷¹ Micheline Kerney Walsh, 'Toby Bourke, Ambassador of James III at the Court of Philip V, 1705-1713' in Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (eds), *The Stuart court in exile and the Jacobites* (London, 1995), p. 144; Ruvigny et Raineval, *Jacobite Peerage*, pp 40-1.

George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, the plenipotentiary to France in 1721 are further examples of aristocratic Jacobite envoys.⁷² With regards to Walkingshaw and another of his successors, John Graeme, while neither of them had diplomatic experience, their appointments were clearly made due to their good breeding. Walkingshaw and Graeme were minor noblemen. Walkingshaw's family were the Laird's of Barrowfield in Scotland whilst Graeme was the son of Sir James Graeme, the Scottish Solicitor-General in 1688.⁷³ This varying noble status, in which some men, while still noble, lacked aristocratic titles is also clear evidence of the social structures in place in Britain and Ireland which differed to those in Europe and from whence these men were exiled.⁷⁴

Walkingshaw and Graeme were also part of the Scottish Jacobite diaspora at the Stuart court which James specifically favoured due to Mar's intrigues.⁷⁵ Diplomatic appointments could also be made simply due to familial connections.⁷⁶ With this in mind and given Walkingshaw's relationship to both Sir Hugh Paterson and Mar, the appointment seems more obvious. It is well known that Mar, a complete opportunist, replaced many of James's older English and Irish servants with Scottish *émigrés* and his own personal connections increasing his own influence over James.⁷⁷ Walkingshaw's appointment as ambassador to the court of Vienna in 1717 seems to have been another move by Mar to utilise his own people. Nonetheless, Walkingshaw was a nobleman with knowledge of French and Latin, so he was able to communicate

⁷² Ruvigny et Raineval, *Jacobite Peerage*, pp 232-3.

⁷³ David Scott, *The history of Scotland: containing all the historical transactions of that nation, from the year of the world 3619 to the year of Christ 1726. Impartially collected and digested into a regular method by David Scott* (London, 1728), p. 761; Ruvigny et Rainval, *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 6.

⁷⁴ McKay and Scott, *Great Powers*, p. 205.

⁷⁵ Corp, *Stuarts in France*, p. 310.

⁷⁶ Anderson, *Modern diplomacy*, p. 81.

⁷⁷ Lenman, *Jacobite risings*, pp 126-7; Corp, *Stuarts in France*, pp 311-3.

with the Austrians and other ambassadors in Vienna.

The establishment of a Jacobite agent in Vienna was an important objective for the Stuarts from 1713 through to 1717. As the Stuart court was in exile it was very limited in what it could do in terms of choosing diplomatic representatives. The grand scheme of things in Europe often determined Stuart plans, the relationship between Austria and her allies being the principal factor which determined the Stuarts's next step. Through the chain of events which led to the choice of Walkingshaw we can see how much the Jacobites were affected by events beyond their control. In Walkingshaw's case, his appointment came largely because Owen O'Rourke either could not or would not go in the face of good Anglo-Austrian relations. Diplomatic experience, while non-essential was a desirable factor although candidates lacking experience could be chosen because of their social standing and connections. Overall, the choice of diplomatic representative made by the Stuart court was a relatively normal occurrence as sovereigns chose noblemen to represent their interests in other courts. Therefore, Walkingshaw's appointment was well within the norms of early modern diplomacy.

Intertwined from the beginning: regime change, strategic security,
and the Scottish Revolution, 1688-90

Gillian Sarah Macdonald

Reflecting on the tumultuous events of 1688-90, John Dalrymple of Stair, politician and Lord Advocate, highlighted the uncertain nature of the Revolution. Despite being part of James VII and II's government, Dalrymple 'without any apparent scruple' advocated for the cause of William of Orange.¹ He served as one of William II and III's commissioners in the Scottish Convention of Estates, a councillor on the Scottish Privy Council, and on various other committees. Illustrating the insecurity of the Revolution, he wrote that 'AFTER [sic] the Prince of Orange had got possession of the government of England; Scotland and Ireland remained still to be settled'.² Dalrymple made sure to emphasise the rising tensions in Scotland by highlighting the Duke of Hamilton's outburst concerning traitors to the regime early in 1689. Recalling the outburst, Dalrymple showed that the Revolution was no ordinary conflict as soldiers were stationed in Edinburgh until the initial electoral debates and decisions were over; the invasion triggered a dynastic shift, which ultimately created three very distinct revolutions.³

Despite political matters progressing favourably for the Williamites in Scotland, law and order disintegrated in Ireland. Dalrymple reported that the 'pains which Lord Tyrconnel had long bestowed in modelling his army, the known violence of his

¹ Dalrymple was more or less a state prisoner in 1685, investigated for his part in the Monmouth rebellion that sought to overthrow James after his accession. He remained in James's favour until the Revolution appointed him Lord Advocate; J.M. Graham (ed.), *Annals and correspondence of the viscount and the first and second earls of Stair; in two volumes vol. i* (Edinburgh, 1875), p.175.

² *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles II. until the sea battle of La Hogue vol.i*, by Sir John Dalrymple Bart., Baron of Exchequer in Scotland (London, 1790), p. 293.

³ *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp 306-7.

temper...spread the panic of massacre amongst all protestants in the north'.⁴ Violence erupted in Ireland, just as it had in Scotland under James' most vehement supporter at the Convention, John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. While he recognized the importance of Ireland, Dalrymple underplayed the geopolitical significance of Scotland. Where James had a 'special relationship' with the French, William had no such feelings. Thus, the threat of a potential French-backed military invasion of Scotland and Dundee's uprising ensured that the Revolution was characterised by violent civil conflict lasting beyond 1690.

Scotland's geostrategic position accordingly became a high priority and without the northern kingdom secured, England faced a two-front invasion. While not being able to compete with the Habsburg and Bourbon empires, physical proximity to England made Scotland Europe's 'glittering prize'.⁵ The amicable relationship between Scotland and France determined that both the Highland War (1688-92) and the War in Ireland (1689-91) became part of the wider European conflict that saw William III and Louis XIV face off for over a decade.⁶ Unequivocally intertwined with these events was the notion of strategic security, which ensured William's supremacy in the British Isles. Described as 'strange', 'surprising', and 'more unexpected...in any place of the world' by contemporaries, historians have sought to explain the origins of the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' from a variety of angles, including religion, kingship, politics, and economics.⁷ Accordingly, the historiography of Scotland's 'Glorious Revolution' is both wide and nuanced. A cadre

⁴ *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 311.

⁵ D. Szechi, 'Jacobite Scotland and European great power strategy' in *Northern Scotland*, i (May, 2010), pp 42-3.

⁶ The present study focuses on the integral years from 1689 and 1691 which marked the finalisation of the regime change. Beyond the year of 1691 is out of the scope of this article and deserves further research.

⁷ T.S., *The history of the affaires of Scotland from the restoration of King Charles the 2d in the year 1660. And of the late great revolution in that kingdom* (London, 1690), sig. A3; Daniel Defoe, *The advantages of the present settlement and the great danger of a relapse* (London, 1689), sig. A2.

of scholars including Tim Harris and Steve Pincus argued that the Revolution's 'triumphalist' reputation was only sustained by overlooking the events in Ireland and paying insufficient attention to Scotland.⁸ The latest work has expanded the borders of the conflict and extended its lifetime significantly; instead of being a controlled and condensed event, the Revolution had far more reaching consequences than previously supposed and had powerful European dimensions.⁹ A more recent efflorescence in scholarship on early modern Ireland incorporated fundamental aspects of Irish history illustrating that James' strategic mistake was not launching an invasion into Scotland.¹⁰ While historians have acknowledged Scotland's role in the seventeenth century, little attention has been paid to Scotland's strategic importance for the Williamite regime and the revolutionary settlement. This study demonstrates that Scotland considerably affected both the fate of the British Isles and European power politics, despite previous perceptions of insignificance. The Revolution and the Second War for the Three Kingdoms was of no less significance than its predecessor for British state formation.

Exploring the issue of strategic security is facilitated by an abundance of source material at not only the National Records of Scotland but also within printed resources. The *Register of the Privy Council for Scotland* and the *Records of the*

⁸ S. Pincus, *1688: the first modern revolution* (Yale, 2009); T. Harris, *Revolution: the great crisis of the British monarchy, 1685-1720* (London, 2006), p.489.

⁹ T. Harris and S. Taylor (eds) *The final crisis of the Stuart monarchy: the revolutions of 1688-91 in their British, Atlantic and European contexts* (Woodbridge, 2013); Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland 1660-1690: royalist politics, religion and ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003); Alasdair Raffe, *The culture of controversy: religious arguments in Scotland, 1660-1714* (Woodbridge, 2012); Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish exile community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690: 'shaken together in a bag of affliction'* (Edinburgh, 2004); S. Adams & J. Goodare (eds), *Scotland in the age of two revolutions* (Woodbridge, 2014); Alistair J. Raffe, 'Religious controversy and Scottish society, c.1679-1714' (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2007); A. Macinnes, K. German & L. Graham (eds), *Living with Jacobitism, 1690-1788: the three kingdoms and beyond* (London, 2014).

¹⁰ J.R. Young, 'The Scottish response to the siege of Londonderry', in W. Kelly (ed.) *The sieges of Derry* (Dublin, 2001); J.R. Young, 'Invasions: Scotland and Ireland 1641-1691' in P. Lenihan (ed.) *Conquest and resistance: war in seventeenth century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001).

Parliaments of Scotland (RPCS) provides official responses to the situation. However, individuals' memoirs and correspondence also illustrate the anticipation for information and offer insight into the anxiety concerning the possibility of a Franco-Irish invasion. A wide array of initiatives, from land-based infantry, garrisons, and supply to naval strategies and privateering commissions, illustrate the importance of strategic policy and Scotland's position in the geostrategic world of early modern Europe.

I

Amidst an era of European war, the regime change incited pandemonium. While scholars may have glossed over the strategic importance of Scotland, William and his contemporary Scottish administrators certainly did not. The flurry of activity concerning Scottish security, testified to the strength of the argument that the situation in Scotland necessitated defence. Between 1688 and 1691, a total of £5,948,902, 16s, 7¼ p was spent on the armed forces as well as £3,126,037, 8s, 4p on the navy.¹¹ To pay for the campaign, the Convention sought to claim the public revenue, cess and excise, due from November 1688, a total of £468,483 18s Scots and crown rent of £200,000. Moreover, to help fund the ongoing campaign, a new Hearth Tax (1690) raised money for the armed forces and helped lower the deficit.¹²

Where the Williamites decried James's rule, Jacobites focused upon the notion that their rightful sovereign was unlawfully deposed. Publisher John Reid argued that:

whether our dangers were too great, or our fears so just, as to require all this attention for our security...let us join, for the prevention of civil as well as

¹¹ *Briefe state of incomes and issues of their Majesties publick revenue, 1688-91* (Aberdeen University Special Collections (A.U.S.C.), MS 221 D²/6/49)

¹² See the Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707 (Hereafter R.P.S.), 1689/3/24; M1689/3/22; 1690/9/12).

foreign bloody wars, to fetch him [James] home...with greater security for our just freedoms.¹³

A precedent the Convention of Estates did not wish to see replicated was the success of James Graham, first marquis of Montrose, Dundee's grandfather whose destructive military campaigns in the 1640s left the Royalists in control of the Highlands. Dundee represented a formidable comparison and his small army was more than the beleaguered Williamite governors of Scotland could cope with.¹⁴ Dundee's rising alongside the sieges in Londonderry and Enniskillen allowed viable support for James to emerge, jeopardizing the final ecclesiastical settlement of Presbyterianism until 1690.¹⁵

William's Scottish administration took shape in the form of the Convention of Estates on 14 March 1689.¹⁶ Among their first measures, was the declaration that the meeting would remain undissolved until the 'Protestant religion, the government, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom were secured', and the establishment of a committee for controverted elections.¹⁷ The early Convention of Estates was inclusive of moderates, revolutionaries, Jacobites, radicals, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, including a few of James' vehement supporters. Ginny Gardner and Derek Patrick have argued that it is naïve to think that the Scottish landed elite went into these election contests unaware of the importance of their actions.¹⁸ For example, Ludovick Grant was one of the most important converts to William's cause. Bruce Lenman

¹³ J. Reid, *A remonstrance and protestation of all the good protestants of this kingdom, against the deposing their lawful sovereign K. James II* (Edinburgh, 1689) (Glasgow University Special Collections, Ogilvie 159).

¹⁴ D. Szechi, *The Jacobites, Britain and Europe 1688-1788* (Manchester, 1994), p. 43.

¹⁵ Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland 1660-1690: royalist politics, religion and ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp 194; 208.

¹⁶ E. Balfour-Melville (ed.) *An account of the proceedings of the estates in Scotland 1689-90* (Edinburgh, 1955), ii, p. 295; Idem., *An account of the proceedings of the estates in Scotland 1689-90* (Edinburgh, 1954), i, p. viii.

¹⁷ R.P.S. 1689/3/18.

¹⁸ Gardner, *Exile community*; D.J. Patrick, 'People and parliament in Scotland 1689-1702', (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2002), pp 380-1.

argues that ‘the Revolution in the Highlands owed an enormous debt to the name of Grant’.¹⁹

Despite opposition to the Revolution being viewed as support for a counter-revolution, the Scottish revolutionary sentiment was not a universal attitude with many uncommitted peers not cooperating with the new regime. Aware of the precarious nature of the proceedings, ‘some days before the convention met, the Duke of Hamilton and some Lords and Gentlemen brought to Edinburgh several companies of foot... till some days after the convention had met’.²⁰ After initial debate, the Convention aligned itself with the House of Orange. Subsequently, William granted the Estates legitimacy to transform the Convention into Parliament on 5 June 1689, with the Scottish Privy Council and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as the main institutions of the new regime altering the composition of the Convention significantly. The Claim of Right invoked Scotland’s radical constitutional tradition, disembowelling Crown influence on parliament.²¹

Arguably more important for Scottish strategic policy was the establishment of the Privy Council, a group of William’s most trusted advisors and revolutionary supporters, in May 1689. The council was dominated by the ‘Scoto-Dutch’ group. Included in this group were William’s Dutch favourite, Hans Willem Bentick, Earl of Portland, who had constructed and implemented much of the invasion, William Carstares (the King’s chaplain), the exiled Sir James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair,

¹⁹ Bruce Lenman, ‘The Scottish nobility and the revolution of 1688–1690’, in Robert Beddard (ed.), *The revolutions of 1688* (Oxford, 1991), p. 152; Patrick, ‘People and parliament’, pp 182-3; J.R. Young, ‘Grant, Ludovick, of that ilk (1650–1716)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (O.D.N.B.)*.

²⁰ Colin Lindsay, earl of Balcarres, *Memoirs touching the revolution in Scotland, M.DC.LXXXVIII.–M.DC.XC* (Edinburgh, 1841), p. 24.

²¹ J.R. Young, ‘The Scottish Parliament and the covenanting heritage of constitutional reform’ in A. Macinnes & J. Ohlmeyer (eds) *The Stuart Kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (Dublin, 2002), p. 230; Harris, *Revolution*, p. 366. Alistair Raffe, ‘James VII’s multiconfessional experiment and the Scottish revolution of 1688-90’ in *Journal of the Historical Association*, c (2015), p. 355.

and his son Sir John Dalrymple making membership a combination of exiled Scots and William's Dutch entourage.²² Their close alliance ensured implementation of William's Scottish policy. For example, Portland's support for George Melville, Lord Melville, to become William's first secretary of state in Scotland sealed his influence over the mechanics of government.²³

Scottish strategic policy did not have just one monolithic approach to defence. The new regime pursued simultaneous campaigns in response to Dundee's Highland War and the potential of a Franco-Irish invasion. Policy spanned different regions at different times and required native knowledge of the areas to navigate the campaign. The political climate of the south-west contrasted sharply with the Highlands and Islands. The Convention of Royal Burghs provided the foundation of resistance towards James and a critical area of support for the Williamite regime.²⁴ Ayr, Irvine, and Kirkcudbright harboured roots of radical Presbyterianism as far as the sixteenth century this area, unsurprisingly, welcomed the Revolution.²⁵ While the west housed considerable revolutionary fervour, the Highlands, Lowlands, and Ireland fostered rebellion and Jacobite sympathies.

Over the course of the Revolution, it became clear that the war on the continent would have a significant impact on the events in the British Isles. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun lamented on the relationship between the Scots and the French because it was a threat to both the English border and the balance of power.²⁶ European powers, whether France, Spain, or the German principalities, also recognised the importance

²² H.C. Foxcroft, *Supplement to Burnet's history of my own time* (Oxford, 1902), p. 541.

²³ J.R. Young, 'Melville, George, fourth Lord Melville and first earl of Melville (1636–1707)', *O.D.N.B.*

²⁴ *Extracts from the records of the convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1677-1711* (Edinburgh, 1880), iv, p. 100.

²⁵ Alan McSeveny, 'Non-Conforming Presbyterian Women in Restoration Scotland: 1660-1679' (PhD dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 2005), pp 74-8; Patrick, 'People and Parliament', p. 137.

²⁶ Andrew Fletcher, *A discourse of government, with relation to militias* (Edinburgh, 1698), in John Robertson (ed.) *Andrew Fletcher: political works* (Cambridge, 1997), pp 9-10; 19; 29.

of Scotland's geographic position. Georg Fredrich, Prince of Waldeck, emphasised this in a letter to William early in 1689. Concerned about the French fleet and European intrigue with the Stuarts, Waldeck urged William to intervene with the King of Poland, the Duke of Holstein, and the Turkish Porte. The Revolution was a matter upon 'which the whole world is anxious'.²⁷ John Dalrymple, decried the measures of defence for Scotland. Writing to the Secretary of State, George, Lord Melville, he argued that 'the consequences of mistakes at this time... may be fatal'.²⁸ Reflecting on this, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, argued that 'while domestic matters were raising great heats at home, we saw the necessity of making vigorous preparations for the war abroad'.²⁹

II

With scattered absent commissioners, James's lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief Dundee in rebellion, and reports of agitation across Scotland, the Scottish administration faced a surmountable task in defending the Revolution. The Convention played no small part in the initial defence of Scotland and its strategic localities. Having less resources at their disposal than the English government, in a conflict in which the lines of demarcation were not clear, commissioners often relied on correspondence, instructions from the King, and the retainment of information through both covert and non-covert means to formulate policy. In such precarious situations, intelligence regarding the enemies' plans or movements unsurprisingly had high value. Since William's invasion, intelligence had been a staple in strategic planning. For example, William Carstares and James Dalrymple of Stair had been

²⁷ Prince of Waldeck to the King, 12 May 1689 in *Calendar of State Papers 1689-90: Domestic – William and Mary*, (C.S.P.D.) (London, 1895), pp 100-1.

²⁸ Sir John Dalrymple, to Hamilton, 30 May 1689 (National Record Office of Scotland (N.R.S.), Correspondence of the Dukes of Hamilton, 1563-1712, GD406/1/3546).

²⁹ Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's history of his own time*, (London, 1724-34), p. 22.

responsible for intelligence in Scotland from The Hague.³⁰ Gathering and later communicating intelligence involved voluminous correspondence with other officials and occasionally the King. This network of exchange allowed officials to trade information and coordinate responses.

Faced with simultaneous yet interdependent military issues, the Scottish administration's response to the situation was fraught with complications and debate. Fuelled by loyalist Jacobite sentiments, the siege of Edinburgh Castle in March 1689 signalled the first of many armed struggles between the two camps. The governor, the Catholic Duke of Gordon, offered terms to the newly convened estates to not 'molest the Convention's 'illustrious assembly' if his terms were accepted.³¹ Unsurprisingly, the terms were rejected. To deal with the increasingly dangerous situation in Edinburgh, the Convention nominated a Committee for Securing the Peace on 16 March 1689, who proposed the 'whole kingdom to be put in a posture of defence'.³² Those nominated reflected areas of strategic necessity with members such as Ludovick Grant, John Dalrymple of Stair, and James Montgomery of Skelmorlie respectively representing Stranraer, Elgin, and the county of Ayr, important areas in policy formation.

One of the essential moments of the 1689 Convention of Estates was the immediate response to a letter from Ireland. Delivered by Thomas Knox, the letter detailed that Ireland had almost entirely declared for James and his Lord Deputy, Richard Talbot, Earl Tyrconnell, threatened to invade Scotland. Without any direct mention of Ireland, the Convention nominated a Committee for the Highlands,

³⁰ Harris, *Revolution*, p. 368.

³¹ George Gordon, *An account of the besieging the castle of Edinburgh* (London, 1689); C. Sanford Terry, 'The siege of Edinburgh Castle March-June 1689', in *Scottish Historical Review*, ii (January 1905), pp 164-5.

³² See R.P.S., M1689/3/3; 1689/3/20; 1689/3/21; 1689/3/25.

legislated for national defence, and enforced oaths of allegiance on those in public office and in the armed forces. Those appointed to the committee came from both the Highlands and Lowlands.³³ Similarly, in an effort to mobilise Scotland's resources, the Convention issued a proclamation against 'papists' on 20 March 1689; ordered William Drummond, keeper of the stores, to send '4,000 muskets, 1,000 picks, 100 barrels of powder... and 100 chests of ball' to Glasgow; the apprehension of 'suspect' people at highways and ports; and, perhaps most importantly, arms were distributed throughout the western shires due to their proximity to the Irish Sea.³⁴

With the armed forces in disarray, the Convention sought to reform the standing army under the command of Major-General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, one of William's most trusted military commanders. Mackay's return from Dutch service also marked the return of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade. The regiments had been a bone of contention between uncle and nephew since 1685. James viewed the brigade as nothing more than a militarised magnet for opponents to his regime.³⁵ Aware of the situation, Mackay knew that if Dundee were given excessive time to mobilise, his small army of Englishmen and Lowlanders would be useless. As such, the Convention levied six thousand soldiers, twelve cavalry regiments, and a regiment of three hundred dragoons.³⁶ Spurred on by the Jacobite military threat, historian Allan Macinnes argued that there was a push for a union of incorporation. King William encouraged a 'union of both kingdoms', especially since their enemies were so

³³ See R.P.S., 1689/3/28; 1689/3/29; 1689/3/31; M1689/3/5.

³⁴ See R.P.S., 1689/3/42; 1689/3/53; 1689/3/60; 1689/3/62.

³⁵ R.P.S., 1689/3/70; John Childs, 'The Scottish Brigade in the Service of the Dutch Republic, 1689-1782' in *Documentatieblad werkgroep achttiende eeuw*. (1984), pp 60-1.

³⁶ Hugh Mackay, *Memoirs of the war carried on in Scotland and Ireland. M.DC.LXXXIX.–M.DC.XCI*. (J.M. Hog, P. Tytler, and A. Urquhart (eds), Edinburgh, 1833), p. 7.

‘restless’.³⁷ Plans for union, however, took a subordinate position to the ensuing campaign.

James’ landing at Kinsale made the prospect of invasion a real possibility. The geography of Scotland’s west coast and areas inhabited by Jacobite sympathisers offered favourable opportunity for a French backed assault on Scotland. Dalrymple highlighted the interrelated military situations aptly, ‘while Scotland nourished a secret fire...which was only the prelude to more dangerous mischiefs; Ireland was eager to waster her blood and her treasures in his cause’.³⁸ Therefore, the ‘culture of mobility’ that existed across the Irish Sea had to be curbed to prevent the spread of warfare.³⁹ In an attempt to curtail the movement of people, an embargo was effected on 23 March 1689. Shipping, migration, and refugees could create negative externalities for Scotland, the Irish Sea could potentially connect James’ supporters, opening a new front for the continental war: the ‘nightmare scenario’ the Scottish administration sought to prevent. Eric Graham argues that this elevated Scotland to ‘a strategic frontline state’, dragging Scotland into the European war.⁴⁰

Recognising this possibility, the Convention empowered Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, John Anderson of Dowhill, and John Boswell to fit out two frigates to sail the west coast. On 16 April 1689, a parliamentary embargo

³⁷ A formal call for union followed the election of the Estates as many of the elite feared the possibility of the conquest of Scotland by a Stuart Pretender and the only way to prevent this was protection from the English navy and a union. A committee to treat for a union between Scotland and England was set up (23 April 1689) but never met with any English counterparts; Chris Whatley with Derek Patrick, *The Scots and the Union: then and now* (Edinburgh, 2014); Allan Macinnes, *Union and Empire: the making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 86.

³⁸ *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp 362-3.

³⁹ Migration links between Scotland and Ulster had existed for centuries by 1641 between 20,000 and 30,000 had immigrated to Ulster. The ‘culture of mobility’ meant that Derry, Carrickfergus and Belfast all had large Scottish populations; J. Agnew, *Belfast merchant families in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1996); J.G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland 1685-91* (Dublin, 1969).

⁴⁰ The plight of the refugees that emerged from this conflict is beyond the scope of this article and deserves more attention; I. Salehyan and K. Gleditsch, ‘Refugees and the Spread of Civil War’ in *International organization* lx (2006), p. 340; R.P.S., 1689/3/57; *Proceedings of the Estates*, i, pp 23-4; E.J. Graham, *A maritime history of Scotland, 1650-1790* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 64.

prohibited all sailings between Scotland and Ireland.⁴¹ In addition, former garrisons on the west coast including Dumbarton Castle and the Duke of Hamilton's castle at Arran were to be refitted for warfare. Hamilton received forty-seven pounds and six shillings' sterling for soldiers, supply, and provisions. Major George Arnott—governor of Dumbarton Castle, complimented by Sir James Smollet's inclusion on the Committee for the Highlands, received £2210 Scots for soldiers pay, provisions, and supplies. The strategic location of the garrisons' bolstered security of the coast and provided ample vantage for sighting an invasion force.⁴² Defeat at Bantry Bay on 1 May, however, left French ships in control of the Irish Sea. Subsequently, a Jacobite boom was raised across the River Foyle cutting off Londonderry from supplies and three French men-of-war took up residence at Carrickfergus to prevent Glasgow merchants from landing at Ulster ports.⁴³

III

The battle for Scotland was vital for William's control of the British Isles. Consequently, to prepare, the Convention established a Committee for Enquiry into the 'state of the public arms' to service the garrisons.⁴⁴ With newly endowed powers, the Scottish Privy Council took control of the campaign in May 1689 and moved a 'competent' number of forces to the Highlands. For example, almost identical letters were sent to captains of troops, including Sir Duncan Campbell, Captain Young, Lieutenant Colonel Cleland, the Earls of Eglington and Glencairn, instructed forces to secure the entrances to the Highlands.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Hamilton wrote to Melville

⁴¹ R.P.S., 1689/3/46; *Proceedings of the estates*, i, p. 10.

⁴² Inventory of arms, ammunition and stores in Dumbarton Castle, 31 Dec 1689 (National Record Office of Scotland (N.R.S.), Artillery and Military Stores (A.M.S.), Inventories of arms and stores, E96/33); N.R.S., Treasury Registers (T.R.) 1688-90, E7/5, pp 7; 54; R.P.S., 1689/3/122; 1689/3/150; 1689/3/151.

⁴³ Graham, *Maritime history of Scotland*, p. 69.

⁴⁴ R.P.S., 1689/3/47.

⁴⁵ Letter to Sir Duncan Campbell, 27 May 1689; Letter to the Earl of Glencairn, 27 May 1689; Letter to Lord Belhaven, 27 May 1689; Letter directed to William Anderson of Partick, 27 May 1689; Letter

requesting not only gunpowder for the established garrisons but also, later, for further financial aid.⁴⁶

Juggling meagre resources and contrasting commitments necessitated strategic decision making. Correspondence between Hugh Maxwell and John Maxwell of Pollock highlighted disquiet in the burghs. Hugh Maxwell wrote ‘we now much alarmed with the Papists that are in the burgh of Galloway’ and the ‘country is more *feurs* of them now’.⁴⁷ Accordingly, the discovery of a plot, correspondence with Dundee, and a spy within the Scots dragoons prompted immediate action. Authorised by Parliament, the Privy Council sanctioned the investigation and torture of the dragoons under Sergeant Francis Provincial. The council of war, headed by Mackay, charged Provincial with conspiring with Dundee and sentenced him to torture for ‘expiscating the *haill treuth*’.⁴⁸ The information extracted allowed the Council to reorganise the armed forces, having weeded out Jacobite sympathisers. As a result, all unqualified officers and ‘false musters’ were dismissed.⁴⁹

The first response of the Williamites was slow and culminated in a pyrrhic Jacobite victory at the Battle of Killiecrankie. Upon the news of Mackay’s defeat, in an extraordinary meeting, the council immediately sent out missives instructing for rendezvousing the standing militia and regiments around the country.⁵⁰ Moreover, a

to the Earl of Eglington, 27 May 1689 in *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, (*R.P.C.S.*), xiii, pp 382-3; Letter to Lieut. Colonel Clelland, 27 May 1689; Letter to the Viscount Kenmure 27 May 1689; Letter to the Earl of Annandale 27 May 1689, in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 383.

⁴⁶ Letter to Secretary of State, 30 May 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 392; Letter to the Secretary of State, 1 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 479.

⁴⁷ Hugh Maxwell to John Maxwell, 14 Jul. 1689 (Glasgow City Archives, Maxwells of Pollok Glasgow and Renfrew, c1200-1975: Correspondence, T-PM113/479).

⁴⁸ Clare Jackson, ‘Judicial Torture, the Liberties of the Subject, and Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1660-1690’ in T.C. Smout (ed.) *Anglo-Scottish relations from 1603 to 1900* (2005), pp 75-101; Remit and order for torturing Francis Provincial, 18 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 536.

⁴⁹ Remit and order for torturing the Scots dragoons, 18 July 1689, p.536; Remit and order for torturing Francis Provincial, 18 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, pp 536-7; Act for better regulating of his Majesty’s forces, 23 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 546.

⁵⁰ Missive to Earl of Argyll; Missive to Earl of Dundonald; Missive to Lord Carmichael; Missive to Sir Archibald Cockburn; Order to Sir Patrick Home; Order to Major Buntein; Order to William Hope of Kirkliston, 28 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, pp 565-7.

remit for intelligence commissioned Lord Ruthven and Sir James Montgomerie to employ suitable persons to gather ‘intelligence from Dundee’s camp and intelligence *anent* their motion’ and report back to the Lord High Commissioner.⁵¹ However, not all information collected could be trusted as exemplified by John Dalrymple in July 1689. He complained that ‘Argyls intelligence hath been very ill, for he hath not known that Dundee was marched to fall upon his rear’. He went on to comment that ‘the Athol men have been false *subdolos* dealers’.⁵²

The Jacobites having lost their commander stumbled, but Hamilton and Sir William Lockhart opined that if Dundee’s party ‘carries Stirling, he has all Scotland’.⁵³ The loss at Killiecrankie, the inability of the commissioners to set up a coherent strategic plan, and the interference of the ‘Club’ forced Hamilton to prorogue Parliament on 2 August 1689.⁵⁴ Concerned with the mounting tensions and the withholding of supply, Melville criticised the ‘heats’ in the Convention because there was so little security for the country.⁵⁵ The King recognised that Killiecrankie could encourage further rebellion and bemoaned that if the situation remained unchecked he would lose control of the European wars.⁵⁶ John Dalrymple echoed this view, stating that William was cold toward the Convention having recommended the consideration

⁵¹ Remitanent Intelligence, 29 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 568.

⁵² Sir John Dalrymple to Lord Melville, 30 Jul. 1689 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 214-6.

⁵³ Hamilton to Melville, 29 Jul. 1689 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 206; William Lockhart to Melville, 28 Jul. 1689 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 204.

⁵⁴ The ‘Club’ under Sir James Montgomerie of Skelmorlie was a group of gentry and burgesses that championed the resurgent role of parliament over the monarch. ‘Club’ members sought to make sure the monarch adhered to the Claim of Right and redressed the Scots grievances; Alistair Mann, ‘Inglorious Revolution: Administrative Muddle and Constitutional Change in the Scottish Parliament of William and Mary’ in *Parliamentary History*, xxii (2003), p. 193

⁵⁵ Melville to Hamilton, 5 Aug. 1689 in *Historical Manuscripts Commission (H.M.C.), Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton, (1563-1794)* (2 vols, Westminster, 1887), i, pp 190-1.

⁵⁶ *Memoirs of the war*, p. 68; Melville to Hamilton, 3 Aug. 1689, *Manuscripts of Hamilton*, i, p. 190; Letter from the King, 5 Aug. 1689, *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, p. 14; Hamilton to Melville, 8 Aug. 1689, *Leven and Melville Papers*, p.241.

of ‘affairs abroad...not only for making settlement at home, but for the safety of all Europe’.⁵⁷

The campaign was haemorrhaging soldiers whether due to desertion or combat injury or death.⁵⁸ In late 1689, the Privy Council wrote to Mackay to suggest recruitment for the depleted forces and supplying garrisons. Moreover, the council opined their depleted supplies to Melville and an anonymous letter to Melville highlighted that the ‘power of ordering the militia’ was of utmost importance to the security of the kingdom.⁵⁹ King William echoed the sentiment for recruitment, suggesting recruitment for a further five hundred men and the reorganization of the forces under the Earl of Leven, Major-General Mackay, and George Munro. Loyal commanders were given priority, such as Sir William Burnett of Balfour who succeeded Sir William Hope as commander of a troop of horse due to his allegiance.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, in a particularly destructive siege at Dunkeld, General William Cleland and the Cameronian regiment repulsed the remnants of Dundee’s Jacobite army, marking the first successful initiative of the new regime.

Despite doubts, garrisons were the lynchpin for the Williamite campaign in the Highlands. Consequently, the Council set up a system of fortifications of strategic points at Argyle, Stirling, Perth, Kincardine, and Inverness. The garrisons were well

⁵⁷ *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 270.

⁵⁸ Argyll alludes to this asserting that half of Angus’s regiments were ‘mad men not to be governed even by master *shields* their oracle’; Argyll to Hamilton, Aug. 1689 (N.R.S., Hamilton Muniments: Correspondence of the Dukes of Hamilton, GD406/3560).

⁵⁹ Szechi, *The Jacobites*, p. 43; Missive to Major General Mackay, 3 Sep. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, p. 180; Letter to the Secretary of State, 5 Sep. 1689, p. 225; Anon. to Melville, 1689 (National Library of Scotland (N.L.S.), Wodrow Collection, xxvi, ff 268-9).

⁶⁰ Melville to Hamilton, 18 Dec. 1689 in *Manuscripts of Hamilton*, i, p. 191; Letter anent seizing of deserters and levying soldiers, 31 Dec. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, p. 111; Remit anent the furnishing provision for an early campaign, 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, p.111; Commission to Sir William Burnett of Balfour to be Captain of a Troop of Horse, 1690 (A.U.S.C., Papers of the Burnett family of Leys, Section II: MS 3361/2/4 Bundle 4, Part 2).

furnished and had a duty upon sight of the rebels to signal by firing a beacon.⁶¹ In an artillery report for the ensuing war, Mackay emphasized the importance of garrisons and their ongoing supply. To that end, many received supplies for their repair, including new canon platforms for Dumbarton Castle and ‘gunners and soldiers’ for Edinburgh Castle.⁶² Mackay’s concerns were not unfounded. In two intercepted letters, James had encouraged his subjects that ‘all things, both at home and abroad...put us soon into... a condition... the shipping of horse... the Duke of Berwick succours to your assistance’.⁶³ Often cited as the final battle of the Jacobite campaign, the battle at Cromdale illustrated the revitalised cause. Despite Sir Thomas Livingston’s Hanoverians routing Colonel Buchan’s army, the battle for Scotland was far from over. Sir John Lanier, professional commander in the English army, understood the difficult situation in the Highlands. He observed that ‘Argyle goes on Munday next into Argyleshyre, to settle that part of the country he being a man of great interest among the Clans’ while also noting that the forces had to be ready for external issues.⁶⁴

Difficult decisions prompted debate between high-ranking officials of the regime about the most effective use of the limited resources. Lamenting the sluggish pace of action, Portland seethed at Melville that the Scottish war had to be handled more efficiently.⁶⁵ Moreover, ‘Club’ members disenchanted with the pace of reform had engaged in Jacobite conspiracy and Melville was zealous to have the army in

⁶¹ Proclamation anent depredations, 12 Nov. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, pp 485-6; ‘Introduction’ in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. x.

⁶² Inventory of ‘several necessities’ to be furnished for this present ‘ensuing campaign’, 3-4 Apr. 1690 (N.R.S., A.M.S., Inventory of arms and stores, Dec. 1689-Apr. 1691, E96/33/5); A conjectural estimate for repairing the Castle of Dumbartoune, 15 May 1690 (N.R.S., Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments): State Papers, GD112/43/16/9); An inventory of provisions for Edinburgh Castle, 1690 (N.R.S., Breadalbane Muniments: State Papers, GD112/43/16/17).

⁶³ Intercepted letters from King James to Laird of McNaughten and Colonel Canon, 30 Nov. 1689 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 331-3.

⁶⁴ Letter by John Lanier, 18 Sep. 1690 (N.L.S., Dyson Perrins Collection (D.P.C.), MS 3741 ff 90-2).

⁶⁵ Portland to Melville, 9 Jun. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 442-3.

Edinburgh. King James' return by parliamentary statute was unsubstantiated, especially following the discovery of the 'Montgomerie Plot'. However, since nothing materialised from the plot Portland condemned Melville's decision to move the army to Edinburgh. He argued that Mackay needed the forces in the Highlands to quell 'the descent of an invasion'. The only way to force the Highlanders to submit was the fortification and manning of garrisons and moving the army would lose Mackay's advantages in the Highlands.⁶⁶

Following Portland's outburst, the Privy Council made arrangements for repairing and resupplying important garrisons. For example, Dumbarton and Stirling Castles were refurbished with supplies and artillery was restocked. The strength of Jacobite resilience and the continuance of the campaign is evident in the arrest of Henry Neville Pain. Pain was arrested as a 'trafficking papist', accused of illegally trafficking information about the Williamite campaign. Unfruitful torture and Pain's refusal to give up information meant policy was largely reactive.⁶⁷ The Council quickly called out all fencible men and cavalry in east, south, and western shires for 'intestine commotions'.⁶⁸ The Council's insistence on intelligence paid off later that year as information regarding the Highlanders' movements allowed the Council to successfully defend the Lothians. By the end of the campaigning season, only Duart Castle held out.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Portland to Melville, 23 Jul. 1690 in *ibid.*, pp 474-5.

⁶⁷ Proclamation against disaffected persons, 19 Jun. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 274.

⁶⁸ The importance of the garrisons is highlighted by the Commissioners of Supply and Treasury payment to the Londonmost integral garrisons per annum upwards of: 80,000^{lb} sterline (N.R.S., T.R., Aug 1690-4 Mar 1692, E7/6, p. 95); Remit anent the castle of Stirling, 16 Jun. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 265; Orders for Dumbarton Castle, 19 Jun. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 275; Remit anent the militia horse and fencible men in the south east and western shires, 19 Jun. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 276; Order for calling out fencible men, 20 Jun. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 279.

⁶⁹ Commission to the Earl of Lothian to call out fencible men in the Lothians, 24 Jul. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 328; Letter to Major-General Mackay, 25 Jul. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, pp 332; Recommendation to Major-General Mackay, 8 Aug. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, pp 363-4; Letter to Major-General Mackay, 9 Sep. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, pp 427-8; Commission to the Earl of Argyll, 11 Sep. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, pp 431-2.

While William ordered the disbandment of the Scottish forces early in 1691, the Jacobite threat had not abated. The dissolution of the forces was expensive, instead William sought to ‘keep up no more forces...contained in the present establishment’.⁷⁰ Five independent companies were to replace the standing armies. Sir Thomas Livingston, the new commander in chief, was to oversee the recruitment for the smaller companies.⁷¹ Subsequently, the Council appointed a Committee anent fortifications in February 1691 to oversee the fortification of Inverness and to put the garrison into a posture of defence because rebels had been spotted in Cardross.⁷² The continental war, in particular France’s success, made sure that the Jacobite campaign continued well into 1691. John Dalrymple, now joint secretary of state, wrote to Hamilton arguing that ‘the siege on Mons hath brought on the campaign much earlier than we expected’. Following a recommendation to the Treasury, the Privy Council sought to provide ‘stores of provision’ to the garrisons and restocked the stores in all the magazines across Scotland for the new campaign.⁷³

Williamite spy John Macky rationalised the continued Jacobite threat in 1691. He wrote that the Bishop of Glasgow had received letters from King James that ‘if the French came some time next month of this... there were a great many ready in all parts of the kingdom to join’. Therefore, Macky argued it would be to the detriment of the regime to undo any measures in place. With this intelligence, the Privy Council arrested the Bishop of Glasgow a lynchpin of Jacobite communication.⁷⁴ By April,

⁷⁰ Letter from his Majesty anent disbanding of the forces, 6 Jan. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 8.

⁷¹ Letter from his Majesty anent five companies, 13 Jan. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 18; Recommendation to Sir Thomas Livingston anent the five companies, 13 Jan. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 18.

⁷² Warrant to Sir Thomas Livingstone to send forces to Cardross, 29 Jan. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 70; Committee anent fortifications, 24 Feb. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 70.

⁷³ John Dalrymple to Hamilton, 7 Mar. 1691 in *Manuscripts of Hamilton*, ii, p. 116; Remit to the Treasury anent provisions to the magazines, 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 234.

⁷⁴ John Macky to Melville, 6 Mar. 1691 in *State-papers and letters addressed to William Carstares...: Relating to public affairs in Great-Britain, but more particularly in Scotland, during the reigns of K. William and Q. Anne.* ed. J MacCormick (Edinburgh, 1774), pp 128-9; Macky to Melvill, 11 Apr. 1691 in *State-papers and letters addressed to William Carstares*, pp 133-4.

the Council had reinstated a posture of defense and mobilized the militia. A letter from the King's office ordered that since 'several persons' had travelled from Scotland to France, and vice-versa, no ships were to take passengers unless passes had been obtained to leave the country.⁷⁵ Only by August 1691 did the Highland Chieftains enter into negotiations of surrender. The Privy Council proclaimed an indemnity on 27 August, swearing an oath of allegiance to William and Mary as monarchs *de jure* and *de facto*. The circumstances, however, created a situation ensuring the survival and endurance of Jacobite activity. Hence John Slezer's, captain of the artillery company and surveyor of the magazines, commission to report on the conditions of the fortifications and put them in 'better condition than ever' in December that year.

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IV

Meanwhile, the 'fiery furnace' of the Jacobite experience was arguably strongest in Ireland. Ireland's large Catholic population presented a powerhouse for counter-revolution. Dan Szechi argues that both Williamites and Jacobites took the war there very seriously.⁷⁷ James' arrival and establishment of the parliament at Dublin, which was overwhelmingly Catholic, had proclaimed his 'divine right' kingship, Ireland's 'distinct' identity from England, and branded William the 'usurper'.⁷⁸ Arguably the intertwined chronology of events in Ireland and Scotland

⁷⁵ Committee for putting the country in a posture of defence, 16 Apr. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, pp 255-6; Order for a proclamation against suspect persons, 18 Apr. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, pp 261-2; Letter from King anent passes, 4 May 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, pp 274-5; Proclamation anent passes, 4 May 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, pp 274-5; Proclamation anent militia, 29 May 1691, xvi, p. 288.

⁷⁶ Report by Slezer on the condition of the magazines and proposals putting them in better condition, Dec. 1691 (N.R.S. A.M.S., Papers relating to artillery Feb 1690-Dec 1691, E96/34/3).

⁷⁷ Szechi, *The Jacobites*, p. 45.

⁷⁸ The Act of Recognition was the first act passed by the Dublin Parliament in 1689, it recognised James' imperial right to crown of Ireland and compared William's usurpation of the throne to the execution of Charles I. The Declaratory Act proclaimed Ireland as always having been 'distinct' from England and that no act of English parliament bound the Irish; Harris, *Revolution*, pp 439-44.

left the administration scrambling to keep up. Therefore, upon the arrival of ‘some hundreds of *Irish Papists* with some gentlemen and *Scots* officers’, the Privy Council declared all those in open rebellion to be traitors to the regime.⁷⁹

Both James and John Dalrymple warned about the dangers of leaving the situation in Ireland unchecked. James Dalrymple argued very early that ‘the nearest way to relieve our friends in Ireland’, was to send 10,000 men to save an invasion through Scotland.⁸⁰ His son followed up arguing that James missed a great opportunity not invading Scotland in 1689, ‘when we have no sufficient fleet’ and Jacobites were ‘fortified by the French fleets’.⁸¹ In light of violence in Ireland and its proximity to the west coast, ports were monitored very closely. Hugh McGhee illustrated the importance of the west, as important and highly functional seaports, Ayr and by default Irvine, provided important nodes for trade and communication. Kinship links and the export trade ensured consistent exchange between southwest Scotland and Ireland.⁸² National legislation implemented a security model based on a precedent set in the 1640s, when the Antrim Plot (1641-1643) threatened Scotland’s west shoreline. The Plot had illustrated the connections between Scottish Royalists and their Irish counterparts, whose invasion plans had surfaced following the capture of the Earl of Antrim.

The kingdom immediately moved to a posture of defence, followed by a remit for public servants to secure ports and highways. Local fervour allowed national policy to filter down to burgh level. In April 1689, Ayr burgh proclaimed that all

⁷⁹ Gilbert Eliot, *Proclamation against the Viscount of Dundee, and other rebels now in arms* (Edinburgh, 1689).

⁸⁰ James Dalrymple to Melville, 23 Mar. 1689 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 4.

⁸¹ John Dalrymple to Hamilton, 16 May 1689 in *Manuscripts of Hamilton*, i, p. 193; Hamilton to Melville, 8 Aug. 1689 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 239.

⁸² H. McGhee, ‘The Harbour’, in A. Dunlop (ed.) *The royal burgh of Ayr: seven hundred and fifty years of history* (Ayr, 1953), p. 197.

available men of ‘the town of Aer and liberties thereof and put them into companies’. The officers of the men were to ‘exercise them as oft as they shall think expedient and ordain ready obedience’. Upon the threat of invasion the burgh arranged beacons to be ‘kindled... should the enemy appear’.⁸³ Evidence of a quick appraisal of national policy is also visible in the Irvine town council minutes. The ‘town [was] to be guarded’, with twenty men every night. Moreover, ‘the whole fencible men within this burgh drawn out and drilled or mustered’ and modelled into two distinct companies.⁸⁴ In a petition to the Council, Hugh Cathcart highlighted the importance of the Irish Sea in connecting warfare in Scotland and Ireland. He wrote that Gilbert Phillip had ‘gone to Ireland...without any licence’ and had not only corresponded with a ‘popish’ Captain McDonald but also provided assistance to Irish Catholics.⁸⁵

Proximity to the Irish Sea meant the West was patrolled closely for Jacobite activity. The arrest of a Jacobite spy at Greenock, one of the principal trade ports, with private letters from King James sparked immediate action. Within the letters, James explained his ‘position not only to defend Ireland...but to send supplies to Dundee’ and planned to send over 5,000 men. His correspondence addressed to the Jacobite Earl of Balcarres, enquired about ‘hazard that may be in allowing ships...to pass...to Ireland...for transporting...force and provisions’. Therefore, the Council ordered more information be extracted from Ireland and the Estates issued a warrant for an embargo on the Irish Sea.⁸⁶ The arrest of the spy gave the council a strategic advantage. The disruption of this communication offered insight into the Irish campaign and allowed

⁸³ See R.P.S., 1689/3/31 and R.P.S. 1689/3/57; Royal Burgh Minutes: Ayr Burgh (1678-90), 8 Apr. 1689 (Ayrshire Archives (A.A.), B6/18/5); J.H. Pagan, *Annals of Ayr in the olden time, 1560-1692* (Ayr, 1897), p. 47.

⁸⁴ Irvine Burgh Town Council Minutes 1683-1699, 17-28 May 1689 (A.A., GR1/1/7).

⁸⁵ Act Cathcart of Carelton anent Gilbert Phillip, 15 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, pp 511-2.

⁸⁶ The spy has been referred to as David Brady (R.P.C.S) and Francis Brady (Accounts of the Proceedings of the Estates); Intercepted letters, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton: Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VI.*, (London, 1887), i, pp 178-9; *Proceedings of the Estates*, i, pp 32-3; R.P.S., 1689/3/122.

the Williamite regime to strategize accordingly. To prevent further communication, the Estates ordered ‘the earl of Balcarras close prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh’.⁸⁷

Agitated by reports that Ireland was in control of the French, the Privy Council commissioned frigates to sail the west coast. Armed cruisers under the command of William Hamilton and Alex Browne respectively, the *Pelican* and the *Janet*, were dispatched to the Irish Sea. Their orders stipulated the destruction or security of all boats that attempted to obstruct the passage to Ireland or leave for the continent. Further privateering commissions empowered crews to both obtain intelligence and ‘*insest* them with all acts of hostility’.⁸⁸ The relief of Londonderry and hold of Enniskillen allowed a Williamite contingent under the Duke of Schomberg to land in Ulster. Lord Melville praised the initiatives but reminded Hamilton of the importance of the west. In June 1689 he wrote, the Highlands was not as important as securing the west from an invasion. Moreover, that intelligence from Ireland was high priority.⁸⁹ Consequently, the Privy Council stationed a packet boat in Portpatrick for communication with Ireland. The collector, William Fullertone, delivered and collected packets and dispatches from his Majesty’s government and monitored the sea traffic. The Irish Captain David Kennedy was charged with the same remit for the Irish side. Included in his instructions was the ‘punctual’ collection of intelligence as

⁸⁷ See R.P.S., 1689/3/130.

⁸⁸ Missive to Captain Hamilton, 4 Jul. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, p. 488; R.P.S., 1689/3/45, 1689/3/46; *Proceedings of the Estates*, i, p. 10; Act in favour of Captain William Burnside as a privateer, 28 May 1689 and: Act in favour of Captain John Woodside as privateer, 28 May 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiii, pp 387-390; For more recent historiography relating to privateering, see: Richard Harding, *Sea power and naval warfare 1650-1830* (London, 2002); Elaine Murphy, *Ireland and the war at sea, 1641-1653* (Woodbridge, 2012); Steven Murdoch, *Terror of the seas? Scottish maritime warfare, 1513-1713* (Leiden, 2010); T. Devine, *Scotland’s empire & the shaping of the Americas 1600-1815* (Eastbourne, 2003).

⁸⁹ Lord Melville to the Duke of Hamilton, 4 Jun. 1689 in *C.S.P.D. 1689–April 1690*, p. 134; Supplemental Letter, 1689 in *C.S.P.D. 1689–April 1690*, p. 135.

old intelligence could waylay policy and the fast-paced nature of the events of the revolution demanded speed.⁹⁰

Melville's concern for intelligence from Ireland brought light to the unfolding events in a report from the Duke of Argyll. He stipulated that James had drawn fifteen men from each company in preparation for an invasion into Scotland. Argyll maintained that the information could be trusted.⁹¹ While the suppression of domestic insurrection was important, the threat of an invasion from Ireland required effective action. As a result, Hugh Campbell of Cawder was dispatched to the Islay to stop crossings to the mainland and the Committee for the Irish Expedition was established.⁹² 'For Ireland, the Consequence of the speedy securing or reducing of that Nation, was very great; Not only for the Security, Benefit and Ease' of the Revolution.⁹³ Louis XIV understood the conflict in Ireland was much more than a British problem and the outcome would determine the struggle for European mastery.⁹⁴ By the close of 1689, Schomberg had expressed desperate need for troops and provisioning from Scotland and England.

After the disastrous defeats at Bantry Bay and Beachy Head, and the Williamite army locked up in Ireland, fears of a Jacobite invasion resurfaced. Early in 1690, James Dalrymple lamented on the Irish situation, he argued it was imperative to beat down the Irish rebellion because a 'stated war' would have dangerous consequences at home and abroad.⁹⁵ Local legislation in the west reflected anxieties surrounding a probable invasion. Irvine town council paid forty shillings, to the royal fleet

⁹⁰ Instructions to Captain David Kennedy, 20 Nov. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, pp 508-9.

⁹¹ Argyll to Hamilton, Aug. 1689 (N.R.S., Hamilton Correspondence, GD406/1/3560).

⁹² Act in favour of Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, 16 Aug. 1689 in *R.P.C.S.*, xiv, p. 54.

⁹³ See: Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, G.U.S.C., Mu44/d.11; E. Stephens, *Reflections upon the occurrences of last year from 5 November 1688 to 5 November 1689 wherein, the happy progress of the late revolution, and unhappy progress of the affairs since, are considered* (London, 1689), p. 6.

⁹⁴ Pincus, 1688, p. 269.

⁹⁵ Dalrymple to Melville, 1 Jan. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 361.

‘for...service within the burgh’ and reported all able seamen and fishermen within Irvine and Ayr burghs. Moreover, Ayr burgh imposed an oath of allegiance to William and Mary on their militia and those in public service.⁹⁶ The battle at Beachy Head was the greatest French tactical naval victory over their English and Dutch opponents during the war because it surrendered control of the English Channel to the French. The unfortunate situation motivated William’s direct involvement in the Irish campaign. Sympathisers hailed ‘the dread of King William’s coming over in person, has mightily dejected them’.⁹⁷ To strengthen their position, the Council appointed a Committee anent the militia and a Committee for considering the means for intelligence from Ireland in June 1690. The committees dealt with the logistics and policy against an invasion. News of the French fleet’s movements in the North Sea heightened security on the borders and ports in Scotland. Because attempts to drive away the French fleet had been unsuccessful, Colonel Hill warned that Highland links with Ireland had to be monitored and subdued. Under this advisement, cruisers were ordered to monitor the Isles and Highlands.⁹⁸

The capture of Alexander Strachan illustrated waxes and wanes of information in the sometimes-slow responses of the Privy Council. However, intelligence often affected the wider European strategy of William III. Strachan was followed and apprehended to make sure the information did not reach back to James.⁹⁹ Letters from both John Dalrymple and Argyll described Strachan’s contact with Melfort, King James, the Countess of Errol, the Duke of Gordon, and the Duke of Berwick. Dalrymple’s questioning revealed that James had assured his supporters that as soon as the French fleet arrived he would send over forces and ammunition. Strachan’s

⁹⁶ 28 January 1690 (A.A., I.B.T.C.M., GR1/1/7); 3rd October 1690 (A.A., R.B.M.A.B., B6/18/5).

⁹⁷ Col. Gustavus Hamilton to Shrewsbury, 12 Mar. 1690 in *C.S.P.D.: 1689-90*, pp 571-2.

⁹⁸ Szechi, *The Jacobites*, p. 46; Hill to Leven, 17 Apr. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 425-6.

⁹⁹ Argyll to Melvill, 20 Feb. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 409.

questioning had also revealed the planned desertion of fifteen hundred soldiers from King William in Flanders, as well as, reinforcements of six thousand French infantrymen in Ireland.¹⁰⁰ After examining Strachan, the Council wrote to Melville, arrested the Countess of Errol and seized her papers, along with Mr Gordon, whom Strachan delivered the letters to, however the letters had not been found.¹⁰¹

Arguably, the Battle of the Boyne was the most important military success of the Williamite campaign, which consolidated the Revolution. Melville wrote to Monsieur D'Allone with exasperation that the King was locked up in Ireland and intelligence had been cut off; his anxiety reflected his claim that 'we cannot promise ourselves twenty-four hours quiet.'¹⁰² The Boyne was the only time that William and James fought in battle. Following an unpredictable year, victory at was undeniably a relief for the Williamite campaign in Ireland. William's partners in the Grand Alliance rejoiced upon learning of it. Perhaps most importantly, victory in Ireland was to have importance that reached well beyond the politics of the day, enshrining William in both history and folklore.¹⁰³ Despite victory at the Boyne, a French invasion by sea was still a real and frightening possibility. Intelligence from the Marquis of Carmarthen indicated that the French fleet had passed Killigrew, as a diversion, to send men to Scotland and Ireland. Consequently, the Privy Council commissioned two privateers to patrol the west coast. James Dagleish and John Robertson had orders to 'seize upon and apprehend' any and all ships that belonged to the Jacobite cause.¹⁰⁴ The Council also moved to make use of the Danish forces in William's

¹⁰⁰ Dalrymple to Lord Melvill, 18 Feb. 1690, *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 407-8.

¹⁰¹ The letters referred to had been transported in the soles of shoes from Ireland; Privy Council to Melvill, 20 Feb. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 410-1.

¹⁰² Melvill to the King, 6 Jul. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 463-4; Melvill to Monsieur D'Allone? 10 Jul. 1690 in *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp 466-7.

¹⁰³ The Battle of the Boyne was originally fought on July 1, in the new style Gregorian calendar it was fought on July 12; Macinnes, 'William of Orange', p. 201.

¹⁰⁴ Pincus, *1688*, p. 274; Carmarthen to the King, 23 June 1690 in *C.P.S.D.: 1690-91*, p. 38; Commission to James Dagleish, 9 Jul. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, pp 311-3.

service to reinforce Schomberg's army. Irish Jacobite propaganda lambasted William's summoning of the Danish, deploring them as the 'old invaders of our country.'¹⁰⁵ Kjeld Galster affirmed the coalition including the Danish, which lasted, almost uninterruptedly, until the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the conclusion of the Nine Years War.¹⁰⁶

It would be naive to assume that there was no resistance left in Ireland; Limerick held out until 1691 after the repulsion of a Williamite assault in August 1690. The promotion of 'disloyal designs' by Jacobites in Ireland prompted another embargo on the Irish Sea.¹⁰⁷ Events overtook these actions and a French convoy returned to Limerick providing the Jacobites with supplies. Major-General Scravenmoer opined that the Jacobites showed 'more encouragement', that reinforcements were to arrive.¹⁰⁸ The west coast armed itself in preparation, proclaiming obedience to their Majesties government and raising the militia. Furthermore, in July Ayrburgh stated that the militia were to be given 'promise of six shilling scots money of pay for encouragement'.¹⁰⁹ As the battle in Ireland raged on, the Privy Council informed the Queen there was 'convincing evidences of an invasion'. Having been informed of three frigates landing on Skye, the militia had been called out.¹¹⁰ Further privateering commissions and an embargo to threaten any trade or unwelcome frigates sought to quell any attempts at invasion. The embargo was reinforced by a commission to Glasgow merchant, Ninian Gibsone, to arrest and seize vessels 'belonging to the

¹⁰⁵ Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, p. 136.

¹⁰⁶ K. Galster, *Danish Troops in the Williamite Army in Ireland, 1689-91* (Dublin, 2012), p. 85.

¹⁰⁷ Proclamation discharging persons to go to Ireland without passes, 26 Sep. 1690 in *R.P.C.S.*, xv, p. 460.

¹⁰⁸ News from Ireland from Major-General Scravenmoer, 27 May 1691 in *C.S.P.D.: 1690-91*, p. 390.

¹⁰⁹ 10 Jun. 1691 (A.A.: R.B.M.A.B., B6/18/5); 8 Jul. 1691 (A.A.: R.B.M.A.B., B6/18/5).

¹¹⁰ Council to the Queen, 16 Jun. 1691 in *R.P.C.S.*, xvi, p. 338.

French King or his subjects'.¹¹¹ The Battle of Aughrim effectively crushed the Irish resistance on 12 July 1691. The Irish refer to the battle as *Eachdhroim an áir* or 'Aughrim of the Slaughter'.¹¹² The Irish Catholics, in return for sworn loyalty to William and Mary, received guaranteed rights and property and those, who wished to remain fighting, departed peacefully for France.

V

Two years of bitter civil war in Scotland and Ireland had secured the Williamite regime's power over the British Isles. The Council's inability to concentrate action upon either the prospect of an Irish invasion or the internal rebellion is arguably why policy proved ineffective until mid-1689. In an endeavour to keep the 'nightmare scenario' of a military invasion of Scotland at bay, the Privy Council devised a strategic plan to protect the shires and burghs of geographical importance and port security was heightened, with frigates commissioned to cruise upon the west coast. However, this was by no means effective enough to quell internal insurrection in 1689, with armed uprisings not abated until 1691, following the Pacification of Limerick. Strategic security for the Williamite regime functioned at both central and local level, illustrating a clear commitment to the revolutionary settlement. This study demonstrates how Scotland, and the contingency plans for its security thereof, considerably affected both the fate of the British Isles and European power politics, despite previous perceptions that Scotland was insignificant. The strategic security of Scotland was a very important directive for the new Williamite regime, especially with respect to existing and potential European relations. From the beginning, it is

¹¹¹ Siobhan Talbott, 'Commerce and the Jacobite court: Scottish migrants in France, 1688-1718' in A.I. Macinnes, Kieran German and Lesley Graham (eds) *Living with Jacobitism, 1690-1788* (London, 2014), pp 99-111.

¹¹² Szechi, *The Jacobites*, p. 49.

clear that there is little to support the traditional notion that the Scottish developments were any less important than those in England, or in fact Ireland. Scotland and Ireland were crucial in raising the decisive cause of the Revolution, recalling the precedent of the Covenanter Rebellion (1638-40) where developments in Scotland and Ireland arguably initiated the English Civil War.¹¹³

¹¹³ Harris, 'Scotland under Charles II and James VII', p. 110.

The development of the European museum and the idea of the West

Holly O'Farrell

The museum as a cultural institution began its life during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with many of the modern institutions being founded during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ Museums can be seen to have developed alongside the Enlightenment interests in Humanism, biology and classification,² and began in the form of curiosities cabinets during the Renaissance.³ As Martin Prösler notes in 'Museums and Globalization', 'the museum was, and remains, epistemologically a space in which the world is ordered'.⁴ This need to order the world in museums, cataloguing history and biology, corresponds to the events taking place during the Enlightenment and into the nineteenth century.⁵ Prösler maintains that:

In this phase of fundamental change a 'culture of curiosity' developed, in which the cabinet became the focus for everything new, unknown or unseen that needed to be integrated into the existing perception of the world.⁶

Museums came to be institutions which defined cultures, using practices which, although human constructions, came to be seen as fact.⁷ Such processes can be seen to have emerged through the application of particular modes of classification, framing and the creation of myths.

¹ Didier Maleuvre, *Museum memories, history, technology, art* (Stanford, 1999), pp 1; 9.

² William Bristow, 'Enlightenment', in *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/enlightenment/> (16 Oct. 2019).

³ Andrea Meyer, and Benedicte Savoy (eds), *Contact zones: the museum is open, towards a transnational history of museums 1750-1940* (Berlin, 2014), p. 3.

⁴ Martin Prösler, 'Museums and globalization' in Sharon MacDonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds), *Theorizing Museums, representing identity and diversity in a changing world* (Oxford, 2004), p. 220.

⁵ Karsten Schubert, *The curator's egg: the evolution of the museum concept from the French Revolution to the present day* (London, 2002), pp 18-21.

⁶ Prösler, 'Museums and globalization', p. 28.

⁷ Schubert, *The curator's egg*, p. 15.

I

As biological classification emerged as a scientific subject, academics and scientists sought to find order in nature and the world around them.⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, in her essay ‘Science, Planetary Consciousness, Interiors’, cites the publication of Carl Linné’s *Systema naturae* (The system of nature) as one of the starting points in the systematic classification of the biological world. In this work Linnaeus,⁹ ‘laid out a classificatory system designed to categorize all plant forms on the planet, known or unknown to Europeans’.¹⁰ The classificatory systems set up by Linnaeus and his followers eventually evolved into the subject of ‘natural history’, influencing how Europeans viewed the world and the creatures within it, including humans.¹¹ Pratt observes that:

Equally important, scientific exploration was to become a focus of intense public interest, and a source of some of the most powerful ideational and ideological apparatuses through which European citizenries related themselves to other parts of the world.¹²

Linnaeus eventually went on to include *Homo sapiens* in his classification of animals, dividing them into six categories depending on their geographical location, with a further category for ‘monsters’.¹³ Each category lists features of the human group, including not only their physical features but also what was deemed their innate cultural features such as ‘governed by laws’ or ‘negligent’. The ordering and classification of human beings into their various categories, arguably, allowed for later imperialist domination under the myth that some humans (Europeans), were further

⁸ Adam Hart-Davis (ed.), *Science, the definitive visual guide* (London, 2009), p. 123.

⁹ Latin translation of Linné.

¹⁰ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, travel writing and transculturation* (London, 2000), p. 15.

¹¹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 32.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

advanced than others. It can be argued that this manner of classification resulted in what Foucault describes as ‘dividing practices’ in which human subjects are classified as normal or abnormal.¹⁴ Although this type of classification would not be used in contemporary curation, there continues to be great disparities in the number of artists included in particular galleries, while anthropological museums continue to display cultures outside of Europe as ‘other’.

II

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of the concept of ‘nation’ or ‘nation state’ which further increased the significance in classifying cultures and societies.¹⁵ The nation state as a concept began during the Enlightenment with a move away from feudalism and a linking of citizens under the shared idea of a single nation whose government worked for the betterment of the state and economy.¹⁶ With the principle of the ‘nation state’ came the practice of defining peoples based on shared, historical, cultural or geographical grounds.¹⁷ The museum became an important factor in defining the nation while allowing for other nations to be defined under the terms of the museum. Tony Bennett states that ‘Museums produced a position of power and knowledge in relation to a microcosmic reconstruction of a totalized order of things and peoples’, placing different groups of people in different evolutionary stages of development.¹⁸

This process, it can be argued, provided a framework for the ‘othering’ of cultures not considered part of the West.¹⁹ Although this manner of ‘othering’ had, as will be

¹⁴ Mark Olssen, *Michel Foucault* (Westport, 1999), p. 32.

¹⁵ Prösler, ‘Museums and Globalization’ p. 31.

¹⁶ Alice Teichova, and Herbert Matis, (eds) *Nation, state and the economy in history* (Cambridge, 2003), pp 1-3.

¹⁷ Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, nation, class, ambiguous identities* (London, 1991), p. 96.

¹⁸ Tony Bennett, *The birth of the museum, history, theory, politics* (Abingdon, 2005), p. 97.

¹⁹ Stuart Hall, ‘The West and the rest: discourse and power’ in Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (eds) *Formations of modernity* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 187.

described throughout this paper, been a long-standing feature of Western cultural history, the museum and display techniques gave the opportunity to demonstrate the contrast between the Western viewer and the culture on display.²⁰ The growing desire, during the eighteenth century, to claim the world, can be witnessed in the presentation of Western nations as ‘custodians of world cultures’ through acquisition and display of other cultures, other lands and exotic creatures.²¹ The urge to take ownership over far off lands and peoples was not new but the sense of entitlement and methods of justification in claiming ownership and authority were becoming more sophisticated.²² The possession of cultural artefacts in museums in Europe could be considered to have aided in convincing the public of the Wests dominance over other cultures. Through the construction of a national culture and the presentation of such within the museum, a ‘nation could present itself as an “imagined community”’.²³ The construction of an exclusive national culture debatably led to the belief that certain societies are culturally superior to others. This practice endures into the present day with art of contemporary minority cultures or cultures from the developing world being confined to ethnographic and anthropological museums alongside historical artefacts, as is the case in the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver, while those of the civilizations of Europe are more commonly found in national museums and galleries such as the National Gallery in London.

Ivan Karp and Corine A. Kratz, argue this point in their essay, ‘Reflections on the fate of Tippoo’s Tiger’ when they note that:

²⁰ Ivan Karp and Corinne A. Kratz, ‘Reflections on the F#fate of Tippoo’s tiger: defining cultures through public display’, in Elizabeth Hallam and Brian Street (eds), *Cultural encounters, representing otherness* (London, 2000), p. 194.

²¹ Schubert, *The curator’s egg*, p. 23.

²² Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, p. 97.

²³ Prösler, ‘Museums and Globalization’, p. 32.

the placement of these halls of culture within museums is neither arbitrary nor inconsequential: the invented Other is often placed downstairs from the upstairs domicile of European and American art 'traditions'.²⁴

Karp and Kratz gesture to the Enlightenment to explain methods of representation in museums and galleries, observing that the assertion of the notion that 'both nature and other cultures can be known by the same principles' is an Enlightenment idea.²⁵ To set exhibitions of other cultures up as being uncivilized was an idea which suited the need for colonial powers to set themselves up as more advanced and superior to those cultures which they have colonised.²⁶

It can be maintained that this process is similarly in occurrence within art galleries and exhibitions where particular styles and categories of art are championed over others. Alex W. Barker notes that 'museums serve primarily to maintain existing class distinctions',²⁷ and while this may be an over simplified reading of the place of museums socially, it must be noted that the myths produced through exhibits justify 'the maintenance of hierarchical distinctions between different social categories'.²⁸ The notion of power games between cultures is one which will be explored throughout this text with reference to artists from Middle Eastern or Islamic backgrounds and has already been proven to have a long history both within and outside the cultural institution of the museum.

²⁴ Karp and Kratz, *Reflections on the fate*, p. 194.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

²⁷ Alex W. Barker, 'Exhibiting archaeology: archaeology and museums', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, xxxix (2010), p. 297.

²⁸ Vera L. Zolberg, 'An elite experience for everyone': art museums, the public, and cultural literacy', in Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff (eds), *Museum culture* (London, 1994), p. 55.

III

In *Orientalism*, Said, introduces the idea of the 'Other' as a social construct which has a long history in the West's dealings with the Middle East and Islamic culture.²⁹ Although Said focuses mainly on literary examples, the same concept can be applied to the representation of cultures within the museum and gallery space. Stuart Hall suggests, in 'The West and the Rest', that 'the West' allows us to characterise and classify societies as being part of or apart from our own.³⁰ By using the notion of 'the West' we are able to differentiate between those societies we believe share certain ideologies with our own and those who are unlike us. Hall argues that, by 'western we mean [...] a society that is developed, industrialised, urbanised, capitalist, secular, and modern'.³¹ Those societies which do not fit into this set of criteria are considered 'Other', or as Hall labels, 'the Rest'.³² The display of Islamic or Middle Eastern cultures in Western museums reproduces this idea of the 'other' and encourages, even unintentionally, a particular reading of the work on display and the society in which it was produced. In the example of the Middle East, the production of representations of the 'other' in the gallery space could be seen as a welcome collaborator with colonialism.³³ Displays in museums evidently have the ability to construct meaning and produce narratives with the task of educating spectators and promoting certain views.³⁴

In her book *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill looks at the challenges in displaying collections within museums, how

²⁹ Hall, *The West and the rest*, p. 205.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205; p. 277.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³³ Meyer and Savoy, *Contact zones*, p. 245.

³⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture* (London, 2000), p. 3.

visitors interpret such exhibitions and how much of the viewer's interpretation is constructed through the curatorial pedagogical methodologies.³⁵ Hooper-Greenhill describes the theme of the book as being 'the complexity of the production of meaning in museums, which proceeds through the articulation of publicly displayed objects and collections with individual and social processes of interpretation'.³⁶ The book examines various objects and collections within museums in order to demonstrate the validity of this statement. In her research Hooper-Greenhill observes that 'cultural symbols have the power to shape cultural identities at both individual and social levels'.³⁷ This idea can be seen through the historical Orientalist approach to the Middle East which Said argues was produced alongside and aided the colonial project. Said claims that:

Under the umbrella of Western hegemony over the Orient during the period from the end of the eighteenth century, there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial and historical theses about mankind and its universe.³⁸

If this is to be taken as the case then, it can be reasoned that museums have an important role in not only the creation of cultural identities but also the maintenance of 'hierarchies of value'.³⁹ Martin Prösler maintains that 'the worldwide diffusion of museums was tied in with European colonialism and imperialism'.⁴⁰ This statement would further suggest the link between visual culture in museums and galleries and political and economic⁴¹ factors in wider society.⁴² The connections between cultural and political hierarchies and the representation of societies within the gallery setting

³⁵ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the interpretation*, p. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 2003), p. 7.

³⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the interpretation*, p. 24.

⁴⁰ Prösler, 'Museums and Globalization', p. 22.

⁴¹ David Dean, *Heritage: care-preservation-management: museum exhibition: theory and practice* (London, 2002), p. 1.

⁴² Maleuvre, *Museum memories*, p. 10.

could be viewed as continuing into contemporary exhibitions, and will be explored further throughout this research. During the colonial period however, museums evidently produced a means for defence of the expansions being undertaken by the West into the Middle East and Africa through the display of cultures which were deemed more primitive than European society.⁴³

Museums, and their practices, have in recent times come under fire from various groups including feminists, post-structuralist and post-colonialist theorists.⁴⁴ Art galleries, when explicitly exhibiting works produced by cultures considered “other” have come under the same scrutiny with exhibitions such as the 1984 MOMA exhibition ‘Primitivism in 20th Century Art’,⁴⁵ and *Magiciens de la Terre* (1989),⁴⁶ in the Pompidou Centre being criticized for their modes of representation.⁴⁷ Both exhibitions, it can be argued, fall into the same trap by exoticizing and romanticising other cultures; their works being presented as more naïve or unrefined than that of Western artists on display.⁴⁸ Most curators today are aware of the difficulties facing them in the exhibiting of other cultures and the ‘of the consequences of their representations of others’.⁴⁹ The politics of representation have been taken up by cultural theorists and curators alike as one which must be taken into consideration when curating contemporary art exhibits as much as with historical objects taken from other cultures in museums.⁵⁰

⁴³ Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (London, 2000), p. 195.

⁴⁴ Barker, ‘Exhibiting archaeology’, p. 297.

⁴⁵ Ivan Karp, ‘How museums define other cultures’ in *American Art*, v (1991), p. 12.

⁴⁶ Jean-Hubert Martin, *Magiciens de la Terre*, Centre Georges Pompidou, <http://magiciensdelaterre.fr/> (16 Oct. 2019)

⁴⁷ Maureen Murphy, ‘From *Magiciens de la Terre* to the Globalization of the Art World: Going Back to a Historic Exhibition’ in *Critique d’art*, xli (2013), <https://critiquedart.revues.org/8308?lang=en> (16 Oct. 2019)

⁴⁸ Karp, ‘How museums define other cultures’, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Howard Morphy, ‘Reflections on representations’, in *Anthropology Today*, ii (1986), p. 25.

⁵⁰ Stuart Hall, *Representation: cultural representations*, p. 153.

Museums today are seen as ‘institutions for social as well as academic enlightenment’,⁵¹ in which curators have a role in producing histories.⁵² The appreciation for mistakes made in the past when exhibiting other cultures has driven curators to produce more self-aware and visitor aware exhibits.⁵³ Stuart Hall, in *Representation*, notes that ‘ethnographic museums have had to address themselves in a concerted fashion to the problems of representation’.⁵⁴ Art galleries in the West, because of their focus on Eurocentric art,⁵⁵ may not have, in many cases, had to look so closely at their own practices. Art galleries in the West can be argued to display a lack of work by artists outside of Western civilization in their permanent exhibitions, instead preferring to “celebrate” these cultures in one-off exhibitions, such as with the *Creative Africa* exhibition in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,⁵⁶ or Romould Hazoumè’s exhibition at IMMA.⁵⁷ This practice is often accepted without question as it can be argued that art galleries have long been considered places of cultural exclusiveness, selecting what belongs and what does not, and in the process defining what acceptable high art is.⁵⁸

The need for objectivity is linked to a recent growing awareness and interest in the education of the audience.⁵⁹ Diverse forms of representation and experience in museum artefacts and exhibits are now called for. Howard Morphy suggests, in ‘Reflections on Representation’ that curators are met with the dilemma of objective

⁵¹ David Dean, *Heritage: care-preservation-management: museum exhibition: theory and practice* (London, 2002), p.7.

⁵² Gaynor Kavanagh (ed.), *Making histories in museums: making histories in museums* (London, 2005), p. 6.

⁵³ Hall, *Representation: cultural representations*, p. 153.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵⁵ Janet Marstine, *New museum theory and practice: an introduction* (Chichester, 2008), p. 225.

⁵⁶ ‘Creative Africa’, *Philadelphia Museum of Art*, <http://www.philamuseum.org/exhibitions/838.html> (18 July 2016).

⁵⁷ ‘Romould Hazoumè’, *Irish Museum of Modern Art*, http://www.imma.ie/en/page_212315.htm (16 Oct. 2019).

⁵⁸ Zolberg, ‘An Elite Experience’, p. 49.

⁵⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the interpretation*, p. 3.

representation ‘when it is recognised that in choosing s/he is exercising power’.⁶⁰ Morphy describes sympathetically, in his essay, the difficulties facing curators in providing a balanced display and the well-meaning actions of those anthropologists and curators who wish to present other cultures so that the audience may understand them better and have the ‘possibility of empathizing with them’.⁶¹ Morphy acknowledges the effect representation can have on viewers and argues that representations do matter and need to be addressed by those creating the display; asserting that:

Representations affect the roles people adopt in everyday life and can influence people’s sense of self. They can present positive images, acting as symbols of identity and achievement for local communities and strengthening civic sentiment, as it was agreed many local museums do. On the other hand they can present a negative image of a group to the outside world, as did for so long those representations of the American Indian in popular literature, theatre and cinema, where they were presented as wild, cruel and savage.⁶²

The affects representation has on people does not extend only to those cultures framed within the gallery space. Hooper-Greenhill notes that ‘what is seen depends on who is looking, at what, in which site’.⁶³ As noted previously, representation also has an influence on those viewing the work and can help to ‘define the culture of the nation’ and maintain social hierarchies.⁶⁴

Karsten Schubert acknowledges the changes happening within museums in *The curator’s egg* in which she describes the historical methods of curatorship and display within the museum space.⁶⁵ Schubert notes that ‘the museum is now much more involved in a two-way dialogue with its audience’,⁶⁶ while ‘in the past it was a place of

⁶⁰ Morphy, ‘Reflections on representations’, p. 24.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁶² Ibid. p.24.

⁶³ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the interpretation*, p. 15.

⁶⁴ Martin Prösler, ‘Museums and Globalization’ in Sharon MacDonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds), *Theorizing Museums, Representing identity and diversity in a changing world* (Oxford, 2004), p. 34.

⁶⁵ Schubert, *The curator’s egg*, p. 10.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 135.

absolute certainties'.⁶⁷ The reasons for this change in curatorship towards a model inclusive of the spectator in the gallery space, and an acknowledgement of their involvement in the experience are clearly complex and varied.⁶⁸ There is certainly self-consciousness among curators which may have previously been overshadowed by colonialist philosophies and academic confidences.⁶⁹ Although these changes are noted in the display of cultures in museums today, many exhibitions continue to produce displays which can debatably be seen as biased and telling a story appropriate to the sentiments of the dominant culture.⁷⁰

This paper attempts to demonstrate the links between the development of Western museums and the 'othering' of cultures outside the parameters of 'Western'. Using the example of Orientalism in the vein of Edward Said, one can find connections with the evolution of the museum and gallery space and the dominant positioning of Western cultures. While museums and galleries cannot be blamed for the imperialist projects of European societies, these centres of learning certainly took part in supporting and confirming beliefs about societies in other parts of the world. As is argued in the paper, this type of representation continues to be present in contemporary curating and needs to be flagged in order to ensure inclusion and equality in the display of different cultures and artists. Karsten Schubert maintains that 'the idea of the museum plays such a central and important role in the way Western culture is defined and understood that it is generally forgotten how relatively new – and complex, as well as fragile – a concept it is'.⁷¹ This statement, it can be argued, describes two factors in museum representation, both the construction of the 'other' and the construction of

⁶⁷ Schubert, *The curator's egg*, p. 15.

⁶⁸ Dean, *Heritage: care-preservation-management*, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Schubert, *The curator's egg*, p. 15.

⁷⁰ Karp and Kratz, *Reflections on the fate*, pp 196-7.

⁷¹ Schubert, *The curator's egg*, p. 15.

Western culture. As noted previously, the West cannot exist without its 'Other'. Exhibitions have long been constructed to display other cultures but through this process they likewise reflect Western culture.⁷² This process of defining cultures has been at play for centuries in the practice of framing Africa, Asia and the Americas as regions less civilised and, as a result, in need of Western intervention. The collecting of objects for museums has and continues to be a positive educational tool but since their formation this has not been without its controversies and predicaments.

⁷² Prösler, 'Museums and Globalization', p. 34.

‘They should not imagine that only witches do these things’: the Spanish Inquisition and the Navarra witch trials (1609-1614).

Talitha Maria G. Schepers

Moments of revolution come in different shapes and sizes. Some, like the Dutch Revolt (1568-1648) or the French Revolution (1789), are clear moments of revolution that changed the course of history. Others, however, might be less pronounced. Often it is precisely these unseen moments, those that at first seem rather mundane and uneventful, that turn out to be turning points that revolutionized particular fields, whether artistic, cultural, social, legal, economic or political, in history. In this paper, I will examine such a hidden moment of revolution which eventually helped to shape the Spanish Inquisition’s attitude towards witchcraft prosecutions from the early seventeenth century onwards; thus, firmly steering it towards the Age of Enlightenment.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century until the early eighteenth century, a wave of witchcraft accusations, which originated in Germany and Switzerland, swept over Europe taking the lives of thousands of people in its wake.¹ Multiple hypotheses have been proposed about their origin and prosecution. Moreover, many theories have been put forward about the different ways in which Northern and Southern Europe handled their witchcraft cases.² This paper studies the moderate approach of the Spanish Inquisition towards witch trials, with a main focus on the large witch-hunt in the mountains of Navarra, part of the Spanish Pyrenees, between 1609 and 1614. The

¹ Richard M. Golden, ‘Satan in Europe: The Geography of the Witch Hunts’, in Brian P. Levack (ed.) *New perspectives on witchcraft, magic and demonology: witchcraft in Continental Europe* (6 vols, New York and London, 2001), ii, pp 2-34.

² Geoffrey Robert Quaipe, *Godly zeal and furious rage: the witch in early modern Europe* (New York, 1987), pp 5-25; See also: Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, magic, and witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Hampshire, 2003).

only surviving documents of this witch-hunt are those that the Inquisitorial Tribunal of Logroño sent to the ministry of the Spanish Inquisition in Madrid. They are known as the Salazar Documents and were published together with an English translation in 2004.³ The Salazar Documents form a rich source of information on the inquisitors' attitude towards witchcraft, particularly that of Alonso de Salazar Frías (c. 1564-1636). Although Salazar's ideas and attitudes towards witchcraft differed largely from that of his colleagues, they mark a crucial turning point in the Spanish Inquisition's attitudes towards witchcraft.

I

In Renaissance Europe the use of magic was not uncommon. If someone was in need of a solution to a problem, for instance a cure to an illness, the first place to go to was the Church. If the local priest could not provide the solution, one could always try the local physician, apothecary or even the local witch. In general, the main concern was not the methods that were being used, but the results that were being achieved.⁴ Nevertheless, since late antiquity, the Church had considered witchcraft and diabolism as a heresy and apostasy, especially since witchcraft, or harmful magic (*maleficium*), was used to cause harm upon others.⁵

In spite of this, the contemporary European legal context enabled witchcraft to flourish. Before the thirteenth century, European courts applied an inquisitorial system in which the prosecutor could be penalized for bringing forward an accusation with insufficient evidence.⁶ The difficulty of providing evidence when accusing

³ The Salazar Documents were considered lost until Henningsen rediscovered them in the national archive of Madrid (Archivo Historico Nacional). Gustav Henningsen (ed.), *The Salazar documents: Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías and others on the Basque witch persecution* (Leiden, 2004).

⁴ Michael D. Bailey, 'The Meanings of Magic', in *Magic, ritual, and witchcraft*, i, no. 1, (2006), p. 13.

⁵ Adriano Prosperi (ed.), *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione* (Pisa, 2010), p. iii.

⁶ For more detailed information on the change from the accusatorial to inquisitorial system in criminal procedures at European courts and its impact on witchcraft trials, see: Edward Peters, *The magician, the witch and the law* (Sussex, 1978).

someone of *maleficium* therefore prevented many people from taking matters to court. The accusation of witchcraft was being used not only to resolve interpersonal conflicts, but also to explain misfortunes.⁷ It was easier to accept misfortune caused by a witch than to explain it as the will of God.⁸

From the thirteenth century onwards, however, an inquisitorial system was employed in which denouncements were made anonymously; thus, making it very easy for prosecutors to accuse someone against whom they held a certain grudge.⁹ Nevertheless, the standard of proof was based on the Romano-canonical law and remained extremely demanding. The only proof that was considered sufficient was either a testimony of two eye-witnesses or a confession by the accused.¹⁰ As such, many judicial courts applied torture more freely as a means to receive the desired confession. The Holy Office, on the other hand, was more reluctant to use torture in such a way as its main goal was to bring back heretics and witches into the Christian faith. Thus, if the accused confessed voluntarily, he would in fact get away with a light punishment.¹¹ This is indeed a significant distinction in attitude towards witchcraft cases that, for the purpose of this paper, should be emphasized. While in Northern Europe ecclesiastical and secular courts were responsible for the prosecution

⁷ Brian P. Levack, *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe* (London and New York, 1987), p. 116. For a general social and historical background of witchcraft accusations and trials, see: Richard Kieckhefer, *European witch trials. Their foundations in popular and learned culture 1300-1500* (London and Henley, 1976).

⁸ Guido Giglioni, 'Phantastica Mutatio: Johann Weyer's Critique of the Imagination as a Principle of Natural Metamorphosis', in Ingo Gildenhard (ed.) *Transformative change in Western thought: a history of metamorphosis from Homer to Hollywood* (London, 2013), p. 310.

⁹ For the general Italian practice of accusations through confession, see: Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionary* (Turin, 2010).

¹⁰ Levack, *The Witch-Hunt*, pp 66-8.

¹¹ Gustav Henningsen, *The witches' advocate Basque witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609-1614)* (Reno, 1980), pp 39, 44.

of witches, in Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal and Italy), the Holy Office was in charge of all heresy trials, which also included witch cases.¹²

II

In 1478, the Spanish rulers Isabella of Castile (1451-1504) and Ferdinand of Aragon (1452-1516) received permission from Pope Sixtus IV (1414-1484) to reorganise and establish the Spanish Inquisition in Castile. Its main task was to protect the Catholic faith in the whole Spanish Empire.¹³ The Spanish Inquisition had acquired a particular status since it was governed by the Inquisitor General, who was directly appointed by the Spanish king. Although this had to be confirmed by the Pope, the Spanish Inquisition consequently was not under the direct jurisdiction of Rome and the Inquisitor General could appoint his own inquisitors.¹⁴ As an administrative organisation the Spanish Inquisition was self-supporting with its own ministry in Madrid (*El Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición*, henceforth referred to as *la Suprema*) and nineteen regional tribunals spread across the Spanish Empire.¹⁵ The Inquisition was only answerable to the king when it concerned finances as the king was entitled to his share of confiscated properties.¹⁶ *La Suprema's* preeminent position at the forefront of the Spanish Inquisition is further emphasized by the fact that when Pope Paul III (1468-1549) established the Roman and Venetian Inquisition in 1542, the tribunals were modelled along Spanish lines with the Venetian Inquisition consisting of three ecclesiastical representatives (the papal Nuncio, the

¹² For the debate about the jurisdiction of witch trials, see: Prosperi, *Dizionario storico*, pp 1519-21; Jonathan Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in early modern Venice* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 2.

¹³ Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and mysticism in sixteenth-century Spain: the Alumbrados* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 8.

¹⁴ Henningsen, *The witches' advocate*, pp 37-8.

¹⁵ For more information about the structure and organisation of the Spanish Inquisition, see: Henningsen, *The witches' advocate*, pp 37-46; Henry Charles Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain* (4 vols, New York and London, 1922).

¹⁶ Henningsen, *The witches' advocate*, pp 38-9.

Patriarch and the Inquisitor) and three secular representatives (the *Tre Savii* or *Assistenti*).¹⁷

When confronted by accusations of witchcraft, the tribunal would send one of its inquisitors on a visitation to the infected area, where he would administer the Edict of Grace, a period of time during which someone could confess to accusations for a lighter punishment. Subsequently, during the *auto de fe* (Act of Faith) the accused was informed of the trial's outcome. If the accused confessed his guilt of apostasy, he would be readmitted to the church (*reconciliado*). If, however, he denied his guilt, he could be charged to renounce his heresy and receive a light punishment or to be sent to the stake (*relajado*). However, as mentioned previously, the Spanish Inquisition as a religious institution did not have the authority to torture or execute people. For this they depended solely on secular authorities. The Inquisition could only impose penance, which consisted of a certain amount of time in a penitentiary, wearing the penitential garment (*sambenito*) or being banished to another district, which was a far less severe punishment.¹⁸

While sixteenth-century Europe dealt with various witch-crazes, Spain only suffered from frenzied witch persecutions in 1507, 1517, and during the 1520s, all of which took place in the north.¹⁹ In fact, Spain became 'infected' by the witch-craze through its border with France in the Basque area of Navarra in the Pyrenees, which consisted mainly of small, rural communities living from agriculture or trade. The belief in witches presumably crossed the border through trade and travel, which was facilitated by the common use of the Basque language.²⁰ The Holy Office in Spain,

¹⁷ Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650* (Oxford, 1989), pp 10, 15-8; Waite, *Heresy, magic, and witchcraft*, pp 80-1.

¹⁸ Henningsen, *The witches' advocate*, p. 44.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁰ For information about the geography of witchcraft in Italy and Spain, see: Prosperi, *Dizionario storico*, pp 1527-9, 1533-7.

however, was dealing predominantly with other heresy groups like *conversos*, *alumbrados* and *moriscos*; thus, leaving little time for witchcraft trials.²¹ Furthermore, contrary to Northern European ecclesiastical and secular courts, the Spanish Inquisition took on a more hesitant approach in its attitude towards witchcraft. In 1526, after a witch-hunt in Navarra, for example, a meeting was held in Granada to debate the witch question. It was decided that the death penalty was not an adequate solution for witchcraft trials. From now on, local tribunals were not allowed to sentence a witch to the stake without the consent of *la Suprema*. In order to condemn someone of witchcraft concrete proof of guilt was necessary.²² After this meeting, the tribunal sent its new instructions to the Tribunal of Logroño (14 December 1526),²³ clearly stating that:

Nobody should be arrested or condemned solely on the claims and confessions of these witches. No action should be taken until the investigation and inquiries already prescribed by the Council of the Holy Inquisition have been completed and the new measures now ordered by the Council have been carried out.²⁴

La Suprema's sceptical attitude towards witchcraft was even more pronounced in a subsequent letter with instructions to the Tribunal of Logroño (27 November 1538), which stated that:

Further, you should talk to the leading and more enlightened residents, explaining that when the harvest fails or the crops are damaged, it may be that God permits it because of our sins, or it may be due simply to the weather. This sort of thing happens, after all, in areas where there is no suspicion of witchcraft, and yet the vines are damaged

²¹ Waite, *Heresy, magic, and witchcraft*, p. 80.

²² Stephen Haliczer, 'The Jew as a witch: displaced aggression and the Myth of the Santo Niño de la Guardia', in Brian P. Levack (ed.) *New perspectives on witchcraft, magic and demonology: witchcraft in Continental Europe*, (6 vols, New York and London 2001), ii, p. 153; Vincenzo Lavenia, 'Stregoneria e Inquisizione', in Germana Ernst and Guido Giglioli (eds), *I Vincoli della natura: Magia e stregoneria nel Rinascimento* (Rome, 2012), p. 193.

²³ Henningsen, *The witches' advocate*, pp 22-3.

²⁴ 'Parece que por el dicho y confesión de algunas de estas personas, no se deben prender ni condenar otras personas, contra quien digan sus dichos, hasta que se hagan las diligencias y averiguaciones cerca de estos errores que se mandaron en el Consejo de la Santa Inquisición y las que ahora parece que se deben hacer'. Alonso de Salazar Frías, 'Document 14: Fourth Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General (Logroño, 3 October 1613)', in Gustav Henningsen (ed.), *The Salazar documents: Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías and Others on the Basque witch persecution* (Leiden, 2004), p. 368-369. (Hereafter S.D. Doc. 14). In this paper all translations made by Henningsen will be used unless otherwise stated.

by hail and frost, and the harvests are spoiled in the same way. You must tell them that they should not imagine that only witches do these things.²⁵

Although this letter clearly shows *la Suprema*'s more cynical view on witchcraft cases, the fact that they felt the need to reiterate their views shows that the inquisitors themselves needed reminding. It is also particularly interesting to notice that in this 1538 letter *la Suprema* explicitly mentions that the inquisitors should not believe everything written in the *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Hammer of Witches, 1486), the most comprehensive and widely disseminated treatise on witchcraft at the time, saying that:

For the author claims to have witnessed and observed the truth of matters, which are of such a nature that he could have been deceived as easily as anyone else.²⁶

Thus, while *la Suprema* urged its inquisitors to adopt a more sceptical approach to witchcraft, it seems that among the general public belief in witches was still strong.

III

Between 1609 and 1614, the Tribunal of Logroño dealt with nearly two thousand witchcraft prosecutions and an even larger number of accusations.²⁷ In 1608, Alonso de Becerra (1560-1622) and Juan de Valle Alvarado (c. 1553-1616) became inquisitors of the Tribunal and in June 1609 they were joined by Alonso de Salazar Frías.²⁸ In December 1608, the first report about witches in Navarra reached the Tribunal. María de Ximildegui had lived for several years in France, where she had

²⁵ S.D. Doc. 14, pp 372-3: 'Y aún podrías hablar con las personas principales y más entendidas, y declararles que el perderse los panes y otros daños que vienen en los frutos, los envía Dios por nuestros pecados, o por la disposición del tiempo; como acontece en estas partes, que no hay sospecha de brujos, que se apedrean las viñas y se hielan y acontecen otras cosas semejantes por donde se pierden los frutos; y es grande inconveniente que tengan imaginación que estas cosas las hagan solamente las brujas'.

²⁶ S.D. Doc. 14, pp 374-5: 'porque lo relato como cosa que vió y averiguó, y la materia es de calidad en que él pudo engañarse como los otros'.

²⁷ Alonso de Salazar Frías, 'Document 2: An Account of the Persons to be Brought Forth at the *Auto de fe* on 7 November 1610', in Henningsen (ed.), *The Salazar documents*, pp 132-41, List of the Delinquents at the *Auto de Fe* in 1610 (31 witches); Idem., 'Document 12: Second Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General (Logroño, 24 September 1613)', in *Ibid.*, pp 266-7; the report of Salazar states a total of 1802 witches, 1384 of whom were children (girls under 12 and boys under 14 years old).

²⁸ Henningsen, *The witches' advocate*, pp 46-9.

been a member of a witches' coven. She then came back to live in the small village of Zugarramurdi, where she accused María de Jureteguia of being a witch in such a persuasive way that she soon had the entire village believing her. Therefore, María de Jureteguia saw no other solution than to confess, at which point she also denounced other people.²⁹ For her immediate confession and for her incrimination of family members, she would be rewarded at the *auto de fe* in November 1610, where she was released from her *sambenito* and only had to perform some salutary penances. A report on the *auto de fe* written by the inquisitors of Logroño for King Philip III (1578-1621) states explicitly that by doing so 'she may be an example to everyone of the mercy shown to good *confitentes*'.³⁰

When the first reports of witches from Zugarramudi reached the Logroño Tribunal, the inquisitors were unfamiliar with witch trials. They contacted *la Suprema*, who sent them a questionnaire, which they had to use to cross-examine the supposed witches. On 16 August 1610, Valle left for a visitation of the witch-plagued area. During the subsequent prosecution of the thirty-one witches from Zugarramudi, Salazar for the first time opposes his colleagues by disagreeing with the death penalty as a punishment, because of insufficient evidence.³¹ Notwithstanding Salazar's objections, on 7 and 8 November 1610, the *auto de fe* was held at Logroño with thirty-one witches present, thirteen of whom had already died in prison while awaiting the *auto de fe*, at which they were present in effigy. Eleven more were burned, and the remaining seven received minor punishments before reconciliation in the Church.³²

²⁹ Henningsen, *The Salazar documents*, pp 32-3.

³⁰ *Confitente* is an accused person who had acknowledged his or her guilt. Henningsen, *The Salazar documents*, p. 40; S.D. Doc. 2, pp 134-5: 'para que sea ejemplo a todos de la misericordia que se usa con los buenos confitentes'.

³¹ Henningsen, *The Salazar documents*, pp 17-25.

³² S.D. Doc. 2, pp 132-141.

By March 1611, the Tribunal sent the Inquisitor General a report to inform them that inquisitorial commissioners had already exposed witches in twenty-seven other towns. As a result, *la Suprema* decided that Salazar was to go on a visitation to the mentioned areas, where he had to administer the Edict of Grace according to *la Suprema's* instructions. In case of a full confession, the accused got an exemption from punishment, a lifting of excommunication and a readmission to the Holy Catholic Church. This amnesty was valid up six months after the date of publication. On Sunday 29 May 1611 the Edict of Grace was administered simultaneously at Logroño and Santesteban.³³

During and after his visitation, Salazar wrote several reports to *la Suprema*, but his colleagues (Becerra and Valle) were not happy about his proceedings and wrote their own report to *la Suprema* complaining about Salazar, who in their opinion was defending the witches.³⁴ Becerra and Valle spent eighteen months on their report, during which time Salazar urged *la Suprema* to take matters seriously as people were awaiting their *auto de fe*.³⁵ After Becerra and Valle had sent their report, *la Suprema* in return urged Salazar to write a new report to submit whatever additional comments he had. In this later report, Salazar spoke freely about several errors made by the Tribunal without excluding his own mistakes.³⁶ He also listed differences in opinion between him and his colleagues concerning the prosecution of witches. These contrasting opinions come clearly to the fore in the following examples:

They: We must take the precaution against the danger of leaving unpunished one of the gravest apostasies that has ever offended the Christian religion.

³³ Henningsen, *The Salazar documents*, pp 25, 28.

³⁴ Alonso de Salazar Frías, 'Document 15: Fifth Report of Salazar (Jaén, 7 January 1614)', in Henningsen (ed.), *The Salazar documents*, pp 432-3.

³⁵ Idem., 'Document 13: Third Report of Salazar (Logroño, 24 September 1613)', in Ibid., pp 354-7.

³⁶ S.D. Doc. 14, pp 366-429.

I: This point is not even worth considering as long as proof is lacking against those suspected and as long as there is no certainty that the offence has in fact been committed.³⁷

They: In the record of the case we should only write down the final, well-reasoned confession that bears out what is already known about witchcraft.

I: We write down the confessions in full with all their flaws and follies.³⁸

As a direct result of these differences in approach, Salazar, in the spring of 1614, wrote a proposal for new instructions concerning witchcraft cases.³⁹ *La Suprema* adopted most of his suggestions, which they added together with former instructions like those of 1526. These new instructions follow Salazar's sceptical approach in investigating witch cases.

IV

Salazar wrote several reports, and his sceptical attitude towards witchcraft became apparent. He appeared to be a conscious man, who followed the instructions of *la Suprema* to the letter. In contrast to his two colleagues, Becerra and Valle, he was not prejudiced against witches. On several occasions, Salazar pointed out that without concrete evidence of the reality of the witches' experiences, one should not believe the witches on their own account. He further supported this statement by arguing that the Devil is a master of delusion and could have easily tricked the witches in believing that they were at the Sabbath when in fact they were just dreaming.⁴⁰ During his visitation, Salazar made enormous efforts to check the reality of the witches' experiences by conducting several experiments including cross-examinations.⁴¹ For one such experiment, Salazar forced his secretaries to camp all

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 426-7: 'Ellos: Que se asegure el riesgo de quedar sin castigo la más grave apostasía que ha ofendido la Religión Cristiana. – Yo: Que faltando probanza contra el delincuente y aun averiguación de que sea cierto el mismo delito, no es esto considerable'.

³⁸ S.D. Doc. 14, pp 428-9: 'Ellos: Que solamente escribamos en los méritos, la última resolución que deja cada uno bien razonada con la brujería que corre. – Yo: Que escribamos sus confesiones, también con cuantas imperfecciones y desatinos las dijeren'.

³⁹ Alonso de Salazar Frías, 'Document 17: Seventh Report of Salazar to the Inquisitor General (Madrid, Spring 1614)', in Henningsen (ed.), *The Salazar documents*, pp 462-71.

⁴⁰ For more information about the perception of imagination during the Renaissance and its connection to witchcraft, see: Giglioni, 'Phantastica Mutatio', pp 313-9.

⁴¹ S.D. Doc. 12, pp 310-1.

night at a field, which was known as a popular Sabbath location. When the next day several boys and girls came to confess their participation at a Sabbath in that particular field, Salazar had proof that their statements were untrue.⁴²

When questioning witches, Salazar became more and more aware of the fact that many of them confessed under pressure by family and friends. It was common knowledge that by immediate confession torture or the death penalty could be prevented followed by immediate reconciliation.⁴³ This was further supported by the fact that María de Jureteguia at the *auto de fe* in 1610 had indeed received a light punishment as a direct result from her immediate confession and denouncement of other witches. Thus, according to Salazar, this common belief supported by the precedence of María de Jureteguia's case could explain why during confessions witches accused several other accomplices, with numbers sometimes as high as two hundred.⁴⁴ He continued by saying that most of the witches were unaware of the fact that *la Suprema* gave clear instructions that anyone who withdrew his or her confession would not be punished. Salazar blamed himself for this, as during the first weeks of his visitation he did not allow revocations in accordance with orders by the Logroño Tribunal. He further stated that as soon as he received new orders from *la Suprema*, he did his utmost best to reassure people who wanted to withdraw their previous confession.⁴⁵

Furthermore, Salazar believed that the visitation of Valle as well as de *auto de fe* at Logroño has sparked the witch beliefs into a real witch-craze.⁴⁶ This is confirmed by Miguel de Ustároz, a resident of Ituren, who claims that after the visitation of

⁴² Ibid., pp 300-1.

⁴³ S.D. Doc. 12, pp 332-3.

⁴⁴ This was particularly the case in the town of Vera. Ibid., pp 334-5.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp 326-9, 340-1.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp 336-7.

Valle and his inquiry into the *aquejarres* (witches' Sabbaths) the witches were meeting every night.⁴⁷ Salazar repeated this conclusion in his final report by saying that by not talking about the witches, the witch-craze had calmed down and as a result no new *aquejarres* were being reported.⁴⁸

Salazar's reports had sometimes a sarcastic tone to emphasize his rather sceptical opinion. This became particularly clear when he addressed the attitude of Becerra and Valle:

Nor is it useful to keep saying that the learned doctors [in Theology] state that the existence of witchcraft is certain. This is only a needless annoyance, since nobody doubts this. In view of the difficulties to which I have previously referred, the real question is: are we to believe that witchcraft occurred in a given situation simply because of what the witches claim?⁴⁹

Furthermore, he argued that clear evidence was needed in order to establish whether someone was a real witch. According to Salazar, a witch naming another witch was not considered to be sufficient evidence. He went even further by stating that if the only proof of believing a witch was her confession, then it would be easier for inquisitors to just 'copy down all the apostasies, amplifications and embellishments of the pamphlets now on sale'.⁵⁰ Moreover, Salazar pointed out a contradiction in the reasoning of his colleagues when dealing with witches. Whereas Becerra and Valle considered one witch denouncing another one as a sufficient proof for witchcraft, when trying to exempt commissioners who mistreated witches, they instead argued that these accusations should not be believed because obstinate witches

⁴⁷ S.D. Doc. 15, pp 440-1.

⁴⁸ S.D. Doc. 14, pp 396-7.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp 404-5: 'y que también digan los doctores por asentadas estas cosas – que sólo sirven ya de fastidio inútil, pues nadie las duda, sino en creer que en el caso individuo hayan pasado como los brujos las dicen de cada acto particular, por las dudas que dejo apuntadas'.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp 402-3: 'pasar también, de una vez, todas las apostasías y extensiones con las circunstancias que nos las venden'.

made them.⁵¹ By pointing out this contradiction, Salazar underlined the inconsistency in the reasoning of his colleagues when condemning witches.

Although Salazar fought a seemingly lonely battle against his colleagues, parallels can in fact be drawn between his approach and the methods employed by, for instance, Venetian inquisitors. When evaluating a witchcraft allegation, the main concern of the Venetian Inquisition was to establish whether the damage done had a natural or a supernatural cause. In order to do this, experts were consulted during trials such as lay physicians, who were educated at the nearby University of Padua.⁵² Like them, Salazar used apothecaries to verify the reality of the ointments used by the witches.⁵³ This, however, did not prevent him from critically analysing the outcome of their examination and, when discussing doctors in general, Salazar openly showed his frustration stating that:

For this kind of witnesses [i.e. witches] have no more ability to discern the truth than the doctors; and even the latter with all the skills they have at their disposal are frequently mistaken in seemingly straightforward and obvious cases which should admit an easy diagnosis.⁵⁴

V

The contrast between the sceptical attitude of Salazar and the more traditional one of his two colleagues shows that during the early seventeenth century there was still a vivid debate on the reality of witches and the Sabbath. This debate is particularly interesting when considering that the Spanish Inquisition in general did not occupy itself with witches, but by prosecuting other heretics, which were deemed more dangerous. Salazar's sceptical attitude reflects the former instructions of *la Suprema*

⁵¹ S.D. Doc. 15, pp 450-1.

⁵² Seitz, *Witchcraft and inquisition*, pp 3, 8-10, 22-3, 26, 28.

⁵³ S.D. Doc. 12, pp 312-31; S.D. Doc. 14, pp 412-3.

⁵⁴ S.D. Doc. 14, pp 402-3: 'pues no tienen más facultad de saber ellos la verdad de esto que los médicos, que cada paso se engañan en los juicos manuales y claros que podían alcanzar con su arte'.

(1526 and 1538),⁵⁵ in which it was stressed that witches should not be blamed for everything and that bad things and misfortune also happened without their influence. Contrary to his colleagues, Salazar used a scientific approach in investigating the reality of witches by conducting several experiments for which he consulted experts like apothecaries. His reports were very methodological with multiple references to previously mentioned facts which he used to back up his statements. In its *Instructions Issued by the Council for dealing with Witchcraft Cases* (Madrid, 29 August 1614), *la Suprema* eventually did include most of Salazar's list of advice given in his final report.⁵⁶ Thus, although Salazar felt frustrated by his colleagues' methods and inconsistencies, his perseverance can indeed be considered as a hidden moment of revolution that crucially impacted the Spanish Inquisition's attitudes towards witchcraft prosecution.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 368-73.

⁵⁶ Miguel García de Molina, 'Document 18: The Instructions Issued by the Council for Dealing with Witchcraft Cases (Madrid, 29 August 1614)', in Henningsen (ed.), *The Salazar documents*, pp 472-91.

Pauper welfare and the insane in eighteenth century Ireland

Triona Waters

I

The remnants of a traveller book belonging to Henry D. Inglis reveal his wayfaring experience throughout Limerick City during the first half of the nineteenth century where he ‘spent a day in visiting those parts of the city where the greatest destitution and misery were said to exist’.¹ Here, he recorded that there was ‘deeper destitution in Limerick, than in any place I had yet visited... I can never forget the scenes of utter and hopeless wretchedness’.² Documented in his log book, he spoke of the sights he witnessed within some of the houses he visited in the inner city, exposing often-times, fatal examples of severe impoverishment:

I will not speak of the filth of the place... let the worst be imagined and it will not be beyond the truth. In at least three fourths of the hovels which I entered there was no furniture of any description save an iron pot – no table, no chair, no bench, no bedstead; two, three or four little bundles of straw with perhaps one or two scanty and ragged mats were rolled up in the corners unless where these beds were found occupied.³

In harmony with the conditions and living environments of these houses, Inglis shed light on the conditions of those inhabiting such dwellings. In a cellar of about twelve feet, he found two children, naked, lying on a bundle of straw with a torn rag barely covering them. A woman also occupied the room, potentially their mother, in the opposite corner on a bed of straw. Inglis described her as ‘bed-ridden’. He found other ‘starving children... unable to rise from their little straw heaps’:

but I saw worse than this. In a cellar which I entered, and which was almost quite dark and slippery with damp I found a man sitting on a little sawdust. He was naked; he

¹ Robert Wyse Jackson, *The story of Limerick* (Cork, 1973), p. 71.

² Judith Hill, *The building of Limerick* (Dublin, 1991), p. 149.

³ Jackson, *The story of Limerick*, p. 71.

had not even a shirt. A filthy and ragged mat was round him; this man was a living skeleton; the bones all but protruded through the skin; he was literally starving.⁴

This account was written in the mid-1830s. Another logbook from previous years demonstrates that such poverty was as equally extensive in the 1770s. However, this source also reveals how such poverty affected the mentally ill residing in both the city and the county. Frenchman, Marquis De Latocnaye, reported in his travels to Limerick between 1796-97 that ‘one of the most painful spectacles to be seen in nearly all the principal towns of Ireland is the number of weak-minded persons in the streets’,⁵ whilst also addressing that Brehon and Early Irish law was still being practiced in the county concerning lunatic care. Responsibility for the insane kin rested legislatively on families under such law, which in turn, saw severe methods of restraint be the norm for dealing with such persons. He recorded how a Limerick farmer kept his demented wife in a vault within a neighbouring, dilapidated castle: ‘he secured her with a chain to a heavy harrow to keep her secure. She succeeded in escaping and climbed up some ninety feet to the top of the ruin, where she remained, eluding capture’.⁶

In addition to extreme cases of poverty and regressive methods of lunatic restraint, political thought was simply not directed at pauper lunatics in the late 1700s. Political grievances, particularly during the 1798 Rebellion saw tensions rise, leaving Limerick in a state of insurrection. Nightly patrols were thusly imposed within the city and surrounding districts as well as highly attended public hangings and floggings. The political tensions combined with pitiful destitution ensured that pauper lunatics struggled greatly, and this was not unique to Limerick.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵ Marquis De Latocnaye, *A French man's walk in Ireland* (Brunswick, 1798), pp 63-4.

⁶ De Latocnaye, *A French man's walk*, pp 63-4.

The second half of eighteenth-century Ireland witnessed its population expand from 2.5 million to an estimated 5 million by 1800.⁷ For Limerick in 1802, 42,825 people were reportedly living in the city. This rose to 59,045 by 1821, 66,554 by 1831 and it was not until the attack of the Great Famine, did these numbers decline.⁸ The sizeable population added to the pressure of facilitating those whom were poverty stricken, let alone mentally ill. Due to the slow legislative development of segregating the lunatic from the general pauper within custodial institutions on the island at the turn of the nineteenth century, little or no distinction was made between each since so many were subject to bitter poverty on and off the streets. Up until the passing of the Lunacy (Ireland) Act of 1821, Ireland's custodial institutions 'were not so much places of refuge and care, [but] as places for incarceration and subjugation of the mentally ill'. Lunatic treatment, where and when attempted, relied heavily on practices of the time, leaving very little space for innovation and usually consisted 'in the use of superstitious practices, bleeding, purging, herbs and various forms of castigation'.⁹

This article aims to situate eighteenth-century Limerick within the national narrative concerning the erection of public establishments. Addressing on such developments within Ireland's capital, it will examine how legislation and practice transitioned to Limerick City concerning welfare housing practices for the pauper: an assessment that additionally features the placement of the pauper lunatic within such custodial institutions such as Houses of Industry (H.O.I.s hereafter). At the turn of the nineteenth century, H.O.I.s played host to large numbers of pauper lunatics as no other

⁷ Jennifer Brown, 'The legal powers to detain the mentally ill in Ireland: medicalism or legalism?' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Dublin City University, 2015), p. 18.

⁸ Taken from figure in Hill, *The building of Limerick*, p. 149.

⁹ Rev. W. Fitzmaurice and Kevin Hannan (eds), *In the shadow of the spire: a profile of St. John's Parish* (Limerick, 1991), p. 37.

establishment was legally contracted to do so in the 1700s, aside from Irish gaols if found to be criminally lunatic.¹⁰ This paper exhibits how those governing establishments both in Dublin and Limerick found housing lunatics to be a hindrance by disrupting the original discipline or objective of the institution, thusly featuring endeavours and discussions on lunatic segregation.

Drawing on the reports from the Limerick House of Industry (L.H.O.I. hereafter) which maintain the inability to provide effective housing and care practices for those deemed insane, it will be demonstrated how disruptions and reports became an essential prerequisite for rationalising the nineteenth century Irish District Lunatic Asylum system. Exploring firstly Dublin's eighteenth-century pauper housing provision, and subsequently focus on Limerick's pauper society overall exhibiting how it was within the public institutions that pauper lunatics were seen anew as a class requiring effective and segregated approaches of care. Finally, referring to housing conditions for the L.H.O.I. pauper lunatics as 'unfit for dogs',¹¹ it will be featured the political contest made by Limerickman Thomas Spring-Rice, M.P. who was governor of the L.H.O.I. and later life governor of the Limerick District Lunatic Asylum (L.D.L.A. hereafter), alongside his associates on the House of Commons' 1817 Select Committee.

II

Eighteenth century Dublin City was witness to a variety of developments concerning the erection of public institutions in the early eighteenth century. It was under the 1703 Act of Parliament that the Dublin House of Industry (D.H.O.I.), also known as the Dublin City Workhouse (D.C.W.), was erected due to the 'necessities,

¹⁰ As will be discussed later, the 1787 Regulation of Gaols Act legally warranted H.O.I.s to erect segregated cells in the endeavour to isolate pauper lunatics from the general in-house population.

¹¹ Pauline M. Prior (ed.), *Asylums, mental health care and the Irish, 1800-2010* (Belfast, 2012), p. 1.

number, and continual increase of the poor within the City of Dublin'. In addition to housing the city's paupers, this establishment became the first and only public establishment in Ireland to house pauper lunatics, which in turn, was first to develop on the concept of pauper lunatic segregation. In 1708, cells were added to the D.H.O.I. in order to isolate admitted lunatics five years after it was originally established but by 1729, the admittance of such lunatics was stopped so the care of sane paupers could be focused on.¹² Part of that H.O.I. did later reopen in 1776 where ten lunatic cells were added.¹³ However, the conditions at the D.H.O.I. were considered to be 'as defective as can possibly be imagined'.¹⁴ Indeed, the future governor of the Richmond Lunatic Asylum (R.L.A.), John Leslie Foster found the asylum to be burdened with extreme overcrowding:

I have seen three, I think, certainly two lunatics in one bed in the House of Industry. I have seen, I think, no fewer than fifty or sixty persons in one room, of which I believe the majority were insane, and the rest mere paupers not afflicted with insanity. I have seen in the same room a lunatic chained to a bed, the other half of which was occupied by a sane pauper, and the room so occupied by beds there was scarcely space to move in it.¹⁵

Plans for the R.L.A. were consequently proposed and agreed upon in 1810 under a grant secured by the Duke of Richmond, Charles Gordon Lennox and his fellow future governors.¹⁶ R.L.A. was to be Ireland's first public lunatic asylum situated in Dublin providing 257 beds.¹⁷ It was erected in 1814 and began admitting patients in 1815. For its time, this institution became 'the major centre for the care of the mentally ill in Ireland',¹⁸ but as found in the history of Irish district lunatic asylums, R.L.A.

¹² Prior (ed.), *Asylums, mental health care and the Irish*, p. xxii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp xxi-xxii.

¹⁴ Brendan Kelly, *Hearing voices, the history of psychiatry in Ireland* (Kildare, 2016), p. 40.

¹⁵ Select Committee on the Lunatic Poor in Ireland, *Report from the select committee on the lunatic poor in Ireland with minutes of evidence taken before the committee and an appendix*, p. 9. (Referenced also in Kelly, *Hearing Voices*, p. 40).

¹⁶ Catherine Cox, *Negotiating insanity in the south-east of Ireland, 1820-1900* (Manchester, 2012), p. 3.

¹⁷ Prior, *Asylums*, p. xxii.

¹⁸ Cox, *Negotiating insanity*, p. 3.

was similarly met by an unprecedented demand that caused significant overcrowding, as recorded in 1817.¹⁹ Partial reasoning for this was because 170 inmates were simply transferred to the new asylum from the D.H.O.I. very early on.²⁰

The capitol continued to see some form of progress in the care of the mentally ill, but largely within the private sector rather than the public. The 1757 Dean Jonathon Swift Hospital for the insane was the first official ‘psychiatric’ hospital not only in Ireland, but in the world.²¹ Today, known as St. Patrick’s Hospital, fifty beds dedicated to lunatics were first established.²² However, this was a private hospital so lunatic patient admittance was strictly on the basis of fee payment. It was not until 1776 that pauper lunatics were accepted for admittance.²³ Parallel to custodial establishments of its time, conditions were difficult to both work and live in. Even nearly a century later in 1858, there was only ‘one fixed bath for 150 patient of both sexes’ and it was reported that the ‘hospital cannot be sufficiently warm in the winter months’.²⁴ Kelly concluded that the career of St. Patrick’s was ‘typical of the trajectory of early asylum care in Ireland, commencing with noble intentions, followed by enthusiasm, and then difficulty sustaining the enthusiasm and standards so clearly required for care of the mentally ill’.²⁵

Despite these developments within the capital, segregated care in public institutions was very much non-existent in rural Ireland at the beginning of the

¹⁹ Judith Hill, ‘Barracks, asylum and model school, public architecture in Limerick from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century’ in Liam Irwin and Gearoid O’Tuathaigh (eds), *Limerick, history and society, interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Limerick, 2009), p. 287.

²⁰ Kelly, *Hearing Voices*, p. 39.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²² *Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the lunatic asylums in Ireland 1858, minute of evidence and appendices*, p. 381.

²³ Prior, *Asylums*, p. xxi.

²⁴ Lunatic Asylums, Ireland, Commission, *Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the lunatic asylums and other institutions for the custody and treatment of the Insane in Ireland: with minutes of evidence and appendices (Part 1 – report, tables, and returns)*, p. 35.

²⁵ Kelly, *Hearing voices*, p. 25.

nineteenth century,²⁶ aside from Dr William Saunders Hallaran's Eglinton Asylum (1789) in Cork.²⁷ Like St. Patricks, Eglinton Asylum was a private institution for the insane and was not placed under the district asylum system officially until 1845.²⁸ Therefore, as private institutions, these 'meagre' facilities were 'inaccessible to the poor, ensuring that most pauper lunatics were consigned to houses of industry, gaols and bridewells'.²⁹

III

Markus Reuber found Irish authorities to be 'slow and reluctant' in accepting responsibility for the poor throughout eighteenth century Ireland.³⁰ Although the D.H.O.I. (1703) was already in operation, it was not until the enactment of the 1772 Badging the Poor Act that the rest of the island was directed to play host to a series of H.O.I.s.³¹ As such establishments were soon playing host to pauper lunatics, tensions arose as they were found to commonly interfering with the daily schedule and discipline causing 'chaos and demoralisation'.³² A 'mounting pressure' to segregate these lunatics from the general pauper population consequently saw the demand to erect 'separate apartments'³³ under the 1787 Regulation of Gaols Act.³⁴ County Grand Juries were newly appointed for this endeavour and were authorised to oversee and raise funds for the construction of such.³⁵ Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Clonmel were selected for this initiative. However, routine overcrowding within these

²⁶ *Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the lunatic asylums in Ireland 1858, minute of evidence and appendices*, p. 381.

²⁷ Kelly, *Hearing voices*, p. 25.

²⁸ Hallaran also opened another private asylum in 1799 (Citadella), situated in Douglas, County Cork.

²⁹ Cox, *Negotiating insanity*, p. 2.

³⁰ Markus Reuber, 'Moral management and the "unseen eye": Public lunatic asylums in Ireland, 1800 – 1845', in Elizabeth Malcolm and Greta Jones (eds), *Medicine, disease and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940* (Cork, 1999), p. 209.

³¹ Prior, *Asylums*, p. xxi.

³² Brown, 'The legal powers to detain the mentally ill', p. 19.

³³ Reuber, 'Moral management and the "unseen eye"', p. 209.

³⁴ Prior, *Asylums*, p. xxi.

³⁵ Mark Finnane, *Insanity and the insane in post-famine Ireland* (London, 1981), p. 21.

Houses meant that segregation could not be prioritised, thusly seeing the mixing of both communities.³⁶

The 1773 D.H.O.I. on Channel Row, today known as North Brunswick Street was almost immediately met with an ‘extraordinary influx’ of admittances and efforts to segregate the insane from the general pauper population can be noted in the additional isolated cells erected in 1776 (ten), 1778 (an entire house), 1798 (thirty-two), and 1808 (four). However, the rampant overcrowding saw the mixing of both the lunatic and general pauper and neglectful conditions meant that between 1799 and 1802 had died 3,679 persons in this House, ‘many of them mentally ill’. By 1804, many of the H.O.I.s around Ireland ‘contained disturbingly large numbers of persons with mental disorder or intellectual disability’ but only a few beds for these persons were available in each. Ninety spaces were created in Cork and twenty-five in Waterford.³⁷ For the L.H.O.I., thirteen cells were erected but the history of this House demonstrates how they were being ineffectively used. In fact, although not necessarily unique, abusive treatments and neglectful housing practices directed at pauper lunatics here were found to be the most defective in the country at that time.

IV

Limerick City acquired its own H.O.I. on 10 March 1774 when Mayor Joseph Johns laid the first stone. Rev. Dean Hoare designed the establishment,³⁸ and Lant. Hill Esq. was employed as its first superintendent. James Ferrer enthusiastically wrote in his 1787 *History of Limerick* work how the Limerick House of Industry was the ‘wholesome design of the legislature’:

³⁶ Prior, *Asylums*, p. xxi.

³⁷ Kelly, *Hearing voices*, p. 35.

³⁸ James Ferrer, *The history of Limerick: ecclesiastical, civil and military, from the earliest records to the year 1787* (Limerick, 1787), p. 224.

...that to support the aged and the feeble poor, to save helpless infants from perishing, to take care of lunatics, and prevent them from being a burden to their families, and to make the sturdy vagrant useful to society by his labour.³⁹

Inglis' and De Latocnaye's logbooks offer context concerning urban poverty in late eighteenth century Limerick City, and it is evident that large numbers of city folk were becoming increasingly necessitous on such institutions such as H.O.I.s. These numbers included people of an unsound mind and it was their placement within the L.H.O.I. that highlighted how incapable south-west Irish authorities were in caring for their needs. This was not unique to Limerick and parallel to the other Irish H.O.I.s, as stated above, many of the insane poor struggled greatly and were commonly subjected to extreme cases of abuse and neglect, particularly within the narrative concerning methods of restraint. Motivated by the practical rather than medical means of dealing with these persons, the topic of segregation saw the 1787 Act for the Regulation of Gaols become a legislative priority at the L.H.O.I., but only momentarily. Fourteen lunatics were recorded at the L.H.O.I. in 1804, but by 1817 there were forty-eight. There were 225 persons in house in total that year with seventy-seven of these being children.^{40*} Although thirteen cells were consequently erected under the 1787 Act, many lunatics were very soon placed into the sick ward with the general paupers instead, so mixing was not uncommon. Moreover, very little medical supervision was commanded so the 'abuse of the inmates was routine' for both the pauper and pauper lunatic communities at the L.H.O.I..⁴¹ Reports saw that conditions were 'particularly brutal' when compared to other H.O.I.s such as Dublin, Cork and Waterford, where severe methods of restraint directed mentally ill persons saw them

³⁹ Ferrer, *The History of Limerick*, p. 224.

⁴⁰ *Report from the select committee on the lunatic poor in Ireland H.C. 1817*, appendix no. 2.

* David Fleming and John Logan have done vital work on publishing the register of the LHOI: David Fleming and John Logan (eds), *Pauper Limerick, the register of the Limerick House of Industry, 1774-1793* (Dublin, 2011).

⁴¹ Hill, 'Barracks, asylum and model school', p. 288.

being ‘kept naked, chained, handcuffed and exposed to the elements’;⁴² Reverend Foster Archer of Limerick reported during his 1801 visit that he witnessed an ‘inhuman practice’ which prevailed of:

putting chains and heavy logs on vagrants, sick and well, industrious and idle, orderly or riotous. I had those chains removed from the diseased and the industrious and well behaved. This ... practice of chaining human creatures is very reprehensible. It covers an oppressive system of making the wretched beings pay the Beadle for taking them off.⁴³

In addition to the logbooks used above, another source that demonstrates life in early nineteenth century Limerick City was Sir John Carr’s travel journal. He documented drastic measures of restraint during his 1805 visit, when he found ‘madmen stark naked girded only by their irons ... in an open court ... each loaded with a long chain and heavy log’. He also wrote about ‘a raving maniac’ who was not strapped to his bed but rather ‘handcuffed to a stone of 300lbs weight, which with the most horrible yells, by a convulsive effort of strength, he dragged from one end of the room to the other’.⁴⁴

V

In harmony with the failings of the segregation regime and neglectful reports of lunatic provision in the L.H.O.I., Irish Parliament at Dublin Castle had recognised that provision for this ‘distressed class’ was ‘wholly inadequate’ by 1804.⁴⁵ A Select Committee for the House of Commons⁴⁶ was consequently appointed in 1805 and

⁴² Kelly, *Hearing voices*, p. 35.

⁴³ Inspector General of Prisons in Ireland, Reverend Foster Archer toured Ireland for over three months in 1801 logging his observations in a book titled *Observations on a tour made through Leinster, Munster and Connaught*. These papers are now preserved amongst the Hardwicke papers (Additional MMS. 35920) in the British Museum. Patrick B. Lysaght transcribed the pages concerning his travels to Limerick City and County where Archer offered his remarks on what he witnessed in the Limerick House of Industry: Patrick B. Lysaght, ‘The Reverend Foster Archer’s visit to Limerick and Clare, 1801’, in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, xviii (1976), p. 52.

⁴⁴ John Carr, *The stranger in Ireland. Or, a tour in the southern and western parts of that country, in the year 1805* (Philadelphia, 1806), p. 200.

⁴⁵ W. Cooke Taylor, ‘State of the lunatic poor in Ireland’, in *Journal of the statistical society of London*, vi (December, 1843), p. 311.

⁴⁶ Catherine Cox, ‘Managing insanity in Carlow lunatic asylum from 1832-1922’ (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2003), p. 23.

their first report was the catalyst for the passing of the Irish Asylums Bill 1805.⁴⁷ However, it was Spring-Rice and the 1817 Committee that had significant success in their political contest to improve lunatic treatment and housing provisions. Acknowledging the ineffective segregation practices and harsh treatments, Spring-Rice came before the Select Committee on the Lunatic Poor and argued that the severe methods of restraint saw many of the lunatics loose ‘the use of limbs because of the cold’.⁴⁸ Whilst governing this institution, he told how ‘...the usual mode of restraint was by passing their hands under their knees, fastening them with manacles, fastening both about their ankles, and passing a chain over all, and then fastening them to a bed’.⁴⁹ The Committee consequently submitted a proposal to create four provincial lunatic asylums, with the hope that these four institutions alone would cater for about one thousand Irish lunatics in an environment that was consistent within the therapeutic arsenal of Philippe Pinel’s ‘*traitement moral*’ regime.⁵⁰ Their argument detailed how existing law saw the mixing of both sane and insane pauper communities within public institutions result in the ‘most distressing inconveniences’.⁵¹ Their initial proposal was rejected but the Select Committee persevered using examples of success from the R.L.A.:

Your committee beg leave to call the attention of the House to the detailed opinion expressed by the governors of the Richmond Asylum that the only mode of effectual relief will be found in the formation of district asylums, exclusively appropriated to the reception of the insane. They can have no doubt that the successful treatment of the patients depends more on the adoption of a regular system of moral treatment, than upon casual medical prescription ... there should be four or five district asylums

⁴⁷ Taylor, ‘State of the lunatic poor in Ireland’, p. 311.

⁴⁸ Hill, ‘Barracks, asylum and model school’, p. 288.

⁴⁹ Prior, *Asylums*, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Kathleen Jones, *Asylums and after: a revised history of the Mental Health Services from the early eighteenth century to the 1990s* (Athlone, 1993), p. 32.

⁵¹ Taylor, ‘State of the lunatic poor in Ireland’, p. 311.

capable of containing each from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty lunatics.⁵²

Kelly's *Hearing voices* offers a detailed account of the full report where he deems the Select Committee's efforts as 'compelling'.⁵³ The drive of this Committee resulted in the implementation of the 1817 Asylums for Lunatic Poor (Ireland) Act and although progress was slow, their continued arguments were an essential prerequisite for additional legislative change to occur, which saw the enactment of the Lunacy (Ireland) Act 1821.⁵⁴ The Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Dublin Castle consequently ordered on 14 October 1820 to erect a handful of lunatic asylums across the island,⁵⁵ which in turn slowly became the first system of effectual relief established solely for lunatics, not just in Ireland, but across the western world. By 1830, four district asylums had been erected with Limerick being directed as second to play host, succeeding Armagh and preceding Belfast and Derry.⁵⁶ By the early to mid-1800s, there were ten district asylums in operation throughout Ireland that could hold 3,000 beds.⁵⁷ By the end of the 1800s, there was a total of twenty-two housing over 16,000 lunatics.⁵⁸ The closing of the L.H.O.I. in 1845 was largely influenced by the advancement of public and private lunatic asylums.

VI

As stated, L.D.L.A. was second in line established under the 1821 Lunacy (Ireland) Act. The asylum's first board meeting was held on 18 February 1822 and in attendance was the newly employed Moral Manager John Jackson, Spring-Rice and

⁵² Select Committee on the lunatic poor in Ireland, *Report from the select committee on the lunatic poor in Ireland with minutes of evidence taken before the commit and an appendix* (London, 1817), p. 4.

⁵³ Kelly, *Hearing voices*, pp 39-43.

⁵⁴ Prior, *Asylums*, p. xxii.

⁵⁵ Arthur P. Wellington, 'Armagh district lunatic asylum, the first phase', in *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, viii (1975/1976), p. 111.

⁵⁶ Joseph Robins, *Fools and mad: A history of the insane in Ireland* (Dublin, 1986), p. 67.

⁵⁷ Prior, *Asylums*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 4.

newly appointed asylum governors, comprising largely of gentry and landed classes.⁵⁹ The asylum itself opened on 22 January 1827 with advertisements distributed to local newspapers stating that it could afford accommodations for one hundred and fifty poor objects:

male and female, from the counties of Limerick, Clare and Kerry as well as from the City and Liberties of Limerick ... It is right to state, that this institution is not authorised to receive idiots or epileptic patients.⁶⁰

In order to create a count of those 'likely to receive admission', manager Jackson was directed 'with little delay as possible' to visit the neighbouring custodial establishments in order to assess the state of their lunatics. Doing so in October 1826, he visited Limerick, Ennis and Tralee Houses of Industry with admission guidelines adopted from Armagh Asylum, the only preceding asylum erected under new enactment.⁶¹ At the Ennis H.O.I., he found sixteen lunatics but only considered twelve eligible for admission. At the L.H.O.I., Jackson counted seventy lunatics but only transferred nineteen into the new asylum. When visiting the Tralee H.O.I., he was accompanied by Rev. R. Conway Hurly who was the Gaol Inspector at the time and together, they accepted eight out of ten lunatics eligible for transfer. Those who were considered ineligible were almost exclusively idiots and epileptic cases with some convalescent persons found at the L.H.O.I.⁶²

VII

To conclude, the general and lunatic pauper population were evidently subject to rampant destitution across the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly within Limerick City. By considering pauper life inside and outside in L.H.O.I., it is evident that mental health care was an impairment of Irish society that

⁵⁹ St. Joseph's Psychiatric Hospital, Limerick (hereafter J.P.H.), Limerick District Lunatic Asylum (hereafter L.D.L.A.), Minute book, 18 Feb. 1822, P98/1/1.

⁶⁰ *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 Jan. 1827.

⁶¹ J.P.H., L.D.L.A., Minute book, 13 Oct. 1826.

⁶² J.P.H., L.D.L.A., Minute book, 1 Nov. 1826.

struggled to find placement within eighteenth-century custodial care. Demonstrating the legislative developments but poorly implemented practices of lunatic segregation both in the capital and in south-west Ireland within public institutions represents the continuous detachment from policy to practice: an aspect of treatment and housing procedure that was to largely exist within L.D.L.A.'s career. The period under review represents an intensely tumultuous time in south-west Ireland but is also parallel to an age where reformatory practices emerging from Europe transitioned from theory to practice regarding the housing, care and hopeful cure of lunatics, as is loudly represented within the movement of such persons from the L.H.O.I. to the L.D.L.A. Moreover, the harsh and neglectful reports of lunatic treatments from L.H.O.I. used by Spring-Rice placed Limerick in the forefront of this reformation on a national and even international scale. These reports, in harmony with the acknowledged failure of isolating the lunatic community from the general pauper population within H.O.I.s created a rationale for Ireland to embark on establishing what was to become an incredibly expensive and vast district lunatic asylum system. Ultimately, it had become 'increasingly clear' that nineteenth-century Ireland saw 'destitution and mental illness' intertwined as 'twin problems' that 'needed to be addressed both urgently and systematically'.⁶³

⁶³ Kelly, *Hearing voices*, p. 36.

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Gillian Sarah Macdonald: Gillian is a PhD Candidate in Transnational and Comparative History at Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, USA. She is a graduate of the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland. Her research interests focus on the Revolution of 1688-90 in Scotland, post-Revolution Scottish politics, and the 1707 Act of Union between Scotland and England. She has completed a MRes (Master of Research thesis) on the institutional dimension of regime change and strategic security at the Revolution of 1688-90 in Scotland.

Holly O'Farrell: Holly is a fourth year PhD candidate at the University of Limerick, working in the History Department under the supervision of Dr Roberto Mazza. Her background is in art practice and education along with cultural studies and she has brought elements of both into her current work. Her research looks at the politics of space and the use of gender to promote differences and hierarchies between cultures.

Talitha Maria G. Schepers: Talitha is completing her PhD in Art History at The Courtauld Institute of Art in London (CHASE AHRC Doctoral Studentship). She examines sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists travelling in a Habsburg diplomatic context to the Ottoman Empire. With the support of an Ernst Mach Grant (OeAD-GmbH), she was able to conduct archival research in Vienna. She is undertaking a Graduate Internship at the Getty Museum's Drawings Department in Los Angeles (2019-2020). She obtained her Bachelor and Master's degree in Art History from the KU Leuven University in Belgium and then obtained a second Master's in Art History, Curatorship and Renaissance Culture at the Warburg Institute in London, before completing pre-doctoral research at both Christ's College, Cambridge, and a.r.t.e.s. Graduate School in Cologne. She is currently working on her first peer-reviewed book chapter. In the past year, she has volunteered at the British Museum, acted as co-editor of the peer-reviewed journal *immediations* and completed a six-month AHRC-funded work placement at the V&A Museum.

Triona Waters: Recently awarded the Royal College of Physicians' Ireland History of Medicine Research award, 2018, Triona Waters is a PhD candidate in medical history at Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick. Her research centres on the history of nineteenth century Irish insanity and asylums, under the supervision of Dr Sarah-Anne Buckley (NUIG), Dr Una Bromell (MIC) and Dr Maura Cronin (MIC). She is funded by an MIC scholarship and has numerous articles under review and in press. She is a sitting member on the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences where she serves as a representative of the Irish History Students' Association (IHSA). She graduated with a BA and MA awarded by the University of Limerick, with a year of study also based in Syracuse, New York where she was awarded 'Distinguished International Student of the Year.'



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- On average a research degree takes between two and four years to complete.

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WHAT KIND OF CAREERS WILL A RESEARCH DEGREE LEAD TO?

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- Diplomatic service
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- Linguistics
- Law
- Literature and Cultural Studies
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- Sociology

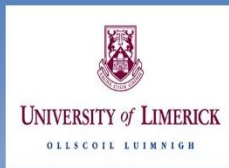
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TAUGHT HISTORY MA PROGRAMMES



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