

4. THE SUBJUGATION OF THE CELTS

4.1 WHEN WERE THE CELTS CONQUERED?

In a long, drawn-out process, spanning over a period of 650 years – between 1095–1745, the medieval Celtic countries of Brittany, Wales, Ireland, Scotland were conquered and absorbed into the British and French states. Discussed are the conquests of the Normans and Edward I, the Plantagenets and the French kings, the Tudors and the Stuarts, and finally the Hanoverians.

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4.2 BRITTANY (10C–18C)

Disunited for well over a century the unity of the duchy of Brittany slowly returned to health in 12C. The north-east, however, had for a long time been dominated by the Norman dukes and as many Breton nobles from this area who had aided William the Conqueror in his conquest of England received grants of lands there they became frenchified. It is likely that the marked retreat west of the Breton language in northern Brittany – in contrast to the almost stationary language frontier in the southern part of the duchy – was due to the earlier frenchification of the nobility of the north-east through their successful Norman connection

The replacement of Conan IV, the last native Breton ruler, in 1166 by Geoffrey a son Henry II of England began a period when the duchy of Brittany was under the rule of French-speaking dynasties (Plantagenets 1166–1213; Capetians 1213–64; Montfort 1365–1491). French made rapid headway during this period as the language of commerce, government and writing relegating the Breton language to a peasant status. Continuing periodic wars and struggles between Brittany and France led to a political identity and patriotism that owed nothing to linguistic differences. Duchess Anne was the last independent ruler of Brittany, but she was forced after military defeat in 1491 to marry two French kings in succession so that Brittany would remain attached to the French crown. Brittany was formally incorporated into the French kingdom

in 1532, albeit with provincial liberties preserved. This provincial liberty which profited the French-speaking gentry and nobles of Brittany was abrogated in 1789 at the time of the French Revolution after which time there ceased to be a political distinction between Brittany and France. Brittany's incremental subjugation to outside influences over a number of centuries – voluntary in large part – has many parallels with that of Scotland.

After a 14C civil war, the Duchy of Brittany enjoyed a period of unrivalled prosperity in 15C when its position as an inescapable hub in the growing sea trade between northern Europe and the Mediterranean brought it wealth. The present-day fishing village of Penmarc'h was then one of the busiest Breton ports of the time but by the end of 16C it had been overtaken by Morlaix. The countryside also profited, and the innumerable granite Gothic churches of western Brittany are witness to this period of prosperity which extended into the modern era. Brittany had been spared much of the wars of religion that wracked France in 16C until the 1590–98 War of the Catholic League when the governor, the Duke of Mercoeur allied himself with the Spanish and made Brittany a bastion of the Catholic party which fought against the Protestant leader Henry of Navarre. Henry finally abjured Protestantism as a result of which he gained the French crown as Henry IV and brought stability to the country. Despite the fact that Protestantism had hardly made any headway in Brittany, the 17C saw a powerful flexing of the Counter-Reformation in the shape of Jesuit colleges which (under Michel Le Nobletz) conducted an extended period of missionary work in the Breton countryside which brought the sometimes lax practices of the Breton peasantry more into conformity with Counter-Reformation dogma. The association of Brittany with Catholicism and unsullied by Protestantism was already established in 17C and the Breton language which insulated the population from heretical literature was supported by the Jesuits who under Julien Maunoir reformed the orthography and codified the grammar. In order to further his many wars, Louis XIV abused his powers by raising taxes in Brittany, which in 1675 provoked a peasant rebellion in Cornouaille, named 'the Revolt of the Red Bonnets', which was severely crushed. In 1720 an aristocratic plot led by the Marquess of Pontcallec was also foiled. Despite having very different motivations, these rebellions invoked the liberties of the province of Brittany, as did the provincial Estates of Brittany in Rennes, which managed to strengthen its powers in 18C, following the forceful centralisation of Louis XIV's reign. By the 1760s when there was a fierce controversy between the Estates and the French king's representative the Duke of Aiguillon concerning the prerogatives of the king and of the estates. The Estates had been known to promote their independence from royal interference by supporting historical interpretations that showed Brittany had not originally been part of the kingdom of France founded by Clovis in 486 on the ruins of Gaul. Royal apologists of the French king insisted the contrary. Copies of the 1582 *Histoire de Bretagne* of Bernard d'Argentré, a member of the

Estates, were seized and censored by royal command and the posthumous publication in 1752 of Le Pelletier's great Breton dictionary, subsidised by the Estates, seems to have been a cultural facet of this struggle for Breton provincial liberties. It bears emphasising that the Estates was the creature of French-speaking nobles and jurists who were generally not supportive of Breton, which at the time was well on its way to becoming a language restricted to the peasantry as it was even then being abandoned by the lesser nobles of Western Brittany.

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4.3 WALES (11C–15C)

If England had been subjugated by the Norman-French under William the Conqueror within six years of the Battle of Hastings in 1066, it was to be 1282, over two hundred more years, before Wales was finally subdued by the kings of England. Indeed there were important rebellions by the Welsh in 1294 and 1316 as well as truly national rebellion which freed almost all of Wales in the years 1400–10.

The nature of the Anglo-French (later English) interference in the affairs of the native Welsh was an epic struggle akin to the later 'winning of the west' in North America which saw a series of major reversals of fortunes on both sides. William the Conqueror quickly established three powerful earldoms in Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford to guard England from the independent Welsh. And it is fact these earls and their followers who began the piecemeal conquest of the Welsh borderland. The first Welsh kingdom to fall to the invaders was the small one of Gwent by 1071 and by the 1080s, through the capture of its king, Gwynedd was under the sway of the Anglo-French. The other Welsh kingdoms remained more or less intact and William the Conqueror was content to raise tribute from Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth. However, following William's death in 1087 the Anglo-French barons felt free to launch an all-out attacks that saw the kingdoms of Brycheiniog, Morgannwg (Glamorgan) and Deheubarth by 1093 after Rhys ap Tewdwr died tried to resist them. Thus a generation after 1066 it seemed that all of Wales

– except for Powys which had allied itself with the conquerors – was under the Anglo-French. But this was not the case as this selfsame ruling family of Powys led a largely successful insurrection in 1096 and Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd, escaped from his captors, re-established his rule over Gwynedd and defeated the Anglo-French in 1098 with the help of Magnus Barefoot of Norway, a further insurrection of 1035 also saw the Welsh regain territory from the Anglo-French.

However, the Welsh resurgence of the mid 1090s and 1030s failed to dislodge the invaders from the southern and eastern areas and thus established the longstanding split between the marcher areas to the south and the east and the independent areas – later the principality of Wales, ruled by the English Crown – in the north and the west. This division between the ‘Pura Wallia’ of the west and the rest of the country – where anglicisation was more pronounced – led to the emergence of two opposing areas of Wales and which lasted for a long time thereafter (and which seems to be perpetuated to this day in the difference between Welsh-speaking Wales and the anglicised areas). If the conquest of Wales was foremost the work of the vassals of the English crown, the English king became more involved in the 1090s both to aid his vassals but also, not least, to check their freedom which could prove dangerous. The kings, starting with Henry I, began taking possession of strategic castles and lordships to maintain some semblance of royal presence. Sometimes such areas were bestowed to royal favourites.

The subsequent history of relations between the independent Welsh and the increasingly anglicised Anglo-French was the increasing concentration of military and political initiatives in the hands of kings such as Henry II, John, Edward I on the English side and on the opposing side of great Welsh rulers such as the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd (†1197) of Deheubarth and the Princes Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (†1240) and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (†1282) of Gwynedd. As can be seen from the titles of the later Welsh rulers, their status was demoted from being kings to princes or rulers so as to underline their inferiority to the kings of England who insisted that their superiority over the Welsh rulers be recognised.

The changes brought to Wales by the Anglo-French and English during this period were many and important. The confident nascent ‘European civilisation’ associated with the twelfth-century Renaissance (which began in the eleventh century) allowed the French and the English to view their ethnic neighbours to the west – the Bretons, Welsh, Irish and Scots – as barbarians, notwithstanding the fact that these people had long been Christian. In this period the position of the Pope strengthened as the supreme authority within the western Church and the Church was in the throes of a great reform which upon finding many faults amongst the clergy in the Celtic countries gave yet another excuse for Anglo-French to meddle in the affairs of the Welsh and other native Celts. Upon subjugating territories, more often than not taking as base old Welsh

provinces (*cwmwd*, *cantref*) or kingdoms, Anglo-French conquerors established the first castles in Wales (initially earthen mottes with wooden defences which were increasingly replaced by stonework fortifications) from which they ruled their newly-conquered territories. The first towns in Wales are also due to the selfsame Anglo-French lords, these were usually established under the shadow of a castle and were often themselves defended and were always privileged with a monopoly in matters of trade within the territory of a lordship. The authorised inhabitants (burgesses) were usually outsiders and the native Welsh were often forbidden from residing within the towns. In some rural areas – usually the most fertile lowlands – natives were replaced by English inhabitants thus constituting a form of ethnic cleansing (these Englishries were contrasted to the Welshries, the native areas of a lordship where Welsh laws and customs were preserved and the inhabitants simply paid an annual tribute paid in cattle to the foreign lord). The Welshries were most typically in upland areas such as the highland areas of Glamorgan and Breconshire. Over the centuries many of the smaller Englishries were welshified, but in some areas, particularly in southern Pembrokeshire, Gower and the Vale of Glamorgan there were extensive areas of land which had been cleared of their prior Welsh inhabitants (this is the origin of the nickname of southern Pembrokeshire as ‘Little England beyond Wales’).

Reformed monastic houses such as the Benedictines accompanied the Anglo-French conquest and often were rewarded by lands that had previously been in the possession of native monastic houses. During 12C the native clergy were effectively dispossessed by the Anglo-French and the consequences are seen in the break between the Old Welsh literary tradition and the subsequent Middle Welsh writing conventions influenced by the conventions of Anglo-French (we can only guess at the loss of Welsh literary works in this troubled period). However, one of the reformed monastic movements, that of the Cistercians, starting from the monastery of Whitland in 1140 saw a native-friendly family of monasteries established throughout independent Wales. It is due to these Cistercian houses that the rich seam of traditional Welsh literature survived into later times (annals, law tracts, tales, genealogies etc).

The subjugation of ‘Pura Wallia’ by Edward I between 1277–82 saw the establishment of the Principality of Wales, that is to say the area of Wales ruled directly by the officers of the king. The remaining areas of Wales both on the east and in the south were comprised of lands conquered piecemeal and over two centuries by Anglo-French or English lords, independent of the king of England. The Law of the March described as Welsh law seen through Norman eyes consisted of whichever mixture of regulations that suited best the interests of the Marcher lords who were local kings in all but name and enjoyed regalian rights reserved to the king in England (*arglwydd pwll a phren* ‘lord of pit and gallows’, to use the medieval term). Unlike England, there was no overarching law that forbade the erection of fortifications or the pursuit of private wars with the

free Welsh or other lordships. The March gained the reputation of a lawless frontier society right until the incorporation of Wales with England in 16C when all of Wales was shired and the Common Law of England established.

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4.4 IRELAND (12C–15C)

The subjugation of Ireland by England plays out in three parts over four hundred years, namely the First (Anglo-French or Anglo-Norman) Conquest of Ireland in medieval times, and the Second (Tudor) Conquest of Ireland in the early modern times. These two periods of conquest are separated by a period centering around 14C–15C which can be termed the period of the native Gaelic Resurgence or Revival.

Prior to 1167, the only foreigners who had created any lasting impact on Irish politics were the Norsemen who had founded the coastal trading towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick (these were sometimes known as Ostmen). By 1052, these hitherto independent centres of foreign trade were all subjugated to Irish kings but remained conduits of English influence through their contacts with the Norsemen who were absorbed into English culture and were responsible for the development of English sea trade from ports such as Bristol. These influences are demonstrated in the religious sphere by the dioceses established in the Ostmen trading towns in early 12C whose bishops sought consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury, England. During that century English primates on more than one occasion urged Irish

kings to reform the Irish Church and this meddling became political in 1155 when the English pope Adrian IV authorised Henry II to conquer Ireland “to proclaim the truths of the Christian religion to a rude and ignorant people”. In fact the Irish Church itself had begun to engage itself an effective reform under Saint Malachy (MI. *Mael Maedóic*) in the 1130s and 1140s which saw the delimitation of four archdioceses and diocesan boundaries as well as the first establishment of continental reformed monastic movements such as the Augustinians and Cistercians in Ireland.

However, despite all efforts at reform, 12C Ireland had not formed itself into a centralised unitary kingdom and the resulting political instability was to prove too appetising to the expansion-minded Norman French military men who had conquered England and Wales (as well as Sicily and Palestine). The excuse that finally brought the Anglo-French to Ireland was the flight of Diarmait Mac Murchada in 1166. As king of southern Leinster, he was allowed to rally allies to his cause, chief of whom was Richard Fitz Gilbert (better known as Strongbow). In 1167 Diarmait returned to Ireland with a body of Anglo-French knights. In 1170 Strongbow arrived with a greater force and together both leaders captured Waterford and Dublin. Having married Diarmait’s daughter, Strongbow was able to claim the kingship of Leinster on the death of Diarmait in 1171. This prompted Henry II of England to intervene as he was suspicious of such Anglo-French lords who had ruled much of Wales almost independently from their overlord, the king of England. He landed with his own army in that same year and received the submission of Strongbow and the native Irish kings who were, understandably, nervous at the prospect of facing the full might of the fearsome Anglo-French military machine at Henry II’s disposal.

The visits to Ireland of Henry II and his son John in 1185 and 1210 (the latter as king) helped ensconce the power of the English king’s government in Dublin. Hugh de Lacy was installed as the king’s justiciar in 1171 (the first of a long line of English viceroys or governors of Ireland) and all prior and future conquests were made subject to varying amounts of control from Dublin. This early decisive interference by the English king meant that a centrally-inspired county (shire) network restraining the independent power of the conquerors was more organised in Ireland than it ever became in medieval Wales. Despite being stronger than that found in contemporary Wales, the control exercised by the central government was hardly that which obtained in contemporary centralised England as the formal hierarchy of powers was prone to vary with the changing strengths of natives, conquerors and government. The subsequent Anglo-French conquest of Ireland continued its impressive pace with the encouragement given or despite the restraint imposed by the central administration in Dublin. In late 12C, great lordships were created from Meath (De Lacy), Ulster (De Courcy), Munster (Butler, De Burgh). Connacht (Connaught) was the last great lordship conquered in 1227 by Richard de Burgh (Bourke) whose uncle was at the time justiciar in Dublin. In 12C the most powerful of the Irish rulers were termed kings and their

territories kingdoms, this terminology being accepted by the English and the Scottish kings (though they were often tempted to term these native kings by the Latin *reguli* ‘kinglets’). However, from the time of Edward I, jealous of his royal prerogative, there was a concerted effort by English government officials to deny the status of king to Irish rulers and slowly, these rulers acquiesced with English demands and abandoned royal pretensions, firstly from late 14C onwards by translating *rí* as ‘prince’ (L. *princeps*), and then from early 15C onwards abandoning the term *rí* itself for ‘lord’ (G. *tighearna*).

The conquering machine of the Anglo-French began running out of steam in 13C. Except in parts of the south and the east, the conquest had over-extended itself with few English people holding down great Irish populations and was liable to overthrow if circumstances permitted. In many areas the conquerors married the natives and the weakness of central authority meant that they acquired an outlook similar to the native Irish and could be as unruly to central government as any independent native Irish rulers. This is a trend that accentuated in 14C–15C thus giving rise to the pseudo-medieval saying *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis* (‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’) coined by the 17C Catholic scholar John Lynch, but often since erroneously understood as representing medieval ethnic views in Ireland. The administrative, legal and chauvinist pressures that obtained in medieval Ireland meant that it was not a simple matter for someone to ignore their ancestry whichever language they might speak the most. There is no doubt that many of the English settled in Ireland, especially in rural areas, away from the main towns and the south-east, soon became conversant with Irish, a case in point being Earl Gerald FitzGerald of Desmond (I. *Gearóid Iarla*) who in late 14C composed poetry in Irish. The infamous Statutes of Kilkenny of 1367 legislated – ineffectively – against the “degeneracy” of Englishmen who adopted the Irish language, along with Irish clothes and customs. Nevertheless, the ethnic division between Irish (I. *Gael*) and English (I. *Gall* ‘foreigner’) and the Irishry (I. *Gaeltacht*) and Englishry (I. *Galltacht*) remained firmly established, with the emphasis between the latter being between areas where native brehon law obtained and areas where English common law obtained rather than between linguistic usage. As in Wales the conquerors had adapted pre-existing administrative areas (I. *tuath*, *tír*) to make up their lordships, castles and towns were established in lowland areas and the highland or wilder areas were left as semi-independent Irishries which were expected to pay annual tributes in cattle. The unsettled conditions of war between natives and conquerors led to the political development of clans amongst both the Irish and the colonists, the corporate nature of kin-groups (F. *lignage*, *nation*, L. *parentela*) which entailed personal rather than territorial jurisdiction was recognised in the statute law of the colony (in contradiction to the dominant feudal principle that characterised English law and much of western Europe of the time). The descriptive terminology of the time for the leaders or chiefs of

such clans (I. *taoiseach*, L. *dux*, E. *chieftain*, *captain*) which emphasised their military role (however, these terms could interchange with those denoting ‘rulers’). Since at least the 1100, it had been the practice to call the ‘chief’ of a clan simply by the clan surname, and by late 14C these are found used as titles probably because this was more acceptable to the English than royal titles, e.g. Ó Néill anglicised as ‘the O’Neill’. By late 16C such ‘surnames’ were often more appreciated as titles than official titles (such as earl) granted by the Dublin administration. It was reported concerning Aodh (‘Hugh’) Ó Néill, for example, that though officially recognised Earl of Tyrone, “he has evermore had a thirsty desire to be called O Neale – a name more in price to him than to be intituled Caesar.”

Like Wales, the Anglo-French conquest was accompanied by a break in the extant native literature between the last manuscripts of Middle Irish in the 1160s and the first manuscripts of Classical Modern Irish in late 14C. Monasteries were often appropriated by the conquerors and the Irish Church was riven by ethnic strife between Irish and English monks (to quote an example, the Cistercian monks of Granard were accused in 1318 of declaring the killing of an Irishman no sin). From late 14C onwards the Franciscan mendicant order – and especially the Franciscan observant order – established themselves as the religious arm of the Gaelic resurgence or at least the branch of the Church most sympathetic to the aspirations of the despised native Irish. Observant orders, being independent of the established hierarchies of conventional orders, were attractive organisations for native Irish clerics and rulers and between 1426–1540 the Franciscan Observants established 49 communities, and in many cases these and the 150 or so other monastic communities (Augustinians, Dominicans, Carmelites) founded after 1350, had native-Irish patrons.

The native revival against the conquerors and colonists was making itself felt by mid 13C, with the defeats of Credran (1257) in Connacht, Callan (1261) and Mangerton (1262) in Munster, and in the aborted attempt of Brian Ó Néill of Tyrone (1260) to revive the Irish high-kingship. The Scottish invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce (1315–18) damaged the colony and the rot set in during 14C, slowly, inexorably, and not without many reverses. The death of the de Burgh earl of Ulster in 1333 saw the north of Ireland revert to independent native Irish dynasties and other areas long-dominated by the conquerors such as Offaly, Wicklow, north Wexford, Carlow, north Tipperary recovered their independence. The Gaelic resurgence was not as clear cut in Connacht and in Munster, but this was only so because the conquerors there – the De Burghs (Burkes) and the FitzGerald of Desmond respectively – adapted to native Gaelic society rather than abandoning their territory. From the point of view of the Dublin administration, the result was much the same, the English king’s Common Law did not extend much beyond an area called the Pale, surrounding Dublin itself (whence the expression that has established itself in the English language “beyond

the pale” to convey disapproval of unconventional actions of an individual). Various reasons can be advanced for the Gaelic Resurgence which was as much to do with the weakness of the English colony as much as with any renewed strength the native Irish may have showed. The English kings had tended to neglect the colony, concentrating on their wars in Scotland and then in France. The remaining independent lands in the west were less propitious for cultivation and further from trade centres. The native Irish were becoming more accustomed to the fighting skills needed to defeat their conquerors and from mid 13C had begun to employ gallowglasses (I. *gallóglai*gh), fearsome mercenaries from Scotland who – in some cases – established long-lived local dynasties. From 13C onwards there was a decline in climatic conditions that especially affected the colonised south-east of the island and the plague of 1349 (The ‘Black Death’) also affected the concentrated English urban population more than the scattered pastoral Irish population. The result was that Ireland by the end of the middle ages was – from the point of view of a centralising English administration – in need of a wholly new enterprise of conquest.

4.5 IRELAND (16C–17C)

It was reported concerning Ireland in 1515 that “there be more than sixty countries, called regions, in Ireland, inhabited with the King’s Irish enemies ... where reigneth more than sixty chief captains” and “also, there is more than thirty great captains of English noble family, that followeth the same Irish order and keepeth the same rule.” By late 15C it had become the established practice for these unruly Irish lords to be kept in check by the powerful Earl of Kildare, but the unavoidable abuses of delegating so much power to one deputy was demonstrated in the Kildare rebellion of 1534. After its suppression, Henry VIII, in accordance with the growing appetite for centralisation that characterised his reign, made sure that his deputy governors for Ireland would only serve the government’s interest. In 1541 Henry VIII was proclaimed King of Ireland by the colony’s parliament (rather than Lord which had previously satisfied English kings), this was followed in 1543 by a constitutional reorganisation by which native Irish lords were both pressurised and tempted to be accepted as members of the Dublin parliament (a novelty considering the robust ethnic barriers that had characterised medieval colony). In exchange for this ‘privilege’ the native Irish rulers had to come into ‘the king’s peace’ by surrendering their lands and having it regranted by the grace of the king along more acceptable feudal lines, thus native Irish rulers first attained the titles of ‘earl’ and ‘lord’ and the like. The acceptance of ‘Surrender and Regrant’ as this policy was known by hitherto de facto independent rulers meant acquiescence – even if only initially in principle – to the king’s ultimate authority, English

Common Law, English manners, and, despite the resistance it encountered, proved to be a potent policy in securing the cooperation of many Irish rulers in the anglicisation of Ireland.

Beset by political problems following the Henrician split with the Papacy, and the growing Protestant nature of England, there arose a dogged determination amongst the subsequent English governments and administrations to counter any tendencies to rebellion or foreign invasion by securing administrative and judicial centralisation over all the English crown's lands, be they in England, Wales or Ireland. A central plank in the achievement of this aim was to organise (shire) Ireland into counties on the English model enabling the introduction of a common English law which would make the promotion of anglicisation and trade possible. This spelt the death-knell of the independency of the Irish lordships and was bound in many cases to lead to rebellion. However, rebellion was to be countered not only by forfeiture of the estates of rebel lords and his chief followers but by the forfeiture of all the land under their rule and its transference to trusted English landholders who would embark upon a programme of colonisation (plantation) by English settlers. The first plantation on the lands of Offaly and Laois in the central Irish midlands was carried out in 1556 (ironically, considering subsequent Irish history, under the staunchly Catholics, Queen Mary and her husband King Phillip of Spain whence the colonial names of Offaly and Laois: King's County and Queen's County). Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, one of the largest Irish landholders managed to earn Elizabeth I's displeasure and had his lands forfeited in 1568. Attempts by English speculators and adventurers to take possession of the forfeited land led to the First Desmond Rebellion under James FitzMaurice (cousin of the earl). This rebellion lasted between 1568–73 and devastated the population Munster, but was finally concluded after FitzMaurice had escaped to the Continent and by allowing the Earl of Desmond to return to rule his lands. FitzMaurice returned to Munster in 1579 with Papal and Spanish support an action that sparked the Second Desmond Rebellion which lasted until 1583 when the earl was killed. This time, completely defeated, the native aristocracy were replaced by the first great scheme of English colonisation in Ireland: the Plantation of Munster. Earl Gerald later acquired a mystical reputation as an unimpeachable Irish patriot that would return when the need of the oppressed Irish was great. More concretely for future developments, the First Desmond Rebellion coincided with Pope Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth I as Queen of England. This was the first time that Catholicism became politicised and identified with Irish freedoms against the aggressively Protestant English. There were aborted plantations in Ulster (the Belfast area) in the 1570s aimed as much against Scottish influences as the native Irish. The western Irish rulers were subjugated without resort to great force in 1585 by the Composition of Connacht (Connaught) and so the Spanish Armada did not find much succour from the Irish when its defeated rump hugged the Irish coast. Ulster now remained the last independent region of Ireland

and it was not long before the interfering of the English government led the greatest native ruler, the Earl of Tyrone, Aodh ('Hugh') Ó Néill into rebellion. The rebellion was even more destructive than the Desmond uprisings and were to be named the Nine Years' War (1594–1603). In 1601 the defeat at Kinsale of an attempt of the Irish rebels to join up with a Spanish expeditionary force in 1601 signalled the end of the stalemate and at the Treaty of Mellifont in 1603 the Earl of Tyrone and Ó Domhnaill, Earl of Tyrconnell conceded defeat and the right of the English government to establish counties and its administration over their lands (the distrust of the intentions of the English is clearly the prime motive for the escape of the earls overseas a few years later). John Davies, the then Attorney General, could observe that: "the clock of the civil government is now well set and all the wheels thereof do move in order; the strings of the Irish harp, which the magistrates do finger, are all in time and make a good harmony in the commonwealth."

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4.6 SCOTLAND (11C–15C)

The united kingdom of Scots and Picts (E. *Scotland*, L. *Scotia*) established in 9C under Scottish Gaelic kings and with its royal centre at Scone only comprised Scottish mainland territories north of the Clyde and the Forth. From this region Scottish power established itself over the Cumbrians of Strathclyde in 890, after the latter had been devastated by Norse raids. Further east, constant raiding over Norse-dominated English-speaking Lothian from 9C onwards finally saw this region and its capital Edinburgh become part of the Scottish kingdom after the battle of Carham in 1018. In its success in expanding its territories in the wake of the Norse devastation of the 9C–10C, the Scottish kingdom is the northern British counterpart of Alfred's kingdom of Wessex in the south, expanding at the expense of the Norse of the Danelaw to establish the first kingdom of England in 10C. By early 11C, except for the Norse-controlled

islands and the Norse-dominated western and northern coasts, the kingdom of Scotland had very generally assumed its southern borders with England.

Reminiscent of Brittany in the same period, the ethnically mixed kingdom (Gael, Britons, Norse, English) endangered the preservation of the tutelary ethnicity of the kingdom. In the 1070s, Malcolm III was established at a royal centre in Edinburgh which was a traditionally English-speaking area. He married Margaret, a niece of the last English king, and the influx of important English refugees from Norman French conquest of England tipped the court into the use of English. Following Malcolm's death in 1093 there arose a civil war between Margaret's sons and other members of Malcolm III's family who resented the foreign influences. Indeed the king of England helped Malcolm's sons to recapture and retain the Scottish crown. It is under David I (r.1124–53), one of these sons, that the Normans entered Scotland, not as conquerors but as guests of the Scottish kings in order to subdue the unruly peripheries of his realm. Some frenchification and in the long run anglicisation took hold of the kingdom as the Scottish kings of 12C invited not only nobles and soldiers, but also clergymen and burgesses to people the new monastic and new urban foundations (the burghs). It seems that the process of anglicisation which spilled over into Strathclyde and crept up the east coast was not as rapid as sometimes been depicted, nevertheless by 14C the east coast up to Aberdeen was English speaking (the Scots variety) and the familiar dichotomy between the Gaelic Highlands and the anglicised Lowlands had then come into being. There seems no doubt that anglicisation in Scotland during this period radiated from burghs and from the increased incorporation into European trade networks during this economically vibrant era. Despite anglicisation, the Scottish kings and nobility remained proud of their Gaelic ancestry and throughout this period there is no hint of interethnic tension. Politically, in 12C–13C, the Scottish kings were mostly preoccupied with conquering and subduing the peripheries of Scotland held by native dynasties who were kings in their own right, thus after a struggle that lasted some generations, Moray in the north and Galloway in the south-west were finally subdued in the 1230s. In the far north, the extensive lands of Sutherland was taken over in the 1230s from the Norse earls of Orkney whose mainland holdings were reduced to Caithness (Orkney, Caithness and Shetland were finally acquired by Scotland from Denmark in 1470). In 1266 at the Treaty of Perth, the Norwegian kings, who had asserted sovereignty over the islands of the western coast, ceded them to the Scottish crown. The (sub)kings of the Isles – descendants of the 12C founder, Somerled (Scottish *Gaelic Somhairle*), were converted into lords of the Isles but this whole area remained until the end of the middle ages a semi-independent polity only loosely linked to Scotland. The absorption in 1470 of Orkney and its dependent lands of Caithness and Shetland, left the Gaelic Lordship of the Isles as the only territories left independent of the Scottish crown, and indeed the Lordship of the Isles' influence extended over

much of the west mainland coast of Scotland, remote from the centres of power, but its fall would ensue too in 1493.

The anglicisation of the royal government and the intrusion of many Anglo-French and English into Scotland in the period between the 1070s and mid 15C does not seem to have led to much ethnic tension on the scale we find in Wales and in Ireland. Perhaps this was more evident than our sparse sources can be expected to supply, but – based on the extant evidence – it can be argued that the late Middle Ages were a period of accommodation between the receding Gaelic heartland of the kingdom and the expansion of the anglicising processes, and that wars and disputes were motivated by local rather than ethnic dissensions. From the 15C a second period ensues – lasting until 1746 – which can be more clearly termed a period of intrusion and subjugation (if not outright conquest).

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4.7 THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS (15C–18C)

The fall or rather decapitation of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493 by the Scottish king got rid of a potential rival and managed – in principle though hardly in practice – to make the lordship's dependent lords directly answerable to the Scottish king and his central government in Edinburgh. However the deposition of the lord of the Isles had just displaced the problem since the dependent lords (many being junior branches of clan MacDonald and thus descendants of Somerled) continued to flout the king's authority. Generally the Scottish kings were too preoccupied with many other matters and left the subjugation of recalcitrant Highland clans to other clans nearer the eastern centres of Scottish power, this explains the expansion of clan Campbell of Argyll at the expense of their neighbours to the west and the enduring enmity between them and the various clans of the MacDonalds who considered themselves the rightful heirs of the Lordship of the Isles. An expedition by James V in 1540 was not followed up until the coming of age of his son James

VI (later James I of England) who between 1596–1625 sent six military expeditions to subjugate the recalcitrant Highland lords. The policy had some success, as from the 1610s onwards the Highland chiefs were forced to pay yearly visits to the court at Edinburgh and progressively became more anglicised. The remoteness and difficulty of access of the Highlands nevertheless allowed the Highland chiefs a semi-independence that existed nowhere else in the British Isles in the 17C–18C. Civil proceedings were often ignored on a grand scale and the last battle between warring clans took place in 1688 at the Braes of Lochaber between the Keppoch Macdonalds and the Mackintoshes. The greatest wars of the Highlands were connected to greater political troubles which faced the British crown, namely the 1644–47 royalist campaign under the Earl of Montrose, the 1689–91 Jacobite royalist campaign under Viscount Dundee, the subsequent Jacobite risings of 1715–16, 1719, 1745–46. The last rising that of Bonnie Prince Charlie which came to an end at the battle of Culloden in 1746, saw the final military subjugation of the Highlanders and the official proscription of Highland attire (1746) and of the powers of the semi-independent Gaelic lordships (1748). The English national anthem ‘God save the King’ was first composed in 1745 during the invasion of England by ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’ and his Highland followers, it originally included an anti-Scottish sixth and final verse: “Lord, grant that Marshal Wade, / May by thy mighty aid, / Victory bring. / May he sedition hush and like a torrent rush, / Rebellious Scots to crush, / God save the King.”

The concentration of the above account on the subjugation of the Gaelic-speaking territories of Scotland by the anglicised Scottish kings over six centuries spanning 11C–18C must not make us oblivious to another fundamental struggle which faced the Scottish kings and their southern English neighbours. Despite some Scottish campaigns in northern England, which were more to do with internal English politics than with any long-standing enmities between both countries, the Scottish kingdom was recognised as a legitimate –albeit junior – kingdom friendly to England. This changed under Edward I’s reign and the Scottish succession crisis following 1286 led to the devastating Scottish Wars of Independence. Thereafter Scotland having dearly purchased its independence entered into what became the ‘Auld Alliance’ with France against England. The enmity between Scotland and England was permanently ended by the English-assisted Protestant settlement of 1560 and the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England as James I. It is incorrect to view the subjugation of the Scottish Gaels of the Highlands as the work of the English, it had begun many centuries previously under Scottish kings (admittedly anglicised). Interestingly enough, the bitterness that the English attempt at the conquest of the Scottish kingdom during the wars of Scottish Independence had so heightened the identity of the English speakers of Scotland that by 15C they preferred the term Scots for their language than the hitherto-used Inglis (English), the Gaelic speech, which had been the original Scots was now termed by

them Erse (Irish). Only in 19C did Gaelic replace the pejorative connotations of un-Scottishness implicit in the term Erse (notwithstanding the justifiable linguistic rationale of the latter term). By the later middle ages the Gaelic speakers were content to label themselves and their English-speaking Lowland neighbours as Albannaich as opposed to Eireannaich ('Irishmen') and Sasannaich ('Englishmen') even if these selfsame Lowlanders were in day-to-day speech Gaill ('foreigners') – all of which constitutes a clear example of nested identities (as opposed to a reductionist either-or polarisation of identities).

The Scottish kingdom officially became Protestant in 1560. Calvinism flourished under the influence of the fiery Edinburgh preacher John Knox, but was soon caught up in a dissension as to the power bishops ought to wield as against the power congregations ought to wield, this dissension led to a split between Episcopalians (usually supporters of the king) and Presbyterians. By 1584 the Presbyterians had won and the Scottish Kirk ('Church') was run by a General Assembly. Upon becoming king of England as well as Scotland in 1603, James I prevented the General Assembly from meeting and gave his backing to the bishops. This situation was made worse by Charles I who by attempting to force the Anglican Book of Common Prayer on the Scots in 1638 led to the Scottish National Covenant and the Bishops' War against the Episcopalian rites which in turn precipitated the War of the Three Kingdoms (which included the English Civil War) at the end of which Charles I himself was executed. Presbyterian rule dominated the Scottish Kirk during the mid 17C wars and interregnum, but this in turn was replaced by Episcopalian rule with Charles II's restoration. The Presbyterian Nonconformists were discriminated against and persecuted in this period. It is only with the advent of the Protestant William II as king in 1689 that the Scottish Kirk once again adhered to Presbyterian rule. It is at this time that the Episcopalians reorganised themselves as a Nonconformist denomination independent of the state (and ostensibly Jacobite, that is hoping for a return of the Stuart dynasty as legitimate sovereigns despite the fact that these were by late 17C Catholic). On the whole the Highlanders had remained conservative in religious matters and in 18C many areas remained loyal to Episcopalianism or even to Catholicism. The survival of Catholicism was strengthened by the Counter-reformation Catholic missions of the Irish Franciscans beginning in 1619, directed from near Ballycastle in County Antrim, Ireland, which was succeeded in 1653 by a more native Scottish Mission later placed under a Scottish bishop. To counter problems of educating priests in far-off continental colleges, a seminary was established in Morar in 1712 which was to relocate a number of times. The areas which were strongly Catholic in 17C were so because of the protection afforded to that religion by sympathetic Jacobite Highland lords.

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