

**PERSONAL PAPERS AND THEIR RESEARCH VALUE:
THE PAPERS OF DR. HENRY JONES IN TRINITY
COLLEGE DUBLIN ARCHIVES**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation considers the use and value of personal papers to research. In a review of the literature, the history of attitudes to personal papers by archivists is examined for the development of policies on their management and views on their contribution. A case study, the personal papers of Dr. Henry Jones in Trinity College Dublin Archives, is used to assess the value of personal papers in terms of their research use.

Henry Jones (1603?-1681) was a colourful figure in his day. A refugee during the Irish rebellion of 1641, he became Bishop of Clogher and Cromwell's Scoutmaster General before he was made Bishop of Meath and elevated to the Privy Council of Ireland under Charles II.

Apart from a very small number of letters associated with Henry Jones, the case study papers, a group of 52 personal documents, are presently mostly uncatalogued in TCD Archives where they are bound into manuscript books containing other documents. Most of these papers were transcribed by Thomas Fitzpatrick (1845- 1912) who identified Henry's letters and accounts on the basis of his handwriting. The collection of Fitzpatrick's transcriptions are now in University College Dublin Archives

A content analysis was carried out on the case study papers, as was primary source analysis in conjunction with purposive sampling, while the papers were also evaluated against John Scott's criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. The methodologies validated each other and brought to light some unexpected results.

The results are discussed in the context of their contribution to the issues identified in the literature review and how they corroborate or disprove the theories of former and current writers on the subject of personal papers. The dissertation concludes with a synopsis of the research use of personal papers as a result of the study and recommends further research.

PERSONAL PAPERS AND THEIR RESEARCH VALUE: THE PAPERS OF DR. HENRY JONES IN TRINITY COLLEGE ARCHIVES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Outline of the chapter

This purpose of this dissertation is to consider the research use of personal papers with the papers of Dr. Henry Jones in Trinity College Dublin (TCD) Archives used as a case study.

The aims and objectives of this dissertation are first set out in this chapter, followed by an outline of the methods used. The term 'personal papers' is then defined. The history of the material being studied in TCD Archives is given, followed by the background to the case study. The scope of this dissertation and the scope of the case study are outlined. A summary of the life of Henry Jones follows and, in the final section, the structure of the dissertation is set out.

1.2. Aims and Objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to assess the value of personal papers to research, using Henry Jones' papers in TCD Archives as a case study.

The objectives are to:

- Establish the research context for personal papers
- Analyse and evaluate the themes which occur throughout the papers
- Evaluate the papers against the criteria of authenticity, reliability, representativeness and meaning.

1.3. Outline of methods

The method used are

- A literature search and review
- a content analysis of Henry Jones' papers
- a primary source analysis in conjunction with purposive sampling
- an assessment of the papers against the criteria of authenticity, reliability, representativeness and meaning

1.4 Definition of personal papers

The term 'personal papers' is defined by The Society of American Archivists as 'documents created, acquired, or received by an individual in the course of his or her affairs and preserved in their original order (if such order exists).¹ The National Library of Australia in their advice on depositing personal papers state that 'Personal papers include correspondence, diaries, speeches, photographs, annotated contact sheets, control registers (job logs), caption lists and many other records created during a private and public lifetime'².

1.5. The history of Henry Jones's papers in TCD Archives

The personal papers of Henry Jones are part of a large collection of papers in TCD Archives, donated by Bishop John Stearne in his will of 1741, which includes manuscripts of the 17th century, particularly those related to the Irish rebellion of 1641 which culminated in the Cromwellian wars of the 1640s and early '50s.

The donor, Bishop John Stearne, the collector of Henry Jones's papers, was born in Dublin in 1660 and entered Trinity College, Dublin in April 1674. He graduated with a B.A. in 1677, an MA in 1681 and a Doctorate of Divinity in July 1705. After several positions elsewhere, he was made Bishop of Clogher in 1717 and vice-chancellor of Trinity College in 1721,³ Henry Jones having held both latter posts in the previous

¹Pearce-Moses, R. 2005 A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology. The Society of American Archivists. Chicago, 292.

²www.nla.gov.au/depositing-personal-or-family-papers

³<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26411?docPos=2>

century. A keen collector of manuscripts, Stearne accumulated a massive collection, including the Deposition papers (below) as well as letters and papers of historical note. Stearne died in 1745 and bequeathed his collection of manuscripts to Trinity College in his will dated 1741⁴.

Most of the material in the Stearne Collection comprises a large set of record books known as ‘the Depositions’.⁵ These are systematically collected sworn statements which were taken in commissions of inquiry set up by the government (under Henry Jones as appointed commissioner) from a large number of people caught up in the 1641 rebellion⁶. Two commissions during the 1640s and 1650s were set up to take the statements. As an invaluable historical resource, the Deposition papers have now been made accessible to the public by TCD.⁷

Though Henry Jones is closely associated with the Deposition papers, his personal papers do not relate directly to them and seem to have been collected separately, along with other documents of the period, by Stearne. Henry’s papers mainly comprise drafts of letters, journals or accounts written by Henry, often for his brother, Michael Jones, who became Governor of Dublin in 1647.

Tracking the manuscript collection and how it was assembled by Bishop John Stearne has yet to be fully reconstructed. Originally, after the Depositions were taken, the books containing the deposition papers were lodged, some time after 1656, in an ‘office of discrimination’ in Dublin in the care of seven sub-commissioners for discriminations.

In 1670 the books were delivered into the possession of Mathew Barry, clerk of the council who subsequently sold the parts of the archive that now comprise the 1641 depositions to the collector, Dr. John Madden. The widow of the latter sold his manuscript collection to John Stearne, before 1708.⁸ It is not known when other papers of the same period donated by Stearne to Trinity College were acquired by him.

In Trinity College library, the Stearne Collection papers were originally marked with the prefix ‘F’ which was their shelf number. T.K. Abbot, who created the present

⁴ Abbot 1900, iii-iv; <http://1641.tcd.ie/using-use.php>

⁵ Trinity College Dublin MSS 809-839

⁶ http://1641.tcd.ie/about-when_deposition.php

⁷ <http://1641.tcd.ie>

⁸ http://1641.tcd.ie/about-when_deposition.php

manuscript catalogue for Trinity College Archives in *circa* 1900, changed the 18th century system of numbering by cabinet to that of manuscript numbers.⁹

1.6. Background to the case study

The choice of topic for the case study came about because of an interest in the life of Bishop Henry Jones and personal documents related to him. In a search for biographies on Henry Jones, it was found that papers of his in TCD Archives had been transcribed by the schoolteacher and historian, Thomas Fitzpatrick (d. 1912). These were written between 1890 and 1910 and are among Fitzpatrick's unpublished writings¹⁰ which were donated to University College Dublin (UCD) in around 1953 and are now in UCD Archives. There is also a partial and unfinished biography of Henry Jones among Fitzpatrick's papers as well as other texts relating to the 1641 Irish rebellion and Confederate wars of the 1640s and 1650s. Fitzpatrick's archive was accessed in UCD for this dissertation.

TCD Archives were searched for Henry Jones' papers but only six documents written to or by Henry Jones¹¹ are listed in Abbot's Catalogue in TCD Archives¹² which is the only finding aid for the collection to which the documents belong, while there were five short catalogue entries relating to Henry's brother, Michael Jones¹³, one of which, 'letters of Col. Jones to O. Cromwell and others'¹⁴, indicated that there was more than one letter.

Fitzpatrick identified handwriting in 50 documents in TCD Archives as being that of Henry Jones while two further documents written by Henry (not listed by Fitzpatrick) were found in TCD Archives¹⁵, totalling 52 documents.

Fitzpatrick's transcribed documents in UCD have been archived¹⁶ but here is no indication from the descriptive entries that they were written or annotated in the

⁹Abbott, T.K. 1900 *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Trinity College Dublin to which is added a list of the Fagel collection of maps in the same library*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis; London: Longmans, ix.

¹⁰University College Dublin, Papers of Thomas Fitzpatrick (1845-1912), IE UCDA LA/12

¹¹Trinity College Dublin MS 844, nos. 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 48, in Abbot 1900.

¹²Abbott 1900, iii-iv.

¹³Trinity College Dublin MS 844, nos. 1, 2, 6, 28, 22 in Abbot 1900.

¹⁴Trinity College Dublin MS 844, no. 2 in Abbot 1900.

¹⁵Trinity College Dublin MS 840, fol. 91-94v (not listed in Abbot's Catalogue) and TCD MS 866, no. 3 in Abbot 1900.

handwriting of Henry Jones. It was only by going through Fitzpatrick's transcriptions (in which he notes the handwriting of Henry Jones) that the large number of papers written, copied or annotated by Henry were identified. The original documents were accessed both in TCD Archives and through microfiche copies in Trinity College Library.

1.7. Scope of the case study

Establishing the extent of the case study documents was not immediately straightforward. Henry's letters, drafts and accounts in his handwriting are among other documents of the same period in the Stearne Collection, such as letters from others, including Cromwell to his brother, Michael Jones, relating to the military/political/social issues of the time. These letters probably belong to the same context as Henry's personal drafts and letters, but this is not certain.

The case study is thus confined to the papers in TCD Archives, other than the Deposition papers (which have a provenance of their own), which contain text in Henry's handwriting. These papers comprise documents written directly by Henry Jones himself, or letters or documents annotated, copied or signed by him. As an analysis of the contents of the papers is a major part of the evaluation methodology, it was very important that the personal papers of this study could be proven to have been created by Henry, or annotated by him. Fifty two documents considered to be Henry's personal papers were found. These date from 1641 to 1664 (see catalogue, Appendix 1).

1.8. Scope of the dissertation

This dissertation considers the research use of personal papers. It is based on paper archives and does not extend to issues related to digital or electronic media in archives. A literature review is carried out to examine the development of theory relating to personal papers. Content analysis, primary source analysis and purposive sampling is carried out on the case study documents, along with the evaluation of the documents against the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. In discussing the ideas and opinions of writers, it agrees or disagrees with their ideas on

¹⁶ University College Dublin IE UCDA LA/12/5, 6.

personal papers, using the findings of the case study. While discussing and recommending approaches to appraisal based on the experience of the case study, it does not extend to proposing new models.

1.9. A historical summary of the life of Henry Jones

Henry Jones was the eldest of five sons of Lewis Jones, later Bishop of Killaloe, who came to Ireland from Dol y Moc in North Wales in about 1600 and married Mabel Ussher, daughter of Bishop Aarland Ussher.¹⁷

In the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Henry's dates are given as 1605?-1681, as there is no record of the date of his birth.¹⁸ However, he was probably born between 1600 and 1603 as he was enrolled in Trinity College Dublin in 1616. The *Alumni Dublinensis*¹⁹ which lists the age of most Trinity College students, though it does not state Henry's, has no records of students under 13 and very few of that age. As pointed out by Fitzpatrick, Henry is very unlikely to have been born after 1603²⁰

Henry graduated from Trinity College in 1624 with an MA in Divinity and was given a position as Dean in the diocese of Kilmore in County Cavan in 1625 under Bishop Bedell. He married Jane Culme, the daughter of a local landowner, Sir Hugh Culme, and had seven children.²¹ The family lived close to Kilmore in Bellananagh, Co. Cavan. Their lives changed forever in October, 1641, at the outbreak of the Great Irish rebellion. The outbreak marked the beginning of a long and bloody civil war, also known as the Confederate wars (after the allied Catholic factions who combined to

¹⁷ Clarke, A. 2004. Jones, Lewis (1560-1646). In Mathew, H.C.G. and Harrison, B. (eds). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 579.

¹⁸ There is no detailed biography of Henry Jones though a biography was started by Thomas Fitzpatrick and survives unpublished in manuscript form in University College Dublin Archives (IE UCDA LA/12). This deals with the earlier part of his life and the early part of the 1641 rebellion, but was never finished. There is a two page article on the donor of the book of Kells (O'Sullivan, W. 1958 The donor of the Book of Kells. *Irish Historical Studies*, 11 (41), 5-7) while a space is given to his life in Ware's 'Bishops' (Harris, W. (ed.) 1739 *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*. Revised and Improved, vol. 1. Dublin: E. Jones, Clarendon Street, 159-60). Henry Jones has also a space in the Dictionary of National Biography (Clarke, A. 2004. Jones, Henry (1605-1682). In Mathew, H.C.G. and Harrison, B. (eds). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 511-513.

¹⁹ Trinity College Dublin MS 378.415C F8 *Alumni Dublinensis: A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors, and Provosts of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin 1593-1860*.

²⁰ There is no evidence of any child being enrolled before the age of 13 and most alumni can be seen to be 15 or older on entry, though Henry's grandfather, Aarland Ussher, was 13 on entry to the college.

²¹ National Library of Ireland. Genealogical Office (G.O.), Pedigree of Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, c. 1650. G.O. MS 177. Unpublished.

form an alternative government).²² The most important leaders of the Confederates were their generals, Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill (Owen Roe in Henry's documents) and Thomas Preston, though many others became involved. The civil war led to Cromwell's campaign in Ireland (1649-50) and his victory with the final surrender of the confederates in 1653²³.

Henry's fortified house or castle was taken over by the rebels in October 1641 and he and his family were given shelter (according to Fitzpatrick) or taken hostage (according to himself)²⁴ in the house of the clan chief and rebel leader of the county, Philip O'Reilly, which was also one of the nerve centres of the rebellion.

The family made their way to Dublin in December 1641 with other refugees. Attacked and robbed repeatedly along the way, the group made it to Dublin where thousands of displaced people swarmed the town. Henry, in the first few months of arriving in Dublin, set about petitioning for aid for the refugees from Parliament. In 1642, the first commission for depositions (essentially witness statements for the purpose of prosecution and compensation) from those who had been dispossessed during the 1641 attacks was set up under Henry Jones.

In 1645, Henry was made Bishop of Clogher and, now a widower, married Mary Piers, daughter of Sir William Piers of Tristernagh Abbey, Co. Westmeath in 1646. He was to have another eight children.²⁵ Also in 1646, Henry was made vice-chancellor Trinity College Dublin.

In 1647, Michael Jones, Henry's brother was appointed commander of the Leinster forces and governor of the city of Dublin.²⁶ Henry would appear to have acted at least in part as his brother's secretary as many of the letters in the Stearne fonds in TCD library, were written by Henry on Michael's behalf or for his signature. Attacks by the Confederate forces became intense during 1647 and two successive major battles (Rathmines, Co. Dublin and Dungan's Hill, Co. Meath) were won by the

²² Ohlmeyer, J. and Kenyon, J, (eds.) 1998 *The Civil Wars: A Military history of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638-1660*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

²³ Scott Wheeler, J. 1999 *Cromwell in Ireland*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.

²⁴ University College Dublin, Papers of Thomas Fitzpatrick (1845-1912), Ibid.

²⁵ National Library of Ireland. Genealogical Office, Pedigree of Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, ibid.

²⁶ Clarke, A. 2004. Jones, Michael (1606?-1649). In Mathew, H.C.G. and Harrison, B. (eds). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 558-590

parliamentarian forces under Michael Jones.²⁷ Cromwell arrived in Ireland in June 1649 and Michael led the southern branch of his campaign, dying of a fever in Dungarvan, Waterford in November 1649. Cromwell left in May 1650, leaving Ireton, his son-in-law, in his place.²⁸

In March 1650, Henry Jones actively joined the armed forces and also became Scoutmaster General. A second commission for ‘depositions’ was carried out under him in 1652, while he also had a role in the ‘Transplantations’, whereby lands were confiscated from their Catholic owners under the Act of Settlement.²⁹ Those who had their lands confiscated were given lands in the poorer western province of the country, Connaught. The main purpose of this was the payment of the ‘adventurers’, essentially people who had advanced money for the Irish wars under the Adventurers Act of 1642, as well as soldiers who had served under parliament during the wars, including Henry and his brother, Theophilus. In some few cases, lands were restored to their former owners after the accession of Charles II when, in 1662, the Irish parliament set up the Court of Claims enabling dispossessed landowners to plead their case.³⁰

Henry was later made Bishop of Meath in 1661 under Charles II, and was also elected to the Privy Council of Ireland, despite his former alliance to Cromwell. He is known for his many sermons in which he took a strong stand against Catholicism, referring to the pope as the Antichrist. He is also known for his publications, much of which relate to religious issues, as well as the rebellion and, particularly, for his donation to Trinity College of early manuscripts. Henry Jones died in January 1681 and is buried at St. Andrew’s Church in Dublin.

1.10. Structure

Chapter 2 describes the methodology used in this dissertation. Chapter 3 sets out the results of the literature review, describing views on personal papers from the late 19th

²⁷ O’Siochru, Michael 1999 *Confederate Ireland 1642–49*, Four Courts Press Dublin.

²⁸ Scott Wheeler, *ibid.*

²⁹ Prendergast, J. P. 1922 *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. Dublin; Dunlop, R. 1913 *Ireland under the Commonwealth*. Manchester.

³⁰ <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/history.html>

century to the present day. In Chapter 4, the contents of the papers are described and analysed.

In Chapter 5, primary source analysis is carried out in conjunction with purposive sampling of the material. The documents are evaluated against the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representiveness and meaning in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, a discussion of the findings is given and in Chapter 8, Conclusions are set out.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1. Outline of chapter

This chapter gives an overview to the methodology used in this dissertation and a brief description of the background to these. The methodology comprised:

1. a literature review,
2. a content analysis of the case study documents,
3. primary source analysis in conjunction with purposive sampling
4. an evaluation of the case study documents with regard to authenticity, credibility representativeness and meaning

2.2. Literature review

A literature search has been undertaken and writings on personal papers from the late 19th century to the present day have been reviewed to create an overview of the theories of archivists since the beginning of modern archival theory. Search engines, including WorldCat³¹ were accessed using the search terms of ‘personal papers’, ‘personal archives’ and ‘private archives’. This led to several of the most relevant publications on personal papers, including those in journals such as *Archivaria* and *The American Archivist* which pointed to further material. Volume 76 of *Archivaria*, 2013³² gave a link to the personal archives bibliography maintained by the Association of Canadian Archivists' Special Interest Section on Personal Archives (SISPA).³³ Main text books by the principal archival theorists of the late 19th century to the mid 20th century were examined. Journals were mainly accessed through Aberystwyth e-journals or JSTOR.

³¹ <https://www.worldcat.org>

³² Carter, R.G.S., Fisher, R., Harris, C. and Hobbs, C. 2013, From the Guest Editors: Perspectives on Personal Archives, *Archivaria* 76, 2.

³³ <http://personalarchivesbibliography.pbworks.com/w/page/16005219/FrontPage>

2.3. The Case study - Content analysis

Content analysis is a method used in analysing the content of documentary sources with a view to identifying the content, its themes and any new findings that might emerge. In quantitative content analysis, coding is used on the basis of words, sentences, paragraphs, themes, etc. Though quantitative content analysis is not suitable for historic texts with their archaic wording, their varied spelling and style, content analysis can also be used qualitatively.

Bryman states that qualitative content analysis comprises a searching out of underlying themes in the material being analysed³⁴. Elo and Kyngas show that qualitative content analysis may be used in an inductive or deductive way. Which of these is used is determined by the purpose of the study. If there is not enough former knowledge about the phenomenon or if this knowledge is fragmented, the inductive approach is recommended and that categories are derived from the data in an 'inductive' content analysis³⁵. The above also state that 'the aim is to attain a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon, and the outcome of the analysis is concepts or categories describing the phenomenon.'³⁶ They quote Krippendorff who describes content analysis as 'a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action'³⁷.

Content analysis was carried out on all 52 documents of this case study. Seven main themes were identified by examining the documents in detail and deriving the categories in an inductive approach. Though the documents were extremely detailed and a wide variety of sub-themes could be identified, it was observed that there was very little deviation from seven main themes throughout the texts and these formed categories. There were one to three categories in each document. Also included as part

³⁴ Bryman *ibid.*, 392.

³⁵ Elo, S and Kyngas, H. 2008 The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), 109.

³⁶ *ibid.* 108.

³⁷ Krippendorff K. 1980. *Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage Publications, Newbury Park, as quoted in Elo and Kingas *ibid.*

of the content analysis were items in Bryman's checklist for evaluating documents, including data relating to recipient and date (see Table 1).

2.4. Primary source analysis in conjunction with purposive sampling

Historical research 'relies on data that already exists...unlike other methods that are designed to create or generate data', as stated by Pickard.³⁸ In this case, primary source research was used to analyse the evidentiary value of personal papers. 'A primary source is a document, image or artefact that provides evidence about the past. It is an original document created contemporaneously with the event under discussion'.³⁹ A primary source is not only a paper source, therefore, and includes archaeological artefacts and features as seen below.

The case study covers a very wide historical area. It was impossible, therefore, in the space of this dissertation, to carry out a full primary source analysis of all 52 of Henry Jones's documents. Purposive sampling was therefore used as recommended by Patton who states

'The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling. Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations'.⁴⁰

A single document, Henry's account of *the Siege of Limerick castle* in 1642⁴¹ was selected from the 52 case study documents for purposive sampling. This document was chosen as its subject matter is particularly rich in information from primary sources. These come from a number of contemporary accounts of the siege in diaries and depositions as well as the evidence produced by archaeological excavation. The primary source information discussed here for the *siege* was collected by Kenneth Wiggins in his publication on the excavations in King John's castle, Limerick,⁴² in which he

³⁸ Pickard, A.J. 2007 *Research methods in information*. London: Facet Publishing, 143

³⁹ Williams, R.C. 2003 *The historian's toolbox: a student's guide to the theory and craft of history*, London and New York: M.E. Sharpe, 58.

⁴⁰ Patton, M.Q. 2002 *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 230 (as quoted in Suri, H. 2011 Purposeful sampling in qualitative research synthesis, *Qualitative research journal* 11 (2), 65).

⁴¹ Trinity College Dublin MS 840, fol. 91-94v.

⁴² Wiggins, K. 2000 *Anatomy of siege: King John's Castle, Limerick, 1642*. Bray, Wicklow: Wordwell.

examined all contemporary accounts around the 1642 siege. Wiggins' research had been carried out primarily to find information relating to siege mining activity which was dated to 1642. Remains of the mines had come to light during the castle's archaeological excavations in 1990.

The information generated from the sample was used to provide data for the evaluation under Scott's criteria (Section 2.5).

2.5. Evaluation of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning

Scott claims that the key to the interpretation of documents is based the application of the quality control criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning to every document.⁴³ His system of evaluation is further recommended as 'very rigorous' by Bryman.⁴⁴ The documents of this study were evaluated in relation to Scott's criteria. These are described briefly below:

2.5.1. Authenticity

The first of Scott's four criteria is Authenticity. It is essential that the data is authentic, that a document is actually what it purports to be. This should be considered and established at an early stage of the research. Clever forgeries are well known throughout history in manuscripts and art. Scott notes a number, for example the Vinland map which was exposed as a forgery in 1794 and the case of the Hitler diaries which were authenticated by a leading British historian before the forgery was identified.⁴⁵ He is of the opinion that factors such as the context of the document, type of document and information contained within as well as physical clues such as handwriting, will assist in establishing authenticity⁴⁶. The handwriting in Henry's documents was examined, as well as historical background and context.

⁴³ Scott, J. 1990 *A matter of record*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 19-35

⁴⁴ Bryman, A. 2004 *Social Research Methods* (2nd edition). Oxford University Press, 381.

⁴⁵ Scott *ibid*, 19.

⁴⁶ *ibid*, 19-22.

2.5.2. Credibility

Credibility in relation to information assessed means that the data is reliable and is sincerely and accurately recorded.

‘The question of sincerity therefore is the question of whether the author of the document actually believed what he or she recorded and involves an assessment of why the author chose to produce the document’⁴⁷.

Scott points out that sincerity has a slightly different meaning for everyone and that a source may be recognised as credible because the author truly believed his account of the event. There are, however, several reasons why people may choose to be less than sincere or to economise the truth. There is invested interest, including financial gain, deliberate propaganda, prejudice or fear. Facts can be easily embroidered to support stories or defend actions. Also, a story may not be credible if it is hearsay or the person relating it is liable to be mistaken in their facts.

2.5.3. Representativeness

Representativeness examines what a document or series of documents reflects and the extent to which it mirrors a whole story or picture. Scott gives the example of civil registries in various localities and quotes the problem of access, suggesting reasons why a registry might not reflect the whole of what it set out to represent.

The subject matter of the case study documents was examined in terms of how it reflected the life of Henry Jones. What was missing and why? What other life events or activities of Henry’s would or should have produced documentation? It was found that representativeness related closely to meaning. The representativeness of the documents in terms of the style of writing and language of their time was also assessed.

2.5.4. Meaning

The study of meaning involves ‘interpretative understanding of the individual concepts, appreciation of the social and cultural context through which the various concepts are

⁴⁷ Ibid, 22

related in a particular discourse and a judgement on the meaning and significance of the text as a whole...there can be no presuppositional knowledge so the investigator must, in effect, enter into dialogue with the author of the texts being studied', according to Scott.⁴⁸

Scott also points out that meaning relates the text to the intentions of the author, while its 'objective meaning' goes beyond these intentions by relating the text to its audience.⁴⁹

The evaluation of the meaning of the case study texts has added to (and is part of) the evaluation of other criteria, particularly representativeness. The study of meaning further helped in the case study to understand the context of the documents, again giving a clue to their authenticity and credibility.

2.6. Rationale of research approach

A number of other approaches to this research might have been taken, e.g. a survey of archivists where interviews or questionnaires could have been used to gauge views on the value of personal papers. The use of questionnaires, however, even where space is allowed for comments, is essentially a quantitative method, better suited to scientific subjects rather than humanities.⁵⁰ For example, the use of questionnaires in one study linked to the international Primarily History project,⁵¹ where archivists were surveyed in relation to use of archives for primary material was considered⁵² not to have produced very meaningful results, mainly as study of human behaviour needs a significant qualitative element in research methodology, which was not present here.

A qualitative approach such as interviewing archivists to survey their ideas would have been more suitable for this research, but would be limited given the relatively small number of archivists in Ireland. Though 212 archives were listed by the Heritage

⁴⁸ *ibid*, 31

⁴⁹ *ibid*, 35.

⁵⁰ Clarke, A. and Dawson, R. 1999 Quantity and quality: paradigmatic choices in evaluation methodology, *Evaluation research: an introduction to principles, methods and practice*, 35-63. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 39; Mason, J. 2002 *Qualitative researching* (2nd edition). London: Sage Publications, 1-3.

⁵¹ Tibbo, H.R. 2003 Primarily history in America – how U.S. historians search for primary materials at the dawn of the digital age, *The American Archivist* 66 (1), 9-50.

⁵² in a study I carried out for a previous module, Research in the Profession, for this course.

Council in Ireland in 2005, ⁵³only 35 had professionally qualified staff while only 53 archivists in the survey were listed as qualified.⁵⁴This could matter if participants in a survey were to be clearly defined in terms of background qualifying them to comment.

How personal papers have been used in publications would have been another method of evaluating their use to research. One drawback is that access may be a factor in how they have been used. The case study papers have been little known about and access has been very poor in their archive. While a small number of the more important papers have been used in publication, the bulk of the case study papers seem to be virtually unknown. Thus, quality of appraisal, access and finding aids may have had an impact on their use in publication, rather than their actual value. Access may vary for other archives in the same way.

A more focussed qualitative approach using a case study of a group of personal papers was considered the most appropriate method. In a direct analysis of the case study papers, the research potential and value of personal papers could be set out in the context of the writings of archivists/archival theorists from the 19th century to modern times.

2.7. Summary of chapter

This chapter has outlined the research approach which is composed of a literature review, content analysis, primary source research, purposive sampling and evaluation of the documents being studied against the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. It indicates that the various research methods will triangulate by combining to validate each other's data.

⁵³Heritage Council of Ireland 2005 *A survey of Irish archives collections*. Kilkenny: The Heritage Council, 37

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 19

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1. Outline of chapter

The literature review explores the theories of archivists from the end of the 19th century to the present day. It examines the attitudes to personal papers of theorists and practitioners which can be shown to fall into two main groups. The first group comprises archival theorists from the late 19th century to the mid 20th century who are generally dismissive of personal papers with little or no sense of their potential value. Though there are a small number of publications discussing personal papers before the late 1990s, there is a sea change in attitude to the subject from 1996 when increased interest and awareness prompts a number of writings on personal papers which remain topical to the present day.

3.2. Literature review

Muller, Feith and Fruin were not the first to write on theories of archival arrangement but their *Manual for the description and arrangement of archives* first published in 1898 is universally accepted as one of the main foundation stones of archival principles of the 20th century. Though involving committees, the three were first to come up with the concept of *respect de fonds*, or the principle of provenance, where the material to be archived is treated as arranged by the official government or corporate administrative body generating it.⁵⁵

To the three authors, archives had to have an official or corporate origin. They state ‘A sharp distinction should be made between archival documents and manuscripts. To the latter belong compilations of laws, descriptions of cities, miscellanies, formal documents, maps, etc. which have belonged to private individuals.’⁵⁶ They proceed to make it clear that such documents should be consigned to a library, though if relevant to the archive, ‘they may be placed in a separate section at the end of the inventory...’⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Muller, S., Feith, J.A., and Fruin, R. 1968 *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives*. Translation of the 2nd edition by Arthur H. Leavitt. New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 13-47.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 152

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 154

Thus, private and personal papers, to their minds, had no place - or a very conditional secondary place - in archives.

Sir Hilary Jenkinson, whose *Manual of Archive Administration*, first published in 1922, was the second major figure to write a treatise on archival theory. He wrote that

‘a document which may be said to belong to the class of Archives is one which was drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person or persons responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successors’⁵⁸.

To be an archive, therefore, according to Jenkinson, a document had to have an unbroken chain of custody. Outside of this, documents were not archives in Jenkinson’s view. He lists papers, including ‘unofficial reports of speeches in the House of Commons, the official communiqués set out in the Press or the memoirs of the German chancellor’ and classifies them as ‘supplementary evidences, possibly valuable; but they are not in any primary sense Archives’.⁵⁹ Jenkinson states that ‘on the one hand we have statements and expressions of opinion by persons who may, or may not, have been capable reasoners, in a position to know the facts, and unprejudiced’.⁶⁰ He identified two features ‘of extraordinary value and importance’ in relation to archives. The first of these was impartiality, the second, authenticity.⁶¹ He promoted ‘the ‘sanctity’ of evidence, its preservation the main task of the archivist’, in no less than four of his addresses according to Cook (Cook 1997, 23; Fisher 2009, 8).⁶²

Theodore Schellenberg, the next main archival theorist, whose *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* was published in 1956 also differentiated in his writings between public archives and historical manuscripts through a definition of what properly constituted archives. Two necessary elements had to be fulfilled for archives to exist. The first concerned the creation of the records and he stated ‘To be archives,

⁵⁸ Jenkinson, H. 1937 *A manual of archive administration*. Revised edition. London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Company Ltd, 11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 4

⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶¹ *Ibid*. 12

⁶² Cook, T. 1997 What is past is prologue: a history of archival ideas since 1898 and the future paradigm shift, *Archivaria* 43 (Spring), 23; Fisher, R. 2009 In search of a theory of private archives: the foundational writings of Jenkinson and Schellenberg revisited *Archivaria* 67 (Spring), 8.

material must have been created or accumulated to accomplish some purpose' and if 'they were produced in the course of purposive and organized activity, if they were created in the process of accomplishing some definite administrative, legal, business, or other social end, then they are of potential archive quality'.⁶³ Schellenberg defined archives as 'those records of any public or private institution which are adjudged worthy of permanent preservation for reference and research purposes and which have been deposited or have been selected for deposit in an archival institution'. Like Jenkinson, Schellenberg dismissed personal papers as 'manuscripts'. He stated that 'while archives grow out of some regular functional activity, historical manuscripts, in contrast, are usually the product of spontaneous expression of thought or feeling'⁶⁴ However, unlike Jenkinson, he placed an emphasis on the secondary values of records considered to give either 'evidential' or 'informational' value. He stated the need for research and expert advice in selecting records of 'evidential' value for preservation and set out tests for selecting those of informational value. Specifically on case files relating to individuals, he introduced the principles of statistical sampling and special selection.⁶⁵ Overall, his policies brought in the idea that archivists should 'select' only what they felt was relevant material.

Fisher describes how writers have observed 'the pernicious effect on private archives of the long shadows cast by Jenkinson and Schellenberg, and their Dutch forebears, Muller, Feith, and Fruin', stating 'those who doubt their continuing relevance should consider the impact of Jenkinson's ideas on authenticity and evidence; the research of the InterPARES project team has reconceptualized his principles in defence of the future integrity of digital records as evidence'⁶⁶.

Though the legacy of Jenkinson, is relevant and persuasive to the present day, Cook points out that Jenkinson's approach to appraisal (by record managers) and, indeed, to the very definition of archives would (no doubt to his horror) give sanction to record creators such as U.S. Presidents Richard Nixon or George Bush to destroy or remove from public scrutiny any records containing unfavourable evidence of their actions

⁶³ Schellenberg, T.R. 1956 *Modern archives: principles and techniques*. Chicago, 13.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 155-158.

⁶⁶ Fisher 2009, 5.

while in office, thus undermining both democratic accountability and historical knowledge.⁶⁷

The strong influence of Schellenberg can be seen in the attitude of American archivist, Gerald Ham, who felt that the archivist should choose the documents to survive in a selection, stating that deaccessioning ‘allows archivists to replace records of lesser value with collections of more significance... the present age of abundance has greatly lessened the value of any single set of records. While documents may be unique, very little of the information they contain is unique’.⁶⁸

Schellenberg and Ham’s theories on the selection of archives are, however, countered by other archivists, including Luciana Duranti who is of the opinion that ‘the protection of the integrity of archives is the protection of their natural characteristics so that they will remain reliable evidence of action and decision’.⁶⁹ She goes on to say that the idea of attributing values to them is in profound conflict with archival theory’.⁷⁰

On the question of the role of archives, Booms attempts to assess ‘the overall meaning of archival work for society; to consider the obligations of archivists to the public in performing a professional function that carries the greatest social responsibility.’⁷¹ He believed that ‘measuring the societal significance of past facts by analysing the value which their contemporaries attached to them should serve as the foundation for all archival efforts towards forming the documentary heritage.’⁷²

Personal papers received little interest or attention till the late 1990s, though in 1984, UNESCO prepared a study of private archives in order to assess the extent of private archives in public and private holdings and to develop strategies for their management. The study was carried out by Rosemary Seton⁷³ and was based on a survey questionnaire sent to 65 institutions worldwide. These holdings, Seton states ‘will for the most part be the private letters, diaries, research notes, speeches, reminiscences

⁶⁷ Cook 1997, 24.

⁶⁸ Ham, G. 1984 Archival choices: managing the historical record in an age of abundance, *American Archivist*, vol. 47 (1), 17.

⁶⁹ Duranti, L. 1994 The concept of appraisal and archival theory, *American Archivist*, 57, 336.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Booms, H. 1987 Society and the formation of documentary heritage: issues in the appraisal of archival sources, *Archivaria* 24 (Summer), 73.

⁷² Ibid, 104.

⁷³ Seton, R. 1984 *The Preservation and administration of private archives: a RAMP study*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Paris.

written and oral, etc., of politicians, personalities, writers, composers, artists, explorers, and other persons of note'⁷⁴.

In 1996, a number of Australian archivists directly examined the subject of personal archives in a special issue of *Archives and Manuscripts* devoted to personal recordkeeping. In this issue, McKemmish in her article, *Evidence of me* wrote about the value of personal writing, including letters and diaries. She promoted personal writings as personal evidence of relationships which 'enrich our understandings of the multi-faceted nature of provenance'. The article explores the nature of personal recordkeeping for its role in witnessing to individual lives and cultures, giving examples of the exhibition of records of the Koori children of Australia who were forcibly separated from their parents and showing how libraries, archives and museums in Bosnia were deliberately targeted to wipe out any trace of the cultural identity of the Muslim and Catholic communities there.⁷⁵ McKemmish's contribution is acknowledged by Pollard as the first to argue that personal recordkeeping is a way of 'evidencing and memorialising' our lives, activities, and experiences, relationships with others, identity, and 'place' in the world.⁷⁶

In the same issue, Richard Cox focuses on the ways in which personal records are the same as organizational records, arguing that an individual maintains records for generally the same reasons as an organisation – to meet the needs of accountability, evidence and corporate memory.⁷⁷ His view of the contribution of personal papers is much narrower than that of McKemmish, however.

In *Documenting Localities*, Cox states that 'the guiding principle for archival appraisal is first and foremost evidential value. Evidential value is those records deemed by the creator to have permanent value, protecting legal rights and supporting ongoing administrations'. He goes on to say however that 'informational value is not a guiding principle because it has never been adequately defined ...it also opens the door to

⁷⁴ Ibid, 22.

⁷⁵ McKemmish, S. 1996a *Evidence of me*, *The Australian Library Journal*, 45 (3), 174-187 (Downloaded: www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00049670.1996.10755757), 182-83; McKemmish, S. 1996b *Evidence of me*, *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, 28-45.

⁷⁶ Pollard, R. A. 2001 *The appraisal of personal papers: a critical literature review*, *Archivaria* 52 (Fall), 146

⁷⁷ Cox, R. 1996a *The record in the manuscript collection*, *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, 52.

archivists saving everything, for all records potentially have value to someone...'⁷⁸

Greene disagrees with this and makes a distinction between the recordkeeping paradigm with the archival paradigm and states, in relation to Cox, that 'the recordkeeping paradigm diminishes and dilutes the historical record by narrowly defining the archival purview as the preservation of records defined in transactional, institutional, evidential terms'.⁷⁹

Greene goes on to demonstrate different viewpoints to Cox, quoting Cunningham (who states that 'the elevation of the [transactional] record above all other sources of memory, evidence and storytelling impoverishes us all and makes us look plain silly in the eyes of the wider community'.⁸⁰ Cunningham reminds us that beyond accountability and evidence of transactions, archives serve to provide 'that sense of connecting with the wonderful depth and richness of human experience in all its complexity and contrariness by preserving and providing access to its documentary residue; the sense that somehow the souls of human beings now departed can yet resonate through the written artefacts of their lives'.⁸¹

Personal records, according to Hobbs, require 'different concepts and different treatments by the archivist, primarily because such records are acquired from individuals, not corporate entities, and document the lives and personalities of individuals, not just their transactional or public activities. Personal archives reflect not only what a person does or thinks, but who they are, how they envision and experience their lives. An individual creates records to serve his or her needs or predilections or personality, not because some law, statute, regulation, or corporate policy says so'.⁸²

Addressing the treatments required by personal archives, Pollard remarks that the realm of personal papers has been notably neglected in the course of the development of

⁷⁸ Cox, R. 1996b *Documenting localities: a practical model for american archivists and manuscript curators*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 150-151.

⁷⁹ Greene, M.A. 2002 The power of meaning: the archival mission in the postmodern age. *American Archivist* 65 (1), 48.

⁸⁰ Cunningham, A. (forthcoming) The soul and conscience of the archivist: meditations on power, passion and positivism in a crusading profession. In Krieger, E. (ed.), *Wresting the archon from the arkheion - a question of right(s) and a call for justice to always come? A Festschrift celebrating the ongoing life-work of Verne Harris*. Pretoria: National Archives of South Africa, as quoted in Greene 2002, 51.

⁸¹ Cunningham *ibid.* 175, as quoted in Greene, *ibid.* 51.

⁸² Hobbs, C. 2001 The character of personal archives: reflections on the value of records of individuals, *Archivaria* 52, 128.

archival theory, resulting in a lack of appraisal models for them. She is of the opinion that the ‘literature which does attempt to discuss these aspects of manuscript archiving generally defines archival value in two ways: in terms of serving research interests of users, and in terms of assessing how well the materials in question fit into the collecting policy of a given archives’.⁸³ Pollard is of the opinion that this ‘use-based methodology’ harks back to the influence of Schellenberg, whose views, along with those of Gerald Ham, have been discussed above. She gives examples, quoting McCree, who states that the archivist’s ‘primary responsibility is to create a focused body of materials that informs the scholar with the general concept that the material will be used frequently’,⁸⁴ and Floyd Desnoyers, who writes that ‘the primary responsibility’ of manuscript repositories ‘is to create a focused body of research material that informs researchers on a specific topic’.⁸⁵ Cumming echoes the focus on acquisition policy, stating that archival repositories that acquire private sector archival documents will have to ‘choose fonds based on their institutional acquisition mandates.’⁸⁶

Pollard reviews the work of Booms and Cook among others in her discussion of approaches to appraisal, noting that Booms argued for a much more society based approach to the formation of documentary heritage focussing on the content of the records to reflect social processes.⁸⁷ Cook advocated historical understanding over administration and asserts that ‘the conceptual act and processes surrounding creation of the record, rather than the record produced, should be the primary concern of the archivist’.⁸⁸ Pollard is of the opinion that these ideas may form a potentially useful framework for the development of appraisal models for personal papers, models which focus on ‘the societal context of records and the functions and motivations of their creators’.⁸⁹

⁸³ Pollard 2001, 139-40.

⁸⁴ McCree, M.L. 1984 Good sense and good judgment: defining collections and collecting. In Daniels, M.F. and Walch, T. (eds.), *A Modern Archives Reader: Basic readings in archival theory and practice*. Washington, 106.

⁸⁵ Floyd Desnoyers, M. 1989 Personal papers. In Bradsher, G. (ed.), *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions* London, 80.

⁸⁶ Cumming, J. 1994 Beyond intrinsic value towards the development of acquisition strategies in the private sector: the experience of the Manuscript Division, National Archives of Canada. *Archivaria* 38 (Fall), 233.

⁸⁷ Booms, H. 1987 Society and the formation of documentary heritage: issues in the appraisal of archival sources, *Archivaria* 24, 104, as quoted in Pollard 2001, 147

⁸⁸ Cook 1997, 31, as quoted in Pollard *ibid*, 148.

⁸⁹ Pollard *ibid*, 149

Craig also considers appraisal by archivists of personal archives stating that ‘exploring the archives as a site of the past is as pressing for us to undertake as is the crusade to promote their uses as evidence for accountability in a democratic society. No one else will explore the connections between person and record.’⁹⁰

Greene and Meissner focus on the financial and logistical side of appraisal and suggest that because of the growth of 20th century acquisitions and resulting in huge backlogs in archives, the resources required to deal with them are limited. The means by which archives are processed are seen to need reassessment. The authors are referring to archives in general but would appear to see personal papers or the papers of organisations as the problem. ‘Despite the archivist's best efforts, many collections seem to arrive straight from a giant combine that takes the papers, jumbles them, and then bales them in old suitcases, steamer trunks, and cardboard boxes.’⁹¹ Greene and Meissner feel that descriptive processing of archives does not need hard and fast adherence to set models and that, for example, lesser description is adequate in many cases, e.g. many archives could be described at series level with less focus on the specific.⁹² They state ‘It must be our aim to provide sufficient physical and intellectual access to collections for research to be possible, without the necessity of processing each collection to an ideal or arbitrary standard’. They are of the opinion that ‘tension between housekeeping compulsions and user needs must be resolved in favor of user needs’ and suggest that structural standards, such as ISAD (G) do not require detail.⁹³ Oestreicher proposes ‘that it is less important to use a single approach than it is to create flexible procedures’. In her publication of her work on a large personal archive, that of Andrew Young, she states ‘that a collection can be, and should be, processed at different levels...There is no one way to process a collection; therefore there is no ‘perfect’ way to process a collection’. In accordance with Greene and Meissner, she states that ‘processing a collection is less about an archivist’s desires to arrange and describe perfectly and more about providing access to researchers’.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Craig, B. L. 2001 The archivist as planner and poet: thoughts on the larger issues of appraisal for acquisition, *Archivaria* 52 (Fall), 181-82.

⁹¹ Greene, M.A. Meissner, D. 2005 More product, less process: revamping traditional archival processing, *The American Archivist* 68 (Fall), 243

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid*, 249.

⁹⁴ Oestreicher, C. 2013 Personal papers and MPLP: strategies and techniques *Archivaria* 76 (Fall), 108.

Diverging attitudes to the value of personal archives still persist. Richard Cox's 2008 monograph *Personal archives and a new archival calling, readings reflections and ruminations* is a substantial tome by a leading archival theorist. Given the word space of this publication, there is significantly little on the evidential value of personal archives. There is, however, much focus on their emotional and symbolic aspects and on the motivations behind the acts of creating archives in many media.

Cox reflects on the creator and the acts of creation. He notes that letters are particularly revealing sources as windows into the past but does not expand greatly on this.⁹⁵ His views in this recent publication do not appear to change from those in his 1996 *Documenting Localities* (discussed above), where he states that 'evidential value is [found in] those records deemed by the creator to have permanent value, protecting legal rights and supporting ongoing administrations'⁹⁶ and there is no exploration of the use of archives to research, for example. About the significance of the personal archive, he is of the opinion that 'to a certain extent it is for storing and retrieving information, but more often it is about the more important values such as building a legacy, sharing information, preserving important objects and constructing identity'.⁹⁷

In their recent 2013 editorial note in *Archivaria*, Carter, Fisher, Harris and Hobbs examine the current state of personal archives and show that it is no longer a neglected field. They also show that in recent years, many studies have taken place in a collection of diverse perspectives on personal archives.⁹⁸ They state that 'the key to the continued development of writing on personal archives will be a multidisciplinary approach, one that draws from the work being done in a variety of fields to examine the creation, use, and meaning of records of individuals and groups. Personal archives are as idiosyncratic as their creators, and while this may frustrate archivists' attempts to develop and apply an overarching theory to explain and deal with them, it may be as important to acknowledge this idiosyncrasy and adapt and apply strategies from

⁹⁵ Cox, R. 2008 *Personal archives and a new archival calling – readings, reflections and ruminations*. Minnesota: Litwin Books LLC, 45.

⁹⁶ Cox 1996b, 150-51.

⁹⁷ Cox 2008, 289.

⁹⁸ Carter, R.G.S., Fisher, R., Harris, C. and Hobbs, C. 2013 From the guest editors: perspectives on personal archives, *Archivaria* 76 (Fall), 2.

traditional archival theory and elsewhere to deal with the particularities of each fonds'.⁹⁹

3.3. Summary of Chapter

A review of writings on personal archives has been carried out on the views of archivists of the late 19th century to those of the present day. From the late 19th century to the mid-late 20th century, personal archives were looked upon as being of little or no consequence, the fallout of such attitudes extending in some ways to the present day. Though a small number of writings and studies took place before the late 1990s, 1996 is a watershed date for the beginning of serious writings on the use and value of personal archives. From this time onwards, the value of personal archives, their main characteristics and treatment in archives, have been the subject of discussion among archivists.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 3.

Chapter 4: Content analysis

4.1. Outline of chapter

In this chapter, the results of a content analysis applied to all 52 of the texts in the scope of this dissertation (Appendix 1) are given. The content analysis was qualitative, as has been described in the chapter on methodology, and has been based on analysis of theme. Seven themes were identified and described under their individual headings. Data which resulted from the content analysis (see Table 1) were statistically analysed and thus a quantitative element was added. The results are shown on Tables 2 - 4.

4.2. Content analysis

The subject matter of the papers was examined closely and it was found that the content fitted in to main seven themes. All the papers tended to have very purposeful subject matter and each document contained to one to three themes.

If the main theme was a request for aid, for instance, it stuck to the point, though people, places, events, etc. were mentioned. Though the themes of ‘military information’ (Theme 3, Table 1) and ‘pleas for army subsistence’ (Theme 4, Table 1) might be considered the same category, the plea for army subsistence was a theme in 23% of the documents and fell within a narrow timespan between 1647 and 1648. While Theme 3 was found in 56% of the documents, the theme of army subsistence (Theme 4) was often included with it in the same document.

Also included as part of the content analysis were the recipient and the date (Table 1). The recipient has been described as ‘parliament’ or ‘official’. The first includes parliamentary bodies such as the ‘Committee for Contributions’ for example, while the second includes any recipient acting in an official – army or government capacity, including Henry’s brother Michael or Henry himself when he is written to and annotates his documents.

The content is treated in relation to these seven themes, but in further analysis, it was found that the themes could be grouped further for use in broader categories in the

charts. For example all political and military related themes could be combined (Table 2).

Each document is listed in the chart, Table 1, below by number in the catalogue (Appendix 1) and the themes are listed in relation to each item. An interpretation of each theme is given in the sections following and a breakdown of significant results is given in the charts (Tables 2-4).

The years are listed in the 'old style' calendar, as used prior to 1752, where each year begins on March 25th. This is done in accordance with the documents of this study, so that a letter of January 1642 (Jan 1641 in our present Gregorian calendar) is listed as Jan 1641/2.

The themes were as follows: 1) Aid for Refugees; 2) Personal situation and family; 3) Military information; 4) Pleas for army subsistence; 5) Political information; 6) Transplantations; 7) Land settlements and payment of army.

4.2.1. Aid for refugees

In the first days of the 1641 rebellion, where Protestants settlers were attacked, a huge number of people (numbers unclear) were driven from their homes at the beginning of the winter of 1641 in a sequence of events very similar to the Bosnian war of the 1990s. Survivors made for the nearest garrison towns such as Armagh, Drogheda or Limerick and in particular Dublin. Henry, arriving in Dublin from Cavan, made representations to parliament for aid on behalf of the refugees. He gives numbers requiring aid in these towns in his letters to parliament. Parliament had a 'Committee for Contributions' and persuasive letters from Jones, and other Irish Protestant ministers, elicited some response. It is clear also that committees and systems for distribution were set up. Taking the petition for aid to London on behalf of the community of ministers as well as the poor and distressed, he was a main link between parliament and the Protestant refugees of Ireland. Letters relating to aid for refugees account for 12% of the case study documents. All date to the period 1641-1642 and all were directed to parliamentary bodies.

4.2.2. Personal situation and family

There is extremely little personal information in Henry's documents and this is found only on the earliest and the latest of the group of documents (see Table 1). It is interesting that in hundreds of pages of text among the 52 documents, Henry mentions his wife and seven children in only one place when he says that he had to flee with his wife and seven children from Cavan. No names are mentioned in relation to his wife and children. When he describes the flight from Cavan, he lists the property he lost in the rebellion and the fact that during the journey to Dublin he was robbed of property he brought with him (Cat. nos. 1-2, Appendix 1). In the latest phase of letters (nos. 48-51) are letters relating in some way to land and estate which Henry and his brother, Theophilus, were granted as payment for services to the army with land confiscated from the Irish.

4.2.3. Military information

Military information involved communications to parliament or officials relating to reports of military activities, of campaigns, battles, alliances, intrigues, plans, etc. Military information is a theme in 56% of the material between 1641 and 1652. There are also copies of letters from various sources and journals of field campaigns which would have been enclosed in letters. Most of the material was written in draft form in Henry's rapid handwriting, and has words scored out or changed. The draft letters appear to have been mostly prepared for formal letters, mainly letters for his brother, Michael, to sign between the period 1647 and 1649, before Michael's death. There are, however, a small number of documents directly from Henry, including one to Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin, in his official capacity. There are also letters from others annotated by Henry. After his brother's death, Henry took on an official role in the army, acting as Scoutmaster General until the end of the war in 1653.

4.2.4. Pleas for subsistence for the army

Themes relating to aid and supplies for the army account are found in 23% of the documents and are urgent and desperate in some cases. All date between 1647-48. The

requests start in 1647 when Michael Jones is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Horse in Leinster and also as Governor of Dublin.

Probably mainly due to the civil war in England, there was a lack of focus on Ireland and very little attention given to army pay or supplies. In 1647, two main battles, the battle of Rathmines and the battle of Dungan's Hill, Meath,¹⁰⁰ in 1647, were won by the parliamentary forces led by Michael Jones. After these significant victories by the parliamentarians, concerted plans for attacks were made by the opposing Catholic confederate side, with increasing need for supplies for the English army. Army subsistence was the subject of repeated requests for attention, until just after the execution of Charles I. The last letter stating need for supplies for the army (Cat. no. 30) dates to 28th February 1648/9.

4.2.5. Political information

Political information is a theme in 23% of the documents. From the very beginning, Henry comments on the political background leading up to the rebellion and comments on intrigues and events that have taken place - or those he predicts may take place in the future. Political information in drafts of letters is concentrated in the period before 1647 where he acts more as a commentator and also when he acts in an official capacity (from early 1650) as Scoutmaster General of the army. After the war, he acts as an official, concerned with the state of the country, transplantation, and the redistribution of lands. After 1653, political information relates to issues in the aftermath of the war. After the Restoration, he is elected to the Privy Council of Ireland and reports to parliament.

4.2.6. Transplantation and army payment

One of the most significant results of the defeat of the Catholic Confederates, as the war drew to a close, was the confiscation of land from the Irish under the Act of Settlement in which all land, outside the province of Connaught, belonging to Irish Catholics was forfeited by them. Soldiers serving in the war against the Irish were paid in land while

¹⁰⁰ Or *Cnoc an Linsigh*, as Dungan's Hill will be mentioned again in relation to land granted to Henry

land was owed to those who advanced money to the government in 1642 under the Adventurers Act.

Land was to be forfeited by those implicated in the rebellion. They would receive land in return in Connaught, the poorer western province of Ireland, thus ‘the transplantations’. However, transplantation was extended to all Irish Catholics, at least initially. In July 1653, the Commonwealth government issued an order for the transplantation of Irish Catholics. This was followed this year by the Act of Satisfaction by which land was distributed among soldiers who had served in the wars.

Dispensations were sought by many Catholic landowners and some were given to delay eviction. Henry’s rough notes show that he was involved in the adjudications. His notes give details of landowners in County Meath which is where he was based to adjudicate on dispensations (Cat. nos. 39-40). A letter from army officers questions monies owed and arrears of pay (Cat. no. 44).

4.2.7. Land settlement issues post-Restoration

Land redistribution disputes and claims continued well after the end of the war well into the Restoration period. Among others, land was due to be settled on Henry and his brother, Theophilus, and large estates were granted them. Meanwhile, Henry was elected to the Privy Council of Ireland and a number of his draft papers relate to reports on the Privy Council meetings in Dublin post-Restoration in which issues of land redistribution were discussed. The Court of Claims was set up in 1662 in order to allow dispossessed Catholics to plead their cases under Charles II and representations were also made at court. Several estates were returned to their former owners by order of the king. This included the lands at Lucan of Theophilus whose lands were returned to the Sarsfield family,¹⁰¹ while Theophilus was given other lands. Henry was also in receipt of land that was contested by its former owner on the Lynch family estate where his brother’s great victory of Dungan’s Hill or *Cnoc an Linsigh* took place. Letters from Henry at ‘Knock’ relate to both his own and his brother’s land interests (Cat. nos. 49-51).

¹⁰¹ Arnold, L. J. 1967 The Manor of Lucan and the Restoration land settlement, 1660-1688, *Dublin Historical Record*, 21 (4), 139-143.

4.3. Findings

- 4.3.1. The themes of the content analysis relate by date to events between 1641 and 1664. The recipients of Henry's letters are, in 96% percent of cases (the remaining 4% do not state a recipient), either parliamentary bodies or government officials, including Henry and his brother Michael in their official capacities (see chart, Table 5). Of these recipients, 84% represented government from 1641 throughout the civil war and interregnum. The remaining 16% date to 1661-4 during the early years of the reign of Charles II (Table 4).
- 4.3.2. The military theme was by far the most dominant and military information (Theme no. 3) formed the content or part of the content in 56% of the documents. Pleas for army subsistence (Theme no. 4) often accompanied this theme (in 23% of the total number of documents). Political information (Theme no. 5) was found in 23% of the documents. Documents containing political and military information from 1641 to the death of Cromwell in 1658 (Themes 3, 4, and 5) account for 69% of the documents. Sixty three per cent of the 52 documents of this study contain political and military information from 1647 to 1658 (Tables 2 and 3).
- 4.3.3. Land 'transplantations' and army pay are concentrated within the period 1653-1659/60 and account for the content of 12% of the documents.
- 4.3.4. Sixteen per cent of the documents were created after the Restoration. Of these, 75% relate to land settlement issues after the accession of Charles II and date to 1661-64 (Table 4).
- 4.3.5. Personal information is contained in 10% of the documents. When given, it is minimal and does not mention names of family members, except for Henry's two soldier brothers, Michael and Theophilus.

	Theme no. →	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Cat. No.	Intended recipient ↓	Aid for Refugees	Personal situation and family	Military information	Pleas for Army subsistence	Political information	Transplantations and payments	Land settlement issues post-Restoration	Date range
1	Official		X	X		X			1641-2
2	Parliament		X	X		X			1641-2
3	Parliament	X							1641-2
4	Parliament	X							1641-2
5	Parliament	X							1641-2
6	Parliament	X							1641-2
7	Parliament	X							1641-2
8	Parliament	X		X		X			1641-2
9	Unknown			X		X			?
10	Official			X					1647-8
11	Parliament				X				1647-8
12	Parliament			X	X				1647-8
13	Parliament			X	X				1647-8
14	Official			X					1647-8
15	Official			X					1647-8
16	Official			X					1647-8
17	Official			X	X				1647-8
18	Official			X	X				1647-8
19	Parliament			X	X				1647-8
20	Official			X					1647-8
21	Unknown			X					1647-8
22	Official			X					1647-8
23	Official			X	X				1647-8
24	Parliament			X	X				1647-8
25	Parliament			X	X				1647-8

26	Official			X					1647-8
27	Official			X	X				1647-8
28	Official			X	X				1647-8
29	Official			X					1647-8
30	Official			X	X				1647-8
31	Official			X		X			1649-50
32	Official					X			1649-50
33	--Official			X					1649-50
34	Official			X		X			1649-50
35	Parliament					X			1652-58
36	Parliament					X	X		1652-58
37	Parliament						X		1652-58
38	Parliament						X		1652-58
39	Official						X		1652-58
40	Official						X		1652-58
41	Official			X					1652-58
42	Official			X					1652-58
43	Parliament					X			1659-1660
44	Parliament						X		1659-1660
45	Parliament							X	1661-64
46	Parliament							X	1661-64
47	Parliament							X	1661-64
48	Parliament					X			1659-64
49	Official	X						X	1659-64
50	Official	X						X	1661-64
51	Official	X						X	1661-64
52	Official					X			1661-64

Table 1: The seven main themes are highlighted in colour along with Catalogue number of the document, the recipient and the date range

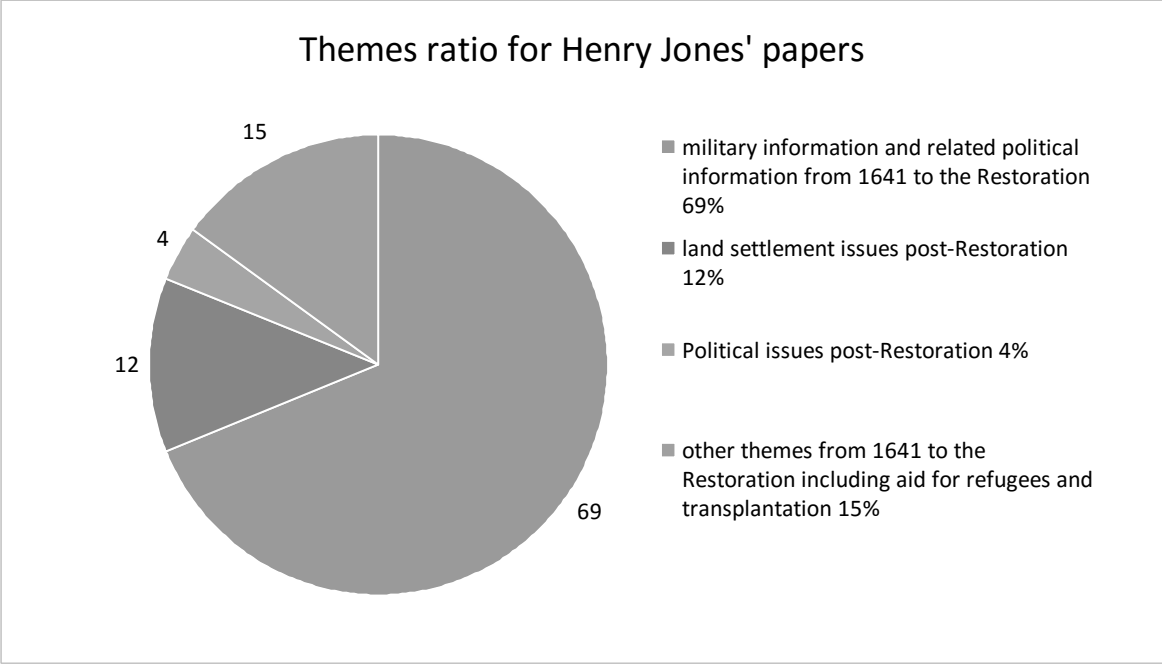


Table 2: An arrangement of themes to illustrate the content of the material

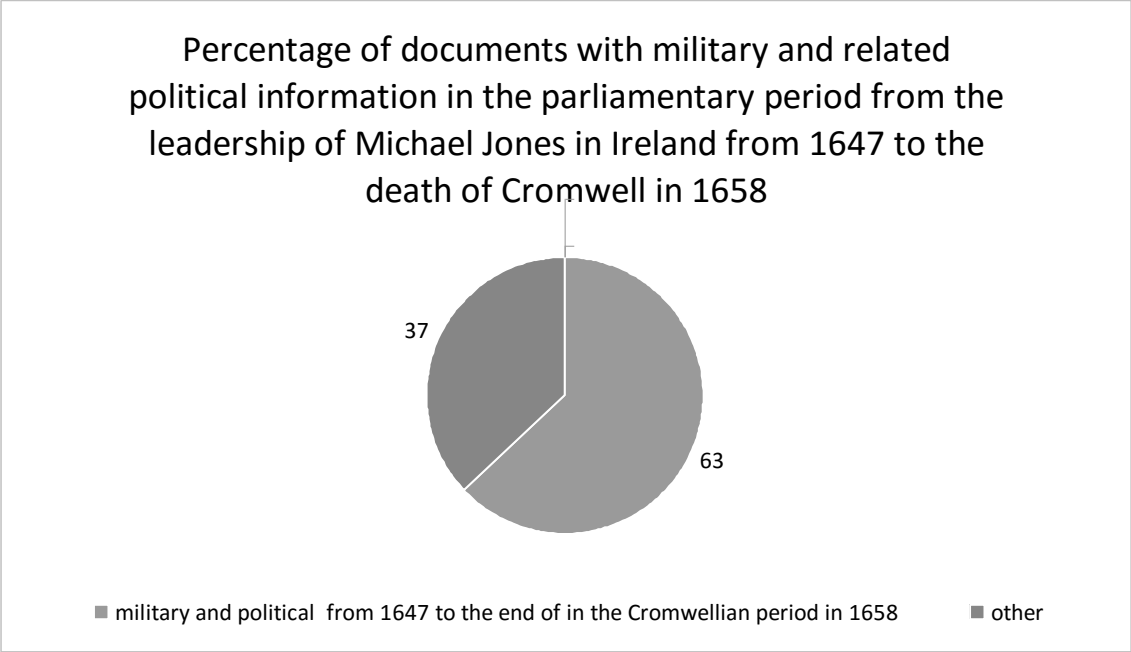


Table 3: Theme analysis by date: 63% of the military or related political themes date to the Cromwellian period

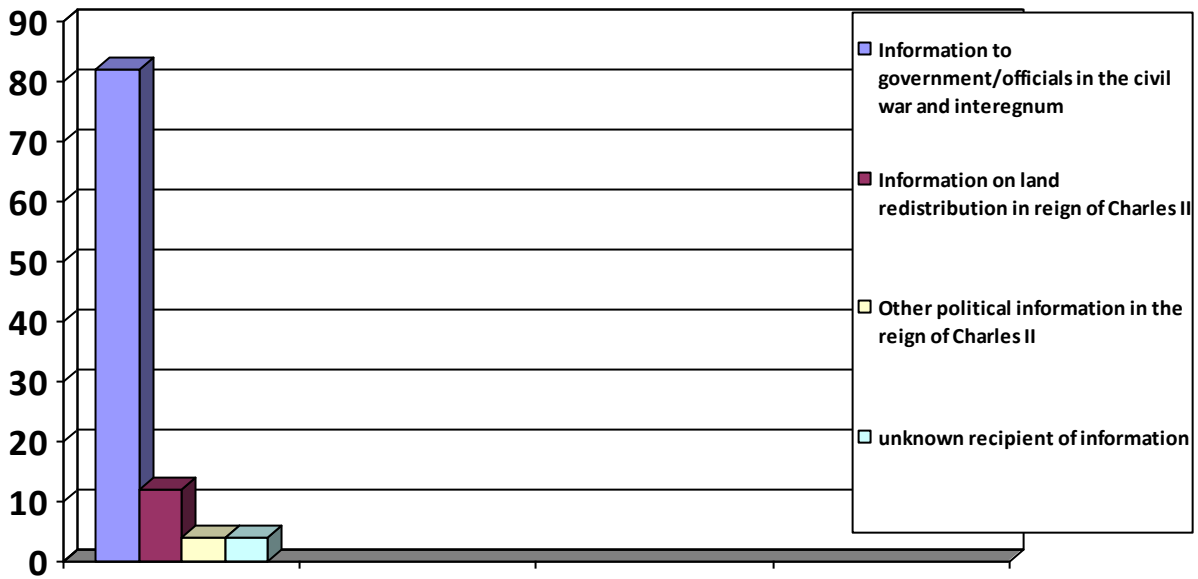


Table 4: Chart illustrating the recipients of information, and, in the reign of Charles II, the type of information

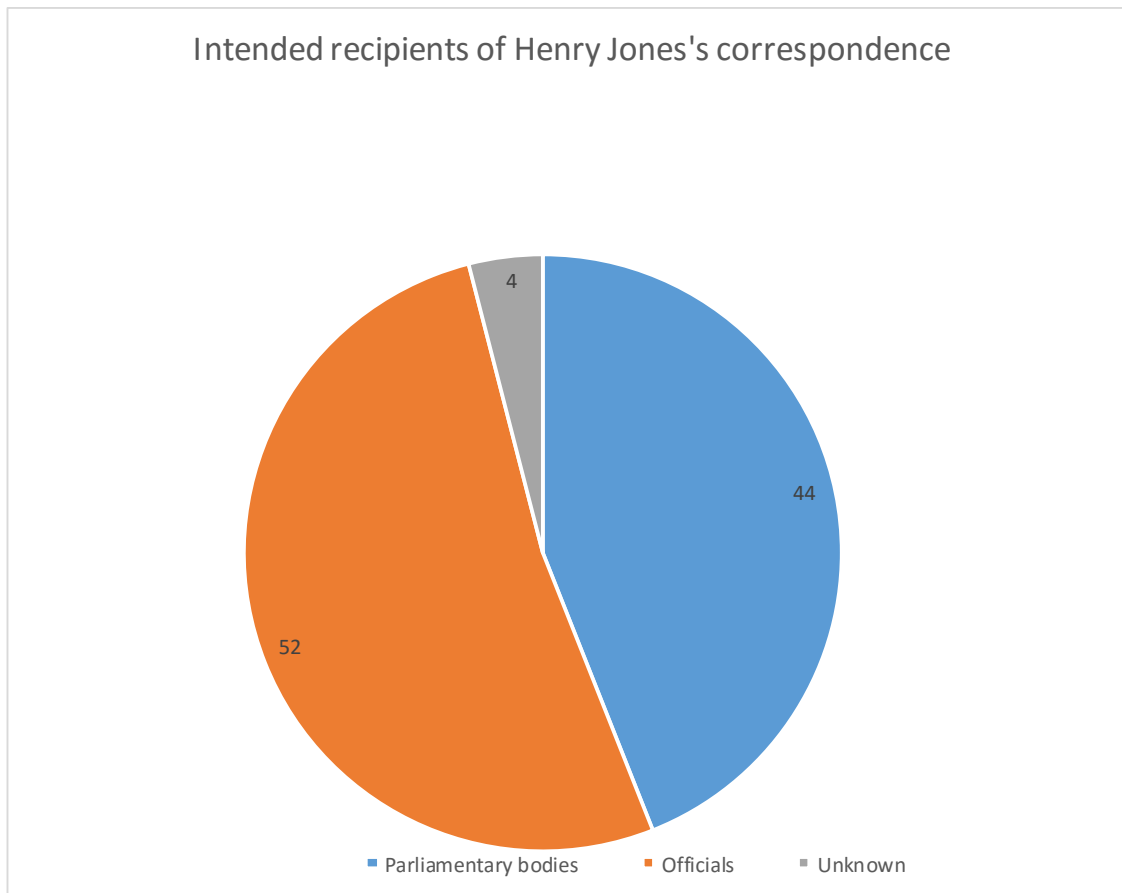


Table 5: Chart illustrating the recipients of information and showing throughout that they were parliament, parliamentary bodies or government officials

Chapter 5: Primary source analysis in conjunction with purposive sampling

5.1. Outline of chapter

A primary source is a document or physical object which was written or created during the time under study as defined in Chapter 2.¹⁰² Primary sources offer an inside view of an event and are an invaluable means of evaluating and corroborating documentary evidence.

It would be impossible to carry out a full study involving all the background sources within the scope of this dissertation and therefore, purposive (or purposeful) sampling has been used. One document in the case study has been sampled and examined in relation to all known related primary sources. This document is an account of the siege of Limerick Castle in 1642 by Henry (Cat. no. 9, Appendix 1) and is entitled ‘A relation of the rebellion in and about Limerick with the taking of the castle of Limerick’.¹⁰³

5.2. Analysis of the sample

The siege of Limerick Castle took place between May 18 and June 23, 1642, following the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion when the country had erupted into turmoil. The Irish mayor of Limerick City, Dominick Fanning, planned to take over the town and castle of Limerick, while British Protestants from the surrounding area and the county of Tipperary, evicted and under attack, sought refuge in Limerick Castle. The siege of the castle by Fanning, General Barry and others of the Irish forces ended when the castle walls were collapsed by underground mining by the Irish. Among the besieged refugees within were Henry’s father, Lewis, Bishop of Killaloe, and his youngest brother Ambrose, then Dean of Emly. A diary of the siege, a main source of information on the siege of the castle, is attributed to the latter.

In July 1990, wooden posts began to appear above the yellow clay in the central courtyard of Limerick Castle during the archaeological excavation there. When

¹⁰² www.princeton.edu/~refdesk/primary2.html.

¹⁰³ Trinity College Dublin MS 840, no. 24, fol. 91-94v

investigated, they were identified as countermines, thus indicating that they were built during a siege. There were two sieges of the castle. Both took place during the 17th century, one in 1642, and the other in 1691. A small number of artefacts came to light in the stratigraphy of the mines, suggesting a mid-17th century date. Historical background was sought, revealing that the countermines belonged to the siege of 1642.

The main documentary sources for the 1642 siege were identified by Kenneth Wiggins, the archaeologist directing the excavation.¹⁰⁴ They are the account by Henry Jones being discussed,¹⁰⁵ a diary attributed to Ambrose Jones¹⁰⁶ in TCD Archives, an account by John Rastall, also in TCD Archives¹⁰⁷ and an account by an unnamed author called '*The Relation of the seidge of the castle of Lymick*'¹⁰⁸ which was used by Edmund Borlase in *The history of the execrable Irish rebellion*, first published in 1680.¹⁰⁹ In addition, there are a number of accounts of the siege among the 'depositions' taken by a commission under Henry Jones and others, from witnesses and survivors of the rebellion in 1642/3 for Munster, and later in 1652.¹¹⁰

The documents describe what happened and who was involved from different angles. Three of the authors of the four accounts (Ambrose Jones, John Rastall and the unknown author of the *Relation*) above as well as some of the deponents were actively involved in the siege. Henry Jones, however, almost certainly got his information second-hand from his brother or father after the two latter left the castle after its capture.

Examination of a number of accounts on the same topic, are a good indication of the reliability of any one account. An example is the number of people in the castle at the beginning of the siege. The unknown author of the *Relation* states that there were about 700 people in the castle. John Rastall reports that there were 600, counting 200 able-

¹⁰⁴ Wiggins *ibid*, 49-60.

¹⁰⁵ Trinity College Dublin, MS 840, no. 24, fol. 91-94v.

¹⁰⁶ Trinity College Dublin MS 866, fol. 241-245v, '*A relation or dyary of the siege of the castle of Limerick by the Irish from May 18 until June 23 1642*'.

¹⁰⁷ Trinity College Dublin MS 840, no. 25, ff. 96-97v, '*John Rastall his relation to Mr. Henry Hart and Lieutenant Purdon of taking the fort of Lim'ick who hath been there since a week before Easter till the yielding of the same such weeks upon the 23rd of June 1642*'.

¹⁰⁸ British Library MS 1008, fol. 123-130v, entitled '*The relation of the seidge of the castle of Lymick*' contained in the Sloane MSS.

¹⁰⁹ Borlase, E. 1743 *The history of the Irish Rebellion traced from many preceding acts to the great eruption 23rd of October 1641 and thence pursued to the act of Settlement 1662*. Dublin.

¹¹⁰ Wiggins *ibid*, 54; Trinity College Dublin, MSS 809-841.

bodied men as well as the warders raised by the constable of the castle. Henry Jones puts the total number of people at 800 but his count of able-bodied men is much lower at 120.¹¹¹ There is therefore difference in detail - this may possibly be due to different definitions - but the basic information is close enough to be considered reliable.

In his document on the siege of Limerick Castle, Henry lists numerically nine reasons that the castle fell to the besiegers, as it did in the end as a result of successful mining. Number three in his list is the lack of ‘one skilful in mining’,¹¹² meaning that those constructing the countermines lacked experience. Extensive accounts of the mining activities are found in the diaries of those in the castle who record the events between the 16th and 22nd of June when the wall was breached, as well as in the accounts of some of the deponents.¹¹³ Though the author of the diary (almost certainly Ambrose Jones) states that there was ‘want of implements and timbers for our works and mynes’, Henry’s statement is refuted by the evidence of others¹¹⁴ and may have been, as suggested by Wiggins, part of a sniping campaign (by Henry) directed at George Courtney, the constable of the castle whom Henry disliked.¹¹⁵ Courtney had a less than happy relationship with Bishop George Webb (also in the castle) whom Henry described, in rare praise, as ‘that zealous and learned prelate’.¹¹⁶ The other three authors, who were besieged or involved in the defence of the castle, describe quite a complex mining operation and do not mention lack of experience. Therefore, it seems likely that the accounts of the mining activities between the 16th and 22nd of June by the three authors who were involved indicate that the best was done with reasonable competency while Henry’s second-hand account may be tempered by his subjective views.

One of the concerns of the besiegers was to prevent the rescue of the besieged in the castle by ship from the Shannon River. A boom was therefore constructed over the wide river in a strategic position. Though Ambrose Jones does not mention the boom, the anonymous author of the *Relation* states that the Irish ‘made a chain to cross the river to hinder shipping from our release’ while both John Rastall and Henry comment on it in

¹¹¹ Ibid, 78.

¹¹² Ibid, 83.

¹¹³ Accounts of witnesses in the Depositions, TCD MSS 809-39.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 183.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Wiggins, K. 2002 That zealous and learned prelate. *Early Modern History (1500–1700)*, 10 (2), 24.

detail, Henry stating that the chain was broken many times by current towards low tide.¹¹⁷The reliability of the information on the boom is supported by the accounts of all three authors.

5.3. Findings

- 5.3.1. The contemporary accounts of the siege serve to corroborate each other and to aid the evaluation of the case study document. The essential sequence of events of the siege in Henry Jones' document is strongly supported by the evidence of other primary source accounts.
- 5.3.2. Some elements of Henry's account such as the numbers of people in the castle, may not be closely accurate, though they are broadly accurate. Henry does not go into much detail on the mining operations and may be wrong about the experience of the miners. However, the evidence of others serves to create a fuller picture of the events that occurred.
- 5.3.3. While subjective opinions, including personal animosities as well as hearsay, feature in this document, it is clear that in most cases, Henry and others are recording what they observe. Details such as the presence of a boom across the river impeding shipping, for example, are cross-corroborated by the other accounts.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 74.

Chapter 6: Evaluation of authenticity, credibility and representativeness and meaning

6.1. Outline of chapter

The documents are evaluated against Scott's four criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning, the background to which has been set out in Methodology (Chapter 2) and the results are summarised in the findings at the end of the chapter.

6.2. Evaluation

Scott claims that the key to the interpretation of documents is based the application of the quality control criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning to every document.¹¹⁸ These have been described by Bryman as an extremely rigorous set of criteria against which documents might be gauged.¹¹⁹

6.2.1. Authenticity

Authenticity of the document is essential in the first instance. A document must be shown to be what it purports to be.

The papers within the scope of this research have been attributed to Henry Jones on the basis of his handwriting.¹²⁰ Most of the papers were unsigned draft letters or reports, a large number of which were prepared for the signature of Henry's brother Michael

¹¹⁸ Scott *ibid*, 19-35

¹¹⁹ Bryman 2004, 381.

¹²⁰ Papers of Thomas Fitzpatrick (1845-1912), *ibid*.

Jones. Henry, however, has signed a few of the documents.¹²¹ He also identifies himself indirectly on other documents by referring to Michael Jones as his brother or to the property he is to be granted. A small number of letters are addressed directly to him and have been annotated by him.

Henry's handwriting is distinctive throughout. The papers have been grouped by time period as seen in Table 1 above and show development in his handwriting between the 1641-2 period and that of 1647 onwards. In the earlier period, the writing is more deliberate with letters more carefully formed¹²² while, in the later period, the writing is much more rapid and staccato.¹²³ There is a change in line spacing also in the later period, where line spacing was doubled, probably for the insertion of further words and notes, as can be seen in several of the documents. Though the writing is in Italic, it has strong Secretary Style influence, clearer in the earlier period than in the later. There are multiple crossings out and replacements of words by others in both periods.

Henry's handwriting can be cross compared in his documents. An example of a letter he has signed as 'Hen. Clogher' is given in Fig. 8 below, along with pieces of text from Figs 1-5 below which include an extract from his earlier document on the siege of Limerick and later drafts of letters (to be signed by his brother). These demonstrate with words such as 'they', 'have', 'what', 'bold', 'before' and 'Dublin', which can be found throughout the texts, are identical in the signed letter and the drafts which are attributed to Henry, indicating that the writer is the same.

Handwriting analysis alone is not enough to establish authenticity. However, in this group of documents, a number of letters (obviously made into final drafts) have been replied to, for example, the letter from the parliamentary Committee of Contributions which is a reply to Henry's request for aid¹²⁴ while he has made a copy of another document from the Committee¹²⁵ replying to his letter setting out numbers of ministers, poor, etc, in various parts of the country.¹²⁶ Other factors supporting authenticity are the in-depth knowledge and details of the events of the period, including detailed accounts

¹²¹ For example, see Fig. 4

¹²² See Fig. 1 below, while several of Henry's earlier documents in MS 840 listed in the catalogue, Appendix 1, are available to view on the TCD Depositions website, by clicking 840 on <http://1641.tcd.ie/browse.php>

¹²³ See Figs. 2-7 below.

¹²⁴ Trinity College Dublin MS 840, fols. 055r-056v and Appendix 1, catalogue no. 7 below

¹²⁵ Trinity College Dublin MS 840, fols. 054r-054v and Appendix 1, catalogue no. 6 below

¹²⁶ Trinity College Dublin MS 840, fols. 30r – 31v and Appendix 1, catalogue no. 4 below

of campaigns both by Michael and Henry which can be corroborated historically. As shown in Chapter 5 (Primary source analysis and purposive sampling), information in the sample document was supported by contemporary firsthand primary source accounts. The documents are written in the style, shorthand, use of English and script of their time. Beyond reasonable doubt, we can say therefore that Henry's documents are authentic.

6.2.2. Credibility

Credibility in relation to information means that the data is accurate and reliable and is sincerely and accurately recorded. Documents may be authentic but are they credible – do they give true and accurate information or are they misleading? Factors relating to credibility include inaccuracy, the human tendency to embroider details, propaganda, financial gain or other incentive to mislead. Inadvertent misinformation or lapse of memory could also be factors.

After the 1641 rebellion, England was rife with lurid accounts, including pamphlets showing massacres of the English settlers by the Irish. Thomas Fitzpatrick attempted to disprove the allegations of whole scale murder and this is one of his reasons for the study of Henry Jones' papers, particularly as Henry was one of those behind the Depositions which many historians in the past considered prejudiced.¹²⁷ What exactly happened in 1641 is not the scope of this dissertation to analyse. Suffice to say that scenes of murder do not feature heavily in Henry's documents. In his personal accounts, Henry states his family and others were turned out of their homes, were in fear of their lives and were robbed of all they possessed, facts which are not disputed.¹²⁸ The analysis of the events of 1641 and the testimony of witnesses is probably best given with opinions set out on the Depositions website where the depositions are described in detail and considered to be credible.¹²⁹

Fitzpatrick implies disingenuity on the part of Henry. When his home was captured in October 1641, Henry and his family were brought to the house of Philip O Reilly, clan chief, rebel leader and Sheriff of the county. Fitzpatrick says that he was given

¹²⁷ Papers of Thomas Fitzpatrick, *ibid*.

¹²⁸ See Appendix 1, Catalogue nos. 1 and 2.

¹²⁹ <http://1641.tcd.ie/about.php>

hospitality, while Henry describes it as imprisonment. In the context, it would seem likely that O'Reilly gave him shelter and this is supported by his contemporary, Sir James Ware in his short biography of Henry under 'Bishops', which was updated by Harris.¹³⁰ Henry may have been very conscious of how such protection by a rebel leader (if that is what it was) could look to the authorities. There are a range of reasons for embroidering facts and fear and self protection may be prominent among them.

After the Restoration, some of Henry's letters relate to property he and his brother, Theophilus, are to be granted and relate also to the claims of the previous owners in both cases. One letter in particular has been written for the purpose of undermining the previous owner (Gerard Lynch) and puts forward reasons why he should not be restored to his land (Cat. no. 50, Appendix 1) which he (Henry) is to be granted.¹³¹ The fact that Henry had a lot to gain by undermining Lynch casts doubt on the credibility of this letter.

Henry's papers voicing urgent pleas for help in the case of displaced people and refugees, of which he was one (between 1641 and 1642) and for army supplies (between 1647 and 1649), are convincing in terms of credibility. His relation of events in the letters relating to the other categories of the content appear to be written with the object of reporting fact. However, he is occasionally subject (as supported in the results of the purposive sampling) to animosity, fear and gain, particularly in relation to people, and then is not always completely credible.

6.2.3. Representativeness

The study of representativeness is a study of the extent to which a document or group of documents may reflect a whole picture and allows anomalies to be identified, giving us clues to their nature.

A detailed analysis of the themes of the documents has been set out in the content analysis (Chapter 4). All, 96% of the letters are addressed to parliament or officials in government (the other 4% unknown) while the main themes of 69% of the documents

¹³⁰ Harris, W. (ed.) 1739 *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*. Revised and Improved, vol. 1, Dublin: E. Jones, Clarendon Street, 159

¹³¹ Trinity College Dublin MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 680); No. 51 in catalogue, Appendix 1

relate to military or political matters within the civil war and interregnum period. The others relate in some way to the transplantations of Catholics, the Court of Claims (in which those dispossessed could appeal) and land settlements. These land settlements include the lands offered to Henry and his brother, Theophilus, in the early years of the restoration up to 1664. The documents of the case study therefore represent his close involvement with parliament in the interregnum, as an official, soldier and administrator, dealing with the transplantations and the settlement of land granted mainly in payment for service in the war under Cromwell.

What would be expected in a collection of Henry Jones' papers reflecting his life? Henry's writings in his earlier life up to 1641 are unrecorded as his papers were lost in the 1641 rebellion but he was by profession a churchman, a minister and, later, a bishop. He took his religious vocation seriously. He wrote on religious issues and was a well known preacher. He was vice chancellor of Trinity College and made donations to the college. He was married twice and was the father of fifteen children. Yet, in the TCD collection of papers, there is not a mere mention of his family, apart from one of the first letters when he describes the journey from Cavan to Dublin as a refugee with his first wife and seven children in 1641.

There are no notes or correspondence, or indeed reference to his life as a family man, his life in Trinity College or as Bishop of Clogher. Most resoundingly absent are the notes and drafts we would have expected in relation to his many religious writings and sermons, as well as to church life and events. Though he was involved in political and military events, probably initially to support his brother, Michael, war and civil administration during the Cromwellian period was only part of his life. The documents are thus decidedly unrepresentative of the life and work of Henry Jones

The documents are representative of the style of the time. They are written in italic with strong secretary influence, as might be expected. The secretary script and shorthand is very much in evidence, particularly in the earlier documents (1641-2). Spelling differs in many cases for the same word on the same page and terminology and expressions are typical of the 17th century.

6.2.4. Meaning

‘The reading of a text is validated by relating it to the intentions of the author and by taking account of the fact that its ‘objective meaning’ goes beyond these intentions and also by relating the text to its audience’.¹³²

The section on ‘representativeness’ above has shown that the documents are decidedly unrepresentative of the life and work of Henry. They deal only with his military and parliamentary letters and accounts, including his involvement in post-war transplantsations as well as personal property matters lasting into the early Restoration period.

The meaning of the papers to the outside reader in the 17th century would surely have been that Henry was a close ally of Cromwell and his successors and that he was previously closely allied to parliamentary bodies and officials during the civil war in England as well during the Commonwealth period. The papers would also indicate that he was closely involved in the confiscation of land from Irish Catholics, mainly to pay Cromwellian soldiers - land that he and family members also benefited from as Cromwellian soldiers. The land was taken from many prominent Irish Catholic families who had remained loyal to the king and, in some (few) cases, was returned to them.

History records the attitude of Charles II to Cromwell and those implicated in the execution of his father. Henry Jones was closely associated with Cromwell’s administration and was well known as his Scoutmaster General, despite the fact he was Bishop of Clogher. Though his past was overlooked (he had friends in high places) and he was subsequently made Bishop of Meath, Henry may not have considered it very astute to advertise his former roles.

The topics of all the case study documents dated after the Restoration relate to land or to the Court of Claims which was set up in 1661 for appeal by those (Irish) who felt that their lands had been wrongly confiscated by the Cromwellian administration (and could pay for the appeal). There was also representation to Charles II and the Catholic queen mother, Henrietta Maria by those who had any influence at court. The Irish Catholic Sarsfield lands at Lucan, Dublin, had been confiscated and granted to Sir Theophilus

¹³² Scott *ibid*, 35.

Jones, Henry's brother. Sarsfield appealed and was successful in having his lands granted back to his family eventually by Charles II.¹³³ It will be noted that three of the six documents in Category 7 of the content analysis above (Cat. nos. 48-50, Appendix 1) relate to Lucan and two of these (nos. 49-50), dated 1664, were written by Henry in the interests of his brother's claim to land at Lucan. Two, also dated 1664 (nos. 50-51) relate to Henry's own claim to land at Dungan's Hill or *Cnoc an Linsigh*, which the former owner, Gerald Lynch appealed, though he was ultimately unsuccessful. In one of these, Henry put forward reasons why Lynch should be denied his claim (no. 51). The site of *Cnoc an Linsigh* was that of the greatest victory of the parliamentary forces in 1647 under Michael Jones, Henry's deceased brother (perhaps the reason he was granted it).

In the 1660s, these documents might have had a very different meaning to someone coming across them. They could be seen as contrary to the views of Charles II and his supporters. To Henry, the texts, mainly drafts of letters and reports, would probably have meant records of letters, accounts, communications with others and events. In a number of cases, the documents are deliberate copies (by Henry) of letters from others. It is unlikely that he would have wished to discard them.

The themes of the case study documents concentrate on one aspect of Henry's life which suggests that they form a deliberately assembled group of papers which were secreted or stashed out of the way somewhere before they came into the possession of John Stearne.

6.3. Findings

- 6.3.1. The evaluation of the documents under Scott's criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning augments the findings of both content analysis and primary source analysis.
- 6.3.2. Evaluation using Scott's criteria confirms that the papers are both authentic and credible, providing detailed reliable and supportable information.

¹³³ Arnold, L. J. 1967 *The Manor of Lucan and the Restoration Land Settlement, 1660-1688 Dublin Historical Record*, 21, No. 4, 141.

- 6.3.3. Evaluation also suggests that the documents contain subjective views on the part of Henry Jones, particularly in relation to people and groups of people.
- 6.3.4. Study of representativeness shows that the documents are decidedly unrepresentative of the life and work of Henry Jones. Their subject matter relates to Henry's political life during the civil war and interregnum period and to land transactions.
- 6.3.5. Evaluation of meaning shows not so much how Henry would view these papers, but how others, in the reign of Charles II, would be likely to view the author of the papers - a Cromwellian soldier and administrator, thus an enemy of Charles I and his supporters, perhaps acting controversially in land transactions into the reign of his son, the restored king.
- 6.3.6. The four criteria indicate that all 52 papers can be seen to fit into categories of Henry's life that relate to Cromwell and controversial land transactions. This suggests that they were not accumulated over time (by the collector, Bishop Stearne) but were gathered and secreted as a group to avoid scrutiny. This may have been done by Henry or a family member, perhaps for the future wellbeing of the family. If this is not the case, we would surely expect to see at least one document, a draft of a sermon or a letter addressed to someone outside government officialdom, among the documents.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1. Introduction to Chapter 7

This purpose of this dissertation was to consider the research use of personal papers. To this end, a literature review on the development of theory on personal papers from the late 19th century was undertaken and a case study of Henry Jones' personal papers in TCD archives was carried out. This was done by means of content analysis, primary source research, purposive sampling and evaluation against the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning.

In this chapter, the main issues relating to personal papers from the history of published work on the subject are identified and discussed in relation to the findings of the case study.

7.2. Discussion

The literature review has given us a view of the development of theory on personal papers from the late 19th century to the present day and has highlighted a number of issues. These include the question of authenticity and evidential value; the problems of appraisal; the overall research value of personal papers and the drawbacks associated with them; the particular characteristics of personal archives that separate them from official and corporate archives; the treatment required by personal archives.

Authenticity and credibility of personal documents are essential for research value. The potential problems are perhaps greater for personal documents than for transactional and official documents because their provenance is likely to be less clear. In his *A Manual of Archive Administration* first published in 1922, Jenkinson stated that 'Impartiality' and 'Authenticity' were 'two common features of extraordinary value and importance'¹³⁴ and to protect these, he insisted on continuous custody by which archives were generated by record keepers and transferred into the care of an unbroken line of

¹³⁴ Jenkinson 1937, 12.

curators. He felt that anything deviating from the custodianship of trusted curators was suspect and did not qualify as archives. For example ‘the memoirs of the German Chancellor...are supplementary evidences, possibly valuable; but they are not in any primary sense Archives’.¹³⁵

Jenkinson’s view was that record keepers simply doing their job would have no motive to do anything but innocently create archives - thus the archives would be free from subjectivity and interference. Cook points out, in relation to this concept, that archives are not the natural product of records and the very keepers of records have shown themselves to be less than impartial through history¹³⁶ In his ideal of impartiality, however, Jenkinson would appear to be essentially addressing the same issues of credibility as well as authenticity as put forward by Scott¹³⁷ as being main requirements.

To Jenkinson, the primary duties of the archivist were the moral defence of archives. Analysis or evaluation or any intellectual role as stakeholder in the development of archival theory was not considered in Jenkinson’s job description of the archivist.¹³⁸ Booms, however, clearly sees the archivist as a stakeholder. He attempts to assess ‘the overall meaning of archival work for society; to consider the obligations of archivists to the public in performing a professional function that carries the greatest social responsibility.’¹³⁹ The literature review shows that archivists from the late 20th century onwards would, in contrast to Jenkinson, consider themselves stakeholders in the treatment and evaluation of personal documents in archives and in the development of future policy.

Scott was pioneering in his development of a widely accepted evaluation model for documents. He shows how evaluation should be carried out against the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning,¹⁴⁰ described by Bryman¹⁴¹ as a rigorous and extremely useful system. In the case study of Henry Jones’ papers, it has been demonstrated that Scott’s evaluation model can work well in the assessment of

¹³⁵ Jenkinson *ibid*, 4.

¹³⁶ Cook 1997, 24

¹³⁷ Scott *ibid*, 19-35.

¹³⁸ Jenkinson *ibid*, 16.

¹³⁹ Booms 1987, 73.

¹⁴⁰ Scott *ibid*.

¹⁴¹ Bryman *ibid*, 381.

personal papers and can gauge authenticity and credibility as well as the other criteria, particularly in conjunction with other methods of qualitative research.

Like Jenkinson, Schellenberg dismissed personal papers to the realms of university libraries. His policies brought in the idea that archivists should ‘select’ only what they felt was relevant material, setting the tone for a substantial following of archivists who felt that personal papers judged most useful for public information should be essentially selected for use on the basis of perceived informational value.¹⁴² Gerald Ham, for example, extended the views of Schellenberg by emphasising the special responsibility of archives, and consequently of archivists, to determine actively the shape of the human record bequeathed to the future.¹⁴³

Had Henry Jones’s documents from the Stearne Collection been subjected to Schellenberg or Ham’s treatment, the content analysis of the papers by theme could not have been successfully carried out for this dissertation. The experience of the case study suggests that, in appraisal, the archive should be arranged in its original form and completeness for the researcher to interpret.

Henry Jones’ case study papers were analysed using a broad content analysis based on theme, recipient and date. The results of the analysis provided data for a statistical analysis which resulted in valuable information for the evaluation of Henry’s papers against Scott’s criteria of authenticity, credibility, representation and meaning.

Purposive sampling of one of the case study documents *The Siege of Limerick castle in 1642* discussed above (Chapter 5) was also carried out. This document was analysed in relation to a number of primary source accounts of the siege of Limerick Castle, including diaries and ‘depositions’. All corroborated the basic information provided by the case study sample document. What is important to note is that none of these primary source documents were held in continuous custody and therefore all would have been thrown out by Jenkinson as not being ‘archives’. Without these documents, we would know nothing at all of a remarkable central event in the history of these islands, of the people involved, of the events that led up to it, what happened and why it happened. Analysis and cross comparison of information from different sources combined to demonstrate the essential authenticity and credibility of Henry’s account.

¹⁴² Schellenberg *ibid*, 155-58

¹⁴³ Craig 2004, 68

There are negative aspects of personal papers. Details may not always be closely accurate while subjective opinions, as well as hearsay, also feature. It is important that the extent of this should be recognised in documents, but this can be done through evaluation and research. The value of personal papers to research is that they not only provide evidence and establish facts but give us true accounts of human experience.

Personal archives have been examined by several writers from the late 1990s onwards and shown to have a wide range of characteristics, which make them different from transactional records, including evidence they give of personal relationships and responses to events.

Personal records, as Hobbs states, ‘require different concepts and different treatments by the archivist, primarily because such records are acquired from individuals, not corporate entities, and document the lives and personalities of individuals, not just their transactional or public activities’.¹⁴⁴ According to McKemmish, personal recordkeeping is a way of ‘evidencing and memorialising’ our lives, activities, and experiences, relationships with others, identity, and ‘place’ in the world.¹⁴⁵ Henry Jones’ papers show the truth of the situations the author is in and record the anxieties of war, capturing in time his responses and innermost concerns. His texts, with their crossed out words and cramped notes, reveal thoughts and feelings, giving background to the drafts of the letters.

The legacy of the attitudes of the ‘founding’ archivists was the failure to devise universally accepted systems for personal papers as Pollard shows.¹⁴⁶ As a result of the lack of appraisal and access models, personal papers have been essentially subject to whatever system has evolved or their curator chooses for them. Very often these are very *ad hoc* and the papers of the case study are an example. Today, the only finding aid for material from the collection in TCD Archives is Abbot’s Catalogue¹⁴⁷ which is extremely sparse, listing only a percentage of documents, those headed or signed, in the large collection of 17th century papers in MSS 840, 844 and 866. The more modern UCD descriptive system of the Thomas Fitzpatrick Archive¹⁴⁸ lists items by subject

¹⁴⁴ Hobbs *ibid*, 128.

¹⁴⁵ McKemmish 1996a, *ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ Pollard 2001, 139.

¹⁴⁷ Abbot 1900, *ibid*.

¹⁴⁸ University College Dublin Papers of Thomas Fitzpatrick (1845-1912), Archives ref. IE UCDA LA/12

matter. In both cases, further descriptions of background and context as well as information on details besides subject matter would be extremely useful for accessibility to users.

Writers such as Greene and Meisner have suggested that that descriptive processing of archives does not need hard and fast adherence to set models, suggesting for example that the item level description is not always needed.¹⁴⁹ They state that a brief scope and content note for each series within the collection is sufficient and will them available more promptly to users. Though it is agreed that in many cases, series or file level descriptions may suffice, the findings of this dissertation suggest that item level description should continue to be regarded as a norm, with focus on the historical or societal context of the archive, as advocated by Booms and Pollard.¹⁵⁰

Consensus of opinion would suggest that personal archives are extremely diverse in nature, unpredictable and idiosyncratic. Certainly, Henry Jones' personal papers in the Stearne Collection, TCD, are a very unique group. What was found was much unexpected and is unlikely to be repeated. Carter, Fisher, Harris and Hobbs point out in relation to personal papers that 'it may be as important to acknowledge this idiosyncrasy and adapt and apply strategies from traditional archival theory and elsewhere to deal with the particularities of each fonds'.¹⁵¹ Oestreicher proposes 'that it is less important to use a single approach than it is to create flexible procedures'.¹⁵² The case study is an example of the 'idiosyncratic' nature of personal archives. However, in its complex social and historical background, its findings support the views of Pollard who calls for the development of appraisal methodologies which focus on the societal context of records and the functions and motivations of their creators'.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Greene and Meissner *ibid*, 243.

¹⁵⁰ Booms 1987, 104, as quoted in Pollard, 2001, 147; Pollard *ibid*, 149-50.

¹⁵¹ Carter, Fisher, Harris and Hobbs, 2013, 3.

¹⁵² Oestreicher *ibid*, 108.

¹⁵³ Pollard *ibid*.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

The aim of this dissertation was to consider the value of personal papers to research. The research method opted for was to examine a case study, the personal papers of Henry Jones in TCD Archives in which personal papers were assessed for their value to research as well as their more problematic characteristics.

In the literature review, the history of theory and attitudes relating to personal papers and their treatment in repositories was examined in writings by archivists from the 19th century to the present day.

That personal papers could be shown to be analysed and to produce meaningful results was demonstrated in a content analysis of Henry Jones' papers. Purposive sampling of the papers in relation to the primary source analysis showed that the information in the papers was corroborated by contemporary material.

Evaluation of the case study papers against the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning was found to augment the findings of both content analysis and purposive sampling. It confirmed that Henry Jones' papers were of considerable evidentiary value, providing, on the whole, detailed reliable and supportable information.

The findings confirmed the significant value of personal papers to research, also highlighting some drawbacks. They demonstrated the necessity of evaluation, in particular against the criteria of authenticity and credibility, in the treatment of personal papers and the value of analysis.

8.2. Conclusions

The aim of this dissertation was to consider the value of personal papers to research, using Henry Jones' papers as a case study.

The objectives were to:

- Establish the research context for personal papers
- Analyse and evaluate the themes which occur throughout the papers
- Evaluate the papers against the criteria of authenticity, reliability, representativeness and meaning.

Writings by a number of archivists from the late 19th century to the present day on personal papers and personal archives were reviewed. It was shown that archivists of the late 19th to at least the mid/late-20th century had a generally dismissive attitude to personal papers. The main theorists considered only official and transactional documents to be archives, relegating personal papers to the realms of university libraries. Very little writing on personal papers took place till the late 1990s, when the value of personal papers was explored in several writings, focussing on their value as documents of evidence of human experience and promoting their contribution to research. Writings by archivists on personal papers have continued to the present day.

To examine the value of personal papers in this dissertation, a case study was carried out on 52 documents in TCD archives that were either written or annotated by Henry Jones. It was found that the case study refuted the negative attitudes of archival theorists from the late 19th century to the late 20th century to personal papers. It demonstrated that personal papers are reliable sources of information which can, when they are evaluated, be shown to produce authentic and credible information, often providing eye witness accounts. They are also, unlike official and transactional records, capable of generating unknown and unexpected data. However, personal papers require rigid evaluation for their authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. They are the products of human experience and as such they vary as diversely as human beings do in their idiosyncratic and unique nature.

A broad qualitative content analysis of the case study documents was carried out on central themes of documents along with details of recipient and date. This allowed data to emerge for statistical analysis. The analysis showed quite surprising results revealing that the papers fitted into one part of Henry's life, suggesting a probable single source for Henry Jones' papers rather than accumulation of them by the collector. The data from the content analysis informed the evaluation of the papers against Scott's criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning.

Purposive sampling and primary source research were used to compare a number of contemporary primary sources with information from a sample case study document, the subject of which was the siege of Limerick Castle in 1642. These methods were used to evaluate the type of evidence offered by the case study and supported and augmented the results of the content analysis and document evaluation.

The findings, in particular, support the views of Pollard who calls for the development of further appraisal methodologies which 'appreciate the social context in which the records were created and used, and the underlying personal functions, roles, and processes driving records creation'. Her view that further research is needed to explore such methodologies is also strongly supported.

One particular challenging area of this study was the analysis of content of the reams of 17th century script (though Fitzpatrick's transcriptions were mainly depended on) with its detailed descriptions of events and long-winded opinions. It was considered, however, that a content analysis was necessary for interpretation. Qualitative content analysis by theme of the documents was therefore chosen. Though the method was very broad, it was considered to be in keeping with the theories of Krippendorf, Bryman and Elo and Kyngas for whom the aim of content analysis is to attain a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon. It was found that the text of documents rarely deviated from what they were trying to transmit and that themes were very clear and identifiable. Statistical data resulted for quantitative analysis which was found to be of essential importance to the results.

In order to carry out this study, the papers had to be clearly associated with Henry as his personal papers and this was also a challenging area. The documents in Henry's writing in the bound manuscripts books (MSS 840, 844 and 866) were accompanied by several other papers, mainly letters, some of which were from other people in different handwriting but were of similar date and historical context. Setting out on this dissertation, it was considered that the only way to clearly identify Henry's papers for analysis, where his signature was missing, was to use the papers directly associated with him by his handwriting. Fifty two documents in Henry's handwriting (including notes in his writing on letters by others) were identified.

It is very possible that all the documents in MSS 840, 844 and 866 were originally in Henry's keeping along with those (52 case study documents) in his handwriting, and

were among documents relating to the Cromwellian era that he may have wished to remove from scrutiny.

It is recommended that the same evaluation of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning combined with primary source research and qualitative content analysis, be applied to all the items in the above manuscripts. This may establish connection with the case study documents and throw light on origin and provenance. The same approach could also be usefully applied to other collections in TCD Archives, including the 'Deposition' papers.

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 The report of a conspiracy upon the Castle of Dullin & of a rebellion
 of conspirators being brought to Limerick about the
 28. 8. 1641 as it was received of moste for a relation improbable, so
 could nothing be discovered by the countenance of the Citizens & parish
 inhabitants as if it were either for some unknowne, or then liked by
 them; it was not until of one Higgin a Dr of physick being
 returned from Dullin loose after the defeat of the 300 going to
 Drogheda magnifying the advantages gained by the English & strength
 provision of armes of which he seemed to have taken particular notice
 by taking into his talke booke several nighted into the minds of the vulgar
 & conceits of a like undertaking both of their might not be expected
 more backward than others - the Catholique cause quite they might
 not be wanting to themselves - & spoiles in the meantime
 they might (as did others) make their own way.
 The President of murther being returned from Dullin
 & a party of the officers of his late company
 & officers of the John Sheelocks company to take care of the Castle
 requiring all the Major to take to the City where he seemed together
 with all the inhabitants to be moste forward.
 yet did not the Higgin in this time faile of justifying his treasonous
 intentions both here & abroad - & country for entirely
 to draw away of the Baron of Castleconnor living about 10
 from Limerick, who seemed not for the present to take notice of any
 such intentions but on the contrary to encourage others his lord
 in person was kepte County one night - & Castle for the
 securing of it. neither sided did he give leave for
 declaring his selfe no part of murther being yet revolted,
 howbeit it is true of the rebellion began to draw night
 & report of the late suspension of the house of Kilmallock
 distant 12 miles from Limerick being prepared by some rebels
 (though it were not so) yet did seeme to add to these intentions
 out of themselves forward enough were a fit & safe oppor-
 tunity offered.
 Some way was made for this by withdrawing one of the
 of the John Sheelocks company in way to march towards Dullin
 they did do through the whole country without disturbance of country
 yet got fully declaring it selfe now where. about the beginning
 of this was made of several quantities came from the
 President for giving out several quantities of powder to the
 Castleconnor of the Baron of Inchiquin, & several others
 several other parish of Limerick he need forward on all occasions
 to give his name & name for with him to let to the price
 of the warrent were directed refused to do anything
 to the President & the rest of the rebels, & was not way
 followed with success to the end of the day as the Lord did accordingly they
 them.

Fig. 1: MS 840, fols. 91r – 94r. Undated. Rough draft of an account in the handwriting of Henry Jones which describes the beginning of the rebellion of 1641 and the events leading up to the siege of Limerick Castle which took place between May 18 and June 23, 1642 (see Catalogue, Appendix 1, no. 9).

For the speakers of both houses
Sept. 8 1647. 11

My Lord.

It being pleased god to blisseth the peace
 which hath made hold to give you the account of the
 condition of the Army here, & being taken into your consideration
 may be concluded to your satisfaction of the greatest victory which
 hath pleased god to give you in them. For the present
 it is in a very pressing condition: For the money now expended
 will not serve for more than 20. of this present month
 of time. ^{affording}
 And three weeks for more than one week for
 the present. Our numbers are so short, if we can
 not get more ^{any} places to be gained from the enemy, shall
 be take the field, as he is now ready to do, if we can
 prepare to do so. ^{make} ~~to do so~~ ^{to do so}
 And as to the money, it is so short, that it is
 some heart to see it so short, and so short. That
 desired for putting the Army into a condition of ~~service~~
 with honour, is that there be ^{proposed} fifty of 6000 foot, 2000
 horse, 1000 dragoons, a train at Hillier, & a
 provision of victuals. At which I earnestly desire

Fig. 2: MS 844 (F.3.18, 524), dated 8 September 1647. Rough draft by Henry Jones headed 'for the speakers of both houses', it is statement that the money sent for the army is not sufficient and supplies have now run short (see Catalogue, Appendix 1, no.11).

proper sent by Juchagui, & Mr Downing, Steerway
 moffet; this Captⁿ not withstanding believing as he said
 that Clark knew nothing of ^{the} designe: yet was
 at what I made bid to tell him, & in one of ^{the} 2^d translated
 letters, it was intimated, & the ^{rest} of said should allow
 returne of ^{the} letter; or with (the said) he knowes not who
 to write. In this I give you what by discourse I have
 shalke binfemas, though tedious to you in ^{the} press of more
~~important~~ important designes. I have receivd with ^{the} said
 you a copie of my letter to Mr Annesley by this passage
 of ^{the} post before have addd, what Captⁿ Millmay also addd concerning
 Mungree, & he was there told of perscriptions of for a captaine offered
 for the trafficke to Juchagui: this I remember with by your suggestion to be
 & now not improbable. you have ^{the} project of

Dublin Octob. 6.

your ever tenderly loving brother
 Hen. Clogher.

There is a little ^{packet} vessel of about 60 tons
 & there is, it was shewd by Captⁿ Millmay,
 but he could not remember how having spent
 his passage. Juchagui is retired home with his
 party.

Since the writing of this ^{above} letter wherein is exprest
 my sending the letter & project by an expresse without
 awaiting an other opportunity: I have altered ^{the} resolution
 as now you find.

Fig. 4: MS 844, dated 6 October, 1647, a letter from Henry Jones to his brother, Michael signed 'Hen Clogher', imparting some information on plots and intrigues involving letters and various movements by boat (see Catalogue, Appendix 1, no. 14).

For Lt Gerrard Cromwell 27. 10. 1647
514

It is enclosed you have what it falls please
 to do here for us by in late going out of this party
 you may find, how much we might have
 rather
 done in pursuance of the march had I been in any
 way for keeping of field. but if we wanted all
 of our clothes, shoes, gloves, & even bread to eat
~~for want~~
 they could not any longer furnish us
 but were necessitated to returne or perish, ~~if not~~
 if following the march for we were ^{not} able
 to get half the day's pay in a great value. what could

5: MS 844 (F.3.18, 514), a draft of a letter to Oliver Cromwell to be signed by Col. Michael Jones, dated 27 October, 1647, in the handwriting of Henry Jones, about the great need for provisions the army now in the field (see Catalogue, Appendix 1, no. 17).

MS 844 (F.3.18, 578), a draft in the handwriting of Henry Jones, to be signed by Col. Michael Jones, to the house of parliament, stating that Owen Roe O Neill is five miles from Dublin with his enemy forces. Stating the great need for military supplies (see Catalogue, Appendix 1, no. 19).

The image shows a handwritten document on aged paper with several lines of text. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes the following legible portions:

...the beginning of this year, Queen 200
 ...12000, whereof 8000
 ...women & children advanced into our quarters
 ...within ⁵ miles of Dublin
 ...without any provision thereof given
 ...we are to rely on the affection of the people
 ...for want of a course settled for
 ...which is of evils than now I desire
 ...of high being a people to be brought to the better
 ...into speedy consideration
 ...intercourse with
 ...we find means for drawing together
 ...

Fig. 7: MS 844 (F.3.18, 578), a draft in the handwriting of Henry Jones, to be signed by Col. Michael Jones, to the house of parliament, stating that Owen Roe O Neill is five miles from Dublin with his enemy forces. Stating the great need for military supplies (see Catalogue, Appendix 1, no. 19).

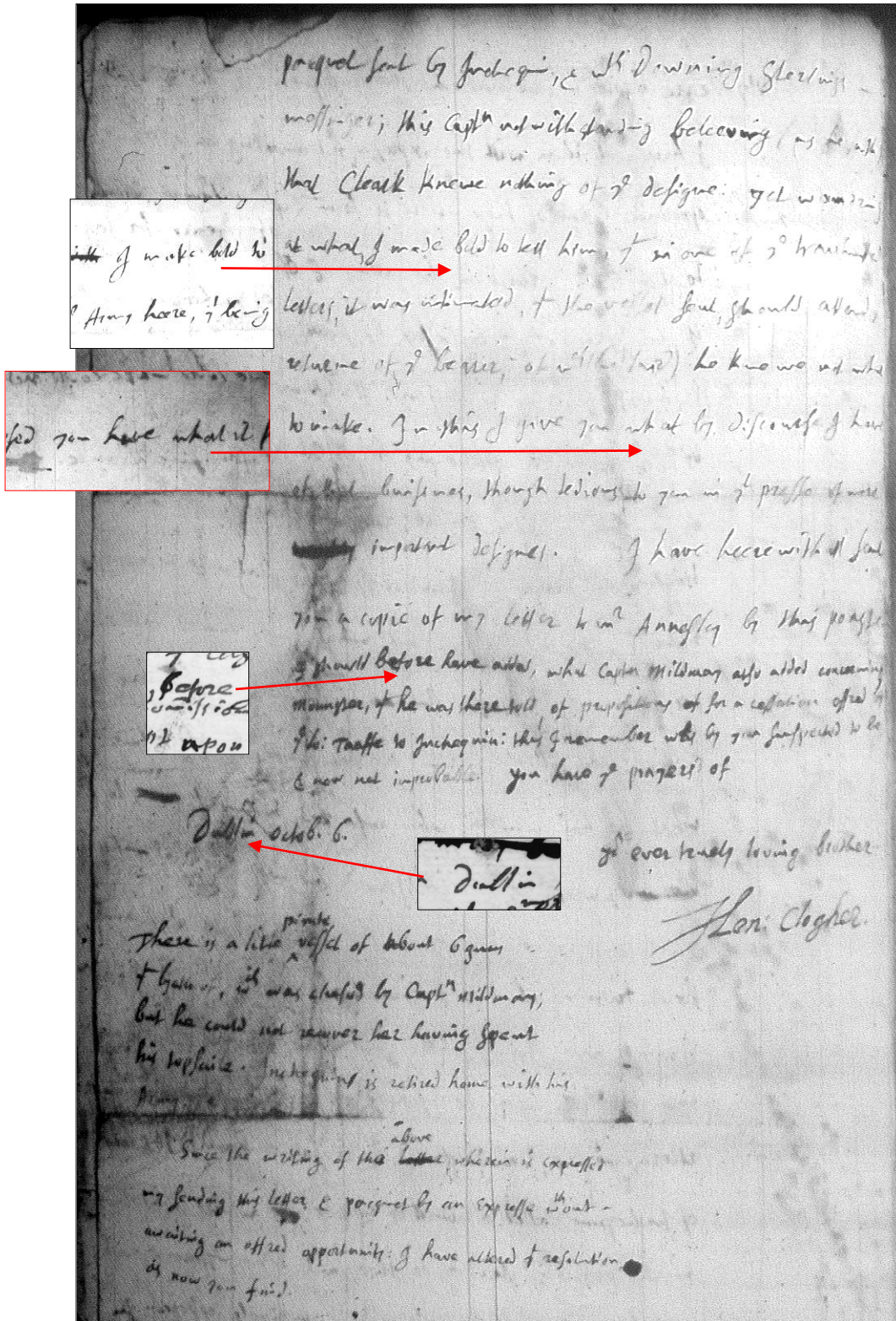


Fig. 8: Comparison of handwriting examples: Henry's letter to his brother (signed Hen Clogher, i.e. Henry, Bishop of Clogher) is compared with samples of words 'before' and 'Dublin' from his earlier account of the siege of Limerick (see Fig. 1 above), and with the word 'bold' from the letter to Parliament of the 8th Sept 1647 (Fig. 2 above) and 'what' from the letter to Cromwell (Fig. 5 above). Other words in the various letters, Figs. 1-7 can be compared to those in the 'Hen Clogher' letter.

APPENDIX 1

CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS CONTAINED IN MANUSCRIPTS 840, 844 AND 866 IN TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN ARCHIVES WRITTEN OR ANNOTATED BY HENRY JONES

1. Draft of a letter from Henry Jones dated December 14, 1641, on his flight from Cavan on the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion, his personal situation and information he has to give concerning the lead-up to the rebellion and people who may have had knowledge of it. MS 840, fols. 033r-033v (F3.11, no. 12)
2. Account by Henry Jones, signed by him but undated, relating to the outbreak of the rebellion. It is a statement to the commission set up for taking depositions from the victims of the 1641 rebellion. This document does not seem to have been an officially taken deposition (with the names of others before whom the deponent would have appeared). It gives a lengthy account of signs of the rebellion and the plots of the enemy factions, including Catholic clergy, before the outbreak of the rebellion. It ends with a list of Jones' own losses when his home and property were taken over by the Irish in October 1641. MS 840, fols. 032r-032v (F. 3.11, no. 11, 202).
3. A letter from Henry Jones, undated and addressed to 'the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in the Honorable, the Commons House of Parliament', in his handwriting. It earnestly requests aid from parliament for the ministers of the Church of Ireland who have been despoiled of their livelihood during the rebellion and for the widows and orphans of those who have been killed. He describes their plight and urgently begs for help. It is the first page of a longer letter, the further pages of which have not survived. It is more neatly written than usual as though this is the final draft. This is endorsed on the back with a supporting note from 14 ministers from around the London area and signed by them, suggesting that this is the final draft. MS 840, fols. 29r – 29v (F.3.11, no. 9).
4. Letter undated and entitled 'Proposicions Concerning the summes of monie desired and the ordering thereof, to those of the dispoyled and distressed Ministers and other pore Protestants now residing in Ireland. Offered to the honorable Howse of Commons by the Agent of the said Poore, Henry Jones Dr D'. This is a clearly set out report on the aid requirements of refugees and survivors of the rebellion, giving an account of the numbers of ministers and the population in general requiring aid, including widows and orphans, gentlewomen and the 'comon sort of poore' in the four provinces of Ireland, detailing numbers of people of various categories and in various locations and the

amount of money required from London. It is also proposed that commissioners may be appointed for the allocation of money in the four provinces and that there should be a consideration for Henry Jones. Henry Jones has not written the main text but he has annotated it. MS 840, fols. 30r – 31v (F. 3. 11, No. 10, 180)

5. A short statement written and signed by Henry Jones, undated, stating the need for money to be sent by this assembly to the distressed in Ireland. It is endorsed with a statement written by another on behalf of 14 ministers and with the signatures of the 14 ministers who are from in and around the city of London in support of his petition. MS 840, fols. 29v. (F. 3. 11).
6. A copy of a letter from the Committee of Contributions in the handwriting of Henry Jones, dated August 12, 1642. It is partial and the signed page is absent. The letter was a confirmation that the Committee for Contributions has offered the monies required for the despoiled ministers, the poor and others, and has set out what they are offering by province in a similar form to the proposal sent them by Jones (see Cat. no. 4). There are other details and other places added and the money offered is more than originally requested. The number of people in the four provinces is given as five thousand and eight hundred persons, comprising those who require aid. They confirm that the commissioners are to return an account of the proceedings. A sum of £12,580 is to be given to Jones and it is set out how it should be brought into Ireland. It states also that Dr Jones will procure clothes from this money which will also pay for the procurement, shipping and distribution of the supplies. Should there be any 'overplus from the exchange' it is to 'to remaine to the said Dr. in consideration of his care soliciting and attendance for the said inferior sort of poore in Ireland and towards his charges in that imployment'. MS 840, fols. 054r-054v (F.3.11, no. 19, 220).
7. A letter from the Committee of Contributions with additional notes in the handwriting of Henry Jones, dated August 15, 1642. The committee of contributions offer reasons for an advance to the distressed, with additional reasons added on in Jones' handwriting. They propose that payment should be made in the short term in case people come over to England and bring disease and, also, if ministers leave Ireland, there would be a lack of their services, including those for the army. MS 840, fols. 055r-056v (F.3.11, 222).
8. A draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones, undated, with observations on the state of the army and garrisons around the country. He describes the resources and outlines logistical problems for the army and difficulties he sees, making recommendations for them. This long description would appear to be a preamble to asking the committee of contributions for aid. It would therefore appear to belong to the early 1640s when he is soliciting aid from the committee. It ends with an appeal to them, referring to his propositions and therefore it may date to around summer 1642. MS 840, fols. 034r-035v (F.3.11, 34r-35v).
9. A draft, undated, of an account in the handwriting of Henry Jones. It describes the beginning of the rebellion of 1641 and the events leading up to the siege of Limerick Castle which took place between May 18 and June 23, 1642. The Irish mayor of Limerick City in alliance with the Confederate Irish forces planned to take over the town and castle of Limerick, while British or Protestant refugees had sought refuge

there. There is a focus and analysis of the military aspects of the siege. MS 840, fols. 91r – 94r.

10. A letter dated August 08, 1647 from General Preston to Michael Jones after the Dungan's Hill battle won by the parliamentary army. It states that as 'ffortune hath soe farr favoured yor Lo'tye yesterday in the field' he (Preston) will require a list of names of the men taken prisoner by Jones and 'a safe conducte for burieing the Corps'. The date is caught up in the binding but there is an endorsement in the handwriting of Henry Jones 'B.c.88, Aug. 9 '47 Genll Preston (the next day at the end of this after the defeat at Dungan Hill).' MS 840 (F.3.11, f. 175).
11. A draft, dated September 08, 1647, in the handwriting of Henry Jones, unsigned, much corrected, and headed 'For the speakers of both houses'. It is addressed to 'My Lord' and is a statement that the money that was sent for the army is not sufficient and supplies have now run short. It is a request for money and supplies. MS 844 (F.3.18, 524).
12. Draft entitled '1647, after Dungan Hill fight' otherwise undated in the handwriting of Henry Jones, unsigned. It gives the information that Preston 'may join with o neale who is now advancing with his whole strenth to the endangering of all youres here if not prevented'. He emphasises that they have only enough corn to last till 20 September and asks for money for supplies of food and clothing, including stockings, shoes and shirts. They require artillery as well as boats for crossing rivers, all bridges being broken. (MS 844 F.3.18, f. 524 – MS seems to be part of above)
13. Draft of a letter to be signed by Col. Michael Jones in the handwriting of Henry Jones, dated September 29, 1647. It is addressed to the houses of parliament and is an acknowledgement of the rewards given by the houses to the officers. The information is also given that after the battle at Dungan's Hill, Preston's papers were found scattered but he does not think them of much value. Information on military manoeuvres of the enemy is also given. There is an emphasis in this section on the great needs of the army in terms of money and supplies which are required as speedily as possible. The letter ends with 'devoted servant' (no signature). MS 844 (F.3.18, 528)
14. A letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones, dated Oct 6 (1647) 'for the hoble Cpl Michael Jones commander in chief of the armed forces in Leinster'. It is a letter from Henry Jones to his brother, Michael signed 'Hen Clogher'. He gives him some information on some plots and intrigues involving letters and various movements by boat. MS 844 F. 3.18 , 522
15. A letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones, dated October 13, 1647 to Mr Annesley. It is an account of Col. Michael Jones 'taking to the field on Saturday, October 02, till October 20, with about 3600 foot and 1000 horse and train of artillery', all described. He starts with details of quartering at Clonee on the way to Trim. He describes the march of the Leinster army at this time and gives detailed information on castles taken over and garrisoned, including number of troops etc. MS 840 (F.3.11., fol. 194-5).
16. A copy of the above document (Cat. no. 15) in the handwriting of Henry Jones, entitled 'Diary of the proceedings of the Leinster army' describing the campaign between October 02-20, 1647. MS 840 (F.3.11, fol. 197-200).

17. A draft of a letter to Oliver Cromwell, dated October 27 1647 in the handwriting of Henry Jones. This is essentially about the great need for provisions the army now in the field. It mentions enclosed information (probably the diary of the Leinster army 02-20 October 1647 Cat. nos. 15-16). The letter is for signature by Col. Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin. MS 844 (F.3.18, 514).
18. Draft in the handwriting of Henry Jones to Sir Thomas Fairfax (undated) and seemingly for the signature of Michael Jones) also requiring provisions for the army. Same complaints as in the letter to Cromwell above (Cat. no. 17), stating he (Michael Jones) will again take to the field in some few days. He says in this letter that he is enclosing Fairfax an account of the proceedings (Fairfax must be also be in receipt of same diary sent to Cromwell above). MS 844 (F.3.18, 712).
19. A draft letter in the writing of Henry Jones to be sent by Col. Michael Jones, undated. It is addressed to the houses of parliament and states 'O Neele 5 miles from Dublin. About the beginning of this month, Owen Roe O Neale with about 12000 whereof 8000 foote, 2000 women and children...' and that the army needs provisions and resources 'to further enlarge our quarters when the enemy is dispersed to their winter quarters...' He states that he has provided for the army on his private account. MS 844 (F.3.18, 578).
20. A letter from Henry Jones to Mr Annesly, unsigned (probably a draft), dated November 10, 1647, containing passages in Leinster which are dated 03-08 November. Here he relates details of his brother's campaign in November, stating that 'O neale is now about a few miles from Dublin, the rebel armies at malahide and castle knowck'. He described a battle at Castleknock with details of other skirmishes north of Dublin and an exchange of prisoners. Henry encloses a copy of a letter of Owen Roe O'Neill to Henry's brother, Michael. MS 840 (F.3.11, 191-193).
21. A letter, unsigned and undated, endorsed in the handwriting of Henry Jones entitled '1647, Mr. Harrison's relation or journal of the march into the Co. of Kildare'. This relates to February 1647/8 on the campaign of Col. Michael Jones in Wicklow, including setting up garrisons and trying to feed the army. It then deals with the continuation of the campaign into Kildare, describing marches and sieges of several castles such as the castle at Ellistown and those at Rathbride and Lackagh which are then mainly taken by negotiation and allowing the opposing garrison/inhabitants to walk out. One, at Ballysonan, refused to yield. There was an attack and a parley and eventually the opposing party left having been given quarter. The castle at Brownshill and other castles in Kildare are mentioned and the army then quarters at Naas. It is stated that General Preston is 'lying at the castle of Caherlough 8 miles away.... And owen o neile at Reban, 5 miles away'. MS 840 (F.3.11, no.39).
22. A draft letter, dated January 12, 1647/8, to Mr. Frost in the handwriting of Henry Jones. This is a little ambiguous. It thanks him, referring him to letters and accounts, referring him to the committee. There is no name or signature but the letter ends 'your much obliged servant'. MS 844 (F.3.18. 540).

On same page as Cat. no. 22, is a letter to Mr Hawkins in the handwriting of Henry Jones which thanks him, referring to a letter. It seems to also refer to raising of

dragoons, ending with 'Sr your loving friend' (no name, signature or date). MS 844 (F.3.18. 540).

23. A draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones, dated January 12 1647/8, unsigned (most probably prepared for the signature of Michael Jones). It gives a short account of a march into Wicklow on November 24, 1647 to provide for the necessities of this army which 'otherwise could not have subsisted in so great wants' and discusses garrisoning Powerscourt, Ballinacargy and Wicklow Castle. The requirements for army supplies are brought up. MS 844 (F.3.18, 554).
24. Rough draft by Henry Jones January 12, 1647/8. To Derby House supporting a letter from his brother Michael in relation to the army's necessities, and giving details of the campaigns and garrisoning in Wicklow. He states they had been challenged by 'papist aldermen' and had committed them to 'the castle of Dublin'. He gives news of the Nuncio's visit, also speaking of the reconciliation of O'Neill and Preston and an account of military activities extending into Meath and Westmeath. MS 844 (F.3.18, 556).
25. Draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones dated March 04, 1647/8, to Derby House with regard to orders delivered to Col. Coote (this day) for his march in to Connaught and the condition of affairs in Connaught. The troops are reported to be in very bad condition with lack of supplies. MS 844 (F. 3.18).
26. Draft letter by Henry Jones (probably for final letter to be signed by Michael Jones) to Capt. Crenther dated March 16, 1647/8, stating that post barques have not arrived from England for more than six weeks and therefore no post packets have been received, due to the stormy weather. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 550).
27. Draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones to Mr. Frost, endorsed March 22, 1647/8 thanking him for money 'as we are in great need'. He states 'the orders for Col. Cootes marching were delivered, his officers answer he has returned to the committee'. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 542).
28. Draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones (probably for final letter to be signed by Michael Jones) to Cromwell dated June 28, 1648, stating he says received his letter by Capt. Penn. Relief at the defeat of the northern cavaliers. Reports to Cromwell of dissention among the rebel parties, Preston, Taafe, etc, against Owen Roe O'Neill. Also states they are in great need of supplies that were expected for the army who are in a starving condition. He appeals for assistance for the army. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 562).
29. Account in the handwriting of Henry Jones to Cromwell dated June 28 1648, giving military information including the activities of Owen Roe O'Neill and intelligence concerning Ormonde. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 626-629).
30. Draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones (probably for final draft to be signed by Michael Jones) to Cromwell dated February 28, 1648/9, on the execution of Charles I, predicting much dissent and forecasting further protest 'Ormonde proclaiming Charles II as king'. States need for supplies and their safe delivery.

31. Copy in the handwriting of Henry Jones of a letter from Capt. Rochford entitled for 'The Bishop of Clogher', dated June 04, 1649, giving information relating to a plot to seize Ormonde. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 632).
32. Copy in the handwriting of Henry Jones of a letter, dated June 14, 1649, giving information of the reunion of the Irish leaders, including Inchiquin. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 622).
33. Copy in the handwriting of Henry Jones of a letter from Ireton dated 1649/50 to the governors of Trim, Drogheda, stating that letters and papers are to be sent to the Lord Bishop of Clogher or to himself (Ireton) at Dublin. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 630).
34. Diary of Henry Jones as Scoutmaster General to the Army of the Commonwealth from March 13, 1649/50, to July 1650, entitled 'the several marches of the English army 1648-51'. This describes in detail his campaign in the south-east of Ireland with the army and gives details of sieges, military manoeuvres, skirmishes and battles. The diary appears to be unfinished. MS 866, no. 3.
35. Letter from Henry Jones of a letter, dated August 02, 1652, from Kilkenny, to the Commissioners of Parliament. He states he has mainly been about Carlow and gives information on his charges against Col. Walter Bagenal. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 634).
36. Draft letter from Henry Jones dated August 20, 1652, from Kilkenny, to 'Right Ho'ble', stating 'since my leaving Dublin, I have been held at about Carlow in the work which you have commanded me. I find it enlarged beyond expectation'. Says Col Bagenal 'was examined and the heads of the charges against him are enclosed'. There are also issues in regard to the transplantations. Describes his work on the commission relating to several towns. MS 844 (F 3.18).
37. Draft letter in the handwriting of Henry Jones dated June 14, 1653, from Kilkenny, to 'Right Ho'ble', from Carrickfergus. This gives detailed information about the transplantations and financial issues relating to them and is followed by another short paragraph letter draft in relation to the transplanting of the Scots out of Ulster, stating difficulties. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 841).
38. Document in the writing of Henry Jones, dated June 30, 1653, detailing eleven 'proposalls' by himself and two others for the transplantation of the Ulster Scots. He states that there are 'those to be transplanted that will refuse to move contrary to orders given...shall be declared delinquent to be proceeded against accordingly...to the securing of their persons and confiscating their estates'. MS 844 (F 3.18).
39. Pages in the handwriting of Henry Jones relating to the transplantations, headed 'At the committee for Transplantation, etc, in the precincts of Trim, etc', dated May 26, 1654. There are various responses and reasons given in places for dispensations to the petitions. The petitioners are listed by name along with the length of their dispensations. This starts with a long list of about 33 people from County Meath, then County Louth and County Westmeath. The list goes on and there are about 143 cases, mostly from petitioners from the Meath, Westmeath and Louth area, though there are a small number from Monaghan and Cavan. Most petitioners are granted dispensations

(that is they are granted leave to stay in their present properties for a few months or a year) before they are transplanted to Connaught. MS 844 (F 3.18).

40. A draft document in Henry Jones' writing entitled 'considerations for the abatement of the assessment in Co. Meath', undated, relating to the transplantations. He proposes to cease the transplantations on the basis that 'the army has subsisted on the good land of the county, a place of more security in times of trouble, a place more planted than any other with eminent Irish proprietors, many eminent taxpayers'. Quite a long passage in relation to the abatement follows. He proposes that it is taxed less and demonstrates the economic benefits of Meath. MS 844 (F 3.18).
41. A letter from Major Meredith dated July 17, 1656, entitled for 'my much honoured friend, Dr. Jones'. This is endorsed by Henry Jones with 'Major Merdith's relation from the year 1649 to 1653 received 17th July 1656.' Meredith relates his activities between 1649 to 1653, starting with about two days after 'the storme of Drogheda' in 1649, to Dundalk, Carlingford and Newry, describing the campaign throughout the country, ending in Cavan in September 1652, towards the end of the war and the victory by the parliamentary forces.
42. Paper endorsed by Henry Jones entitled 'for my Hon friend Dr Jones in Dublin' from Jos. Cuffe, Kilkenny, dated November 12, 1658. He describes his experiences in 1641 in Clare and the attacks by the Irish there when he defended his castle. MS 844 (F 3.18).
43. Copy, in the handwriting of Henry Jones, of a duplicate of a letter to Parliament dated the '15th inst.' from General Monck's party in Dublin, assuring them of fidelity, casting doubt on the commissioners, particularly against Ludlow who has lost the confidence of many. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 652).
44. Copy, in the handwriting of Henry Jones, of a duplicate of a letter written on behalf of the army officers to the Council of State, dated January 26, 1659/60, relating to monies owed and referring to an account of the debt and arrears of payment to the army. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 656).
45. Draft in the handwriting of Henry Jones of a letter to 'our very good lords' dated September 11, 1661, endorsed in another hand 'to be coppied'. This relates to the proceedings of the House of Lords, Dublin on the 6th inst. The speaker should represent the complaints of his subjects to his majesty on many issues concerning the purchases made by some commissioners of the Court of Claims and the settlement of land in Ireland. It is requested that the recipients do not part with this letter to prevent copies being made (confidential information). MS844 (F 3.18, fol. 660).
46. Draft letter by Henry Jones of a letter to 'our very good lords' dated November 09, 1661, where he reports on the proceedings of the House of Lords in Dublin and states the orders of his majesty were arrived at in relation to the lords justices and the courts of the exchequer, all this business being in relation to land redistribution, leases and rents. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 668).

47. Draft letter by Henry Jones, undated, where he is referring to a parliamentary meeting and speaks against purchase (of lands) by a member of the court of claims. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 672).
48. Entitled 'the phantastic plot', an account dated May 19, 1663, which is not written by Henry Jones but has some notes in Henry Jones's handwriting. It relates to a discourse at Lucan, Co. Dublin, between Sir Theophilus Jones (Henry's brother) and Alexander Johnson. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 492).
49. Draft by Henry Jones of a letter to the Earl of Anglesea, dated July 12, 1664, from 'Knock', Co. Meath, on the business of his brother, Sir Theophilus Jones' land transactions and referring to his brother's 'composition with Sarsfield'. Reports on activity of the popish clergy. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 676).
50. Draft letter by Henry Jones 'for Mr. Southwell', dated July 12, 1664, putting forward reasons why Lynch's claim to be restored to the 'Knock' should be defeated. He also refers to his brother, Sir Theophilus, and the 'composition with Sarsfield', requesting that Theophilus may be conformed in possession of Lucan. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 678).
51. Draft letter by Henry Jones to Mr. John Keating, dated July 12, 1664, thanking him for the friendly care of his business. Also on the same page, a draft of a letter to Lord Ranelagh of the same date, enclosing a letter from Mr. Keating. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 680).
52. Draft letter by Henry Jones to Sir George Lane, dated 12th July 1664, relating to the 'Dutch business' which refers to Cornelius Donell, a Franciscan friar, who had offered to convert. A copy of this letter sent to Mr. John Keating and Lord Ranalagh. MS 844 (F 3.18, fol. 596).