

TUDOR  
& STUART  
IRELAND

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CONFERENCE 2012

*Abstracts Booklet*

# Session 1A

## 1) Andrew Robinson (University of Ulster)

### *Sir John Clotworthy and the destruction of Peter Paul Rubens's Crucifixion*

On 30 March 1643 members of the trained bands of London and Middlesex, led by two prominent MPs, entered Queen Henrietta Maria's royal chapel at Somerset House in the first act of officially sanctioned parliamentary iconoclasm of the English civil war. This action has been portrayed as a blatant act of state sponsored destruction of 'popish' religious symbols inside the chapel, driven by the firebrand and future regicide MP Henry Marten, and the 'tirelessly godly', 'tirelessly violent', and 'half-mad Ulsterman' Sir John Clotworthy. At first glance this episode appears to be nothing more than an example of the ever-growing anti-Laudian/Popery iconoclasm that gripped civil war England throughout the 1640s. This paper will look at the destruction of one item in particular inside the chapel itself – Peter Paul Rubens's *Crucifixion*, for which Sir John Clotworthy has been held responsible. Diane Purkiss for example described Rubens as 'Henrietta's hireling, ambassador for popery, keen demonizer of revolutionary energies', and that Clotworthy and Marten wanted to destroy the painting 'not only because it was art, but because it was good art'. This is certainly one aspect of their violent conduct towards this piece of Baroque religious propaganda. However, this paper will consider that the destruction of the painting symbolized much more than simple iconoclasm, and will argue that its ruin represented four decades worth of barely suppressed dissatisfaction at Stuart foreign policy. Therefore, this paper will reconsider the international connotations of this act of iconoclasm, and how the English Parliament sought to realign relations with France, Spain, the United Provinces, Denmark and the exiled Bohemian court during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.

## 2) Bronagh McShane (NUIM)

### *Representations of violence against women in 1641 Rebellion literature*

Graphic images of violence against women played a crucial role in the 'mythologization' (N. McAreavey, 2010) of the 1641 rebellion. Tales of the murder and dismemberment of women – particularly mothers and pregnant women – quickly came to represent 'the story' of Catholic atrocity and cruelty. This paper will explore representations of women as victims of violence during the rebellion as portrayed in the abundant literature, published in the immediate years and decades following the event. It will examine how the destruction of motherhood in particular, one of the most important characteristics of female identity in the seventeenth century, is emphasised in the gruesome and graphic descriptions and images of the period. Key texts examined include Henry Jones's *Remonstrance* (1642), John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* (1646) as well as early pamphlet accounts. It will explore the extent to which Protestant female victims of 1641 were represented by contemporary writers as a new type of 'religious martyr' for the Protestant cause (later to be taken up and incorporated into Protestant martyrologies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). It will argue that accounts of the suffering of Protestant female martyrs of 1641, like earlier accounts of Catholic female martyrs in the sixteenth century, penned by martyrologists such as John Howlin and David Rothe, served to foster a collective sense of a persecuted faith and thus aided in the polarisation of confessional and sectarian divisions in early modern Ireland.

## 3) Dr Veronica Hendrick (John Jay College of Criminal Justice – City University of New York)

### *Testimony of an Irish Slave Girl: Indentured servants and the influence of Cromwell*

Kate McCafferty's *Testimony of an Irish Slave Girl* describes the plight of the fictional Cot Daley and the events of her young life first in Ireland then as an indentured servant in Barbados. Although not ideal, her childhood in Ireland was that of a respectable under classed family. Unfortunately, one winter's day, while caroling with other children from her village, Cot was swept up in one of the nets of Oliver Cromwell's men, who were sent to Ireland to cleanse the country of the inhabitants refusing to relinquish their land. This policy created an Irish trade where captives were transported to Barbados, from which the term 'Barbadosed' came, and sold as indentured servants. The sweeps of Ireland extended beyond the deportation of political dissidents and moved into random, opportunistic capture of unprotected men, women, and children. Cot was one of these children who were sold to British planters in the islands. The number of Irish who were Barbadosed is unknown and estimates vary widely, but those who were sent to Barbados intermingled with African slaves and joined in the slave revolts on the island. The story that Cot shares in her testimony reflects her indictment as a member of a mixed-race plot to overthrow the slaveholding system. Her tale tells of the worst possible treatment suffered as an indentured servant under the programs established by Cromwell which continued throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth.

# Session 1B

## 1) Dr Sparky Booker (TCD)

### *Sumptuary law in Tudor Ireland in its European context*

Legislation and ordinances regulating dress in colonial Ireland were issued by the Irish parliament, civic authorities, and the English crown during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Historians have rarely examined this legislation in detail, and have most often discussed it purely in its Irish context, and as a manifestation of the division and hostility between the English of Ireland and the Irish. Ireland has not been very well integrated into general surveys of sumptuary law, which tend either to ignore it entirely, or erroneously cite laws regulating dress in the colony as evidence of the way that sumptuary law can be used to suppress the identity of ethnic groups, like the Irish. Conversely, Irish historiography has not looked to European examples or trends to determine how Irish sumptuary laws fit into that wider framework – in fact, though the laws regulating dress issued in 1297 and 1366 are familiar in Irish historiography, those from the fifteenth and sixteenth century are not well known and sumptuary law has not been given adequate attention by historians of late medieval Ireland. This paper will explore the ways in which laws regulating dress in the English colony in Ireland from 1485–1547 differed from English and European sumptuary laws, and also look at the ways in which they were similar. It will use this information to draw some conclusions about what circumstances shaped these laws and made them necessary, placing Irish sumptuary law in its wider British and European context.

## 2) Simon Egan (UCC)

### *Enemies to the left, enemies to the right: the politics of the wider Gaelic world and the collapse of the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles, c.1460–1500*

Gaelic Scottish intervention in Ulster and Connacht during the late fifteenth century is a relatively neglected area of study, particularly in relation to the advent of the Tudors in Ireland. Since the 1430s the MacDonald Lords of the Isles had maintained the dominant position in the northern Irish Sea world. However, due to pressure from a resurgent Scottish monarchy, the pan-insular MacDonald lordship began to crumble during the 1470s. Consequently, the fracturing of MacDonald power created the situation where Gaelic Scottish factions, most notably Clan Campbell of Argyll, looked to Gaelic Ireland as a means of encircling the MacDonalds.

Standard histories that have examined the collapse of MacDonald power have done so from a Scottish perspective, pointing to events in Scotland as the main reason for the implosion of the MacDonald lordship. As a corollary to this, studies of Gaelic Scottish factions and their role in weakening the MacDonalds, have remained within this Scottish framework, without exploring how the Campbells, Scottish crown or the new Tudor administration regarded Ulster and Connacht as important strategic interests.

By looking in detail at instances of Gaelic Scottish intervention in Ulster and Connacht in the late fifteenth century, namely that of the Campbells, MacLeans and MacDougalls, this paper will explore the politics of the wider Gaelic world. Central to this is the concept that the MacDonalds were not only faced with the ominous presence of the Scottish crown in the east, they were in fact in competition with the Campbells for allies in Ireland.

## 3) Dr Mark Hutchinson (UCC)

### *Governing in a state of grace? Reformed theology and statist thought in Elizabethan Ireland*

From an English perspective Ireland was in a state of civil disobedience, since the queen's writ did not extend much beyond Dublin and its localities, and it remained a central objective of Irish government to reform the island to long-term order. By the 1580s, however, there was to be a significant shift in policy discussions. Under the reformed protestant Henry Sidney the policy debate had focused on the role of free will, grace and individual conscience in the process of man's reform. By the time of John Perrot's appointment in 1584, however, the debate had shifted away from questions concerning the reform of the political community and instead came to focus on the maintenance of the authority and structures of the state.

This paper will seek to explain why these religiously inspired reformers in Ireland were to turn to secular statist thought. It will argue that policy discussion in Ireland over civil obedience, and the role individual conscience played in man's reform, can be seen as an extension of a wider European debate, where reformed protestant resistant theory in the Netherlands and France was to consider whether the dictates of individual conscience, in the context of ungodly rule, allowed for acts of civil disobedience. Furthermore, Irish policy was to follow the pattern of debate in Europe, where Bodin and Lipsius came to discuss the nature of political authority in a state and in so doing bypassed the polity and as a result the question of conscience and political obedience.

# Session 2A

## 1) Neil Johnston (UCD)

### *From the 'Humble Desires' to the Act of Settlement: Restoration politics, 1660-2*

Studies of Restoration Ireland are understandably dominated by analysis of the land settlement. Yet, the long-term importance of this political process demands a reassessment of the first two years of Restoration Ireland and this paper will re-examine the several rounds of negotiations and debates that took place before a final bill of settlement received the royal assent in 1662. Beginning with the presentation of the 'Humble Desires' of the General Convention of Ireland in June 1660 and finishing with a discussion of the Act of Settlement, this paper will show how the Irish Protestant interest pursued its aim of securing land, parliament and religion. This was a complicated process and at several points their goals caused a backlash in both Dublin and London. Charles II's interest in this process was stronger than has been previously suggested and along with several of his senior counsellors at Whitehall, he acted as buffer to some of the more aggressive Protestant proposals. Catholic efforts to resist the Protestant interest's plans will form part of this paper by looking at their efforts to pressurise the king to enforce the 1649 Articles of Peace. The paper will conclude with an assessment of how closely the Protestant interest managed to incorporate their initial goals into the Act of Settlement of 1662.

## 2) Jess Velona (Columbia Law School)

### *Sir Audley Mervyn's speech demanding reforms in the Court of Claims: A reinterpretation through the lens of legal history*

This paper will reinterpret from the perspective of legal history a significant political event in Restoration Ireland: the February 1663 speech about the Court of Claims by Sir Audley Mervyn, Speaker of the Protestant-dominated House of Commons.

The Court of Claims' challenge, as a newly-created legal institution, was to impartially implement the Act of Settlement amidst deep political conflict. Historians have properly situated Mervyn's speech in this political struggle. The Commons, alarmed the Court was finding many Catholics innocent of rebellion and restoring them to Protestant-held land, sought to change the Court's rules. While Charles II's government rebuffed Mervyn, the Court soon was allowed to expire without hearing most Catholic claims.

Still, what did Mervyn say? The political account has portrayed his speech as a mere list of demands, mentioned a few with an apparent Protestant bias, and quoted some inflammatory language. This paper will portray Mervyn's speech as it was: a 38-page document making 20 proposals, notably about jury trial, burden of proof, and admitting historical documents. Crucially, Mervyn defended his proposals with detailed legal reasoning, citing cases and interpretative rules to demonstrate Court deviations from English legal principles. The paper will assess examples of those arguments, concluding some were legally reasonable by the standards of Mervyn's time. His political bias should not obscure plausible criticism of the Court. Further research should consider whether the Court, by modifying some procedures, might have muted Protestant opposition enough to buy time to continue its work, benefiting Catholics in the long run.

## 3) Danielle McCormack (EUI)

### *The English Protestant danger in Ireland and the Restoration land settlement, 1663-1665*

By early 1663 the Irish Court of Claims, which adjudicated on claims to property that had been transferred by the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland during the 1650s, had created an atmosphere of frenzy among the English Protestants of Ireland. The commissioners of the court were threatened by the Irish House of Commons and were in danger of impeachment. The publication of the speech of the Commons' speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, fanned the flames of discontent and it was at this point that the lord lieutenant, James Butler, Duke of Ormond, disclosed his intelligence that a plot to take Dublin Castle, which came to be known as 'Blood's Plot', was afoot. This paper will explore the links between the grievances of politicians such as Mervyn and plots furthered by men such as Thomas Blood. It will also analyse the effect that the emergence of the plots had on the administration of the Restoration settlement of Ireland.

## Session 2B

### 1) Helen Sonner (QUB)

#### *Harping to some purpose: Francis Bacon and the rhetoric of 'Plantation'*

Contemporary critics, working in various disciplines, have struggled to reconcile Francis Bacon the moral philosopher and Francis Bacon the colonial apologist. In their diverse readings, however, most critics have approached Bacon's writings on 'plantation' in Ireland as merely rhetorical context to the realpolitik found in texts produced by figures such as Arthur Chichester or John Davies. In a memorable phrase, nineteenth-century historian George Hill highlighted Bacon's figurative deployment of the harps of Ireland, Orpheus, and David in *Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland* (1609), and asserted that Bacon's treatise was 'harping to little purpose so far as any practical remarks on the plantation of Ulster are concerned' (*An Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster*(1877), p. 72). This paper offers a new model for understanding Bacon's role in the history of Jacobean Ireland. I will argue that *Certain Considerations* offered James a practical New Year's gift on the eve of 1609: a demonstration of how the rhetoric of 'plantation' could advance Jacobean policies in Ireland. I will then trace how those rhetorical strategies were actually deployed over the course of James's reign, and suggest that the rhetoric of 'plantation' had material effects which troubled Jacobean Ireland and which continue to complicate our readings of Jacobean texts. I will then offer a reading of Bacon's 1625 *Of Plantations*, and suggest that this iconic text reveals that Bacon himself was having difficulty reconciling his long-standing rhetoric of 'plantation' against the weight of history.

### 2) Dr John Flood (University of Groningen)

#### *Walter Quin: A Dublin poet at the Stuart Court*

Walter Quin (d. c. 1634) was one of the earliest Irish-born poets to produce a body of literary work written in English. He first appears in Elizabethan intelligence reports sent from Scotland, where his poetry in support of the succession of James VI to the English throne was considered significant enough to rank alongside accounts of seditious priests stirring up trouble in Ulster (one of the results of this is that a poetry collection of Quin's was transcribed in the *Calendar of State Papers*). Appointed a tutor to Prince Henry, Quin followed James to London where he associated with many of the better-known poets of his day. In addition to poetry, in England he also wrote a history of Bernard Stuart (d. 1508) and a digest of neo-Stoic philosophy, *Corona virtutum*(1613), that went through four seventeenth-century editions. As a reward for his services to the Stuarts he received revenues and monopolies in Ireland. Most of Quin's adult life was lived in Scotland and England and this is where he did most of his writing. Despite this he proclaims his Irish origins on the title pages of two of his works and, given their extent and their political nature, his writings deserve more attention from scholars of Tudor and Stuart Ireland.

### 3) Professor Andrew Carpenter (UCD)

#### *Literary subcultures in Restoration Dublin*

This paper considers the previously unexplored literary subcultures in Restoration Dublin and the extraordinary poems they produced. It suggests probable authors for several of the indecent and aggressively anti-Catholic manuscript poems of the period.

## Session 3A

### 1) Dr Marie-Louise Coolahan (NUIG)

#### ***'as wicked a womann, as ever was bred in Ireland': Biographical sources for the study of early modern Irish women***

Since MacCurtain and O'Dowd's pioneering essay collection of 1991, much new research on the politics, agency, and writing of early modern Irishwomen has been published. But the surviving biographical evidence is often piecemeal or reliant on accidents of social class. It can rest solely on literary attribution, as is the case with the poet, CaitilínDubh, whose authorship of five elegies on the O'Briens of Thomond is attested but of whom biographical information is so scant as to preclude her from a reference work such as the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Even ostensibly autobiographical writing – such as the conversion narratives of John Rogers's Independent congregation at Christ Church, Dublin – omits dates of birth and death considered essential to such scholarly volumes.

This paper examines how early modern Irish women have come to notice and the kinds of biographical information privileged and promoted in contemporary sources. It investigates the range of sources available in order to interrogate the data that can be gleaned, the biases towards which sources are skewed, and the partial pictures of women's lives that are preserved for the historical record. Sources to be discussed will include: state correspondence, letters, 1641 depositions, nuns' obituaries and chronicles. As signalled in the title quotation, contemporaries expressed strong opinions; accordingly, the generic predispositions of sources will be considered. The paper concludes with an exploration of the criteria determining biographical significance; where do we draw the line in selecting women for scholarly attention?

### 2) Dr Julie Eckerle (University of Minnesota, Morris)

#### ***Through the Irish looking glass: Re-contextualizing Englishwomen's life writing***

Recent studies of early modern women's life writing in England and Scotland have led to a much more nuanced and productive understanding of the rhetorical complexity of women's life writing in this period, especially in regards to the rich links between self-knowledge, self-representation, and self-authorship. And yet there is still much work to do in order to develop a complete understanding of the influences on women's self-construction. In this paper, I will begin a conversation on one of these influences: Ireland. Given the involvement of the English aristocracy in Ireland at this time, it is no surprise that so many literate Englishwomen either had significant experiences in Ireland or had intimate relationships with people who did. Lady Ann Fanshawe (1625–1680), for example, accompanied her husband during a portion of his time in Ireland as a diplomat and included in her life narrative a vivid account of their efforts to escape the country after a rebellion in Cork. Elizabeth Freke (1641/42–1714) in her life narrative laments the miserable early years of her marriage, some of which were spent in Ireland. Other Englishwomen wrote letters to and from Ireland, while still others – like Quaker life writers Barbara Blaugdone, Sarah Cheevers, and Katherine Evans – did significant proselytizing there. The list goes on. Yet these life writers' Irish experiences have rarely been recognized as a significant determining context, or frame, for their textual self-constructions, even though a consideration of their life writing through this lens could yield an invaluable understanding of how the women framed their selves in relation to – and often against – the English construction of Ireland and its people.

### 3) Dr Naomi McAreavey (UCD)

#### ***Writing the epistolary self: Early modern Irishwomen's letters as life writing***

The past decade has seen a dynamic and rapid expansion in the field of early modern letter-writing, which from the beginning has been particularly attentive to women's letters. Part of the important process of recovering women's writing, of which letters form the largest corpus, this scholarship has run parallel with the pioneering endeavours of researchers in unearthing the writing of women in early modern Ireland. In these intersecting fields of enquiry, critics have been indebted to work on women's life writing, which has showcased the complexity and sophistication of early modern women's writing of the self. My paper aims to bring these three related topics into productive conversation by examining, through a range of seventeenth-century examples, Irish women's epistolary life-writing. By studying the letters of women such as Lettice Fitzgerald, Baroness of Offaly, and Elizabeth Butler, Duchess of Ormonde, I will explore how our understanding of Irish women's life-writing can be illuminated by what scholars have revealed about the materiality, conventions, and functionality of the early modern letter, while also investigating how attention to Irish women's letters can increase our understanding of how national identity and location shapes and disrupts women's epistolary writing of the self. Overall, my paper will examine the simultaneous gendering and nationalizing of Irish women's letters, and will investigate how Irish women's self-representation is shaped by the material circumstances, generic conventions and writerly opportunities presented by the epistolary genre.

## Session 3B

### 1) Máirtín D'Alton (Ind.)

#### *Leix & Offaly: The proving ground of plantation*

The Thomas Raven plates of the Plantation of Londonderry and Down suggest a well-planned and orderly endeavour. By contrast the earlier Plantation of Leix and Offaly compares unfavourably in its form. This may be explained by the differences in the conception of the schemes. The Plantation of Ulster was planned from the outset, the Plantation of Leix and Offaly occurred by accidental increments. The suppression of the rising of the O Mores and O Connors led to the construction of forts in 1548. Grants of land in the vicinity of the forts were given in lieu of payment to the soldiers involved in the fighting. The territory was shired in 1556. The grants of land were revised in 1563. The towns around the forts received charters in 1570.

The plantation involved a bewildering variety of existing and new building types adapted to serve as defensible farmsteads; Anglo-Norman castles, timber castles, tower houses, converted churches and monasteries, new plantation castles, moated sites, etc. The Plantation also involved small villages, and crucially, two towns arranged around a central fort. The plantation had a dramatic existence, with 18 separate risings taking place between 1563-4 & 1603. When the dust was settled, the only structures that had not been overwhelmed were the two forts and a few isolated castles. The towns were rapidly repaired and trade re-established.

This paper intends to demonstrate that the legacy of the Plantation of Leix and Offaly is the influence the plantation had on the Plantation of Ulster. The forts, as bulwarks of the English presence in the midlands, impressed contemporary English commentators; Spenser mentions them in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, the forts are also mentioned in *The Commonwealth of Ireland*, written by Fynes Moryson, secretary to Lord Deputy Mountjoy. Thus the towns in Leix and Offaly, with their forts, would appear to have been the model for the Plantation of Ulster. This plantation, planned and financed from the outset, also consisted of towns formed around a defensive strongpoint, the model that had proved successful (albeit costly to maintain) in Leix and Offaly. This model of a defended town strategically placed, would prove to be a successful one in Ulster, founded on the hard learned lessons and tested different building types of Leix and Offaly.

### 2) Dr Matthew Potter (Mary Immaculate College, UL)

#### *James I's Forty Chartered Towns of 1613*

One of the most unusual events in the urban history of Ireland was the creation of forty chartered towns by King James I in 1613, the largest number of creations in a single year in the entire history of Britain and Ireland. These included what are now among the most significant urban areas in the country, such as Armagh, Belfast, Castlebar, Ennis, Newry, Sligo and Tralee. In 1603 there were a total of around forty-eight boroughs in Ireland but during the ensuing twenty-two years of his reign, James I created forty-seven new chartered towns, including an incredible forty in 1613 alone. The paper will examine the motives behind this extraordinary occurrence including the desire to pack the Irish Parliament of 1613-15 with Protestant MPs and the necessity to give official recognition to the many towns created as part of the Plantations. It will also examine the charters of these boroughs, which differed considerably from those issued heretofore in terms of the constitution of their councils and electorates. Finally, it will examine the subsequent fate of these municipal authorities, some of which eventually became functioning local democracies while others were stillborn.

### 3) Dr Eamon O'Flaherty (UCD)

#### *Irish boroughs, c.1660-1800: Urban community or oligarchy?*

# Session 4A

## 1) Dr Ian Campbell (UCD)

### *Anti-Protestantism? Irish Catholics and the Protestant problem in Tudor and Stuart Ireland*

'Anti-popery' has been the subject of considerable study by historians of early modern England. Some claim that anti-popery was a central political discourse which operated at all levels of seventeenth-century English society. Did the mirror image of this phenomenon exist in seventeenth-century Ireland? Was there a discourse or ideology of anti-Protestantism which ran right through Irish society, potent among herdsmen, peasants, townsmen, gentry, and noblemen? This paper will set out some of the problems involved in analysing this phenomenon and lay out the ways in which contemporary Catholic intellectuals approached it. Some Irish Catholics argued that Protestants were capable of moral virtue, that one could be a heretic and yet in some ways an excellent person. Others wrote that this was impossible. But all Irish Catholic intellectuals, even the ones who hated Protestant monarchy and thought the Stuarts had no right to rule Ireland, thought that Protestants were still capable of justly owning property and exercising political authority. All the Catholic universities taught that it was heresy to imagine that sinners (and Protestants were no more than sinners) lost control of their property and power: even the most extreme Gaelic Irish radicals, like Philip O'Sullivan Beare, Conor O'Mahony, and Richard O'Ferrall, adhered to this position. The positions which these authors and activists adopted were only part of a complex, shifting social and political phenomenon, but nevertheless an important part.

## 2) Dr Eoin Kinsella (UCD)

### *The 'dastard gentry' of Ireland: Aspects of Irish Jacobitism during the 1690s*

This paper considers Irish Jacobitism in the years between the conclusion of the Williamite war and the death of William III, focusing on some of the more prominent members of James II's civil administration and army. These men chose to remain in Ireland rather than follow James II into exile, earning themselves a reputation as the 'dastard gentry' of Ireland among the Irish on the continent. This paper suggests that, for Irish Catholic landowners, Jacobitism was an unattractive ideology in the aftermath of the surrender of Limerick.

## 3) Dr Marie Leoutre (UCD)

### *The Huguenots and the Williamite government*

Ireland became a place of asylum for French Protestants, especially after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685. Many of these refugees are remembered for their craft – as architects and goldsmiths, for example – for their involvement in banking and schools, or for the prominence they reached in the armies of William III. This paper will examine the, perhaps, less well known role which the Huguenots played in the Irish government by focusing on the lord-justiceship of Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, between 1697 and 1701. His role in managing the sessions of parliament, shaping legislation and bringing Ireland through the changes induced by the revolution of 1688 will be examined. The motivations behind the choice of a Frenchman to head the Irish administration will be investigated – as well as the controversies his presence raised – and his legacy.

## Session 4B

### 1) Paul Rondelez (UCC)

#### *Native iron mining and smelting in Ireland c.1560 – c.1640*

One of the arguments in favour of the plantation of Ireland from the second half of the 16th century onwards, was the improvement of industry this brought. Concerning metal mining, iron in particular, Gerard Boate (1652) was clear: the Old English had been too busy with warfare and the Irish were too barbarous to involve themselves with the exploitation of Ireland's riches. It was the New English who opened up the mines and, helped by a superior technology and an abundance of fuel (charcoal), brought Ireland within the iron producing nations. This vision was commonplace during the following centuries and the general premise still dominates the literature today. A close inspection of the sources, however, shows that not only was iron being mined and smelted in various places in Ireland when the New English arrived, but that the technology involved in smelting the ore was more advanced than currently acknowledged.

### 2) Francis Kelly (UCC)

#### *Brian O'Rourke and the Spanish Armada*

During the crisis that accompanied the arrival of distressed ships of the Spanish Armada off the west coast of Ireland the actions of Brian O'Rourke of Breifne were unique among the Gaelic nobility of the west. While many did give sustenance and refuge to survivors of ships that were wrecked, others massacred large numbers that came ashore. Some, principally in the north, helped to evacuate survivors to Scotland where they had a better chance of survival, and passage either home to Spain or to the Continent. Some under duress, and fearful of reprisals from the English provincial regime, handed over those whom they had initially sheltered. O'Rourke, alone it appears, viewed the crisis as an opportunity to raise a general uprising in the northwest and was prepared to act on that impulse. He sheltered Spaniards on his lands, openly defied the governor by refusing to surrender them to him, armed those survivors who remained with him and invoked all of his neighbours to join with him in revolt.

This paper will look at the events of September/October 1588 in the northwest in order to illustrate Brian O'Rourke's behaviour at this time. It will examine the context of those actions and how O'Rourke may have been influenced to act in the way that he did. It will look at his position as Lord of Breifne, his relationship with the regime of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connacht, and the hopes for Spanish intervention in Ireland that were circulating at that time.

### 3) Connie Kelleher (TCD)

#### *Ireland's Golden Age of pirates: Early seventeenth-century piracy in Southwest Munster in the Stuart period*

In the early part of the seventeenth century, along the southwest coast of Munster, piracy was endemic. The Confederacy of Deep-Sea Pirates that ruled the Atlantic waters relocated there from the southern harbours of England when James VI of Scotland outlawed privateering upon his accession to the throne of England as James I in 1603. Until the legislation was changed in 1613, a loophole in the law in Ireland also meant that the pirates could not be tried or executed there and thus they lived a life of relative freedom, based on settlement under the Munster Plantation and free trade with international conspirators. The West Cork coastline proved to be the perfect pirate landscape. Its remoteness ensured that the pirates could strategically locate their headquarters there and locals and admiralty officials willingly colluded for mutual economic gain. The Stuart policy, that sought to eradicate the pirate problem in the southern Atlantic at that time, instead led to perhaps the greatest period of pirate activity ever recorded in Ireland.

This paper will trace the historical background to this Golden Age, including discussing the main characters involved, the nature and extent of the pirate alliance and their eventual demise through a mixed mechanism involving pardons, settlement, attack and execution. It will also suggest emerging archaeological evidence for the pirate activity that is slowly revealing itself from within the remote hidden harbours and havens that were once home to the pirate fleets.

# Session 5A

## 1) Jennifer Wells (Brown University)

### *The Westphalia Effect: The Jesuit, the Puritan and law in the colonisation of Ireland and Brazil, 1648–63*

In 1652 from the banks of the River Liffey, the Puritan lawyer, statesman, judge and writer, John Cooke, wrote to the English Parliament, arguing that law, not physical force, provided the surest means of colonizing and Anglicizing Ireland. In 1661 from the shores of Cumá, Brazil, the Jesuit theologian, missionary, diplomat and writer, Father António Vieira, wrote to the Portuguese King Afonso VI, pleading that the colonial administration in Brazil use the law, not military force, to facilitate both the colonization and Christianization of the Indians. Cooke and Vieira did not know each other and came from drastically different religious and political backgrounds, yet both saw the law as central to implementing imperial agendas and ameliorating colonial tensions in the early modern Atlantic World. This paper utilizes contemporary records in England, Ireland, Portugal and Brazil to compare colonization efforts in 1650s Brazil and Ireland from both administrative, top-down and native, bottom-up perspectives. It reveals how native Irish and indigenous Brazilian recalcitrance frequently provoked policies implemented by administrators, who were in turn influenced by emerging international legal norms and political thought that increasingly favoured legal recourse to execute imperial ambitions. The omnipresent human draw to the macabre, however, has often obscured the role of law and the significance of both the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and prominent legal thinkers, including Grotius, Suarez and Gentili, in shaping empire and colonization in Ireland. The comparative approach and emphasis upon the interactions of Cooke, Vieira and a handful of native Irish and indigenous Brazilian elites helps to locate early modern Ireland within its broader European and Atlantic contexts, challenging dominant Anglo-centric narratives and illuminating larger trends in seventeenth-century state-building.

## 2) Dr John Cunningham (TCD/University of Freiburg)

### *Divided conquerors: Martial law and the politics of conquest in Ireland, 1649–53*

Recent historical research has drawn attention to the divergence between the norms and codes of conduct in warfare observed in England and Ireland respectively in the mid-seventeenth century. The fact that this same divergence caused considerable tension within the English regime in Ireland during the Cromwellian conquest (1649–53) has, however, gone largely unnoticed. This paper will examine the nature of the disagreement that occurred between army officers on the one hand and legally-minded civil officials on the other over the treatment of Irish civilians under martial law. This treatment can be illustrated from surviving records of courts martial and other sources. It will be argued that the quarrel in question formed the basis of a wider struggle between the civil and military interests for control of the state in Ireland. By 1652 this struggle had merged with the escalating confrontation between the parliament and the army in England, which culminated in Cromwell's expulsion of the Rump in April 1653. Thus the controversy around the execution of martial law in Ireland had repercussions far beyond the sphere of military conflict.

## 3) Martin Foerster (University of Freiburg)

### *Catholic education in Restoration Ireland, 1660–1685*

While Irish colleges on the continent have attracted massive attention in recent decades, Catholic education in Ireland itself has mostly been ignored. The paper focuses on the Restoration period analysing the circumstances under which education could exist even in times of persecution. In several places schools were not only tolerated by the local Protestant elite but were warmly welcomed. From such prominent examples as the Jesuit school in Drogheda founded by Archbishop Oliver Plunkett of Armagh we know that Protestant parents had no qualms of conscience about sending their children to be educated by Catholic teachers. Even Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, admitted that the Jesuits were known to be 'the best teachers in the world'. In a microhistorical approach this paper questions the validity of the confessionalization paradigm, showing that local tradition and community bonds could be dominant over the state's interest in disciplining its Catholic subjects.

## Session 5B

### 1) Dr John Bergin (QUB)

#### ***Adam Colclough (1650–1732): Lawyer, landowner, officeholder, investor, Catholic agent and Jacobite plotter***

Adam Colclough (1650–1732) was perhaps the most notable member of a family of New English settlers from Staffordshire who came to Co. Wexford in the reign of Elizabeth. Sent to London in 1674 to attend Gray's Inn, Colclough soon gained an entrée to court circles and married Mary Blagge, the daughter of an old cavalier. He thus became connected with the North political dynasty, and also became brother-in-law to Sidney Godolphin. Though a Catholic, he was appointed to an English treasury office under Charles II, and served in the Dublin administration of James II. In 1691 he returned to England, where he acted as agent for Irish Catholic interests. He was also an agent in England for the former Queens Catherine of Braganza and Mary of Modena. He invested in the East India Company, and his son William was one of the supercargoes on the 1702 fleet to China. He had many connections with wealthy Irish Catholic figures in London and on the Continent, and with important English Catholics and Jacobites. He was one of the planners of the 1715 Jacobite insurrection, and appears to have acted as banker to the cause. Even in his old age he continued to be an active Jacobite, corresponding in the 1720s with his friend, the exiled duke of Ormond. This paper will draw on his papers (of which an edition is being prepared) to sketch the career of a man entirely forgotten after his death, but full of human interest and intriguing connections.

### 2) Frances Nolan (UCD)

#### ***'The worst I wish the law is that his eye may be opened by experience – by experience': A consideration of female claimants at Chichester House, 1700–03***

In examining the role of Jacobite women in the Williamite confiscation, the significance of *A List of the Claims as Entered with the Trustees at Chichester House* stands out for the range and quality of information that is contained therein. Of the 3,093 enumerated claims, some 788 concerned women as active claimants or represented parties. This representation of twenty five per cent is somewhat arresting, given the contemporary common law restrictions upon female ownership. Even more striking is the diversity of claims registered by women; the number of females acting as sole claimants or sole guardians; and, given the relative brevity of entries, the wealth of information provided concerning family ties and propertied interests.

With its genesis in the hotchpotch of war, confiscation, redistribution, resumption and contestation, a caveat of extraordinary circumstance should inform any evaluation of women's roles as evidenced in *A List of the Claims*. Such a concentration of cases, however, does not distort or embellish the nature and scope of claims. Rather, it provides an excellent overview of legal uses and personal situation. Traditional female entitlements such as portion and dower are prevalent, but ownership is claimed through sundry means and through titles originating in the sixteenth century.

This paper will thus contribute to a greater understanding of earlier-, as well as late-seventeenth-century female property rights in Ireland, of the various capacities in which women acted and of the possible impact of female claims upon Catholic landownership in the early eighteenth century.

### 3) Dr Charles Ivar McGrath (UCD)

#### ***Professionalising government: The Williamite revenue collection service in Ireland, 1689–1702***

# Session 6A

## 1) Dr Jill Connaughton (Ind.)

### *The art of a 'Good Death'*

Achieving a 'Good Death' was an important concern in the lives many people in late medieval and early modern Europe. The people of Tudor and Stuart Ireland were no exception. This concern was manifest in the art and literature of the period in Europe in popular works such as the 'Arsmoriendi' texts and blockbooks. In this context, this paper will examine the use of surviving devotional iconography to explore the idea that the desirability of a 'Good Death' and the visual references associated with it, had a significant influence in the devotional art of Tudor and Stuart Ireland.

## 2) John Ó Halloran (UCD)

### *'By their fruits shall ye know them': A re-appraisal of the Marian bishops who conformed to the Elizabethan church settlement*

The Marian episcopate in Ireland is traditionally castigated as being docile, acquiescent, and lacking ideological commitment or moral fibre. This view primarily emanates from the spiritual peer's response to the Elizabethan ecclesiastical settlement in the 1560 Irish Parliament. This is then contrasted with the response of the English prelatry in the 1559 English Parliament. This view on the poor calibre of the Marian prelatry also emanates from a simplistic assessment of what constitutes loyalty for a Catholic prelate.

This paper shall focus on the issue of what constitutes confessional loyalty amongst prelates in sixteenth century Ireland. It also hopes to broaden the basis of assessment on the calibre of prelates to include the period post Parliament. In doing so it hopes to prove that the surviving Marian episcopate by the time of the 1560 Irish Parliament produced pragmatic, significant, enduring and successful opposition and obstruction to the Elizabethan settlement; that the surviving prelates from the Marian reign were of a high calibre; and that they were of a similar calibre to their episcopal cohorts in England, even if different tactics of opposition were used by many. Thus Mary's Episcopal regeneration policy in Ireland should be understood as successful throughout the realm, thereby adding to the revisionist view on the success of her reign in general.

## 3) Dr John McCafferty (UCD)

### *Lough Derg and the salvation of Ireland*

The pilgrimage site and visions at Lough Derg were one of the very few things known about Ireland in the late middle ages. Contemporary Spanish plays, English broadsides and romances as well as Gaelic poetry and Roman, Spanish and Bollandist Latin texts show how revival of the pilgrimage was bound up with hot debates on death and the afterlife. Something medieval, something Irish had a part in one of early modern Europe's central obsessions. This paper will look at the pilgrimage's enduring status as a European rather than as a purely Irish site during the late 16th and 17th centuries.

## Session 6B

### 1) James O'Neill (QUB)

#### *Half-moons and villainous work: Gaelic fortifications and the Nine Years' War*

The traditional view of engagements during this period is of lightly armed Gaelic soldiers skirmishing along the edges of English armies, firing their weapons then darting back to the safety of woods and bogs. Studies of fortifications of this period have tended to focus on the well-recorded English structures. The Irish inclination to construct substantial fortifications and fieldwork has been less recognised. Cyril Falls noted how O'Neill used 'primitive' field fortifications and later commentators considered the Irish to have little use for defences, but closer scrutiny has revealed that O'Neill and his allies raised substantial systems of defence and fortified outposts. Furthermore, the structures were employed to gain tactical, operational advantage over their English adversaries, and successfully acted as force multipliers throughout the war. The impact of these defences was felt the length of the island and on several occasions even managed to stop the armies of successive Lord Deputies dead in their tracks. By shedding light on a little known aspect of late Gaelic warfare, we will see how O'Neill blocked strategically vital passes and reinforced the barricades with strong earthwork defences. He erected linear defence lines, coastal forts and beach defences. Rather than being an oddity that occasionally appeared, Irish fortifications now appear to have been an intrinsic part of the Gaelic lord's war effort.

### 2) Dr Benjamin Hazard (UCD)

#### *Combat medics and military medicine: Irish experience during the Tudor and Stuart period*

This paper surveys the involvement of Irish medical personnel in Spanish military medicine during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It examines healthcare provision in Ireland and the Low Countries for this period. Troops in Spanish service at this time were given unparalleled medical assistance. This is new material which describes a range of practice, combining clear evidence for individual careers with the shared experience of patients and practitioners.

## Session 7A

### 1) Dr Bríd McGrath (TCD)

#### ***Not in it for the money? Economic aspects of membership of the Irish Commons, 1613–41***

This paper examines the economic aspects of being an M.P. in Ireland in the early Stuart period. It considers the costs of election, M.P.s wages and costs, which depended on the type of constituency represented, including fees to parliamentary officials, donations to the poor, fines for non-attendance, costs of petitions and private bills, expenses for dress, and also the costs of the parliamentary subsidies. Comparisons are made with England, Scotland and France. The paper is based not merely on the Commons Journals, but also on a wide range of local government sources in Ireland.

### 2) Dr John J. Cronin (Ind.)

#### ***Violence and duelling between exiled courtiers: the case of the Caroline Court in exile, c.1649 – c.1660***

This paper will examine the extent, nature and characteristics of interpersonal violence and duelling between courtiers in the exiled Caroline Court of Charles II between c.1649–1660. Violence between early-modern political exiles has already been studied by others. For instance, Nathalie Rouffiac, in her work on the banished Jacobite household of the post-Glorious Revolution era, has pointed to the tendency to violence which existed amongst many of those who were attached to it, blaming it on the sense of dispossession and powerlessness felt by many of the exiles. Other, more general, surveys of court life in this era have also drawn attention to the propensity to violence in these institutions, ascribing it to these courts being places where warriors, competitors and rival suitors met. This paper proposes to assess the applicability of these findings to Charles II's exiled Court, in the light of recent work carried out on this and other such institutions. The paper itself will largely focus on one particular case of inter-personal violence, a killing carried out by Theobald, viscount Taaffe in 1658 following a dispute over a wager on a tennis match. The paper will examine why the killing took place, how Taaffe sought to explain it, how his King sought to punish him for it, and it will investigate whether or not the circumstances of exile contributed in any way to the violent act. Other violent acts and duels in the exiled Court will also be mentioned where appropriate.

### 3) Dr Eamon Darcy (TCD)

#### ***Honour and gesture in mid seventeenth-century Ireland***

With the exception of Brendan Kane's seminal monograph, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland*, there has been little analysis of 'Honour' in early modern Ireland. Kane's work focuses on the major political players in Ireland, and superbly recaptures how much of Wentworth's career was blighted by honour politics and the defence of his, and his family's, honour. In contrast, work by Richard Cust and John Walter has stressed the centrality of honour politics and gestures on a daily basis in early modern England across all social strata. Much of their work however relied on the archive of the court of chivalry and other court records that are sadly no longer available in Ireland due to the destruction of the Irish archives at the Four Courts during the Civil War. This paper, therefore, will attempt to look at a range of under-utilised primary sources to understand how members of the lower social orders perceived and engaged with honour and gesture in early modern Ireland. How did social superiors express their authority? How did disaffected members of the community denigrate the exercise of social power? What can honour and gesture tell us about early modern Irish life?

# Session 7B

## 1) David Heffernan (UCC)

### *The emergence of the public sphere in Elizabethan Ireland*

Ever since the translation into English in 1989 of Jurgen Habermass' seminal *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Anglophone historians have been aware of the emergence of the public sphere in early modern England. There has consequently been a surge in research in this area, much of which has concentrated on gradually pushing the dating of this emergence backwards from the start of the eighteenth century to the late Tudor period. However, on the whole scholars of Tudor and Stuart Ireland have been reluctant to engage with these same processes in that country, the inference being that Ireland was so politically and socially distinctive of its neighbour that the same phenomena could not have, and did not, occur there in a comparable fashion. This paper seeks to attempt to redress this lacunae, in particular by suggesting that the reign of Elizabeth I saw the emergence of a burgeoning public sphere in Ireland. This was manifested in the marked increase in correspondence and news dissemination amongst members of the political classes from the 1560s onwards, while there was a distinct growth in the number of those composing treatises and memoranda on matters of public policy at this time. Moreover, evidence for the development of networks of individuals engaging in conversation on such issues and identification of a number of fixed arenas where discourse occurred all point towards a tangibly nascent public sphere in these years which this paper will seek to elucidate.

## 2) Dr Marc Caball (UCD)

### *Cultural mixing in early modern Ireland*

Early modern Gaelic culture has been perceived as intellectually self-contained. Recent research on the dominant literary genre known as praise poetry has demonstrated that high levels of innovation are discernible within a corpus that was previously considered static. Moreover, the consolidation of Tudor authority in Ireland in the second half of the sixteenth century and the establishment of unquestioned English supremacy under the Stuarts witnessed a flowering of Gaelic high culture. In this paper, it is proposed to examine the extant work of two Anglo-Norman poets associated with south-west Ireland in the early seventeenth century. It is argued that poetry attributed to Maurice Fitzgerald (c.1581–c.1630) and Pierce Ferriter (c.1600–c.1653) derives from a cultural *métissage* which indicates interchange between Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Norman cultures. The status of Ferriter and Fitzgerald in the Gaelic world ensured that they were among the new literary cohort that built on tradition to reconfigure Gaelic culture.

## 3) Dr Mark Empey (UCD)

### *From scholars to rope dancers: new perspectives on the cultural transformation of pre-Restoration Ireland*

Thomas Herron recently claimed that 'Ireland is conspicuously not among those recent books heralding a 'Renaissance' along Europe's and Britain's fringes'. While there are inevitable reservations about associating the term 'Renaissance' with Ireland, this interesting observation serves to highlight the assumption that there was limited engagement with the mainstream cultural activities of both Britain and continental Europe.

A central aim of this paper, therefore, will be to demonstrate how Ireland immersed itself in the cultural 'norms' of the seventeenth century. It will pursue two distinct lines of investigation. The first will examine the recently discovered Wentworth warrants housed in the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives. They provide a fascinating insight into the cultural transformation of pre-Restoration Ireland dealing as they do with issues ranging from 'reducing the needles multitude of alehouses' to licensing stage players and rope dancers to travel the country. Moreover, the prominence of music under Wentworth's administration further reinforces the impression of rapid change. The second aspect will focus on the manuscript and book-lending network between c.1620 and 1660. Lacking any thorough historical assessment to date, the records maintained by the historian and antiquarian Sir James Ware reveal a surprisingly widespread appetite for manuscripts and printed works among the laity in Ireland. Piecing together his extensive web of contacts not only shows an intellectually vibrant community. It also demonstrates the levels of social and cultural interaction between native and newcomer. Consequently this paper aims to challenge preconceived ideas that the Restoration signalled Ireland's gradual progression into the modern age.