

TUDOR & STUART IRELAND

8th Annual Interdisciplinary Conference

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Book of Abstracts



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Lastly we wish to thank all speakers and chairs without whom there would be no conference.

John Cunningham, David Heffernan, Romano Mullin, Karie Schultz & Ramona Wray

Session 1.A: Room TR4

Dr Simon Egan (University College, Cork)

An Unwelcome Inheritance: The House of York, the Wider Gaelic World, and the Tudor Succession

During the mid-late fifteenth century the House of York negotiated with some of the most powerful dynasties residing within the western section of the Atlantic archipelago; chief among them being the O'Neills of Tyrone and the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles. Traditionally, historians have treated Yorkist overtures to these Irish and Scottish families separately. Little attention has been devoted to exploring how the Yorkists sought to manipulate the pre-existing O'Neill-MacDonald alliance as a means of strengthening Yorkist power across the Irish Sea world. Drawing upon a broad meld of primary sources including material from within the Hiberno-Scottish world, as well as English and Scottish governmental records, this paper re-examines the House of York's relationship with the wider Gaelic world. On one level, the paper considers to what extent Richard duke of York (d.1460) and Edwards IV's (d.1483) negotiations with the O'Neills and MacDonalds contributed to the outbreak and longevity of the Wars of Roses. On a wider chronological level however, the paper also reconsiders the legacy of Yorkist influence in Ireland for the later Tudor succession. The paper concludes by exploring how Yorkist efforts to build alliances with the O'Neills and MacDonalds had a profoundly destabilising impact upon the politics of the wider Gaelic world. For example, dynasties hostile to the O'Neills and MacDonalds (such as the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell) were pushed further into bed with England's 'auld enemy' the House of Stewart – thus introducing a highly volatile international dimension to Irish politics during the early Tudor period.

Dr Darren McGettigan (Independent)

An Anonymous Sermon made in opposition to King Henry VIII's Reformation recorded in Donegal in 1539 – Can the Franciscan Friar who gave it be identified?

This paper discusses an anti-Reformation sermon given by an Observant Franciscan friar in Donegal town, heard and reported on by a Galway wine merchant in 1539. My paper suggests a potential candidate for the anonymous friar, as well as indicating some possible consequences of the preaching. The paper also examines the extent of early anti-Reformation sentiment in sixteenth-century Gaelic Ireland.

Dr Hannah Coates (University of Leeds)

Beyond "Faction": Sir Francis Walsingham's Irish Patronage, c. 1574-90

Almost from his appointment as one of Elizabeth I's principal secretaries in 1573 until his death in 1590, Walsingham was intensely anxious about Ireland, largely out of fear of its potential to act as an invasion platform or at least destabilising influence on England through frequent unrest. Despite the junking of faction as an explanation for many of the vicissitudes of Elizabethan politics, events and appointments in Ireland are still often judged through this lens – the choice of viceroys, for instance, is sometimes attributed to the machinations of coherent factions at the English court. This paper will examine the patterns of Walsingham's patronage in Ireland over the course of his career, focusing especially on his involvement in the province of Connacht over which he exerted significant control through successive presidents who were his clients. It will suggest that, far from treating his control over Irish patronage as a tool in faction fighting in London, Walsingham instead used his considerable influence on the other side of the Irish Sea to smooth over disagreements between agents of the English regime there. He also sought to bring into the fold other individuals from disparate backgrounds and with disparate interests in an apparent effort to expand support for the English government in Ireland at a time of serious unrest in the island.

Session 1.B: Room TR6

Ms Bethany Marsh (University of Nottingham)

'Irish' refugees and the nature of migration: an examination of refugee migration after the 1641 Irish rebellion

In the wake of the 1641 Irish rebellion thousands of ostensibly English Protestant refugees were displaced in Ireland, with a significant number subsequently fleeing to England for security and subsistence. Previous studies on refugees in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have typically viewed refugee migration as a linear process. Refugees flee a place of origin in response to an event resulting in resettlement in a new location which can supposedly offer security and relief. By reconstructing the migration patterns of individual refugees after the outbreak of the 1641 Irish rebellion, however, it is clear that this linear view is too simplistic and needs re-evaluation. This paper will offer a glimpse of the complexity of refugee journey's through a series of case studies and consider the factors which impacted the nature of migration in both Ireland and England.

Dr Naomi McAreavey (University College, Dublin)

Portadown, 1641: Memory and the 1641 Depositions

The mass drowning of Protestants in Portadown is the defining cultural memory of the 1641 rebellion, yet it is a little known and highly contested incident. In this paper I return to the earliest recorded memories of the massacre found among the 1641 depositions to show how the Portadown drownings were represented by eyewitnesses as well as through rumour and hearsay; by survivors and by the bereaved; by refugees speaking within weeks and months of the event, to those recalling the event over a decade later. Identifying different 'stories' of the atrocity, and considering how they were shaped by time and circumstance, I discuss how a range of deponents diversely remembered the Portadown atrocity, and illuminate the tensions, inconsistencies, and contradictions in their memories. By recovering part of the early history of 1641 memories, I suggest that the 1641 depositions are a rich resource for memories of the rebellion but not its 'facts'.

Dr Patrick Little (History of Parliament, London)

Ormond and the Invaders: new light on the surrender of Dublin to the English Parliament in 1647

James Butler, Marquess of Ormond, signed the surrender of Dublin in June 1647 while holding his nose. Or did he? This paper presents a crucial new piece of evidence that suggests otherwise: an illuminated genealogy of English officers newly arrived in the Irish capital, complete with their coats and arms, as drawn up by the Ulster king of arms, Dr William Roberts, and the detailed instructions from the lord lieutenant authorising the document to be drafted. This ceremonial welcome suggests that Ormond was more favourable towards the 'invaders' - and thus to the English Parliament - than has been previously thought. The paper goes on to tease out the implications of this for our understanding of Ormond's position with the Confederates in the mid-1640s, the strength of his connections with politicians at Westminster, and, ultimately, his relationship with King Charles I.

Session 2: Room TR6

Ms Emma Allen (National University of Ireland Galway)

“Without your majestes greate mercyfulnes and favor”: Rhetorical Patterns in Statements of Request within Anglophone Women’s Petitions in Tudor Ireland

This paper presents early results from my PhD project on Anglophone Irish women’s petition letters in the Tudor period. Recent research by James Daybell, Barbara Harris, and Lynne Magnusson have explored the English petition letter. However, Irish petitioning practices are largely unstudied. Scholars Vincent Carey and Marie-Louise Coolahan examine Irish women petitioners, but only discuss Mabel Browne, Grace O’Malley, and Eleanor FitzGerald. This makes women petitioners in Ireland appear anomalous; however, the Tudor period was rife with political and social upheaval, which generated significant petitionary activity. This project comprehensively examines the patterns of rhetoric within women’s petition letters as a whole to illuminate the dynamics of Irish petitionary culture and investigate how women navigated the political system in the Tudor period. In this paper, I examine the specific language used in statements of request within petitions. Within every petition is a sentence that specifies what the author is hoping to receive. My research has found that Anglophone women’s petitions utilize several specific rhetorical strategies to frame these statements of request. This paper examines the strategies and how they were utilized to create a sense of responsibility in the recipient. The paper also utilizes historical context to explore the functions of this strategy and how it took advantage of the Tudor cultural framework of the social contract. This research expands and enriches our understanding of literary interventions and strategies, utilized in the Irish context, to navigate the complex political and social dynamics of the Tudor period.

Dr James O’Neill (Independent)

The women of Tyrone’s Rebellion, 1593-1603: a new narrative

The Nine Years War (1593-1603), also known as Tyrone’s Rebellion brought death and devastation to every province in Ireland. Yet only recently have scholars focused on this pivotal event in Irish history, therefore it is unsurprising to find that the role of women in the conflict has received scant attention. Women were intrinsic indeed indispensable for the operation of military camps, but they also played a major part in both side’s communication and intelligence gathering networks. As in the rest of Europe, women provided domestic, commercial and medical support to both English and Irish armies. Consequently, they were exposed to the perils of war and suffered accordingly. They lived and died in siege camps, beleaguered garrisons and in combat, however the impact of women on the conduct of the war was much broader than previously thought. They were indispensable elements in intelligence and communication networks, providing information and carrying letters between both allies and belligerents. More than simple couriers, many women acted as official envoys, providing communications between enemies where direct contact could lead to accusations of disloyalty. The power of women to influence their husbands or male relatives, either for or against the crown was well-recognised and utilised by crown and confederate leaders alike, causing defections in both English and Irish camps. Women were not just hapless victims or passive observers during the Nine Years War, but intrinsic to the Irish and English war efforts.

Dr Brian Mac Cuarta (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome)

Tithes and denominational change in the 1590s: a Wexford woman’s dispensation

Down to the mid-nineteenth century, the rural population in Ireland was obliged by law to contribute to the upkeep of Church of Ireland clergy by means of tithes, a measure denoting a proportion of annual agricultural produce. The case-study presented here affords a small window into what was happening in the late sixteenth century at a crucial transitional time, as separate ecclesial structures were emerging, and Catholics were beginning to determine how to support their own clergy. By the mid-1590s an exodus of survivalist native clergy from the established church in the south-east was underway. This occurred in tandem with the departure of laity, those ‘church papists’ who hitherto had given a nominal adherence to the new ecclesiastical regime, as the government relaxed efforts to enforce conformity, arising from the need to retain loyalty in the Nine Years War (1594-1603). The emergence of parallel ecclesiastical structures from the last decade of Elizabeth’s reign necessitated diverse systems of maintenance for both sets of clergy. However for want of documentation the use of tithes to support Catholic priests, much less the impact of this issue on relationships within that community between ecclesiastics and propertied laity, has been little noted. The case-study features one woman’s acquisition of church properties in the early 1590s. Her story illustrates how the recusant community in an anglicized part of Ireland addressed some issues posed by Catholic ownership of tithes in the 1590s.

Session 3.A: Room TR4

Mr Archie Cornish (Wadham College, University of Oxford)

'In neighbourhood of kingdom': personifying Ireland and her rivers in sixteenth century England

In Book IV of his epic romance *The Faerie Queene* (1590-6), Edmund Spenser celebrates the marriages of the rivers Thames and Medway with a famous allegorical pageant. Rivers from classical antiquity, scripture and the counties of England are present; so too are the rivers of Ireland, where Spenser lived as a colonial administrator on the Munster Plantation, since 'no less famous then the rest they bee, /And ioyne in neighbourhood of kingdome nere' (IV.xi.40.2-3). His decision to invite the Irish rivers to the wedding is striking, since relations in the 1590s between the 'New English' settlers and both the 'Old English' and native Irish had become anything but harmonious. In an accomplished recent study, Bart van Es argues that the presence of rivers such as the 'balefull Oure, late staine with English blood' (44.5) represents the intrusion of conflict, and of the present, into the allegory. My paper seeks to adjust this slightly. I argue that personification replaces the cyclical movement of rivers with the unpredictable mobility of persons; it also allows a strange detachment of the rivers from their country, making for an eventual harmony which, without allegory, would be impossible. This harmony stands in pointed relation to recent and unfolding history. Rhetorical discussions of prosopopoeia (person-feigning) in the Renaissance often highlight the personification of nations and national character types. My paper situates the personified Irish rivers in this rhetorical context, and addresses the politics of national prosopopoeia, both in general and with particular reference to Ireland.

Professor Lee Morrissey (Clemson University)

***Lycidas*: A Stuart reading of Ireland (through Spenser's Tudor reading of Ireland)**

My talk situates Milton's "*Lycidas*" in an archipelagic conversation with Spenser's "*Colin Clouts Come Home Again*," and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, to argue, with help from Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, that in *Lycidas* Milton is mourning through Edward King what might have been in Ireland. Milton's *Lycidas* offers a re-reading of Spenser's earlier poem, in which a new, better-educated Colin--Edward King--does not come home again. Irish-born, Cambridge-educated Edward King implicitly answers Spenser's call, in *A View*, for "such sufficient English [-language] ministers sent over [to Ireland] as might be presented to any bishop," neither "unlearned," nor "of some bad note." But Cambridge does not prepare King for getting to Ireland. As a consequence, Ireland, implicitly, will be left to its own, and to an incompetent Anglican Church in Ireland. In 2011, Nicholas MacDowell asked "How Laudian is the young Milton?" I am asking a related question here—"How Wentworthian was the young Milton?" My sense is that Milton was more Wentworthian for Ireland than he was Laudian for England in the 1630s, because, influenced by Spenser, he wanted an English investment in the established Church of Ireland. But, the consequences of supporting Wentworth in Ireland in the 1630s included moving Ireland toward the Ulster Rising of 1641, Ireland's independence in the 1640s, and England's Civil War (not to mention Cromwell's subsequent revenge).

Dr Ramona Wray (Queen's University, Belfast) and Professor John McCafferty (University College, Dublin)
The Lost Years: Elizabeth Cary in Ireland, 1622-1625

This paper seeks to fill in a literary lacuna in the writing life of Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland. It introduces new seventeenth-century sources relating to Cary's little-understood period in Ireland (1622 to 1625) so as to offer a denser and more localised reading of her intellectual contexts, social and economic projects, interest in conversion and familial relationships.

Session 3.B: Room TR6

Dr David Heffernan (Queen's University, Belfast/The Royal Irish Academy)

The Goldsmiths Company of London and the Plantation of Londonderry under James I

In 1609 as part of the efforts to establish a plantation throughout much of Ulster the government of James I courted the City of London to undertake the plantation of a section of the north of the province comprising the county of Coleraine and the barony of Loughinsholin. The mercantile community of the city eventually agreed to undertake the plantation of the newly created county of Londonderry. In 1613 the county lands were distributed amongst the twelve great livery companies of London. Thus, the Goldsmiths Company acquired an estate in Ulster. This paper assesses how the Goldsmiths managed and developed this estate during the reign of James I. It does so by looking at one of the most valuable sources for the study of the Londonderry Plantation at this time, a letter-book compiled by the clerk of the Goldsmiths Company, Henry Carter, in the late 1610s. The 'Londoners' quickly came under criticism for negligence in meeting their obligations to develop their lands. From 1625 onwards they faced persistent attacks from the crown culminating in the confiscation of their lands following an infamous trial in Star Chamber in 1635. Carter's letter-book presents a rather different picture, one of the city trying, albeit not always successfully, to develop their lands and meet their obligations. This paper assesses Carter's letter-book and the development of the Goldsmiths estate during the reign of James I.

Ms Lorna Moloney (National University of Ireland, Galway)

Donough O'Brien, the Great Earl: Transforming Thomond - "The fate of peoples is made like this,"

By 1582, Donough O'Brien, the fourth Earl of Thomond became 'The Great Earl' in less than fifteen years after succeeding his father, Conor, the third earl of Thomond, who was more insultingly known as the 'Groibleach' (or Long-nailed). Famed for his loyalty and rewarded with a pension, control of resources from the new baronies within the shire of County Clare, coupled with adroit abilities meant Donough's upbringing at the Tudor court served him well. Donough's military prowess has been widely discussed and none doubt his transformation from Gaelic lord to his complete acceptance by Tudor nobility. However his cultural knowledge and manipulation of the English court, the crown and the law has not received due consideration. This paper explores how Donough navigated the dual cultural identities required to succeed in this violent unstable landscape. His adoption of Tudor courtier, through culture, dress and abode and the removal of his characteristics of being Gaelic lord has been rarely analysed. Donough's cultural adaptation of Bunratty Castle to Prodigy House will be discussed in this paper. This paper investigates the reasons why Bunratty became glazed and plastered, dressed and ornamented to take centre stage in the newly created shire of Clare at the height of the Nine Years War. By 1597, Bunratty was a house fit for a Tudor courtier, reliant on patronage, designed to impress and imitated the necessary new networks essential for survival within the Tudor polity. Donough's social advancement ensured new marriage alliances and new avenues of advancement within the English nobility for his sons Henry, the fifth Earl of Thomond and Barnabas, the sixth Earl. The latter would leave Bunratty and establish a new milieu for the earls of Thomond centred in England less than twenty years after Donough's death. The former, Henry 5th Earl of Thomond ensured that his five daughters married English aristocracy consolidating all that Donough, the Great Earl had worked for during his earldom. To conclude, the paper acknowledges the importance of the cultural factors and long lasting networks created by Donough, the Great Earl of Thomond and how this ensured that Thomond quickly became anglicised to the shire of County Clare.

Dr Helen Sonner (Independent)

David Beers Quinn, Public Historian: Insights from the Quinn Papers in the Library of Congress

David Beers Quinn (1909-2002) was a self-described "work horse" of the archives, whose scholarship was focused on "clearing the way through documentary tangles for others to follow." Four decades after his retirement from Liverpool University, Quinn continues to be one of the most highly cited historians of Tudor Ireland and Tudor colonisation. Less scholarly attention has been paid to his impact as a public historian. From a paper he presented in 1930 for the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society when he was an undergraduate at Queen's University Belfast ("The Iron Age Settlement Recently Discovered at Malone"), to a presentation he made in 1993, at the age of 84, for the "Roanoke Decoded" symposium in North Carolina, Quinn's prodigious scholarly output was matched by extensive public engagement with local historical societies and commemorative events. Quinn left his own, carefully ordered, papers to the U.S. Library of Congress (MSS76435), and the 58,450 items in this collection include extensive correspondence, research notes, and lectures related to his participation in commemorative events on both sides of the Atlantic. This paper will present evidence from the Quinn papers to explore how Quinn's theory of Tudor Ireland as the crucible of English colonialism was represented in these regional events, and will consider the impact that Quinn's work as a public historian has had on public conceptions of Tudor colonialism.

Session 4: Room TR6

Dr Neil Johnston (The National Archives of the United Kingdom)

Capt. Crispin, the Navy Board and the construction of Charles Fort at Kinsale, 1677-81

The Anglo-Dutch wars brought the paucity of Ireland's coastal defences to the attention of the Dublin and London administrations in the 1670s. Although it was the most important port in Ireland during this period, Kinsale Harbour lacked satisfactory defences, so the duke of Ormond, on his resumption of the lord lieutenancy, revived a plan to construct a defensive battery outside Kinsale. This paper will discuss how the construction of the fort caused numerous local problems which came to the attention of the government in Dublin and the Navy Board in London. Using the records of the Admiralty, this paper will examine how a seemingly local problem became a national issue. In doing so, it will give insights into the regional government in Munster and how the metropolitan authorities in London kept a watchful eye on the governance of Ireland.

Professor Raymond Pierre Hylton (Virginia Union University)

Not "By Halves": The Calling and Politics of the French Church Ministries in Dublin and Portarlington

Transplanted as they were into an environment they neither envisioned nor anticipated, the French Protestants who began trickling, then, from 1681, flooding into Ireland, experienced a disorientation that would have rendered many of them vulnerable to manipulation by the most powerful among their hosts. Religious faith and observance was at the forefront – it was after all the primary reason that most had left France. Even as the persecution of these Huguenots became more and more severe, exile was never their preferred outcome, nor did the majority embrace their uncertain new lives with great enthusiasm. It was the intolerable nature of their lives in France, rather than the promise of tax exemption, freeman's status, or ready admission into guilds that swayed them. At least exile to Britain or Ireland promised a limited degree of religious autonomy. The First Duke of Ormond counted the settling of French Protestants among his priorities for realizing his vision for modernization of Ireland as he resumed the Vice-regency in 1662, but his scheme for a compliant Huguenot community united under conformity to the Anglican rite foundered when many exiles displayed a preference for their own brand of dissent. The Huguenot refuge in Ireland would be consigned to an enduring dichotomy with conformed and non-conformist congregations coexisting in Dublin into the 1810s. At the heart of the controversy were the French Church pastors. This paper proposes to study these ministers and their modes of appointment and/or succession, and how this impacted on the Huguenots and their hosts.

Dr Benjamin Hazard (University College, Dublin)

Balldearg O'Donnell: 'on his going to Ireland', July 1690

The Manifesto of Hugh Balldearg O'Donnell is a rare first-hand account relating to events in Ireland from 1689-91. In order to serve James II, Balldearg left Spain without licence from the last Spanish Habsburg, Charles II. Born in Co. Donegal, Balldearg has been portrayed since his own lifetime as either a messianic hero or as a notorious mercenary. A seventeenth-century handwritten transcript of the document is now preserved at the Archives of University College Dublin, while a contemporary copy of the printed text is kept at the Spanish State Archives in Simancas. This is a timely subject. Until recently, Jacobite studies did not feature prominently in Irish historiography. Moreover, current historical opinion has challenged the view that the reign of Charles II represents the decline of Spain. To delve into insights on Irish exile experience, this paper outlines the background of the six-page Manifesto and examines the reasons that Balldearg O'Donnell gave for returning to Ireland.

Session 5.A: Room TR4

Mr Harrison Perkins (Queen's University, Belfast)

An Irish Mark on an English Gathering: James Ussher and the Westminster Assembly

Commentators on the Westminster Assembly and the documents it produced have claimed that James Ussher predominantly influenced both the people and the publications of this gathering. This is a significant claim because he neither attended the Assembly, despite his being invited to do so, nor is he mentioned in its minutes, and there have been no attempts to substantiate the claims with primary source evidence. In this paper, I argue, first that Westminster divines commonly cited Ussher in their writings; second that the Westminster Confession and the Larger Catechism show dependence on Ussher's works, and finally that on his return to London Ussher was given a favourable reception by Parliament and other authorities, including explicit permission to preach and reappointment to the Assembly. It therefore seems plausible that Ussher was a significant influence on the Westminster Assembly and on its theological standards.

Ms Alma O'Donnell (University College, Cork)

A seventeenth-century public exorcism by the Discalced Carmelite, Fr Paul Stephen Browne

In the early 1630s while working on the mission of the Discalced Carmelites in Ireland, Fr Stephen Browne was arrested and imprisoned for exorcizing a young girl in public in Dublin. This is perhaps the best documented case of Catholic exorcism from early modern Ireland, however in modern studies its significance has been understood largely within the context of a political take on the events, namely that Browne's alleged involvement in the Stephen's Day riot of 1629 was the real reason for his imprisonment. As a result, key elements of the sources, such as the length of time Browne spent in prison and the reasons for his imprisonment and trial, have been misinterpreted. My paper will offer a revised interpretation and bring the focus back to the exorcisms themselves, using accounts of the events from Browne himself and fellow Discalced Carmelite, Arthur Merlyn, as well as reports on the incidents by the earl of Cork, Richard Boyle, the historian, James Ware, and the lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth. Furthermore, my paper will look at how this case demonstrates the way in which exorcism was used as a tool to promote the faith during the Counter Reformation, and how it was the public nature of Browne's exorcisms that led to retaliation by the governing authorities. Finally, my paper will show that exorcism was handled in a serious manner by those in authority, and that, accordingly, there is a need for exorcisms in Catholic Reformation Ireland to be studied in their own right.

Mr Richard Maher (Independent)

A Duel between Jacobites

James Stuart III, exiled king de jure of Britain and Ireland, settled in Urbino in July 1717 as a temporary measure while he continued in his struggle to regain his ancestral thrones from his rival, King George I. James's royal court had been asked to leave the Kingdom of France as a condition of the Treaty of Utrecht and took up residence at the prestigious Palazzo Ducale in Urbino at the invitation of Pope Clement XI. His small entourage of supporters busied themselves with their master's tasks but during the periods of inaction and tedium, sometimes their activities caused a stir. James's adherents have been noted for their rivalries and quarrels: but the circumstances surrounding the subject of this paper must surely take first prize for the most ridiculous! Charles Wogan of Rathcoffey county Kildare had been an ardent servant of James III and had proved himself most useful to his liege on several occasions. Major Donald Macmahon was a professional military officer who had followed James to Urbino to assist with the security of the exiled king. Both Wogan and Macmahon had been good companions until a most unlikely event caused a souring of relations between them, a dispute that could not, it seems, be settled diplomatically. The duel had been a well-established feature of early modern European noble culture by the eighteenth century and when dawn broke on 18 July 1718 over the quiet streets of Urbino, the two Irish gentlemen went out onto the street, raised their weapons, and prepared to settle their dispute...

Session 5.B: Room TR6

Mr Feliks Levin (Higher School of Economics in Saint-Petersburg)

Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* and the discourse of commonwealth

Current scholarship has emphasized the influence of the emergence of the new social order in Tudor and Stuart Ireland on the language of political culture. Although it is acknowledged that Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* incorporated some of the contemporary perceptions of power and values, the reflection of the discourse of commonwealth in the narrative has been overlooked. *Foras Feasa* gives a valuable insight into how different members of elites imagined the position of Ireland within British composite monarchy. Geoffrey Keating's narrative represented the conservative outlook on commonwealth, predominantly shared by Old English, who thought of Ireland as a commonwealth separate from England but enjoying the same monarch as 'the heade of the common weale'. The perception of change split the new emerging Protestant ruling elites of Ireland and the Old English aristocracy gradually deprived of authority. In response to the new order, the latter articulated the 'ancient constitution discourse', which not only created an image of the idyllic condition of the past, but also justified the claims of traditional aristocracy to be true 'commonwealth men' responsible for maintaining the social order. *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* provided historical legitimation for these claims based on a more ancient and integrative model: Keating included both Old English and Gaelic traditional aristocracy into 'commonwealth men', thus extending the boundaries of the political class responsible for governing Ireland, and projected the 'ancient constitutions' into the pre-Christian period when the kingdom of Ireland was established.

Dr Coleman A. Dennehy (University College, Dublin) and Dr Frances Nolan (University College, Dublin)

The location, space, and impact of parliament in early modern Ireland

For the first three hundred years of its existence, the Irish parliament moved with some regularity around the English areas of the island of Ireland – primarily the eastern and southern provinces. During this time it gathered in areas of varying degrees of urbanity – from the metropolis that was Dublin to the (literal) country crossroads of Ballydoyle in Tipperary. After Parliament was restricted to two larger cities of the east coast of Drogheda and Dublin (and later, just to Dublin) in the sixteenth century, it still did not find a permanent site or building until later in the following century. Once parliament did settle on a fixed site from 1692 onwards, it secured a purpose-built building of its own design in the 1730s. These facts allow for a study as to the impact of the movement – both in terms of how and why parliament went from being an itinerant institution – on parliament and on parliamentary politics, but also too on how the gathering of parliament might affect the local population, environment, and the economy. The selection and design of the new parliamentary complex also allows us to consider what might have been deemed desirable on the rare occasion in early modern Europe when parliamentarians were allowed to design their own permanent buildings solely for the use of parliament.

Dr Ian Campbell (Queen's University, Belfast)

Liberalism and Irish Political Thought in the Seventeenth Century.

The history of political thought, as practiced in the Anglophone world, is a discipline deeply committed and engaged with Liberalism and the history of liberal democracy. Historians of the subject most often wish to tell the story of the English and North American journey towards 1688 and 1787, and so they sometimes privilege those medieval and early modern traditions which are most obviously compatible with the emergence of the modern liberal democratic state, and neglect others that are the source of different and less attractive aspects of modernity. Irish historians too often engage in this kind of historical practice, lavishing attention on the political, intellectual, and social phenomena which can most easily be seen as the forerunners of the more admirable aspects of the liberal democratic states which currently govern the island. The present author has written a chapter for the new Cambridge History of Ireland along these lines. This paper will explore some of the distortions that this liberal historiography has wrought on the intellectual history of seventeenth-century Ireland, and ask how they might be resolved.

Special Panel

Dr Brendan Kane
Ms Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh

University of Connecticut
Trinity College, Dublin

“Léamh: Learn Early Modern Irish – a digital guide to reading and paleography, c. 1200-1650”

Léamh: Learn Early Modern Irish is a collaborative project involving partners in the US, Ireland and Scotland that aims to produce a web-based tutorial and resource for learning how to read and translate Early Modern Irish verse and prose, in both print and manuscript. The need for such a digital resource is great. There is an array of materials available for learning Modern and Old Irish, but no comparable ones for learning Early Modern Irish: no comprehensive grammar, no guide to translation and interpretation, and no dictionary. Influenced by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies’ Summer School program, and advances in digital humanities such as ISOS and the Bardic Poetry Database, Reading Early Modern Irish seeks to create and offer the means by which a global audience of scholars can build reading and transcription skills in verse and poetry. By offering the first systematic introductory apparatus for learning to read, transcribe and translate this material, Léamh.org seeks to provide the means by which complete beginners may access the language. In the presentation, we will discuss the concept and rationale for the project, demonstrate the progress made so far, describe what future work needs to be done, and suggest scholarly benefits of greater engagement with Irish sources.

Short Biographies of Speakers (Alphabetical)

Ms Emma Allen is a first year English PhD at NUIG, working under Marie-Louise Coolahan on the first comprehensive study of Anglophone women's petition letter-writing in Tudor Ireland, 1541-1603. She is a Galway Doctoral Scholarship recipient. Hailing from the University of Washington, she has an interdisciplinary background focusing on early modern cultural history and women's studies.

Dr Ian Campbell is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern Irish History in the School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy, and Politics at Queen's University Belfast.

Dr Hannah Coates recently completed her PhD at the University of Leeds. Her thesis was entitled 'Sir Francis Walsingham and Mid-Elizabethan Political Thought'. She has contributed a chapter on Walsingham's advice to Elizabeth I to an edited collection, *Queenship and Counsel in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Joanne Paul, Helen Matheson-Pollock, and Catherine Fletcher (forthcoming, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Mr Archie Cornish is studying for a DPhil (PhD) at the University of Oxford. His work concentrates on the connection between allegory and space, especially architecture and landscape, in the sixteenth century. The main focus is Edmund Spenser and his poem *The Faerie Queene* and contemporary antiquarian writing on Britain and Ireland. General interests are in allegorical literature, representation of buildings and landscapes, and construction of national identities.

Dr Coleman A. Dennehy is a legal historian. He is a former IRC Marie Skłodowska-Curie Elevate Fellow. In 2019 he is publishing an edited collection (with Robin Eagles) on the earl of Arlington with Routledge and another with the Irish Legal History Society on *Law and Revolution in mid-seventeenth century Ireland*. In 2020 he will publish the six-volume diary of the second earl of Cork (edited with Patrick Little) with the Irish Manuscripts Commission. His monograph, a legal and administrative history of *The Irish parliament, 1613-89: the evolution of a colonial institution* will be published by Manchester University Press.

Dr David Edwards is senior lecturer in history at University College, Cork. He has published extensively on early modern Irish history including a monograph on the Butler lordship of Ormond and several edited collections on topics such as atrocity in early modern Ireland and the Scots presence in Stuart Ireland. Most recently he has edited *The colonial world of Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork* along with Colin Rynne which was published in 2017 by Four Courts Press.

Dr Simon Egan completed his doctoral studies in History at University College Cork in 2016. He is currently a Society for Renaissance Studies Postdoctoral Fellow based at UCC.

Dr Benjamin Hazard is a graduate of University College Cork. He completed his doctoral studies in History at the University of Maynooth after conducting Archival research in Spain, Rome and Belgium. He has an established research record in peer-reviewed academic publications. At present, he works as a Tutor with the School of History at University College Dublin.

Dr David Heffernan is an R.J. Hunter Postdoctoral Fellow (Royal Irish Academy) at Queen's University, Belfast, where he is studying the early history of the Ulster Plantation. His monograph *Debating Tudor policy in sixteenth-century Ireland: 'Reform' treatises and political discourse* has recently been published by Manchester University Press. A further monograph, *Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex, and the colonisation of north-east Ulster, c. 1573-6*, is forthcoming with Four Courts Press.

Professor Raymond Pierre Hylton is a tenured Professor at Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia, USA, where he has served as Dean, and three terms as Department Chair. He received his Master's and Doctoral degrees from University College Dublin. He is the author of: "Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge, 1662-1745: An Unlikely Haven" (2005) and "Virginia Union University" (2014).

Dr Neil Johnston is an Early Modern Records Specialist at The National Archives, Kew. His research focuses on the governance of Ireland during the Restoration period. A co-founder of Tudor and Stuart Ireland, he also serves on the board of *Beyond 2022*, which aims to digitally recreate the Public Record Office of Ireland and its archival collections that were destroyed at the Four Courts in 1922.

Dr Brendan Kane is an historian of early modern Ireland and England. He is interested in the multi-lingual study of Irish-English relations and bridging gaps between Celticists and historians. He and Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh help direct the content side (as opposed to the technical side) of the digital humanities collaborative Léamh.org.

Mr Feliks Levin is a postgraduate student at Saint Petersburg State University. The topic of his PhD is ‘Protonational myth and history: Geoffrey Keating’s Foras Feasa ar Éirinn’.

Dr Patrick Little is a Senior Research Fellow at the History of Parliament in London. He is the author of *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union in Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2004) and editor of *Ireland in Crisis: War, Politics and Religion 1641-1651* (Manchester, forthcoming).

Dr Brian Mac Cuarta, SJ, has served as director, Jesuit Archives Rome, since 2010. He has published on the Catholic community, and on colonial society, in early modern Ireland.

Mr Richard K. Maher holds a first class MA from University College Dublin. He currently lectures in Dublin Institute of Technology.

Ms Bethany Marsh is a third year PhD student and teaching associate at the University of Nottingham. She won the Midland History journal prize in 2016, ‘Lodging the Irish: an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641-1651’.

Dr Naomi McAreavey lectures in Renaissance literature in UCD School of English, Drama and Film. She has published on the memory cultures of the 1641 rebellion for the journals *Memory Studies* (2018), *Irish University Review* (2017), and *The Journal of the Northern Renaissance* (2010), and she is currently developing a book-length project on remembering the 1641 rebellion in Ulster. She has co-edited, with Fionnuala Dillane and Emilie Pine, *The Body in Pain in Irish Literature and Culture* (Palgrave, 2017), and with Julie Eckerle, *Women’s Life Writing and Early Modern Ireland* (University of Nebraska Press, 2018). She is author of *The Letters of the First Duchess of Ormonde* (forthcoming with the Renaissance English Text Society).

Professor John McCafferty is a professor of History at UCD. His work and publications are concerned with religious change in Ireland between 1500 & 1700. He is Director of the Mícheál Ó Cléirigh Institute - a collaboration between the Irish Franciscans (OFM) and UCD. He is also currently Chair of the Irish Manuscripts Commission and *Praeses* of the *Consiglio Dei Reggenti* of the *Collegio San Bonaventura Frati Editori Quaracchi* based at St. Isidore’s College, Rome.

Dr Darren McGettigan is a graduate of the School of History at University College, Dublin. He is the author of four books on the history of late medieval and early modern Ireland.

Ms Lorna Moloney is a PhD student at NUI Galway working on the Gaelic Lordships of Thomond under the supervision of Professor Steven Ellis. The title of her thesis is ‘From Gaelic Lordship to English Shire: the anglicisation of Thomond and emergence of County Clare’. Lorna focuses on the loss of Gaelic lordships such as MacNamaras Clancuilein and the transformation of the O’Brien lordships with new cadet branches starting in the sixteenth century and creating a new cultural landscape.

Professor Lee Morrissey, Professor and Alumni Distinguished Professor of English and Founding Director of the Humanities Hub at Clemson University, is author of *The Constitution of Literature: Literacy, Democracy, and Early English Literary Criticism* (Stanford 2008), and *From the Temple to the Castle: An Architectural History of English Literature, 1660-1760* (UVAP 1999). His recent articles have appeared in *Modern Language Quarterly*, *Women’s Writing*, and *Global South*, as well as in a recent collection on Milton’s Modernities. A 2010-2011 Fulbright Scholar at NUI-Galway, he is writing an archipelagic book on John Milton.

Ms Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh is a PhD candidate in the Department of Irish and Celtic Studies, where she focuses on early modern Irish texts, both prose and poetry.

Dr Frances Nolan is a historian of women and gender and a former Irish Research Council Postgraduate Scholar. She completed her PhD on the role of Catholic and Jacobite women in the Williamite confiscation in UCD in late 2015. Alongside Dr C.I. McGrath, she is currently co-editing a modern edition of the printed schedule of claims brought before the trustees for the forfeited estates in Dublin between 1700 and 1703. Dr Nolan was the winner of the Women's History of Ireland (WHAI) Publication Prize 2017. Her article, titled "'The Cat's Paw': Helen Arthur, the Act of Resumption and *The Popish pretenders to the forfeited estates, 1700-3*", will appear in *Irish Historical Studies* in November. She was also this year's recipient of the Irish Association of Professional Historians Development Grant, which enabled her recent attendance at the Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School. Dr Nolan is also currently working on a biography of Frances Talbot, countess and titular duchess of Tyrconnell.

Ms Alma O'Donnell is a PhD candidate in the School of History at University College Cork. Her research interests include seventeenth-century Irish Catholic missions, possession and exorcism during the early modern period, the representation of spiritual authority in Irish texts, and lay religious practice. More specifically, her research focuses on Irish exorcists in the Catholic Reformation.

Dr James O'Neill worked in archaeology in Northern Ireland for 16 years, where he specialised in battlefield archaeology and twentieth century defence heritage. In 2008 he jumped ship to join the history fraternity at Queens University Belfast. His doctoral research focused on the military aspects of the Nine Years War, also known as Tyrone's Rebellion. This has been recently published as a monograph by Four Courts Press titled *The Nine Years War 1593-1603: O'Neill, Mountjoy and the Military Revolution*.

Mr Harrison Perkins is studying for a PhD at Queen's University, Belfast. His research focuses on the intersection of early modern theology and politics. His thesis is about the covenant theology of the Irish Archbishop James Ussher, and examines how covenant is used as a unifying principle in his thinking, how he appropriated ideas from early, medieval and prior Reformed thinkers to construct his own ideas, and how the political climate of seventeenth-century Ireland and the English civil war were important features that shaped his theological formation.

Dr Deana Rankin's first book *Between Spenser and Swift: English Writing in Seventeenth-century Ireland* (2005) explored the transition from soldier to settler across the turbulent C17. She recently edited Henry Burnell's *Landgartha* (2014), an allegorical play about Amazons staged in Dublin 1640; she has also published on early modern drama and the history of the book in Ireland – she contributed a chapter on seventeenth-century publishing in English to the *Cambridge History of Ireland* (2018). She is now working on two inter-related projects: 'Staging Amazons, 1557-2017' and 'Staging Tyrannicide, 1550-1750'. She is Senior Lecturer in English and Director of the Shakespeare MA at Royal Holloway, University of London.

Dr Helen Sonner studied at the University of North Carolina (BA with Honors) and Trinity College Dublin (MPhil), and completed her doctorate in English at Queen's University Belfast in 2013. She currently lives in Washington, DC, where she is completing a monograph that extends the research she conducted at QUB (*Plantation and Propaganda: The Printed Word and the Rise of British Colonialism*).

Dr Ramona Wray is Reader in Renaissance Literature at Queen's University, Belfast. She is the editor of the Arden Early Modern Drama edition of Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*, the author of *Women Writers in the Seventeenth Century* and the co-author of *Great Shakespeareans: Welles, Kurosawa, Kozintsev, Zeffirelli*. Her articles on Shakespeare appropriation and early modern women's writing have appeared in *Early Theatre*, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, *Shakespeare Quarterly* and *Women's Writing*. Ramona has recently completed an AHRC funded project on 'Memory and Community in Early Modern Britain', the findings of which have just been published in a special issue of *Memory Studies*.