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**TUDOR AND STUART  
 IRELAND CONFERENCE**  
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**ABSTRACTS BOOKLET**

## **SESSION 1A: Room C108**

**Dr Aoife Duignan (UCD)**

### ***Clanricarde and the Royalist Cause in Connacht***

Ulick Burke, fifth earl and first marquis of Clanricarde, was a significant actor at local, national and three kingdoms level throughout the tumults of the 1640s. King Charles I's most prominent supporter in Connacht remained apart from his provincial co-religionists following the outbreak of violence in 1641, and would resist consistent pressure to join with the Catholic Confederate Association as the decade progressed, only succumbing to their advances when deteriorating conditions left him with little alternative. The focus of this paper is his experiences following the conclusion of a cessation between the Confederate and Royalist parties in 1643. Its aftermath saw Clanricarde strive to maintain an uneasy compromise between the pursuit of a war effort in the peripheral western province and adherence to his political principles. Central in this regard are the tensions that emerged in his relationship with the Connacht Confederates, many of whom had enjoyed close personal ties with the earl. In addition to offering a valuable insight into the mechanics of war on the ground, the conflicts that arose between both parties reveal much about contemporary perceptions of Clanricarde's power and status within the region. Finally, Clanricarde's own understanding of his position is probed, with consideration of the extent to which his own outlook and behaviour was influenced by ambiguities surrounding his official status in the region and awareness of the need to preserve his interests in the context of an evolving political situation across the Stuart kingdoms.

**Dr Jane Fenlon (UCD/HII)**

### ***Reading the portrait of Sir Neil O'Neill (1657/8-1690) - A Catholic iconography?***

The iconic portrait of 'The Irish Chief', Sir Neil O'Neill, painted in Ireland by the artist John Michael Wright (1617-94) has long intrigued historians and art historians alike. Wright, a Catholic, was known to have travelled extensively, to Rome and the Low Countries where he was recommended to the Archduke of Austria as an antiquarian. A linguist, he spoke four languages including fluent Latin. He made a notable collection of paintings and drawings and also had an extensive library. This paper will explore the iconography of this portrait that was painted in Ireland in 1680.

**Dr John Cronin (Ind.)**

### ***The Marchioness of Ormond's Return from Exile and the Butler Patrimony***

This paper will examine Elizabeth Butler's, Marchioness of Ormond, return to Ireland from the Caroline royalist exile in France in the early 1650s. Considering the difficulty of the royalist exile, which lasted until 1660, it is no surprise that some expatriates returned home before the Restoration, many doing so with the approval of those who remained abroad. One of the best-known cases is that of Lady Elizabeth Butler. In mid-1652 she returned home from France to seek a share of the family estate from the English Parliament, receiving some satisfaction in this. The paper shall examine how Elizabeth Butler pursued her claim. It will examine who assisted her, why they did so and how she came to seek their aid. It will also explore what use she put the recovered part of her estate to, placing special emphasis on her continuing contacts with her husband, James Butler, Marquis of Ormond. Particular reference will be made to their co-operation in pursuing her claim, their consultations on the resources garnered in this way and their joint role in raising their offspring. I will also investigate why exactly Elizabeth Butler returned home and why the royalist and parliamentary camps allowed her to do so. This paper, therefore, will examine how and why elite royalists abandoned a politically-motivated exile, as well as investigate the role of women in protecting and managing patrimonies.

## **SESSION 1B: Room C109**

**Gertie Keane (Ind.)**

***'Great Stone Houses' - Kilkenny and its early modern townhouses, 1550-1650***

Many early modern townhouses were built by the wealthy merchant élite in the Anglo-Norman towns and cities of Ireland, such as the well-known Rothe House in Kilkenny. They form an important part of Ireland's cultural heritage, and can provide important information towards tracing the emergence and long-term development of our modern towns and cities, as well as greatly contributing to our socio-economic history. Yet, early modern townhouses have not received the same scholarly attention and analysis as houses in the rural context. Recent research on the early modern townhouses of Kilkenny city by the author examined the archaeology of the townhouses in conjunction with available historical evidence. It concludes that a range of architectural forms and townhouse plans existed in Kilkenny; that many of the merchant élite embraced the new classical architecture and changing concepts in social ordering and class identity in the style and layout of their new townhouses, and seized opportunities to negotiate their locations and positioning within the city. A sense of spatial hierarchy is suggested from the location and positioning of many of the townhouses in relation to each other, and to the principle areas and buildings of public focus within the city. The author compares certain aspects of these findings with the archaeology of early modern townhouses in England, in Galway, and with residences in the Irish rural context and concludes that parallels can be drawn between and within urban and rural contexts.

**Teresa Shoosmith (NUIG/SPAHSS Research Fellow)**

***Stone, mud and straw: landscape, people and material culture in east Clare, 1670-1750***

The Barony of Tulla in east Clare was one of the largest, but one of the least populated, baronies in County Clare in the seventeenth century. Following the Cromwellian wars of the 1650s, the landscape of Tulla was described by commentators of the period as ruined and wild, its people either transported to Barbados or starving among the ruined tower houses. Yet there were survivors of the turmoil. From this apparently abandoned and deserted region new settlements and Ascendancy estates were created. Many families in the region today are descended from the survivors of this period, from native Gaelic families as well as incomers. Landscape is not immutable, but an evolving relationship between people, communities and natural features. This paper will consider how the history of power relations, social structures and cultures in east Clare can be read in the material fabric of the land. It will explore the ways in which the destruction, incorporation, appropriation and reinterpretation of built and natural structures attempted to disempower the indigenous Gaelic inhabitants of the area and empower the new settlers. As importantly, it will consider how these same materials and features were used as the locus of resistance, negotiation and survival.

**J.P. Nunan (UCC)**

***An archaeology of the Munster Plantation, 1580-1641: Plantation settlement and industry in the seignories of Inchiquin & Kinalmeaky***

The late sixteenth century marked a rekindling of English interests in Munster. The following decades witnessed significant events: rebellion, plantation, economic growth, and decline, along with the erosion of Gaelic and Old English power and the establishment of new political elites. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Munster was a lightly settled, pastoral and a wooded region. Its economy was characterised by the unprocessed nature of its exports – hides, fish, and timber. One of the benefits that drew the English settlers to Munster was the availability of land and cheap timber. Land was rented creating new farmstead and hamlet settlements across the plantation region. Timber was exported as pipe-staves and planks, but also converted locally into charcoal. It was principally the growing English iron industry that would take advantage of this fuel supply; Munster was one of the regions where enough 'Hard' woods survived to justify the introduction of blast furnaces and related ironworks. Settlement and industry provided, in varying degrees, basic social infrastructure, accommodation and settlement forms. Archaeological case studies from the Munster region are discussed to emphasise the significant such accommodation, settlement, industry and materiality played in plantation Munster. Material culture in the form of artefacts, architecture, as well as documentary sources such as maps and inventories provide an insightful interpretation on the lives of people who lived in a society that was undergoing fundamental changes. Material culture is a form of expression that not only mediated but also controlled the expression of culture, power and identities.

## **SESSION 2A: Room C108**

**Dr Declan Downey (UCD)**

***‘The Sov’ reign of our liking’: lineage, legitimacy and liege-men: The Irish Catholic nobilities and the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy c.1529 – c.1651***

This paper proposes to explore issues concerning culture and mentality among members of the Irish Catholic nobilities (Gaelic, Hiberno-Norman and Old English); their self-perception, self-justification and self-promotion in relation to their motivations for the transfer of their allegiances to the Spanish Habsburg monarchy.

**Jennifer Wells (Brown University)**

***Blood politics: Nationalism and war crimes at the Irish high court of justice, 1652-54***

On 27 September 1652, the English Parliament erected a High Court of Justice in Dublin and other Irish urban centres both to punish Irish Catholics for the 1641 rebellion and to facilitate the implementation of the Act for the Settling of Ireland. Despite a recent resurgence of interest in Cromwellian Ireland, scholars have largely overlooked the court, which has obscured the court’s wider significance, as well as the insights it provides on Irish society during the 1640s. Drawing upon the High Court’s proceedings, this paper makes a start, arguing that the 40% acquittal rate was due to the English’s acute adherence to legal principles, particularly the laws of war and emerging international law doctrine from Continental Europe. In the process, the paper examines the Irish reaction to the court, arguing that Irish society shifted from localized allegiances in the late 1630s and early 1640s to a growing national consciousness by the late 1640s and early 1650s. A close reading of trial testimony underscores this trend, as crimes committed in the wake of the rebellion were frequently between neighbours and of a highly localized nature, while those crimes committed during the mid to late 1640s and early 1650s involved extensive political and military networks of a national stature. The testimonies of numerous Irish Catholic defence witnesses who appeared without legal compulsion further reflect a growing nationalist sentiment formed in the wake of the Cromwellian conquest, thus suggesting that no matter the high acquittal rate and adherence to legal principles, the tribunal’s reverberations were deeply felt within Irish society.

**Neil Johnston (UCD/HIL/ARCHSS)**

***The Restoration land settlement in microcosm – The Southwells of Kinsale and the court of claims.***

Charles II’s ‘Gracious Declaration’ of November 1660 proved unworkable in Ireland for many reasons. Contradictory in nature, it moved to restore those whom the king considered most deserving, while attempting to placate just enough of each ‘interest’ to create a *modus vivendi* for the government. However, it encountered huge resistance from all sections of Irish life. More so, it did not have the legal authority to restructure land ownership. It was followed by a series of ‘Instructions’ of February 1661, which created a commission to implement the ‘Gracious Declaration’. The commissioners who occupied this position were heavily biased, many of them landowners trying to retain properties. This commission was terminated as it was quickly realized that their work would create rather than solve problems. Thus, under the Act of Settlement of 1662 a new commission would adjudicate on land disputes in Ireland, known as the Court of Claims. This paper will seek to chart one family’s case through the court. Robert Southwell’s actions during the wars of the 1640s and his subsequent conformity to the Cromwellian government in Ireland reflect the choices of many during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. However, his significant standing in Munster gave him benefits denied to others claiming land in 1663. Access and privilege, backed by money and personal relationships, were essential to navigate the political system. Thus, this paper will discuss the manner in which the Southwells were able to draw on their resources to ensure a successful conclusion to their case in 1663.

## **SESSION 2B: Room C109**

**Dr David Coleman (Nottingham Trent University)**

### ***From Tudor to Stuart: Sir John Davies and Ulster***

The literary and legal career of Sir John Davies can be seen as emblematic both of the changes in courtiership brought about by the re-imagining of British monarchy in 1603, and of the radical shifts in evaluative paradigms which have taken place in English studies over the past few decades. Davies was a lawyer by training, but his primary public role in the Elizabethan court was as a poet; and it was as an Elizabethan poet that he was primarily known to literary critics prior to the political turn of the 1980s. From that decade onwards, however, it is the Jacobean Davies who has almost exclusively served as the focus of critical enquiry. This is Davies as legal imperialist, promoter of British interests in Ireland. If one generation of critics knew Davies primarily as the author of *Nosce Teipsum*, a long philosophical poem on the nature of the soul, a more recent generation has known him as the author of *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued*, a historical narrative congratulating the Jacobean administration for its success in Ireland. This radical change in the conception of a single author raises important questions about the nature of contemporary critical enquiry, the types of questions which it asks, and the presuppositions which critics bring to their material. That said, the radical bifurcation of Davies into an Elizabethan poet and a Jacobean imperialist, neither of which are closely related to each other, does seem at least congruent with the textual record, a fact which raises significant questions in itself. The reasons for the cessation of poetic activity; the apparent incoherence between the poetry and the later prose; and the difficulty of forming a clear picture of Davies: all of these provide legitimate imperatives to look again at this enigmatic figure. From the perspective of a study of early modern Ulster, in fact, Davies demands attention; this English-poet/British-imperialist was present in Ulster throughout much of the tumultuous first decade of the seventeenth century, and has been claimed as 'one of the architects of James's policy in Ireland' (Krueger 1975: xlv). What have perhaps not been sufficiently noted about Davies are the eyewitness accounts which he has left of one of the pivotal moments in Irish and British history. By playing a crucial role in the Jacobean administration of Ulster, Davies – like the more familiar example of Francis Bacon – reminds us that the intellectual pursuits of early modern English elites sometimes drew those elites inexorably towards Ulster.

**Stephen Carroll (TCD)**

### ***Resistance to Plantation in early seventeenth-century Ireland***

The policy of plantation in Ireland represented a key way in which the crown planned to reform the country following pacification in 1603. In 1608, the English Privy Council described plantation as a means 'to reduce that savage and rebellious people to civility, peace, religion and obedience'. This paper will analyse the native (Old English and Gaelic Irish) resistance to plantation initiatives. In October 2009, Trinity College, Dublin held a conference entitled 'Plantation and reaction: the 1641 rebellion', implying that the rebellion best encapsulates native resistance to plantation. This paper will analyse the 'weapons of the weak' to demonstrate the forms of resistance employed to oppose plantation, such as legal suits, petitions, delegations to Dublin and London, delaying commissioners, obstruction of surveyors, seditious speeches, threats, the destruction of property and open revolt. I will show that violence, far from being the natural or obvious response, represented the final course of action for those in protest. This paper will analyse opposition to proposed plantation schemes in Ulster, Leitrim-Longford, Wexford, Carlow, Wicklow, Ranelagh and Ossory in the period up to Wentworth's deputyship. In this way, this paper will show how people challenged the administration in early Stuart Ireland, demonstrating that to rule effectively, power must be negotiated between ruler and ruled.

**Coleman Dennehy (UCD)**

### ***Procedure, privilege, and identity in early modern Irish parliaments***

This paper will be concerned with the development of the idea of parliamentary privilege as a manifestation of identity in early modern Ireland. In particular development of parliamentary procedures and especially the privilege of individual members, both houses, and parliament in general, can be viewed as individuals and groups striving to more clearly emphasize the position of their class within society. As such, the way that parliament was ordered and breakdowns between the houses that occurred, can be a reflection of the tensions within early modern Ireland, based not on religious differences, but more so on the differences in a society where people are all too aware of class. This is not to say that sectarian divides are not evident in parliament in Ireland at the time, no less than they are in society in general, but that there are other issues at play also, and that they can frequently be a driving force behind how the constituent parts of parliament organized themselves. As is well known, Irish parliamentary history has more often than not been written with an 'us and them' divide - Irish v English, native v newcomer, Catholic v Protestant, but it does not appear to have been often written within the context of commoner v aristocrat. There is nothing really new in this approach to parliamentary history - history such as this has been done in Europe for decades, but it never really seems to have been developed to a great degree in Irish historiography. It will not overturn any previous held beliefs as to the political history of Ireland, but in terms of how people behave and identify themselves, it might give some cause for thought as to an additional layer onto an already complex society.

## **SESSION 3A: Room C108**

**Prof. James McGuire (UCD)**

### ***The composition and representative character of the 1689 parliament***

The only extensive treatment of the 1689 parliament was written in the 1840s by Thomas Davis and published in the Dublin University Magazine; it was subsequently edited by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and reissued in book form as the Patriot parliament. Though Davis viewed the 1689 parliament through the prism of Young Ireland nationalism, he nonetheless provided a detailed account of its composition and proceedings. The most significant treatment by a professional historian in the twentieth century was J. G. Simms's *Jacobite Parliament* (1966) (and in Simms's *Jacobite Ireland* (1969), ch. 5); this was followed in 1973 by Brian Farrell's essay in Farrell (ed.), *The Irish parliamentary tradition*. In recent work I have tried to shift the historical emphasis from what the 1689 parliament did and from what it symbolised, and to focus instead on its composition and its representative character. In so doing I have been influenced by the approach taken by Donal Cregan in his treatment of the personnel of the confederation of Kilkenny (*Irish Historical Studies*, xxix (1994–5), 490–512).

**Dr John Bergin (QUB)**

### ***The legislative work of James II's Irish parliament of 1689***

The legislation of James II's Irish parliament of 1689 has received – with the notable exceptions of Thomas Davis and J.G. Simms – little serious scrutiny. To most contemporary Protestants, and to later whig writers, it was the 'pretended parliament'; much later, some nationalists dubbed it the 'patriot parliament'. Scholarship has been hindered by problems of the sources: King William's Irish parliament ordered the destruction of the records of the 1689 parliament, and historians since have had to rely on incomplete and unofficial editions of its statutes. This paper will report on some recent work by Dr Andrew Lyall and by the speaker (with contributions from Professor W.N. Osborough and others) to establish the text of the largest possible number of the 1689 acts of parliament. Some 25 of the 35 acts passed have now been located. Furthermore, official contemporary printings of 17 of the acts have been identified. This new evidence justifies a fresh look at the legislation which generated so much controversy. This paper will survey the parliament's legislative output as a whole – considering its sources and models; elements of continuity in the legislative preoccupations of the 1689 and earlier and subsequent parliaments; the legislative draftsmanship; and the subsequent complex history of the surviving copies of the acts.

**Eoin Kinsella (UCD)**

### ***Colonel John Browne: Jacobite soldier, lawyer and entrepreneur***

By the mid 1680s, John Browne, an Irish Catholic lawyer and entrepreneur, had established himself as a fledgling ironmaster and one of the greatest landowners in Connacht. Dispossessed of his estate by the 1689 Act of Repeal, Browne nevertheless raised three regiments for James II's Irish army. However, his primary importance to the Jacobite war effort lay in the operation of several ironworks on his estate, as he established himself as the principal supplier of materiel to the Irish army. During the negotiation of the terms of surrender for the Jacobite army at Limerick in September and October 1691, Browne secured a controversial, last-minute addition to the articles. Despite his importance to the Jacobite war effort, the articles of Limerick and the subsequent Williamite settlement of Ireland, Browne remains almost unknown. This paper will examine Browne's activities during the reigns of James II and William III, using his varying fortunes under both monarchs to illustrate the continuance, or otherwise, of Jacobite ideology among the Catholic elite during and after the Williamite war. The unique nature of article 13 of the articles of Limerick will also be examined.

## **SESSION 3B: Room C109**

**Eduardo de Mesa Gallego (John Hume Institute for Global Irish Studies, UCD)**

### ***The choice of Ireland in the XVI and XVII centuries: the Spanish Monarchy***

I want to explain why the Irish (or at least the Gaelic families and a good number of Old English families) decided to ally themselves with the Spanish Empire when, supposedly and in the opinion of most traditional Anglo-Saxon historiography (the inheritor of the Black Legend), Spain was in total decline at the end of the reign of Philip II and could do nothing to save herself, much less Ireland. For that historiography the seventeenth century was the Gotterdammerung of the Spanish Empire, losing ground every year from the beginning of the century. If an overview of the real state of the Spanish Monarchy is done, bringing to light the last studies realized in Spain criticizing the myth of the decline of Spain (which explain a crisis not a decline), the explanation of the alliance is easy and clear. If the Irish didn't take advantage of any help and support, why was it decided to serve to Spain so strongly? If the Spanish armies were so old fashioned and backward, why did hundreds of Irish decide to fight in its ranks from 1586 to 1644 instead of serving in France? If Spain did not have the resources to continue the fight, why did the Irish, year after year, ask for help? All these questions arise when the political history of Spain and Ireland is scrutinized again, putting back to the front the real state of the Spanish Monarchy, which until 1640 was predominant in Europe, although fighting on many fronts across the world.

**Aislinn Collins (UCC)**

### ***Image and reality: the dress of the Irish in Tudor and Stuart Ireland***

Numerous laws were passed by Tudor and Stuart parliaments to curtail or outright ban Irish styles of clothing. Propaganda was circulated using Irish fashions as evidence of the need to 'civilise' the island. Conformity to English fashions was actively encouraged. Clothing, a core area of material culture, says much about the identity of the wearer; in this paper I will examine what extant garments can tell us about the ordinary Irish people living in Tudor and Stuart Ireland. These garments provide information both about the quality of manufacture available to the ordinary person; and about the influences on the styles adopted. Comparing them with contemporary artistic representations and written accounts, a picture emerges of the real extent of the power of the monarchy/parliament in London to alter the daily lives of its Irish subjects.

**Dr Clodagh Tait (University of Essex)**

### ***'Irish curses are always picturesque': malediction, oaths and vengeance in early modern Ireland***

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland, supernatural vengeance might be invoked in several different ways. The speaking of curses called on God to punish wrongdoers, and essentially licensed the curser to act as an instrument of that vengeance. The taking of oaths (in the presence of religious books, relics or holy substances, or on consecrated ground) was a common means of sealing pacts, with the understanding that breaking one's word would bring swift supernatural retribution and provoke a reaction amongst one's former associates. More informal kinds of divine and saintly retribution were also regularly interpreted as issuing from sacrilegious actions. This paper looks at some surviving accounts of formal rituals of cursing and swearing, and the use therein of gesture, words, and objects. It also discusses the politics and power relations underlying these practices. Cursing in particular can offer insight into the emotional lives of past populations: their fears and insecurities, as well as their rage, indignation and hatred. Some curses seem impetuous and petty, while oath-taking might occur in very improvisational circumstances, but closer inspection suggests that the impression of recklessness can conceal quite carefully-calculated assessments of risk and reward. The extent to which it is possible to draw connections and continuities between medieval, early modern and nineteenth-century cursing will be considered, and the paper will also discuss cursing and oath-taking within a wider British and Irish Isles context, to suggest that though these rituals have parallels in cursing, excommunication and oath-swearing rites elsewhere, these were adapted to Irish circumstances to create something quite distinctive.

## **SESSION 4A: Room K114**

**Dr Emma Lyons (UCD)**

### ***Letters patent and the court of claims: the experience of Lattins, 1640-1660s***

This paper will examine the experiences of Catholic landowning families in seventeenth-century Ireland as they struggled to retain their estates during the 1650s and 1660s. This will be done by detailing a case study of the Lattin family from county Kildare who experienced first hand the difficulties which faced Catholic families during those turbulent decades with regard to land. The main focus of this paper will be two letters patents, issued to the Lattins in 1661 and 1667, in addition to evidence submitted to the court of Claims by a family member in 1662. During the 1650s there occurred what T.W. Moody termed 'the most catastrophic land-confiscation and social upheaval in Irish history', which involved the transplantation to Connaught of Catholic landowners. However, not all Catholics transplanted, and despite the fact that they were subject to persecution, a number of families remained on their estates. In the case detailed in this paper, the family would appear to have successfully retained possession of their estate during the 1650s, receiving a grant to their property in 1661. Despite this grant, which outlined their plight during the 1640s and 1650s, the Lattins lodged two claims to the Court of Claims, which were heard in August 1663, and, although the family did not receive a favourable judgement, they were subsequently re-granted their estates by a second letters patent in 1667. By studying these letters patents, and the Court of Claims records, it will be possible to gain an insight into a Catholic family's experiences during the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s, and to assess the tactics employed by seventeenth-century Catholic families in a bid to retain their estates.

**Stephen Kelly (UCD)**

### ***'This Shining Circle': Castle and playhouse in Restoration Dublin***

Understanding the relationship between the Smock Alley theatre and the political elite in Restoration Ireland will afford us a better understanding of Britain's colonial apparatus in the kingdom during the late Stuart period. I have examined the relationship between personalities associated with the theatre and leading figures in the Dublin Castle administration. This provides an insight into the public theatre's place in Dublin society. I have also examined how the state controlled and supported the theatre as an institution. This allows us an appreciation of the extent to which the authorities recognized the power of the medium as a tool for supporting government, as well as its potential for undermining the state. Furthermore, I have conducted a literary analysis of two contemporary plays, Orrery's *The Generall* and Philips's *Pompey*, and identified themes pertinent to an audience in mid seventeenth-century Ireland. In this way, I have shown how concerns of audience and playwright were aired on the stage. The Smock Alley theatre was closely linked to the British administration in Ireland during the Restoration and played a role in promoting and cultivating support for the regime. Cultural activity was an important element in the project to establish political control of Ireland after the Interregnum. Smock Alley was a visible expression of the culture of the new Anglo-Irish elite. The conscious tendency to replicate London theatrical activity in Dublin established a pattern that persisted for centuries and shaped the context in which the national theatre movement emerged in the late nineteenth century.

**Suzanne Forbes (UCD/IRCHSS)**

### ***The Church of Ireland clergy and 'high-church' principles during Queen Anne's reign***

If we know that the Church of Ireland clergy had shown themselves to be overwhelmingly in favour of the 1688 Revolution and succession of the crown in the Protestant House of Hanover – particularly evident in the small numbers of clergymen that had emerged as non-jurors during the 1690s – it is difficult then to understand how contemporaries might plausibly suggest otherwise. Although charges of disloyalty levied against Anglican clergymen during the period should have made less sense in Ireland than they did in England, this paper will first consider how the connection between high-church principles, sedition and disloyalty was established in an Irish context quite early in Anne's reign by looking at the Swan-Tripe club presentment of 1705. Secondly, while the prevailing hostility of Irish churchmen to Protestant dissent could be interpreted as evidence of high-church sentiment, it does not serve to fully explain the association of the majority of Irish clergymen with such principles. By considering the well-publicised dispute in convocation between the high-church divine William Percevale and the low-churchman Ralph Lambert in 1709, it is possible to explain how the majority of Irish clergymen came to be more firmly associated with high-church principles and particularly the high-church movement as it had been developing in England, serving in part to reinforce charges of disloyalty made against them during the period.

## **SESSION 4B: Room C108**

**James O'Neill (QUB/DEL Scholar)**

### ***Trailing pikes and turning kern: military acculturation in the Nine Years' War***

It is nothing new to claim that the earl of Tyrone transformed his army from a traditional Gaelic host, to one equipped and trained in modern military methods of pike and shot. Both Cyril Falls and G.A. Hayes McCoy noted O'Neill's drive to remodel his army, but discussion this subject has focused on Irish ambitions and achievements. This paper will examine the effects of the new modes of warfare on the native Irish and Tudor armies in Ireland. Modern methods enabled Irish troops to effectively deploy modern weapons tactically, but presented unforeseen problems that would later undermine their war effort. Correspondingly, the radical alteration of the Irish armies had a substantial effect on the ways and means they were opposed by the forces of the crown. Under the assault of successive Irish victories in the first half of the war, the English officers in Ireland were compelled to respond with changes of their own at the tactical, operational and strategic levels. English military leaders modified their methods by adapting and assimilating Irish military strengths. Therefore the transformational processes active were not a one-way street on the part of the Irish, but a reciprocal process by which both sides' evolution was guided by the nature of the belligerents and material resources at their disposal. Ultimately, Dublin came to espouse a type of warfare that had only ever been condemned as cowardly and without honour.

**Evelien Schillern (UCD/IRCHSS)**

### ***The European Context of the Williamite War in Ireland, 1689-91***

The Williamite war was a key event and a turning point in Irish history. From an Irish perspective, the Williamite victory signalled the end of the Catholic revival of the 1680s, and confirmed the dominance of England and Protestantism in Ireland. The majority of historians that have examined this period have therefore focused on the Irish context of the Williamite war. This paper aims to highlight that the Williamite war can also be placed in a European context. The general theme of this paper will be that the Williamite war in Ireland was not only a key event in Irish history, but played an important role in European affairs as well.

The paper will show that the objectives of two of the key players in the Williamite war, William of Orange and the French king Louis XIV, were motivated by European considerations. During the Williamite war, Ireland was but one of the stages of the War of the Grand Alliance (1688-1697), the conflict between the French king and an alliance which was spearheaded by William of Orange but included a diverse collection of European monarchs, both Protestant and Catholic. The paper will further endeavour to highlight that the Williamite war in Ireland greatly influenced the early years of the War of the Grand Alliance, as it forced William of Orange to divide his attention and resources.

**Alan Smyth (TCD/PRTL & Trinity Long Room Hub)**

### ***'Whence the miserable state of that province was sufficient manifest': the impact of the siege of Derry on the city and its inhabitants***

The Williamite war was one of the most extreme power struggles fought during the Stuart period in Ireland, one that helped determine the future of the English monarchy while also forming part of a broader European conflict, the War of the League of Augsburg. The siege of Derry served as a microcosm of this conflict, one that was much celebrated in contemporary Williamite pamphlets and other literature. Lasting over a hundred days, the siege saw a Jacobite force encircle and fire almost six hundred artillery rounds into the city, which at the time sheltered a much-expanded population made up of Protestant militia and civilians from the surrounding area. This paper will look at the impact of the siege of Derry on the city and its inhabitants, examining issues such as the death of civilians, food shortages, the physical damage caused to property, the subsequent reductions in rent levels and other economic consequences, as well as the relationship between the city's population and the military, both Williamite and Jacobite. The role of Derry's corporation in the city's recovery following this period of devastation will also be considered. Touching on the power struggle at the top of political society, as well as the religious tensions inherent in Ulster during this period, the focus on societal and economic effects is an area that has previously been underexplored.

## **SESSION 4C: C109**

### **Conall Mac Aongusa (Ind.)**

#### ***Thomond in a European context: the Uí Bhriain Dynasty, 1450-1580***

The main characteristic of the Uí Bhriain Kingdom of Thomond that distinguished it from its European peers in the late 15th century, was its context in an insular system of disaggregated sovereignty and cultural unity. Its ideology informed a social order controlled by a system of obligations and protections. Power was displayed by the dispersal and control of wealth rather than its accumulation and control over people rather than over territories. Within Ireland, Thomond and its dynastic peers were distinguished by their continuity, longevity and political prestige. What distinguishes Thomond from its peers in Ireland is the evidence of the strength and cohesion of a corporate power influencing and restraining the excesses of the king and the *derbhfhine*. The exercise of this corporate power was the single-most positive force for stability in Thomond. The evidence for this influence group is revealed in an analysis of the patterns of continuity and stable behaviour of the political system over many generations. The political impulses of the Uí Bhriain dynasty were to adapt and change to survive. This meant that the political establishment in Thomond had to provide for a balance and flexibility that allowed the conservative and pragmatic tensions within the dynasty to be reconciled over time. The function and characteristic of the Thomond Establishment was to uphold the prestige and supremacy of the Uí Bhriain dynasty and dynastic ideology by prudently wielding the corporate mechanisms of power. This paper will focus particularly on the evolution of dynastic politics in Uí Bhriain Kingdom in the 15th and 16th centuries.

### **Áine Sheehan (UCC/IRCHSS)**

#### ***'Sound and Trusty Subjects': the Gaelic professional families of Thomond, 1580s-1640s***

The creation of the earldom of Thomond in July 1543, marked a significant turning point in the fortunes of the Gaelic literate families patronised by the O'Briens. These families had for centuries maintained the institutions of Gaelic society. However, in the O'Briens, we have a traditional Gaelic dynasty actively engaging in the Anglicisation process, with the support of some elements of the Gaelic literate elite. This paper will present a picture of the varying responses on an individual and corporate family level, to the process of Anglicisation in Thomond. The Gaelic professional elite in Thomond was represented by; the MacBruaideadha (poetry); MacFlannchadha (jurists); and the Ó hIcidhe and Ó Nialláin (physicians) families. Each of these families was confronted with the choice to adapt to the growing English influence in the lordship or risk marginalisation. Their response to this challenge was couched in the family business. Individuals such as Boetius MacClancy moved quite quickly from a Gaelic role, as a brehon, to a similar role in the Anglicised administration, becoming the sheriff of county Clare in 1588. The Ó Nialláin family seized the opportunity to challenge the dominance of the Ó hIcidhe medical family for the patronage of the O'Briens, by emphasising their English medical education. The MacBruaideadha bardic family attempted to engage with the new planter class, while also preserving Gaelic literary culture. Through these families, it is possible to witness the impact of Tudor and Stuart rule in Ireland on the level below the ruling elite.

### **Prof. James Knowles (UCC)**

#### ***'A Glittering Kind of Slavery': the Boyles, book culture, and aristocratic patronage in seventeenth century culture***

This paper will focus on the cultural patronage of the Boyle family, especially Richard Boyle, Viscount Dungarvan (later 2nd Earl of Cork). Dungarvan is often overshadowed by his more famous siblings, Robert Boyle the scientist, Roger Boyle the playwright and statesman, Katherine the political writer, and Mary the diarist and devotional writer. Yet Boyle, as the heir to the Boyle patrimony, was closely involved in attempts to forge a British identity - he danced in *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) - a masque which exemplifies the Caroline project of Britishness, a highly contested idea in the mid-1630s. His own activities include writings, the collection of manuscript poetry, and the staging of masques at Youghal College or Lismore Castle. In concert with his father he engaged in an extensive programme of works at Lismore designed to develop the castle as a Caroline aristocratic seat, and he employed painters such as Van Dyck and other artists to further familial representation. Using Boyle's career as an entry point, this paper will look at the challenges to the Caroline court idea of Britishness in the 1630s and how they require us to reconsider the paradigms used to study early modern culture on both sides of the Irish Sea. It will further explore how the Boyles generated a concerted familial ethos and the role of the heir in its propagation, linking Boyle's own activities to the creation of an archipelagic protestant, and aristocratic identity, and considering the role of cultural patronage in the creation of Britishness in an Irish context.

## **SESSION 5A: Room C108**

**Dr Brian Jackson (UCD)**

*Irish identities and the Jesuit historical imagination*

**Dr Ian Campbell (UCD/IRCHSS)**

*Platonism and Aristotelianism in early modern Ireland: an historical revision*

Brendan Bradshaw is an highly expert and accomplished scholar both of Irish history and of the history of European political thought, having made seminal contributions in fields as diverse as Irish Reformation studies and the understanding of Thomas More's *Utopia*. What are we to make then of his argument in the *Historical Journal* in 1978 that 'to speak of Protestant humanism is, strictly speaking, a contradiction in terms' because Christian humanism and Protestantism were in fact deeply antipathetic? Bradshaw's argument has very grave implications indeed for the study of political discourse in both Tudor and Stuart Ireland. In fact, early modern Europe was alive with Protestant humanism. Bradshaw's argument made sense to him and his contemporaries because he conflated the categories of humanism and Platonism, and took the work of outstanding intellectuals like Thomas More as characteristic of ordinary grammar-school and university humanism as a whole. Nevertheless, it was the ethical and political works of Aristotle which dominated the first years of university life, not those of Plato, and this Aristotelianism persisted in all the European universities until at least the middle of the seventeenth century. This paper will argue that attention to the Aristotelian ascendancy in the early modern universities is vital in order to map accurately the relationships between participants in Irish political discourse as diverse as Richard Stanihurst, Edmund Spenser, Sir John Davies, Philip O Sullivan Beare, and John Lynch.

**Dr Patrick Walsh (TCD)**

*Was St Patrick a Presbyterian? History, tradition and identity in Andrew Stewart's A Short Account of the Church of Christ in Ireland*

The dramatic changes in the social, political and ecclesiastical make-up of Tudor and Stuart Ireland have caused difficulties for generations of modern historians. Contemporary writers had similar problems, but the stakes were higher as the different communities and denominations in early modern Ireland attempted to construct and legitimize their own past. This process can be seen in the various attempts by members of each religious denomination to construct their own version of the history of the early Irish church, in a search for an indigenous Celtic Christianity. James Ussher's *Discourse on the Religion Professed by the Ancient Irish* (1631) was the classic Irish Anglican version of the early Irish church. His version did not go contested, even within Protestant Ireland. This paper seeks to examine the version of the Irish past created by the earliest historian of the Presbyterian church Reverend Andrew Stewart. Drawing on this hitherto unpublished text this paper, by one of the editors of the first printed edition of Stewart's history, seeks to explore the particularly Presbyterian version of the past it propounded. Stewart's history is set within the context of its writing, and the contemporary scholarly debates, showing how it fits into wider attempts to manipulate the past for present needs by authors writing in the context of the theological and political conflicts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland and Scotland.

## **SESSION 5B: Room C109**

**Áine Hensey (NUIM/An Foras Feasa)**

### ***An 'Illegal Profession': the formation of a corporate identity for Roman Catholic priests in south-east Ireland between 1560 and 1641***

The early modern period in western Europe witnessed the gradual professionalisation of the clergy. Aidan Clarke has described the medieval cleric as 'a peasant among peasants', but both the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Council of Trent promoted the development of a group of men, educated with a view to following a specific career path, self-consciously aware of their duty and vocation, with a collective identity that allowed for internal control and self-regulation while also encouraging a corporate *esprit de corps*. Although this developing professionalisation could bring the clergy into conflict with the agents of civil government, the aims of church and state were usually concurrent, with control of the spiritual and temporal behaviour of the people as their core function. Following the acts of supremacy and uniformity of 1560, the practice of Catholicism was proscribed and, in the succeeding century, priests who continued to minister on the island were subjected to varying degrees of persecution and were often forced to flee the country. This paper will examine the extent to which those priests who lived and worked in south-east Ireland between 1560 and 1641 were able to emulate their Catholic and Protestant counterparts in the rest of Europe in the establishment of a shared identity that allowed them to develop as a corporate body of professional practitioners.

**Hilary Bishop (University of Liverpool)**

### ***Mass Rocks: Penal Law necessity or Reformation possibility?***

As locations of a distinctively Catholic faith, Mass rocks are important historical, ritual and counter-cultural sites. Their continued use reflects, and helps reconstruct, contemporary Irish identity whilst providing a tangible and experiential connection to Irish heritage and tradition. The mythology surrounding Mass rocks tends to symbolise the worst excesses of the 'Penal Laws' yet an exploratory examination of their geographical distribution has yielded some surprising concentrations and absences in certain areas. The actual locations of these sites are equally intriguing since few conform to the mythical, secluded, upland sanctuaries depicted in early and mid-twentieth century history textbooks and more recently on 'republican' murals. It may be argued that, whilst the Penal Laws themselves were passed between 1695 and 1707, Ireland's Roman Catholics had remained in a state of suppression from as early as Tudor and Stuart times right through to the Cromwellian era. It is therefore possible that Mass rock sites in fact belong to a period earlier than that of the Penal Laws and perhaps relate to the Cromwellian era or even date as far back as the Reformation. This research project offers an opportunity to combine a number of interdisciplinary skills from various subject areas including history, archaeology, folklore and historical geography in order to produce a valuable resource that will help widen our knowledge of this emotive and often misunderstood period and provide an original and important vista on this topic.

**Eric Derr (NUIM/John and Pat Hume Scholar)**

### ***Jacobite rule by proxy? The Stuarts and the appointment of eighteenth-century Irish bishops***

At the end of the seventeenth century the Catholic Church's organisational structure was near collapse with the imposition of new penal legislation and the exile of its hierarchy throughout continental Europe. The re-emergence of the Catholic Church from this structural weakness during the late eighteenth century is an evolutionary process that has yet to be adequately analysed. From 1685 to 1766 James II and James III nominated bishops to the Irish hierarchy who laid the religious, political and intellectual frame-work that ultimately led to the successful renewal of the episcopate, the setting up of a seminary system, the putting in place of a parochial network, pastoral provision and the emancipation for Irish Catholics. My paper will look at prosopography as a historical approach and how this approach facilitates the deployment of 'scattered', incomplete and sometimes inconsistent data to draw reliable conclusions. At the heart of prosopography '...is the inquiry into common characteristics of a group of historical actors by means of a collective study of their lives. The hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church lends itself to prosopographical research, because of the common characteristics shared by its members. My paper will look at the Jacobite hierarchy nominated by James II and James III focusing on how they viewed this right and assess the Jacobite episcopal hierarchy in the context of their social and educational background.

## **SESSION 6A: Room C108**

**David Heffernan (UCC)**

### ***The campaign for the 'Reduction of Leinster' in post-Kildare rebellion Ireland***

Tudor Ireland, in the years following the 1534 Kildare rebellion, has usually been defined as a period of constitutional revolution and re-orientation in crown-subject relations. In this respect the policy which has since become known as 'surrender and regrant' has been central to almost every analysis of the late 1530s and 1540s. These studies have also generally acknowledged the existence of a strand of thought amongst senior government officials which sought the expansion of the effective area of governance beyond the four county Pale, particularly into the midlands and south Leinster, however, this pre-occupation has been considered somewhat peripheral. Curiously though, it was this latter objective, the 'Reduction of Leinster' as it was referred to at the time, which held the attention of those charged with administering the government of Ireland in their position papers and treatises on Irish affairs rather than the mechanics of 'surrender and regrant'. These officials, amongst whom the treasurer, William Brabazon, and the master of the rolls, John Alen, were the most significant voices, were frequently silent on the issue of constructing an inclusive Irish kingdom but for a decade consistently pressed an aggressive stance in Leinster as their agenda, a design which was largely achieved in 1546 when Brabazon led an invasion of the midlands counties. Given the importance of this campaign in prefiguring the plantation of Laois and Offaly renewed attention ought to be paid to the memoranda and discourses written by these officials calling for a forward policy from the mid-1530s onwards. In doing so the campaign for the 'Reduction of Leinster' may become as significant a factor in understanding government activity in the 1540s as 'surrender and regrant'.

**Dr Gerald Power (Metropolitan University, Prague)**

### ***Under-mighty subjects: the lesser nobility of the English Pale, 1534 - 1566***

This paper explores the position of the Pale nobility within the broader Irish political scene. It examines their landholdings and wealth, their political and military power at local, regional and national levels. It concludes that this set of Tudor peers were, in spite of their nobility, a distinctly vulnerable elite. Militarily and politically weak, the Pale nobles struggled to shape the policies implemented by the neighbouring Dublin administration after the Kildare rebellion. As policy became more militaristic and reliant upon the 'cess' levied on the Pale community, the lesser Pale nobility gravitated towards the local magnate and frequent government critic, the 11th earl of Kildare. This manoeuvring set the tone for much of the Elizabethan period, as the lesser nobility blended their traditional loyal service to the government with subversion against it. By the middle years of Elizabeth's reign lesser peers of the Pale had become well-known as opponents of government policy. This paper shows that this was by no means an inevitable development: the normally ultra-conservative nobles were pushed into confrontation with the government by the pressure exerted upon them by their social inferiors and by the leadership offered by the earl.

**Dr Mark Empey (UCD)**

### ***The limitations of historical stereotyping: an argument for New English 'Irish' identity***

In 1631 the Franciscan Thomas Strong wrote to his superior, Luke Wadding, in support of the 'New English' historian Sir James Ware: 'I was in Dublin a fortnight ago, and Sir James Ware bade me remember him to Your Paternity, and will aid me with what he has. He is compiling a Chronicle of Ireland, which will be a large work, and will shed light on what Your Paternity has in mind', before concluding, 'he is a worthy man, and will, I hope, prove altogether good'. The intensifying polemics between Catholics and Protestants in early seventeenth-century Ireland might be expected to have been a major obstacle to scholarly collaboration. But Strong's ringing endorsement of Ware is the measure of the mutual respect that existed between two men on opposing sides of the religious divide. A central aim of this paper will expose the existence of Ware's scholarly network and how it penetrated ethnic, cultural and confessional antagonisms in Ireland. Furthermore, by analysing his notebooks it will reveal the surprising ease with which information was exchanged and communicated among the wider 'New English' community who displayed a keen interest in, and understanding of, Irish history. This paper therefore will challenge the current historical labelling of the staunchly Protestant 'New English' that was so sharply defined by the successive governments of Lords Justices Boyle and Loftus, and then Lord Deputy Wentworth. It will propose the emergence of a New English identity increasingly rooted in Ireland with Ware at its centre. Whereas the establishment of Werburgh's Street Theatre (1637) and the plays of James Shirley exhibit the narrow colonial interests of the 'New English', that is far from being the whole story. Ware's researches, particularly his work *De Scripturibus Hiberniae* (1639), strongly point to a more open-minded community that embraced a distinctly Irish culture.

## **SESSION 6B: Room C109**

**Dr Linda Doran (UCD)**

### ***New Ross corporation books: the picture of a small town in Stuart Ireland***

The New Ross Corporation Minute books date from 1635 and provide a wealth of detail about a small Irish town, which is also an important port, at a time of great change. Using this source and a map of 1649 this paper will look at Ross during the period from 1649 to 1690. The minute books, while not quite reflecting the views of the humbler citizen, capture the affairs that trouble those with their hands on the levers of power, who have an eye on the concerns of their rate payers. They also capture the unease of the late seventeenth century – the fears of the ruling minority about the attitudes and affiliations of the majority. It is as local history, however, that Corporation Books are of most value. While day-to-day affairs dominate the material nevertheless in the earlier sections the books expose a perceptible undercurrent of tension and a concern for the security of the town. This is reflected in the central role that the town played in the seventeenth-century Confederate Wars when Ross was held by Oliver Cromwell who destroyed the bridge to prevent recapture. In fact one of the earliest maps that exists of Ross is a little sketch drawn in 1649 and linked to a plan to attack the town from Rosbercon on the opposite side of the River Barrow. Despite its flimsy nature it is very useful since it includes the main streets as well as the outline of the town wall with the towers is marked.

**Dr Máirín Ní Cheallaigh (UCD)**

### ***'Divers good plottes devised': urban gardens in seventeenth-century Ireland***

Although gardens have always exerted a pull on the human imagination, their familiarity and apparent simplicity of purpose have meant that they have been frequently overlooked in many historical and archaeological analyses. Thus, while imagined gardens are common subjects of literary and art-historical analysis, the study of historical gardens has often suffered the negative effects of poor physical survival, a widespread lack of documentation and a tendency to equate gardens with the pragmatic demands of food production rather than the expression of ideologies or particular belief systems. These problems are particularly pronounced in the case of urban gardens, which occupied huge areas of towns and cities, but which have been generally neglected as a topic of study in favour of a focus on buildings and the street as the dominant forms of urban space. In an Irish context, while some attention has been paid to Georgian and Victorian examples, few detailed considerations of sixteenth- or seventeenth-century urban gardens exist, despite their potential to shed light on the cultural, religious and political understandings of those who created and used them. In my paper, it is my intention to draw out some of these understandings and to examine how large-scale political, ideological and religious developments played out within the individual urban plots and blocks of seventeenth-century Ireland. In the process, I will consider how garden features and spaces were created and manipulated in response to episodes of urban destruction, rapid expansion, landlord intervention and the influx of people of different nationalities.

**Damian MacGarry (Ind.)**

### ***Strangford - An Ulster Seaport in the early 17th century***

Curiosity about a stray 19th Century archaeological find in Pennsylvania associated with early 17th Century Strangford was the genesis for research into this early modern port. Topographically Strangford Lough was perfectly placed to provide safe anchorage for the development of a working, trading port. In addition to Strangford, an associated port developed at Ardglass in Lecale and other ports developed on the Ards peninsula. Contemporary indigenous records relating to shipping and trade in Irish seaports in the early modern period are few and far between and this paper reviews one such record surviving in an English archive. Covering a short period the record includes details of the origins of the shipping and the commodities imported and the trading partners of Strangford and the associated ports of the North-eastern area of Ireland in the early 17th Century.

## **SESSION 7A: Room C108**

**Kieran Hoare (NUIG)**

### ***The development of a merchant oligarchy in the town of Galway, 1485-1534***

This paper proposes to look at a town firmly set in the frontier of the early Tudor state. It will begin by briefly introducing the context and setting within which a number of merchant and land-holding families in the town moved to take control of municipal authority with the granting of a royal charter in 1484, and how they exercised their newly acquired powers. It will then look at how this oligarchy interacted with royal government, its hinterland and other townspeople. It will end by showing how power in Galway at this time operated through the negotiation of competing lordship structures by the merchant elite of the town.

**Prof. Steven Ellis (NUIG)**

### ***Economic upswing in early Tudor Meath: civility and prosperity***

Traditional accounts of conditions in the English Pale around the time of the accession of Henry Tudor have focused on economic depression and the political decline of the region following the Gaelic revival. This paper tests the arguments for decline by the use of new evidence drawn from the taxation extents of the Irish parliamentary subsidy, using Meath as a case study. The amounts levied in each of the Pale shires, barony by barony, reflected the levels of tillage in the shire. Tillage, moreover, was traditionally seen by Tudor officials as one of the markers of 'English civility'. Using these returns, it is thus possible to detect fluctuations in the levels of tillage within each barony throughout the English Pale. The returns for Meath are particularly rich and may be used to chart the expansion of tillage there, particularly in that part of Meath lying in the Pale maghery, from the later fifteenth century (when the subsidy extents were first calculated in their Tudor form) to the 1540s when, following the consolidation of royal authority in the region, the shire was in 1542 split into the two counties of Meath and Westmeath.

**Ruth Canning (UCC/ARCHSS)**

### ***An Old English Pale merchant and Elizabeth's Great Irish Rebellion: the case of Nicholas Weston***

The Nine Years' War pitted English and Irish arms against each other on a scale never before seen. Never before had the Old English community of Ireland faced such an impasse and they were forced to declare themselves once and for all: Irish and Catholic or English and controversially Protestant. Although there were a large number of Palesmen who managed to remain suspiciously neutral, the great magnates and gentry overwhelmingly sided with the crown. The Old English merchants of the Pale and English towns, however, were not nearly so decisive. Crown and country may have been at stake, but so were profits. These merchants played a crucial role in fuelling this war through the munitions and victual trade; but did they care who won? Most merchants opted to walk a dangerous tightrope by openly supplying the crown while secretly arming the rebels. Nevertheless, there were a few who did choose one side over the other, but was this a reflection of their growing sense of identity or were they driven by private interest? Through an examination of one Dublin merchant, Nicholas Weston, this paper seeks to examine the role of Old English merchants during this war in an effort to determine if and how such men demonstrated the Old English identity crisis of the late Elizabethan period.

## **SESSION 7B: Room C109**

**Andrew Robinson (UU/DEL Scholar)**

***New English Identity, providence, and the 1641 rising***

Recently historians of early modern Ireland have to varying degrees pointed to the 1641 Rising as a turning point in Protestant colonization in Ireland. In its aftermath an opportunity emerged to fashion a common, collective consciousness based on shared experiences of victimhood, survival, and eventual triumph. This paper however asserts that the 1641 Rising was not the seminal event in the construction of an Irish Protestant identity. Rather, for those New English settlers with aspirations to pan-Stuart kingdom, and even pan-European devotional unity, the Rising was a timely fillip that reinforced not only their self-perception, but also justified their efforts to colonize and civilize Ireland to Protestant English norms. This paper asserts that the policies of Lord Deputy Wentworth towards Protestant settlers in the 1630s in eastern Ulster, and in Munster, challenged their self-perceived justification for settling in Ireland. The Rising, its associated massacres of Protestants and the survival of a godly community demonstrated God's judgment against the legislative and ecclesiastical innovations championed by Wentworth. It also condemned those less pious merchants and speculators amongst their own community who placed profit above the conversion of Catholics. The key role played by Catholic converts, including the Earls of Barrymore and Kildare, Baron Inchiquin, and most famously, Owen O'Connolly, ensured that New English parallels to the nation of Israel amongst the idolatrous Egyptians and Babylonians were further fostered and reinforced. In this sense, the Rising vindicated the efforts of settlers such as Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, and Sir John Clotworthy, both of whose efforts to reform and civilize the native Irish and British settlers alike ran afoul of the exacting Thomas Wentworth.

**Dr John Cunningham (TCD/University of Freiburg/IRCHSS)**

***Bohemia and Ireland in the seventeenth century: Comparable histories?***

The proposed paper will present some of the preliminary findings from my current postdoctoral project on Bohemia and Ireland in the seventeenth century. It will look briefly at the backgrounds to rebellion in Habsburg Bohemia and Stuart Ireland before focusing in the main on the attempted transformations of both kingdoms in the aftermath of military conquest in 1620 and 1652 respectively. It will address the issues of land confiscation, religious policy and the position of social elites both new and old. Building upon these themes, the paper will also offer some insights and observations on the apparent shortcomings as well as on the potential usefulness of such comparative studies within the wider framework of the history of early modern Europe.

**Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (UCD)**

***Violating and restoring the identity of the dead: Politics and dead bodies in the 'Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction'***

This paper has two principal objectives: first to examine briefly the manner in which a certain politics of dead bodies was crucial to the formation of Early Modern Ireland. Having sketched this general background, the paper turns its attention to a particular text, 'The Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction', and considers how it portrays two particular instances of battle-field slaughter, with some observations on the significance of the different treatment it accords them