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ABSTRACTS

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Session 1A

Dr Eoin Kinsella (UCD)
'That dreadful and most unhappy debt': the decline of the Clanricarde family fortune, c.1660-1714

This paper examines the several large encumbrances placed on the Clanricarde estate over a period of fifty years, up to the early eighteenth century, and the strain these encumbrances placed on family relationships. These encumbrances included dowers and settlements on daughters and younger children, and were hotly contested in the courts. The financial difficulties experienced by the Clanricardes led to the sale of parts of their Galway estates in the 1690s and the first two decades of the eighteenth century, enabling families such as the Dalys and Mahons to establish themselves as prominent landowners. Consideration is also given to the shifting religious convictions of the seventh and eighth earls, in addition to the ninth earl's willingness to educate his eldest sons as Protestants to ensure the family retained possession of its extensive estates.

Dr Jeffrey Chambers (TCD)
History writing and Three Kingdom identity in late Stuart Ireland

This paper argues that history writing in Ireland between 1680 and 1707 possessed a distinct recognition of Irish identity, Protestant and Catholic, as part of a wider Three Kingdoms identity. Histories written in this period emphasised the kingdom of Ireland being part of a wider Three Kingdom entity.

This was partly in response to political events and crises between 1680 and 1707 but it was also important for many historians of the period, like Sir Richard Cox and Charles O'Kelly, to show the history of Ireland was part of the history of three interdependent kingdoms. History showed events in one kingdom affected the other kingdoms. English and Scottish writers did recognise the interdependent nature of the kingdoms, especially during events like the 1688 Revolution, but these differed from Irish histories. Irish histories emphasised a familial relationship between the kingdoms while English and Scottish histories tended to focus on historic threats from Ireland.

In the run up to the 1707 Act of Union historians in each kingdom re-examined the historic relationships between the Three Kingdoms. Irish writers, like Henry Maxwell, again emphasised the Irish view of their Three Kingdom identity. While English and Scottish writers recognised their own history of belonging to a wider Three Kingdom entity these expressions differed to those made by Irish historians. Irish histories claimed Ireland was one of Three Kingdoms but not quite equal to the other kingdoms. However Irish historians continued to push a Three Kingdom identity in their writings during this period.

Dr Charles Ivar McGrath (UCD)
Failed plans and proposals for national banks and paper currencies in Ireland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

Session 1B

Dr Estelle Murphy (UCC)
'Hyde's advice and Nassau's arme': the earliest surviving Dublin birthday ode unmask'd

The tradition of composing musical birthday and New Year's Day odes for the monarch in London is one that dates back to as early as 1617. It was not until much later that an equivalent work began to be produced in Dublin, then the 'second city' of a newly resurgent British polity. The earliest evidence of the birthday ode in Dublin survives in the form of a printed poem of 1707, which names Charles Ximenes as the composer. Though it has generally been assumed that the tradition must have started earlier than this, to date, no evidence has hitherto been found to confirm this belief.

A recently identified ode text, held in the Gilbert Library, Dublin City Library and Archive, dated 1701 and attributed to Richard Leveridge by its title, stands as a strong candidate for the earliest surviving Dublin birthday ode text. Through analysis of the poetry, this printed poem can be successfully linked to an extant music manuscript held in the British Library. The music of the manuscript, formerly attributed to John Blow, is structurally different to the Italianate serenatas produced by Johann Sigismond Cousser for the Dublin viceregal court. This has led to the misidentification and misattribution of this Dublin ode.

This paper makes the case that this surviving manuscript and printed poem is the earliest surviving Dublin birthday ode and that its music is by Leveridge, not Blow. In light of this discovery, it will interrogate the implications of the close relationship there existed between the London and Dublin ode traditions and the subtle but marked differences in their respective creation, performance and political function.

Jessica Cunningham (NUIM)
'For the maintenance of the honour and dignity of this cittie': The acquisition of silver by Irish municipal corporations in the seventeenth century

In the seventeenth century, Ireland's cities and towns – both old and new – asserted their identity and authority through their assembly, ceremony, procession, display, hospitality and entertainment. The use of silver to represent, decorate and equip the corporations in their assertion of corporate authority and identity, along with its symbolic and practical functions, is conspicuous from the surviving municipal corporation records and extant objects. The 'great mace', sheriffs' maces and swords were among the corporations' most valuable material possessions. In addition, corporations possessed stocks of domestic silver which had both symbolic and practical functions. How did corporations acquire these expensive, luxury items? This paper will survey both records and objects to demonstrate the means and motivations by which municipal corporations acquired their civic, ceremonial and domestic silver.

Session 2A

Simon Egan (UCC)
The road to Flodden: James IV and Ireland, 1488-1513

A great deal of scholarship has been undertaken on the background to James IV of Scotland's disastrous defeat at the battle of Flodden in 1513. However, the historiography of this topic has tended to remain within an Anglo-Scottish/Franco-Scottish framework whereby historians have focused almost solely on James IV's relations with the kingdoms of England and France as the main context for his fateful invasion of England. As a result, James IV's interaction with the wider Gáidhealtachtd and the numerous Gaelic factions that comprised it, has received relatively little scholarly attention in relation to the origins of Flodden.

Throughout the fifteenth century James IV's predecessors had meddled in Gaelic Ireland as a means of encircling certain Gaelic Scottish factions, such as the MacDonalds, as well as keeping English influence in Ireland in check. Upon assuming power James continued this tradition and looked to Ireland and the Gaelic Irish, most notably the O'Donnell lords of Tyrconnell, as allies in order to increase his influence within a British context where he could deal with Henry VII of England from a position of strength, both on mainland Britain and in Ireland.

Using a wide source base of Gaelic, Latin, English and Scottish primary material, this paper explores the concept that the Gaelic powers of the west were central to James IV's struggle against the Tudors. Moreover, the consolidation of such a relationship with the Gaelic Irish eventually gave James the security he needed to commit to his disastrous invasion of England in 1513.

Dr Neil Johnston (DCMS)
Charles II and the governance of Ireland, 1660-1665

This paper assesses Charles II's intentions for, as well as his attitudes to, the governance of Ireland in the early 1660s. In his Declaration of Breda of April 1660, the king briefly outlined his plans for a settlement in England, but he remained largely silent on his intentions for Ireland. This enabled the Protestant politicians who were in situ to shape the Irish settlement to their benefit. As a consequence, it has been argued that the king 'merely' handed power to the Protestant interest. Such conclusions undervalue the king's early expectations for Ireland, especially between 1660 and 1662. Preoccupations with English politics throughout the summer of 1660 meant he did not turn his attention to Ireland in any meaningful way until September of that year, but from this point onwards there was a pronounced increase in the time given over to the consideration of Irish affairs.

The king's intentions for the general settlement of Ireland will be examined in three parts. Firstly, whether or not the king had a clear plan for Ireland will be considered. If evidence of a policy is to be found, it can be seen in his 'Gracious Declaration' of November 1660. Secondly, the king's dealings with the Irish parliament as the land settlement was evolving between 1661 and 1665 will be examined. Thirdly, by replacing many of the office holders appointed soon after the Restoration, Charles made significant alterations to the political establishment in Ireland from late 1661. As a result, a distinct loyalist middle ground emerged in Irish politics as the various pieces of legislation for the land settlement were in preparation. These changes will be charted to demonstrate how the king reconciled his early hopes for a 'gracious' settlement with the realities of Restoration Ireland.

William Ferguson (Cambridge University)
Irish-Scottish government relations, 1685-1690

This paper will examine relations between the Scottish and Irish governments from the accession of James VII and II in 1685 to his defeat by William of Orange's forces at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. A Scottish-Irish rebellion had been a persistent concern for Stuart administrations throughout the seventeenth century, and between 1685 and 1690 these fears again intensified, as James tried to introduce Catholic toleration in all three kingdoms. Protestant loyalty to James predictably waned; Scots statesmen, for example, were increasingly alarmed by the rapid Catholicisation of the Irish administration. Resistance to James often had a Scottish-Irish element, like the abortive Monmouth-Argyll rebellion of 1685; the paper will therefore consider how effectively the Edinburgh and Dublin administrations communicated to suppress these threats. The planning and execution of military operations will be a major theme, particularly in 1688-90, when Jacobite and Williamite forces battled for control of Scotland and Ireland. Though the paper will naturally focus on the thoughts and actions of kings and high-ranking statesmen, it will also address the views of the gentry and clergymen who facilitated or frustrated orders; moreover, little-used trade figures will show, for instance, an extraordinary increase in Scottish exports to Ireland during the Williamite war of 1690. Indeed, many of the sources – drawn from British, Irish and American archives – have not been used in this way, because modern accounts of Scottish-Irish relations in the late seventeenth century usually focus on radical Presbyterian, rather than government, interaction.

Session 2B

Dr David Heffernan (UCC)
The Viceroyalty of Sir John Perrot, 1584-88

Over the past several decades numerous studies of the Tudor viceroys in Ireland have been conducted. These have often posited that the tenures of the more influential chief governors were significantly programmatic, ranging from the constitutional humanist bent of Anthony St Leger, as described by Brendan Bradshaw, to the legal reform programme allegedly favoured by successive viceroys such as the Earl of Sussex and Henry Sidney, which Ciaran Brady has argued for. Among these figures is John Perrot, the lord deputy of Ireland from 1584 to 1588. In a brief overview of Perrot's tenure Ciaran Brady asserted that he was the 'apotheosis' of the programmatic governor in that his agenda for government involved a considered analysis of the state of Ireland and the endorsement of a carefully constructed set of initiatives which when commenced would reform the country in a short period of time. In this paper I wish to establish how accurate a picture of Perrot's lord deputyship this is. In particular, by examining the numerous policy papers which Perrot composed from the time of his service as lord president of Munster in the early-1570s through to the late-1580s, I aim to develop a more nuanced view of the outlook of Perrot on the government of Ireland. In doing so I will argue that, far from being characterised by programmatic reform, Perrot's term as lord deputy was actually a period wherein the serving chief governor was forced to adapt to circumstances and often act contrary to his own stated views on how Ireland should be governed.

Dr Ruth Canning (UCC/Concordia University)
James Fitzpiers Fitzgerald: loyalist, secret traitor or double agent?

Existing evidence pertaining to Ireland's Nine Years' War (1594-1603) strongly lends itself to the impression that the majority of Old English Palesmen, at least those of higher social status, chose to support the English crown during this conflict rather than their co-religionist Gaelic Irish countrymen. Loyalties, however, were anything but straightforward and could depend on any number of cultural values, social concerns, and economic incentives. Nevertheless, James Fitzpiers Fitzgerald, a 'Bastard Geraldine' who served as sheriff of Kildare, seemed to have been driven by a genuine sense of duty to the English crown and establishment. With the outbreak of hostilities in the 1590s, Fitzpiers proved to be a devout crown servitor, risking life and limb to confront the English queen's Irish enemies. But, in late 1598 he suddenly, and somewhat inexplicably, threw his lot in with Irish Confederacy, defying the government he had once championed. During the ensuing investigation, the Dublin administration accumulated much damning evidence against Fitzpiers, including a patriotic plea from rebel leader Hugh O'Neill which urged Fitzpiers to defend his Irish homeland from the oppressions of English Protestant rule. Yet, at the very same time, a counter case was made by Fitzpiers' controversial English friend, Captain Thomas Lee, which argued that Fitzpiers' actions were more loyal than anyone could have imagined. Through an examination of Fitzpiers' perplexing case, this paper will explore the complicated nature of allegiances in 1590s Ireland and how loyalties were not always what they seemed.

Dr John McCafferty (UCD)
Apostolic Missioner: the worlds of Nicholas Archbold, Irish Capuchin (d.1645?)

Session 3A

Dr Gerald Power (Metropolitan University, Prague)
The 'New English' in Ireland before 1534

It is widely accepted that the introduction to Ireland of men of English birth to take up administrative, clerical and military positions (the so-called 'New English') was essential to the shaping of politics, religion and identity in early modern Ireland, particularly in the years following the Kildare rebellion of 1534. However, the historiography has had somewhat less to say about English-born men operating in Ireland in earlier Tudor times. This paper explores earlier manifestations of the 'New English' phenomenon in Ireland. It examines the social and geographical origins of the individuals, their careers in and associations with Ireland, and their impacts on Irish politics and society. As well as casting some fresh light on early Tudor Ireland, the paper may have implications for our assessments of the New English phenomenon of the post-1534 period.

Kieran Hoare (NUIG)
The economy of the English Pale under the early Tudors

Recent studies of the English Pale have tended to focus on the political; this paper will focus on the economic development of the region at a critical juncture in its history, moving from the relatively stable dual-suzerainty model typified by the supremacy of the earls of Kildare, through to the rule of English-born administrators from 1534 onwards. While it has been argued that the economy of the region was driven by the consumption needs of Dublin, this does not present the full story. This paper will argue that economic development was at this time – as elsewhere across Europe – an expression of lordship. Furthermore, it will argue that Dublin was not economically pre-eminent among later medieval Irish towns. It will seek to place the Pale economy within the context of the wider Irish and Irish Sea economies, with the consumption patterns of Dublin playing a significant – but by no means overwhelming – part as a driver for the economy of the region.

Raina Howe (NUIG)
Breaking the wooden fastness of Ireland

This paper will focus on what impact the Tudors had in deforesting Ireland and, based on documentary accounts, their views of the Irish and the landscape. The forests were both considered formidable as they proved impossible for English troops to navigate and profitable for the timber-hungry colonists. England was on the cusp of becoming the world's most powerful empire and had to strictly regulate its own forests to prevent complete deforestation. The eventual lack of tree cover in Ireland meant a lack of places for rebellious Irish to hide and made the colonists less vulnerable to attack. It was the colonial perspective of civility, as land that was formerly covered in forest was converted into farmland.

This paper will look at how forested Leinster was in the sixteenth century, based on what documentary evidence there is available. Leinster was the first area of Ireland to be deforested by the colonists. Whereas the rest of Ireland was just beginning to lose its forest cover in the seventeenth century, Leinster lost most of its woods by the end of the sixteenth. By gaining control of the forests in Leinster, the Tudors learned that if the wooden fastness of Ireland could be broken, then the Irish rebellion could also be controlled. At the heart of the Tudor Conquest was the conquest of the environment. It may hardly be a coincidence that the demise of the forests in Ireland coincided with the demise of Gaelic society.

Session 3B

Carla Lessing (NUIG)
The 'civil' English and the 'wild' Irish: a discussion of Tudor and Stuart concepts of civility
During the sixteenth and seventeenth century English perceptions of the Irish were manifested in many different ways (i.e. literary publications, pamphlets, letters, pictures and expansion policies). The Irish were characterized mostly in unflattering and degrading terms when compared to their Tudor and Stuart English counterparts: wild Irish, Irish rebels, ill neighbours, Irish enemies. Thus the majority of the early modern source material on the relationship between England and Ireland depicted the English as the centre of civility and the Irish as the gathering point for barbarity or savagery. This paper proposes to investigate the established concepts of civility at work during the Tudor and Stuart reign that influenced the Englishmen's view of themselves and their Irish neighbours. From a theoretical angle this paper compares both the insular and the continental historical perspectives of civility that influenced the English opinions about themselves and others. In this context the paper tries to establish what Tudor and Stuart Englishmen understood as the opposite of 'civility' and will examine if these oppositions are in conformity with the contemporary ideas of barbarity and savagery so often used to describe the reverse of English civility in Ireland.

Dr Ian Campbell (UCC)
Calvinism, Catholic scholasticism, and the divine right of kings

Quentin Skinner and others have argued that seventeenth century English and Scottish Calvinist political thought borrowed so heavily from French and Spanish Catholic scholasticism that there was a fundamental similarity between the two discourses. Certain aspects of this argument break down on closer analysis. Catholic theologians thought that human reason after the fall could perceive a natural law which was the basis for all human laws. But many Calvinists, worried about the fall, preferred not to base their theories of the origin of human society and human government on natural law. In particular, John Coffey's study of Samuel Rutherford has noted how different Rutherford's Calvinist politics seems to Catholic theories of society and government.

For Irish Calvinists, harried by Arminians and surrounded by Catholics, these were concrete problems. Some Irish Catholics employed the natural law theory of the Spanish universities to argue that Protestant government in Ireland was unlawful and that the solution was Catholic revolution. Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh, one of the most prestigious Calvinist scholars in Europe, hated these Catholic revolutionaries and their natural law arguments. When Ussher was called on to defend the Stuart monarchy in 1640, he drew on all the resources of German and Genevan Reformed political theology to construct a rigorous theory of royal Divine Right. Ussher's absolutist political theory was entirely dissimilar to the natural law theories of his Irish Catholic enemies, but did share fundamentals in common with the theories of limited monarchy promoted by Scottish Calvinist contemporaries like Rutherford.

Dr John Bergin (QUB)
Mary Butler (1641–1723), Abbess of the Irish Benedictine house at Ypres, and the Anglo-Irish background

Mary Butler, from Callan in County Kilkenny, was Abbess of the Benedictine House at Ypres from 1686 to her death in 1723. She is a well documented figure, but her Anglo-Irish background has not been much explored. Her mother was English and she was very close to a brother, Francis, who seems to have lived most of his life in London. Francis evidently inherited property from his

mother's family, which in turn he left to his sister. She bequeathed this property – an Essex manor – for the benefit of her community of Irish nuns in Flanders. For this purpose, her will had to be proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury, and she concealed its purpose by appointing trustees. They were an English Catholic lawyer (Nathaniel Piggot) and two well known Irish Catholic merchants resident in London (Daniel Arthur and John Fitzgerald). The will was duly proved, despite the complaints of an Irish Protestant relation that this was a bequest for "superstitious uses". The paper will consider this episode and other aspects of the Anglo-Irish background to the abbey at Ypres and other convents in the Low Countries and northern France.

Session 4A

Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (UCD)
Richard Bellings and Ireland in the 1630s: changing the story

This paper will offer a comparison between Richard Bellings's celebrated opening to his History of the Confederate Catholics, which markedly underplayed the tensions in Irish society during the 1630s, with his letter to PierFrancesco Scarampi in 1643 where he presented Stuart government of Ireland during the 1630s as an onerous tyranny. The paper will outline the different political contexts which prompted these dissimilar presentations and consider some of the problems and opportunities which Bellings's magisterial history presents for the historian.

Andrew Robinson (University of Ulster)
'Not otherwise worthy to be named, but as a firebrand brought from Ireland to inflame this kingdom': Deconstructing the reputation of Sir John Clotworthy, 1st Viscount Massereene

The reputation of the 'New English' settlers in Ireland in the early modern period has been savaged by both their contemporaries and modern historians. An entrenched persecution mentalité remains a potent element of early modern Irish historiographical discourse, and this is particularly true when considering Protestant interlopers and nouveau riche that settled in Ireland during the early decades of the seventeenth century. This is reinforced by a general paucity of private letters and correspondence, resulting in a social and political class that retains much of its ill-founded notoriety. Notable exceptions include arrivistes such as Richard Boyle, 1st earl of Cork and Roger Boyle, baron Broghill and 1st earl of Orrery. A great deal less is known about other New English settlers such as Sir Charles Coote, 1st viscount Mountrath, or Roger Jones, 1st viscount Ranelagh, and even less about the gentry such as Sir William Parsons, Sir Robert Meredith, Hardress Waller or William Jephson. The basis of this paper therefore is to attempt to go some way towards rectifying this lacuna by reconsidering the historiographical reputation of Sir John Clotworthy, 1st viscount Massereene, a key actor in all three Stuart kingdoms in the middle years of the seventeenth century. This paper will address the differing accounts of his character by contemporaries and by modern historians by asking why he has been castigated as a 'little fanatic scab', a 'furious enthusiast' for puritanism and 'revolutionary demagogue', 'tirelessly godly', 'tirelessly violent', and 'half-mad Ulsterman' by his detractors while conversely praised for his stoic devotion to Presbyterianism by others as 'one of nature's noblemen, one of the few whose names, when the bigotry of that period has been written, will be found honourable exceptions to the degeneracy of the age'.

Eugene Coyle (University of Oxford)
Sir Arthur Aston: the last Cavalier governor of Drogheda

Sir Arthur Aston (1568?-1627) and his son Sir Arthur Aston (1590/3?-1649) belong to a group of little known but highly significant 17th century European and military figures. After 1607 their early military careers was spent in Russia. During the European Thirty Years War, father and son served together in Lithuania, Poland and Sweden leading Catholic Irish, English and Scottish mercenary regiments. In 1625, Sir Arthur Aston (Senior) return to England and was killed in 1627 during a naval expedition to aid the Huguenots at La Rochelle. After his father's death, Arthur Aston (Jr) left the Russian service, joined the Polish forces and fought in the Polish-Swedish Wars. Later Arthur Aston joined Swedish forces and witnessed the sack of Magdeburg by Tilly and fought at Breitenfield. In 1632 Arthur Aston retired to his estates in Cheshire.

In 1641 Arthur Aston led the Royalist Cheshire militia during the Second Bishops' War. Charles I granted him a knighthood in response to objections of his staunch Catholicism that resulted in his forced resignation of his Royalist command. Returning to Cheshire he served as a field officer under the command of his cousin Sir Thomas Aston against local Parliamentary forces. In 1642 Charles reinstated and appointed him Colonel-General of Dragoons before the battle of Edgehill. Subsequently, he was appointed military governor of the strategically important town of Reading in Berkshire. After the fall of Reading, Aston was captured by the Parliamentarians and then prisoner exchanged. During the autumn of 1643, he fought as a Royalist commander at Bristol and at the First Battle of Newbury. It was during 1643 the Aston family allegedly may have been involved in the massacre of Parliamentarians in the church tower at Barthomley in Cheshire.

In 1644, he was appointed military governor of Oxford. He retired on pension from Oxford after breaking his leg. Aston was intensely disliked by both soldiers and townspeople for his brutalities and excesses at Reading and at Oxford. Disgruntled, he travelled to the Spanish Netherlands where he met James Butler. In 1647 travelled to Ireland as part of Ormond's War Cabinet. In September 1649 Ormond appointed Aston as Royalist military governor of Drogheda. He died during the siege of Drogheda reputedly bludgeoned to death by Cromwellian troops with his own wooden leg.

Session 4B

Jeffrey Cox (UCD)
A much-maligned prelate? The episcopate of Alexander Craik, 1560–64

Nominated to the Bishopric of Kildare in 1560, Alexander Craik was Elizabeth's first episcopal appointment in Ireland. Within the first eight months of his episcopate, however, Craik had become forlorn with his diocese. Despite numerous unanswered pleas to his patrons at court, by 1564, the prelate was left to die in debtor's prison. While Alexander Craik's attempts at extending the Elizabethan Settlement to Kildare could at best be described as a failure, his financial desperation held far-reaching consequences for the Established Church in Kildare. For this Craik has been widely criticised by historians. Sir James Ware reviled Craik for reducing the Bishopric of Kildare to 'a most shameful poverty', through which he 'did more mischief to his See than his successors have been ever able to repair'. Later scholars have largely subscribed to Ware's assessment of Craik, and have dismissed the prelate himself as either pathetically incapable or avaricious. But to what extent can full culpability be placed on Alexander Craik himself? This paper will examine the challenges Craik faced during his four years as Bishop of Kildare and re-evaluate the way he has been characterised through the pages of history.

Dr Áine Hensey (Ind.)
'… negligent and fewe learned, and none of any good zeal as semeth …': the development of a Church of Ireland episcopate in south-east Ireland, 1550–1650

While the principal focus of my doctoral thesis was on the lives of the local parish clergy of both denominations, a significant portion of one chapter concentrated on the role of the Church of Ireland hierarchy in implementing the necessary conditions for the appointment, maintenance and discipline of their ministers. This, in turn, prompted an evaluation of the quality and performance of the bishops of the region during the period 1550 to 1650 and this assessment is the subject of my proposed paper.

The presentation will consider how successfully the episcopate developed from a confessionally uncertain, severely impoverished and disparate collection of Irishmen, of both Old English and Old Irish stock, into a relatively homogenous group of English and Scottish bishops, university-educated and committed to the wellbeing of both the Church of Ireland and English governance in the south-east.

The quality of appointments will be examined, as will the challenge of attracting suitably qualified clerics to positions that often offered little in the way of financial reward or social status. The significant differences in the manner in which these bishops approached their duties and charges will also form a significant part of the study.

Stephen Hand (UCC)
'A most pernicious book': Jean-Pierre Camus' Nicephor and Tristan (1630) and the power struggle between regular and secular clergy in seventeenth-century Ireland

In 1630, an English translation of Jean-Pierre Camus' Dialogue between Nicephor and Tristan, derived from his Petronille (1626), appeared in Ireland. Camus' work was staunchly critical of religious orders and their refusal to recognise the primacy of the secular clergy in light of the Council of Trent. Providing such a framework, it was seized upon and brought to bear in Ireland

during a turbulent power struggle between the regular and secular clergy, especially in Dublin. Indeed the anonymous translator claimed that Camus must have had Ireland in mind when he composed the dialogue.

The alleged distribution of this work in Ireland by the secular priest Patrick Cahill was viewed as a major assault on the authority of the regular clergy, not least by Thomas Strong, the Franciscan Provincial. According to Strong, Cahill's wide dissemination of this work sought to undermine the regular clergy at every level of Irish society.

This paper will discuss the extent to which Camus' work tied in with the power struggle between the regular and secular clergy and in doing so highlight the importation into Ireland of theological works and ideas from Europe in the early seventeenth century.

Session 5A

Bronagh McShane (NUIM)
Female spiritual testimony in 1650s Dublin: the case of John Rogers's Ohel

In 1653 Independent minister John Rogers published his book entitled *Ohel* or *Beth-shemesh*, intended as an apology for his particularly radical brand of Independency. Significantly, included in Rogers's voluminous compilation, concerned largely with an analysis of church governance and discipline, is a chapter containing thirty-seven conversion testimonies composed by members of his Dublin congregation, reportedly professed before their gathered assembly at Christ Church cathedral between October 1651 and early 1652. Interestingly almost half of the testimonies published by Rogers - seventeen - were made by women. At a time when individual accounts of female spirituality in the historical record of early modern Ireland are at best anomalous, Rogers's *Ohel* yields an invaluable and indeed unparalleled insight into the devotional practices and personal spirituality of seventeen individual women living in Dublin in the early 1650s. Through a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the female testimonies, in which their progression from unbelief and sinfulness to grace is traced, this paper will examine how this distinct cohort of women, inhabiting an environment of intense social upheaval and trenchant religious conflict, formulated their own individual responses to the traumatic events and experiences, often evoking prayer and acts of religious piety as mediatory and coping mechanisms. This paper will consider how the act of spiritual testimony provided, for some women, an opportunity to share traumatic past experiences of warfare, conflict and personal loss within a supportive and religiously sympathetic setting and acted for many as a 'cathartic experience' (Gillespie, 2006).

Danielle McCormack (EUI)
Mary Ware and James Sherley: a case of irregular marriage in 1660s Dublin

In January, 1668, Mary Ware, daughter of James Ware, Auditor-General of Ireland, and Elizabeth Hickman, deposed that, following months of unsuccessful courtship, James Sherley abducted her from Dublin. Ware's account of her ordeal included allegations of brutality, rape and forced marriage. The cast of people involved in the events was large, including her parents, maid, and passers-by. James Sherley was accompanied by friends who assisted him in abducting Ware, but passive collaboration on the part of the general public was not difficult to procure, while Jacob Rowse, Archdeacon of Glendalough, presided over the marriage ceremony. Mary Ware's case provides an insight into the irregular proceedings that could accompany marriage in seventeenth century Ireland, while also illuminating the particular difficulties that ensued for women in forced marriages that involved rape. This paper will analyse the strategies employed by both Ware and Sherley to achieve their ends. It will also explore official attitudes to rape, as this case aroused the particular interest of the king, who pushed for the speedy prosecution of Sherley. However, despite official severity, Ware's experience hints at a certain amount of social acceptance of the measures taken by Sherley, and this will also be explored.

Frances Nolan (UCD)
'[A] very intriguing woman': Catherine Luttrell and female identity, agency and culpability after the Williamite-Jacobite War

This paper will examine various tenets of early modern female identity in Ireland after the Williamite-Jacobite war by considering the case of Catherine Luttrell. Catherine was the daughter of a Protestant Jacobite commander, Sir Thomas Newcomen, and then wife of the Catholic Jacobite,

Simon Luttrell. Born and raised a Protestant, Catherine's marriage to Simon was celebrated first by a Protestant clergyman and then by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Although dual ceremonies commonly occurred for official sanction, the Newcomens' Protestantism and the absence of any record of Catherine's conversion to Catholicism, means that it is far more difficult to ascertain her religious allegiances than it is to identify her political loyalties.

Described by her brother in law, the Williamite informer, Colonel Henry Luttrell, as 'a very intriguing woman', who 'went for France … on a very intriguing mission', it may well be that Catherine's own political allegiances, as well as her close relationship with two of James's foremost supporters, led to her outlawry for high treason. She was one of only twenty-three women to be outlawed at the time and one of only nine outlawed for foreign treason. The omission of Catherine's Christian name on her writ of exigent informed a detailed argument on the legalities of prosecuting a woman by her counsel, Sir Stephen Rice, at the Court of Claims in 1700. She was there in pursuit of her jointure, an interest that led her to personally lobby Sir Cyril Wyche, a social acquaintance who was also a trustee of the forfeited estates.

By looking at Catherine Luttrell, this paper will explore the complexity of religious and political identity throughout the 1690s, as well as the dynamics of female agency and culpability at a time when women are depicted as largely inert or inconsequential.

Session 5B

Dearbháile McCloskey-Hutchins (University of Ulster)
The 'Cockayne Project' and the Plantation of Ulster

In 1614 a series of proclamations were passed by King James I effectively prohibiting the export from England of unfinished cloth. Dubbed the 'Cockayne Project', the acts, which were supported by Alderman William Cockayne, master of the Skinners Company and then Governor of the Irish Society, along with members of the Clothworkers, meant that all domestic cloth must be dyed and dressed in England. Interestingly, an almost identical plan had been proposed by Cockayne and the Clothworkers in 1606, but it failed to gather any momentum and soon disappeared.

Before receiving its Royal Seal of approval the 'Cockayne Project' had faced resistance, notably from the Company of Merchant Adventurers who, in a bid to retain their monopoly in the export of raw wool, questioned the validity of the proposed scheme. The Merchant Adventurers argued that the standard of English dye and workmanship would produce a lower quality finished product and they also warned of European reprisals. These points were rebuffed by Cockayne and his colleagues who stressed European dependence on English cloth. As the plan transpired, the Merchant Adventurers were right to emphasise caution. The project ultimately failed, with devastating effects for the English economy.

The aims of this paper are twofold. First the paper will consider the extent to which the 'Cockayne Project' was granted as a result of the City's participation in the Plantation of Ulster. Previous historiography has highlighted the livery companies' lack of enthusiasm to partake in the plantation. Nevertheless, the efforts of Cockayne, and his colleague, John Jolles, Draper meant that an agreement was reached with the Crown in 1609 for the City to plant the county of Londonderry. A second aim of the paper is to examine the impact of Cockayne's plan on the province of Ulster, both the immediate and the longer term consequences.

Dr Marie Leoutre (UCD)
The standing army controversy and Ireland, 1697-1699

When the peace treaties of Ryswick which put an end to the War of the Grand Alliance were signed in the autumn of 1697, William III was keen on keeping his standing army of more than 50,000 men. His English subjects, always wary of kingly tendency towards absolutism, however did not look upon a standing army warmly and a political conflict over disbanding the army between late 1697 and early 1699 ensued. Pamphlets in favour of keeping the army in time of peace and pamphlets advocating the disbanding of the army were published and widely distributed in England between 1697 and 1699 and the king was forced to reduce his army considerably by his parliament. These pamphlets and the position of the English parliament on the matter have been the subject of a number of studies, including the works of Lois G. Schwoerer, but the place and role of Ireland in the controversy has always been regarded as collateral. This paper will examine how exactly the standing army debates affected Ireland, how the

disbanding was put in practice and how it affected Ireland, the role of lord justice of Ireland and favourite of William III, Henri de Ruvigny, earl of Galway and the attitude of the Irish parliament.

Jamie Blake Knox (TCD)
A Puritan foundation? The contested history of Trinity College, Dublin

The ambivalence of Trinity College towards its founding fathers has been apparent for a considerable time. William Urwick noted that like 'a rich and prosperous man ashamed of his lowly boyhood, it is as if hitherto the College had been under a cloud; its early Provosts and alumni were to be spoken of (being Puritans) with bated breath.' The legacy of its early Provosts and students posed a number of unsettling questions for some Irish Anglican scholars. In the Nineteenth Century this was further exacerbated by the rival claims of Evangelical, Presbyterian, High Church and Roman Catholic authors to be the true custodians of the College's historical identity. In response to these disputes, a group of historians based in Trinity began to formulate a radical re-interpretation - not only of the College's History, but also of the History of the Reformation in Ireland. They sought to excise the Church of Ireland's Calvinist heritage by identifying it as the alien import of disaffected English and Scottish puritan nonconformists. As part of this process, the complete works of James Ussher were edited and remoulded; constructing an elaborate narrative which depicted his involvement in the drafting of the Irish Church Articles as the product of youthful folly – while, at the same time, claiming his impeccable and orthodox High Church credentials. This paper examines the reasons for this radical revision of Anglican history, and also looks at the impact that it has had on shaping our understanding of the Church of Ireland's concepts of its own identity.