

Fitz Gerald Earl of  
Son in Law to Richard  
first Earl of Corke and  
ther of Robert Earl of  
Anno · 1633 ·



# TUDOR & STUART IRELAND

CONFERENCE 2014

## ABSTRACTS

*Iontas Building*  
*National University of Ireland, Maynooth*  
*29 - 30 August 2014*  
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# CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....  | <b>2</b>  |
| <b>ABSTRACTS</b>   |           |
| <b>SESSION 1A {CHAIRER BY DR JASON McELLIOTT, MARSH'S LIBRARY}</b> .....               | <b>3</b>  |
| <i>Mr J Stuart Keogh (Dundee)</i> .....  | 3         |
| <i>Mr Joe Lines (QUB)</i> .....  | 3         |
| <i>Mr Damian Duffy (NUIM)</i> .....  | 3         |
| <b>SESSION 1B {CHAIRER BY DR CLODAGH TAIT, MIC}</b> .....                              | <b>4</b>  |
| <i>Mr Simon Egan (UCC)</i> .....   | 4         |
| <i>Ms Janet McGrory (UU)</i> .....   | 4         |
| <i>Ms Dearbháile McCloskey Hutchinson (UU)</i> .....                                   | 5         |
| <b>SESSION 2A {CHAIRER BY PROF. COLM LENNON, NUIM}</b> .....                           | <b>6</b>  |
| <i>Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (UCD)</i> .....  | 6         |
| <i>Dr Áine Hensey (Ind.)</i> .....   | 6         |
| <i>Mr. Martin Foerster (Hamburg)</i> .....   | 6         |
| <b>SESSION 2B {CHAIRER BY DR JANE FENLON, UCD}</b> .....                               | <b>7</b>  |
| <i>Ms Jessica Cunningham (NUIM)</i> .....  | 7         |
| <i>Dr Clodagh Tait (MIC)</i> .....   | 7         |
| <i>Ms Aislinn Collins (UCC)</i> .....  | 7         |
| <b>SESSION 3A {CHAIRER BY DR TADHG Ó HANNRACHÁIN, UCD}</b> .....                       | <b>8</b>  |
| <i>Mr James Sheridan (TCD)</i> .....   | 8         |
| <i>Dr Karen Holland (Providence)</i> .....   | 8         |
| <i>Mr Declan Mills (UL)</i> .....  | 8         |
| <b>SESSION 3B {CHAIRER BY DR MARK EMPEY, NUIM}</b> .....                               | <b>9</b>  |
| <i>Prof. Colm Lennon (NUIM)</i> .....  | 9         |
| <i>Dr Amy Harris (Ind.)</i> .....  | 9         |
| <i>Dr James O'Neill (Ind.)</i> .....   | 9         |
| <b>SESSION 4A {CHAIRER BY DR EMMA LYONS, UCD}</b> .....                                | <b>10</b> |
| <i>Dr John Jeremiah Cronin (Ind.) &amp; Dr Damian Shiels (Ind.)</i> .....              | 10        |
| <i>Dr Ciska Neyts (Oxford)</i> .....   | 10        |
| <i>Ms Jennifer Wells (Brown/IHR)</i> .....   | 10        |
| <b>SESSION 4B {CHAIRER BY DR SUZANNE FORBES, UCD}</b> .....                            | <b>11</b> |
| <i>Prof. Raymond Pierre Hylton (Virginia Union) &amp; Dr Marie Léoutre (NLI)</i> ..... | 11        |
| <i>Ms Frances Nolan (UCD)</i> .....  | 11        |
| <i>Mr Stephen Hand (UCC)</i> .....   | 11        |
| <b>SESSION 5A {CHAIRER BY PROF. STEVEN ELLIS, NUIG}</b> .....                          | <b>12</b> |
| <i>Dr David Heffernan (UCC)</i> .....  | 12        |
| <i>Dr Mark Hutchinson (Göttingen)</i> .....  | 12        |
| <i>Mr Jeffrey Cox (UCD)</i> .....  | 12        |
| <b>SESSION 5B {CHAIRER BY DR BRÍD McGRATH, TCD}</b> .....                              | <b>13</b> |
| <i>Prof. Raymond Gillespie (NUIM)</i> .....  | 13        |
| <i>Mr Anthony Hughes (NUIM)</i> .....  | 13        |
| <i>Dr John Cunningham (TCD/Exeter)</i> .....   | 13        |

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*Beyond the provision of funding, institutional support for the Fourth Tudor & Stuart Ireland Conference has been nothing less than tremendous. From the onset, NUI Maynooth has been a most gracious and welcoming host. We would especially like to thank Professor Marian Lyons, Ms Ann Donoghue, Ms Catherine Heslin, Professor Colm Lennon, and Professor Raymond Gillespie for their encouragement, advice, and help throughout the past year. Thank you also to Professor Ronan Reilly and Ms Eilis Murray of the Graduate Studies Office (NUIIM), Ms Fiona Smith and Ms Katja Nolan at NUIIM's Conference and Accommodation Office, and to An Foras Feasa and NCG for the use of facilities in the Iontas Building.*

*Although this is Tudor & Stuart Ireland's first foray beyond the bounds of UCD, the School of History and Archives has remained an enthusiastic advocate of this year's conference. We would especially like to thank Professor John McCafferty, Ms Kate Breslin, Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, Dr Elva Johnston, and Dr Ivar McGrath for their unwavering support.*

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

*Jeffrey Cox, Jessica Cunningham, Bronagh McShane, & Frances Nolan*

# ABSTRACTS

## Session IA

Mr J. Stuart Keogh

University of Dundee

### *French silver, Jacobite pen? Propaganda from Dublin, 1689-90*

*If William of Orange's skill in using printing to press his claims to the crowns of Britain during the 'Glorious Revolution' has long been recognised, his father-in-law's subsequent propaganda efforts have received less attention. This is especially so in the 1689-1690 period regarding the documents produced in Ireland. The aim of this paper is to shed light on Jacobite propaganda both in Ireland and the wider Three Kingdom context in this period. It will notably show ways in which Jacobite propaganda was actively supported by Louis XIV of France who attempted to influence its content. The paper looks at Jacobite efforts to print propaganda material both for consumption in Ireland and distribution in Scotland and England. Consideration is also given to how the Williamite regime sought to crack down on this activity and prevent its circulation.*

Mr Joe Lines

Queen's University Belfast

### *Irish nationality in the criminal biography, 1660-1700*

*The paper will examine the concept of Irish nationality in criminal biographies published between 1660 and 1700. The popular Restoration genre of criminal literature included numerous biographies with Irish subjects, some of which were based on real persons, such as the notorious highwayman Redmond O'Hanlon. These biographies share a tactic of linking crimes of property to moments of tension and unrest in seventeenth-century Ireland, such as the 1641 rebellion, the Irish Plot crisis, and the Williamite Wars. Biographies of Irish criminals were issued for diverse readerships in both London and Dublin, which conditioned their representations of the Irish. Those that were published in London are more likely to reiterate the charge of Irish hostility and savagery, whereas Dublin-published texts are willing to represent the criminal in sympathetic fashion. Nevertheless, these texts treat the concept of Irish nationality in similar ways. On the one hand, they present the criminal as typical of their nation, as exemplified by titles such as "The Irish Rogue" (1690) or "The Wild-Irish Captain" (1692). On the other hand, they accord their subjects an element of ambiguous or dual nationality which works against their political intentions, but accords with the conventions of the criminal biography form.*

Mr Damian Duffy

National University of Ireland, Maynooth

### *'...a lady of suche port, that all estates of the realme crouched unto her': Margaret Fitzgerald, countess of Ormond*

*Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of Gareth Mor 'Great' Earl of Kildare, and wife of Piers Butler Earl of Ormond, was one of the most remarkable and powerful women of sixteenth century Ireland. Largely under researched, she was a lady who possessed a strong and defiant personality which not only set her apart from her peers, but served to highlight the influence she held over her husband, preserve the earldom, and prepare the next generation. As a Tudor countess, Margaret's story is one that merits much attention and examination. When compared with her peers in England, the world of Margaret was one of more than one society, dealing with the Gaelic Irish the Anglo Irish and the English in Ireland.*

*Margaret came from a family of strong Kildare women and held a pivotal position between two of Ireland's chief aristocratic families, by virtue of her marriage. How she successfully straddled the lines between private and public, personal and political, is indicative of how she as countess of Ormond, demonstrated female aristocratic power through her own prowess every bit as much as by virtue of her birth or the arrangement of her marriage alliance. This Tudor countess is an example of a woman who the historical record has all too frequently neglected or forgotten, through perhaps a sweeping narrative of the sixteenth century focused largely on conquest and reformation, rather than individuals and legacies.*

## Session 1B

Mr Simon Egan

University College Cork

### *The MacSweeney lordship of Fanad in the later fifteenth century*

*In the summer of 1460 Aedh Ruadh O'Donnell and his constable of galloglass, Maolmuire MacSweeney of Fanad, escaped from a four year period of captivity at Henry O'Neill's castle at Dungannon. Moving swiftly both men made their way westward to the lordship of Tyrconnell. Here, Aedh Ruadh was able to raise local military support from Maolmuire's kinsmen in Fanad which allowed him to depose his cousin, Turlough Cairbreach O'Donnell. Following his seizure of power Aedh Ruadh rewarded Maolmuire's service by acknowledging him as the rightful lord of Fanad.*

*Under the leadership of Aedh Ruadh, the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell would emerge as one of the most powerful factions within the northern Irish Sea world over the next forty years. MacSweeney support had been essential to Aedh Ruadh's initial seizure of power but they would continue to play a central role in wider O'Donnell expansion. Famous for their role as fearsome galloglass, the Clan Sweeney formed the core of O'Donnell's armies. However, the MacSweenys were also prominent seafarers and Fanad was in effect a maritime lordship. There is further evidence, contained in Gaelic Irish sources, that the MacSweenys controlled small but formidable fleets which O'Donnell used to transport troops and launch amphibious assaults on specific coastal targets.*

*With these issues in mind and using a broad base of sources, this paper explores the role of the MacSweenys, both by land and by sea, in wider O'Donnell expansion during the later fifteenth century.*

Ms Janet McGrory

University of Ulster

### *Sir Arthur Chichester; an Elizabethan planter in a Stuart kingdom*

*Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy 1604-1616, had been a prominent figure in the Nine Years War, through which he learned valuable knowledge of the native Irish people and their land. Throughout the Tudor period the Monarchy had repeatedly attempted to rule Ireland by including the Irish, however, this had never proven easy or successful. Following Elizabeth's death, James VI & I envisaged a Great Britain, powerful and wealthy, that included Ireland. With his advisors the king implemented a plantation strategy for Ulster that radically altered the province. Opposed to this, Chichester failed to persuade James to consider a scheme that would give the native Irish a share of the land.*

*This paper will examine Chichester's grant of Inishowen in Donegal and ascertain if he conducted his affairs on the peninsula as he felt the entire province should have been settled. Unlike Sir John Davies, Chichester held the Elizabethan view that the native Irish were a necessity to a successful plantation. The revolt of 1641 is considered a reaction to the plantation. On Inishowen there were no incidences of violence and the native Irish retained their land leases unlike other parts of Ulster where the leases were lost. This paper will investigate whether this was as a result of Chichester's accommodation of the native Irish. Inishowen has been written out of recent historiographies on plantation and on biographies on Chichester. Chichester's grant of Inishowen was unique and therefore warrants closer inspection.*

*Tristram Beresford and the plantation of Ulster*

This paper will examine Tristram Beresford's role in the Ulster Plantation from 1609 to 1641. As resident agent for the Honourable the Irish Society in the province, Beresford played an active role in the City of London's plantation, yet this has received little attention. In the opening years of the scheme, Beresford acted as deputy to chief agent John Rowley and together the pair managed the establishment of both county towns, Coleraine and Londonderry. Despite a promising start however within a short time reports of misconduct prompted the Irish Society to launch a commission to survey the progress of the project. The subsequent report of George Smithes and Mathias Springham, published in October 1614 revealed gross misconduct and negligence on the part of both Beresford and Rowley yet it was only the latter who was reprimanded for his actions. In fact Beresford's promotion to chief agent in the aftermath of the report granted him more responsibility. In the years that followed Beresford played a crucial role in developing the county towns but also assisted in the establishment of each company's individual estate. His efforts to plant his own estate also commanded much of his time. This paper will therefore examine Beresford's role in the project from the outset, exploring the process by which he became involved in the scheme and his motives. The paper will then look at his record in Ulster, both in the early years of the plantation and also in the aftermath of the City's Commission. An important aspect of the paper will be Beresford's relationship with those both in London and also on the ground in Londonderry, in particular Sir Thomas Phillips.



## Session 2A

Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin

University College Dublin

### *Early modern Catholicism in the northern Netherlands, England and Ireland: some points of comparison and contrast*

*This paper offers a brief investigation of the evolution of Catholicism in three societies, England, where by the end of Elizabeth's reign it retained significant numbers of adherents among the aristocracy but had largely lost the battle for the hearts and minds of the general population; Ireland, the only area of the Atlantic archipelago where Catholicism survived the sixteenth century and beyond as the majority confession, and the Netherlands where a significant Catholic population, reorganized in the course of 1590s and the first decades of the seventeenth century, was in existence at the end of the great Spanish-Dutch conflict in 1648. In addition to their geographical location on the western margins of Catholic Europe, the principal factor linking these three areas is their shared inheritance of state hostility and the existence of a favoured non-Catholic church establishment which posed a considerable challenge to the possibilities of survival and growth of Catholicism. However, despite this basic commonality, the difference in the self-understanding of the favoured confession and the varying extents of state power in enforcing programmes of coercion were critical factors in the differing evolution of Catholicism in the three areas.*

Dr Áine Hensey

Independent

### *'...compelled to subsist on herbs and water': the prisoner priests of Bofin and Inis Mór, 1657-62*

*With the final defeat of the Catholic Confederacy by Cromwell's forces in 1653, a concerted effort was made to rid Ireland of priests. While many hundreds escaped to continental Europe, many more were captured and faced differing fates. It appears that most priests who had not been accused of 'murder, debt or suchlike offences', and who had the resources to do so, were allowed to pay their own passage to sanctuary in France, Spain or other Catholic states.*

*In 1655, with many Catholic clergy in captivity, measures were taken to transport them to Barbados along with large numbers of the laity. For various reasons this practice was discontinued in 1657 and orders were given to prepare Inishbofin and Inis Mór, the largest of the Aran Islands, as prisons. From then until 1662 the islands were home to a community of captive secular and regular clergy. This paper will examine the identity of these prisoner priests, where they lived, how they were captured and incarcerated, how they survived on the islands and where they went in the aftermath of their release.*

Mr Martin Foerster

University of Hamburg

### *So poor but yet so rich: Jesuit finances in Restoration Ireland*

*While the Confederate Government and the political support from nuncio Rinuccini during the 1640s had left the Jesuit Mission to Ireland comparably well-funded the impact of the Cromwellian persecutions and the following dispersal of its members had a devastating effect on the Society. The Restoration met most of its adherents distributed throughout Western Europe and combined with their returning to the Mission came the task to recover the funds that were scattered with them.*

*Reports from Restoration bishops as well as the official Litterae Annuae sent to Rome during most years of the 1660s draw the picture of an impoverished mendicant order that was hardly able to sustain itself and that was living off alms, hidden in the forests, unable to perform the missionary tasks they were educated for. However, these portraits differ greatly from the internal debates documented in personal letters and state documents. For the following twenty years Irish Jesuits were in constant communication with the general superiors in Rome as well as with their procurators in Brussels, Paris, Madrid and Lisbon, vehemently trying to recover what they thought rightfully theirs. The presentation will document the different approaches applied by the order to gain control over varying sources of income in several European countries. It will analyse the economic networks as well as the propaganda strategies available to such a peripheral European mission whose members' characterization ranges between the starving brothers and substantial landowners.*

## Session 2B

Ms Jessica Cunningham

National University of Ireland, Maynooth

### *'the fashion and price I will wait upon your lordship for direction': the acquisition of domestic silver in early-seventeenth century Ireland*

Silver (or 'plate') was acquired in numerous ways in the early-seventeenth century: through gifts and bequests, through second-hand purchase, in lieu of payment, and through the direct patronage of goldsmiths. This paper will focus on this latter method of acquisition and the relationship between craftsmen and their patrons. Using the case of George FitzGerald, sixteenth earl of Kildare, and his London goldsmith Nathaniel Stoughton, it will highlight numerous features which characterised the acquisition and consumption of silver by the Irish elite in the early-seventeenth century. The symbolic and practical functions of domestic silver, in expressing status, demonstrating fashionable taste and supplying elegant vessels and utensils for use at the dining table, were welcomed by goldsmith and patron alike. The lengths to which Irish consumers went, to source, negotiate, purchase and transport silver from English goldsmiths were considerable and retracing these sheds light on a consumer society with a keen appetite for luxury material goods. This paper will propose that this growing, wealthy consumer base, together with the opportunism of craftsmen, gave rise to the flourishing of the silver craft in Ireland in the later decades of the seventeenth century.

Dr Clodagh Tait

Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick

### *Spaces for business and leisure: Cork House and Dublin Castle in the 1630s*

Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, was a builder, and his building was targeted and purposeful. Never to the forefront of architectural fashions, Boyle's main concern was to create warm, comfortable dwellings that showcased his wealth in their furnishings and internal details. He increasingly competed with others, most notably Lord Deputy Wentworth, to provide amenities suited to his perception of his own status. The Lismore and Wentworth papers provide indications how particular rooms in Boyle's Cork House and the neighbouring Dublin Castle were used. Drawing on recent work on material culture and use of space in English households, this paper will scrutinise in particular details of the construction, furnishing and use of bedchambers, studies, galleries, stables and gardens. These spaces set the scene for private and public business dealings and close consideration of how events unfolded within them demonstrates the extent to which location influenced the negotiation of political rivalries.

Ms Aislinn Collins

University College Cork

### *'Dozen, wolcards, old...6s 8d': The clothing of the lower classes in Elizabethan Cork*

Amongst the upper and rising classes in Early Modern Ireland clothing and politics were closely connected. The quality and expense of the materials used signified an individual's real or aspirational social status. Changes in fashions often mirrored changes in the political landscape. Statutes and Ordinances were passed to promote political loyalty through cultural hegemony. However the majority of the population could afford neither gowns of silk nor new clothing for the sake of a new style or law. This paper will explore the range of fabrics and haberdashery available to those living in Cork, during the reign of Elizabeth I, with which to create and tailor the clothes they wore.



## Session 3A

**Dr Karen Holland**

**Providence College**

### *Insuring the quiet of the country: Elizabeth I and Joan Fitzgerald, Countess of Desmond*

While historians acknowledge that some aristocratic women did assume political roles in Tudor Ireland, it was unique for a noblewoman to do so at the behest of her female sovereign. But this was the case for Joan Fitzgerald, countess of Desmond, and Queen Elizabeth I. In January 1562 after the most recent incident in the hereditary Desmond/Ormond feud, Elizabeth I summoned the disputants Gerald Fitzgerald, 15th earl of Desmond, and Thomas Butler, 10th earl of Ormond, to England. When Desmond, after considerable prevarication, eventually arrived in London four months later, Elizabeth “sequestered him from his liberty.” With the earl detained in London it was necessary for the queen to find a way to maintain the peace in turbulent Munster, and significantly she looked to another woman to do so. In her correspondence with Desmond's wife Joan, Elizabeth acknowledged the countess' position of authority in the earldom's government during her husband's absence and expressed her hope that Joan could and would insure the “the quiet of the country” until Gerald's return. The queen had every reason to believe that Joan was both willing and competent to accomplish this task as Joan had recently acted as a “peacemaker” at the Battle of Bohormore and was, more importantly, not only the wife of Desmond but also the mother of Ormond. Elizabeth's confidence in and admonition to Joan, however, were ultimately unsuccessful in preventing Joan's participation in hostilities in the Desmond territories during her husband's detention. Even with her personal experience of the consequences of failing to honor royal commands, Joan choose to “insure the quiet” of Munster on her own terms.

**Mr James Sheridan**

**Trinity College Dublin**

### *An elusive settlement: the negotiations of Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney and Turlough Luineach O'Neill, 1575-1579*

The theme of my lecture deals with the reasons underlining the failure of the crown's representative Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney to conclude a lasting agreement with Turlough Luineach O'Neill, the leading Gaelic Irish opponent of crown interests in Ulster during the period 1575-9. Such an agreement would have had the effect of ending the continuous conflict between the crown on one hand and the Gaelic lords on the other through recognising the native aristocracy as lords of their own territories equipped with English titles in return for their submission to English authority. While the timing for such an agreement seemed ideal following the cancellation of the enterprise of Walter Devereux, earl of Essex in May 1575, which had aimed to establish an English plantation in east Ulster, and the declaration of a peace treaty that June between Turlough Luineach and the crown a number of key political issues remained to be resolved. These concerns included the remaining bitterness about the late Essex enterprise and its atrocities which had soured Gaelic-Dublin relations, the opposition and difficulty Sidney experienced in introducing his policies, negative interference from the Privy Council and Sidney's inability to curb the power Turlough Luineach. Finally when these issues were overcome political mishandling by both parties served to stifle the implementation of a final settlement between the two parties. Therefore my lecture will explore how this chain of events served to undermine and eventually crush any hopes of a negotiated reconciliation between Dublin and the Gaelic lords.

**Mr Declan Mills**

**University of Limerick**

### *Elizabethan Ireland: the graveyard of ambition or land of political opportunity*

This paper will examine the ways in which Elizabethan courtiers, politicians and administrators viewed Ireland and the prospect of having to work in Ireland. This paper will argue that despite the general consensus that Ireland was too uncivilised and too far from the Court to be considered useful to one's career, to the point where some nobles viewed a posting in Ireland as virtual exile, many of the senior figures who were given posts on the island got them for practical, rather than political reasons. It will also show that, even though for some people, such as Lord Grey de Wilton and the 2nd earl of Essex, Ireland would prove to be the graveyard of ambition, for others, particularly less senior figures such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser, it would be a land of personal and political opportunity. This paper will also touch on the ways in which the Irish experiences of people such as Spenser and the Sidneys could have coloured their attitudes on other political matters, particularly the possibility of Elizabeth marrying a Catholic prince.

## Session 3B

**Prof. Colm Lennon**

**National University of Ireland, Maynooth**

### *Protestant-Catholic relations in seventeenth-century Ireland: A case study of St Audoen's parish, Dublin*

*The recent publication of the vestry books of St Audoen's, Dublin, affords us an opportunity to review the state of religious and civic relations between the Protestant and Catholic communities in this central city parish in the seventeenth century. In this context, I wish to focus on interaction between the confessional groups in the field of welfare and poor relief, as revealed in the 'white book' of the fraternity of St Anne (1655-1688). The long history of this wealthy devotional and charitable association within the parish acts as a barometer of the religious climate in late medieval and early modern Dublin. This case study provides a snapshot of the older associational form of communal bridging under pressure at a time of demographic and political change from the 1650s to the 1680s. In examining how the memory of the dead was invoked by their descendants, who looked to the fraternity for the continuation of their 'pious uses and greater charity', we observe a real sense of the Christian communion of the living and the dead, stretching across the generations and transcending confessional division. Yet the citizens' dual role as parish activists and fraternity brothers and sisters was becoming unsustainable, as religious ideology became central to political acceptability in the 1680s and beyond.*

**Dr Amy Harris**

**Independent**

### *Catholic or Protestant? Funerary monuments in Tudor and Stuart Ireland*

*During the Irish post-reformation period there was a major change in the iconography and decoration of its funerary monuments with the result that it is possible in most cases to distinguish between Catholic and Protestant tombs. Catholic memorials erected by the Old English and Gaelic Irish continue to use religious iconography such as crosses, crucifixion scenes, symbols of the passion and the sacred monogram I H S. In contrast Protestant funerary monuments erected by the New English and Ulster Scots adhere to the post reformation regulations regarding commemoration and use a range of images such as effigies depicting the deceased as they had been in life together with secular idioms and motifs such as the skull and cross bones, hour glass, heraldry allegorical figures alongside architectural surrounds. Sometimes it is not always possible differentiating between Catholic and Protestant tombs purely on the basis of their iconography due to, in some cases, where they are erected (i.e. location - for example Dublin city).*

*The aim of this paper is to review how Catholics and Protestants across Ireland used symbolism, iconography and decoration on their funerary monuments to reflect their differing religious creeds.*

**Dr James O'Neill**

**Independent**

### *Speedy swords? Violence and restraint during the Nine Years War, 1593-1603*

*The Nine Years War has often been portrayed as a no-holds-barred conflict in which brutality was the norm. The orgy of bloodshed and cataclysmic famine in Ulster which brought the war to its close helped cement this image. That Queen Elizabeth and her advisors saw this as a rebellion and not a war demonstrated that, for the English, the actions of the Hugh O'Neill and his allies placed them beyond the prevailing customs of *jus in bello*. This would have allowed any and all actions to recover control of Ireland. However, close examination of the details of the war shows that restraint was commonplace from its outset. This paper will look at the limitations on inter-personal violence against both soldiers and civilians and how these could change according to circumstance. It is well known that the forces of the crown and the Irish lords could be callous, but there also many instances where surrenders were accepted and prisoners spared. Whenever outrages did occur, often they can be explained for reasons other than cultural intolerance or bigotry. Furthermore, strategic and operational restraint was exhibited by both belligerents during the war. Finally, comparisons with warfare on the continent will show that in many ways the conflict in Ireland exhibited greater, not less, levels forbearance between enemies.*

## Session 4A

**Dr John Jeremiah Cronin  
& Damian Shiels**

**Independent  
Independent**

### *The Irish Battlefields Project's survey of the battle sites of the Confederate Wars: an illustrative analysis of four battlefields*

*The Irish Battlefields Project was instigated by the Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government in 2007 to examine the history and archaeology of all major battlefield sites in Ireland between the 8th and 18th centuries, with a view to locating them on the ground and preserving them. The project, using a mixture of on-site archaeological survey, and in-depth historical analysis of primary and secondary source material, produced the most comprehensive analysis of Irish battlefields ever undertaken in the State. This paper will examine the results of the project on battlefields from the wars of 1641-52. While some 31 battles from the Confederate wars were examined as part of the project, in this particular paper we propose to focus in on four specific battlefields: Liscarroll (1642), Kilrush (1642), Knocknanuss (1647) and Knockbrack (1651). We will, by means of our presentation on these particular battlefields, highlight some of the major archaeological and historical findings made by the project, as well as exploring how the sites are preserved and commemorated today.*

**Dr Ciska Neyts**

**Hertford College, Oxford University**

### *Continental influences on confederate warfare (1641-9)*

*This paper will re-evaluate the generally accepted notion that the return of Irish veterans from continental armies in 1641/2 significantly altered the character of confederate warfare during the 1640s. Deploying an 'integrated' approach towards the study of early modern warfare, this paper will argue that confederate warfare only intermittently succeeded in waging war the continental way, because the logistical infrastructure the Irish set up could not support continental 'grand war'. Instead, the Confederates waged predominantly 'small war' which placed emphasis on quick actions by small numbers of troops, ambushes, raids and skirmishes. The influence of confederate commanders with continental experience thus did not manifest itself through the use of tactics that dominated conflicts on the Continent. However, this paper will argue that the veterans' presence was primarily of political importance to the Confederates. Commanders like Owen Roe O'Neill and Thomas Preston influenced the behaviour of confederate troops through their insistence on respecting quarter and other aspects of the laws of war, which instilled respect amongst their opponents. More significantly however, their arrival in Ireland created the potential for waging war the continental way and, even though they might only have been able to do so when logistical circumstances allowed for it, this gave the Confederation a level of credibility that could not be derived from the damage inflicted on the civilian population with 'small war' tactics.*

**Ms Jennifer Wells**

**Brown University/Institute of Historical Research**

### *'Spanish wine bee better than French': Continental Realpolitik and its imperial resonance, 1649-92*

*In recent years, Irish historians have focused extensively on the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland and its domestic ramifications, while also taking note of the extensive deportation of Irish men, women, and children to the West Indies. What (or, more precisely, who) has received much less attention are the estimated 60,000 Irishmen who, by the terms of the Act of Settlement and surrender articles granted to Irish troops by the English Parliament, fled to the Continent to serve in armies during the 1660s. This paper examines not only how this process unfolded, but also accounts for the wider European theatre of conflict, demonstrating how the exiled Charles Stuart's need to form a Continental alliance forced Irish elites and soldiers fighting for Spanish forces to switch their allegiance to the French in 1656-1657. Equally important, this paper shows how the future Charles II, making good on his promise to reward those Irish commanders who rallied their troops to the French army, appointed these men to key administrative positions in Tangier during the Restoration. The second portion of the paper thus examines how the Irish, once vanquished by Cromwellian policies, proceeded to win a place in the race for empire, embracing not only their Tangerine posts, but also putting the experience to use in both Bombay and the West Indies later in the seventeenth century. This paper accordingly demonstrates the importance of the wider European dimension when assessing early modern Irish history, the long-term repercussions of domestic Cromwellian policies to the imperial sphere, and the central role occupied by Irishmen, both Protestant and Catholic, in the English imperial project.*

## Session 4B

Prof. Raymond Pierre Hylton  
& Dr Marie Leoutre

Virginia Union University  
National Library of Ireland

### *Exile to integration: Dublin as a paradigm for the Huguenots experience in Ireland*

*With the Huguenots, who made up the largest group of non-Anglophone immigrants to Ireland during the Early Modern era, it was always a question of identity. The co-presenters of this paper seek to investigate the myths and realities behind the perspectives on selfhood held by Huguenots, and how they might have been viewed by others. From 1662 - c.1720 thousands of Huguenots travelled to and settled in Ireland, establishing population clusters. By far, the largest and most significant of these French Protestant concentrations was in Dublin. But what the Huguenots exactly did establish there cannot be neatly categorized, nor can it be it simply encompassed under conventional terminology. "Enclave"? "colony"? "settlement"? "community"? "diaspora"? all fall short of capturing the totality, and even the essence, of the Huguenot presence there.*

*Integral to the story of the Huguenots are the corrosive forces of integration and assimilation. The question that was posed during Dublin Tercentenary Conference on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1985: "When did a Huguenot cease to be a Huguenot?", remains unanswered. This paper will attempt to shed new light as to what stage in the assimilatory process the transformation might have occurred; examine the Huguenot population in its three major "waves" of arrival, the experiences of paradigmatic families; and measure the impact of intra-religious dissonance and the pivotal role played by the Earl of Galway.*

Ms Frances Nolan

University College Dublin

### *The 'Jacobite woman': female 'outlaws' after the Williamite-Jacobite war*

*This paper will examine those women who were 'outlawed' for both domestic and foreign treason during and after the Williamite – Jacobite war in Ireland. Focussing on the legalities and motivations for the indictment and attainder of women, the notion of a group of 'officially recognised' Jacobite females will be explored, as will the fact that the female 'outlaw' was in fact, a misnomer; the early modern woman was never within the law, and by that very fact, she could never be placed outside it. Instead, women were declared 'waviata', or waived. In effect, this held similar penalties, but its origins were situated in the renouncing of an attainted woman in her common law state, as the property of her husband.*

*In the course of the 1690s, twenty-three women were attainted for high treason; fourteen for domestic treason and nine for foreign treason. The lists of outlawry include prominent female figures like Frances Talbot, Charlotte Sarsfield and Honora Bourke, but they also include seemingly unremarkable names, such as six Brenan women from Kilkenny, the mothers' of yeomen and merchants, and several female minors.*

*This paper will explore the motivations for the attainting of such an eclectic swathe of 'Jacobite women', illustrating that charges were often fuelled by material, rather than political, interests. In doing so, it will consider the complexity of religious and political identity throughout the 1690s, examining the dynamics of female agency and culpability at a time when women were understood as largely inert or inconsequential.*

Mr Stephen Hand

University College Cork

### *'The iniquitie of these licentious times': Representations of Ireland's 'decline' in early seventeenth-century literature*

*There are commentators in every age that note that era's perceived moral and social decline, and seventeenth-century Ireland was no different. Bad government, unruly youth, adultery, rampant promiscuity and drunkenness were common complaints of such observers. At the heart of this worldview was the notion that the present situation represented the apogee of sinfulness, debauchery and decline into a moral and intellectual cesspit. In such accounts the past was often held up as a time of greater virtue, in which humanity existed in harmony with one another and the natural world. Tied in with this perspective was the theological outlook that since the fall of Adam the world had become increasingly corrupt and depraved. At the same time it was understood that through modifying behaviour (and often not, as humanity's fallen nature was deemed irretrievable), the world could be returned to a more innocent, ideal and halcyon existence. This paper will discuss the extent to which observers living in Ireland- both native and newcomer- viewed societal decay and examine the proposed solutions to their grievances.*

## Session 5A

Dr David Heffernan

University College Cork

### *Political discourse in early sixteenth century Ireland, c. 1515-1558: A re-evaluation*

*In the past several decades scholars of political discourse in Tudor Ireland have tended to focus to an overwhelming extent on documents written in the closing decades of the sixteenth century, above all on Edmund Spenser's 'A View of the Present State of Ireland' and treatises written contemporaneous to the 'View'. This is in contrast to the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s when historians such as D.B. Quinn, Dean Gunther White and Brendan Bradshaw published extensively on political tracts written during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I. This paper looks at some of the earliest policy papers written on the state of Ireland under these monarchs in order to readdress their significance for historians of sixteenth century Ireland. In particular it will highlight how the major policy initiatives favoured in Ireland throughout the sixteenth century, such as the appointment of provincial presidents, the establishment of garrisons to conquer wayward regions and colonisation of the northeast of Ireland to stem the arrival of Scots settlers there, were first recommended in these papers. In doing so it will suggest that writings such as 'The State of Ireland and Plan for its Reformation', written in 1515, William Darcy's 'Articles', also written in 1515, and Patrick Finglas' 'A Breviat of the getting of Ireland and of the Decaie of the same', which was completed by 1533, were some of the most important policy papers written on Ireland under the Tudors.*

Dr Mark Hutchinson

Lichtenberg-Kolleg, University of Göttingen

### *Inverting Resistance Theory and the state in Elizabethan Ireland*

*In 1578/9 an early and marked use of the term 'the state' can be identified in Irish government correspondence, which denoted an absolutist and institutional conception of sovereign authority. This, however, had been preceded by an earlier godly discussion. Government had sought to construct a godly community through the dissemination of God's word. It was argued that through the action of God's grace on individual conscience 'true obedience' would be established and Elizabeth's Irish subjects brought to a long-term civil obedience.*

*This paper asks why a set of reformed Protestants involved in Irish government adopted the language of an institutional and absolutist state, when European resistance theorists and their English contemporaries drew on notions of popular sovereignty and the mixed polity. The paper argues that the inversion of the European norm in Ireland points to an important relationship between conceptions of the godly polity and the subsequent development of the institutional state. That it was a failure in Ireland to reform the community and establish the bonds of Christian friendship which drove government to re-conceive of the political community.*

*In this way state theory is not so much about the question of resistance and the rights of the community or the ruler, but about the presence or absence of a Christian body-political. In an unreformed polity the subject would not necessarily act for the moral or Christian good and so the primary concern of government became the potential for a subject to act against and destabilize the state. Here a focus on institutional structures and limits was about recreating some stability in political relationships in the absence of the bonds of Christian friendship.*

Mr Jeffrey Cox

University College Dublin

### *If you build it, will they come? Parish churches, the state and religious change, c. 1560-1630: a case study of County Kildare*

*The late fifteenth century witnessed a considerable period of church building and re-edification within and along the borders of County Kildare. Endowments, repairs, ornamentation, and church furnishings were bestowed upon parish churches by even modest patrons, while more prominent gentry were able to make greater contributions commensurate with their social status. Such building programmes suggest that the re-edification or renovation of parish churches was a consequence of vigorous popular piety.*

*After the Elizabethan Settlement, however, a prolonged period of decay beset the parish churches. By 1630, eighty-one per cent of parish churches in Kildare were in some state of disrepair, fifty-nine per cent of which were wholly ruined. On the one hand, the seeming abandonment of churches is a poignant indication of a shift in the relationship between the community and its church. On the other, the decay of church fabric was an impediment to the inculcation of religious conformity. Although state officials bemoaned the condition of ecclesiastical buildings, measures to secure their re-edification met with only limited success during the period under review. This paper will examine the reasons reported in state correspondence for the prolonged deterioration church fabric, and assess why attempts to encourage re-edification garnered so little community support.*

## Session 5B

**Prof. Raymond Gillespie**

**National University of Ireland, Maynooth**

### *For the honour of the city: The town hall in early modern Ireland*

*One of the most significant features of early modern Ireland was its rapid urbanisation. By 1700 Ireland had some 117 corporate towns, many of which had not existed a century earlier and had been created to meet the parliamentary electoral needs of the early seventeenth century. Both the older corporations and the new creations played important economic and political roles in the sixteenth and seventeenth century but even more significant was their social roles. Urban charters created corporate identities in a world where other social bonds had been fragmented by migration or confessional division. Urban corporate identities drew people together as part of a process of making a new society. Part of this process was the symbols of the town, such as maces, swords or other civic regalia, and the most important symbol was the construction of a town hall. Town halls in the older town symbolised urban rights while their very slow evolution in the towns created by charter after 1613 reveals much of the problems of creating an urban society by charter from above. By the late seventeenth century both the newer and older corporations were less distinctive as new town halls portrayed a sense of cohesion, mirroring the evolution of Irish society generally. This paper looks at how those buildings reflected the society that made them.*

**Mr Anthony Hughes**

**National University of Ireland, Maynooth**

### *The Stuart post office in Ireland: not just for delivering letters*

*This lecture will explore the origins, expansion and functions of the postal service and network in Ireland during the period c.1639-1711. Though there had been a postal service during the Tudor reigns it was for official use only and not strictly opened to the public. The public post in Ireland can be dated to 1639 during the reign of Charles I. It was an important component in the conquest and later colonisation of Ireland from the mid 1600s. Although a public service the Post Office served first and foremost the state, to which it supplied three basic services, a communications system that carried all its dispatches, military and civil. Secondly it was an important intelligence gathering mechanism and thirdly it supplied much needed revenue to a cash starved king or parliament. Although an integral part of the apparatus of government it was primarily the public who paid for and used it. By 1711 it was vital for trade and commerce and was increasingly used by the elites in society for social intercourse. The communication needs of both commerce and government resulted in an ever expanding postal network. This system expanded from just twenty-four post-towns in 1656 to over seventy by 1711. This narrative of the public post in Ireland begins just at the end of Thomas Wentworth's tenure as lord deputy on the eve of the 1641 rebellion and ends with Dean Swifts return to Ireland on the death of Queen Ann the last Stuart monarch.*

**Dr John Cunningham**

**Trinity College Dublin /University of Exeter**

### *The medical world of early modern Ireland*

*This paper relates to my work to date for the research project 'The medical world of early modern England, Wales and Ireland', funded by the Wellcome Trust. I am part of a team of scholars centred in the University of Exeter that is endeavouring to uncover as much data as possible about medical practitioners in the period 1500-1715. All of the information collected is being entered into a database. Primary sources that are of use in relation to Ireland include corporation records, rolls of freemen, wills and will indexes, parish registers, university and other institutional records, the 1641 depositions, and various further materials. The previous research of other scholars also constitutes an important resource. The paper will discuss some of the particular challenges and opportunities that exist concerning research into important groups of practitioners, such as physicians, barber surgeons and apothecaries, in early modern Ireland.*

