

# TUDOR & STUART IRELAND

## *Abstract Booklet*

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OLLSCOIL NA GAILLIMHE  

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UNIVERSITY OF GALWAY



## Session 1A

**Bríd McGrath (TCD)**

**Patrick Darcy of Galway (1598-1668), his life, legal practice and commercial interests**

Patrick Darcy of Galway (1598-1668), was the foremost lawyer of his generation and is best remembered today as a parliamentarian and constitutional thinker and for his role as chancellor of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Patrick was a member of one of the famous 'tribes of Galway' and closely connected with other prominent families of that city, especially the Blakes, Brownes, Frenches, Lynches and Martins. However, despite his membership of this wealthy and highly respected oligarchy, his early life was difficult, but the Earl of Clanricard's sponsorship enabled him and his fellow young Galwegians to attend the Middle Temple in London and to qualify as a lawyer. Catholic lawyers were barred from pleading in courts as a punishment for recusant lawyers' opposition to the state in the 1613-5 parliament; on their readmission to practice, Darcy was the first Catholic admitted to the King's Inns in Dublin in 1628. This paper considers his early life, his developing and extensive legal career and commercial interests, his relationships with James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Donough McCarthy, Viscount Muskerry and his attempts to preserve his social and economic status in the 1650s.

**Rachel Martin (Harvard)**

**The Strange Afterlife of Donal O'Flaherty**

Donal an Chogaidh O'Flaherty, the first husband of the famed Gráinne ní Mháille ("Granuaile" in the later tradition) is not a figure who is generally spoken of in discussions of Elizabethan Ireland. He exists in only a few written sources, two of which (Roderic O'Flaherty's *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught* and Dubhaltach mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar na nGenealach*) were written over a century after his death, and, even in sources close to his own time, we find discrepancies, most vexingly the conflation of his son (Eoghan O'Flaherty) with him. He is, fundamentally, a ghost, flitting in and out of the historical record. Still, despite the scanty evidence, due to his proximity to Gráinne, over the course of the centuries following his death, we see him take several forms – devoted husband, tragic lover, and, into the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, a domineering representation of the patriarchy. This paper aims to analyze Donal's legacy, beginning with introducing the information that we have on him, continuing into his reception between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, highlighting the ways that his image has been shifted to suit contemporary tastes, often with very little historical backing, to convey a specific image of Gráinne. This includes historical fiction, such as Morgan Llewelyn's *Grania: She-King of the Irish Seas*, the 2008 musical, *The Pirate Queen*, and in works of (alleged) nonfiction such as Anne Chamber's biography of Gráinne.



**Danielle Clarke (UCD)**

**Lady Anne Southwell, the Munster Plantation, and the Church of Ireland**

Lady Anne Southwell (1573-1636) is well-known amongst scholars of early modern women's poetry, but barely known at all beyond these circles. Criticism has positioned her as "Calvinist" or "Puritan" and this paper will not dispute this. I argue that Southwell's theology is heavily indebted to the relationships she cultivated in Ireland, with Bernard Adam, Bishop of Limerick, for example, but also through the broader networks she could access through her husband, Thomas, and her brother, Sir Edward Harris (chief justice of Munster) and—with Thomas Southwell—a member of the Council of Munster, itself a key administrative body in the imposition of English legal and religious practice in the province.

Southwell's poetry is largely devotional, focussed on verse paraphrases of the decalogue. These deal with issues relevant to the Church of Ireland in the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: the vestarian controversy, the question of dioceses, and livings, forms of worship, preaching and the liturgy. Her theology aligns with, or is influenced by, the *Irish Articles of Religion*, drafted by James Ussher and agreed by the Convocation of 1615. Her interest in the Old Testament aligns with the providential imagining of the role of planters in Ireland. Her poems are heavily dependent on Biblical sources, where Old and New Testament representations of the moral and ethical meaning of food items, animals and meteorological phenomena shape and guide her refracted reading of the relationship between New English settlers and the native practices and landscapes of early modern Ireland.



## Session 1B

**Thomas Herron (East Carolina University)**

### Hamlet, Essex, and Ireland

Critics have long noted how Robert Devereux, the second earl of Essex, was a disgruntled military hero moping around London around the time the play *Hamlet* was composed. After Essex returned suddenly from his campaign in Ireland in 1600 and disgracefully intruded upon the undressed Queen Elizabeth (shades of Hamlet bursting in on his mother Gertrude), he was banished from the court and placed under house arrest. England had become a “rotten” prison for him.

The play’s significance to Essex is all the more interesting in that, at a key moment, Hamlet swears “by St. Patrick” (1.5.135) after he hears the ghost’s revelation of who murdered him (*i.e.*, Hamlet’s father) while sleeping in a garden. As Stephen Greenblatt explains, St Patrick was associated with an Irish site of purgatory; hence Hamlet is thinking on purgatory when thinking on his father’s tortured fate as a ghost. But St Patrick also had heroic dimensions as one of the Nine Worthies and banisher of snakes, etc., and so he could be invoked with revenge in mind. One could also note how Essex had territorial interests in Ireland associated with the historical St. Patrick. This paper will highlight these connections as well as those to Essex’s father, the first earl.

**Yael Bassan (TCD)**

### Applying MCI Theory to Shakespeare's plays

The fantastic in the literary work is perceived as such because it contradicts our intuitive theories. These concepts are sets of intuitive principles, or more specifically values that humans discover in their early developmental stages without social or cultural dependence on learning processes or conscious exploration of the object of observation. However, although the fantastic poses a cognitive difficulty, it gains large-scale cultural acceptance and survivability in our consciousness. Hence, the "Paradox of the Fantastic" attempts to reconcile the minimum counter-intuitiveness theory (thereafter: MCI), whose framework underlies my current work.

The theory, developed in the 1990s, proposes that the resolution of that paradox lies in the number of counter-intuitive properties of the fantastic entities. Naturally, a minimum degree of counter-intuitiveness attracts attention; however, preserving most of an entity's intuitive properties allows the conservation of its initial conceptualisation. That combination forms a cognitive optimum that increases the chances for the survival of these entities’ and stories' culture, both concerning stories that do not challenge our intuitive theories and those that uttermost challenge them.

So far, the MCI theory has been applied mainly to stories bearing a religious context, folk tales, or later fantastic literary works (from the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century). In my work, where I apply the theory to three of Shakespeare’s plays: *A Midsummer Night's*



Dream, Hamlet, Macbeth and The Tempest, to undercover and analyse discrepancies between the MCI theory and Shakespeare's play texts.

**Karen Holland (Providence College)**

**The Besieged Women of Londonderry in John Michelborne's *Ireland Preserv'd; or, the Siege of Londonderry***

Siege warfare was especially devastating to the noncombatant population who found themselves confined within city walls, exposed to targeted artillery bombardment, and experiencing disease and slow starvation, with women and children the most numerous casualties. Such was the suffering of the female Protestant population of Londonderry who endured the 104-day encirclement of the city by the Jacobite forces of James II in 1689. While contemporary historical accounts offer scant reference to the actions of women during this blockade, one literary work published in 1705 does depict their response. Having lost his own wife and children to the vicissitudes of the siege, John Michelborne, details the participation of six female survivors in his five act, tragi-comedy *Ireland Preserv'd* – the wife of Alderman Buff and five female warriors, Amazon, Betitia, Gertrude, Felicia, and Deborah. Though the play was intended to promote Colonel Michelborne as the “hero” of the siege, ironically the “she soldiers”’ courageous actions in capturing the enemy’s flag and taking prisoners mirror those of the future Londonderry governor himself. Yet while certain basic assumptions about the male preserve of soldiering and the character of women are challenged by the playwright, their female identity and the Christian feminine virtues of mercy and charity are persevered in the face of this tremendous deprivation according to Michelborne and further are acknowledged in the women’s inclusion the celebratory “feast” that closes the play.



## Session 2A

**Emmet de Barra (Coláiste na Tríonóide)**

**Toirdhealbhadh Luineach Ó Néill agus (ath)aontú na hÉireann? Do thogh Éire fear faire, dán le Domhnall Ó hUiginn do Thoirdealbhadh Luineach Ó Néill (1530-1595)**

Bhí Toirdhealbhadh Luineach Ó Néill i réimeas ar Ultaibh le beagnach tríocha bliain sa dara leath den séú aois déag. In ainneoin a réimis fhada, tá sé fágtha ag staireagrafaíocht na tréimhse faoi scáth a réamhtheachtaí, Seaán an Díomais Ó Néill (d'é. 1567) agus a chomharba, Aodh Mór Ó Néill (d'é. 1616). Ba dhuine de na patrúin fhilíochta ba mhó é Toirdhealbhadh is maireann aon dán déag dó, dánta le filí móra na linne ina measc. Níl ach trí dhán dó foilsithe le haistriúchán faoi láthair agus is mór an bearna a n-éagmais mar fhoinsí Gaelacha ar stair agus litríocht na hÉireann. Díreoidh an chaint seo ar eagrán nua den dán, *Do thogh Éire fear faire*, a chum Domhnall Ó hUiginn do Thoirdealbhadh timpeall na mblianta 1567-70 nuair a bhí Toirdhealbhadh i gceannas go nua agus Réabhlóid Dheasmhumhan faoi lán seoil. Pléifear an dán is a sheachadhadh mar aon leis an gcomhthéacs stairiúil a bhaineann leis is a bhfuil le hinisint ag an dán ar pholaitíocht an oileáin sa dara leath den séú aois déag.

**Deirdre nic Charthaigh (Coláiste na Tríonóide)**

**Dhá dhán ar Thadhg Mac Carthaigh, barún Dhairbhre († c.1587)**

Uair éigin idir na blianta 1585 agus 1588 tháinig scéala go hÉirinn faoi bhás Thaidhg Mhic Charthaigh sa Fhrainc. Aonmhac Dhomhnaill Mhic Charthaigh Mhóir, Iarla Chlann Charthaigh, ab ea Tadhg, agus buille tubaisteach a bhí ina bhás, óir bhí socrú ann go nglacfadh an choróin seilbh ar thailte Mhic Charthaigh Mhóir dá gcaillfí gan oidhre é. Cé go raibh tábhacht nach beag ag baint le bás Thaidhg, is beag foinse a dhéanann tagairt dó (i mBéarla ná i nGaeilge). Tá tábhacht ar leith, mar sin, ag baint le dhá dhán a cumadh ar an ábhar sin.

Cumadh *A theachtairé tig ón Fhrainc* agus *Truagh na sgeíl-si tig tar tuinn* uair éigin go gairid i ndiaidh bhás Thaidhg. Leagtar an chéad dán ar an bhfile iomráiteach Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh. Ní fios cé a chum an dara dán. Caointear an barún óg sa dá dhán, agus leagtar béim ar iarmhairtí tromchúiseacha a bháis. Bheadh 'súil ag cách' ar thailte Mhic Charthaigh Mhóir feasta, agus 'fréamh oile' ina áit.

Is ar chúlra, ar chomhthéacs agus ar ábhar na ndánta seo a dhíreofar sa chaint seo.

**Laoghseach Ní Choistealbha (Gaillimh)**

**'Mo thrua anocht Eilbhíls Shasana': an bhanúlacht agus an bás sa dán fada 'Gleann Maoiliúra' le Bidy Jenkinson**

Ní minic a scríobhtar dánta stairiúla i bhfilíocht chomhaimseartha na Gaeilge. Is í an file Bidy Jenkinson (1952 - ) an file is mó a théann i ngleic leis an stair. Sa dán fada 'Gleann Maoiliúra', mar



shampla, pléann sí ré na dTúdarach i gcontae Chill Mhantáin, agus forghabháil an cheantair sin ag fórsaí Eibhlís I.

I gcomparáid le dánta eile sa Ghaeilge a chaoineann iarmhairtí an choilíneachais (dála ‘Fill Arís’ le Seán Ó Ríordáin), téann Jenkinson siar agus tugann sí cead cainte do mhná na tréimhse. D’aithin an scoláire is an file David Wheatley go raibh cur chuige Jenkinson i leith na tréimhse seo radacach, go háirithe sa dán seo: ‘[t]he Gaelic world, historical as well as contemporary, speaks; its legacy remains intimately accessible; the patriarchal tradition is shadowed by a gallery of female voices, who will not be silenced’.

Sa pháipéar seo tabharfar léargas ar obair Bhiddy Jenkinson, agus ar a suim fhileata sa stair. Thairis sin, pléifear an dán ó thaobh na banúlachta de: cé hí Róis Ní Thuatháil, an bhean a labhraíonn amach sa tsaothar? Agus cén teangmháil atá aici sa dán le Eibhlís Shasana.



## Session 2B

**Lucy McKenna and Bronagh McShane (TCD)**

**Women in early modern Ireland, c.1550-1700: an introduction to the VOICES project**

This joint paper will offer an introduction to the European Research Council-funded project, ‘VOICES: Life and Death, War and Peace, c.1550-c.1700: Voices of Women in Early Modern Ireland’. Led by Prof. Jane Ohlmeyer (School of Histories and Humanities, Trinity College Dublin), the project harnesses digital tools and innovative technologies, including a Knowledge Graph, to interrogate the lived experiences of ordinary women in early modern Ireland. Key sources underpinning the project include the 1641 Depositions, Irish Chancery records and Testamentary sources. The paper will begin with a discussion of the VOICES Knowledge Graph, demonstrating its capacity to transform unstructured historical data into knowledge that can be interrogated and visualised. The paper will then explore the value and importance of testamentary sources as a means of assessing the lived experiences of women in early modern Ireland. Testamentary records are valuable but highly gendered sources with wills made by men far out numbering those that were made by women. But women’s wills provide important glimpses into the familial, social and friendship networks of those who made them and the bonds of affection that existed between them and their loved ones. At a time when religious identity was an intrinsic hallmark of one’s place in the world, wills offer insights into the religious faith and beliefs of the individuals in question. Additionally they reveal the nature and extent of women’s material possessions and their very strong grasp of financial matters.

**Jade Scott (Glasgow)**

**“Erish” Letters and Scottish Wives: Reassessing the Irish Networks of Colin Campbell, 6th Earl of Argyll**

It has traditionally been accepted that Colin Campbell, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll, was ‘less involved in Irish politics’ than his influential predecessor Archibald, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl, allowing the powerful Gaelic networks that crossed Scottish and Irish borders to diminish under his leadership (Dawson, 2011). This paper challenges that assessment using an overlooked private archival collection, the Moray Muniments at Darnaway Castle, and argues that as the inheritor of the earldom of Argyll, Colin Campbell continued to negotiate Irish connections to his personal and political advantage. Analysis of his correspondence demonstrates that Irish networks were central to his elevation to the Chancellorship of Scotland in 1579, as well as his efforts to maintain Gaelic poetry traditions. The archive offers remarkable evidence of Gaelic epistolary communication between Ireland and Scotland in the late sixteenth century and presents an opportunity to reassess the connections between Campbell and Turlough Luineach O’Neill and Aodh mac Maghnusa O’Donell. This paper will emphasise the influence of women in the survival of these influential networks following the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll’s death in 1573. Both men’s wives, Lady



Agnes Campbell and Fionnghuala Nic Dhomhnaill, travelled to seek patronage and forces from Colin Campbell, while Campbell's own wife, Lady Annas Keith pursued a strategic balancing act of Irish and English policies while Countess of Argyll. This female circle – evidenced by newly recovered letters – illuminates the crucial role of Irish nobility in early modern Scotland.

### **Brendan Scott (Maynooth)**

#### **Last Orders? Monastic dissolutions during the Elizabethan period**

In 1974, fifty years ago this year, Brendan Bradshaw published his pioneering work on the monastic dissolutions during the Henrician period. But only a relatively small number of religious communities were dissolved during this initial wave. Many more were closed during the Elizabethan period (1558-1603) as the arm of Tudor government grasped into parts of Ireland hitherto out of its reach. Other religious communities escaped closure altogether during the latter sixteenth century and continued to operate, much to the annoyance of the Tudor administration. This wave of monastic dissolutions has been somewhat ignored and in this talk, I hope to discuss the closures which took place during the reign of Elizabeth I as well as some of those which managed to survive, and in some cases, thrive.



## Session 3A

**Pádraic Lamb (Université Lumière Lyon 2)**

**From the “dung-beetle” to “Lechers”: Attack and Defence in Michael Kearney’s Translation of *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn***

Geoffrey Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (c.1634) is a landmark work of Irish historiography whose influence on the writing of history, as well as on the language, is measured in centuries rather than in decades. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the only extant and complete contemporary translation of the work, that by Michael Kearney (1635), has attracted so little attention (this translation is preserved in a manuscript housed in the Royal Irish Academy: MS 24 G 16). Keating, in a lengthy vindictory preface (the *díonbhrollach*) to his work, justifies his enterprise with precise reference to the ignorant and mendacious shortcomings of New English writings on Ireland. He famously likens those writers to the dung-beetle (“*proimpiollán*). Kearney is similarly pugnacious and, in this respect at least, outdoes the “Reverend and Worthy Author Father Geffrey Keathingé” in aggressivity, in likening those same New English authors to “wanton Lechers”.

Thanks to scholars like Bernadette Cunningham and Marc Caball, Kearney’s translation in its relation to Keating has, to some extent, been characterised. In the present paper, as a preliminary to my project of publishing a critical edition of Kearney’s translator’s liminary to his work, I wish to look more closely at Kearney’s strategies of writing and translating in his own original contribution, which, in the manuscript, follows on from Keating’s preface. Kearney’s use of language but also his engagement with Spenser are topics particularly worthy of our attention.

**Katharine Beene (Connecticut)**

***Párlíament na mBan: Political Satire and Conduct Manual in late-seventeenth century Ireland***

Scholars have discussed *Párlíament na mBan* as a Jacobite political satire. Furthermore, they have compared it to other women's parliaments in England and on the Continent, most notably Erasmus' *Council of Women*. This paper argues that while *Párlíament na mBan* should be examined as a political satire, especially considering similar works throughout early modern Europe, we should also see it as a conduct manual. The possibility of examining *Párlíament na mBan* as a conduct manual allows scholars to explore society's reactions to women's engagement with education reform and political participation as well as views of proper masculine and feminine behavior. Additionally, by exploring *Párlíament na mBan* as both political satire and conduct manual we can use this piece of Irish prose to argue that Ireland was both part of a broader early modern European culture while also holding a unique position due to its colonial position within the growing English colonial world.



**Anne-Hélène Miller (Tennessee, Knoxville)**

**Making an Hiberno-Norman *Geste* English? Translating the Crusades in Carew MS 596**

The late twelfth-century Hiberno-Norman text *La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande*, also known from its nineteenth-century editor Goddard Henry Orpen by its older title, *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, is an important testimony of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland and the first establishment there of English rulership under King Henry II in 1172. Although less studied by critics than Geraldus Cambrensis's version of the events in *Expugnatio Hibernica*, this *Geste* has considerable historical interest that aligns it in provocative ways with Medieval Norman crusading culture. The sole fragment of the *Geste* as it came down to us is found at the Lambeth Royal Library in London in one of the 39 volumes, Carew 596, of the collection of the early seventeenth-century antiquarian and President of Munster George Carew. Carew was interested in assembling texts and correspondence related to the history of Ireland, and this *Geste* that he edited and translated into prose can be seen as relating directly to his identity as a prominent member of the "New English" class of conquerors in Ireland who strove to bring the Protestant Reformation to Catholic Ireland. Critics have shown that Carew's interest in translation exemplifies the manipulation of language to legitimize territorial conquest and reappropriation of identity in an imperialistic fashion. This paper, however, will focus on the crusading dimension and language of this medieval *Geste*, suggesting that such a dimension was not lost on the soldier Carew while the English were navigating once again complex issues of religion and conquest in Tudor and Stuart Ireland.



## Session 3B

**Brian Mac Cuarta (Oxford)**

### Irish corn for London, 1631

Poor harvests and consequent grain shortage in both Ireland and England featured in the 1620s. Social unrest as a result of food shortages in London was a particular concern; in 1630, the London authorities were attempting to replenish supplies by seeking corn ‘from remote parts’. There was pressure from the privy council in London on the Irish privy council to facilitate corn exports. In early January 1631, the Dublin administration received the privy council’s request to arrange the export of ten thousand quarters of corn for London.

This paper will explore how this corn supply was arranged between January and June 1631. In Ireland, two agents were appointed to buy the corn, and to oversee its shipment to London. A leading London-based financier and merchant was to receive the corn there. The role of the Irish privy council in furthering this project will be examined. An analysis of the 30 local suppliers who sold 3,500 barrels to one of the agents (Sir Matthew De Renzy) will be offered, and the contribution of one Cork merchant in the purchase and shipment of corn will be considered. Five thousand barrels of corn were exported from Irish ports to London under this arrangement – chiefly from Dublin, but also from Limerick, Cork and Drogheda. Because of insecurity created by the activities of pirates, measures were taken to enhance naval security.

This episode illustrates how Ireland was being integrated into London’s food supply in the Caroline era.

**Ian Wong (Galway)**

### Project LEBOR: Towards an open resource for popular print culture in early modern Ireland

Scholarship around early Irish print culture has generally lagged behind those of other geographical contexts: it was not until Mary Pollard’s *Dublin’s Trade in Books, 1550–1800* and Raymond Gillespie’s *Reading Ireland* that the field took on a more substantial shape. However, much of the work done since has continued to focus on the religious and political output of the Irish printing press, reflecting the larger historical forces that dominate academic discourse about this period. Less studied are more ‘popular’ kinds of materials: almanacs, for example, survive in large numbers but remain neglected, despite their widespread circulation across all levels of society. Print and theatre have also been shown by scholars such as Christopher Morash to have been mutually symbiotic cultures during this time.

Project LEBOR (**L**iberating the **E**arly **B**ook through **O**pen **R**esources) seeks to address this gap by proposing a collection of digital objects and resources built around a selection of early printed books and artefacts that speak to this theme. The project has two aims: firstly, it seeks to raise the visibility of early modern Irish popular print by drawing attention to particular examples, and opening up a



conversation about how they might enrich our understanding of the period. More importantly, the project aims to demonstrate the creative possibilities offered by multimedia formats and open licences for disseminating knowledge, and show how the fields of digital humanities, book history, and open cultural heritage might challenge, inform, and enrich each other.

## Mark Empey (UCD)

### **Competing histories, conflicting narratives: the challenges of writing Irish history**

Sir James Ware (1594-1666) is best known for his impressive scholarly achievements: over a forty-year period between 1626 and 1665 he published eleven historical works. They spanned across a range of aspects from an analysis of the lives of the Irish episcopate, to a survey of the writers of Ireland from the earliest times, to the most comprehensive assessment of Irish antiquities. These drew on a wide range of Latin, English and Irish manuscript sources, having as their primary objective the promotion of Ireland's rich heritage.

In celebrating his nation's past, however, Ware endeavoured to set the record straight: the kingdom of Ireland not only had an ancient and worthy antiquity, it also rivalled the apparently more established histories of England, Scotland, France and Spain. This was not without its challenges and while his research was remarkably neutral in content it was crucially motivated by political, religious and national concerns.

This paper will focus on Ware's greatest work *De Hibernia* (London, 1654, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1658), which was the first exhaustive account of Ireland from the earliest times to the arrival of the Normans. In so doing, it explores three key aspects. First, it places his scholarly achievements in the context of both rival European histories and the fiercely contested narratives on Ireland by both Catholic and Protestant historians. Second, it assesses his outstanding scholarship by examining the vast array of sources he consulted in an effort to refute many of the falsehoods and inaccuracies about Ireland and the Irish. Finally, having been expelled from Ireland by Cromwellian forces in 1649, it considers the extent to which his exiled experience shaped his views on Ireland's past.



## Session 4A

**Ruth Canning (Liverpool Hope)**

### Fighting for the Enemy? Elizabeth I's Irish Soldiers

The defeat of Hugh O'Neill and the Irish Confederacy is often seen as an "English" victory. But, according to Philip O'Sullivan, there were 'more Irish than English in the Royalist army'.<sup>1</sup> There is plenty of evidence to support his assertion, yet this fact has been traditionally overlooked. In addition to companies composed wholly of Irish kerne, and the private retinues of Irish and Old English lords, State Paper records clearly show Irish-born soldiers were far more numerous in English companies than the official allowance of 20%. In fact, by 1598, the Irish Council estimated that Irish-born soldiers constituted at least 'three partes of 4' in the crown army.<sup>2</sup> Despite the crown's reliance on Irish soldiers to prop up anaemic and ill-equipped English forces, communications from English officials in Ireland are rife with criticisms of Irish servitors and warnings about their probable treachery. This paper will explore the contribution of Irish soldiers to the crown's military project in the 1590s and investigate why so many fought for a crown that would never trust them.

**Conor McDonough (Dominican House of Studies, Dublin)**

### A letter from Lisbon

On 25 March 1572, Katherine de Burgo composed a letter to be sent to the Dominican friars of Athenry. A Galway woman in Lisbon, she had some very concrete advice for the friars at a time of crisis. This letter is valuable for what it reveals about the religious convictions and activities of an Irish woman in the late 16th century, but it becomes even more significant when the scribe who wrote it is identified. This scribe, the bearer of the letter, was arrested on his return to Ireland and the letter never reached its destination.

**Anastasios Vavalis (DCU)**

### Negotiating with authority in Restoration Ireland: petitions to the Lord Lieutenant

This paper argues that the practice of petitioning was a crucial element of the political and administrative experience in early modern Ireland. The first decade of the Restoration in Ireland, dominated by the land settlement, financial woes and the memories of conflict, saw thousands of petitions from people of all backgrounds presented to the Dublin and Whitehall administrations. Utilizing the petition copybooks of James Butler, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Ormond, this paper offers a new perspective on the political developments of the 1660s by systematically investigating a point of direct contact between state and subjects. The standardized nature of these copybooks permits a robust quantitative look into the period in question, as well as new insight into the experience and process of governance from Dublin Castle.



## Session 4B

### **Eoin Mac Carthaigh (Coláiste na Tríonóide)**

#### **Litr ó laethanta tosaigh Éirí Amach 1641**

Ar 27 Deireadh Fómhair 1641, cúpla lá tar éis thús éirí amach na bliana sin, scríobh an Giúistís Síochána Éireamhón Mac Suibhne litir Bhéarla ó leithinis Fhánada, Co. Dhún na nGall, ag sceitheadh ar a chomharsana Gaelacha. Bhí faitíos air roimh na ceannaircigh, ach bhí sé neirbhíseach freisin go mbeifí in amhras faoina dhílseacht féin don Choróin. Ar na daoine a sceitheann sé orthu tá beirt Phroinsiasach ó chomhluadar Dhún na nGall (an tAth. Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird agus an tAth. Críostóir Ultach) agus buíon ceannairí dar shloinne Ó Domhnaill (Maghnas mac Néill Ghairbh, Toirdhealbhadh mac Cathbhairr agus Maghnas mac Éigneacháin ina measc). Tá achoimre ar an litir seo i gcló i gcaileandar na bpáipéar stáit um Éirinn agus maireann dhá chóip den litir iomlán i Londain, sa Chartlann Náisiúnta in Kew. Díreoidh an chaint seo (as Gaeilge) ar na daoine a ainmnítear sa litir agus ar an méid atá ar eolas againn fúthu ó fhoinsí eile.

### **Brendan Kane (Connecticut)**

#### **Crann ginealaigh na hÉireannaigh? Ag déanamh eagarthóireachta ar Carew Papers ms 626**

Déanfaidh an páipéar cur síos ar bhailiúchán siúmiúil de ghinealaigh atá le haimsiú sa Leabharlann de Lambeth Palace, Londain. Cuireadh na ginealaigh le chéile ag deireadh an tséú déag agus tús an tseachtú aois déag ag Sir George Carew, fear a raibh taithí fada in Éirinn aige ag déanamh seirbhíse faoi Sir Henry Sydney agus an t-Iarla Essex agus a ceapadh, sa deireadh, mar President i gCúige Múmhan sa bhliain 1600. Ach taobh amuigh de chúrsaí polaitíochta agus míleata, bhí suim laidir ag Carew i stair na hÉireann agus ársaitheoir díograiseach ab ea ann. Tá cáil aige mar staraí de bharr a bhainte leis an leabhar *Pacata Hibernia, or the History of the Late Wars in Ireland* a bhí foilsithe ag Sir Thomas Stafford i 1633 mar duirt Stafford gur scríobh Carew buntéacs an leabhair. D'fhag Carew na céadta ginealaigh ina pháipéir féin, agus níl siad foilsithe nó níl cur síos déanta orthu in *The Calendar of the Carew Papers*. 'Séard atá sna crainn seo ná dianstaidéar ar theaghlaigh chumhachtachta an oileáin, idir Gaeil is Gaill: tá an-chuid eolais fúthu ann, i bprós, agus faoi na ceangail a bhí ann idir daoine agus teaghlaigh. Chomh maith leis sin, luaigh Carew na foinsí ar tharraing sé an t-eolas chun na ginealaigh a chur le chéile uathu. Tá an chuid is mó de phrós an bhailiúcháin scríofa i mBéarla ach tá cuid mhaith Laidine agus cúpla focal Gaeilge le feiceáil inti chomh maith. Osclaíonn an fhoinsé uathúil seo fuinneog nua ar shaol na nGael is na nGall agus caitheann sí solas nua ar thréimhse an-tabhachtach agus casta i stair na hÉireann is stair na Breataine.



Steven G. Ellis (Gaillimh)

**Leasú cáin agus méadú daonra: an fóirdheontas parlaiminteach agus an méadú daonra Tiúdarach i bPáil Shasanach na hÉireann, 1477-1534**

I rith blianta chinsealacht Chill Dara go dtí 1534, méadaíodh go mór an t-airgead a bailíodh don státchiste ón fhóirdheontas parlaiminteach: sna 1460aí b'fhiú £324 gach deontas, ach mhéadaigh sé sin go dtí £565 thart fá 1500. Ba cháin ar thalamh curaíochta é an fóirdheontas; agus ó na 1470aí amach, coinníodh don Pháil é, an t-aon limistéar amháin in Éirinn inar cleachtadh curaíocht ar bhun trachtála. Gearradh cáin ar thalamh curaíochta de réir na barúntachta, agus ó 1479 i leith de réir ráta combhionann, de ghnáth aon mharc amháin (nó 13s. 4d.) do gach carucáid (nó 'ploughland', 120 acraí na mean-aoise). Mar sin, is féidir meas nó comhaireadh an méid talamh curaíochta agus an cháin iníochta i ngach barúntacht ó na *extenta* curaíochta atá ar marthainn (chomh maith leis an airgead a bhí le híoc i gcuntaisí an státchiste). Os rud é go raibh i bhfad níos mó saothair de dhíth le curaíocht a dhéanamh ná tréadachas, ciallaíonn an méadú suntasach i líon na mbarúntachtaí faoi churaíocht go raibh daonra na Páile ag méadú mar an gcéanna.



## Session 5A

**John McCafferty (University College Dublin)**

**Keeping the ‘R’ number low: Roman and recusant in thinking about early modern Catholicism**

*The Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism* is the first ever scholarly work to cover the whole period of post-Reformation Catholicism in these islands from the sixteenth-century reformations to the present day. Volume 1 of the *History* edited by James E. Kelly and John McCafferty, covers 1530 to 1640, from the early stages of the reformation and the break with Rome to the start of the civil wars.

Producing a history of an increasingly globalised church and its early modern adherents across the islands of Britain and Ireland is complicated. Just after Henry VIII’s break with Rome there were three kingdoms – England, Ireland and Scotland – and today there are two states the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. The journey from one set of polities and jurisdictions to the current ones has left a deep impression on the historiography and terminologies used for denomination, identity, nation and state. This paper will look at two of these terms, ‘Roman Catholic’ and ‘recusant’, as a way of discussing the challenges of multi-authored ‘History of’ works and suggesting how thinking around common labels can lead to creative and fruitful suggestions for further research.

The legacy of the 1640s-1650s positioned the Stuart monarchy at an unenviable place upon its Restoration in Ireland. Many of its subjects, both Catholic and Protestant, shared a dissatisfaction towards the Act of Settlement 1662 (and the subsequent Act of Explanation 1665). Rampant Tory activity, conspiracies, and the European military ventures of Charles II necessitated an increasingly burdensome military presence. This paper uses petitions to illustrate how developments such as these were perceived and acted upon by people whose voices are usually missing from traditional narratives. Such focus builds upon the burgeoning field of petitioning research and helps situate Ireland within the latter’s broader European context for the first time.

**Naomi McAreavey (University College Dublin)**

**Fire in the 1641 Depositions**

In the 1641 Depositions, arson is frequently mentioned within lists of financial losses that open the testimonies. For many deponents, arson simply meant the loss of property, quantified in monetary terms rather than described at length. But others depicted it as a profound trauma, recounting distressing attacks on their homes and communities. Notably, a few accounts describe people being burned alive in targeted attacks on buildings used as shelters, with the Shewis massacre in County Armagh being the most infamous and well-documented instance. But beyond these singular atrocities, the depositions convey a broader perception of arson as a communal trauma for the Protestant settlers in Ireland. The link between arson and traumatic loss is embedded in the depositions’ quasi-legalistic language, which portrays arson as decimating the plantations through fire. Many testimonies describe



arson as part of the rebels' 'scorched earth' tactics, intended to eliminate English plantations in Ireland. This perspective is reinforced by references to rebel leaders like Sir Phelim O'Neill, dubbed *Phelim (na) dóiteán*, or Phelim of the Fires, highlighting his notoriety in using fire as a weapon of war. But within these traumatic narratives of fire there are more empowering stories of the martyrdom or providential deliverance of God's chosen people in Ireland. The intersecting, all-female accounts of the Shewis massacre offer a Protestant female reimagining of the fearsome 'Phelim of the Fires' as an Irish woman. But at the heart of these accounts are mother and daughter Ann Smith and Margret Clarke who survive the fire and live to tell and retell their story. My paper will thus show how fire-trauma is incorporated within especially female narratives of the strength and resilience of the Protestant community in Ireland.

### Joseph McAlhany (Connecticut)

#### **The Missing Link in Elizabeth's Excommunication: An Irysheman Lost & Found**

The papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth, *Regnans in Excelsis*, was found posted to the gates of the bishop's palace in St. Paul's Churchyard on the morning of 25 May 1570. The "English gentleman" John Felton was arrested and executed for the deed, and subsequently celebrated as a Catholic martyr and reviled as a rash zealot. However, in *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* (1571), the earliest account of the bull's posting, Nicholas Sander mentions there was someone else (*alius*) at the posting, and Felton's indictment names "Cornelius Irysheman, late of London, Clerk" as Felton's co-conspirator before he disappears from the records. This pseudonymous "Irysheman" can now be identified, thanks to Philip O'Sullivan Beare's *Zoilomastix* (1625/6). A catalog of Irish ecclesiastics in Book 3 includes an entry for "Cornelius Onneachtanus" (Connor Ó Neachtain), who is credited with posting the bull and escaping the English authorities. The identification is more than a minor epiphany, since Ó Neachtain had attachments to Pius V and Philip II and later sailed with Thomas Stukeley. Moreover, his activities following the bull's posting closely follow Sander's, suggesting Sander was closely involved with bull's entry into England. Though the bull is often associated with the Northern Rebellion and the Englishman Felton may have received all the glory and blame for the deed, the role of "Irysheman" Connor Ó Neachtain suggests that at least for some the posting was done with Ireland in mind.



## Session 5B

**Evan Bourke (Maynooth)**

### Exploring the usage of poetic motifs in Irish bardic poetry: a networked approach

The literary landscape of early modern Ireland was dominated by bardic poetry, the work of a professional caste of poets (or filidh) who were trained in the bardic schools during the period 1200–1650. Poets composed poems to legitimize their patrons’ claims to leadership, and they, in return, were paid handsomely in goods, protection, and hospitality. Despite the cultural and social importance of these highly transactional patronage connections, the world of the bardic poet remains on the periphery of literary-historical scholarship on Renaissance Ireland. Even when this corpus is drawn upon, the poetry is often explored for its immediate historical references. Building on Michelle O’Riordan’s argument that “poets participated creatively and consciously in contemporary literary movements, filtering and selecting to suit the sensibilities of the vital indigenous literary culture” this paper explores motif usage in more detail. It does this by drawing on the motif metadata in the BPD to extract motif networks, and exploring what the most frequently used motifs were and how this changed over time/place. Drawing on the poetry of Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, it explores whether these poets drew on the same motifs, whether they combined similar motifs, whether they used similar motifs when written for the patrons they shared in common, and how this differed to other active poets at this time. Overall, it showcases how a digital approach to Irish language poetry can assist in the gradual move towards the inclusion of the vernacular in literary historical scholarship.

**Neil Johnston (National Archives, Kew)**

### Rebuilding the State Papers Ireland for the 21<sup>st</sup> century: an experiment

Integrating the State Papers Ireland (INSPIRE) is a new research strand within the Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland [VRTI] digital humanities project that has a multiplicity of objectives. At its core is the intention to incorporate digital images and transcriptions for SP 63 and SO 1 into the VRTI for the years 1660–1715. This is approximately 30,000 images and 12,000 transcriptions. The transcriptions will likely reach over 1 million words in text.

This is a logistical challenge but worthless if the information is neither findable nor comprehensible to the interested public. To allay this, significant work is being developed with the underlying metadata to ensure it is verifiable and robust; thereafter, the INSPIRE team is collaborating with Research Software Engineers at the TCD ADAPT Centre to make the entities within the data discoverable in a Knowledge Graph. This talk will outline the work undertaken and where it may lead researchers in the coming years.



Frances Nolan (UCD)

**Law versus practice: women's property ownership in early modern Ireland**

Funded by an SFI-IRC Pathway Fellowship and hosted by UCD School of History, *Law versus Practice* is an interdisciplinary project that aims to interrogate the nature, development and impact of women's property ownership in early modern Ireland – a period characterised by war, plantation and demographic change. By centring women's property ownership, *Law versus Practice* will challenge the historiographical preoccupation with male landownership and more determinedly integrate women's experience into the history of the island as a contested space. The project employs digital tools to gather data from a wide range of primary source material; this includes Chancery records, the Books of Survey and Distribution, submissions and evidence from the 1663 Court of Claims, the records of the forfeiture trustees (1700-03) and the Registry of Deeds. The collection and collation of geographic, legal and biographical data will underpin the construction of a relational database, which will interact with a Geographical Information System to 'map' women's property ownership across time and place. By reflecting on initial findings from *Law versus Practice*, this paper will consider the opportunities and challenges presented by digital tools and approaches and the potentialities of gender as a lens for analysis in digital humanities projects.

