TUDOR & STUART IRELAND

# Abstracts Booklet

## 13th Annual Conference
## University College Dublin
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# Session 1A (Room K114)

**Brian Donovan** (Eneclann)
New Evidence for the Militarisation of Mid-Tudor Ireland: Recovering the St. Loe Archive

This paper presents new archival evidence for the intensification of military governance in Ireland during the crucial years 1547–1550. Key to this reassessment is the rediscovery and reconstruction of the scattered papers of Sir William St. Loe, Lieutenant of the Forts under Lord Deputy Sir Edward Bellingham. A key component – held in the National Archives of Ireland as M.2439 – has long remained unpublished and largely uncited. This paper contextualises that file within a broader, dispersed archive, now traced across the holdings of the Folger Shakespeare Library and Chatsworth House.

St. Loe's papers, assembled during and after his Irish service, shed new light on the government's agenda in mid-Tudor Ireland: the role of the garrison, frontier settlement in Laois and Offaly, the suppression of regional threats (particularly Desmond), and the reorganisation of the Ormond lordship. Key documents include letters, military payments, intelligence reports, and arbitration records from Kilkenny, revealing a more coordinated and ideologically driven Crown strategy than previously assumed.

The paper also addresses the archival history of these records – how they were retained, reused, and dispersed through antiquarian networks – demonstrating how accidental survival and scholarly neglect have obscured a significant body of evidence. In recovering the St. Loe archive, this research not only contributes materially to debates on Tudor military and colonial governance, but also illustrates the value of reconstructing fragmented manuscript corpora to revise historical narratives grounded in limited or partial sources.

**Steven Ellis** (University of Galway)
Brendan Bradshaw's Irish constitutional revolution:  a prelude in the Pale.

In 1979, Brendan Bradshaw's groundbreaking book on *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* highlighted the grant by Henry VIII from 1541 of equal status as 'English subjects' to the native Irish. Hitherto, the latter had been 'Irish enemies' consistently denied the personal freedom, property rights, and protection accorded to English subjects, although individual Irishmen could buy charters of denization. Alongside the Act for the Kingly Title and Surrender and Regrant, this general grant of equal status to Irishmen was a central feature of Bradshaw's 'constitutional revolution'.

In 1465, legislation of the earl of Desmond's parliament made a more restricted general grant, perhaps unintentionally, to Irishmen living in the Pale. Irish dwelling among Englishmen in the four shires should dress like Englishmen, take an English surname (town, colour, or occupation), and be sworn the king's liegeman before the governor within one year: an additional clause extended this oath 'for the multitude that are to be sworn' to the governor's assigns. As governor, the Kildare earls exploited this legislation to attract Irish labourers to restore tillage on conquest lands recovered from Irish chiefs

in south Dublin and Kildare: they were 'sworn English', armed with English weapons, and defended the earls' estates along the Pale's military frontier, thus providing a cheap but effective means of extending the Pale. Increasingly integrated into Pale society, they also served as baronial subsidy collectors and as jurors on the 1540 extents of crown land.

**Anastasios Vavalis** (Dublin City University)
'Petitioning in times of Thorough: the surviving registers of Lord Deputy Wentworth'

Thomas Wentworth's appointment as lord deputy of Ireland in 1632 ushered in a new period of administration for the country. His domineering personality and heavy-handed *modus operandi* are well documented, as are his numerous feuds and arbitrary sense of justice. Not incidentally, the latter made the practice of petitioning a uniquely valuable tool in Wentworth's toolkit. Whereas past scholarship has predominantly focused on certain high-profile petitions, this paper will systematically approach petitioning as a distinct political priority, prescribed early on during his tenure, and followed through for the extent of his time in Ireland.

Although the practice long predated Wentworth's arrival, his deputyship has the (not entirely
accidental) distinction of being the first one for which dedicated registers (or copy books) survive. These registers afford a bird's-eye view of the practice alongside a numerical approximation of its frequency and participants. This paper will trace the administrative context within which such registers emerged and their legacy for the practice during the remainder of the century.

Finally, the paper will explore the ideological and practical connections between petitioning and Wentworth's brand of prerogative justice and administrative ethos. This connection remained robust throughout his time in Ireland and became inextricably linked with his eventual fall from grace.

## Session 1B (Room C218)

**Katherine Beene** (University of Connecticut)
Women's Engagement with the Scientific Revolution in Early Modern Ireland

While the historiography of early modern Ireland has increasingly included examinations concerning the Scientific Revolution only some of these studies have included women. Furthermore, those studies which do include women as subjects largely focus on specific individuals who participated in unique and in many cases public ways. This paper seeks to develop the examination of women's engagement with the Scientific Revolution further by exploring how women learned about, developed, and impacted different fields of "science" during the Stuart period. The focus of my research for this paper will be the period from 1603-1714. What we will discover is that women were actively involved in many "scientific" fields, including alchemy/chemistry,

botany, and many other fields of knowledge. In many cases their involvement stemmed from the needs of their households and estates, including medical care of their families, estate planning, and everyday care and maintenance. Women from all backgrounds utilized the new studies concerning chemical medicine to take care of their families and to provide charitable medical care in their communities. They studied botanical advances, especially the plants from the "new world" for cooking, medicinal, and gardening purposes. Furthermore, they interacted with concepts surrounding analytical geometry in practical ways as they planned the layouts of their gardens and dealt with the ramifications of the Down Survey. The practical needs of women's everyday lives led them to engage with the theoretical debates of the Scientific Revolution.

**Jane Fenlon** (Independent)
Reading History in Art: Socio-Political statements in Art in the early modern period

In this paper I will review five examples of socio-political statements that are manifest in artworks in Ireland during the early modern period. Beginning with the decorative plasterwork scheme in Ormond Castle Carrick on Suir dating from c.1565 moving into the 1630s and the famous portrait of Thomas Wentworth in armour by Anthony van Dyck, which may have been commissioned specifically for Wentworth's term as Lord Deputy in Ireland. Later in that century two portraits painted by John Michael Wright may be seen to contain elements of socio-political significance. From the 1680s onwards, the majority of portraits painted for and of members of the Catholic Old English in Irish society display a bias towards French fashions and the influence of French art. This was in sharp contrast to those of their Protestant counterparts in Ireland and England. Finally, the portrait collection in the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, Dublin is clearly a political statement in pictorial form; propaganda for the newly victorious and overwhelmingly Protestant administration in Ireland on display in an appropriate setting.

**Coleman Dennehy** (Dundalk Institute of Technology)
Justices of the peace in early modern Ireland

It is well-known that the establishment and propagation of the common law in Ireland was heavily reliant on England, both for procedure and largely for the law itself. So too, the Irish judiciary was frequently made up of men from abroad who were, like the law, part of that colonizing and Anglicizing process.

A little less is known of the role of the JPs in the provinces. These were, in theory at least, local gentry figures, who although not usually formally or fully trained in the law, were expected to have connections, knowledge, status, and respectability that allowed them to perform the functions of the Justice of the Peace. They frequently oversaw the first stage in the criminal justice process and therefore had to have a basic knowledge of a wide range of criminal law and procedure. Making use of Bolton's *A justice of the peace for Ireland* (1638), this paper will consider the position of JPs within local Irish society, what sort of men were appointed, and what their office entailed in early modern Ireland.

## Session 2A (Room K114)

**Jennifer Brady** (Maynooth University)
The Many Faces of Rev. George Kelly: Loyal Jacobite Spy and Close Associate of Bonnie Prince Charlie, or a Hanoverian Double Agent?

This paper examines the multifaceted, complex personas of the Irish non-juror Rev George Kelly (1688-1762), a Jacobite spy and one of the Seven Men of Moidart, which raises questions about his personal ambitions, allegiance to the Stuarts and his long-term intentions. His career began with the Stuarts as a messenger, which led to him being drawn into the realm of espionage and covert activities in which he excelled, under the alias James Johnson. Following his arrest for his involvement in the Atterbury Plot, he spent fourteen years in the Tower of London, where he plotted and meticulously planned his escape. Using his espionage skills, Kelly manipulated the staff and fellow inmates to obtain privileges and ultimately facilitate his escape. Subsequently, he fled to France and took up the role as chaplain and secretary to the Duke of Ormonde. This role enabled him to gain the trust of James III, which eventually led to him securing a place in Charles Edward Stuart's (Bonnie Prince Charlie) coveted inner circle and being appointed as his secretary following the failed 1745 Rising. During this time, Kelly exerted a detrimental influence over Charles, contributing to the prince's decline. This paper questions whether Kelly's changing identities and manipulative behaviour were driven by his personal goals, loyalty to the Stuart cause, or whether he was, in fact, a double agent for the British government.

**Neil Johnston** (The National Archives, UK)
Intelligence and Espionage in Restoration Ireland

The term 'spymaster' has been applied to certain English secretaries of state, such as Sir Francis Walsingham and his successor Robert Cecil, and later, to Sir Joseph Williamson. Walsingham and Cecil have been the subject of numerous studies; Williamson to a lesser extent. Each of them kept a close eye on Ireland and had agents regularly sending reports to London, often regardless of whether there was anything newsworthy. All three were assiduous collectors of information, creating vast archives, but they were not simply hoarders, they synthesised and analysed the papers they received, and held positions of sufficient authority within the English administration to act upon the intelligences to protect the crown and monarch. Among his other duties, Williamson was also Keeper of the State Papers, and his collections continue to inform our understanding of the role he performed for Charles II, first as undersecretary, then as secretary of state.

This paper asks if Williamson had an Irish equivalent and whether someone was working to monitor dissent in Ireland? There were numerous precarious moments for the government, not just domestic but foreign, as Ireland became embroiled in the crown's ill-fated foreign policies. With a focus on post-1660, this paper questions whether Ireland had a spymaster and asks if an equivalent official to Williamon ever

operated, and if so, who was it? Surviving records from the Irish administration, or lack of them, certainly limits the ability to determine, but this paper makes use of the extensive surviving collections in the State Papers Ireland and the Carte MSS, as well as our growing understanding of what was in the PROI before it was destroyed, to determine how intelligence reports sent to Dublin and London were assessed, and by whom.

**Eoin Kinsella** (Royal Irish Academy)
Hiding in plain sight: Catholic agents and double agents in Jacobite and Williamite Ireland

Irish Jacobites displayed varying degrees of loyalty to the Stuart cause after the 'glorious' revolution, their enthusiasm waxing and waning in tandem with James II's military and political fortunes. After 1691, Catholic agents shuttled between Dublin, London and the Stuart court in exile at St Germain, presenting petitions, pleading cases and carrying precious information. Some had clandestinely worked with the Williamite authorities to bring the war in Ireland to an early conclusion, thereafter discreetly working to uphold rather than undermine the Williamite settlement. Others did so in plain sight. Drawing on examples such as Col. Maurice Hussey, an officer in the Jacobite army who acted as a spy for Sir William Trumbull in the 1690s, this paper will examine the malleable allegiances of Irish Catholics in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Consideration will also be given to the Dublin administration's efforts to cultivate contacts and exert influence among the Catholic landowners who remained in Ireland, many of whom had held prominent positions in James II's Irish administration.

## Session 2B (Room C218)

**Ann-Maria Walsh** (University College Dublin)
Reading 'Family' in the Boyle Women's Letters: Roles, relationships and strategies for success

The Boyle women were members of early modern Ireland's best-known and highest-achieving family. The women's nearly 400 surviving letters extend from 1605 to 1691, encompassing twenty-six different female correspondents, spanning four generations from the one family. The letters provide a rare, multi-female-voiced view of day-to-day living in early modern Ireland and Britain, while also affording a gendered perspective on the experiential realities of civil war, besiegement, displacement, exile, plague, fire, and shipwreck. Noteworthy also is the degree to which these women engaged with the medium of the letter to keep in close contact with other family members across time and vast geographic distances. Drawing on lots of examples of the letters, this paper will examine the inner workings of this famous family, focusing on the women and how they perceived and wrote about their roles and relationships within that dynamic. Analysis will reveal perceived rivalries and jealousies, collaborative behaviours and friendships, and therein showing how the women navigated and worked to carve out their place within this large, highly successful family. Comparisons will also be made between

different generations of the women, highlighting how they portray and reflect on their performance in various roles, both within and outside of the family. This paper will conclude by asserting that these women's letters contain a mine of information about family in the early modern period but additionally illuminating how the Boyle women used their pens: to compete for attention, to mark their contributions, and to pursue their own individual agendas.

**Naomi McAreavey** (University College Dublin)
Stripping and Exposure in the 1641 Rebellion

This paper argues that Protestant deponents' testimonies of stripping and exposure during the 1641 Rebellion functioned as a means of renegotiating settler identity through narratives of suffering, endurance, and resilience. Far from depicting themselves as victims reduced to savagery, deponents framed their traumatic experiences as moral and political claims to belonging in Ireland. Movement through the Irish landscape – bogs, woods, rivers – was a recurring motif, portrayed as both perilous and purifying. These journeys culminated in safety at Dublin, where testimonies transformed physical suffering into moral authority. Protestant deponents did not interpret their own stripping as "going native" – a fear captured in one of the famous engravings published by James Cranford (1642), which shows the displaced English mocked by the Gaelic Irish with the words "now are ye wild Irish as well as we". The deponents instead narrated exposure as a trial that reaffirmed their civility, resilience, and continued claim to the land as planter-settlers. Overall, these narratives illuminate how the experience of stripping and displacement became foundational to settler self-understanding during a moment of colonial crisis.

**Andrew Foster** (Independent)
An Irish Rule of St. Clare: The Revival of Irish Female Monasticism, 1629-1653

The Irish Poor Clares, who returned to Ireland from their exile in 1629, have been considered by historians of early modern Ireland as the pioneers of a revival of female monasticism in their homeland. In the face of constant repression and threats of violence by a Protestant-run administration, enforcing the English agenda of total Reformation of Ireland, this is no small feat. However, it would be inaccurate to say that the Irish Poor Clares were truly models of the Catholic Reformation in Ireland, and this can be seen in not only their example but also their translation into Irish of their Rule of St. Clare in 1636. I argue in this paper that, far from being merely another branch of the Catholic Reformation, the Irish Poor Clares' 1636 translation was a deliberate assertion of their Irish Catholicism, one which often disregarded more intrusive elements of the Catholic Reformation that were difficult to enforce in seventeenth-century Ireland.

While this paper is largely focused on the Irish Poor Clares' creation of the Irish Rule of St. Clare, it will also briefly explore the significance of their profession at the English exile convent at Gravelines, their decision to return to Ireland, and their impact on Ireland during and after their departure in 1653. Their return to Ireland and its significance are a crucial component to understanding the enduring survival of Catholicism in Ireland during a time of great repression.

# Session 3A (Room K114)

**Amy Harris** (Independent)
Court intrigues in Ireland? What the herald saw when Harry met Mary

In 1569 the Butler rebellion took place and in August a series of meetings took place over the course of three days, between Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland and Mary Wodehouse/Woodhouse, a resident of Clonmel, Co Tipperary. These were recorded by Nicholas Narbon, Ulster Herald who was part of Sidney's retinue who were in the region to quell the rebellion. His record is the only evidence we have of these meetings, as Sidney does not refer to them in any of his correspondence or in his memoir written in 1583. This raises further questions about Sidney himself.

The timing of these meetings is significant. This paper will attempt to seek answers as to why they took place and if someone else was behind them. Narbon's manuscript is a source which gives fresh narrative to episodes to those that do not appear in the State Papers. The very fact that they were recorded by him is interesting in itself.

**Melissa Buckheit** (Boston College)
Mithigh dhúin agháil th'aiseic (It is time for us to recover you): Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's Common and Uncommon Ground of Queer Erotics

The bardic poet, Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa (1568-1612), who flourished in the midst of the Tudor conquest--a period of extreme political and cultural alteration, dispossession and violence in early modern Ireland--was ollamh for the Maguires of Fermanagh, among other patrons. Ó hEódhusa's poems often transcend their contractual function as praise poems with a range of subject, feeling and politics unique among his contemporaries. Many mark historical moments in Gaelic court life or the campaign against Tudor conquest by means of direct expressions of supernatural, natural, erotic and homosocial relationship. Ó hEódhusa's poem, "Mithigh sin, a ráith na ríogh," – which addresses the court of Inis Ceithleann on behalf of his patron, Aodh Mág Uidhir, as if she were a living woman with a mind, an erotic body and feeling – is no exception. Inis Ceithleann, an island castle between Upper and Lower Loch Erne in Fermanagh, was violently captured by English forces in 1594, resulting in the slaughter of its 150 inhabitants. Retaken by Maguire in 1595, "Mithigh sin" marks that moment of recapture amidst the grief of colonial violence in a Gaelic ecos. Remarkably, Ó hEódhusa's poem doesn't rest in grief, instead offering the power to reverse death and revivify a court community through radical supernatural and natural performative, queer, erotic, ecological relationship. Through historicized, bilingual close reading grounded in gender/queer, spatial and phenomenological theory and bardic literary scholarship, this paper will test the supposition that bardic poetry can offer an antidote to the hegemonic press of Tudor histories through the colonised voices of the Gaelic archive. "Mithigh sin," in its queer thinking that explodes colonial power, intimately offers alternate ways of being in relationship resonant for our current, troubled time.

**Marc Caball** (University College Dublin)
Aogán Ó Rathaille (c.1670-1729): a new interpretative context

In this paper, I wish to locate the Gaelic master poet Aogán Ó Rathaille (c.1670-1729) within a context of burgeoning English overseas expansion with reference to the Hedges family of county Cork. In particular, I want to highlight an allusion to an individual called Richard Hedges in a poem by Ó Rathaille beginning 'Monuarsa an Chárthfhuil tráite tréithlag' ('Alas, weak and exhausted is the MacCarthy dynasty') to suggest that understanding of the circumstances in which the poet lived and composed is enhanced by attention to its global historical context. Most immediately, the poem was composed in lamentation of the once powerful Gaelic family of McCarthy whose head, Donogh (1668-1734), Jacobite fourth earl of Clancarthy, was permanently exiled to northern Germany in 1699. While Ó Rathaille brilliantly and vividly chronicled the attenuation of aristocratic Gaelic Ireland as embodied by the McCarthy dynasty, his dismissive reference to Hedges and to the arriviste Gaelic Irishman Mortogh Griffin is indicative of a broader pattern of imperial expansion which reshaped Ireland over the course of the eighteenth century and beyond. The paper will seek to adduce a new interpretative context for a poet deemed the Dante of Munster by Daniel Corkery.

## Session 3B (Room C218)

**Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin** (University College Dublin)
Proper and Improper Prayer as a Confessional Frontier in Derry

George Downham was an English puritan divine who became Bishop of Derry in the Church of Ireland in 1616. A migrant prelate of a minority church, his diocese was a site of significant religious and ethnic cleavage as processes of plantation and colonial drift introduced an immigrant and heterogeneous Protestant population from both England and from Scotland into a hitherto Gaelic area that was experiencing a revolutionary movement of Catholic reform during the very same decades. Downham, whose second wife was a French Huguenot, was strongly Calvinist in his theological convictions, and was bitterly hostile to Roman Catholicism.

Six years after his death, the bishop's *Godly and Learned Treatise of Prayer* was posthumously published by his brother John. This paper examines the manner in which Downham's preoccupation with defining and delineating the proper and improper forms of prayer transforms a shared basic activity of Early Modern Christians into another frontier of confessional conflict. It argues that Downham's concern to delegitimize what he saw as papist corruptions such as the lack of a vernacular liturgy, prayers to saints, and pilgrimages reflected not only a particular set of theological beliefs but also a curious lack of critical awareness of his own position as an intruded authority figure in a locality with a significant Gaelophone population, situated in close proximity the most celebrated site of pilgrimage in Ireland, St Patrick's Purgatory.

**Hilary Bogert-Winkler** (University of the South)
'The Communion of the Church of England and Ireland': Independence and Flexible Conformity in the Church of Ireland, 1647-1649

In June 1647, a number of clergy responded to Parliament's order that the Church of Ireland cease using the Book of Common Prayer to order their worship services. In their response, these clergy claimed that the Church of Ireland "is and ever was reputed a free national church." Several such claims for freedom of the Irish Church were made during the debate with the Parliamentary commissioners. While those claims in themselves are interesting, what adds to the curious nature of this debate is the fact that the ones making those claims had largely been supporters of Laud's reforming agenda for the Church of Ireland. When the Church was in crisis, however, those supporters argued for the Irish Church's historic freedom—not a particularly Laudian point to make. This paper will examine the nature of this debate, and how "flexible conformity" was an essential element of the conformist position when Parliament sought to bring its reforming impulses from England to Ireland. Through this examination, this paper will demonstrate the ways contemporary clergy in the Church of Ireland were aware of its complicated relationship with the Church of England, and how they used those complications to try to protect the church in a moment of crisis.

**Alan Ford** (University of Nottingham)
Cardinal Bellarmine, Christopher Holywood, and the Timing of the Irish Counter-Reformation

It was not till 1600 that the first public debate between Catholic and Protestant took place in Ireland. The long delay, a product of the slow start to the reformation and the fractured nature of the Irish polity, had a significant result: it was the Catholic side which gained the intellectual initiative in its fight with Protestantism in Ireland.

This paper examines the role of played by the chief Catholic controversial theologian, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, in providing the intellectual backbone for Irish Catholic resistance to persecution in early seventeenth-century Ireland. It begins with his time lecturing and preaching in Leuven in the early 1570s, and his formative influence on early Irish Jesuits, and then examines the way in which his Controversiae were used in Ireland by Protestant and Catholics. It traces the early theological output of Trinity College Dublin, which devoted its energies almost entirely to the refutation of Bellarmine, and concludes with a detailed exploration of a treatise written by the Irish Jesuit leader, Christopher Holywood preserved in Bodleian MS Barlow 13, that uses Bellarmines notae ecclesiae to attack the legitimacy of the Protestant church and to defend lay Catholics facing fines and imprisonment for recusancy.

## Session 4A (Room K114)

**Patrick Little** (History of Parliament)
Church patronage in 1650s Ireland: the example of Richard Boyle, 2nd earl of Cork

While bishops are essential for maintaining discipline and ordaining ministers, it might be argued that the foundation of a church is also based on the faithfulness of the laity and the willingness of individual clergy to continue to serve them even through periods

of adversity. Under Cromwell, the Church of Ireland was able to continue thanks to the efforts of lay patrons, who were prepared to support clergy in a variety of ways. This paper focuses on Richard Boyle, 2nd earl of Cork, and what his private diary reveals of his efforts to regain the right to present to church livings, as well as his activities privately, retaining chaplains and encouraging other clergy within his household.

**Joel Halcomb** (University of East Anglia)
Samuel Winter, Henry Jones and the Survival of the Protestant Church of Ireland, 1648-1660

Since H.J. Harlow's 1907 edition of *The Register of Provost Winter*, historians have assumed that TCD MS 805 was the notebook of Samuel Winter, provost of TCD during the Cromwellian decade. Through the notebook Winter has emerged as one of the most idiosyncratic ministers of the revolution: a radical congregationalist who also maintained older ecclesiastical traditions like the 'christening' of children. Yet, as this paper reveals, TCD MS 805 is not Winter's at all. Rather it was created by Dr Henry Jones, vice-provost of TCD during the 1650s and later Bishop of Meath. Jones's notebooks reveal the maintenance of episcopal practices and communities across Ireland during the interregnum.

**Liam O'Rourke** (Independent)
Archbishop John Vesey (1638-1716): a churchman in the provinces in the later Stuart period

John Vesey enjoyed a fifty-year career in the Church of Ireland, including 44 years as a prelate, first as bishop of Limerick (1673) and then archbishop of Tuam (1679). By virtue of his office, he sat in the House of Lords, and for the greater part of his career, he was constantly active in politics. He was also the Church's leading improver, administrative reformer and legislator during the period 1692 and 1713, and became known as a man of business and a trouble-shooter. His highest ambition, the archbishopric of Dublin, eluded him, but he did have the consolation of witnessing his first-born son, Thomas, become a baronet in 1700 and the bishop of Ossory in 1714. Overall, Vesey's career offers useful insights into the affairs of church and state, from the reign of Charles II to that of Queen Anne.

## Session 4B (Room C218)

**Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh** (Coláiste na Tríonóide)
A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart: seachadadh an dáin sa seachtú haois déag

Is éard a chuirim romham sa chaint seo, iniúchadh a dhéanamh ar sheachadadh A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart, dán a chum Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird do Nualaidh Ní Dhomhnaill nuair a bhásaigh a deartháireacha, Rudhraighe agus Cathbharr Ó Domhnaill, agus a nia, Aodh Óg Ó Néill, sa Róimh idir na blianta 1608 agus 1609. Tá an dán, nó blúirí de, ar marthain i ndeich lámhscríbhinn ón seachtú haois déag, agus tá cúig chóip déag den dán, ar a laghad, ar marthain i lámhscríbhinní ón ochtú agus ón naoú haois déag.

Nuair a d'fhoilsigh Eleanor Knott a heagrán máistriúil den dán in Celtica sa bhliain 1960, ní dhearna sí aon phlé ar a thraidisiún lámhscríbhinne; an aidhm a chuir sí roimpi ná téacs údarásach a chur ar fáil ó fhinné lámhscríbhinne amháin. Más fíor gur beag a chuireann formhór na bhfinnéithe lámhscríbhinne atá tagtha anuas chugainn leis an eolas atá againn ar bhuntéacs an dáin, cuireann siad go mór leis an tuiscint atá againn ar na comhthéacsanna inar léadh agus inar scaipeadh é. Lena chois sin, léiríonn siad gur cuireadh athruithe i bhfeidhm ar an téacs de réir a chéile agus nár leasc le scríobhaithe agus le filí dul i ngleic leis an dán ar bhealach cruthaitheach nuálach.

**Brendan Kane** (Ollscoil Connecticut)
Cogadh agus síocháin in Éirinn in aois na réabhlóide, 1630-60

Pléann an páipéar seo na focail is na coincheapa 'cogadh' is 'síocháin' i saol na nGael sa séú agus an seactú aois déag. Tá na téarmaí seo 'historicizable'; athraíonn siad le himeacht ama cosúil le haon choincheap casta eile dá leitheid, cuir i gcás an daonlathas, nó poblacht, nó stát. Aois réabhlóideach ab ea é lár an tseachtú aois déag, ceann inar tháinig athruithe bunúsacha isteach i gcleachtadh agus tuiscint chúrsaí polaitóchta ar fud na Eorpa. Ní eisceachtaí iad 'cogadh' is 'síothchain'. Tógfaimís an Peace of Westphalia ó 1648 mas eiseamláir – an conradh a chuir deireadh le Cogadh na Tríocha Bliain agus tús leis an 'gcothromaíocht na gcumhachtaí'. agus a scaip an prionsabal cuius regio, eius religio (an dream ar leo an chumhact, is leo an creideamh) ar fud na hEorpa. Sa gcéad dul síos, mar sin, tá sé ar intinn agam suirbhé gearr a thairiscint dena bhfocail sin agus na sainmhíníthe a bhí orthu sa gcéad bliain roimh sé déag tríocha. Molfaidh mé anseo go raibh réimse séimeantach leathan acu, cinnte, agus go raibh cosúlachtaí is difríochtaí suntasacha idir a n-úsáid in Éirinn agus ar an Mór-Roinn. Ina dhiaidh sin, díreoidh mé ar lár an tseachtú aois déag agus rithfidh mé tríd cuid de na foinsí a mhaireanns ón tréimhse sin a thuganns léargas dúinn ar thuiscint na dtéarmaí seo in aois réabhlóideach na hEorpa.

**Peadar Ó Muircheartaigh** (Ollscoil Dhún Éideann)
Uilliam Ó Loinsigh agus ealaín na leabhar

Is beag aird atá dírithe ag scoláirí na Gaeilge ar ealaín na leabhar lámhscríofa a cuireadh le chéile sa seachtú, san ochtú agus sa naoú céad déag. Is é atá fúm a dhéanamh sa pháipéar seo breathnú ar scríobhaí ar leith a bhí gníomhach i mBaile Átha Cliath ó na 1680idí ar aghaidh - Uilliam Ó Loinsigh. Scríobhaí eisceachtúil bhí in Ó Loinsigh toisc a dhírithe is a bhí sé ar an maisiúchán ina chuid lámhscríbhinní - tulphictiúirí, leathanaigh teidil, íomhánna agus nithe eile nach iad san áireamh. Áiteofar sa pháipéar seo gur teist atá sa maisiúchán seo ar an gcomaoin nach beag a chuir saol an chló ar lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge sa seachtú céad déag.

# Session 5A (Room K114)

**Daniel T. McClurkin** (University of Oxford)
The Education of Charles Carroll the Settler

In October of 1688 Charles Carroll the Settler (1661-1720) landed in Maryland with a commission by Charles Calvert, 3rd Baron Baltimore, to serve as the colony's Attorney General. A scion of the Ó Cearbhaill clan of Co. Offaly, Carroll left for Maryland with ambitions to hold political office and to reconstitute his family's confiscated lands and wealth in the new world. However, he had hardly set foot in Maryland before news came of William III's ascension to the English throne and, in 1689, the disenfranchisement of Maryland's Catholic population. Over the next thirty years, Carroll was a regular thorn in the side of the Protestant government, as he formed economic and political alliances with not only his coreligionists, but his Irish peers throughout Maryland. In order to understand the genesis of Carroll's attempt to establish a "New Ireland" in colonial Maryland, this paper will attend to Carroll's childhood and education at the Jesuit College in Douai. Throughout his life, Carroll maintained connections with the Society of Jesus, meeting with Jesuit missionaries in Maryland and sending his own children to study at the Jesuit College in St Omer. While there is little direct archival evidence of Carroll's early life in Offaly during the 1660s and 70s, by attending to the Jesuit missions in the Irish Midlands and the network of continental colleges established to educate disenfranchised Catholics from England, Scotland, and Ireland, this paper finds the roots of his transplanted dynastic nationalism in the cosmopolitan pedagogy of the Jesuits.

**Ivar McGrath** (University College Dublin)
Jonathan Swift and the Sacramental Test in Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne

It is often assumed that Jonathan Swift's real engagement with Irish public affairs only began in 1720 with the Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture and then really took off with the Drapier's Letters in 1724-5. It is certainly true that the 1720s were the heyday of Swift's Irish obsessions: Protestant dissenters, the constitutional relationship with England, absentee landlords, the financial woes of Ireland, political and financial corruption, amoral political behaviour, poverty, social status, and gender. This paper looks at how many of those various concerns, issues and themes have antecedents in a number of pieces written by Swift during the reign of Queen Anne, with a particular focus upon the December 1708 pamphlet, *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England, Concerning the Sacramental Test.*

**Raymond Hylton (**Virginia Union University)
Murder, Inclusion, Dissonance, and Imbroglios: Reflections of French Refugee Identities in Early
Modern Ireland

In a world that obsessively classifies people into groups, and often stereotypes them, the actions of one individual can colour the way that all are perceived. Immigrant groups are

especially vulnerable in this regard, no less so in the early Modern Era than later – as certain contemporary events have
demonstrated. In Dublin on the 25 February 1683 at the French Conformed Church in the Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's Cathedral a Huguenot surgeon named Jean Audouin stood as godfather to the infant Jean Fontaneau, who had been born eight days before. Forty-five years later, on 29 May 1728 Huguenot surgeon Jean Audouin, was taken from the Black Dog Prison to be hung, drawn, and quartered for the lurid and grisly murder of his servant girl Margaret Keefe in the kitchen of his house on Wood Street, purportedly because she had resisted his attempt to rape her, reigniting prejudice against the city's French population.

This paper seeks to not only relate the story of Audouin's and his victim, and ascertain, if possible, where the truth may lie, but to contextualize it within the wider questions touching upon the ever-present identity issues. The further objectives within these parameters are: to shed light as to how the Huguenot refugees saw themselves; the images of themselves they projected (intentionally or otherwise) to the Irish host population; and whether commonalities might be discerned within the refugee experience, and how those commonalities might have affected others, both at a political or a more basic level.

## Session 5B (Room C218)

**Evan Bourke** (Maynooth University)
Colonial Betweenness: Networking Print in Early Modern Ireland

Writing in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book*, Andrew Hadfield has claimed that a history of the Irish book in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be written without reference to work published in England. This is because in European terms print came to Ireland relatively late and for the first century there was only one press in Dublin, which was controlled by the King's printer. As a result, many writers active in Ireland, and writing about Ireland printed their material in London. Thus, to just network the output of the Dublin press does not give the full picture of colonial printing in relation to Ireland. Instead, to understand the networks of colonial print in relation to Ireland, we must look to English print networks and filter them for material relating to Ireland. Drawing on a dataset of over 4500 texts compiled by MACMORRIS through consulting the E.S.T.C., E.E.B.O, and the bibliographic work of E.R McClintock Dix and Tony Sweeney, this paper presents these networks. It explores the printers most frequently used by writers active in Ireland and uses network visualisation to bring to the fore case studies that emphasise the mechanisations of colonial printing power and the intertwinement of writers based in Ireland and printers based in London. Through a combination of network algorithms this paper also considers whether there were certain printers, publishers, and booksellers that were interested in material produced in/about Ireland, or whether there were certain genres that printers, publishers, and booksellers were drawn to when producing text relating to Ireland.

**Stephen Kelly** (University College Dublin)
Theatre in late Stuart Dublin: Europe, antiquity and the re-construction of colonial Ireland.

Dublin's Theatre Royal at Smock Alley (opened in 1662) was a civic expression of the city's status as a significant centre of culture in a wider European context, replicating similar theatres in London and expressing an artistic medium that was self-consciously state-of the-art and that established a clear cultural link with drama in France and Italy. Visually, the theatre represented locales in distant lands and epochs, drawing lessons from the past in terms of the virtue of both military conquest and the underpinning of socio-political hierarchy that was centred around a monarch whose power was checked by custom and law. Migration and settlement that expanded from the centre of political power outwards to the periphery was accepted as a political reality supported by the state and in tune with English policy in Ireland during the seventeenth century. Gaelic Irish language and culture were ignored but representations of alien cultures hostile to political order and cultural progress were depicted on the stage as veiled allusions to both Gaelic and Catholic Old English political interests. As a medium, the theatre had a substantial impact on Dublin society through its use of vision, music and storytelling through performance. The effect was to help bring Ireland more closely into the orbit of Stuart England and establish Dublin a European centre of culture that reflected its economic, political and strategic significance.

**Pádraic Lamb** (L'Université Lyon 2)
Ireland as Colonial Arcadia: river-nymphs and ecocriticism

Arcadia is traditionally a literary décor, an idealized but essentially flat landscape for poetic projections and contrasts. Its literary essence is contrary to the territorial and representational appropriation of the colonial project, which aims to bring the desired colony under the control of administrators, precisely mapped and measured. The administrative impulse of colonialism is thus at first sight at odds with what Patricia Coughlan has identified as a strong idealizing tendency in English writing on Ireland in the 17th century, which in many cases takes on an Arcadian colouring.
Recent criticism has drawn attention to the convergence of colonial and ecocritical perspectives in Spenser and Shakespeare, amongst others. In this paper, I would like to examine some of the tensions inherent in representations of what I call the 'Colonial Arcadia', in a corpus of New English writers', and especially Edmund Spenser's, representations of Irish rivers and river-nymphs. Drawing on Thomas Herron's notion of the 'plantation aesthetic' and Richard McCabe's 'poetics of difference', the paper will historicize certain ecocritical concepts in relation to intertexts and contexts, literary modes and Irish history in colonial representations of Irish rivers.