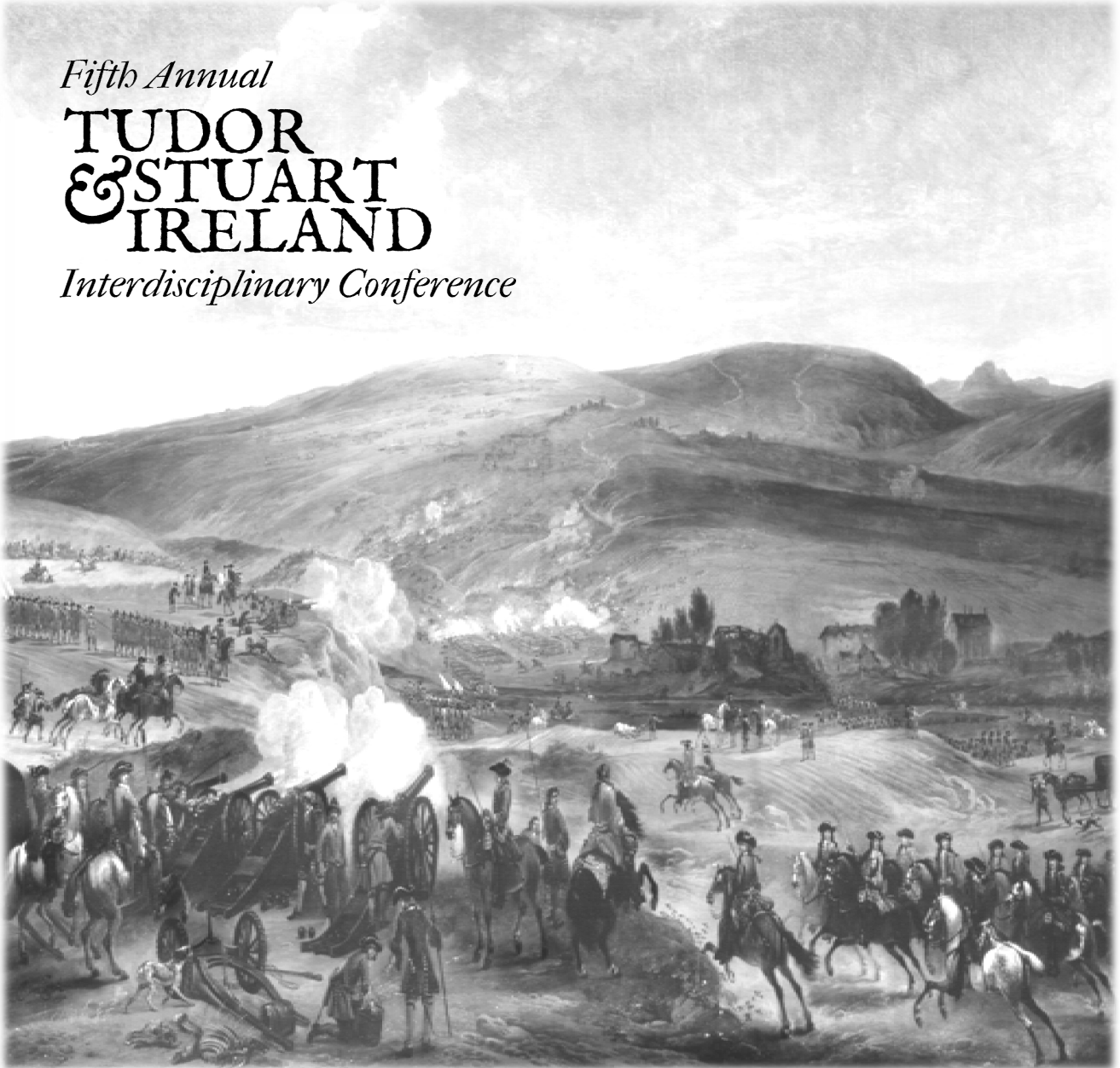


ABSTRACTS

Fifth Annual

TUDOR & STUART IRELAND

Interdisciplinary Conference



Supported by:



IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to extend our most sincere gratitude to the Irish Research Council (New Foundations), Dr Jason McElligott and Marsh's Library, the Department of History (M^U), Graduate Studies (M^U), UCD Research, and the School of History & Archives (UCD) for providing financial support for this year's conference.

Their generosity has not only made this year's programme possible, but has also ensured that the scholarship presented over these two days will have an enduring impact through the production of podcasts and videos. Beyond the provision of funding, institutional support for the Fifth Tudor & Stuart Ireland Conference has been nothing less than tremendous.

From the outset, Maynooth University has been a most gracious and welcoming host. We would especially like to thank Professor Marian Lyons, Ms Ann Donoghue, Ms Catherine Heslin, Professor Thomas O'Connor, Professor Colm Lennon, and Professor Raymond Gillespie for their encouragement, advice, and help throughout the past two years.

Thank you also to Professor Ronan Reilly and Ms Eilis Murray of the Graduate Studies Office (M^U), Ms Niamb O'Neill of the Conference and Accommodation Office (M^U), and to An Foras Feasa and NCG for the use of facilities in the Iontas Building.

The School of History and Archives (UCD) has remained an enthusiastic advocate of this year's conference. We would especially like to thank Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, Professor John McCafferty, Ms Kate Breslin, and Dr Emma Lyons for their dedication and support.

We also wish to express our gratitude to the following individuals and offices for offering their time, talents, and wisdom:

- *Professor Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge) and Professor Marie-Louise Coolahan (NUIG), who kindly agreed to give this year's plenary addresses.*
- *Dr Brendan Kane, Dr Jason McElligott, and Mr Mike Liffey for agreeing to participate in this year's public history panel session.*
- *Mike Liffey (HistoryHub.ie/Real Smart Media) for the production of high quality podcasts which have made research on early modern Ireland available to a global audience.*
- *Barbara McCormack (Russell Library) for organising the tour of the Russell Library and an exhibition of its early modern material.*

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

Jeffrey Cox, Eamon Darcy, Damien Duffy, Eoin Kinsella & Bronagh McShane

ABSTRACTS

Session 1A

Prof. John Mc Cafferty

University College Dublin

A habit of return: Irish Franciscans friaries 1539-1650

Henry VIII's dissolution campaigns affected only about one fifth of Irish mendicant houses. The Observant friars in particular appeared to have managed a staged withdrawal to the west and north of the island in the face of later Tudor closures. This paper will show how the Franciscans responded to the seventy year slow-motion dissolution in Ireland drawing on a lengthy history of the Irish friars written by an ex-provincial Donatus Mooney in Louvain in 1617. Observants continued to be visibly active in the neighbourhood of many former friaries during the early modern period and were even allowed continued residence within the walls by a number of new Protestant proprietors. Their providential and topographical understanding of their mission will be explored, as will a widespread belief that they would be restored to the friaries in the near future. The friars' ability, as members of an international order, to take a global view of their local exigencies was a key element of their strategy. This paper will argue that excessive focus on the political dimensions of Reformation in Ireland has occluded a proper understanding of the continuities so successfully built upon by the Catholic Reformers.

Dr Brendan Scott

Independent

Thomas Jones, Elizabethan bishop of Meath

This paper will deal with Thomas Jones, who was Church of Ireland bishop of Meath from 1584-1605. In many ways his story is that of a man overseeing a State religion which had already been rejected by the majority of people living in Ireland. Jones' uncompromising view of the best means of religious reform merely continued to further alienate recusants as well as other, less hard-line, Protestants. The softening of this attitude during the Nine Years' War was a temporary measure, however, and Jones soon resumed his policy of persecution in the Pale when he became archbishop of Dublin in 1605. His early years as bishop of Meath showed promise, but when appointed bishop of Meath, he soon showed himself to be more interested in matters temporal over those ecclesiastical. His perceived venality and ruthless acquisitiveness surely made the bishop a disliked figure among the majority Catholic population in Meath. His close association with Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, also made him a target for many of the archbishop's enemies in the Dublin administration. Jones' attempts in 1581 to convert condemned Catholic men would also have contributed to his unpopularity among Catholics in the Pale. Thomas Jones, the man recognized for his preaching and efforts to convert in his early years, by the time of his death was now associated with corrupt practices, political underhandedness and avarice. In some ways, Thomas Jones' slow decline was mirrored in the failure of the Church which he had sworn to promote and protect.

Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin

University College Dublin

The biography of Bishop Francis Kirwan: Pii antistitis icon sive de vita et morte D. Francisci Kirovani Rmi. Alladensis Episcopi

The Catholic hierarchy of the middle of the seventeenth century was one of the most unusual bodies of bishops. In Early Modern Catholic Europe Ireland was unique in partibus infidelium in having a residential episcopate, appointed to the traditional sees. Even more startlingly, this hierarchy in some respects approximated more closely than any other body of bishops to the Tridentine ideal in that its members were universally seminary trained, were appointed to their dioceses with little or no political input and for essentially ecclesiastical reasons, and were overwhelmingly resident. In other respects they were startlingly anomalous in that they enjoyed no revenues and lived under the threat of state persecution. The Irish hierarchy was also at the centre of the split in the Irish church at the end of the 1640s when a minority of the bishops opposed the papal nuncio and endorsed first a truce with Baron Inchiquin and then a peace with the royalist faction in Ireland. Francis Kirwan was a key actor in these events. He is an unusual figure within that often shadowy hierarchy in that his biography, Pii antistitis icon sive de vita et morte D. Francisci Kirovani Rmi. Alladensis Episcopi was compiled by his nephew, John Lynch, after his death. This paper offers a particular reading of this text which seeks to situate it in both its ecclesiastical context, as the life of an exemplar figure of Catholic renewal, while paying attention also to the manner in which it reflects the politics and ethnic tensions of Irish Catholicism in the wake of the calamities of the 1650s.

Session 1B

Mr Daniel Elliott

Independent

Representing Elizabeth: the viceregal court in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney

This paper explores the idea of a viceregal court in Sixteenth Century Ireland during the deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney. It attempts to understand how Sidney represented the Tudor monarchy in Ireland. There is evidence that Sidney, perhaps more than any other deputy wanted to replicate something of the splendour and pageantry of London courtly culture in Ireland. Having come from the court of Elizabeth, there should be no reason why Sidney would not have maintained the same Tudor standards and norms of behaviour. Sidney has long been seen as the one of the most ambitious of the lords deputy in his vision for the reform of Ireland and the creation of a viceregal court seems to fit in very well with his grand schemes. He perhaps realised how important the royal court was in binding the English nobility to the Tudor crown. If the crown was to successfully bind the Gaelic and Anglo-Irish nobles to the English state it would need a courtly centre and culture in Ireland as well. His court was designed to be an instrument of displaying Tudor authority, majesty and power like its counterpoint in London. This paper will examine three core parts of Sidney's courtly project; his household in Dublin Castle and Kilmainham, his construction programme and his public displays and spectacles such as his entries into the towns of Ireland. In doing so it will show that something like a court was created under Sidney but ultimately a courtly culture never materialised.

Dr John Jeremiah Cronin

Independent

Intrigue in the exiled Carolean Court: the case of George Radcliffe

This paper is based on an article that appeared in the *Journal of Historical Biography* in 2012 (http://www.ufv.ca/jhb/Volume_11/Volume_11_Cronin.pdf). It will examine the role of Irish courtiers in Carolean court intrigue during that court's exile in continental Europe in the 1650s. Specifically, it will focus on two 'Irish' courtiers, Sir George Radcliffe and James Butler, Duke of Ormond, and will pay particular attention to their actions in two particular court intrigues. The first of these involved their efforts to thwart the Queen Mother's, Henrietta Maria, scheme of 1655 to coerce the young Prince Henry Stuart into abandoning Anglicanism and converting to Catholicism. The second dates to 1658, and centres on Charles II's efforts to replace one of James, duke of York's advisors, John Berkeley, with Radcliffe. The purpose of looking at these two examples of court intrigue is to examine how important a minor and supposedly peripheral courtier like Radcliffe could be to someone like Ormond: a character who was much more central to the political life of the court. Similarly, the paper will also examine the role of faction in these disputes, and will cast light upon their coherence, or lack thereof.

Mr Richard Maher

Dublin Institute of Technology

The viper in the bosom: The case of James Murray and his undermining of Charles Wogan in the Jacobite court in Rome, June 1719

In May 1719, Charles Wogan of Richardstown county Kildare arrived with Princess Maria Clementina Sobieska in Rome after having rescued her from detention in Innsbruck. In so doing, he had secured a powerful marriage alliance with a well-connected and wealthy family for the monarch of his choosing, James Stuart III & VIII. Wogan was made a Roman Senator by Clement XI for his outstanding service; however, similar honours were not forthcoming from James III. Internal rivalries, jealousies and quarrels had consistently plagued the Jacobite cause, much to the glee of both the Whig government of Britain and the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. In late May and early June 1719, a storm of controversy swirled around the Palazzo del Re in Rome, at the centre of which was James Murray. The proposed paper seeks to illuminate the dark corners around the reasons for Wogan's departure from Rome in June 1719. Henrietta Tayler's excellent work, which draws upon Lord Pitsligo's narrative of the events of June 1719, provides insight on the conditions surrounding Clementina's arrival in Rome. The correspondence of various members of the Jacobite court, Wogan's own correspondence, and The Wogan Manuscript, housed in the Galway, Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora Diocesan Archives, will be presented to support the central contention of this paper: That Wogan's nemesis was not his king, but his king's secretary of state, James Murray.

Session 2A

Dr David Heffernan

University College Cork

Planting Elizabethan Ulster: The Earl of Essex's 'Enterprise' of Ulster, 1573-75

In the early 1570s the government of Elizabeth I sought to settle the northeast of Ireland through semi-private plantations whereby individuals would colonise the region with limited aid from the crown. The ostensible aim of these endeavours was to prevent the settlement of Scottish settlers in Antrim and Down and to introduce a bastion of English settlement from which the 'reform' of Ulster could be undertaken. Foremost amongst these initiatives was the project of Thomas Smith to plant the Ards peninsula (1572-1574), yet none matched the ambition and scale of the first Earl of Essex, Walter Devereux's efforts to plant much of the modern-day counties of Antrim and Down. Curiously though, while Smith's Ulster colony has been the subject of two fine studies by D.B. Quinn and Hiram Morgan, Essex's 'Enterprise' of Ulster has not yet been systematically studied. This paper examines the course of Essex's 'Enterprise' from its inception in the summer of 1573 through to the ignominious abandonment of the scheme two years later. It will also question why Essex's 'Enterprise' failed so spectacularly and why the crown continued to heavily subsidise an endeavour the success of which was in doubt within weeks of Essex's arrival in Ireland. In doing so it will shed light on why the crown was determined that the plantation of Munster following the Desmond Rebellion (1579-83) should be organised by the state rather than entrusting private individuals to plant the region.

Dr Ruth Canning

University College Cork

Richard Hadsor on reforming Ulster with colonies

Among the Elizabethan State Papers for Ireland is an intriguing unsigned treatise endorsed "Discourse for Reformation of Ulster by Colonies, 1598". To date, this document has received little more than passing mention by historians of early modern Ireland, nor has any enquiry into its authorship been made. Upon closer inspection, however, this treatise reveals itself to be both unusual and important for a number of reasons. Written at the height of the Nine Years' War (1594-1603), the treatise begins with a proposal for establishing Dutch colonies around Lough Foyle as a means to reforming, or civilising, the native Gaelic Irish. But, in the second half of the treatise, the same author goes to great lengths to distinguish Ireland's original colonial community, the Old English, from the native Gaelic Irish, especially in terms of their preservation and promotion of English cultural norms since the twelfth century. In doing so, the author expresses great grief that the services of his community have been overlooked, and advocates that it is a prince's duty to ensure this error is rectified. Based on an analysis of a number of other contemporary treatises treating similar topics, this paper proposes Richard Hadsor, an Old English lawyer who was working in London at this time, as the author. And, through an examination of Richard Hadsor's career and writings, this paper will investigate the changing role and status of Ireland's Old English community in the expanding early modern British Commonwealth, as well as Hadsor's personal vision for the future of Ireland and his Old English compatriots.

Mr Edward Cavanagh

Ottawa/Cambridge

Corporations, property rights, and the imperial constitution:

A comparative reflection on the Honourable Irish Society in law and history

In 1613, The Irish Society, a joint-stock company made up of several London interests, was by charter incorporated for the purpose of administering Derry and Coleraine, sites earmarked for the settlement of dissenting Presbyterian Scots. From this point on, during the reign of the Irish Society, the Gaelic Irish and the Old English of Ulster were met with Scottish settlers who intended not to return to Scotland but rather to transform into Ulstermen and Ulsterwomen, and to conceive and birth the same. Such is the framework of the well-known history of settler colonialism in Northern Ireland, which this paper has no want to contradict. Rather, I hope here to encourage a discussion about the comparative nature of Northern Irish legal history within a broad imperial framework by analysing the activity of corporations. Which companies are comparable to The Irish Society? Which others are resistant to comparison? Reflecting on a global investigation into how land titles were created and conferred to corporate entities, and what these episodes tell us about the blurry lines between private international law and public international law in the period between 1590 and 1930, this paper will discuss what makes The Irish Society universal and what makes it unique.

Session 2B

Prof. Thomas O'Connor

Maynooth University

Heresy, conversion and reconversion in the sixteenth-century Irish diaspora

Some of the most revealing evidence regarding the effects of sixteenth century religious and political changes in Ireland can be gleaned from the archives of the Irish diaspora in Portugal and Spain. This paper examines the conversion experiences of a number of Irish merchants, mostly in Lisbon and Seville, as seen through the eyes of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. The evidence provides fresh insights on the complexity of religious sentiment and the need to square creedal loyalties with economic, political and social commitments.

Dr Pádraig Lenihan

National University of Ireland, Galway

The Wild Geese 1690-97: fact or fantasy?

The paper will contest assertions that the 'Irish brigade' or 'Wild Geese' comprised élite shock troops who embodied the dreams of their countrymen at home. There is much to support this legend after 1702 (a topic which is beyond the scope of this paper) but I will give three reasons why it is unsustainable for the War of the Grand Alliance (1689-97). This is precisely the period when the numbers of Irishmen fighting for Bourbon France peaked: a map based on the digitized admission records of the Hôtel Des Invalides will show the intensity and location of combat. First, there was no Irish 'brigade' in the French army but thirteen regiments of foot (three anciens and the rest post-Treaty of Limerick), as well as dismounted dragoons and cavalry, serving in various brigades and different theatres. French perception of Irish troops as second-rate infantry can be inferred from their place in the lines of battle and from the relative lack of notice in despatches (this is a sharp contrast to their post 1702 perception) other than as sickly, quarrelsome, drunken, poorly clothed or dragging camp followers in their wake. Analysis of battles in 1692 and 1693 shows that the Irish at Dudenhoven (1692) and Neerwinden (1693) did not serve as shock troops using sword or bayonet but knelt, crouched or stood en haye to deliver volleys of musketry. Finally, in the work of contemporaneous Irish chroniclers or poets such as Daibhidh Ó Bruadair, Cochubair Ó Briain, Diarmaid Mac Seáin Bhuí Mac Cárthaigh, or Seán Ó Gadhra references to the Irish during the War of the Grand Alliance are few, perfunctory, vague and sometimes inaccurate, like the author of the 'Light to the Blind' who boasted that the Irish possessed a special proficiency in swordplay which won the Battle of Marsaglia (1693).

Prof. Marian Lyons

Maynooth University

James II and Mary of Modena's provision for Irish Jacobites in France, c.1692-1718

Within the jacobite migrant population that followed James II into exile in France during the early 1690s, the large tail of Irish military and their dependents was widely acknowledged by contemporaries, particularly James II and his wife Mary of Modena, as the cohort that bore the brunt of the demise of the Stuart courts at Saint Germain-en-Laye, the disbandments of their regiments in 1698, and Louis XIV's scaling down of the French army in 1700. This paper outlines the principal ways in which James and Mary endeavoured to provide for this cohort of their followers (arranging educational opportunities, advocacy with church and ecclesiastical authorities, provision of financial support and employment, sponsoring children of émigrés). It explores whether there was any substance to contemporary allegations that the Irish were exceptionally burdensome, problematic and the least favoured of the three jacobite 'nations' by James. Finally, the impact of the deaths of James and Mary on the Irish jacobite émigrés is explored.

Session 3A

Ms Éilis Noonan

St Andrews

Women and violence in the 1641 Rising

This paper examines how women acted in, and were represented in, the Ulster Rising of 1641. It draws heavily on evidence from the 1641 Depositions, digitised by Trinity College Dublin, in order to examine how women interacted with this event. Significantly, almost a third of these depositions were given by women. It also sets this event in the wider context of gendered religious conflict in the early modern period. In 1642, the Lord Justices of Ireland made an extraordinary declaration concerning the recent series of uprisings which had affected the country. They claimed that, after interrogating and disciplining the perpetrators of the violence, they had found women to be "manifestly very deep in the guilt of this rebellion". Women were both subject to and agents of violence in the 1641 Risings. From women operating in the elite sphere, such as Lady Offaly and Lady Elizabeth Dowdall, to humble deponents such as Elizabeth Price, women engaged in the 1641 Rising in very similar ways to women engaging in religious conflict throughout Europe at this time. It is of crucial importance to examine the polemic language used in the Depositions and also in John Temple's 1646 account of the Rising, "The Irish Rebellion". This reveals that women were either portrayed as innocent victims of the atrocities, often described as pregnant or nursing small children, or as savage instigators of violence, often against other women or children. Ideals of femininity, both positive and negative, were central to the "mythologisation of the Rising". William Lecky remarked in relation to the 1641 Rising that hardly any page of history has been more misrepresented. This is particularly true in the case of women's involvement in religious violence in early modern Ireland. Tropes such as the ones mentioned above conceal the real, complex roles women could play in the Rising. It is clear that the roles of women in early modern wars need to be fundamentally re-examined, not just in the Irish case but also in the wider European context, in order to interrogate the gap between the real and the imagined place of women during violent, religious conflicts.

Ms Talya Housman

Brown University

Gendered Violence and English Construction of the Irish Threat in the 1640s

The rise of mass conscripted infantry armies in the early modern period led to a reformulation of who constituted a militarized threat. Rather than feudal lords, the able-bodied male population as a whole became the primary perpetrator of violence. However, not everyone fell neatly into this new categorization of threat. Excessive fears of the Irish are particularly prominent in the abundance of rape and castration that appears in English print material on 1641. Strangely, in the approximately eight thousand depositions taken, which are teeming with graphic depictions of Irish violence, only eight instances of rape and three instances of castration are reported. This discrepancy raises several questions. Why is there such a stark difference between the depositions and English public print in portrayals of these particular crimes? Why are these acts of violence singled out from the countless other crimes described in the depositions? What were the consequences of the image of the Irishman that emerges from English public print? In this paper, I will examine depictions of rape and castration together with accounts of infanticide. Through the lens of gendered violence, one can see how these specific crimes had particular resonance in the English public sphere. By flooding the market with carefully constructed scenes of gendered violence, English print culture engineered a picture of violence intent on annihilation that had important consequences on English policy towards the Irish throughout the 1640s.

Ms Bronagh McShane

Maynooth University

Female agency: the case of the 1641 rising in Leinster and south-east Munster

The role of women during the 1641 rising has proven to be one of the most fruitful areas for research on women in Tudor and Stuart Ireland in recent years. This has been aided in no small part by the transcription and digitisation of the 1641 depositions which has in turn facilitated a widening pool of scholars to discover further valuable insights into the relationship between gender and conflict. However, this scholarship has tended to focus largely on female victimisation, which, although valuable, tends to obscure our understanding of the diversity and – as Marie Louise Coolahan has emphasised, the 'heterogeneity' – of female experiences of war, violence and sectarian unrest in early modern Ireland. Drawing on a selection of discrete examples extracted from depositions relating to Leinster and south-east Munster, this paper explores the involvement of women as active agents in the violence that unfolded in autumn 1641.

Session 3B

Dr Jason McElligott

Marsh's Library/University College Dublin

Bram Stoker and the undead history of Williamite Ireland

Bram Stoker walked through the graveyard of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin on Wednesday, 4th of July 1866. He followed the path past the gravestones to the steps which led up to the entrance of Marsh's Library. Over the next year Stoker returned to the Library on six separate occasions. We are fortunate that detailed records happen to survive of what readers consulted in Marsh's in the years between 1863 and 1883. It is, therefore, possible to identify all of the items that Stoker requested from the Library staff. These records may force us to reassess the received wisdom that the young student Stoker was more taken with sports and socialising than serious study. The Library registers demonstrate that Stoker was interested in British travel literature of the seventeenth century, and some of the great literary authors of the Tudor and Stuart era: Spenser, Jonson, and Dryden. Yet, he seems to have been particularly drawn to a number of volumes of bound political pamphlets produced in London during the 1680s and 1690s. These volumes related very strongly to the related topics of Catholicism and the turmoil in Ireland of the Jacobite and Williamite periods. This paper will focus on these bound pamphlets. It will stress the thematic coherence of these volumes of pamphlets, and analyse why they were constructed by the original owner in the late seventeenth century. What light do they shed on contemporary understandings of the period and what do they say about later, nineteenth century, understandings of the same period? It will be demonstrated that Stoker specifically sought out these political pamphlets, and it will be suggested that he did so because he believed they were relevant to the society which he inhabited.

Mr Paul Murray

Independent

Puritanism and the formation of Bram Stoker's Dracula

In the early 1970s, Bram Stoker's Dracula became the subject of sustained critical attention for the first time. Feminists and Freudians led the charge in "discovering" that Stoker's novel was something more than inspiration for a plethora of sensational films. Their focus, however, tended to be uncompromisingly contemporary. Also in the early 1970s, American scholars began identifying Stoker's creation with single sources of inspiration, ranging from Vlad the Impaler to Henry Irving and Jack the Ripper. Just as the movies eviscerated much of Stoker's vampire story, so the pop biographies/commentaries suppressed the reality of Stoker as a dedicated writer engaged with the traditions of English literature stretching back to Chaucer. His immersion in deep historical currents, linking back to the Reformation and the English Civil War, has also been overlooked. The imprint of Stoker's youthful engagement with the history and literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has hardly featured in critical discourse. Puritan literature is an obvious but neglected influence. Critics have paid little attention to the conflicted religious background to Dracula. This paper will attempt to demonstrate that an appreciation of Tudor and Stuart puritanism lays bare some of the earliest and deepest roots of Stoker's fiction, Dracula especially.

Session 4A

Mr Diarmuid Wheeler

National University of Ireland, Galway

Tudor policy in the midlands territories of Laois and Offaly c.1530-1603

With the collapse of the rebellion of Silken Thomas FitzGerald, the territories of Laois and Offaly were exposed to the interventions of strictly English born governors who would henceforth conduct the administration of the crown government in Ireland. The first policy pursued by the new administration sought to absorb and create a smooth transition from Gaelic lordships, such as the O'More and O'Connor clans into the folds of English civility, the strategy known as 'Surrender and regrant' Although relatively successful at first, it moved at a sluggish pace and by late 1543 the policy was suspended but never wholly abandoned In the following years, the government altered its approach and instead pursued a policy of plantation in order to reduce and hopefully abolish entirely, the recurring raids upon the Pale by the Gaelic clans of the region. Little major change occurred under Elizabeth with regards to policy in the midlands with various deputies being appointed to pacify the region via upgrading the forts already established into market towns and establishing English settlers on a long-term basis with the creation of shire ground and the exclusion of any unruly, defiant Gaelic clans from owning land which in turn ensured that instability made this task extremely difficult as the costly garrisons were constantly on full alert and the settlers found it increasingly difficult to survive against stiff Gaelic resistance. This resistance, which often resulted in open warfare in the region, would transform its landscape politically, geographically, and historically and ensured that violence would endure for the great majority of the second half of the sixteenth century ultimately making the policy in its most basic form impossible to enforce.

Ms Jennifer Wells

Brown University

'The Irish Modell': Building empire in seventeenth-century Jamaica

Ireland as a 'laboratory for empire' remains a well-accepted scholarly trope. Historians, however, have never tested the veracity of their hypothesis beyond noting impressionistic, racist resonances. This paper examines the 'Irish modell' implemented by English officials in Jamaica following its conquest by Cromwellian forces in 1655. Using Jamaica as a case study, it argues that policies implemented in early modern Ireland mirrored those enacted in other contemporary and subsequent English colonies. It assesses the model at three different levels – personnel, policy, constitutional – and draws explicit connections between domestic, archipelagic designs and those in the imperial periphery. Many key administrators in Jamaica had either served in Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, such as Robert Venables, or drafted policy in London for Ireland, like Edward Winslow. The policies that these men created for Jamaica, including barriers on trade, land transfer, and restrictive laws that infringed upon the rights and liberties of labourers, mirrored, verbatim, laws implemented in Ireland during the 1650s. Finally, at a constitutional level, English statesmen governed Jamaica according to Poynings' Law, which effectively removed the legislative powers of the Jamaican Assembly and granted them to Westminster. The heated debate that ensued as to the legality of these constitutional and policy measures turned on issues of race and ethnicity. As 'English citizens, the English colonists in Jamaica wrote to London officials, 'we ought not to be governed as Irish men'. In charting both how these initiatives were implemented and how they were ultimately undone between 1655 and 1688, I argue that underlying ethnic conflict in Jamaica among the white settler population (which was one-third English and two-thirds Irish) accounted for the brutality of the 'Irish modell' and also spurred English colonists to seek (and ultimately succeed in) its repeal. This conflict in turn drew upon a much longer lineage of ethnic tensions in the archipelago that followed English settlers and Irish labourers to the Caribbean. This social and cultural dimension to political policy forces historians to reconsider the global ramifications of events in the British archipelago and Ireland's central place in the story.

Infancy, lunacy, and loyalty: A case study of the Lattin Family in the 1660s

During the 1650s there occurred what T.W. Moody has termed 'the most catastrophic land-confiscation and social upheaval in Irish history', which resulted in those deemed to have supported or taken part in the 1641 Rebellion forfeiting their property. The Lattin family from county Kildare were just one of thousands of Catholic families who were recorded as having lost their estates during the Cromwellian settlements. However, whilst the Lattins were recorded as having been transplanted, the family remained in possession of their estate during the 1650s and 1660s, retaining a significant portion of their estate on the eve of the eighteenth century. In order for this to be possible, the family would have had to prove their loyalty, a difficult task given that they had apparently voted in the confederate elections of 1640 and had supported the rebels during the 1641 Rebellion. This paper will therefore focus upon the Lattin family's efforts to demonstrate their loyalty during the 1660s, the means by which they sought to explain and rationalise their past actions, and their reliance upon third parties to support their claims of loyalty.

Session 4B

**Prof. Raymond Pierre Hylton
& Dr Marie Leoutre**

**Virginia Union
Marsh's Library**

The mercantile element in Dublin's Huguenot refuge and its catalytic effect, 1650-1750

Between 7,000 and 10,000 Huguenot immigrants made their way to Ireland during the century spanning the years 1650-1750. The stress their Calvinist faith placed upon individual knowledge of the scriptures insured that theirs would be far more literate than most other immigrant groups and, hence, all the more vulnerable to integration with and assimilation into the host society. Among the classes of individuals who comprised the Huguenot dispersion's societal makeup in Ireland, it would have been the mercantile/financier element which would have had the most profound outreach and interaction with the Anglophonic population. Much has been written about role of the noble and military elements within the Huguenot communities which were established in Ireland, but the mercantile contribution has been comparatively understated. It was in Dublin that we discover both the largest concentration of Huguenot settlers, and the most substantial French Protestant mercantilist population. Yet, even before the establishment of a recognized Huguenot community in Dublin, and most certainly during the Ormond vice regencies of 1662-69 and 1677-85, Huguenot merchants had already assumed a significant role. This became even more the case for the refugees who poured into the capital in the wake of the Earl of Galway's rise to power, and beyond. The presenters will demonstrate how these underreported Huguenots took the initiative in forging links with the wider community, and in melding their own community into it.

Dr Marc Caball

University College Dublin

A tale of two seventeenth-century libraries: the books and world views of a Limerick patrician and a Cork landowner

This paper will examine the surviving manuscript library lists of two seventeenth-century Munster Protestants with a view to discerning their cultural and intellectual interests as members of a religious minority deriving from Gaelic and New English ethnic origins. Edmund Sexton (d. 1637) was a highly educated Limerick patrician whose extant catalogue of books provides evidence of his wide range of intellectual interests as well as his deep interest in divinity. In contrast to the urban Protestant milieu of Sexton, the books of Sir John Perceval (d. 1686) reflect the experience of a county Cork Protestant landowner and officeholder. The paper will demonstrate how both men reflected on and deepened their religious faith through devotional and theological books while concurrently using books as information aids and instruction manuals in terms of their quotidian professional and cultural interests. It will be argued that these book lists provide a unique window on the attitudes and beliefs of two Munster Protestants in the seventeenth century.

Mr Liam Maloney

Independent

The Earl of Orrery and the defence of the Protestant interest in the settlement of Ireland

Based on research and MA thesis produced in 2014 (UCD), the subject for this paper is the post-Restoration career of the Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery (1621-79). Son of the 'God's Providence is My Inheritance' Earl of Cork, Orrery was granted his earldom in 1660 for services rendered, however willingly, in preparing Ireland for the return of the Stuart regime following the preceding tumultuous decades. Orrery was a necessary and indispensable power-broker across late-1659 and early-1660 and was actively engaged in the constitutional, political and religious settlements of Ireland in the crucial subsequent years. Using the Collection of State Papers of the...Earl of Orrery (1742) as a core source, as well as other correspondence and official sources, Orrery's activities in portraying a united protestant interest of Ireland—under his guidance as its self-appointed voice—in the defence of its key priorities is examined in the paper. Orrery presented the English protestants of Ireland as the King's most loyal, obliged subjects and his best interest in the kingdom. Although they were shaken in their confidences by the Court of Claims, Orrery fostered an image of himself as the pacifier of these fears and as the conduit between the landed, loyal protestants of Ireland and Charles II with his Irish viceroy, Ormond. Orrery faced the settlements of Ireland with innovation, pragmatism and a desire to protect the facets of his world—the interests of the Boyle network and those of the loyal reformed subjects of Ireland.

Session 5A

Mr Brian Coleman

Trinity College, Dublin

The gentry of Tudor Ireland

The landed families of the English colony in Ireland have tended to be neglected by historians, despite the recognition of the importance of families of equivalent status by historians of medieval and early modern England. In England, the gentry were the principal agents of 'self-government at the king's command'. By the sixteenth century their control of the government of their shires was ensured by their domination of the offices of sheriff and justice of the peace, while their political importance as part of the parliamentary Commons continued to grow throughout the period. The landed families of the English colony in Ireland occupied a similar place in that society, holding offices that were identical at least in name if not necessarily in function to those held by members of the gentry in England, and being represented in the colony's parliament; while the Down Survey reveals the extent and continuity of landholding enjoyed by these families until the turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century. This paper will seek to remedy to some extent this gap in the historiography of late medieval and early modern Ireland by examining this group of families as a class, principally through their interactions with the royal government. It will explore the size and structure of this class and its role in the Irish polity at the close of the Middle Ages, and ask whether it merits the title of an English gentry in Ireland.

Dr Karen Holland

Providence College

Insuring Irish patrimonies: Catherine Power and Joan Fitzgerald in their sons' non-age

In mid-sixteenth century Ireland, Catherine Butler Power (d. 1553) and Joan Fitzgerald Butler (d. 1565) fought to insure that their sons would acquire their patrimonies in Leinster upon coming of age. Catherine's husband Richard Power, 1st baron Power and Curraghmore, was slain by Connogher O'Callaghan before 1538 leaving their eldest son, 12 year-old Piers as heir. Upon the mysterious death of James Butler, 9th earl of Ormond and Ossory, in 1546, his wife Joan was left with six sons to raise, the eldest, 15 year-old Thomas to inherit the lordship. These two sisters-in-law (Catherine was the sister of Joan's husband James) exercised divergent means - military vs. political and legal - to accomplish their common goal. Relying on assistance from her natal kin, Catherine trusted in Irish custom – Brehon law, kern and gallowglass, and coign and livery – to retain control of the Power territories in the face of threats from collateral branches of her husband's family. Lacking familial support, Joan utilized English practice – corresponding with well-placed government officials and employing legal precedents – to protect Thomas' interests from Butler relations and Irish lords deputy. Joan further strengthened her son's position by collecting back rents due Thomas and adding to his land holdings. In the end both women and their diverse methods proved successful: Piers Power succeeded to the title 2nd baron and Thomas Butler became the 10th earl.

Mr Philip Walsh

University College Dublin

'...the trannical usage and uncharitable proceedings'

of Martin Blake Fitz Andrew (c.1620-91): the career of an internal transplanter from Galway town to County Galway and the establishment of the Ballyglunin estate

Martin Blake Fitz Andrew of Galway town was a Catholic burgess, merchant and landowner of minor gentry status. The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland ensured that his urban property was completely lost and while he was awarded two thirds of his former rural estates, the lands he was transplanted to bore little resemblance to his old holdings. From these strained circumstances he re-established himself as a merchant in County Galway and with some difficulty in Galway town. With the judicious use of mortgages he began the re-accumulation of an estate, buying from fellow transplanters as well as Protestant newcomers. He and the vast majority of the transplanters to Connacht and Clare had to wait until 1676 for the appointment of a court of claims for transplanted persons to gain secure title to their transplanted acres as well as whatever other land they had accumulated in the intervening years. By investigating the methods of acquiring and then securing an estate a different perspective of the political, confessional, economic and legal history of early modern Ireland is offered. The extensive Blake of Ballyglunin papers offer an invaluable insight into the life of a member of the lower gentry throughout this period and allows a picture to emerge of the experience of the lower Catholic gentry in general which illuminates and expands our understanding of the history of the era as a whole.

Session 5B

Ms Lenore Fischer

Independent

Finn MacCool among the Old English

Valerie McGowan-Doyle has shown how Lord Howth sought to justify the Old English presence in Ireland by providing them with a history of their successful conquest and efforts. Over and above this he even sought to create a cultural identity for them by appropriating myths from the Irish community among which they lived. His Book of Howth (written in the 1570s) begins with a description of the Fianna, calling them the descendants of the king of Denmark who had been brought in by the Irish to keep order in their land and to protect it from invasion. Starting at Dublin, Howth gives a detailed list of the Fianna members, each with his own designated coastal base. The Battle of Ventry, where the best of European chivalry was gathered to win Ireland is called the equal of the Battle of Troy. The Fianna were eventually destroyed, according to Howth, in the battle of Ardcaithe by the Irish princes themselves, who desired to be rid of them, but Finn MacCool escaped, being away in Rome at the time.

Dr Caoimhe Whelan

Trinity College, Dublin

A medieval voice: Gerald of Wales in early modern politics

The presence and importance of Gerald of Wales's writing in Early Modern political discourse has long been acknowledged, but the significance of the late medieval transmission of the twelfth-century writer's narratives has been overlooked. This paper will offer a reappraisal of the material and argue that exploring the late medieval interpretations of Gerald are key to understanding the Early Modern use of his work. Focusing on the late medieval vernacular Hiberno-Middle English translation of Gerald's 'Expugnatio Hibernica' circulating in the English colony, this study will trace that narrative's impact on later political thought. It will focus in particular on the articulation of the rights of the English king to Ireland and one of the first appearances of Gerald's arguments in Early Modern politics in the 1569 Attainder of Shane O'Neill.

Ms Carla Lessing

National University of Ireland, Galway

'Wild Irish' and 'miserable Finns': sixteenth- and seventeenth-century perceptions of the inhabitants of Ireland and Finland in comparison

Ireland and Finland have both experienced a 'conquest' initiated by a neighbouring country that commenced in the twelfth century and lasted well into the early modern period with traces of these events still being recognisable today. Whereas those two countries underwent different developments under the reigns of the respective superior powers of England and Sweden, it is still worth to look at the two case studies from a comparative perspective, which shall be done in the context of a 'rhetoric of difference'. This paper investigates how the perceptions of Ireland and Finland were articulated and will thereby show similarities and differences in the treatment of the two countries. While the inhabitants of Finland were subject to the exertion of 'ethnic silence' and the discourse about Finnishness was overwritten by official means, the strangeness of the native Gaelic population of Ireland was very prominently featured in the English source materials and their opposition to Englishness readily acknowledged. It is the aim of this paper to discuss how these two different approaches of dealing with the alienness of a people, that officially belonged to the same geo-political entity, resulted in a similar rhetoric and, eventually, reached similar degrees of cultural alienation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.