ABSTRACT BOOKLET





6th Annual Interdisciplinary Conference







CONTENTS

Acknowledgements Abstracts	
Session 1A {Chair: Dr Jeffrey Cox}	
Prof. Steven Ellis (NUIG)	
Dr Yvone McDermott (GMIT)	
Prof. Colm Lennon (MU)	
Session 1B {Chair: Dr Jessica Cunningham}	
Mr Alan Kelly (TCD)	
Ms Bobby O'Brien (NUIG)	
Dr Bríd McGrath (TCD)	
Session 2A {Chair: Prof. Colm Lennon}.	
Mr John Kelly (Ind.)	
Dr David Heffernan (Ind.)	
Session 2B {Chair: Prof. Steven Ellis}	
Ms Dimitra Koulta (Aristotle)	
Ms Kelly Duquette (Boston College)	
Ms Alix Chartrand (Cambridge)	
Session 2C {Chair: Dr Bronagh McShane}	
Ms Deirdre Fennell (NUIG)	
Ms Ann-Maria Walsh (UCD)	
Dr Felicity Maxwell (NUIG)	
Session 3A {Chair: Dr Eoin Kinsella}	
Dr Brian MacCuarta (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu)	
Prof. John McCafferty (UCD)	
Prof. Raymond Hylton (Virginia Union)	
Session 3B {Chair: Dr Felicity Maxwell}	
Mr Evan Bourke (NUIG)	
Prof. Willy Maley (Glasgow)	
Prof. Marc Caball (UCD)	
Session 4A {Chair: Dr Nessa Cronin}	
Mr David Roy (UCC)	
Ms Raina Howe (NUIG)	
Ms Lorna Moloney (NUIG)	
Session 4B {Chair: Dr Bríd McGrath}	
Ms Rebecca Hasler (St Andrews)	
Dr Helen Sonner (Ind.)	
Prof. Caroline Newcombe (Southwestern)	
Session 4C {Chair: Dr David Heffernan}	
Mr Diarmuid Wheeler (NUIG)	
Mr Matthew McGinty (NUIG)	12
Prof. Yoko Odawara (Chukyo)	
Session 5A {Chair: Dr Pádraig Lenihan}	
Dr Coleman Dennehy (UCL/UCD)	
Dr Eoin Kinsella (IAPH)	
Dr John Bergin (QUB)	
Session 5B {Chair: Prof. Marc Caball}	
Dr Jason McElligott (Marsh's Library)	
Dr John Cunningham (Exeter/TCD)	
Dr Suzanne Forbes (Open University)	14
*******Special Panel Sessions******	
Shakespeare and Ireland {Chair: Prof. Willy Maley}	
Dr Naomi McAreavey (UCD)	
Ms Emer McHugh (NUIG)	
Panel in Honour of Prof. Steven Ellis {Chair: Dr Alison Forrestal}	
Mr Kieran Hoare (NUIG)	
Dr Gerald Power (Metropolitan University Prague)	
Dr Ruth A. Canning (UCC)	16

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to extend our most sincere gratitude to the President's Award for Excellence in Research (awarded to Prof. Steven Ellis), NUI Galway, the Moore Institute, NUI Galway, the Discipline of History, NUI Galway, the School of Humanities, NUI Galway, and the Society for Renaissance Studies 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. Beyond the provision of funding, institutional support for the Sixth Tudor & Stuart Ireland Conference has been nothing less than tremendous.

From the outset, NUI Galway has been a most gracious and welcoming host. We would especially like to thank Professor Daniel Carey, Professor Marie-Louise Coolahan, Professor Steven Ellis and Dr Alison Forrestal for their encouragement, advice, and help throughout the past year.

Thank you also to Ms Martha Shaughnessy and Ms Róisín Corcoran (Moore Institute), Ms Helena Condon and Ms Maura Walsh (Discipline of History), and to the Moore Institute for the use of facilities in the Hardiman Research Building.

The organisers would also like to extend a special word of thanks to Professor Steven Ellis for his generosity and support. We wish him well in his forthcoming retirement.

Now in its sixth year, the Tudor and Stuart Ireland conference began initially in UCD in 2011 and later continued in 2014 and 2015 at Maynooth University. We wish to extend a particular note of thanks to Professor John McCafferty, Dr Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Professor Marian Lyons for their continued support of this conference series.

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

- Professor Mary O'Dowd (QUB) and Professor Andrew Hadfield (University of Sussex), who kindly agreed to give this year's plenary addresses.
- Mike Liffey (HistoryHub.ie) for the production of high quality podcasts which have made research on early modern Ireland available to a global audience.

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

Evan Bourke, Jeffrey Cox, Carla Lessing & Bronagh McShane

ABSTRACTS

Session 1A

Prof. Steven Ellis

National University of Ireland Galway

Reforming sacred space: the Collegiate church of St Nicholas, Galway and the Reformation

This paper looks at the remodelling of sacred space in one of the less successful theatres of the European Reformation, the Church of Ireland, taking as a case study the impact of religious reform in the Collegiate church of St Nicholas, Galway. How sacred space was organized and used across Reformation Europe is a topic which until recently had attracted very little attention. It is also a subject which demands different sources from those traditionally used for religious history, especially churchwardens' accounts, parish registers, wills, and court records, as well as the visual and structural evidence provided by archaeology, art history, and architecture. Unfortunately, few of these sources are available in any quantity to show how parish churches were adapted for worship across the Church of Ireland. In default of fuller records, therefore, this will necessarily remain a fairly obscure topic: many aspects of these changes, and also their precise chronology, will remain largely conjectural. As will hopefully be demonstrated, however, by the following sketch focusing on the Collegiate church, it is none the less possible to offer an educated guess about this topic, based on the experience of Tudor reform both in the better documented Church of England, and also the scanty surviving records from elsewhere in Ireland.

Dr Yvonne McDermott

Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology

Galway Augustinian friary: from foundation to demolition

This paper will consider the changing fortunes of Galway Augustinian friary, from its establishment by Margaret Athy Lynch in the early sixteenth century, through to its suppression and subsequent fortification, to the friary's eventual demolition in 1645. Galway was the last house of Augustinian friars to be established in Ireland prior to the dissolution of the monasteries. The founder's role will be considered in light of the evidence for women's patronage of the mendicant orders. The support of Margaret's husband, Stephen Lynch for Galway's Austin friary will also be addressed using testamentary evidence. This will be considered in the context of other evidence for Lynch family support for the orders of mendicant friars in Galway. The seventeenth century was a time of great turbulence in Galway and witnessed the construction of St Augustine's fort around the friary in 1602, in addition to the destruction of a number of the town's fine medieval buildings later that century. Both the fort and friary were separately demolished during the century which saw Galway 'became the shuttlecock of contending parties' (Litton Falkiner 1909, 189). Cartographic and documentary evidence, in addition to comparative material, will be marshalled in an assessment of the friary's architecture and layout.

Prof. Colm Lennon

Maynooth University

Corporate clergy and lay society: collegiate churches in early modern Ireland

Although collegiate churches in the fullest sense were comparatively rare in late medieval Ireland, the phenomenon of priestly corporations attached to non-monastic or -cathedral bodies was widespread throughout the ecclesiastical sphere in the east, south and mid-west. By the time of the Reformation, there were over two dozen churches that could be described as having colleges of clergy engaged in their administration and service, under diverse patronage. These ranged from large, architecturally impressive buildings, such as St Nicholas's in Galway and St Mary's in Youghal, to small, though multi-cellular parish churches. At the core of this collegiality, of course, were devotions and worship, in which obituarial observance bulked large, but the collegiate churches also formed part of the secular network of administration that could involve civic and noble patronage, poor relief, health care, education and property management. This paper examines the impact of the Reformation on the secular colleges in Ireland, where there was no blanket purging of collegiate institutions, as happened in England. While there were a few dissolutions and re-foundations (notably St Nicholas's, Galway), most continued on, many into the seventeenth century and beyond, their resources being contended for by rival confessional groups. Civic patriciates asserted their privileges in the case of many urban colleges, while gentry patrons often resumed private control of their ancestors' corporate foundations. There are intriguing glimpses of the role of the colleges in the survival of recusancy, the part played by certain strategic institutions being important in supporting Catholic communities in the early modern period.

Session 1B

Mr Alan Kelly

Trinity College Dublin

For the herbes dyd never growe': The State of Ireland (1515), political discourse and literary conceit

The well-studied state paper known as the 1515 'state of Ireland and plan for its reformation', along with its mother document, a little known reform tract the c. 1510 'Salus Populi', contain erudite traits that point to underlying influences, aims and possible indications of authorship. Addressed to Wolsey, these literary conceits are similarly aligned with the cardinal's interests as a man of Renaissance learning. They are nationalist in tone, protective of Church power and rigorously defensive of justice through the unwavering and universal application of the king's law. Combined with Chaucerian allusion, prophetic hagiography, classical analogy and early church history, each document has an intellectual potency irresistible to Wolsey. The 'Salus Populi' may have been an idea Inge worked on for some time before being elevated to the see of Meath, possibly dealing with different subject matter. With additional reference to the c.1513 abstract of the 'Salus Populi', this trilogy of documents is discussed with the former archbishop of Dublin Hugh Inge as possible author of each text. Through close textual analysis, comparison with relevant written sources and contemporary events, the 'Salus Populi' and its abstract appears to form the backbone of the 1515 correspondence.

The abstract is a very significant source, harking to a cerebral shared background. Inge's expert theological knowledge and rhetorical skills match the contents of the 'Salus Populi', his voice emerging from the c.1513 abstract, most likely originating from pre-1515, bearing the hallmarks of his influences, aims and aspirations. The most prominent scholarly conceit relates to 'the Pandar', the author of the 'Salus Populi.' The character is from Chaucer's Pandarus in Troilus and Criseyde (c.1380) which signifies the author as diligent observer, efficient facilitator and wise counsellor in the bonding of the crown with the Lordship. The poem, especially through 15th century re-works, was ideal for cheerful bedside hanter as well as for anguished philosophical reflections. Pandarus' friendship derives from the medieval 'amictia' inspiring a male-male relationship and Inge, re-assumed the persona of 'the Pandar' in the 1515 state correspondence with Wolsey. Through close examination of the aforementioned documents, the scholarly qualities of political discourse in early Tudor Ireland can shed light on the means by which aspiring officeholders such as Inge Secured attention and advancement.

Ms Bobby O'Brien

National University of Ireland Galway

The presence and impact of Bishop John Bale in the Diocese of Ossory

At the age of 57 John Bale was appointed to the bishopric of Ossory a post that had been empty for two years. From his landing in Dublin in February 1553 his appointment caused controversy, not only in the capital but within his own constituency. This paper will begin with Bale in England, his background and his first exile, which will give a context to his teachings and the controversial debates he courted in Ossory. In less than a year from his consecration to the bishopric of Ossory, Bale was leaving Ireland. The use of The Vocacyon of Johan Bale and Steven Ellis's article John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, 1552-3 throughout will give an insight, admittedly one written for a London audience, to the state of religion in a see beyond the Pale and the conflict of a bishop with his flock. Bale's relationships with both the clergy in Ossory and with Archbishop Browne will be examined, as will the role of preaching in a mid-sixteenth century diocese. By looking closely at these areas it will show if the Vocacyon was a true representation of the process of religious reform in the Diocese of Ossory.

Dr Brid McGrath

Trinity College Dublin

Unmasking E.S., the author of A Survey of the Present Estate of Ireland Anno 1615

A Survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615 (Huntington Library MS. El. 1746) which was dedicated to "his most excellent Maiesty James ... the best of Kinges upon earth" presents the opinion of E.S., an Englishman, on the state of Ireland and proposes remedies for its many deficiencies. It is an essay in the tradition of Spenser, Davies, Rich and others and displays a contempt for the Irish way of life, customs, manners, dress and language and suggests means of making Ireland more English. Although the manuscript has been used and cited by historians and authors, including Brian Friel, the identity of its author has never been established, nor the reason he was in Ireland. This paper identifies the author and provides an account of his life, his travels before arriving in Ireland, his literary output, his reasons for being in Ireland at the time, his subsequent career in England and his place in early modern literary studies.

Session 2A

Mr John Kelly Independent

The exactions of a 'minor demon' or the 'service of a faithful countryman'? Collection of cess, pardons and fines by Robert Hartpole, Constable of Carlow, between 1569 and 1571

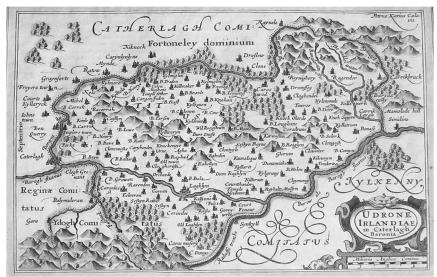
Robert Hartpole was a soldier/settler from Kent who arrived in Ireland in or about 1549 and rose through the ranks of the Tudor administration (most notably under the patronage of Sir Henry Sidney) to acquire extensive lands and hold the titles of Constable of Carlow Castle and Sheriff of both Carlow and Queens County. He also represented Queens County in Perrott's Parliament of 1585. He is perhaps best known for his role in the Massacre at Mullaghmast. His activities between 1569 and 1571 against the Gaelic Irish on lands held by the Earl of Ormonde in County Carlow resulted in a formal complaint to the Council. This document, dated August 1571, records Hartpole's collection of cess, pardons and fines in Fort O'Nolan (the Barony of Forth), Clonegal and Rathvilly in County Carlow between 1569 and 1571. While the State Papers contain various complaints about cess and other excesses by State officials (including one also dated August 1571 against the Captain and soldiers of the fort at Leighlin) what makes this document so significant is the wealth of genealogical, economic and social data about the population of the area and the reality of their lives in 16th century Ireland. The paper will examine Hartpole's career and the political and social factors at play in the locality in the period. It will also discuss what is known about the individual characters named in the document and their roles in society.

Dr David Heffernan

University College Cork

The "composition for cess" controversy and the position of the Old English in mid-Elizabethan Ireland, c.1575-84

It is widely appreciated that the Old English community of the Pale and beyond in Ireland became profoundly disaffected from crown rule during the reign of Elizabeth I, owing to, among other issues, their refusal to conform to state sponsored Protestantism and their supersession in high political office by the New English. Overshadowing all this was the burden imposed on this community to fund the advancing Tudor conquest of Ireland through the 'cess' or purveyance. Upon returning to the viceregal office in 1575 Sir Henry Sidney attempted an alternative system of taxation devised by the clerk of the privy council, Edmund Tremayne, known as 'composition for cess', whereby landholders in Ireland would compound to pay a fix rent in lieu of the 'cess'. The animosity this aroused amongst the Old English and the constitutional controversy which ensued have been well noted in the historiography of the period. Yet the episode has typically been understood as having occurred in a bubble between 1576 and 1578. This paper argues that the 'composition' must be understood within the wider context of the crown's relations with the Old English in the late sixteenth-century. Moreover unrest over the 'composition' and the 'cess' must be understood within the wider framework of discontent at government policy and official corruption in late Tudor Ireland. Finally, by extending discussion of the 'composition' into the mid-1580s it demonstrates that far from being a temporary 'crisis' unrest over the 'composition' persisted throughout the Desmond Rebellion and beyond.



Cloppenburgh Map of Carlow, 1632

Session 2B

Ms Dimitra Koulta

Aristotle University

"It lacketh only inhabitants, manurance, and pollicie": agrarian capitalism and social control in Sir Thomas Smith's "A Letter sent by IB gentleman"

In Discipline and Punish, Michel Foucault argues that the two processes that made possible the triumph of capitalism in Europe, the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital, must not be examined separately. In other words, the rise of a capitalist economic system was only made possible through the imposition of discipline and order among the human multiplicities by a sovereign state. This paper will argue that Smith's sophisticated plan for the establishment of a plantation in Ulster in the 1570's, which was the first to specifically emulate the Roman model of colonies, was highly alert to the aforementioned double problem: how to extract profit from an Irish plantation, and how to impose order upon the rebellious Irish. By a recourse to the Capital, I will examine the transition between feudalism and capitalism, what Karl Marx termed primitive accumulation, and the early stages of agrarian capitalism, in the context of 1570's Ireland. The analysis of Smith's tract for the Ards project in Ulster will focus on the agrarian justification for colonialism that Smith propounded, and how that was advertised as the least costly for the Crown, most profitable for the investors, and simultaneously, most effective in the imposition of order and the successful plantation of Englishmen in a hostile environment.

Ms Kelly Duquette

Boston College

Shakespeare's "uncivil kerns:" Irish contagion and the emerging British nation-state

My paper focuses on early modern representations of the Irish soldier, namely the native Irish kern, in order to show how fashioning of English civility in the late 16th century paradoxically rests upon the threat of a degeneration particular and specific to Irish contagion. In part, this paper provides a factual history of the kern's unique experience as mercenary infantryman in order to recover an original print of Irishness independent of English projections. The greater part of my work, however, demonstrates how Shakespeare, like Raphael Holinshed and John Derricke before him, assigns qualities of rebelliousness, disloyalty, and barbarity to the Irish kern to purchase the antithesis of a distorted image of Irishness for the English. I examine Shakespeare's kern trope in II Henry VI, Richard II, Henry V, and Macbeth to show how the Irish foot soldier figures as cypher of Irish barbarity, disloyalty, and England's degenerative self. The kern never speaks for himself; his presence and bizarre visage is reported in the speech of English, French, and Scottish nobility or referenced in stage direction. In most cases, these non-Irish characters condemn the Irish kern and the characteristics ascribed to them to reinforce Irish otherness and British civility. Alternatively, proximity to the kern often leads to the non-Irish characters' disintegration into barbarity. Ultimately, Shakespeare's voiceless kern symbolizes the consequence of England's failure to self-fashion, it represents England's Irish question left unanswered—in the English imagination, the kern is the collapse of British colonialism embodied, an all too painful reality to stage.

Ms Alix Chartrand

University of Cambridge

Tories and thugs: the impact of seventeenth-century struggles against Irish banditry on India

Throughout the early modern period, English claims to sovereignty in Ireland were primarily grounded in the law, which was viewed as both a factor of, and a driving force behind, any civilising society. That being said, English adherence to the law in seventeenth-century Ireland did have serious limitations: this very law was repeatedly subverted or manipulated in order to counter the challenges posed by the Irish population. In this sense, the law therefore became a tool which was used to regulate society according to the forms of behaviour considered by the English to be acceptable in a civilised society. This paper uses the English struggle against toryism in the second half of the seventeenth century to consider the ways in which delinquent forms of behaviour were considered subversive, and therefore challenged not only local order and stability, but the larger English claim to authority in Ireland. Banditry therefore became a significant threat to the unity of the state. Most importantly, the paper locates the tory phenomenon within the larger context of the British Empire, by comparing the English administration's approach to tories with the later East India Company's dealings with similar forms of banditry in Bengal, known as dacoity and thuggee. Thus, this paper seeks to link various different temporal and geographical areas of the later British Empire in order to illustrate how experiences in early modern Ireland influenced later experiences in India and shaped British officials' responses to parallel social, political and criminal issues.

Session 2C

Ms Deirdre Fennell

National University of Ireland Galway

Family, favour, faction: female presence in the life of Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliam

Sir William Fitzwilliam lived during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I, serving in Ireland as Vice-Treasurer, Treasurer-at-War, Lord Justice and Lord Deputy. This paper explores female presence in his life up to the end of his first term as Lord Deputy in 1575. Fitzwilliam owed his introduction to court to his mother's relative, the Earl of Bedford. Fitzwilliam married a sister of Sir Henry Sidney. His first cousin Mildred Cooke would marry Cecil, later Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's powerful advisor. The paper first looks at legal documentation — a will and private Acts of Parliament regarding his mother's and his wife's jointures. It then examines correspondence. In terms of family, a letter from Fitzwilliam to Cecil concerning Sidney's 'company kepyng' and my Lord's 'cursed companyon' is examined. Another letter from Fitzwilliam to Lady Lucy Harrington comments on the unfortunate behaviour of Fitzwilliam's son. A letter from Fitzwilliam to Burghley asks him to 'bear with his wife'. In terms of favour, a letter from Fitzwilliam to Frances, Countess of Sussex, (another of Sidney's sisters) asks for her to remember him to her husband if Fitzwilliam is imprisoned. A letter from Fitzwilliam's wife to the queen regarding his debt is also considered. In terms of faction, a letter from Mildred to Fitzwilliam assures him of Burghley's support. A letter from Essex to Burghley and Sussex warning against Fitzwilliam's wife's' final judgement' is also presented.

Ms Ann-Maria Walsh

University College Dublin

Countess Alice Barrymore, motherhood, shopping, and the commodification of English civility

Historical evidence shows that early modern women of the middling and upper classes were expected to contribute to the household through their "educative roles as mistresses of servants and also as mothers" (Mendelson & Crawford, 321). This paper will examine the case of Countess Alice, née Boyle, Barrymore, (1607-1668), and the significance of her epistolary efforts, writing to family friend, the Buckinghamshire MP, Sir Ralph Verney, requesting his help in procuring a tutor for her son, Richard Barry, the next Earl of Barrymore. A close reading of Alice's letter, written from her marital home of Castlelyons in north Cork on the 18th of February 1639, will highlight how and to what effect Alice enacted and expanded the educative aspect of her maternal role. However, Alice's letter is also noteworthy from a socio-political and religious perspective. Protestant peers resident in Ireland like the Boyles and Barrymores were keen to identify themselves with English civility, and I will demonstrate the ways in which Alice's letter enlivens that cultural phenomenon through her virtual shopping list, demanding Sir Ralph send her English-sourced foodstuffs like vinegar and herrings, as well as a variety of equipment, services, and household staff. I further propose that Alice's motivation in writing to Sir Ralph Verney coupled with the absence of any reference to her husband, David Barry, in that regard, serves to underscore her perceived investment in providing her children with a particular style and standard of education, whilst also putting on record her contribution towards safeguarding and sustaining the family's heritage and core values into the future

Dr Felicity Maxwell

National University of Ireland Galway

Dorothy Moore's Irish connections: Protestant networking and social critique in the 1640s

This paper will focus on the correspondence of Dorothy Moore, a well-connected New English gentry widow who left Ireland due to the 1641 Uprising and, I will argue, thereafter used her Irish connections to pursue her sense of vocation on an international scale. It has already been noted that Moore briefly lived in the London household of Gerard Boate, whose brother had been a physician and Hebraist in Dublin, and that James Ussher wrote letters of introduction that helped Moore expand her intellectual contacts in the Dutch Republic. This paper will argue that when moving away from Ireland following her loss of property and worldly security, Moore also took a step away from the comfort-seeking, dynastic priorities of the New English elite and underwent a process of self-reformation from which she emerged as a spiritually driven would-be public servant of the transnational (Protestant) kingdom of God.

Session 3A

Dr Brian MacCuarta

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

An Irish layman in Rome in the mid-1590s

Writing in 2003, Felicity Heal suggests that for the period before 1600 it is not possible to describe the religious life of the laity in Ireland. On 9 June 1595 two men in their late 20s — Henry Piers, and Philip Draycot - set sail from Dublin to go to Rome. The recent discovery of the travel memoir of Henry Piers, of Co. Westmeath, recounting his journey to and from Rome 1595-7, affords the possibility of exploring the Catholic mentalite of one layman in late sixteenth-century Ireland. Conversion between the various denominations has been little studied for sixteenth-century Ireland. It is possible to explore this theme in the case of one individual. Piers, his parents, his wife and her family were adherents of the Established Church. The journey to the Continent arose from Henry's embracing of Catholicism, a transition arising largely from contacts with the English recusant community. While on the Continent, his engagement with the English Catholic community in Rome and in Spain, and with various Irish and English encountered there, throws light on the ambiguous situation of Elizabeth's subjects in Catholic Europe during the turbulent 1590s.

Prof. John McCafferty

University College Dublin

Recycling an island's past for a Global Catholicism: Irish Franciscans in the seventeenth century

Starting in 1607 (Louvain) and continuing into the 1620s (Rome, Prague) the Irish Franciscan Observants trained all of their priests and preachers on the continent. The vast majority of those individuals later served on the Irish mission. The result was that the largest, most ethnically integrated and the most active order in terms of popular culture was directed by men whose formation had often been carried out near to the confessional fault-lines of Europe.

The friars embarked on a series of linked projects which redefined Ireland before 1536 as the acme of undefiled Catholicism. Engaging with everything from mass pilgrimage to Lough Derg to the most refined levels of Scotist theology the Irish Franciscans infused medieval practices, friary sites and manuscripts with new blood from the confessionalised world of Iberian Catholicism. They even claimed the Immaculate Conception — the most rococo of counter-reformation opinions - for their island. Woven through all of this endeavour was a striking recycling of St. Patrick as guardian of the entrance of Purgatory, patron of a Catholic kingdom and progenitor of the saintly bloodlines of the Irish kings. This communication will show how Irish members of a global organization sought to push their heritage and tradition as integral to core theological and devotional concerns of Catholic Europe.

Prof. Raymond Hylton

Virginia Union

Religio-political ferment in, and interconnections between the Dublin and Portarlington Huguenot communities, 1692-1720: a study in causal determinism?

Dublin and Portarlington have long been acknowledged as the two most substantial Huguenot communities established and solidified in the wake of the Williamite reduction of Ireland. They have been primarily studied in isolation. But with only forty miles of mainly level ground separating them, neither can be completely understood without some accounting for interrelationship and interchange that occurred between them, and the cause-and-effect this often brought about. Pivotal to this story is the most influential Huguenot, Henri Massue De Ruvigny, Baron Portarlington, then Viscount, and Earl of Galway; and the military veterans who arrived with him from France. Not as thoroughly noted and studied by earlier sources, but incrementally significant players nonetheless, were the mercantile families and clerical-professional families, and individuals like Benjamin de Daillon, Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, and Elie Bouhereau, who had a hand in the development of both French Protestant colonies. The story of these two communities, contrary to past representations stressing tranquility and commonality, is fraught with dissonance: grating religious sensibilities pitting dissenters against conformed Huguenots; migration and return migration; and self-questioning of their role within the larger context of their Anglophonic milieu, and late Stuart Ireland as a whole. The question thus arises as to whether or not, or to what extent, events and personalities within these two communities played upon one another.

Session 3B

Mr Evan Bourke

National University of Ireland Galway

'The incomparable Lady Ranelagh': Katherine Jones's reputation within Samuel Hartlib's correspondence network

The Hartlib circle was an intellectual correspondence network that was formed in London in 1641, centred around Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, and Jan Amos Kaminski. This group was mainly active between 1641 and 1661, and included well-known figures such as Robert Boyle, Henry Oldenburg, Benjamin Worsley, and the Boate Brothers. As shown by Mark Greengrass and others, its overarching aim was universal knowledge; thus members corresponded on various topics including politics, religious conversion, educational reform, science and medicine. The network also had many female members, such as Katherine Jones, Viscountess Ranelagh, Dorothy Moore Dury, and Lady Joan Barrington, none of whom have yet garnered sufficient scholarly attention. One reason for this is that many of the letters written by women in this network are no longer extant, and thus one must analyse what others said about these women in order reconstruct their involvement. Therefore, this paper will focus Lady Ranelagh's epistolary reception by two members of Hartlib's network: John Beale and Peter Figulus exploring what they said about her, how they constructed their receptions, and what this means for Lady Ranelagh's reputation as an intellectual woman.

Prof. Willy Maley

University of Glasgow

Double Dutch: The Boate brothers and Ireland

This paper focuses on two Dutch doctors — the Boate brothers, Arnold (1606-1653) and Gerard (1604-1650) — who moved together from Leiden to London and, separately, on to Dublin in the 1630s and 1640s, where they found themselves in Stuart Ireland at a time of transformation and trauma. Arnold served as physician to two Irish viceroys, Robert Sidney and Thomas Wentworth, as well as to James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, while Gerard, having been appointed physician to the army in Ireland died shortly after his arrival there in 1650. Each contributed in key ways to philosophical, religious and scientific debate as part of the Irish branch of the Hartlib circle, Gerard through the posthumously published Irelands Naturall History (1652) for which Arnold did the early spadework, and Arnold through an extract from a letter to his brother, then based in London, published as A remonstrance of divers remarkable passages and proceedings of our army in the kingdome of Ireland (1642), as well as a richly rendered memoir of his Irish wife, exiled with him in Paris, entitled The character of a trulie vertuous and pious woman as it hath been acted by Mistris Margaret Dungan (1651). The Boate brothers offer insights into the workings of colonialism, the limits of archipelagic history, and the impact of Dutch intellectual culture on English colonial theory and practice.

Dr Marc Caball

University College Dublin

Crossing borders in late Stuart Ireland: the emergence of a middle ground

The American historian Richard White has argued persuasively for the existence of a 'middle ground' in which diplomacy, trade and various forms of exchange took place between indigenous Americans and the English who settled on their lands. In this paper, it is proposed to apply the concept of a 'middle ground' to deepen understanding of everyday interaction across ethnic, linguistic and sectarian lines in west Munster in the late seventeenth century. In this respect, the poetry of Aogán Ó Rathaille and the experience of the landowner and land agent Richard Orpen will be discussed.

Session 4A

Mr David Roy

University College Cork

Creating borders in Colin Clouts Come Home Againe

The song that Colin Clouts sings, from ll. 102-55 in Edmund Spenser's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, is an aetiological fable that delineates the borders of Spenser's allotment at Kilcolman. The borders of this allotment are: the Ballyhoura Hills to the north, the River Awbeg to the east and south, and the River Bregog to the west. There is a subtle difference between the natural borders of Spenser's land and those that have been superimposed on the landscape by his contemporaries. The rupture between natural and man-made limits that is evident in Colin Clouts Come Home Againe echoes the sentiments about the calendar that should be used in The Shepheardes Calender and providential rule in The Faerie Queene and Mother Hubberds Tale. During the 1590s the borders of Spenser's allotment at Kilcolman are sites of anxiety and conflict; and when they are eventually breached the result is destruction, displacement, and death. This paper will address some of the reasons for Spenser's preoccupation with these borders, and posit some suggestions as to why he chooses to address them within his aetiological fable.

Ms Raina Howe

National University of Ireland Galway

Tudor Wasteland or Gaelic Fásach? Historical perspectives of an early modern Irish environment

The early modern environment of Ireland has been a territory for debate for antiquarians and Tudor historians alike for the past several centuries. In many instances, historians have adopted a Tudor perception of the Gaelic environment as a formidable, untamed and densely wooded wasteland. The Tudor perspective has become, in essence, the contemporary perspective of how to view early modern Ireland's environment. How Ireland could have been as heavily wooded as the Tudor paper trail suggests provokes questions about how the Irish managed their woodlands. This paper addresses some of the inconsistencies and oversimplifications within the Tudor perspective. It also attempts to piece together an early modern Irish perspective of how the Irish might have viewed these so-called wastelands, and for what purpose they had in keeping them.

Ms Lorna Moloney

National University of Ireland Galway

From Gaelic lordship to English shire: The MacNamaras of Clare

In A View of the Present State of Ireland, Edmund Spenser, compares the ancient origins by the MacNamaras to: the great Mortimer, who is forgetting Howe great he was once in England, or English at all, is now become the most barbarous of them all, and is now called Macnemarra, Spenser's Irenius further us that the Duke of Clarence did shutt them upp [Gaelic Irish] within those narrowe corners and glennes under the mountayne foot in which they lurked, and soe kept them from breaking any further, by buildinge strang holdes uppon everie border, and fortifyinge all passages: This paper examines the replacement of the MacNamara Gaelic lordship in sixteenth century Thomond by the new shire of County Clare. It focuses on three core principles of shire creation, security, taxation and administration. The transition from gaelic lordship to English shire is rapid and takes in less than thirty years. Two centuries of military force provided by the MacNamaras to the crown, the rights and tributes exacted from annexed territories exacted by the MacNamaras, with almost 60 castles in East Clare count for nothing. The hybrid states of baronial creation result in a transitionary nature of Shire operations. New baronies of TullanAspill and Dengyn Iweggin in 1585 are quickly replaced by the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty dominating the Tudor organisational framework. The journey to fixed baronial borders, gaols, sheriffs and newly appointed core administrative personnel are analysed in this paper arguing that the MacNamaras are unrecognised, and the lordships is forgotten in a Tudor landscape.

Session 4B

Ms Rebecca Hasler

University of St Andrews

Neither to forbeare Irish nor English': Barnaby Rich's Anglo-Irish pamphleteering

Barnaby Rich promised to 'give the Hubbub, when I see a cause, and neither to forheare Irish nor English', uniting English and Irish vices as the subject of his moralistic pamphlets. This paper will contend that Rich produced Anglo-Irish pamphlets by combining Irish and English subjects and transmitting his Irish experiences in an English print marketplace. Published and sold in London, Rich's pamphlets were additionally part of an English generic tradition of popular pamphlets cataloguing social, moral, and religious abuses. Rich capitalised on his experiences as an English soldier in Ireland, adding Irish novelty to this conventionally English print formula, while also commenting upon the crises and controversies of Anglo-Irish relations. While Rich embodies the posture of the colonialist, zealously outlining the shortcomings of the Anglo-Irish administration (particularly regarding religious reform), he simultaneously voices a nuanced perspective on Ireland. Rich criticises Ireland and England alike, particularly decrying 'the ill example of the English' in a manner that counters the conventional narrative of Ireland as barbarous and corrupting. This discussion will contribute to critical debate surrounding the ambiguity of early modern Anglo-Irish literature, particularly complementing Andrew Murphy's notion of 'proximity' by analysing Rich's fluid transitions between English and Irish sinful behaviours. This paper will explore how Rich's use of English literary modes and markets related to his Anglo-Irish subjects. In doing so, it will contribute to discussion surrounding the complexity of early modern colonial literature, revealing the propensity of pamphlets to transgress generic and ideological boundaries.

Dr Helen Sonner Independent

The Ulster pamphlets of James VI/I reconsidered

In 1609 and 1610 (n.s.), the king's printers in London and Edinburgh published three pamphlets that promoted the Jacobean effort to settle English and Scottish subjects on escheated lands in Ulster (ESTC 24515, ESTC 24515.5, and ESTC 24516). In contrast to the wide-ranging critical engagement that other Tudor and Stuart colonial pamphlets have received — as well as extensive scholarly interest in James's use of print — the king's 'Plantation of Ulster' pamphlets have attracted little scholarly attention as literary artefacts. This paper will review evidence which suggests that — as cultural production — these pamphlets actually had a greater impact on Jacobean Ireland than previously recognized, beyond their obvious utilitarian purpose of promulgating the terms of James's Ulster project. The paper will briefly review the historical evidence that allows a relatively precise timeline to be established for the printing and initial distribution of the pamphlets in 1609 and 1610, and it will use close reading to identify some of the rhetorical strategies at work in the composition of these seemingly utilitarian texts. The paper will also review key evidence of how these publications were initially received, arguing that, for seventeenth-century readers in Ireland and Britain, the king's pamphlets both signalled and effected a distinctive discursive shift in the transition from Elizabethan to Jacobean Ireland.

Prof. Caroline Newcombe

Southwestern

How early Irish marital property law influenced the end of Brehon Law

Although the military defeat of the Irish by the English was decided at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601, early Irish law, known as Brehon law still existed side by side with English common law. When he became Soliciter General of Ireland in 1603, Sir John Davies saw Brehon Law as an obstacle to the final conquest of Ireland. This was because the application of Irish law to property rights produced produced results dramatically different from English common law. For example, English wives lost their legal personhood (and their property) when they married under the common law, and the "two became one." Brehon law was different. It permitted an Irish married woman to continue to own her own separate property. In the case of Gravelkind, an English court declared that: Irish law was not "law" at all; that an Irish woman's right to hold separate property was illegal; that all "separate" property should be given to the husband; and that from now on, Ireland was to be governed by the common law of England. In a more famous case, decided at the same time, Davies also declared "tanistry" to be illegal too and put in its place the common law rule of primogeniture. The significance of the cases of Gravelkind and Tanistry cannot be overestimated. The cases represented legal imperialism at its most severe. They were spurred on by the belief that after the military defeat, that native Irish law was the single most important barrier to English sovereignty over the Irish.

Session 4C

Mr Diarmuid Wheeler

National University of Ireland Galway

"When the blast of war blows in our ears": Military men in Leix and Offaly, c.1547-1580

Following mixed success with the policy of surrender and regrant throughout Ireland c.1536-1548, Sir Anthony St. Leger's successor, Lord Deputy Sir James Croft, was instructed in May 1551 to 'possess, survey, and let Leix and Offaley' and transform both regions into one or two shires. Following incessant delays, both territories were eventually shired in the year 1556. The new counties were renamed King's County and Queen's County, in honour of the two monarchs, and a military administration was installed in both areas. This new administration was overseen by the Lord Deputy, essentially the royal commander in the field and the man entrusted with the enforcement of military discipline amongst his troops. Entrusted to carry out his instructions on the ground at a local level were essentially four groups of officers, according to rank: Justices of the Peace, constables, seneschals and sheriffs. It has been argued by various historians that the men who undertook these roles were largely 'focused on acquiring extensive personal holdings in the areas under their authority' and 'resorted at will to extravagant and unwarranted violence' putting 'entire villages to the sword'. This paper examines the military men who primarily settled in either area and exercised these local governmental roles in the period of c.1547-1580. It also explores the question of whether or not the men who undertook these positions were simply violent and corrupt individuals, exercising martial law without restraint and primarily motivated by their own financial gain, or if they were in fact dutiful, loyal and hardworking crown officials.

Mr Matthew McGinty

National University of Ireland Galway

The rise and fall of Sir Conyers Clifford

Sir Conyers Clifford arrived in Connacht in February 1597. His purpose was to take up the position of Governor of Connacht. Clifford task as governor was a difficult one because Clifford arrived in Connacht during the height of the Nine Years War and the province was in near full revolt. To make matters worse for Clifford there was a serious problem in Connacht with a lack of soldiers, munitions and victuals. Clifford would be constantly hampered by insufficient resources during his time as governor and this lack of supplies meant Clifford was often prevented from taking an army into the field. However Clifford, in just over a year, was able to pacify the province. Clifford achieved this by encouraging a number of the Connacht rebels to defect and serve against those who remained in a state of rebellion. My presentation will show how Clifford was able to recruit Connacht rebels to his side and how they helped him subdue the province. By doing this I hope to show how effective the policy of exploiting the fracture nature of Gaelic society and using Gaelic allies to suppress rebellious chieftains could be. However there were potential pitfalls to this policy as Clifford was to find out to his detriment. Clifford's allies had defected once so they had no qualms about defecting back to the rebels. Some of Clifford's allies did return to the rebels and this led to Clifford losing control of the province and his death in the Curlew Mountains in August 1599 when he was defeated and killed by the forces of his former allies, Brian O'Rourke and Connor McDermott. By examining Clifford's downfall my presentation will show that using the help of Gaelic allies was a risk-reward venture that could badly backfire.

Prof. Yoko Odawara

Chukyo University

Sir Philip Sidney, Leicester circle and Ireland

After returning from the grand tour in 1576, Sir Philip Sidney travelled to Ireland almost certainly with Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of Ireland, in July 1576. In August he joined his father, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and stayed in Dublin Castle for two weeks before going to western Ireland. In Galway, he met Grania or Grace O'Malley, the legendary woman chieftain. The encounter may have influenced an episode of Pyrocles in Arcadia. Essex died in Dublin Castle on 22nd September after a month or more of illness, of dysentery. Later, enemies of earl of Leicester, Sidney's mother's brother, published Leicester's Commonwealth and claimed that Leicester had arranged for Essex to be poisoned so that he could marry Essex's widow. Essex's death in Ireland contributed to anti-Leicester propaganda and myth-making, as years fatally wounded at Zutphen 22nd September ten onWhen Leicester's Commonwealth was published in 1584 immediately after Leicester's son had died, Sidney wrote a Defence of the Earl of Leicester to support Leicester as his heir. Earlier, he also wrote a Letter to Queen Elizabeth touching the Marriage with Monsieur to express the political opinion of Leicester's faction in 1579. However, Sidney was a type of gentleman amateur who would write poems or prose fiction for private circulation in manuscript form, and his works were never published during his lifetime. Printing might have association with propaganda to him.

Session 5A

Dr Coleman Dennehy

University College Dublin/London

Lawyers in parliament: examining legal counsel on Irish cases at the Westminster Parliament.

Whilst parliament is more often thought of as a legislative or a representative assembly, the Westminster parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth century also had a strong judicial role. The most important aspect of this function was the hearing of appeals from other courts within England and also on occasion from Ireland, with increasing frequency as the seventeenth century turned to the eighteenth. Its re-establishment of appellate supremacy over the English legal system in 1621 was replicated and extended as the supreme court of the Empire from the early eighteenth century.

Whilst most of the focus of this move has been on areas of constitutional debate and confrontation, such as Shirley v Fagg or Sherlock v Annesley, there has been much less attention given over to the practical histories of these processes. This paper will concentrate on legal representation of Irish cases in parliament, focusing primarily on the representation of those cases that originated from or specifically concerned with Irish matters. It will ask who counsel and legal agents were and will explore their background, careers before and after acting as counsel, and their political and religious outlook when apparent. It will also try to establish exactly what their responsibilities were before, during, and after the hearing, and how they interacted with the clients and indeed with the court.

Dr Eoin Kinsella

Irish Association of Professional Historians

Irish Catholic lobbying in London in the 1690s

Owing to the constraints imposed on the Irish parliament by Poynings' Law, the English privy council represented a second forum where Irish legislation could be modified by lobbying. For Irish Catholics, faced with a generally hostile Irish parliament and privy council after the surrender of Limerick in 1691, this second forum was vital. Legislation touching upon the forfeiture of land owned by Irish Catholics came before the English parliament and privy council on several occasions during William III's reign, as did the first of the penal laws. The articles of surrender signed by the Jacobites in 1690 and 1691 ostensibly protected eligible Irish Catholics from such legislation. Throughout the 1690s agents employed by Irish Catholics were frequently found in London, petitioning for the implementation of the articles of surrender before the English privy council, the English parliament and at the court of William III.

This paper examines the principal areas in which Irish Catholics concentrated their lobbying in London during the 1690s and throws some sidelights on the cost of maintaining agents in London. It will ask who the most important Catholic agents were, and will explore their background and careers. It will also discuss the brief formation of Catholic 'committees', set up to raise funds and direct agents when proposed legislation, which threatened to undo the articles of surrender, came before the English privy council or parliament.

Dr John Bergin

Queens University Belfast

The career of Dennis Molony (1650-1726), an Irish Catholic lawyer and agent in London

Dennis Molony, a native of County Clare, was pursuing higher studies at the University of Paris before he entered Gray's Inn in London in 1687. The accession of James II to the throne presumably influenced this change of career by Molony, who was subsequently dismayed by the events of 1688–91. Despite this unpropitious turn, he remained in London until his death. Debarred from practising in the courts as a Catholic, he had a successful career as a 'chamber counsel', a sort of consulting lawyer. Among his private clients were important Irish Protestant and English Catholic landowners, while he also lobbied on behalf of Irish Catholics against proposed penal legislation. This paper will consider Molony as a particularly well documented representative of the class of agents who represented Irish interests when crucial decisions were being made in London.

Session 5B

Dr Jason McElligott

Marsh's Library Dublin

Early modern female book owners: the evidence from Ireland's first public library

Generations of students might have been forgiven for assuming that there were no women in early-modern Ireland. Over the past decade seminal works by Naomi McAreavey and Marie-Louise Coolahan (among others) have given voice to the literary agency of women during this period. Scholars are now increasingly aware of women in Irish history as authors and producers of manuscript and printed texts. This paper will examine the related questions of female book ownership and reading in early-modern Ireland. Taking its methodology from case studies concerning Britain and continental Europe, it will examine the books in Marsh's Library in Dublin (founded 1707) which were owned between the fifteenth- and seventeenth-centuries by women of the middling and upper sorts. It will sketch the ways in which these physical items can be used as historical sources to shine light on the interests, preoccupations and social networks of specific women, as well as suggesting more generally what it meant for women to own books in early-modern Ireland and Britain.

Dr John Cunningham

Exeter/Trinity College Dublin

The apothecary in early modern Ireland

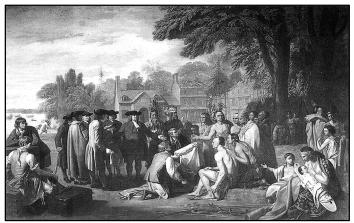
This paper will draw upon my research for the Exeter-based project 'The Medical World of Early Modern England, Wales and Ireland, c. 1500-1715'. (practitioners.exeter.ac.uk) One of the groups of practitioners with which our project is concerned is apothecaries. I will present some of my findings to date with a view to exploring questions such as the following. Who were the apothecaries in early modern Ireland? What sources can we use to research their medical practices? Where were apothecaries based and what did they do? What can we discover about their relationships both with other medical practitioners and with other members of their communities? How were apothecaries trained, regulated, and organised (or not)? What role did they play in town corporations? The paper is intended to provide an overview of what I have been able to uncover, following consultation of a broad range of sources, about the place of apothecaries in early modern Ireland.

Dr Suzanne Forbes

The Open University

A 'lost' pamphlet debate between William Penn and John Plimpton in 1698

In 1698, William Penn, the Quaker preacher, writer and founder of Pennsylvania, travelled to Ireland to tend to his Cork estates and participate in a missionary tour of the country. Shortly after his arrival in Dublin in May 1698, Penn was involved in a pamphlet debate with an obscure Baptist named John Plimpton. Six publications relevant to this debate, three written by Penn and Quaker co-authors and three written by Plimpton, have been identified to date. Meanwhile the Church of Ireland bishop of Cork, Edward Wetenhall, responded to one of the publications involved, sparking of a discrete pamphlet debate which continued long after Penn departed Ireland in the winter of 1698. While the 1698 pamphlet debates have been mentioned many times in existing secondary literature, they have not been considered in any great depth to date. By introducing new evidence, this paper will clarify the origins, chronology, and geographical scope of these pamphlet debates, and reassess their wider significance.



Benjamin West, The Treaty of Penn with the Indians, 1771/2

*****Special Panel Sessions*****

Shakespeare and Ireland

Dr Naomi McAreavey

University College Dublin

Shakespeare on the Seventeenth-Century Irish Stage

In 2016 we celebrate Shakespeare's quatercentenary, so for this year's Tudor and Stuart Ireland conference I would like to offer a paper that examines the status of Shakespeare on the seventeenth-century Irish stage. I will reflect upon the Shakespeare plays staged in Dublin's Werburgh Street and Smock Alley theatres in the context of the other original and imported plays performed there, but will also think more broadly about how Shakespeare figured in seventeenth-century Irish theatrical culture. Ultimately, I want to make the argument that disproportionate attention to Shakespeare risks skewing our understanding of the seventeenth-century Irish stage, leading to the marginalization and neglect of original Irish' drama. I will introduce some of these new Irish' plays, and argue that they need more scholarly attention if we are to better understand the rich theatrical culture of early modern Ireland.

Ms Emer McHugh

National University of Ireland Galway

Performing Shakespeare in Ireland in 2016: Othello at the Abbey Theatre

As part of this Shakespeare and Ireland panel, my paper will be exploring contemporary Irish Shakespeare performance in this special anniversary year. What I am aiming to do with this paper is to offer up some thoughts on how Irish Shakespeare performance allows us to explore issues surrounding authenticity, traditionalism, and iconoclasm in early modern performance history and practice — the question is, what would we consider as 'traditional' or 'iconoclastic' in an Irish or Shakespearean context? And, should Irish and Shakespearean be two distinct categories? I cannot promise concrete answers to these questions, but I am hoping to start a conversation at least. I will be using the Abbey Theatre's recent production of Othello, directed by Joe Dowling and starring Marty Rea, as my case study, using it as a way to explore these issues.

Panel in honour of Professor Steven Ellis

Mr Kieran Hoare

National University of Ireland Galway

From O'Sasnane to Sexton: the making of an early modern urban patriciate family

The role of Gaelic families as merchants in the port-towns of early modern Ireland remains an under-studied area. One of the most spectacular examples is that of the Sexton family of Limerick. This paper will examine the origins of the family in Thomond before moving onto the career of Edmond Sexton, Henrician courtier, enthusiastic Protestant and acquirer of monastic lands. By the mid-1550s the family was incorporated into the urban patriciate of Limerick. This paper will show how the family took full advantage of the opportunities available in early Tudor Limerick to become one of its leading patrician families.

Dr Gerald Power

Metropolitan University Prague

An English gentleman and his community: Sir William Brabazon and the formation of the "New English"

National identities have been a recurring theme of Steven Ellis's research into the British Isles in the age of the Tudors. This paper explores the career of the prominent mid-Tudor official, Sir William Brabazon, using it as a case study with which to trace the apparent formation of the 'New English' political community in Ireland. If Brabazon is indeed emblematic of the emerging New English political grouping, what are the implications of this for Ellis's perspective on late medieval and early modern English identity, with its emphasis on the essential communality of Englishness across the Tudor territories?

Dr Ruth A. Canning

University College Cork

"Tudor frontiers and noble power": the baron of Delvin and the nature of border life in late Tudor Ireland

Steven Ellis's work on frontiers and noble power has highlighted the unique status and struggles of noble life in Tudor borderlands. For centuries, Ireland's Old English elite had represented beacons of "Englishness" in an uncivil Irish wilderness; yet, over the course of the sixteenth-century, this population was subjected to gradual, but noticeable, social and political decline in favour of a new wave of English colonists and administrators. In the eyes of these newcomers, and those in England, the older colonial community had become tainted by Irish birth and a continued adherence to the banned Catholic religion. Old Englishmen responded by repeatedly protesting their loyalty and insisting that in spite of their religious, political, and economic grievances, they had never forgotten their natural duty to the English monarch. Christopher Nugent, the Baron of Delvin, played a prominent role in the struggle to defend Old English privilege and their rights as crown subjects. There was, however, no escaping the fact that their Irish environment had complicated their allegiances and, as crown-community relations continued to erode, Delvin frequently found himself at odds with the English administration. Without a doubt, his ability to operate and function along the contested frontier of two societies was a contributing factor. This paper therefore aims to explore themes of biculturalism, political alienation, and frontier identities in sixteenth-century Ireland through an examination of the life and career of Christopher Nugent, fourteenth Baron of Delvin.