

HI2112
IRELAND, 1534-1641: the Beginning of the Modern Age
Michaelmas 2012



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Introduction:

This course examines political, religious, social and cultural developments in Ireland during the early modern period within a thematic framework, starting with the extension of Tudor rule in Ireland and continuing through to the rebellion of 1641.

The principal issues dealt with include the impact of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; the wars and rebellions of the sixteenth century and the demise of Gaelic Ireland; 'colonization' and 'civilization' of Ireland by the English and the Scots; and the lead up to the 1641 rebellion. Throughout the course events in Ireland will be situated in their wider British, European, Atlantic and Imperial contexts.

Learning Outcomes:

- to promote scholarly investigation of issues in early modern Irish History
- to discuss British colonization of Ireland and the impact which it had on native Irish society and politics
- to examine the tortured relationship between Ireland and England in the early modern period
- to set Ireland in its wider European and Atlantic contexts
- to interpret and analyse primary source material
- to encourage intellectual debate and scholarly initiative
- to foster the ability to judge, to reflect upon and to argue the merits of conflicting interpretations
- to encourage co-operation among students through group work organized by the students themselves

Lecture programme:

Lectures are on Thursday (10-11) in Room 4050B

The lecturers for the course are Professor Ciaran Brady (Room 3116; cbrady@tcd.ie) and Prof Susan Flavin (Room 3117; sflavin@tcd.ie)

Michaelmas Term:

Week 1 (27/9): Professor Ciaran Brady

Lecture 1: Concepts and methods: the reconstruction of the history of early modern Ireland, 1534 – 1641

Week 2 (4/10): Professor Ciaran Brady

Lecture 2: Lordship and monarchy in sixteenth-century Ireland

Week 3 (11/10): Professor Ciaran Brady

Lecture 3: Reformation and resistance in sixteenth-century Ireland, 1536 - 1572

Week 4 (18/10): Professor Ciaran Brady

Lecture 4: Conciliation and coercion in sixteenth-century Ireland, 1540 - 1588

Week 5 (25/10): Professor Ciaran Brady

Lecture 5: Colonisation and plantation in Ireland 1550 - 1615

Week 6 (1/11): Professor Ciaran Brady

Lecture 6: Culture Wars: religious and ideological conflict, 1568 - 1615

Week 7 Reading Week

Week 8 (15/11): Prof Susan Flavin

Lecture 7: The development of the Irish economy 1540-1600

Week 9 (22/11): Prof Susan Flavin

Lecture 8: Consumption and material culture: The widening world of goods in sixteenth-century Ireland

Week 10 (29/11): Prof Susan Flavin

Lecture 9: Sixteenth-century Irish women in social and economic perspective

Week 11 (6/12): Prof Susan Flavin

Lecture 10: Popular and elite revolt in Ireland: the 1641 rebellion

Assessment:

Assessment of this course will take the form of

(i) **An essay** which will account for **20%** of the overall assessment of this module, to be submitted by **10 December**.

AND

(ii) **A two-hour examination**, which will account for **80%** of the overall assessment, will be held in the examining period, which commences on **29 April 2013**.

Essays must be clearly written or typed or word-processed, double spaced with a broad margin to leave room for comments. Essays exceeding the maximum length may be penalised. The main purposes of writing an essay are to learn to convey information clearly and to develop skills in the presentation of argument. Copying from a book or article or the extensive paraphrasing of a single work are not acceptable practices. Short quotations are acceptable; these, and also substantive information taken indirectly from other works, must be acknowledged by means of footnotes or endnotes giving author, title and page number. A bibliography, listing the books and articles used (including all those acknowledged in footnotes) must be appended to the essay. For further advice on writing essays, see the 'Guidelines for the writing of essays', available from the History Office.

All essays and assignments must be handed to the Executive Officer of the Department of History, or placed in the essay-box outside her office. **No essay or assignment will be accepted without a cover sheet, available outside the Departmental Office.** Essays and assignments should **not** be given or sent to members of the teaching staff.

Essays will be returned individually, as soon as possible after submission, with a mark and written comments. These consultations will provide an opportunity to discuss general aspects of the course as well as the specific piece of work under review. Arrangements for the return of essays will be posted on the departmental notice board. For details of the marking scheme for essays, see the departmental handbook.

Essay Topics:

Students may choose from this list for their essay, which should be 2,000-2,500 words long.

1. Critically discuss the view that Ireland at the beginning of the sixteenth-century can be characterized as a classic frontier land.
2. To what extent can the political history of sixteenth-century Ireland be characterized as a process of state formation in either a British or a European context?
3. 'Ireland is the only country in Europe where the counter-reformation succeeded against the will of the head of state'. Discuss.
4. To what extent do the rebellions of late sixteenth-century Ireland display common characteristics with contemporary rebellions in Western Europe? Discuss with reference to at least one major contemporary continental rebellion in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

5. Discuss the view that the Irish economy remained stagnant during the sixteenth century.
6. How effective was the policy of plantation in ‘civilizing’ Ireland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?
7. In comparison to the experience of women in England, what was the impact of major social and economic change on the lives of Irish women in this period?
8. How relevant to early modern Ireland is the concept of a ‘General Crisis’?

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is interpreted by the University as the act of presenting the work of others as one's own work, without acknowledgement. Plagiarism is considered as academically fraudulent, and an offence against University discipline. The University considers plagiarism to be a major offence, and subject to the disciplinary procedures of the University. Students **must** familiarise themselves with the departmental guidelines, outlined in the course handbook, relating to plagiarism.

Visiting and Exchange students:

Visiting and exchange students normally take the annual examination in May and fulfil all conditions for academic credit applicable to Single Honour students. The submission date for the examination essay is Monday 10 December. If this clashes with other course commitments, please discuss the matter with your tutor.

NB: If the visiting student is only here for **ONE SEMESTER**, they **MUST** substitute one additional essay on Monday 17 December (on a topic approved by the course coordinator) in lieu of the end of year examination. Please discuss this with the course coordinator as soon as possible.

Student Feedback and Comment:

The Department places great importance on interaction with and feedback from its students. To facilitate this, you are encouraged to share comments and criticisms about any aspect of this course with any of the lecturers, the tutors and the course coordinator. You are also free to bring issues to the attention of the School Committee through your year representative.

Responsibility for the course:

Overall responsibility for the course lies with Professor Ciaran Brady (Room 3116; cbrady@tcd.ie). Any recommendations, observations or complaints about the running of the course should be addressed either directly or via your student representatives to Professor Brady. He is happy to see students at any convenient time. Please make an appointment by email.

NB: If you are planning to take the Scholarship examination please discuss this with Prof Ciaran Brady as soon as possible.

TUTORIALS

Dr Susan Flavin is the tutor for this course (sflavin@tcd.ie)
Tutorial times will be posted on the History notice board.

Tutorials are designed to give you an opportunity to study particular topics in greater depth. Participation in discussion will help you to organise your ideas and learn from others. You are expected to undertake preparation for tutorial discussion by studying the relevant documentary extracts and secondary literature.

Tutorials for this course meet weekly, starting in week 8 (12 November 2012)

These classes will revolve around the discussion of a primary document. Each student is required to give a ten-minute presentation on one of the primary documents during the term. These will be allocated at the start of each term. The presentation does not need to be written-up as an essay and students are encouraged to develop their presentation skills by using notes rather than reading directly from a set text. This will in general form the basis of the tutorial assignment, but in special circumstances alternative topics may be negotiated with the Tutorial teachers.

Reading Documents for Tutorials:

The vast bulk of what is commonly offered as historical evidence is in written form. Written evidence may be divided or classified in several ways:

- (a) Manuscript and printed works
- (b) Private and public documents
- (c) Intentional and unintentional (or unpremeditated) documents. For example, on the one hand, an autobiography, affidavit etc., is a deliberate, intentional attempt to create a record for later use, often by someone with an interest in presenting a particular view of events. On the other, a receipt, set of accounts, novel or play is not a premeditated piece of historical evidence. A diary might fit into either category.

Though we frequently think in terms of written evidence some indication of the range of material available is given hereunder:

- (a) Written Evidence: Chronicles, annals (records and registers of events), biographies, genealogies, literary works, memoirs, diaries, letters, statutes, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, court and church records etc.
- (b) Oral evidence: Ballads, anecdotes, tales, sagas etc.
- (c) Works of Art and other Visual Evidence: Buildings, tombs, portraits and other paintings, sculptures, coins, jewellery, medals etc.

Historical evidence is useless, however, unless the researcher approaches it in a methodical and critical manner. The researcher should first read the document through *carefully* (the misreading of a date, Roman numeral, place or personal name, can make nonsense of any interpretation) and then ask him/herself a number of questions:

- (a) What is the general nature and purpose of the document? (Letter, diary court record etc.). Is it official, unofficial, public, private, even confidential? Are official documents objective, or consciously or unconsciously following an establishment line?

- (b) What is the document saying? Is it open to one or more interpretation?
- (c) Is the document genuine or a forgery? (If a forgery, its value as evidence of what it purports to be is restricted, but its value in other directions may be considerable). How does one know a document is authentic or not? Or whether it was ever sent to the addressee?
- (d) If genuine, is the data in the document accurate and/or trustworthy? How did it evolve? (i.e. were there earlier or later drafts, and how do they compare?)

A series of subordinate questions follows:

- 1) Who was/were the author(s)? What do we know about him/her? Which parts of this information are especially relevant? Was the item 'ghost' written?
- 2) What is the relationship in time and space of the author to the events he/she describes or refers to? In this particular case, has this relationship enhanced or diminished the value of the evidence? Does nostalgia, or a yearning for the 'good old days', affect contemporaries?
- 3) By whom was the document **intended** to be read/seen/heard?
- 4) By whom was it **actually** read/seen/heard? (If the answers to 7 and 8 are not the same, how do you account for this?)
- 5) What circumstances caused the document to be written? Why did the author choose one form rather than another to express his views or record his/her testimony?
- 6) What effect, if any, did the document actually have?
- 7) Is the document part of a larger work/series/exchange of correspondence, and intelligible only in that light?
- 8) Is the document putting forward a point of view? If so, what is the conclusion? By what arguments are the conclusions reached? Are the arguments strong, weak or irrelevant? Might the arguments have had greater force at the time of writing than they have today? If so, why?
- 9) Does the author show signs of bias or partiality in his/her writing? From what you know about the author does he/she have a direct interest at stake? Does he/she have special expertise? By virtue of position or circumstance does the author have more or less knowledge than contemporaries or later researchers?
- 10) What, if anything, was the document trying to achieve? By what means? Was it seeking to bring about or hasten change, or to prevent or delay it?
- 11) Is there anything that the document does not say which may nevertheless be deduced from it?
- 12) Is the style remarkable in any way - e.g. for its simplicity, floridity, obscurity, ambiguity etc.?

Do not be deterred by the large number of points given above, as many of them will not apply in every particular case. If, however, you are able to answer all or most of the relevant questions as they apply to a given document, you should be able both to enlarge your historical understanding and to achieve good results for any commentaries you are required to write in an examination.

In brief, you need to answer all the questions beginning with the letter 'w'. What is the document, what is it about, what is its purpose, who wrote it, for whom was it intended, who actually read it, what were its effects, when was it written and made public, why was it written and made public? A methodical approach will ensure that you cover these points, but on the other hand do not bore your reader by offering a

series of stylised answers. Individual and different historical episodes and problems require you to retain flexibility in your thinking and writing. The above suggestions should, be taken as a series of useful guidelines, not as a rigid set of instructions. There is, after all, no absolute, 'correct' interpretation of a document, and one can strive only for a broad appreciation of its implications.

General Bibliography:

Important Note: What follows is merely a guideline to some of the sources available for the period under study. It is by no means exhaustive and students are encouraged to look beyond this bibliography.

Essential reading:

S. J. Connolly's two-volume work, *Divided Kingdom* and *Contested Island* provides an excellent overview of early modern Ireland. Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration* is a very useful short text. See also the relevant sections of J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972*, James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland*

For excellent general surveys of the sixteenth century see Steven Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors* (1998) and Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland: the incomplete conquest* (2nd edition, 2005). For a survey of the seventeenth century, see Pádraig Lenihan, *Consolidating conquest* (2008) and Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland* (2006).

Recommended reading:

There are some useful collections of essays that cover the big themes addressed in this course. See particularly Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: essays on the making of colonial society* and Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Making good: New perspectives on the English in early modern Ireland' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (2004). For an introduction to the economic and social history see Raymond Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550-1700* and L. M. Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660* and Cullen's *Life in Ireland*. The military history of early modern Ireland is well covered by the relevant essays in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds.), *A military history of Ireland*.

Useful journals:

Irish Historical Studies (IHS)
Irish Economic and Social History
Irish Sword
History Ireland
Historical Studies

Electronic resources: A listing of the library's electronic resources can be found at <http://www.tcd.ie/Library/Local>. Here the databases that the Library subscribes to are listed, and underneath there is a link to electronic journals. If you click on this link you can then choose the subject search on the left of the screen. See especially, Early English Books online, which is an amazing database of everything published in English between 1500 and 1700: <http://www.lib.umi.com/eebo/>, eighteenth-century

collections online: <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO> and, for recent articles published in major scholarly journals, J-STOR, <http://www.jstor.org/>. Irish history online is a very useful resource and you are encouraged to use it as you compile bibliographies, see www.rhs.ac.uk. Finally remember that the *Dictionary of National Biography* is now available online via the library - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

Lecture Reading List :

Lecture 1: Concepts and methods: the reconstruction of the history of early modern Ireland, 1534 - 1641

Two critical surveys of Irish historiography in this period have been provided by Aidan Clarke in J.J. Lee (ed) *Irish Historiography* and in the 2nd edition of *A new history of Ireland: early modern Ireland*. Contrasting overviews of the period are N. P. Canny, *Kingdom and Colony*, C. Brady, 'The decline of the Irish kingdom' in M. Greengrass (ed) *Conquest and Coalescence: the shaping of the state in early modern Europe*, Steven Ellis, 'Crown, community and government in the English territories, 1456-1575' *History* (1986). For the 'three kingdoms' context see, J. Ohlmeyer, 'Seventeenth-century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories' in *American Historical Review* 104:2 (April, 1999), pp. 446-462 and M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ireland and the monarchy in the early Stuart multiple kingdom', *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991). R.W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd *Sources for early modern Irish History* is an authoritative critical guide to sources; see also William Nolan *Tracing the Past: sources for local study in Ireland*

Lecture 2: Lordship and monarchy in sixteenth-century Ireland

An important text for the understanding of the concept of frontiers in late medieval Europe is Robert Bartlett, *The making of Europe: conquest, colonisation and cultural change, 950 – 1350*; also illuminating in regard to the British context are the essays in R. R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles. 1100-1500: comparisons, contrasts and connections* and in T.B. Barry et al (eds) *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland*. Steven Ellis, *Tudor frontiers and Noble power: the making of the Tudor state* is a pioneering work which adapts many of the concepts developed by medieval historians to the early modern period. A contrasting perspective is offered by the work of K.W. Nicholls, see in particular the several mini-histories of the Irish lordships supplied in his *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland* (revised and expanded ed. 2003). The essays in David Edwards *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250-c.1650: land, lordship and settlement* offer further support to Nicholls perspective. A very useful avenue into an understanding of the Gaelic lordship at the beginning of the sixteenth century is supplied by the several county histories now available see, among several Raymond Gillespie (ed) *Cavan: essays in county history*, W. Nolan et al (eds.) *Donegal: History and Society*, the relevant chapters in Peadar Livingstone, *The Monaghan Story* and *The Fermanagh Story*, Gerard Moran and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Galway: History and Society*.

The political history of late medieval Ireland is very well covered in J.F. Lydon, *Ireland in the later middle ages*, A. Cosgrove (ed.) *A new history of Ireland, Vol. ii Medieval Ireland*, contains several valuable chapters on the social, cultural and

political background to sixteenth-century Ireland. But until very recently little detailed research on the character of the great lordships has been published since Donough Bryan, *The great earl of Kildare* (1933). See now, however, Steven Ellis *Tudor frontiers and Noble power: the making of the Tudor state* a pioneering work which not only provides a full study of the Geraldine lordship, but supplies a new framework for comparative analysis. Two full-length analyses of the other great Anglo-Irish houses, which supply depth to the context in which the Geraldine ascendancy was established and declined, are available in David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642* and Anthony McCormack, *The earldom of Desmond, 1463-1583*. See also the early chapters of David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship*. The second part of K.W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland* now re-issued (2003) in a revised and expanded edition, contains important brief histories of the Irish lordships and their relations with the dominant house of Kildare. An important aspect of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish relations in this period is studied in Katharine Simms, 'The archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills, 1347-1471' *I.H.S.* (1974-5).

John Guy *Tudor England* provides an excellent guide to the character and problems of the early Tudor state. Peter Gwynn, *The King's cardinal: the rise and fall of Cardinal Wolsey* offers a much needed re-evaluation of the aims and practices of Henry VIII's first great minister. Steven Ellis, *Tudor frontiers and Noble power: the making of the Tudor state* offers fresh perspectives on the regime's political priorities. For differing views on the development of Henrician policy toward Ireland under Cardinal Wolsey see D.B. Quinn, 'Henry VIII and Ireland', *I.H.S.* (1960-61), Steven Ellis, 'Tudor policy and the Kildare ascendancy, 1496 - 1534' in *I.H.S.* (1977) Brendan Bradshaw, 'Cromwellian reform and the origins of the Kildare rebellion' *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* (1977) and S.G. Ellis, 'Thomas Cromwell and Ireland' *Historical Journal* (1980). Laurence McCorristine, *The revolt of Silken Thomas* is a solid account of the result in which these great but disputed initiatives issued.

English re-intervention in Ireland in the 1530s has inevitably been related to the revitalisation of royal administration that occurred in England during the same period. For the English context, see C. S. L. Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism* ch.7 and for a more extreme statement of the case for a 'Tudor revolution in government' G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors*, chs. VI-VII. For differing views on the impact of the Kildare rebellion see Brendan Bradshaw, 'Cromwellian reform and the origins of the Kildare rebellion' *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* (1977) and S.G. Ellis, 'Thomas Cromwell and Ireland' *Historical Journal* (1980) and Ellis, 'Henry VIII, rebellion and the rule of law' in *Historical Journal* (1981). The argument in each case tends to trail off after 1536, so useful corrective to this imbalance is still to be found in Philip Wilson, *The beginnings of modern Ireland* and the biographical sketches of Archbishop John Alen, Sir John Alen, Sir William Brabazon and Lord Leonard Grey in *D.N.B.* C. Brady in *Natives and Newcomers* provides a modern account of the reformed Irish administration and its defects. Brendan Bradshaw makes the most provocative interpretation of the St Leger era. An introduction to his views will be found in 'The beginnings of Modern Ireland' in B. Farrell (ed.) *The Irish parliamentary tradition* but for a much more sophisticated elaborate argument see *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century*. Bradshaw's somewhat heady view of St. Leger is tempered by a more sober account of his career in Wilson *The beginning of Modern Ireland*, chapters 3-5, and in R. Dunlop's sketch in *D.N.B.* An

alternative interpretation that attempts to place Bradshaw's St. Leger in a specific political context can be found in C. Brady, *The chief governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland. 1536-1588*. The curious student will derive an interesting opinion on St Leger's business methods by comparing the valuations of monastic properties contained in N.B. White, *Extents of Irish monastic possessions* and the leases of the lands issued under St Leger in *Fiants of Henry VIII* both of which are on open access in the research floor of the Berkeley Library. Two contrasting case-studies of the origins and course of the policy of surrender and regrant in one of the first territories in which it was introduced are supplied by Emmet O'Byrne, *War Politics and the Irish of Leinster, 1156-1606* and Christopher Maginn, "Civilizing" Gaelic Leinster: the extension of Tudor rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole lordships.

Lecture 3: Reformation and resistance in Ireland, 1536 - 1572

For modern surveys of the state of the church and of popular belief on the eve of the reformation see Gerald Strauss, 'Ideas of *Reformatio* and *Renovatio* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation', in Brady, Oberman and Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History*, vol. 2: (Leiden, 1995) pp 1-30, and Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reformation, 1250 – 1550*. Until recently, however, the religious history of pre-reformation Ireland remained narrowly 'ecclesiastical' in character, see J.A. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*; A. Gwynn, *Anglo-Irish Church life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*; a partial exception was C. Mooney, *The Church in Gaelic Ireland, 13th to 15th centuries*. Some suggestive comments on the state of spirituality among the clergy and laity of early sixteenth-century Ireland can be found in the opening chapters of B. Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland*. But of late the topic has been revitalised by broader perspectives and different techniques: thus the character of popular religion and the nature of religious devotion in Ireland in the late middle ages and early modern period is now the subject of two complementary but equally provocative studies: see Samantha Meiggs, *The Reformations in Ireland, 1450-1690* and Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: religion and belief in early modern Ireland*. Two important diocesan studies that cut across the divide of Reformation are Henry Jeffries, *Priests and Prelates: Armagh in the age of reformation, 1518-1558* and Mary Ann Lyons, *Church and Society in Co. Kildare, 1470-1547*.

A good general review of the Reformation in Europe is provided by Euan Cameron *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991) and for the distinctive character of the English Reformation see Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993). The best detailed understanding of the early stages of the reformation in Ireland, however, is still to be derived by means of a careful alternate reference to the relevant chapters of W.S. Phillips (ed.) *History of the Church of Ireland* and R. D. Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (a useful intellectual exercise in itself!). Brendan Bradshaw and James Murray have made important revisions to both views. See Bradshaw's 'George Browne, first reformation archbishop of Dublin', *Jn. of Ecclesiastical History* (1975) and 'The opposition to the ecclesiastical succession in the Irish reformation parliament' *I.H.S.* (1968-9). The beginnings of ecclesiastical administrative reform are studied in James

Murray, 'Archbishop Alen: Tudor reform and the Kildare Rebellion', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (1989). See also his important overview of the literature which indicates his major but as yet unpublished re-interpretation of the topic: 'The Church of Ireland: a critical bibliography: Part I, 1536 – 1603' in *I.H.S.* 27 (1993). Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* is a meticulous and lucid account of an extremely important subject. A very useful collection of documents on the subject, with an idiosyncratic but entertaining commentary, is M.V. Ronan *The Reformation in Dublin*.

The debate on the re-establishment of reformation in Elizabethan Ireland has received a new twist in a minor scuffle between Bradshaw and Canny: see Bradshaw, 'Sword, word and strategy in the reformation in Ireland' *Historical Journal* (1978), Canny, 'Why the reformation failed in Ireland: une question mal posee', *Jn. of Ecclesiastical History* (1979). The conceptual and interpretative issues have been sensibly addressed by Karl Bottigheimer in 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland' *Jn. of Ecclesiastical History*, (1985) and A. Clarke in 'Varieties of Uniformity: the first century of the Church of Ireland' in *Studies in Church History* (1985) though without adding significantly to the evidential base of the debate, Three individual case studies provide, however, the most profitable point of departure for further discussion, see Henry Jefferies, 'The Irish parliament of 1560: the Anglican reforms authorised' in *I.H.S.* (1988); Helen Coburn-Walsh, 'Enforcing the Elizabethan settlement: the vicissitudes of Hugh Brady bishop of Meath,' *I.H.S.* (1989), and J. Silke 'Some aspects of the Reformation in Armagh province' *Clogher Record* (1986) which is a valuable examination of a little studied problem. Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of Reformation* (1987) is a thorough study of the failure of the Reformation among Ireland's municipal elite.

Lecture 4: Conciliation and coercion in Ireland, 1540 - 1588

For a general account of the Tudors' time of troubles see W.R.D. Jones *The mid-Tudor crisis*. General accounts of Ireland in the period are to be found in Wilson, *The beginnings of modern Ireland*, chapters, 6-7, and D.G. White, 'The reign of King Edward VI in Ireland', *I.H.S.* (1965). On ecclesiastical affairs see B. Bradshaw's two articles, 'The Edwardian reformation in Ireland' *Archivium Hibernicum* (1979) and 'The Reformation in the Cities' in J. Bradley (ed.) *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland* and Phillips, *Church of Ireland*, chapter 5, see also Steven Ellis, 'John Bale' in *Journal of Butler Society*, (1984). The causes of the Irish inflation are briefly discussed in C.E. Challis, 'The Tudor coinage for Ireland', *British Numismatic Journal*, (1971). An easily accessible account of the state of Ireland in the mid-Tudor period is Sir Thomas Cusacke's 'Report to the Duke of Northumberland, 1552', *Calendar of Carew Mss.* (1515-1574) pp. 235-47. The significance of the mid-century viceroalties of the earl of Sussex is emphasised in Brady *Chief Governors* but see also Sussex's advanced and curiously neglected ideas in his 'Report on the state of Ireland, 1562' *Calendar of Carew Mss.* 1515-74 pp. 330-44. The problems confronting Elizabeth I at the outset of her reign are the subject of several essays in Christopher Haigh (ed), *The reign of Elizabeth I* and are placed in an effective narrative in Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*.

The general framework of Elizabethan government is clearly outlined in two essays by Wallace MacCaffrey, 'Elizabethan politics: the first decade' *Past and Present* (1963), 'Place and patronage in Elizabethan politics' in S.T. Bindoff et al. (eds.), 'Elizabethan government and society'. The importance of the Elizabethan court is the subject of Neville Williams, *Elizabeth I and her courtiers*, and more recently in an essay by Pam Wright in David Starkey (ed), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*; see also E.W. Ives, *Faction in Tudor England*. The administrative history of Elizabethan Ireland is studied at length in Jon G. Crawford *Anglicising the Government of Ireland*. The most important viceroy of the period, Sir Henry Sidney, is treated at book length in N.P. Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: a pattern established*, and from a quite different perspective in Brady, *Chief Governors*. Both views should be assessed, however, in relation to Sidney's own remarkable 'Memoir . . . of service' 1583, printed in Ciaran Brady (ed.) *A Viceroy's Vindication?* Victor Treadwell's invaluable accounts of the Irish parliaments of 1569 and 1586 in *Proc. Royal Irish Academy* (1966 and 1986 respectively) provide important, and neglected information on the process of policy making and its problems in Tudor Ireland.

Lecture 5: Colonisation and plantation in Ireland, 1550 - 1615

The case for the development of a new colonial ideology is forcefully put by Nicholas Canny in an article, 'The ideology of English colonisation: from Ireland to America, *William and Mary Quarterly* (1973) and his *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: a pattern established*. Canny has examined the character of the new settler groups in Munster and the midlands in general terms in two essays by N.P. Canny: 'Dominant Minorities' in A.C. Hepburn (ed.) *Minorities in History* and 'The permissive frontier' in K.R. Andrews et al. (eds.), *The Westward Enterprise*. Details of the establishment and development of the large plantations are best found in two older essays by Robert Dunlop: 'The plantation of Leix-Offaly' and 'The Plantation of Munster' in *English Historical Review* (1891, 1886 respectively). Other aspects of Elizabethan policy, which suggest an alternative approach to colonisation, are considered in Brady, *Chief governors* chapter 4; and in his introduction to *A Viceroy's Vindication?* See also Bernadette Cunningham, 'The composition of Connacht in the lordships of Clanrickard and Thomond' *I.H.S.* (1985), and C.Brady, 'The O'Reillys of East Breifne and the problem of surrender and Regrant' in *Breifne* (1986). An example of this alternative approach which proved far more enduring than any other is revealed in P.J Duffy 'The territorial organisation of landownership and its transformation in Co Monaghan, 1591 – 1640', *Irish Geography* (1981).

Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation* offers a detailed account of the early plantation and its woes T. Ranger, 'Richard Boyle and the making of an Irish fortune' in *I.H.S.* (1957-8) is a superb analysis of the techniques of the New English on the make. C Brady 'New English ideology and the two Sir William Herberts' in Amanda Piesse (ed), *Sixteenth Century Identities* offers some illumination on the tensions existing between New English arrivals; and A. C. Judson, *The Life of Edmund Spenser* offers a valuable study of one of the group's most illustrious members

Concerning the emergence of ideas of plantation in post-war Ulster, George Hill's monumental study *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster* though over a century old still contains valuable information. More recent and with a greater emphasis on geography is Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*. Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* is a major study of the process of unofficial colonisation. Read in conjunction with Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* and George Hill's *The MacDonnells of Ulster* it provides a very full account of this crucial process of displacement and re-settlement. A major statement of the role of colonisation, official and unofficial, in late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century Ireland is Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*; a useful introduction to some of the themes of this book will be found in the same author's, 'Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish' in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.) *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500 – 1800*. Essays by Ciaran Brady and Brian Donovan in David Edwards (ed.), *Regions and rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650*, trace patterns of continuity and discontinuity in two detailed studies of plantation areas in Cavan and Wexford at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Lecture 6: Culture Wars: religious and ideological conflict, 1568 - 1615

The problems of the church of Ireland and the changing character of its personnel are analysed in James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical. Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590*; from a different perspective in Henry Jeffries *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformation*, and for the years after 1590 in Alan Ford, *The Protestant reformation in Ireland*, an introduction to which is given in his essay in *Natives and Newcomers*. See also, Aidan Clarke, 'Varieties of Uniformity: the first century of the Church of Ireland' W.J. Shiels and Diana Woods (eds.), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*. A good modern guide to the main features of European Counter-Reformation is Michael Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation*. The beginnings of the process of alienation of the English of the Pale are analysed in Canny, *Elizabethan conquest* chs. 6, 7 and *The formation of the Old English elite* (O'Donnell lecture); for a different emphasis see C. Brady *The chief governors* part III and 'Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin Administration 1556-86' in P.J. Corish (ed.) *Radicals, rebels and establishments*, Its transformation into a religious issue is traced in Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst* and his essay on the topic *Natives and Newcomers*; see also his full length study *The Lords of Dublin* cited above, and Helga Hammerstein 'Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reigns of Elizabeth I' in *Historical Studies* VIII; R.D. Edwards 'Ireland, Elizabeth and the counter-reformation' in S.T. Bindoff et al. (eds.), *Elizabethan government and society*. The argument in P.J. Corish, *The origins of Catholic nationalism* is persuasive but needs to be treated with care. J. Brady, 'Keeping the faith at Gormanston' in Franciscan Fathers (ed) *Father Luke Wadding* gives a brief account of a common but inconspicuous form of Anglo-Irish dissent. A more extreme but rare response is recounted in 'The rebellion in the Pale' in D. Mathew, *The Celtic peoples and renaissance Europe* and in H. Coburn-Walsh 'The rebellion of William Nugent' in R.V. Comerford (ed.) *Religion, Conflict and co-existence in Ireland*. Little analysis of the Counter-reformation in Gaelic Ireland before the 1590s has been conducted since M.V Ronan, *The Reformation in*

Ireland but see now Micheál MacCraith, 'The Gaelic reaction to the Reformation in S Barber and S Ellis (eds.), *Conquest and Union: fashioning a British State*.

The character and aims of the Elizabethan military elite are explored in Ciaran Brady, 'The Captains' Games: army and society in Elizabethan Ireland' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds.) *A Military History of Ireland* and in David Edwards, 'Beyond reform: martial law and the Tudor reconquest of Ireland', *History Ireland*, (1997). For the opposing tactics of their Old English enemies see Ciaran Brady 'Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin Administration 1556-86' in P.J. Corish (ed.) *Radicals, rebels and establishments*,

The standard work on the conflicts of the later sixteenth century is Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*. Fall's somewhat pedestrian account may be supplemented by the brief but not wholly dependable narrative of Richard Berleth, *The Twilight Lords*. Two differing discussions of the context of the Ulster rebellion see C. Brady, 'Ulster and the failure of Tudor reform' in C. Brady et al (eds.) *Ulster: an illustrated history* and Hiram Morgan 'The end of Gaelic Ulster' *I.H.S.* (1988) On the aims and outlook of one of the first rebels against the Elizabethan government in Ireland see Ciaran Brady, *Shane O'Neill* and on the roots of a second major rebellion there is C. Brady, 'Faction and the origins of the Desmond rebellion of 1579' in *I.H.S.* (1981). A full account of the rebellion and its social and economic impact is provided in Anthony Mc Cormack, *The earldom of Desmond*. The most up-to-date and informed account of the origins of the rebellion is Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion* which bears largely on Tyrone and the O'Neill's. But the more general factors affecting the province in the years before the rebellion are best approached by local histories: see on Tir Conaill, R. J. Hunter, 'The end of the O'Donnell lordship in W. Nolan et al (eds.) *Donegal: History and Society*, the relevant chapters in Peadar Livingstone, *The Monaghan Story* and *The Fermanagh Story* and Hiram Morgan, 'Extradition and treason trial of a Gaelic lord: the case of Brian O'Rourke, *Irish Jurist* (1987).) A lively, detailed but interpretatively old-fashioned biography of Tyrone is Sean O Faolain's *The Great O'Neill*. Views of the character of Tyrone's rebellion have been significantly altered by N. P. Canny, in a number of articles: in addition to 'Hugh O'Neill earl of Tyrone and the changing face of Gaelic Ulster', *Studia Hibernica* (1970), see also 'The treaty of Mellifont' *Irish Sword* (1970) and 'The flight of the earls' *I.H.S.* (1971). But the best introductory account remains the brief biography in D.N.B., which contains also informative pieces on the other major participants in the Nine Years War. The inter-national aspects of the crisis are considered in J.J. Silke, *Ireland and Europe*, Hiram Morgan, 'Hugh O'Neill and the Nine years War in Ireland' *Historical Journal* (1993) and Micheline Walsh, *Destruction of Peace*.

J.J. Silke's essay, 'The Irish Abroad, 1534 – 1691' in T.W. Moody et al (eds.), *A New History of Ireland: Early Modern Ireland, 1534 – 1691* James O'Boyle, *The Irish Colleges on the Continent* is an older but still useful introduction to this important topic, which should be supplemented by several of the essays included in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* and by E.A. Boran, 'The foundation of Jesuit Colleges in seventeenth century Ireland' in G.P Brizzi and Jacques Verger (eds.), *La Università Minori in Europa*. On Gaelic political and cultural attitudes

toward the new English regime see for a general interpretative survey, N.P. Canny, 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature, 1580 – 1750' in *Past and Present* (1985). A more detailed study is Marc Caball, *Poets and Politics*, which offers a very different assessment from that proposed in Michelle O'Riordan, *The Gaelic mind and the collapse of the Gaelic World*. Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating* provides the first full dress study of this crucial figure in the re-shaping of the Gaelic mind. Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'James our true king: the ideology of Irish royalism in the seventeenth century' in D. G. Boyce et al (eds.), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* is a scholarly and highly stimulating essay.

Lecture 7: The development of the Irish economy, 1540-1600

Assessments of the character of Ireland's economy need especially to be viewed in a comparative context. For a general framework of British developments see Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities; Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*. For a European perspective see Henry Kamen *European Society 1500 – 1700* and his more detailed *The Iron Century* or G. Huppert, *After the Black Death: a social history of early modern Europe*. Useful points of comparison with England and Scotland are supplied by W.G. Hoskins, *The age of Plunder: the England of Henry VIII, 1500-1547* and I. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*.

For the Gaelic Irish economy see K.W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland* (revised and expanded 2003) which is central to our understanding of the character of Gaelic Ireland; see also his *Land, law and society in sixteenth century Ireland*.

The essay by Mary O'Dowd in, C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers* provides a good introductory survey of social and economic conditions in Gaelic Ireland. Two neglected and illuminating detailed studies are V. B. Proudfoot, 'The economy of an Irish rath', *Medieval Archaeology* (1961) Available online at: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/catalogue/adsdata/arch-769-1/dissemination/pdf/vol05/5_094_122.pdf and A. T. Lucas, 'Cattle in ancient and medieval Irish society' (Dublin, 1958).

See also Raymond Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy, 1550 – 1700*; though very old G.B. O'Connor, *Elizabethan Ireland*, chapters 1-3, contain a large amount of information not easily available elsewhere. Several chapters by K. W. Nicholls, Wendy Childs and Kevin Downs in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, vol. II: Medieval Ireland* provide valuable perspectives on the social and economic history of Ireland both before and after 1500. See essays by D.B Quinn and K.W Nicholls, R.A Butlin, A. Clarke and M. Dolley in Moody and Byrne (eds) *A new history of Ireland, vol. III: Early Modern Ireland* for the later century. Mary O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: Sligo 1558-1688*, is a valuable study, demonstrating in a particular case study several of the features discussed in general terms by Nicholls and others.

Towns and trade are comparatively well-researched subjects for the period. For towns see R.A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town*, chapters 2-3, D.W. Harkness and M. O'Dowd (eds.), *The Town in Ireland*, chapters 1-2. See also D. Edwards, *The*

Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642 (Dublin, 2003) which illustrates the importance of taking a regional approach to studies of the Irish economy in this period.

For trade, in addition to the essays noted above see: A.K. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish trade*. This is an old but classic and pioneering study; J. Bernard, 'The Maritime intercourse between Bordeaux and Ireland c. 1450-1520', *Irish Economic & Social History*, VII (1980); K.S. Bottingheimer, 'Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Western enterprise, 1536-1660', *Westward Enterprise* (Liverpool, 1978) W. R. Childs 'Ireland's trade with England in the Later Middle Ages', *Irish Economic & Social History*, IX (1982); S. J. Connolly (ed.), 'Overseas Trade' in *The Oxford companion to Irish history* (OUP, 1998); S. Flavin, 'Consumption and material culture in sixteenth-century Ireland', *Economic History Review* (Feb, 2011) Available online at JSTOR; H. F. Kearney, 'The Irish wine trade, 1614-15', *Irish Historical Review*, IX, no. 36 (1955); H. F. Kearney, 'Mercantilism in Ireland, 1620-40', *Historical Studies: Papers Read before the Second Irish Conference of Historians*, I (1958), 59-68; M. A. Lyons, 'Maritime relations between Ireland and France, c. 1480-c.1630', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 27 (2000); M. A. Lyons, *Franco-Irish relations, 1500-1610: Politics Migration and Trade* (Woodbridge, 2003); A. F. O'Brien, 'Commercial relations between Aquitaine and Ireland, c. 1000 to c. 1550' in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1995); A. F. O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society: the development of Cork and the Irish south-coast region c. 1170 to c. 1583', in P. O'Flanagan and C.G. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1993) G. O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1919); J. Walton, 'The merchant community of Waterford in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in P. Butel & L.M. Cullen (eds.), *Cities and merchants: French and Irish perspectives on urban development, 1500-1900* (1986); D. Woodward, *Trade of Elizabethan Chester* (Hull, 1970).

For a recent analysis of trends in Anglo-Irish trade in the sixteenth century and a short introduction to the topic see:

S. M. Flavin, 'The development of Anglo-Irish trade in the sixteenth century' (University of Bristol M.A dissertation, 2004) available online at:
<http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources/2004flavin.pdf>

See also <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/research.htm> for details of a recent project at Bristol which explored trade between Ireland and Bristol. The website contains some interesting statistics on the expansion of Irish trade in this period.

Lecture 8: Consumption and material culture: The widening world of goods in sixteenth-century Ireland

A.K. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish trade*; S. Flavin, 'Consumption and material culture in sixteenth-century Ireland', *Economic History Review* (Feb 2011). (Online at JSTOR)

and 'Consumption and culture in sixteenth-century Ireland: saffron, stockings and silk (forthcoming, 2013) draft copy will be made available; D. Woodward, *Trade of Elizabethan Chester* (Hull, 1970).

For the consumption of food see:

L.A. Clarkson and E.M. Crawford, *Feast and Famine: A History of Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500–1920* (Oxford, 2001). C.M. O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500* (Dublin, 2004).

For clothing see:

McClintock, H.F., *Old Irish and Highland Dress* (Dundalk, 1950).
M. Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (1989); M. Dunlevy, 'Clothes can help, using material culture for support', in *Industry, trade and people in Ireland: essays in honour of W.H. Crawford* (2005)

E.W. Heckett, 'Town and country: an overview of Irish archaeological cloth and clothing, 1550/1850 in Horning et al. (eds), *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550–1850. Papers presented at the 1st Annual conference of the Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group* (Dublin, 2007); and also 'Tomb effigies and archaic dress in sixteenth-century Ireland', in Richardson (ed.), *Clothing culture 1350-1650* (Hampshire, 2004), pp. 63-76

See also C. Huck, 'Clothes make the Irish: Irish dressing and the question of identity' in *Irish Studies Review* 11:3 (2003), pp. 273-284; J. Hunt, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600* (1974).

For archaeological approaches see:

A. Horning and N. Brannon (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World. Irish Post Medieval Group Proceedings 2.* (Dublin, 2010); J. Lyttleton and C. Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland, Settlement and Material Culture, c.1550-c 1700* (Dublin, 2009); A. Horning and M. Palmer (eds), *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks? Future directions in the archaeological study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1995); A. Horning, R. Ó Baoill, C. Donnelly and P. Logue (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, 1550–1850, Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group Proceedings 1* (Dublin, 2007).

Lecture 9: Sixteenth-century Irish women in social and economic perspective

The two (and only) key books for women in Ireland are: M. O'Dowd, *A History of Women in Ireland* (2005) and M. MacCurtain and M O'Dowd (eds), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (1991) With regards to the former, see in particular essays by R. Gillespie, K. Simms, K.W. Nicholls, C. Brady, B. Cunningham, M MacCurtain, P. Kilroy and E. Malcolm.

See also:

M. MacCurtain and D O' Corrain (eds) *Women in Irish society: the historical dimension* (1978); M. Ward, *The missing sex: putting women into Irish history* (1991); M. O'Dowd, 'Women and the law in early modern Ireland' in C. Meek (ed.), *Women in Renaissance and early modern Europe* (Dublin, 2000); C. Meek & K. Simms (eds.), 'The fragility of her sex'? (Dublin, 1996); M. O'Dowd, 'Women and paid work in rural Ireland c.1500-1800', in B. Whelan (ed.) *Women and paid Work in Ireland, 1500-1930*; W. Palmer, 'Gender, violence and rebellion in Tudor and Early Stuart Ireland, *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXIII, no. 4 (1992) pp. 699-712.

For women in England see for example:

J.M. Bennett, *Ale, beer and brewsters in England: women's work in a changing world, 1300-1600* (New York & Oxford, 1999); S. Cahn, *Industry of devotion: the transformation of Women's work in England, 1500-1660* (1987); M.K. McIntosh, *Working women in English society: 1300 – 1620* (New York, 2005). A.Vickery, 'Golden age to separate spheres: a review of the categories and chronology of English women's history', *Historical Journal* 36 (1993) S. Mendelson and P. Crawford *Women in early modern England, 1550-1720* (1998); A. Laurence, *Women in England 1500-1760: a social history* (London, 1994); Willen, 'Women and religion in early modern England', in S Mashall (ed) *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe. Private and Public Worlds* (1989), pp. 140-65; P. Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500-1720* (1996).

Lecture 10: Popular and elite revolt in Ireland: the 1641 rebellion

Aidan Clarke, 'Ireland and the General Crisis', in *Past and Present* 48 (1970), 79-99; Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598-1648*, Blackwell, second edition, 2001; See also the article that discusses Hugh Trevor Roper's theory of a General Crisis in early modern Britain and Ireland here: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/649885>.

More specifically to Ireland and the 1641 rebellion please see: Aidan, Clarke 'The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641' in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J.L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp 29-45; N. Canny, 'What really happened in Ireland in 1641?' in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 24-42; N. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001); R. Gillespie, 'Destabilizing Ulster, 1641-2' in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), pp 107-21; Joseph Cope, *England and the 1641 rebellion* (Boydell, 2008)