

# CONTENTS

PREFACE TO THE THIRD IMPRESSION	v
PREFACE	vi
CONTRIBUTORS	xxii
NOTE TO THE THIRD IMPRESSION	xxiii
MAPS	xxiv
ILLUSTRATIONS	xxv
ABBREVIATIONS	xxvi
NOTE ON DATING	xxxviii
INTRODUCTION: EARLY MODERN IRELAND by T. W. Moody	xxxix
I IRELAND IN 1534	by D. B. Quinn and K. W. Nicholls
Ireland surveyed	1
Dublin and the Pale	4
Low Leinster	5
The south-east	6
Cork and the south-west	10
Limerick and Thomond	12
Connacht	13
Ulster	15
The North midlands	18
The Dublin administration	20
Structure of the Gaelic lordships	25
Law and learning in Gaelic Ireland	27
The church	29
Warfare	31
Land tenure and utilisation	33
Trade	36
Conclusion	38
II THE ROYAL SUPREMACY AND ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION, 1534-47	by G. A. Hayes-McCoy
Gaelic Irish and Old English	39
The rebellion of 'Silken Thomas', 1534-5	40
The consolidation of English power	40
The deputyship of Lord Leonard Grey, 1536-40	43
St Leger's parliament, 1541: Henry VIII declared king of Ireland	46
<u>Surrender and regrant, 1541-3</u>	48
The condition of the church	52
<u>The breach with Rome</u>	55
The reformation parliament, 1536-7	56

Royal and papal bishops	59
<u>The suppression of monasteries, 1539-41</u>	63
Archbishop Browne's efforts to enforce the crown's ecclesiastical policy	64
The Jesuit mission, 1542	66
The closing years of Henry VIII's reign	67
III CONCILIATION, COERCION, AND THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, 1547-71	by G. A. Hayes-McCoy
<u>Accession of Edward VI, 1547</u>	69
Opposition to St Leger	70
Deputyship of Bellingham, 1548-9	70
The Ulster situation	71
Deputyship of Croft, 1551-3	72
Religious changes	73
<u>Accession of Mary, 1553</u>	75
Reconciliation with Rome	75
Deputyship of Sussex, 1556-8	76
Plantation of Leix and Offaly	77
<u>Accession of Elizabeth, 1558</u>	79
<u>The problem of Shane O'Neill</u>	80
Reformation restored, 1560	83
The supremacy and fall of Shane O'Neill, 1562-7	84
Desmond and Ormond	86
The Munster revolt, 1568-73	88
Presidencies in Munster (1571) and Connacht (1569)	91
Sidney's parliament, 1569-71	92
IV THE COMPLETION OF THE TUDOR CONQUEST AND THE ADVANCE OF THE COUNTER- REFORMATION, 1571-1603	by G. A. Hayes-McCoy
Obstacles to the extension of English rule	94
Colonisation as an aid to conquest	95
Smith's project in the Ards, 1571-4	95
Essex's attempt to colonise Antrim, 1573-5	96
His essays in frightfulness	98
Scottish influence in Ulster	98
The presidencies of Munster and Connacht	99
Sidney's last period of office, 1575-8	100
The extension of English rule in Connacht	101
Problems of finance	103
<u>Ireland and the catholic powers</u>	103

CONTENTS

xi

Fitzmaurice's catholic crusade, 1579	104
The Desmonds in revolt	105
Viscount Baltinglass and the rising in the Pale, 1580	107
The massacre of the papal force at Smerwick, 1580	107
The rising crushed	108
The composition of Connacht, 1585	109
Renewed Scottish activity in Ulster, 1584-5	111
Perrot's parliament, 1585	112
The plantation in Munster, 1586-98	113
The impact of the armada, 1588	115
The struggle for Ulster	115
The role of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone	117
Outbreak of fighting in Fermanagh, 1593	118
O'Neill in open opposition: Clontibret, 1595	119
Overtures to Spain	121
The battle of the Yellow Ford, 1598	124
O'Neill's resources	125
Second earl of Essex as lord lieutenant, 1599	127
Mountjoy becomes deputy, 1600	129
His strategy for the reduction of Ulster	129
Irish negotiations with the papacy and Spain	132
The Spanish landing at Kinsale, 1601	133
O'Neill and O'Donnell defeated at Kinsale, 1601	135
Surrender of O'Neill; treaty of Mellifont, 30 March 1603	136
Sixteenth-century schools	137
Foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, 1592	139
Conquest completed	140

V LAND AND PEOPLE, *c.* 1600

by R. A. Butlin

Introduction	142
The physique of Ireland	142
The scorched earth	146
Population	147
Rural economy and settlement	148
Towns	157
Communications	162
Industry	165
The geography of administration	166

VI THE IRISH ECONOMY, 1600-60	by Aidan Clarke	
The European context of the Irish economy		168
The Irish economy and the English connection		169
Shifts in ownership of land as between Irish, Old English, and New English		169
Land tenures		170
Agriculture		171
Economic effects of the Ulster plantation		174
Export products		177
cattle, hides, beef, tallow, butter		177
sheep, cloth, wool		178
timber and fish		180
Lack of manufacturing industry		181
Character of the home market; special position of Dublin		182
Imports		183
Economic consequences of the 1641 rising; the economic recovery of the 1650s		184
VII PACIFICATION, PLANTATION, AND THE CATHOLIC QUESTION, 1603-23	by Aidan Clarke, with R. Dudley Edwards	
The character of government policy		187
The revolt of the towns, 1603		188
Old English attitudes		189
Measures against catholicism, 1604-5		190
The development of Old English opposition; the 'mandates', 1605-7		191
The situation in Ulster, 1603-7		193
The 'flight of the earls', 1607		195
O'Doherty's revolt, 1608		196
The plantation in Ulster, 1608-12		196
The second phase of the Munster plantation		205
The introduction of feudal law; insecurity of titles		206
Official policy towards catholicism, 1607-12		208
Counter-reformation policies, 1603-12		209
Preparations for parliament, 1610-13		210
The first session of parliament, 1613		214
The appeal to England, 1613-14		215
The final sessions of parliament, 1614-15		217
Plantations in Leinster and Leitrim, 1610-20		219
The composition of Connacht, 1615		222
The progress of the Ulster colony in the 1620s		222
Official measures against catholicism, 1615-23		224
The character and progress of the counter-reformation		225

## CONTENTS

xiii

The policies and problems of the Church of Ireland	227
The convocation of 1613-15 and the articles of religion	229
The treatment of royal wards	230
Financial difficulties and administrative standards	230
Commission of inquiry into the government of Ireland, 1622	231
VIII SELLING ROYAL FAVOURS, 1624-32	by Aidan Clarke
Changing political conditions: foreign policy considerations	233
Old English negotiations with the crown, 1625	234
'Matters of grace and bounty', 1626	235
New English attitudes	235
Renewed negotiations: the 'graces', May 1628	237
Effects upon the position of the Old and New English	238
The financial arrangements	238
Divisions within the Irish government	238
Failure to implement the 'graces' in full	239
Official attitudes towards catholicism	240
The recall of Lord Deputy Falkland, April 1629; appointment of New English lords justices	241
Proceedings against the catholic clergy	241
The revival of plantation projects, 1630-32	242
IX THE GOVERNMENT OF WENTWORTH, 1632-40	by Aidan Clarke
Thomas, Viscount Wentworth: character and policies	243
New English opposition and Old English support, 1632	244
Wentworth's arrival in Ireland, August 1633	245
Preparations for parliament	247
The first session of parliament, July-August 1634	248
The denial of the 'graces'	249
The later sessions of parliament, January-April 1635	251
Governmental changes	251
The attack on Mountnorris	252
Plantation proceedings in Connacht	253
Opposition in County Galway	254
The attack on Wentworth's administration of the Irish customs farm	255
Wentworth's relations with the New English: religious issues	256
Wentworth's relations with the New English: secular matters	258
Royal approval of Wentworth's proceedings, 1636	259
Character of Wentworth's government in the later 1630s	260
Wentworth's personal finances	261

Plantation: progress and problems	262
Proceedings of the commission for defective titles	263
The progress and influence of the counter-reformation	264
New English attitudes	264
The Londonderry forfeiture, 1628-37	265
The Scots in Ulster	267
The 'black oath', 1639	268
Wentworth summoned to England, July 1639	269

## X THE BREAKDOWN OF AUTHORITY, 1640-41

by Aidan Clarke

Anglo-Scottish relations	270
Wentworth proposes parliaments in Ireland and England	271
Preparations	272
The first session of the Irish parliament, March-June 1640	273
The 'short parliament' in England, April-May 1640	274
The development of parliamentary opposition in Ireland, June 1640	276
The second bishops' war	278
The meeting of the 'long parliament': Strafford impeached, November 1640	278
The petition of remonstrance, November 1640	279
The committee of the Irish commons in England	280
The third session of the Irish parliament, January-March 1641	281
The trial of Strafford	282
Royal concessions to the opposition in Ireland	284
Mounting tension in Ireland	284
The movement for constitutional reform, May-August 1641	285
Further royal concessions: the adjournment of the Irish parliament, July-August 1641	286
Royal intrigues in Ireland	287

## XI THE RISING OF 1641 AND THE CATHOLIC CONFEDERACY, 1641-5

by Patrick J. Corish

Discontent with Wentworth's administration: the Old Irish of Ulster	289
The conspiracy; the rising, 23 October 1641	290
Reaction of the Dublin government	292
Spread of the revolt; involvement of the Old English	292
Arrival of Robert Monro with a Scottish army, April 1642; arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill, July	293
The government and the Old English	294
The catholic clergy and the meeting at Kilkenny	296
The confederate government; the first assembly meets, 24 October	298

CONTENTS

xv

Confederate political ideas	299
The divided island	302
The government in Dublin	303
First contacts between Dublin and Kilkenny, February 1643	304
Ormond commissioned by the king to make proposals for a truce, April	306
The second assembly, May; military and diplomatic problems	307
Arrival of Scarampi as papal envoy, July	308
Truce between Ormond and the confederates (15 September), and its consequences	308
The third assembly, November; the mission to the king at Oxford	311
The complexities to be resolved	311
The fourth assembly, July–August 1644; negotiations with Ormond	313
The peace mission of Glamorgan, June 1645; arrival of Rinuccini at Kilkenny, November	315

XII ORMOND, RINUCCINI, AND THE  
CONFEDERATES, 1645–9

by Patrick J. Corish

Rinuccini, the papal nuncio; Rinuccini and Glamorgan	317
The supreme council and Ormond; the battle of Benburb, June 1646	320
Confrontation between the nuncio and the supreme council	321
The winter campaign, 1646–7	321
The first assembly of 1647	322
Ormond and parliament	323
The campaigns of 1647	324
The second assembly of 1647	324
The embassies to Paris and Rome	325
The plans of Ormond	326
The truce between the confederates and Inchiquin	329
The break between the nuncio and the supreme council	330
The general assembly, September 1648; the return of Ormond	331
The return of the envoys from Rome	332
Negotiations between Ormond and the assembly	333
The agreement of January 1649; the departure of the nuncio	334

XIII THE CROMWELLIAN CONQUEST, 1649–53

by Patrick J. Corish

The summer campaign of 1649; the arrival of Cromwell's army	336
The opposing forces	339
The capture of Drogheda (11 September) and the thrust into Ulster	339
The capture of Wexford and New Ross, October	340
The advance into Munster	342
The bishops' meeting at Clonmacnoise, December	343

Cromwell's reply to the bishops, January 1650	344
The spring campaign of 1650; the fall of Kilkenny, 28 March	345
Tensions between Ormond and the catholics	346
Cromwell's return to England (26 May); Ireton's summer campaign	347
The bishops and Ormond; the meeting at Jamestown, August	348
The declaration of Dunfermline; the meeting at Loughrea, November	349
Negotiations with the duke of Lorraine	350
The ending of the war, 1651-3	351

#### XIV THE CROMWELLIAN REGIME, 1650-60

by Patrick J. Corish

The establishment of a civil administration	353
The union of England with Ireland	354
Cromwell and the protectorate	354
The 'normalisation' of government	355
The last years of the commonwealth	356
Condition of the country	357
<u>The act of settlement, 1652</u>	357
The high court of justice	359
The demands on Irish land: state, soldiers, adventurers	360
The land surveys	361
The policy of transportation	362
The act of satisfaction, 1653	364
The decision to clear three provinces for plantation	364
The beginnings of transplantation to Connacht; the Loughrea commissioners	365
The Athlone court of claims and qualifications	366
Uncertainty and confusion	366
The results of the transplantation	368
The plantation of the adventurers	370
The plantation of the soldiers	372
The towns and the new Pale of five counties	373
The new social pattern	374
Religious policy of the commonwealth	375
The appointment of ministers and schoolmasters	377
The Church of Ireland	378
The presbyterians	379
The sects: anabaptists and quakers	379
The catholic church; organisation in 1649	380
Catholic clergy and schoolmasters	381
The catholic laity	384

CONTENTS

xvii

The beginnings of reorganisation	384
Epilogue	385
XV ECONOMIC TRENDS, 1660-91	by L. M. Cullen
Problems of interpretation	387
Population trends	388
Rapid growth of population	388
Expansion of trade: urban development	391
Dependence of Irish trade on the English market in 1660; later change	392
Increasing value of exports, 1665-83	392
Importance of the butter trade; relative unimportance of the beef trade	393
The wool trade	394
The grain trade	395
The textile industries	396
Restrictions on trade; determination in exchange ratios	397
Government control of the wool trade	397
Effect of the navigation acts	399
The cattle acts	400
Living standards	401
Fluctuations in economic conditions	402
The war years, 1689-91	407
XVI THE IRISH COINAGE, 1534-1691	by Michael Dolley
Fiscal crisis: London issues the 'harps', 1534	408
Gaelic Irish interest in coinage	410
Resumption of coining at Dublin, 1548	411
Predominance of 'white money'	412
Attempted restoration of sterling under Elizabeth	412
The 'mixt money' of 1601-2	413
James I: the balance restored	414
Chaos comes again, 1641	415
Cromwellian stabilisation	417
The 'brass money' or 'gun money' of James II	418
XVII THE RESTORATION, 1660-85	by J. G. Simms
Changes of government	420
The land question	422
The act of settlement, 1662	423
The act of explanation, 1665	425

The results of the settlement	426
The catholic remonstrance, 1661-6	429
The reorganisation of the catholic church	430
The popish plot, 1678-81	432
The Church of Ireland	433
Schools and schoolmasters	436
Protestant dissent	437
Financial reorganisation	438
The army	441
Ranelagh's financial 'undertaking', 1671	441
The cattle acts, 1663, 1667	443
The navigation acts, 1660-71	444
The countryside	445
The Molyneux reports, <i>c.</i> 1683	447
Dublin	448
Provincial towns	451
XVIII LAND AND PEOPLE, <i>c.</i> 1685	by J. H. Andrews
Population	454
Physical geography	454
Livestock	457
Regional patterns	458
Surveys	462
Booleying	464
Scullogues	464
Cottiers and day labourers	465
Housing	465
Land tenure and management	467
Fisheries	468
Timber	468
Transport	469
Nodal sites	471
Roads and bridges	471
Walled towns	472
Ports	473
Urban industries	474
The religion of the townspeople	474
Urban morphology	474
Dublin a metropolis	476
Geographical scholarship	477

## XIX THE WAR OF THE TWO KINGS, 1685-91

by J. G. Simms

The accession of James II	478
Clarendon's vicereignty, 1686	479
Tyrconnell and the catholic revival	480
The threat to the land settlement	480
James and the churches	481
The revolution of 1688	483
French policy towards Ireland	485
The war of 1689-91 and its historiography	487
The 'patriot parliament', 1689	489
Derry and Enniskillen	491
Schomberg's expedition	494
The Boyne campaign, 1690	497
The defence of Limerick	501
Athlone and Aughrim, 1691	503
Peace negotiations	504
The treaty of Limerick, 3 October 1691	506

## XX THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

by Brian Ó Cuív

Irish still the dominant language; prevalence of the 'Irish order'	509
Effects of the reformation—translation of New Testament into Irish	511
Ambivalent attitude of government towards the Irish language	512
Decline in fortunes of Irish learned classes	513
The Irish annals	514
The historians and the profession of history	516
Irish MSS of the sixteenth century	517
Medical MSS and the medical profession	518
The poets	520
Surviving professional poetry mostly of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century	525
Moral and religious verse	527
Satire	528
Poetry of courtly love	528
Metrical innovation	528
Decline of Irish during the seventeenth century	529
Irish MSS of the seventeenth century	530
Michael O'Clery and the Four Masters	531
Historical work of Geoffrey Keating and his contemporaries	531
Earliest printed books in Irish: religious works, 1571-1618	532

Religious publications in Irish, 1639-85	533
Ó Cianáin's 'Flight of the earls'	534
Ó Mealláin's account of the wars of 1641-7	535
<i>Páirlimint Cloinne Tomáis</i>	535
Irish storytelling of the sixteenth and seventeenth century	536
Decline of the professional poet	537
Poetry of the seventeenth century	538
'The contention of the bards'	539
Poetry of Geoffrey Keating	539
Pádraigín Haicéad	540
Thomas Dease and Piaras Feiritéir	540
Political poems	541
Non-professional poetry	542
Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair	542

## XXI THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN EARLY MODERN IRELAND

by Alan Bliss

Eclipse of English in sixteenth-century Ireland	546
Local dialects: Forth and Bargy; Fingall	547
The evidence for urban speech: <i>Stukeley</i> ; <i>Bog-witticisms</i>	550
Emergence of Anglo-Irish	552
Influence of Irish on Anglo-Irish	554
Conclusion	559

## XXII IRISH LITERATURE IN LATIN, 1550-1700

by Benignus Millett

Latin learning among the Irish; the efflorescence of the counter-reformation	561
The schools	563
Seminaries, colleges and contemporary conflict	565
Medical literature	565
Historiography and political polemic	566
The dispute between Scots and Irish	569
<i>Commentarius Rinuccinianus</i>	570
Theological writings	575
Controversial theology	576
Philosophy	580
Literary polemic	580
Poetry and miscellaneous prose	580
Motives for publishing	581
The economics of publishing: four examples	582
Classical education and society in the age of the counter-reformation	585

CONTENTS

xxi

XXIII THE IRISH ABROAD, 1534-1691	by John J. Silke	
Introduction		587
The European setting		587
The Irish emigration in general		590
Emigration to the Continent		590
Emigration to the New World		599
The Irish on the Continent		604
Irish in the diplomatic field		606
Irish soldiers in foreign service		608
Irish in the medical profession		611
Irish in the legal profession		613
Irish merchants		613
Controversies between Old English and Old Irish		614
Irish colleges on the Continent		615
The tridentine seminaries: activity of the Jesuits		617
Education of Irish catholics abroad before the founding of Irish colleges		617
Irish colleges in the Peninsula		618
Irish colleges in the Low Countries		620
Irish colleges in France		620
The Irish college in Rome		621
Irish colleges founded by religious orders		621
Irish houses of nuns		623
Numbers and achievements of Irish priests trained abroad		624
The students at the Irish colleges		625
Financial support of the colleges		626
Rivalries within and among the colleges		627
Outstanding men among the Irish clergy on the Continent		629
Irish priests in mission work abroad		631
National outlook of Irish clergy on the Continent		632
The Irish clergy and controversies on the doctrine of grace		632
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 by J. G. Simms	 634
 BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT		
	by Aidan Clarke, Raymond Gillespie, and James McGuire	696
 INDEX		 749