

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
IRELAND

This volume offers new perspectives on the political, military, religious, social, cultural, intellectual, economic, and environmental history of early modern Ireland and situates these discussions in global and comparative contexts. The opening chapters focus on 'Politics' and 'Religion and War' and offer a chronological narrative, informed by fresh research. The remaining chapters are more thematic, with chapters on 'Society', 'Culture' and 'Economy and Environment', and often respond to wider methodologies and historiographical debates. Interdisciplinary cross-pollination – between, on the one hand, history and, on the other, disciplines like anthropology, archaeology, geography, computer science, literature and gender and environmental studies – informs many of the chapters. The volume offers a range of new departures by a generation of scholars who explain, in a refreshing and accessible manner, how and why people acted as they did in the transformative and tumultuous years between 1550 and 1730.

JANE OHLMEYER is Erasmus Smith's Professor of Modern History at Trinity College Dublin and the Director of the Trinity Long Room Hub, Trinity's research institute for advanced study in the Arts and Humanities. Since September 2015 she has served as Chair of the Irish Research Council. She has also taught at the University of California Santa Barbara, Yale University and the University of Aberdeen, and has held several visiting international appointments. A passionate teacher and an internationally established scholar of early modern Irish history, Professor Ohlmeyer is the author/editor of eleven books, including *Making Ireland English: The Aristocracy in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (2012). She is currently working on a study of Colonial Ireland, Colonial India and preparing an edition of Clarendon's *Shorte View of Ireland*. She is a member of the Royal Irish Academy and was the Founding Vice President for Global Relations at Trinity (2011–14).

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
IRELAND

GENERAL EDITOR

THOMAS BARTLETT, professor emeritus of Irish history,
University of Aberdeen

This authoritative, accessible and engaging four-volume history vividly presents the Irish story – or stories – from c.600 to the present, within its broader Atlantic, European, imperial and global contexts. While the volumes benefit from a strong political narrative framework, they are distinctive also in including essays that address the full range of social, economic, religious, linguistic, military, cultural, artistic and gender history, and in challenging traditional chronological boundaries in a manner that offers new perspectives and insights. Each volume examines Ireland's development within a distinct period, and offers a complete and rounded picture of Irish life, while remaining sensitive to the unique Irish experience. Bringing together an international team of experts, this landmark history both reflects recent developments in the field and sets the agenda for future study.

VOLUMES IN THE SERIES

VOLUME I
600–1550

EDITED BY BRENDAN SMITH

VOLUME II
1550–1730

EDITED BY JANE OHLMEYER

VOLUME III
1730–1880

EDITED BY JAMES KELLY

VOLUME IV
1880 to the Present

EDITED BY THOMAS BARTLETT

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
IRELAND

*

VOLUME II
1550–1730

*

Edited by
JANE OHLMEYER
Trinity College Dublin



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11763-1 — The Cambridge History of Ireland
Edited by Jane Ohlmeyer
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107117631

DOI: 10.1017/9781316338773

© Cambridge University Press 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International, Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN – 4-Volume Set 978-1-107-16729-2 Hardback

ISBN – Volume I 978-1-107-11067-0 Hardback

ISBN – Volume II 978-1-107-11763-1 Hardback

ISBN – Volume III 978-1-107-11520-0 Hardback

ISBN – Volume IV 978-1-107-11354-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>List of Illustrations</i> | <i>page ix</i> |
| <i>List of Figures</i> | <i>xi</i> |
| <i>List of Maps</i> | <i>xii</i> |
| <i>List of Contributors</i> | <i>xiii</i> |
| <i>General Acknowledgements</i> | <i>xv</i> |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | <i>xvi</i> |
| <i>Conventions</i> | <i>xvii</i> |
| <i>General Introduction</i> | <i>xviii</i> |

| | |
|---|---|
| Introduction: Ireland in the Early Modern World | 1 |
| JANE OHLMEYER | |

PART I POLITICS

| | |
|---|----|
| 1 · Politics, Policy and Power, 1550–1603 | 23 |
| CIARAN BRADY | |
| 2 · Political Change and Social Transformation, 1603–1641 | 48 |
| DAVID EDWARDS | |
| 3 · Politics, 1641–1660 | 72 |
| JOHN CUNNINGHAM | |
| 4 · Restoration Politics, 1660–1691 | 96 |
| TED MCCORMICK | |

Contents

5 · Politics, 1692–1730 120
 CHARLES IVAR MCGRATH

6 · The Emergence of a Protestant Society, 1691–1730 144
 D. W. HAYTON

PART II
 RELIGION AND WAR

7 · Counter Reformation: The Catholic Church, 1550–1641 171
 TADHG Ó HANNRACHÁIN

8 · Protestant Reformations, 1550–1641 196
 COLM LENNON

9 · Establishing a Confessional Ireland, 1641–1691 220
 ROBERT ARMSTRONG

10 · Wars of Religion, 1641–1691 246
 JOHN JEREMIAH CRONIN AND PÁDRAIG LENIHAN

PART III
 SOCIETY

11 · Society, 1550–1700 273
 CLODAGH TAIT

12 · Men, Women, Children and the Family, 1550–1730 298
 MARY O'DOWD

13 · Domestic Materiality in Ireland, 1550–1730 321
 SUSAN FLAVIN

14 · Irish Art and Architecture, 1550–1730 346
 JANE FENLON

Contents

- 15 · Ireland in the Atlantic World: Migration and Cultural
 Transfer 385
 WILLIAM O'REILLY

PART IV
 CULTURE

- 16 · Language, Print and Literature in Irish, 1550–1630 411
 MARC CABALL
- 17 · Language, Literature and Print in Irish, 1630–1730 434
 BERNADETTE CUNNINGHAM
- 18 · The Emergence of English Print and Literature,
 1630–1730 458
 DEANA RANKIN
- 19 · A World of Honour: Aristocratic *Mentalité* 482
 BRENDAN KANE
- 20 · Irish Political Thought and Intellectual History,
 1550–1730 506
 IAN CAMPBELL

PART V
 ECONOMY AND ENVIRONMENT

- 21 · Economic Life, 1550–1730 531
 RAYMOND GILLESPIE
- 22 · Plantations, 1550–1641 555
 ANNALEIGH MARGEY
- 23 · The Down Survey and the Cromwellian Land
 Settlement 584
 MICHEÁL Ó SIOCHRÚ AND DAVID BROWN

Contents

24 · Environmental History of Ireland, 1550–1730 608

FRANCIS LUDLOW AND ARLENE CRAMPSIE

25 · Afterword: Interpreting the History of Early Modern
Ireland: From the Sixteenth Century to the Present 638

NICHOLAS CANNY

Bibliography 665

Index 751

Illustrations

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. Rathfarnham Castle, County Dublin, viewed from northeast. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | <i>page</i> 347 |
| 2. Pallas, County Galway, © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 349 |
| 3. Tintern Abbey, showing Colclough House integrated in structure. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 351 |
| 4. Carrick House, now renamed Ormond Castle, Carrick on Suir, County Tipperary, view from north-east. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 352 |
| 5. Ross Castle, Killarney, County Kerry. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 353 |
| 6. Coppingers Court, County Cork. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 355 |
| 7. Portumna House, County Galway, © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 356 |
| 8. Castle Dollard, County Waterford, Hunting Lodge. National Library of Ireland | 359 |
| 9. John Speed's Map of Dublin | 360 |
| 10. Carrick House, detail of a plasterwork frieze in long gallery, showing bust portrait of Queen Elizabeth in roundel. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 363 |
| 11. Bunratty Castle, County Clare. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 364 |
| 12. Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormond, oil on panel, attributed to Stevan van der Meulen. National Gallery of Ireland | 365 |
| 13. Ardmullivan (Tower House), Gort, County Galway, interior detail with fragment of wall painting. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 366 |
| 14. Elizabeth Poyntz, Lady Thurles, oil on canvas, unknown artist, inscribed Lady Thurles, 1634. Private Collection, Ireland | 366 |
| 15. Prince George of Denmark, royal consort, oil on canvas, artist Thomas Pooley. Office of Public Works, Royal Hospital, Kilmainham | 368 |

Illustrations

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 16. | Elizabeth Hamilton, Countess of Rosse, oil on canvas, artist Garret Morphy. Birr Scientific and Heritage Foundation, courtesy of the Earl of Ross | 369 |
| 17. | Sir Neil O'Neill, oil on canvas, artist John Michael Wright. Dunrobin Castle, Scotland, courtesy of Lord Strathnaver | 370 |
| 18. | James Butler, first duke of Ormond, pastel on paper, artist Simon Digby. Private Collection, Ireland | 371 |
| 19. | Kilkenny Castle and City from Wind Gap Hill, pen and ink on paper, artist Francis Place. National Gallery of Ireland | 372 |
| 20. | Charlesfort, Kinsale, County Cork | 374 |
| 21. | Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, Dublin. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 376 |
| 22. | Main Guard, previously Palatinate Court House, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 377 |
| 23. | Eyrecourt, County Galway. Irish Architectural Archive | 378 |
| 24. | Tapestry, <i>Marcus Valerius consecrates Decius Mus</i> , linen and wool, Dutch. Kilkenny Castle, Historic Properties, Office of Public Works | 379 |
| 25. | Detail of seventeenth-century carved wooden panelling, with ribands and pomegranate motif from Kilkenny Castle. Kilkenny Castle, Historic Properties, Office of Public Works, Dublin | 380 |
| 26. | Castletown House, Celbridge, Co. Kildare © National Monuments Service Photographic Unit, Dublin | 383 |
| 27. | Self-portrait, oil on canvas, artist James Latham, National Gallery of Ireland | 383 |
| 28. | TNA MPF1/277, Maryborough Fort, John Tomkins, c.1571. Image courtesy of The National Archives, London | 564 |
| 29. | TNA MPF1/305, 'The Plotte for a Parishe in Ireland', 1586. Image courtesy of The National Archives, London | 569 |
| 30. | NLI MS 20028, Mogeely Estate, John White, 1598. Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland | 571 |
| 31. | TNA MPF1/51, 'The Baronie of Clogher', Josias Bodley, 1609. Image courtesy of The National Archives, London | 573 |
| 32. | DH MS +793, 'The Vintners Bvildinges at Balleaghe', Thomas Raven, 1622. Image courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Drapers, London | 577 |
| 33. | Down Survey Map – Billy Parish, Cary Barony, County Antrim. Image courtesy of PRONI | 599 |

Figures

| | | |
|-----|--|---------|
| 1. | Financing Irish Government, 1603–1625 (pounds sterling) | page 53 |
| 2. | The Irish Army on the Establishment, 1604–1624 | 54 |
| 3. | Transfer of land in Seventeenth-Century Ireland | 605 |
| 4. | Irish Oak tree-ring chronology, mean ages and sample numbers, 1660–1800 | 615 |
| 5. | Reconstructed Palmer Drought Severity Index (PDSI) for Ireland, 1400–1800 | 619 |
| 6. | Reconstructed European Summer air temperatures, 1400–1800 | 621 |
| 7. | Volcanic forcing proxies. <i>Top panel:</i> 1300–1800. <i>Bottom panel:</i> 1550–1730 | 622 |
| 8. | Solar forcing proxies. <i>Top panel:</i> 1610–2015. <i>Bottom panel:</i> 1100–1982 | 625 |
| 9. | <i>Top panel:</i> European summer temperatures, 1570–1670. <i>Bottom panel:</i> Volcanic and solar forcing, 1570–1630 | 630 |
| 10. | <i>Top panel:</i> European summer temperatures, 1620–1670. <i>Bottom panel:</i> Volcanic and solar forcing, 1620–1670 | 634 |

Maps

| | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| 1. | Map of Ireland | <i>page xix</i> |
| 2. | Ireland and the Early Modern World | 3 |
| 3. | The Cromwellian and Williamite Conquests Compared | 258 |
| 4. | War Damage in the Williamite War | 265 |
| 5. | Redistribution of Irish Lands, 1650s | 594 |

Contributors

ROBERT ARMSTRONG, Associate Professor of History, Trinity College Dublin.

CIARAN BRADY, Professor of History, Trinity College Dublin.

DAVID BROWN, Postdoctoral Researcher, Trinity College Dublin.

MARC CABALL, Associate Professor in History, University College Dublin.

IAN CAMPBELL, Senior Lecturer in Early Modern Irish History, Queen's University Belfast.

NICHOLAS CANNY, Professor Emeritus of History, NUI Galway.

ARLENE CRAMPSIE, Teaching Fellow in Geography, University College Dublin.

JOHN JEREMIAH CRONIN, Independent Scholar.

BERNADETTE CUNNINGHAM, Deputy Librarian, Royal Irish Academy.

JOHN CUNNINGHAM, Lecturer in Early Modern Irish and British History, Queen's University Belfast.

DAVID EDWARDS, Senior Lecturer in History, University College Cork.

JANE FENLON, Independent Scholar.

SUSAN FLAVIN, Lecturer in Early Modern History, Anglia Ruskin University.

RAYMOND GILLESPIE, Professor of History, Maynooth University.

D. W. HAYTON, Professor Emeritus of Early Modern Irish and British History, Queen's University Belfast.

Contributors

BRENDAN KANE, Associate Professor of History, University of Connecticut.

PÁDRAIG LENIHAN, Lecturer in History, NUI Galway.

COLM LENNON, Professor Emeritus of History, Maynooth University.

FRANCIS LUDLOW, Postdoctoral Associate in History, Trinity College Dublin.

ANNALEIGH MARGEY, Lecturer in History, Dundalk Institute of Technology.

TED MCCORMICK, Associate Professor of History, Concordia University.

CHARLES IVAR MCGRATH, Associate Professor in History, University College Dublin.

MARY O'DOWD, Professor of Gender History, Queen's University Belfast.

TADHG Ó HANNRACHÁIN, Associate Professor in History, University College Dublin.

JANE OHLMEYER, Erasmus Smith's Professor of Modern History, Trinity College Dublin,
Director of the Trinity Long Room Hub, and Chair of the Irish Research Council.

WILLIAM O'REILLY, University Senior Lecturer, Fellow and Tutor, University of
Cambridge.

MICHEÁL Ó SIOCHRÚ, Associate Professor of History, Trinity College Dublin.

DEANA RANKIN, Senior Lecturer in English and Drama, Royal Holloway, University of
London.

CLODAGH TAIT, Senior Lecturer in History, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick.

General Acknowledgements

As General Editor of the Cambridge History of Ireland, I wish to express my gratitude to all those who assisted in bringing these four volumes to publication. My fellow editors, Brendan Smith, Jane Ohlmeyer and James Kelly have been unstinting with their time and unwavering in their determination to bring their respective volumes to completion as expeditiously as possible. John Cunningham offered vital editorial support at key points in this process. The team at Cambridge University Press, headed by Liz Friend-Smith, supported initially by Amanda George and latterly by Claire Sissen and Bethany Thomas, has been at all times enthusiastic about the project. It has been a great pleasure working with them. My thanks to the often unsung archivists whose documentary collections were freely drawn upon by the contributors in all volumes, to those who helped source images, and to those who drew the informative maps. Lastly, my warmest thanks to all the contributors who gave freely of their expertise in writing their chapters, and for their patience in awaiting publication of their efforts.

Thomas Bartlett, MRIA
General Editor, The Cambridge History of Ireland

Acknowledgements

In November 2014 we held a workshop in the Trinity Long Room Hub in Dublin where contributors to all four volumes of *The Cambridge History of Ireland* met and discussed our vision for what, we hoped, would be a flagship series that would form part of Ireland's 'decade of commemorations' (2012–2022). This is the fruit of those discussions.

I am deeply grateful to my fellow contributors to volume II for providing such fresh perspectives on the political, military, religious, social, cultural, intellectual, economic and environmental history of early modern Ireland. They have been a delight to work with and I have truly appreciated their patience and good humour. Working closely with my fellow editors, Tom Bartlett, Jimmy Kelly and Brendan Smith, has been a privilege. John Cunningham deserves special thanks for his editorial assistance.

I am also grateful to the archives, libraries, galleries and institutions that have given permission for the reproduction of images. I would like to thank the team at Cambridge University Press and especially Elizabeth Friend-Smith, for their professionalism.

My colleagues in the Trinity Long Room Hub, our institute for advanced research in the arts and humanities, have provided great cheer and administrative assistance. Finally, I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my family – Shirley, Richard, Jamie and Simon – for their unstinting support.

Jane Ohlmeyer
Cruit Island, County Donegal and
Trinity College, Dublin

Conventions

Unless indicated otherwise dates throughout are given according to the Old (Julian) Calendar, which was used in Scotland, Ireland and England but not in most of continental Europe. The beginning of the year is taken, however, as 1 January rather than 25 March.

Unless otherwise stated all monetary values are sterling.

General Introduction

The aims of this four-volume History of Ireland are quite straightforward. First, we seek to offer students, and the general reader, a detailed survey, based on the latest research, of the history of the island from early medieval times to the present. As with other Cambridge histories, a chronological approach, in the main, has been adopted, and there is a strong narrative spine to the four volumes. However, the periods covered in each volume are not the traditional ones and we hope that this may have the effect of forcing a re-evaluation of the familiar periodisation of Irish history and of the understanding it has tended to inspire. A single twist of the historical kaleidoscope can suggest — even reveal — new patterns, beginnings and endings. As well, among the one hundred or so chapters spread over the four volumes, there are many that adopt a reflective tone as well as strike a discursive note. There are also a number that tackle topics that have hitherto not found their way into the existing survey literature. Second, we have sought at all times to locate the history of Ireland in its broader context, whether European, Atlantic or, latterly, global. Ireland may be an island, but the people of the island for centuries have been dispersed throughout the world, with significant concentrations in certain countries, with the result that the history of Ireland and the history of the Irish people have never been coterminous. Lastly, the editors of the individual volumes — Brendan Smith, Jane Ohlmeyer, James Kelly and myself — have enlisted contributors who have, as well as a capacity for innovative historical research, demonstrated a talent for writing lucid prose. For history to have a social purpose — or indeed any point — it must be accessible, and in these volumes we have endeavoured to ensure that this is the case: readers will judge with what success.

Thomas Bartlett, MRIA
General Editor, The Cambridge History of Ireland



MAP 1. Map of Ireland.