

In this volume of essays a group of historians and literary critics debate the representation of early modern Ireland by English Renaissance authors. The contributions deal both with modes of representation – aesthetic, geographic, literary, political, visual – and with the biographies of representative individuals. Thus, historical commentary and textual analysis go hand-in-hand with biography and chronology. The essays are interdisciplinary, combining traditional methods of literary and historical inquiry with a range of new theoretical approaches to texts and their authors. There are discussions of the work of major writers including John Bale, Gabriel Harvey, Barnaby Googe, Edmund Spenser, John Milton and Geoffrey Keating in the context of Irish politics from the Reformation to the Restoration.



REPRESENTING IRELAND



REPRESENTING IRELAND

Literature and the origins of conflict, 1534-1660

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Notes on contributors

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Preface

This collection arose out of a chance meeting at Cambridge in March 1988. During a discussion of colonialism in the Renaissance specifically English activities in Ireland - we were struck by the absence of the kind of interdisciplinary approach applied to other periods. We decided there and then to remedy this deficiency. Our aim was to bring together Irish historians and English literary critics in a single volume on English representations of Ireland in the early modern period. We are delighted both with the range of our contributions and the extent of their common concerns. In the course of producing the book we have incurred many debts, both to institutions and individuals: to Kevin Taylor at Cambridge University Press for having the faith in us to go through with the project; to the helpful staff in the British Library, the Brotherton Library at Leeds, the University libraries of Cambridge, Ulster, and Strathclyde; to Paul Hammond, John Dickie, and Andrew Mousley for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of the introduction and our essays; finally, for the encouragement received from Alison, Lucy and Patrick Hadfield, and Geraldine Gallagher, without whom the volume would certainly never have seen the light of day. Andrew Hadfield wishes to thank the British Academy for the award of a Post-Doctoral Fellowship in the Humanities, which helped him to complete this work.



Chronology

Thomas, Lord Offaly ('Silken Thomas') repudiates allegiance to Henry VIII (11 June). Earl of Kildare, Offaly's uncle, apprehended and interred in the Tower of London (29 June). English-born Lord Deputy Sir William Skeffington appointed (30 July). English act of supremacy (18 Nov.). Parliament at Westminster attaints earl of Kildare and his supporters (c. 18 Dec.). Publication in London of Thomas Berthelet's Ordinances for the Government of Ireland. Separate debased Irish coinage, known as 'coin of the harp', struck in London.

Lord Leonard Grey arrives in Dublin as Marshal of the army (28 July). Offaly surrenders (Aug.).

Grey appointed Lord Deputy (23 Feb.). Irish Reformation Parliament meets at Dublin (1st session, 1-31 May); acts attainting Kildare and his supporters (28 Hen. VIII, c.1), against absentees (28 Hen. VIII, c.3); suspending Poynings' law (28 Hen. VIII, c.4); and passing English reform legislation (28 Hen. VIII, c.5 & 6). Westminster Parliament attaints Kildare's uncles (18 July). 'Pilgrimage of grace' (Oct.).

Kildare ('Silken Thomas') and his five uncles executed at Tyburn (3 Feb.). Gerald, his half-brother, is sole surviving male heir of house of Kildare. Royal Commission under Anthony St Leger appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland (8 Sept. 1537–Apr. 1538). Final session of Irish Reformation Parliament (Oct 13–20 Dec.); passing of act for 'English order, habit, and language', section 9 providing for parish schools to teach English (28 Hen. VIII, c.15).

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	Chronology xv
1540	Thomas Cromwell executed on Tower Hill (28 July). St Leger sworn in as Lord Deputy (c.12 Aug.).
1541	Act (33 Hen. VIII, c.1) declaring King Henry VIII King of Ireland (18 June). Lord Leonard Grey executed on Tower Hill (28 June). Henry issues instructions to St Leger on policy of 'surrender and regrant' (23 Sept.).
1542	Publication of John Gough's The copye of the Submissyon of Oneyll, London.
1544	Irish contingent headed by Lord Power serves in English army at siege of Boulogne (19 July-14 Sept.).
¹ 545	English army with Irish troops defeated by Scots at Jedburgh (27 Feb.). Publication of Edward Walshe's <i>The office and duety in fightyng for our Countrey</i> , London.
1547	Death of Henry VIII and accession of Edward VI (28 Jan.).
1549	Ordinance, made by King's commissioners in Limerick, outlawing 'poems or anything which is called <i>auran</i> to any person except the king' (7 Feb.). Order for enforcement of Book of Common Prayer in Ireland (14 Mar.).
1550	English council decides to establish mint in Ireland (27 June). Grant to Humphrey Powell to start printing in Ireland (17 July).
1551	Sir James Croft sworn in as Lord Deputy (23 May). Publication of <i>The boke of the common praier after the use of the Churche of England</i> , Dublin. First book printed in Ireland.
1552	John Bale nominated bishop of Ossory (22 Oct.). Croft leaves Ireland (4 Dec.).
1553	Bale consecrated bishop of Ossory (2 Feb.). Death of Edward VI (6 July). Proclamation in Ireland of Lady Jane Grey as Queen (27 July). Proclamation in Ireland of Mary I (20 Aug.). Bale departs diocese (Aug.). John Bale's Vocacyon to the Bishopricke of Ossorie published in exile, Wesel.
1554 1555	Gerald Fitzgerald created 11th earl of Kildare (13 May). Bull of Pope Paul IV making Ireland a kingdom (7
	June).
1556	Sir Henry Sidney's first Irish appointment, as under- treasurer (13 Apr.). Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter sworn in as Lord Deputy (26 May).



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> xvi Chronology Radcliffe becomes earl of Sussex (17 Feb.). Parliament 1557 in Dublin passes legislation to undertake Leix-Offaly plantation, and establish Queen's and King's Counties (1 June-2 July). 1558 Loss of English Pale around Calais to French (7 Jan.). Death of Mary I and accession of Elizabeth I (17 Nov.). Sidney promoted to Lord Justice (12 Dec.). Sussex's second parliament in Dublin passes acts of 1560 supremacy and uniformity (11/12 Jan.-1 Feb.). 1562 Shane O'Neill submits to Elizabeth at Whitehall (6) Jan.). Order for establishment of court of castle chamber in Ireland (3 July). Sussex campaigns against Shane O'Neill (Apr.). O'Neill 1563 submits (11 Sept.). Publication of Barnaby Googe's Eglogs, Epytaphs and Sonettes, London. Sidney elevated to Lord Deputy (13 Oct.). 1565 Sidney campaigns in Ulster (Sept-12 Nov.). 1566 1567 Death of O'Neill (2 June). Accession of James VI of Scotland (24 July). Cartographer Robert Lythe in Ireland. 1569 Attainder of Shane O'Neill (11 Mar.). Licence granted to John Hooker to print Irish statutes (20 Mar.). Desmond-Butler Revolt (July-Sept.). Humphrey Gilbert appointed colonel of Munster (c.Oct.). Bill signed to one 'Edmonde Spencer' as bearer from Tours of letters from Sir Henry Norris, English ambassador to France, to Elizabeth (18 Oct.). Edmund Campion in Dublin. Excommunication of Elizabeth (25 Feb.). 1570 John Kearney publishes the first book in Gaelic printed 1571 in Ireland, Aibdil Gaoidhilge & Caiticiosma (Gaelic Alphabet and Catechism), Dublin (June). Sir Thomas Smith and his son, Thomas, granted lands in Clandeboye and the Ards (16 Nov.). Sir William Fitzwilliam appointed Lord Deputy (11 Dec.). Campion leaves Ireland (c. 31 May). St Bartholomew's 1572 Day massacre in Paris (24 Aug.). Thomas Smith, jun., lands with around 100 colonists at Strangford Lough (31 Aug.). Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex, arrives at Carrick-1573 fergus to plant Antrim (Aug.). Smith junior killed in the



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	Chronology xvii
	Ards (18 Oct.). Elizabeth withdraws support for Essex's venture (22 May).
1575	Rathlin Island massacre (26 July). Sidney reappointed Lord Deputy (5 Aug.).
1576	Essex made Earl Marshal of Ireland (9 Mar.). William Gerrard appointed Lord Chancellor (23 Apr.). Sir William Drury appointed President of Munster (20 June). Nicholas Malby installed as military Governor of Connaught (23 July). Essex dies in Dublin (22 Sept.).
1577	Palesmen petition against cess (11 Jan.). Spenser possibly in Ireland where he witnesses the execution of Murrogh O'Brien at Limerick (1 July). Philip Sidney writes Discourse of Irish Affairs (c. Sept.). Massacre by English soldiers of O'Connors and O'Mores at Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare (Nov./Dec.). Publication of first edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, London (Dec.).
1578	Henry Sidney leaves Ireland for the last time (12 Sept.). Sir William Drury sworn in as Lord Justice (14 Sept.).
1579	James Fitzmaurice lands on the Dingle Peninsula with Nicholas Sanders, papal legate (18 July) and builds the Fort D'Oro at Smerwick. Fitzmaurice killed (18 Aug.). Desmond proclaimed traitor (2 Nov.). A group of privy councillors, including the earl of Leicester, 'appointed by her Majesty's special commandment to consult of the affairs of Ireland' (23 Nov.). Ormond campaigns against the rebels in Munster (Dec.).
1580	Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton, appointed Lord Deputy (15 July). Spenser appointed secretary to the Lord Deputy. Grey defeated by O'Byrne at Glenmalure (25 Aug.). Papal force of Italians and Spaniards lands at Smerwick (12–13 Sept.). Grey attacks The Golden Fort at Smerwick (7–9 Nov.). Garrison massacred (10 Nov.).
1581	Spenser appointed as registrar or clerk of Faculties in the Irish Court of Chancery (Mar.). Publication of John Derricke's <i>The Image of Irelande</i> , London.
1582	Grey, recalled, leaves Ireland (31 Aug.). Proclamation offering general pardon to Munster rebels who submit.
1583	Desmond killed near Tralee (11 Nov.).
1584	Sir John Perrot appointed Lord Deputy (7 Jan.). Richard Bingham appointed President of Connaught



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xviii	Chronology
	(Mar.). Commission to Sir Valentine Browne et al. to survey Munster (19 June). John Norris appointed President of Munster (24 June). Survey of forfeited lands in Munster (Sept-Nov.). Spenser becomes deputy to the Clerk of the Council of Munster. Publication of Richard Stanihurst's De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis, Antwerp.
1585	Hugh O'Neill takes his seat in the Irish Parliament as earl of Tyrone (26 April). Scheme for Munster plantation drawn up (Dec.).
1586	Treaty of Berwick between Scots and English (5 July). Bingham massacres Scots supporters of Mayo Burkes at Ardnaree (22 Sept.). Publication of William Camden's Britannia, London.
1587	Mary Stuart executed (8 Feb.). Order granting Sir Walter Raleigh $3\frac{1}{2}$ seignories (42,000 acres) in Cos. Cork and Waterford (28 Feb.). Publication of William Farmer's Almanack for Ireland, Dublin (earliest known Irish almanac, no longer extant).
1588	Sir William Fitzwilliam reappointed Lord Deputy (17 Feb.). About twenty-five ships of the defeated Spanish Armada wrecked off Irish coast.
1589	Commission to inquire into progress of Munster plantation (May). Spenser obtains official possession of Kilcolman Castle (22 May). Visit of Raleigh to Kilcolman as recorded in <i>Colin Clout</i> . Spenser returns to England with Raleigh (Oct.).
1590	Spenser's 'Letter to Raleigh' dated from Kilcolman (23 Jan.). Spenser may have returned briefly to Ireland (May). Publication of <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , Books I–III. Publication of Robert Payne's <i>A Brife Description of Ireland</i> , London.
1591	Tyrone marries Mabel Bagenal, sister of Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal of the army (3 Aug.).
1592	Charter incorporating Trinity College, Dublin (3 Mar.).
1594	Sir William Russell appointed Lord Deputy (16 May). Publication of Richard Beacon's Solon his follie, Oxford.
1595	Art O'Neill, brother of Tyrone, burns the Blackwater fort (16 Feb.). Arrival in Waterford of Sir John Norris as military commander for Ireland (4 May). Marshal



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Chronology xix

	Chronology
	Bagenal's army defeated by Tyrone at Clontibret (13 June). Tyrone proclaimed traitor (23 June). Tyrone and Hugh O'Donnell write to Philip II asking for help (17 Sept.). Publication of Spenser's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, dated from Kilcolman (27 Dec. 1591), London.
1596	Raid on Spanish fleet moored at Cadiz by 2nd earl of Essex (late June). Sir Richard Bingham suspended pending royal inquiry on conduct in Connaught (Sept.). Completion of Spenser's A View of the Present State of Ireland.
1597	Thomas, Lord Burgh, appointed Lord Deputy (5 Mar.). Death of Sir John Norris (c. 9 Sept.). Sir Thomas Norris appointed President of Munster (20 Sept.). Sir Conyers Clifford appointed President of Connaught (4 Sept.). Earl of Ormond appointed military commander (29 Oct.). Publication of Thomas Churchyard's A General Rehearsall of Warres (Churchyard's Choise), London.
1598	Spenser's View entered in Stationers' Register (14 Apr.). English forces routed by Tyrone at the Yellow Ford and Henry Bagenal killed (14 Aug.). Spenser nominated for post of sheriff of Cork by Privy Council, including Essex (30 Sept.). Munster plantation overthrown.
1599	Death of Spenser in Westminster (Jan.). Essex appointed Lord Lieutenant (12 Mar.). Parley of Essex and Tyrone, truce agreed (7 Sept.). Essex leaves Ireland without permission (24 Sept.).
1600	Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, appointed Lord Deputy (21 Jan.). Sir George Carew appointed President of Munster (6 Mar.). Richard Bartlett, cartographer, making maps in Ulster (continues until 1603). Publication of Essex's Apologie, London.
1601	Essex executed on Tower Hill, London (25 Feb.).
1603	Mountjoy defeats confederate army at Kinsale (24 Dec.). Death of Elizabeth (24 Mar.). Tyrone submits to Mountjoy (30 Mar.). James I proclaimed King in Dublin (5 Apr.). Sir John Davies arrives in Ireland as Solicitor General (20 Nov.).
1605	Sir Arthur Chichester appointed Lord Deputy (3 Feb.). Gunpowder plot discovered (5 Nov.).



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1606	Davies appointed Attorney General (29 May). Publication of Lodowick Bryskett's <i>A Discourse of Civill Life</i> , London.
1607	'Flight of the earls' (4 Sept.). The 'earls' and their associates declared traitors and their lands forfeit (Dec.).
1608	Sir Cahir O'Doherty's revolt (18–19 April). Survey of the six counties in Ulster (19 July).
1610	Agreement between the Privy Council and city of London to plant the city of Derry, the county of Coleraine, and barony of Loughinsholin (28 Jan.). Publication of Barnaby Rich's A New Description of Ireland and Thomas Blenerhasset's A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster, London.
1612	Publication of Davies' Discovery, London.
1613	Sir Josiah Bodley's first survey of the Ulster plantation (2 Feb25 April).
1614	Bodley's second survey (Sept.).
1615	Chichester tells the Privy Council of a plot for the massacre of settlers; the conspirators are arrested and hanged (18 April).
1616	Hugh O'Neill dies in Rome (10/20 July).
1617	Publication of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, London.
1619	Publication of Thomas Gainsford's The True Exemplary and Remarkable History of the earl of Tyrone, London.
1621	Publication of Philip O'Sullivan Bear's History of Ireland, Lisbon.
1622	Viscount Falkland appointed Lord Deputy (8 Sept.).
1625	Death of James I and accession of Charles I (27 Mar.).
1626	Charles offers the 'Graces' to his Irish subjects in return for subsidies to pay for an expanded army (22 Sept.).
1628	Parliament to confirm the 'Graces' is not summoned as the Lord Deputy fails to observe the procedure of Poynings' Law (May-Oct.).
1632	Charles I announces decision to appoint Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy (12 Jan.). Publication of William Lithgow's <i>Totall Discourse</i> , London.
1633	Wentworth sworn in as Lord Deputy (25 July). Anonymous publication of Thomas Stafford's <i>Pacata Hibernia</i> , London. Publication of Sir James Ware's edition of



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	Chronology xxi
	Spenser's View and works by Campion and Hanmer as
	The History of Ireland, Dublin.
1634	Completion of Geoffrey Keating's Foras Feasa ar Éirinn (Basis of Knowledge about Ireland).
1636	Completion of the Annals of the Four Masters by Michael Ó Cléirigh and others.
1638	Publication of Sir Richard Bolton's A Justice of the Peace for Ireland, Dublin.
1639	Proclamation requiring Ulster Scots to take an oath of loyalty and obedience to the King (the 'black oath') (21 May).
1640	Wentworth created earl of Strafford (12 Jan.).
1641	Execution of Strafford (12 May). Outbreak of Ulster rebellion (22 Oct.). Ormond appointed Lord Lieutenant of King's army (11 Nov.).
1642	Civil War begins in England (22 Aug.). 'Adventurers' act' (16 Chas. I, c.33 [Eng.]). Publication of Henry Jones's A Remonstrance of Divers Remarkable Passages con-
	cerning the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, London.
1643	Lord Justices and council report that by end of Mar. 1642, 154,000 Protestants have been killed by rebels (16 Mar.).
1644-5	Confederates negotiate with the King and confirm a secret treaty (March–Dec.).
1645	Cardinal Rinuccini, papal envoy to the Confederates, lands at Kinsale (12 Oct.).
1646	Publication of Sir John Temple's The Irish Rebellion, London.
1647	Ormond surrenders Dublin to the parliamentary commissioners (19 June).
1649	Charles I executed (30 Jan.). Cromwell approved Commander-in-Chief in Ireland (30 Mar.). Publication of John Milton's <i>Observations</i> , London (May). Drogheda taken by Cromwell; massacre of garrison and townspeople (11 Sept.). Wexford massacre (11 Oct.).
1650	Charles II repudiates 'the bloody Irish rebels' (16 Aug.).
1652	Act of settlement (12 Aug.). Publication of Gerard Boate's Ireland's Naturall History, London.
1653	Execution of Sir Phelim O'Neill (10 March). Trans-



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xxii	Chronology
	plantation of 'guilty' Irish to Connaught decreed by the Council of State in England (2 July). Act of satisfaction passed providing the land of the transplanted Irish for the 'adventurers' and settlers.
1654	Order for the Civil Survey (14 April).
1655	Publication of Vincent Gookin's The Great Case of
	Transplantation in Ireland Discussed, London, (3 Jan.).
	Publication of Richard Lawrence's The interest of England
	in the Irish Transplantation Stated, London (9 Mar.). Henry
	Cromwell arrives as major-general of the army in Ireland
	(9 July).
1657	Henry Cromwell appointed Lord Deputy (9 July).
1659	Henry Cromwell leaves Ireland (27 June).
166o	Charles II proclaimed King in Dublin (14 May). Act of
	Pardon passed, excluding those involved in the Irish
	rebellion (29 Aug.). Publication of Sir William Petty's
	Reflections upon Some Persons and Things in Ireland, London.



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Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
CSPD	Calender of State Papers, Domestic
CSPI	Calender of State Papers, Ireland
Cal. Carew	Calender of the Carew Manuscripts
$D\mathcal{N}B$	Dictionary of National Biography
EHR	English Historical Review
ELR	English Literary Renaissance
$H\mathcal{J}$	Historical Journal
HLQ_{\cdot}	Huntington Library Quarterly
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
IHS	Irish Historical Studies
<i>JBS</i>	Journal of British Studies
JCHAS	Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeo-
	logical Society
ĴЕGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>јен</i>	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JGAHS	Journal of the Galway Archaeological and
	Historical Society
$ML\mathcal{N}$	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MP	Modern Philology
N&Q	Notes and Queries
NLI	National Library of Ireland
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language As-
	sociation of America
P&P	Past and Present
PQ	Philological Quarterly
PRO	Public Record Office, London

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xxiv Abbreviations

Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc. Proceedings of the American Philosophical

Society

Ren Q. Renaissance Quarterly
RES Review of English Studies

RIA Proc. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy

SAQ South Atlantic Quarterly SEL Studies in English Literature

SP Studies in Philology

TCD Trinity College, Dublin TLS Times Literary Supplement

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
TSLL Texas Studies in Language and Literature

UJA Ulster Journal of Archaeology

Variorum The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum

Edition, Greenlaw et al. 10 vols., Balti-

more, 1932-49

YES Yearbook of English Studies