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Writing in Seventeenth-Century Ireland

Deana Rankin

Excerpt

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Introduction

In the aftermath of Charles I's surrender to parliament at Newark in 1646, as the decimated royalist forces tried to find the best place to regroup, a dispirited cavalier travelled on an overcrowded boat to North Wales. His *Memoirs* tell how:

we put off to Sea, and had a fair Wind all the first Night, but early in the Morning a sudden Storm drove us within two or three Leagues of *Ireland*. In this Pickle Sea-Sick, our Horses rousing about upon one another, and ourselves stifled for want of Room, no Cabins nor Beds, very cold Weather, and very indifferent Diet, we wished our selves ashore again a thousand times; and yet we were not willing to go on Shore in *Ireland*; for the Rebels having Possession of every Place, that was just having our Throats cut at once.

The soldier in question is the narrator of *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, published anonymously in 1720, now attributed to Daniel Defoe. The 'manuscript' was, the titlepage informs readers, 'written Threescore Years ago by an English Gentleman': 1660, the year of the Restoration, was also the year of Defoe's birth.¹ Writing many years after the events which his fictional Cavalier 'experiences', Defoe nonetheless exploits, and to remarkable effect, the literary value of testimony. As fictional memorialist, he becomes himself a reader and a shaper of history; ventriloquising others' versions of events, he makes his individual way through a tightly woven web of historical figure and incident. In constructing this patchwork narrative of eyewitness accounts, he produces a fictional superwitness who travels through the battlefields of Europe, picking and choosing his allegiances, moving with eloquent ease across the complicated stages first of the Thirty Years War, and later the English civil wars.² En route

¹ Daniel Defoe, *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 261.

² On sources, see A. W. Secord, 'The Origins of Defoe's *Memoirs of a Cavalier*', in Robert Drury's *Journal and Other Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 72–133. The novel quickly ran to seven editions; see M. McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 315–37.

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Defoe's soldier delivers 'eyewitness' accounts of a remarkable range of incidents, a scopophiliac's survey of the people and places of history. Serving under Count Tilly, he watches with horror, but from a safe distance, the massacres at Magdeburg. Leaving the Imperial forces in disgust, he toys with the idea of joining the Duke of Saxony but is drawn on to see for himself the fabled military discipline of the Swedish army. Having completed his Grand Tour of military Europe, he returns home to wartorn England. In the course of the narrative, he meets and converses with, among others, Gustavus Adolphus, Prince Rupert and Charles I. He is present at Edgehill, Marston Moor and Naseby, as well as Newark. All in all, Defoe's Cavalier demonstrates the unfailing, uncanny knack of being in the right place at the right time, notebook and pen – he would have us believe – in hand.

Yet Defoe's fictional Cavalier never quite makes it to Ireland. There are limits, it would seem, even to fictional experience. The horrors of defeat, the flight by sea, the hunger and sickness the Cavalier has already lived through are as nothing compared to the projected horrors of that rebel-possessed land. The island remains a brooding presence at the edge of Defoe's literary map.³ And yet, historically speaking, it was entirely plausible that in 1646 Ireland would be, in fact, the best place for the defeated royalists to regroup. For large tracts of Ireland, Dublin included, were in royalist hands. Just days before the battle of Newark, too late to be of service to the king, Charles's Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, had finally signed a peace treaty with the royalist Catholic Confederation. For the first time since the previous cessation of 1644, royalist Ireland was in a position to shift its attention from domestic tensions, to send reinforcements to England and to offer assistance to any shipwrecked Cavaliers who might have been washed ashore. But Defoe's Cavalier makes no allowance for such niceties; viewed from his 1720 ship, Ireland in 1646 was – indeed had always been – a land where 'Rebels [had] possession of every place'.

This study ventures where Defoe's Cavalier feared to tread. It explores mid-seventeenth-century Ireland from closer quarters, listening to the competing voices which struggle to make themselves heard over the insistent noise of battle; in so doing, it challenges the version of history which leaves Defoe's Cavalier at sea. Its focus is the literature of Ireland surrounding the Wars of the Three Kingdoms: the build-up of political

3 Cf. Daniel Defoe, *Tour through the whole island of Great Britain* (London, 1724–27).

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tensions under Wentworth's viceregal rule; the period of Catholic Confederation government, the closest modern Ireland came to self-government before its twentieth-century independence; the Cromwellian conquest and administration; the Restoration and its aftermath. It maps the literary territory between the two monumental figures of English writing that tower at either end of the seventeenth century: Edmund Spenser, the sixteenth-century colonial administrator, and Jonathan Swift, the eighteenth-century colonial nationalist. This is a neglected literary landscape. In recent years, as colonial and postcolonial studies have been increasingly absorbed into the academy, Spenser Studies and Swift Studies have become burgeoning critical industries. English literature undergraduates today read Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* alongside, sometimes before, *The Faerie Queene*; their reading of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* is informed and influenced by *The Drapier's Letters* as well as by *A Modest Proposal*. That Ireland was figured as England's Other has now become a critical commonplace; the anxiety of the English author who writes between two countries and cultures has been incorporated and contained in a revised and theorised Anglo-Irish canon; what began as a trenchant quest both to refigure the rhetoric and to remap the power structures of the early modern period now risks becoming the new doxa. In such a landscape, Spenser and Swift still rise from the mists and bogs of early modern Ireland; English exceptions to the Irish rules.

Between these monoliths, the literary territory of English-language writing in Ireland remains largely uncharted. Are we, then, to presume that this is a silent century; that the business of war and conquest, of policing and resisting colonial settlement, of gaining and losing political franchise, were, in Ireland, all of them silent affairs? Do we simply accept that those concerned were too busy to write, or too busy to write well? To ignore seventeenth-century writing in Ireland is to risk replicating the critical assumptions which for so long consigned the wealth of literature produced in mid-seventeenth-century England to cultural oblivion. For seventeenth-century Ireland was in truth a noisy, scribbling world. In Ireland, as in England, both pen and sword were at insistent work as successive waves of recent settlers and returning exiles, soldiers and administrators, old hands and new arrivals moved through the country. Their journeys and experiences are documented in, indeed were shaped by, the texts they left behind. These range from fragments and miscellanea – letters, diaries, maps – to more sophisticated texts – economic improvement manuals, histories, plays, romances and poems. They merit closer attention.

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This study opens in 1633, when Thomas Wentworth arrived in Ireland to take up his post as the king's Lord Lieutenant, and when the antiquarian Sir James Ware published, in Dublin, a collection of Elizabethan English histories of Ireland, including Spenser's *View*, its first appearance in print. It closes in 1689, when James II arrived in Ireland, at the invitation of Tyrconnell and the Irish parliament, to stage a final resistance to William III, and also the year in which Sir Richard Cox published, in London, the first volume of his *Hibernia Anglicana: A History of Ireland*. It ends, therefore, with yet another definitive history of England's claim to and conquest of Ireland, published on the verge of yet another war. This chronological focus seeks to restore a sense of continuity across the century. Many historical studies of this period, of Ireland as of England, end in 1641 with the advent of war, or begin in 1660 with the Restoration of order. By focusing on c.1633 to c.1689, this study resists the particular tyranny of such teleologies; it resists also the compulsion to characterise the century as a series of apocalyptic moments: the 'Irish rebellion' of 1641, Cromwell's 1649 campaigns, the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the defeat of James II in 1690. In particular, it resists the move to collapse seventeenth-century Ireland into the long eighteenth century, and attempts to restore what Scott has termed 'the unity of the seventeenth-century experience'.⁴

To redescribe the century in such a way, to loosen it from the stranglehold of the eighteenth century, is, in part, to reconnect the age to its sixteenth-century roots. As might be expected, in the chapters which follow, a clear picture emerges of how Spenser's *View* continued to influence both English policy and writing on Ireland across the century, and of how this second generation of Spenserian tracts and histories became formative influences on later writers such as Swift. This is not, however, the only story to be told: this study is not simply a survey of the broad sweep of English Protestant writing across the century, serving as a prehistory for what some term the 'Anglo-Irish literature' of the eighteenth century. It seeks, also, both to define the contours and to explore the details of a second, largely neglected, movement in English writing in Ireland which emerges from the archives between Spenser and Swift: literature written in English by Old English and Irish Catholics.

The English language, firmly entrenched by the mid-seventeenth century as the language of political power in Ireland, in Dublin as in other

4 J. Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 24.

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viceregal centres, was also, increasingly, a site of literary battle where the terms of Irish citizenship were hotly contested. The still-raging debate as to whether early modern Ireland was Kingdom or Colony began in the writings of the soldiers, new settlers and longer-term inhabitants of seventeenth-century Ireland.⁵ This study seeks to introduce to recent discussions a close reading of the original texts and a close attention to textual resonances across the period. It seeks, above all, to listen attentively to the words of individuals who lived through momentous events, and who sought to articulate their experience, to claim the past and to imagine their future, through the stories they told.

I

Received populist versions of history would have us believe that seventeenth-century Ireland is a site of binary contest. It is a contest both of nation – England versus Ireland – and of confession – Catholic versus Protestant. This binarism is one which postcolonial criticism has threatened, on occasion, to replicate further by enforcing the notion that the relationship of conqueror and conquered defines all cultural production. This is – as the more astute commentators have made clear – to gloss over important parts of the story.⁶ The voices and interests clamouring to be heard in Ireland in the seventeenth century are many: the native Irish return from exile seeking reinstatement to property lost to plantation in the aftermath of the Elizabethan Wars; the Old English attempt to hold on to their vestiges of land and power, always subject to erosion by the English administration; the New English, key beneficiaries of the Elizabethan campaigns, seek to further consolidate their already substantial foothold in Ireland by adding domination of the government administration to their economic preeminence; finally, the Cromwellian soldiers

⁵ Key texts in this fierce contest include B. Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); C. Brady, *The Chief Governors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Brady and Gillespie (eds.), *NN*; N. Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) and *MIB*. See also the series of essay collections: H. Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1999); Ohlmeyer (ed.), *PTSI*; S. J. Connolly (ed.), *Political Ideas in Eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2000).

⁶ See the collected pamphlets of Edward Said, Frederic Jameson and Terry Eagleton in S. Deane (ed.), *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature* (Minneapolis: Field Day, 1990); D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995); D. Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin: Lilliput, 1993); C. Graham, *Ideologies of Epic: Nation, Empire and Victorian Epic Poetry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

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lay claim to their reward from the new English Republic for dutiful service in the English civil wars. Ireland is, quite literally, not big enough to accommodate them all. Central to the debates concerning civic participation, therefore – in Ireland as in England – are the relations between land, soldiership and citizenship.⁷ To resurrect the archive and attempt to understand the narratives, poems, plays and pamphlets produced in the period is to restore a broader sense of political dynamic and of individual agency to a period which time and again has become locked in a partisan cant of winners and losers. It is to unfold a spectrum of political and literary agency which does not neatly map on to a bilateral colonial relationship between England and Ireland. For, on careful reading, the historical record and the literary texts reveal a more contoured map of personal and collective convictions than such binary polarisations can allow for. They also provide evidence of shifting patterns of allegiance and of similarities not assimilable to a cursory understanding of colonial power.

The explorations which follow have been informed by two late twentieth-century movements in the scholarship of the Three Kingdoms – Scotland, Ireland, England – in the early modern period. Firstly, the emergence of ‘British History’, a term coined by Pocock in 1975 describing ‘the historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several nations’;⁸ secondly, the campaign by literary scholars to rechart that forgotten territory between the ‘Golden Ages’ of the Renaissance and the Restoration, to resurrect the writings of mid-seventeenth-century England. Each of these developments has both shortcomings and strengths. As a historiographical movement, ‘British History’ seeks to ensure that the distinct culture and

7 The critical terms of the New Model Army seem beyond their time: see A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647–49) from the Clarke Manuscripts* (London: Everyman, 1992); J. Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-century England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 77–91; I. Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645–1653* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); M. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). More experienced scholars than me have been silenced by what happens when such radical readers reach Ireland. See C. Hill, ‘Seventeenth-century English Radicals and Ireland’, in P. Corish (ed.), *Radicals, Rebels and Establishments* (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1985), pp. 33–50 (34).

8 Cited in B. Bradshaw and J. Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem, c. 1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 19. The term is revisited in Baker and Maley (eds.), *BI*, pp. 1–10. Formative essay collections include Barber and Ellis (eds.), *CU*; A. Grant and K. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom: The Enigma of British History* (London: Longman, 1995); J. R. Young (ed.), *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997); S. J. Connolly (ed.), *Kingdoms United?: Great Britain and Ireland since 1500. Integration and Diversity* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1999).

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politics of individual nations and interest groups are not simply absorbed and homogenised into a monolithic historical account of either the birth of the English empire, or the causes of the English civil wars.⁹ As the vocal resistance from Irish and Scottish historians to Anglocentric interpretations of the Civil War, Republic and Protectorate periods indicates, however, the project does carry its own dangers of centralisation. Critics of this study, for example, will protest that it should address not only the Irish but also the Scottish and Welsh connections of the writers and texts explored. That, I would argue, is another parallel, even successive, area of research which lies beyond the borders of this already full study. Within the framework of the Three Kingdoms, the relationship of England and Ireland in the seventeenth century remains, uniquely, fraught with the legacy of long-term occupation and relatively recent Reformation. This created, as the texts explored in this study indicate, a particularly fiery crucible for the refining of notions of Englishness on the borders of empire.

At the very heart of the 'British History' debate, in the terms posited by Pocock, there lies the question of subject and subjectivity; of who narrates and where; of what gets narrated, and in what narrative form. And yet, with only occasional exceptions, the territory of the 'New British Historians' is regularly defined in 'historical' rather than 'literary' terms. This division of discourse is not my own; it operates as a kind of reflex action in the work of historians who come close to texts they perceive as 'literary'. So, for example, in an article on Irish poetry of the mid-seventeenth century, Michelle Ó Riordan feels obliged to offer the gnomic comment: 'No attempt will be made to provide a literary analysis of the poems, though it is understood at all times that they are literary items and must be read as such'.¹⁰ In spite of such moments of anxiety, critical engagement with literary texts in the Irish language has, of course, made an important contribution to the multivalent reading of the seventeenth century.¹¹

9 Barnard points out that this approach appeared self-evident to S. R. Gardiner; see 'Scotland and Ireland in the Stewart Monarchy', in Grant and Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom*, pp. 250–51. Some figures, such as Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, have always been treated as functioning between at least two kingdoms; see Chapter Two.

10 M. Ó Riordan, "'Political" Poems in the Mid Seventeenth Century Crisis', in Ohlmeyer (ed.), *IIO*, pp. 112–27 (113fn).

11 See, for example, C. O'Rahilly (ed.), *Five Seventeenth-century Political Poems* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1952); B. Ó Buachalla, 'James our True King: The Ideology of Irish Royalism in the Seventeenth Century', in D. G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall and V. Geoghan (eds.), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 7–35;

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By contrast, in the recent multifaceted investigations into seventeenth-century Irish history, as social, economic, military and intellectual historians add colour and context to the Irish wars, engagement with English literature of the period is notable only by its absence. When it comes to the primary sources addressed in this study – the critical engagement with texts written in and on Ireland in the English language in the mid-seventeenth century – the story is one of neglect. Aside from the trailblazing work of Patricia Coughlan, little attention has been given to English writing *in* Ireland across the seventeenth century.¹² Texts have been plundered for fragments of information, energy has been devoted to piecing together the jigsaws of battle and skirmish, allegiances and enmities, politics and campaigns throughout the period. But the ‘New British History’ has offered no systematic study of the ways and means – the language, the metaphors, the generic influences – employed by contemporary writers to articulate their version of events. In the genre of Irish History, where there has long been recognition – even celebration – of the fact that writing and the making of history go together, that the literary revival is a political phenomenon, that Sheridan – or Burke, or Yeats, or Pearse – is both author and activist, this is a strange omission.

Of course, this is not to say that recent literary scholarship has had no impact on the critical interrogation of early modern Ireland. In recent years the study of Spenser, his Irish texts and contexts, has become

M. Ó Riordan, ‘The Native Ulster *mentalité* as Revealed in Gaelic Sources, 1600–1650’, in MacCuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641*, pp. 61–92; M. Caball, *Poets and Politics: Continuity and Reaction in Irish Poetry, 1558–1625* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998); E. Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002). On Irish-language historiography, see B. Cunningham, ‘Native Culture and Political Change in Ireland, 1580–1640’, in Brady and Gillespie (eds.), *NN*, pp. 148–70; ‘Seventeenth-century Interpretations of the Past: The Case of Geoffrey Keating’, *IHS*, 25 (1986), pp. 116–28 and ‘The Culture and Ideology of the Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain 1607–1650’, in C. Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the Historians: Historical Studies XVI* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1991); B. Bradshaw, ‘Geoffrey Keating: Apologist of Irish Ireland’, in Bradshaw *et al.* (eds.), *RI*, pp. 166–90.

¹² My own research has been enriched by conversations with Patricia Coughlan; see her ‘Natural History and historical Nature: the Project for a Natural History of Ireland’, in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie and T. Raylor (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 298–317; ‘Counter-currents in Colonial Discourse: the Political Thought of Vincent and Daniel Gookin’, in Ohlmeyer (ed.), *PTSL*, pp. 35–55; ‘“The modell of its sad afflictions”: Henry Burkhead’s *Tragedy of Cola’s Furie*’, in Ó Siochrá (ed.), *KC*, pp. 192–211; ‘“Cheap and common animals”: the English Anatomy of Ireland in the seventeenth century’, in T. Healy and J. Sawday (eds.), *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 205–26. As this book goes to press, the publication of Andrew Carpenter’s *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004) makes a remarkable addition to scholarship on this period.

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virtually a discipline in itself.¹³ In Spenser's now notorious dialogue, Irenaeus, the visitor from Ireland to court, educates Eudoxus with a first-hand account of the perils and barbarities of that land. Chief villains of Irenaeus's account are those English families who 'have degendred from their auncient dignities, and are now growne as Irish, as O'hanlon's breech, as the proverbe there is'.¹⁴ Having listed the crimes, Irenaeus also proffers the solution: with all the authority of the insider, he advocates a ruthless military conquest of the land, followed by a thorough 'civilisation' and education of the defeated, reduced inhabitants. The proposal and the tone of the *View* stand in bleak contrast to the intricacies of Spenser's poetic work and the complexities of his position as English administrator-poet in Ireland. This embodiment of the colonial dilemma of distance from the metropolitan centre has attracted the commentary of a range of international critics working on postcolonialism, from Said to Kiberd.¹⁵

Once again, however, there are borders to this field of inquiry. The interdisciplinary study of poetry and policy-making has only rarely stretched into the seventeenth century. In 1993 *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* made a stimulating contribution to the cultural history of the period, but it remained heavily weighted not just towards the literature of 1534 to c.1630, but also towards English representations of Ireland. Almost a decade later, *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature* attempted to redress the balance of 'British History' by examining the role of literature in the construction of 'Britishness' across the period. It is a thought-provoking collection, which poses important questions about the Holy Grail of interdisciplinary study. As David Scott Kastan plaintively observes: 'We [literary scholars]

13 Following the lead of P. Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1928), see, for instance, P. Coughlan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1989); D. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Blackwell, [1984] 2002), pp. 97–139, 299–303; A. Hadfield (ed.), *Edmund Spenser* (London: Longman, 1996), and *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde fruit and Savage Soyl* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); W. Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); R. McCabe, *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). See Hadfield and Maley's amusing academic campaign strategy, 'A View of the Present State of Spenser Studies: Dialogue-wise', in J. Klein Morrison and M. Greenfield (eds.), *Edmund Spenser: Essays on Culture and Allegory* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 183–96.

14 Spenser, *View*, p. 70.

15 E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), pp. 266–69; Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, pp. 10–15.

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regularly read their work but historians rarely read ours'.¹⁶ In this case, 'historians', namely Jane Ohlmeyer and Derek Hirst, *do* read (and reply to) the essays in this collection, and they have important observations to make. Ohlmeyer chides the concentration on the same few texts of the English canon, suggesting that closer attention be paid to 'sources not traditionally regarded as literary'.¹⁷ For those who work in the field and find the same few scenes of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the same cantos of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, repeatedly discussed, and not always in new and illuminating ways, the plea is heartfelt. As John Kerrigan's exemplary contribution to the volume on Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery reveals, the rewards for straying from the well-trodden canonical path are many: it is the 'interactive perplexities' of history, literature and national allegiances across the period that merit further detailed and serious attention.¹⁸

There remains, then, much to learn from the second movement of literary scholarship mentioned above: the recent vibrant, challenging critical work on the literature of the English civil wars, Republic and Restoration. Two recent, germinal, though very differently motivated, studies by David Norbrook and Nigel Smith have stimulated critical attention to the politics and poetics of the period, and opened the doors to further research.¹⁹ Old arguments – that theatre stopped in 1641, that the time was one for soldiers not poets, that it was left to royalists to preserve English literary culture – have been revisited, complicated and revised by the unearthing and rereading of long-forgotten texts.²⁰ Such writings deserve attention, not just for the nuggets of historical information they yield, but because they also create and exercise language and forms for self-articulation: what we might term a political poetics. As the best of recent literary scholarship on the period has shown, the study of writing, the skilled attention of the literary critic, must be reintegrated into historical research if we are to understand the variety and versatility of political agency, religious belief and self-expression in the period.

¹⁶ Baker and Maley (eds.), *BI*, p. 4.

¹⁷ J. Ohlmeyer, 'Literature and the New British and Irish Histories', in *ibid.*, pp. 245–55 (245, 250).

¹⁸ J. Kerrigan, 'Orrery's Ireland and the British Problem, 1641–1679', in Baker and Maley (eds.), *BI*, pp. 197–225 (198).

¹⁹ Norbrook, *WER*; Smith, *LR*.

²⁰ Recent anthologies from the period include: G. Greer *et al.* (eds.), *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-century Women's Verse* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989); J. Raymond, *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641–1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush, 1993); N. Smith, *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century* (London: Junction Books, 1983); M. Wilding, *Dragon's Teeth: Literature in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).