

**The Art of War:
Military Writing in Ireland in the Mid Seventeenth Century**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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'The Art of War' studies the transition of the soldier from fighter to settler as it is reflected in the texts he produces. Drawing on texts written by soldiers, in English, between c. 1624 and 1685, it focuses on representations of events in Ireland from 1641-1655, that is to say, during the Catholic Confederation and the Cromwellian campaigns and settlement. The focus and methodology of the thesis seek to restore a more literary reading of seventeenth century texts from, and about, Ireland to the current vibrant historical debate on the period.

It argues that the writings of the Old Irish, Old English, New English, and Cromwellian soldiers in Ireland draw on a variety of literary influences -- the traces of Guicciardini and Machiavelli, Sidney and Spenser are clear. It also charts shifts in the genres of military writing from professional handbooks, to documents of civil policy, to romance, poetry, and the theatre. In doing so, it addresses the literary tools which the soldier-writer uses to define the self within a complex network of political, national, religious, and personal allegiances.

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first, chapter one, explores the trafficking of military images between military handbook and literary text. It pays particular attention to Ireland as a borderland for the European Wars and the English colonial enterprise. The second part, comprising three chapters, examines three different perspectives on the Irish Wars. The first, that of the Old English writer Richard Bellings; the second, that of the anonymous *Aphorismical Discovery*; the third begins with a view of the 'Irish enemy' from England, as it is constructed and enforced in the pamphlet literature of the Civil War period, and ends with the perspective of Richard Lawrence, a Cromwellian soldier-turned-settler in the early 1680s. The third part, the fifth and final chapter, explores the controversies surrounding recent Irish history as they are played out in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis. This is followed by a brief conclusion.

**For Trevor, my father,
and in memory of Lottie, my mother**

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No thesis is born in a vacuum. This one has taken shape in the midst of cessations, cease-fires, and talks about talks. To all those who have talked with me -- or listened to me talk -- about soldiers over the past few years, I am grateful.

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Introduction

And little of this great world can I speak
 More than pertains to feats of broil and battle
 And therefore little shall I grace my cause
 In speaking for myself. Yet by your gracious patience,
 I will a round unvarnished tale deliver
 Of my whole course of life.
Othello, I. iii. 81-91.

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, in the wake of the Williamite-Jacobite wars, we catch a tantalising glimpse of *Othello* in performance in Dublin:

The play was acted by Officers mostly about the Castle, Mr Ashbury Iago only, for the Company was not form'd till three months after, when they began again with *Othello*, which was on March 23, 1691-2, the Day of proclaiming the End of the *Irish War*.¹

Encapsulated in this snapshot is a moment of transition; from war to peace, from soldier to actor, from professional to amateur. On the Dublin stage, real and fictional soldiers become interchangeable and the production itself embodies the transition, for even the actor, 'Mr Ashbury', was also one of Ormond's lieutenants.² Furthermore, this moment of slippage is situated at the very heart of Shakespeare's play, as it addresses the difficulties of exchanging the profession of war for the domestic activity of settlement. As Othello laments:

Farewell the tranquil mind! Farewell content!
 Farewell the plumèd troops and the big wars
 That make ambition virtue -- O, farewell!

¹ W. Chetwood, *General History of the Stage* (London, 1749), p. 53. *Othello* was one of the first plays to be staged at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, when it opened in 1662, and it remained in repertory throughout the 1670s. It has been suggested that Shakespeare's alterations to Giraldi Cinthio's version of the tale were influenced by a story published by Geoffrey Fenton, father-in-law of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, and later Secretary of State for Ireland, *Certain tragickall Discourses* (London, 1567); see W. Shakespeare, *Othello*, K. Muir ed. (London, 1968), p. 11. For a rather unsatisfactory reading of the Irish historical context for *Othello*, see A. Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 217-242.

² See W. Clark, *The Early Irish Stage* (Oxford, 1955), p. 57.

Farewell the neighing steed, and the shrill trump,
 The spirit-stirring drum, th'ear-piercing fife,
 The royal banner and all quality,
 Pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war!³

Performed at a moment of military victory, this *ad hoc* production of *Othello* gives pause for thought. In recent years, an efflorescence of scholarship has begun to recast seventeenth century Ireland in historical, political, and cultural terms. New research has peered behind the military iconography which places William of Orange, James II, and Schomberg as fierce symbols of Protestant victory and Catholic defeat, to unravel the cultural complexities of Irish society.⁴ In such a context, the moment of performance outlined above deserves our attention. If the Williamite-Jacobite wars signalled a military resolution to both an English and a broader European problem, we might pause to ask why, at such a decisive moment of 'victory', did the returning soldiers choose to spend their time with *Othello*? A clue is to be found in the lines which close Othello's lament above:

And, O you mortal engines, whose rude throats
 Th'immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit,
 Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone.⁵

War, as Othello knows, can be hard to give up. When he tries to make the transition from glittering military service to the Venetian Republic into domestic bliss, Othello finds only a different battlefield. Iago -- the veteran passed over for promotion in favour of a younger man -- brings all his experience of military strategy to bear on the destruction of his master's

³ *Othello*, III. iii. 345-351.

⁴ On modern iconography see B. Loftus, *Mirrors: orange and green* (Dundrum, 1994). The cover of the *New Gill History of Ireland*, III, features Jan Wyck's 'The death of Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne', B. Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: The Wars of Religions* (Dublin and London, 1988).

⁵ *Othello*, III. iii. 352-4.

private life.⁶ The action takes place on the very borders of empire. On Cyprus, an island hovering between war and peace, the laws and orders of war are crumbling; drinking and brawling threaten to become the new discipline of settlement. The changes to Othello's 'occupation' are accompanied by a change of language. While Othello makes the standard soldierly protestations that he is not skilled in speaking, his is, in fact, a powerful language. Desdemona is seduced, not by magic arts and enchantment as her father at first believes, but by gallant autobiography. It is by means of Othello's soldier-story that she becomes his 'fair warrior'.⁷ Othello's attempt to move from the noisy formalities of war to a new, domestic language marks the linguistic journey from soldier to settler. Yet for all his way with words, Othello never quite masters the art of civil conversation. He tells his life story and wins the girl, but he fails spectacularly to talk with her. We watch Othello as he stumbles to learn to talk of domestic concerns, constantly outwitted by Iago, the master of the unspoken. Othello watches others in staged conversations, listens to Iago's false reports, indulges in ceremonial military vows but fails to converse, to listen, and to reply. It is a failing which Othello puts down to his colour, but race is not his only difference: he is also a soldier, stuck in limbo between the military and domestic worlds. In Othello's final act, his suicide, he attempts to restore clarity by killing himself as he once killed a Turk, an enemy of the Republic. He tries, in death, to restore the clarity of the battleline.⁸

⁶ Ibid. I. iii. 309. Cassio, a mathematician, takes his tactics from books: 'Mere prattle without practice / Is all his soldiership', I. i. 26-27.

⁷ Ibid. II. iii. 207-211; I. iii. 127-169.

⁸ Ibid. III. iii. and IV. i.; III. iii. 260-62; V. ii. 348-351. See also his nostalgia for the battlefield, V. ii. 259-263.

This thesis explores the anxieties of occupation, and of changing occupation, as they appear in the writings of soldiers involved in the Irish Wars of the mid-seventeenth century. It focuses on representations written in English of events in Ireland from 1641-1655; that is to say, on representations of Confederate Ireland and of the Cromwellian campaigns and settlement. In doing so, it draws on texts written over a much broader period, between c. 1624 and 1684. It explores how the poetics of the soldier-writer are formed, and how he engages with historiography as he narrates his version of events -- for in spite of tantalising glimpses of women engaged in warfare, and in writing, it is invariably 'his' engagement.⁹ While much historical attention has been given to piecing together the jigsaws of battle and skirmish, allegiances and enmities, politics and campaigns throughout the period, little attention has been given to the literary texture and shaping of the accounts plundered for such fragments of information. The sixteenth century images of the Irish soldier abroad captured by Albrecht Dürer, 'Irish kerne or mercenaries' (1521), and Abraham de Bruyn, 'Hybernes miles' (1578), offer snapshots of the life of Irish military exile abroad. The surviving visual images of seventeenth century Ireland are military in origin -- sketches and paintings executed to enable attack, defence, and military strategy or Van Dyck's portrait of Wentworth in armour with his obedient Irish Wolfhound at his side.¹⁰ Surviving written accounts of Ireland in this period -- whether descriptions, histories, poems, or plays -- are also produced by the military pen. This thesis examines how such soldier-writers articulate their experience both of war and settlement. It explores some of the ways in which they draw

⁹ See M. O'Dowd, 'Women and War in Ireland in the 1640s' in M. MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991) pp. 91-111.

¹⁰ See A. Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The Watercolours of Ireland: Works on paper in pencil, pastel and paint c. 1600-1914* (London, 1994), pp. 13-21; see also John Derricke, *The Image of Irelande* (London, 1581).

on the formal structures and poetics of romance, heroic epic, and tragicomedy as well as the professional genre of the military handbook in their negotiation of the difficult -- often impossible -- transition from soldier to settler.

It will be useful, at the outset, to define the terms of the investigations presented in this thesis. Firstly, the genre of 'military writing', as I have defined it for the purposes of this thesis, deserves clarification. In its broadest sense, I have used the term to mean 'writing by and for soldiers'. Perhaps at its clearest, it is exemplified in the military handbooks of Gerrat Barry and Roger Broghill, Earl of Orrery, explored in chapter one, or the military memoirs of Castlehaven, the subject of chapter five; it is also clear that the militant colonial intentions of the Cromwellian soldier-writers, examined in chapter four, might be classed as 'military writing'. It is, however, my contention that military concerns and military language shape much writing in this period which is more often classed as political or literary. This thesis aims to trace the influences of military thought, and of the rhetorics of the handbook and the memoir, in texts as diverse as tragicomedy, romance, and the economic treatise. To take a perhaps surprising example explored in chapter two, the writings of Richard Bellings, who continually styles himself as a man of letters and the law and not a man of arms, can be shown to articulate the complex military realities of the Confederation period. The nostalgia for an older chivalric code of honour which motivates his writing of both romance and history is constantly disrupted by the force -- and claims -- of military event.

This study does not deal with all 'military writing' in Ireland in the mid-seventeenth century, rather it focuses on texts in the English language, and refers only peripherally to the wealth of material from the period written in Latin and in Irish. It is certainly my intention to return

elsewhere to Latin, to such monumental texts as John Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus* ([St Omer?], 1662) and to smaller scale pieces such as Eleanora Burnell's Latin dedicatory poem to her father Henry's play *Landgartha: A Tragicomedie* (Dublin, 1641) and to the Irish language poetry of the period. For the moment, however, I wish to confine my discussion to texts written in English -- already an ambitious aspiration for the confines of a doctoral thesis. My reasons for this are twofold. The first is that of competence and precedence; as I shall explore further below, other literary scholars more skilled in these languages than I have begun to explore the links between historical context and literary form in Irish language and Latin texts. I refer to their work where relevant and would hope to be read in relation to it and to explore the texts they deal with in more detail in due course. The second is a more positive choice: I believe that an exploration of texts written specifically in English, is an urgently needed piece for the jigsaw of scholarship relating to Ireland in the period. To address the field of writing in the English language by writers from a variety of Irish backgrounds is to step into a hotly contested linguistic and, I shall argue, literary field. As the shift from Irish to English as the *lingua franca* of administrative power in Ireland was reinforced in the course of the seventeenth century, writers, soldiers, and settlers all fought for the means of expression and did so in the working language of government.

As this thesis shall illustrate, Native or Old Irish, Old English, New English and Cromwellian writers chose to recount their histories not just in Irish, nor yet in Latin, the language of Catholic Europe, but in English, the language of the new governing elite. At its most basic, this attempt to lay claim to the language of the English metropolis deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. For the student of English literature in particular, this writing from the margins of colonial and domestic policy deserves -- at the very least -- to be

incorporated into the expanding seventeenth century canon. For too long the student of seventeenth century English literature has considered Irishness to be monolithic, or at best divided into 'Protestant Irish and Catholic Irish'. A wealth of historical scholarship on the period has contributed to a complex picture of ethnic, political and religious allegiance both in Ireland in particular and throughout the three kingdoms. While this scholarship has informed recent debate on 'English' literature, and indeed on what 'Englishness' might mean at various stages across the seventeenth century, there is still much work to be done on the literature of the 'other' two kingdoms. Through its examination of a select number of English language texts, all of which contest the terms of linguistic, military and political settlement in Ireland, this thesis aims, then, to complicate our understanding of 'Irishness' and to chart the emergence of what has come -- by some -- to be known as Anglo-Irish literature.

Adopting the still-contested terms of recent historians of Ireland, I refer in particular to four broad groups in my discussion of soldier-writers -- Native or Old Irish, Old English, New English and the Cromwellians. By Native or Old Irish, I refer to the indigenous Irish Catholic population who, in spite of their decisive suppression in the late sixteenth century, culminating in their defeat at Kinsale in 1601, still maintained an important presence in seventeenth century Ireland, and, crucially, exercised influence through the exiled Irish communities across Europe. The Old English traced their presence and land claims in Ireland to the Anglo-Norman invasion of the twelfth century and, remaining Catholic, protested their loyalty to the English Crown both before and after the Reformation. Both of these groups inhabited Gaelic culture and used the Irish language; both, in the course of the seventeenth century, came to write in English. The term 'New English', I use to refer to the wave of Protestant settlers who gained Irish lands in land settlements under Elizabeth I and James I in

the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and thereafter sought to dominate the English administration of Ireland. After 1649, the Cromwellian settlers, characterised by a particularly fierce combination of Protestantism and English colonial zeal, were the latest arrivals on the seventeenth century scene. Their lands in Ireland were the reward for their services to Parliament in the English Civil Wars.

It is important to note that these groups were not discreet; intermarriage and changing political allegiance on both the local and national scale meant that ethnic and cultural borders were often blurred. The interests and family connections of the Old Irish and New English in particular often overlapped. Yet I believe that these categories give some indication of the cultural identities which writers brought to their work. Important, too, is an acknowledgement not only that these are terms which these writers would not have used to describe themselves -- they are the terms of more recent commentators -- but also that not all of the writers I refer to would have classed themselves as 'Irish'. In referring to 'Irish' writing, I recognise that the 'Irishness' of the writing may lie in a strongly felt sense of homeland or a colonial sense of ownership, that the writer may perceive his 'Irishness' as a birthright, an accident of birth, a temporary exile, or even as an insult used by others to tarnish his deeply felt 'Englishness'. As the thesis progresses, I will argue that each of the writers featured here problematises their relationship to Ireland and their 'Irishness' in ways which shape both their writing and their manipulation of the English language.

Ireland makes much of its military tradition and history. It continues to keep *The Soldier's Song* as its national anthem, and while the present day Irish Army sees most of its active duty on UN peacekeeping missions abroad, in Northern Ireland, both military and paramilitary influences

continue to mould political and social culture. As the editors of *A Military History of Ireland* have it:

Ireland is an island whose peoples, structures, society and politics have been for centuries shaped, where not determined, by war, the threat of war or, at least, by the absence of peace; a place where armed men in uniform (formal or informal) have ever been a constant (benign or malign) presence; a small country out of which vast armies of men have poured to do battle abroad. It would be indeed curious if these persistent martial themes had left little mark in Irish culture; and it may not in fact be so surprising if, on examination, an Irish military tradition turns out to be essential to the Irish historical experience, and a key element in modern Irish identity.¹¹

The military aspects of Ireland's culture were heavily contested in the early modern period, and not only on the battlefield. *Lebor Gabála*, 'The Book of Invasions' -- an early medieval account of Ireland's ancient history, copied by Michel O'Clery in c. 1630-31 -- inscribed the military in the very origins of the Irish race. They were the sons of Míl Easpáine ('miles hispaniae') and a warrior breed. Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland*, published for the first time very shortly after O'Clery completed his task, attacked not only the truth of the myth, but also the false Irish chronicles which propagated the notion-- 'all which are in truth fables and very Milesian lyes'.¹²

¹¹ The editors, 'An Irish military tradition?', in T. Bartlett and K. Jeffery eds, *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 1-25 (2). *The Soldier's Song*, by Peadar Kearney and Patrick Heeney, was adopted by the Irish Volunteers in 1912 and became the national anthem of the Irish Free State in 1926. Criticism of its romantic militarism periodically surfaces in relation to the violence in Northern Ireland.

¹² E. Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, A. Hadfield and W. Maley eds, (Oxford, 1997), p. 49. See also pp. 44-50. Spenser's view of Irish links to Spain is clearly rooted in the threat of Spanish links with the Irish rebellion of the 1590s. On *Lebor Gabála*, see E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Material of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), pp. 206-7, pp 168-170. On O'Clery and his contemporaries, see B. Cunningham, 'The Culture and Ideology of Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain 1607-1650', in C. Brady ed., *Ideology and the Historians* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 11-30. *A Military History* opens with a brief study of Cú Chulainn, warrior of the *Táin Bó Cúailgne*, and his journey from warrior to warrior icon. Unfortunately the otherwise excellent study does not develop this theme and the literary representation of the Irish soldier, particularly the Irish soldier on stage, remains outside its remit, see pp. 1-2. See also Thomas Kinsella's translation of *The Tain* (Oxford, 1969).

Yet even as Spenser's Irenius dismissed such accounts as fabrications, the mythical link of the Irish to the wild Scythians and to an invading military force served a useful purpose. For it strengthened the English colonising hand: it cast the native Irish both as inherently volatile subjects, and as themselves colonial invaders, ripe for reconquest by the next colonising force. Playing a double game, damning the Irish by their own versions of history, Spenser and his seventeenth-century English readers advocated a military solution to a military problem. In the Irish Wars of the mid-seventeenth century, however, it became clear that their opponents were no 'wild Scythians'. Rather the Irish enemy included skilled military generals, with professional skills gained in continental warfare. Furthermore, in crisis, there developed a complex cocktail of ethnic identity -- Old Irish, Old English, New English, English -- combined with political allegiance -- European counter-Reformationist, Royalist, Parliamentarian, Republican -- which often stretched beyond Irish territory. In such a climate, it is impossible to ignore the fact that texts circulate, that the Irish soldier as well as the English, can read and, crucially, can write back.

In *Power and Knowledge*, Foucault singled out the army for the subject of his next project:

The longer I continue, the more it seems to be that the formation of discourses and the genealogy of knowledge need to be analysed, not in terms of types of consciousness, modes of perception and forms of ideology, but in terms of tactics and strategies of power ... One theme I would like to study in the next few years is that of the army as a matrix of organisation and knowledge.¹³

In the early days, my own project was certainly inspired by both Foucault's remark and his work.

To the student of seventeenth century Ireland, the French models for New Historicism along with

¹³ M. Foucault, *Power and Knowledge* (New York, 1980) p. 77. Complementary to this are his analyses of war and politics in '*Il faut défendre la société*': *Cours au Collège de France, (1975-1976)* (Paris, 1997).

their Californian counterparts, offer useful liberation. The nature of the surviving archive places us willy-nilly in the position of cultural magpie and New Historicist sensitivity to the text in all its forms has made valuable cultural documents of the maps, treaty negotiations, oaths of allegiance, and summons to Fasting and Prayer which clutter the library shelves.¹⁴ Coupled with the practice of post-colonial reading, this has encouraged a generation of scholars to reread -- and to rewrite -- the archive. Yet alongside this freedom to reread, to reinterpret, there is a danger that such methods of reading reinforce rather than scrutinise the battlelines of literary and historical study. For Foucault's definition of 'power' is fraught with restrictions; indeed his scholarly search for 'the tactics and strategies of power' is articulated in the very military metaphor which this thesis seeks to place under the microscope.

Received populist versions of history would often have us believe that the history of seventeenth century Ireland is one of binary contest. It is both a contest of nation -- England and Ireland -- and of confession -- Catholic and Protestant. It is a binary location which post-colonial criticism threatens, 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 post-colonial commentators have made clear -- to gloss over important parts of the story.¹⁵ The voices and interests clamouring to be heard in Ireland in the seventeenth century are many; the native

¹⁴ To read these official documents for their textual secrets is akin to the 'poaching' of M. de Certeau, 'Lire: un braconnage' in *L'invention du quotidien, Arts de Faire* (Paris, 1980).

¹⁵ See the collected Field Day pamphlets of Edward Said, Frederic Jameson, and Terry Eagleton in S. Deane ed., *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature* (Minneapolis, 1990). See also D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London, 1995); D. Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin, 1993) and C. Graham and R. Kirkland eds, *Ireland and Cultural Theory: the Mechanics of Authenticity* (London and New York, 1999).

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, the 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 lay claim to their reward from the newly formed English Republic for dutiful service in the English Civil Wars. Ireland is, quite literally, not big enough for them all. Central to this thesis, therefore, are the relationships between the land, soldiership, and citizenship. As I shall demonstrate in the first chapter, the echo of Machiavelli in my title -- *The Art of War* -- signals the repeated attempts across the period to define not only the profession of the soldier, but also its relations to citizenship and the 'active life'.¹⁶ All of the interest groups outlined above sought to contribute to the government of Ireland across the seventeenth century in a variety of political forms: Wentworth pursued his experiment in 'thorough' and colonial government, the Catholic Confederation instituted a federal administration during the crisis of the English Civil Wars, O'Neill formed a military alliance with the Papal nuncio Rinuccini, and Cromwell determined to mark Ireland with the imprint of the newly established English Commonwealth. It is my contention that, in all of the interest groups above, the military life

¹⁶ The New Model Army has been much studied as a community of readers, activists, and political thinkers whose critical terms seem to be far beyond their time. See for example, A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647-49) from the Clarke Manuscripts* (London, 1992); J. Holstun, *A Rational Millenium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth Century England and America* (New York and Oxford, 1987), esp. 77-91. See also I. Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653* (Oxford, 1992), and M. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge, 1979). More experienced scholars than I have been silenced by what happens when such radical readers arrive on Irish territory. Witness C. Hill's almost complete silence on Ireland, with the exception of 'Seventeenth-century English Radicals and Ireland', in P. Corish ed., *Radicals, Rebels and Establishments* (Belfast, 1985), pp. 33-50: 'on Ireland we no longer have the illusory sense that the radicals are our contemporaries; they too have to be understood historically', p. 34.

remains the dominant paradigm, structuring their visions for the settlement of Ireland. As such, it is inscribed both in the documentation of civil settlement and in the received historical versions of the period, whatever their political provenance. The thesis argues that to unravel the tightly woven web of self-interest, event, and historiography, to examine the complexities of military interest at a linguistic level, to read -- so to speak -- for the military clues; all these are an essential part of the work. It restores 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.

This thesis, then, offers neither a military history nor an archaeology of any one of the four armies operating in Ireland during the mid-seventeenth century. Rather it presents a study, in their historical context, of a variety of histories and stories, dramas and poems written by military men. In doing so it unfolds a spectrum of political agency which does not neatly map onto a bilateral colonial relationship between England and Ireland -- nor yet between power and knowledge. In arguing for a restoration of the individual soldier-voice, I do not seek to deny the colonisation process which takes place in this period. However, the accounts which chart this process produce a more finely textured map of personal and political convictions than such binary polarisations can allow for. They also provide evidence of unexpected allegiances and similarities not assimilable to a cursory understanding of colonial power.

Nor does this thesis present a history of the period, that is to say a systematic review of the military engagements and political debates which shaped Ireland in the mid-seventeenth century. The reader seeking an account of Ormond's negotiations of cessations or the military organisation of the Catholic Confederation must look elsewhere in the growing field of

scholarship on the period.¹⁷ Studies of the administrations governing Ireland during the period -- in particular, Toby Barnard's invaluable *Cromwellian Ireland*, and most recently, Micheál Ó Siuchrú's *Confederate Ireland* -- have restored depth and detail to the political and social cultural picture.¹⁸ A number of monographs on charismatic figures of the elite have used the archives of individuals to illuminate the our sense of the political and geographical worlds in which they operated. Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, James Butler, first Duke of Ormond and the elusive Ulster leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, have been

¹⁷ The loss of Confederation records in 1711, and the destruction done to the archives in the Civil War, 1922, did irreparable damage. However, the recent surge in research into the period has led to a much improved vision of the historical resources still available. See, for instance, R.D. Edwards and M. O'Dowd, *Sources for Early Modern Irish History, 1534-1641* (Cambridge, 1985); B.C. Donavan and D. Edwards, *British Sources for Irish History, 1485-1641: A Guide to Manuscripts in Local, Regional and Specialised Repositories in England, Scotland and Wales* (Dublin, 1997). In addition, the practice of academic historians has expanded to work in fruitful conjunction with local historical societies, to construct a working 'history from below'. See for example, E. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork, 1950) and publications of the M.A. programme in the series *Maynooth Studies in Local History* ed., R. Gillespie. On the value of local archives as a resource for cultural history, see C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983) and another resonant soldier's story in N. Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

¹⁸ T. C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 1975). See also his 'The cult and culture of improvement in Ireland', in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie, and T. Raylor eds, *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 281-297 and 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities, 1660-1760', in T. Claydon and I. McBride eds, *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-c. 1850* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 206-235. M. Ó Siuchrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642-49: A constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999). See also Barnard's review, 'For Pym read Plunkett', *T.L.S.*, 12 March 1999. Ó Siuchrú draws particular attention to the wealth of unpublished research on the Confederation, much of which has informed my own research, including D. Cregan's, 'The Confederation of Kilkenny: Its organisation, personnel and history' (Ph. D. thesis, University College Dublin, 1947); J. Lowe, 'The negotiations between Charles I and the confederation of Kilkenny 1642-9' (Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1960), see *Confederate Ireland*, pp. 11-16. More recent studies should shortly appear in print; see P. Lenihan 'The Catholic Confederacy 1642-49: An Irish State at War' 2 vols. (Ph. D. thesis, University College Galway, 1995; forthcoming Cork University Press); and T. Ó hAnnracháin "'Far from terra Firma": The mission of Gian Battista Rinuccini to Ireland 1645-1649', 2 vols (Ph. D. thesis, European University Institute, 1995).

brought to vivid life. In their different stories, and from their different cultural backgrounds, the picture which emerges is -- once again -- not simply a bilateral tale of English colonisation and Irish resistance. Rather they operated in a complex network of relations across not just 'Three' but 'Five Kingdoms', their interests often caught up with those of France and Spain. Furthermore, while we should not underestimate the political and administrative upheavals these men faced on a national and international level, it is clear that their stories highlight a remarkable ability to survive in their locality: to adapt the cultural legacies of the Elizabethan years to the emerging English colonial empire.¹⁹

Alongside the monograph in recent years, a number of essay collections have also appeared. Whether extending the work of sixteenth century historians on the Reformation and Elizabethan settlement of Ireland to the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion; whether returning to the 'key moment' of 1641 to add new perspectives -- social, economic, bibliographical -- to the thorniest of seventeenth century issues; or whether offering a long overdue revival of interest in Confederate Ireland when, 'for the first time before 1922, Ireland was recognised by the international community as an independent nation'; all give a sense of the vibrancy and growth

¹⁹ N. Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Social and Mental World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1566-1643* (Cambridge, 1982); J. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Kingdoms: The Career of Randal Macdonnell* (Cambridge, 1993); J. C. Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke: A life of James Butler 1st Duke of Ormond* (Belfast, 1990); J. Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the Struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1984). On Richard Boyle, see also T. Ranger 'The career of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, in Ireland, 1588-1643' (D. Phil., Oxford, 1959); 'Richard Boyle and the Making of an Irish Fortune, 1588-1641', *IHS*, 10 (1957) 257-97. For a recent addition to the study of the interest of the English elite in Irish affairs, see V. Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-1628: A study in Anglo-Irish Politics* (Dublin, 1998).

of scholarly debate on the period.²⁰ Furthermore, from the much-changed, late twentieth-century landscape formerly known as the ‘Three Kingdoms’, essay collections and research programmes have also appeared under the star of -- or in opposition to -- the much debated ‘discipline’ of ‘New British History’.²¹ The vocal resistance to Anglocentric interpretations, particularly of the Civil War, Republic, and Protectorate periods; seek to ensure that the distinct culture and politics of individual nations and interest groups are not simply absorbed and homogenised into a monolithic history of building of the English Empire, or the causes of the Civil War.²²

As John Morrill, the one English voice in the collection, concludes in his introduction to *The Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*: ‘Its publication will make it harder in the future for

²⁰ See respectively, C. Brady and R. Gillespie eds, *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of an Irish colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986); B. MacCuarta ed., *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, [1993] 1997); J. Ohlmeyer ed., *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995).

²¹ For a discussion of the term, coined by J.G.A. Pocock in 1975 to mean: ‘the historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several nations’, see J. Morrill, ‘The British Problem, c. 1534-1707’, in B. Bradshaw and J. Morrill eds, *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (London, 1996), pp. 1-38 (quoted p. 19). Other collections include S. G. Ellis and S. Barber eds, *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725*, (London and New York, 1995); A. Grant and K. Stringer, eds, *Uniting the Kingdom: The Enigma of British History* (London, 1995); J. R. Young, ed., *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars* (Edinburgh, 1997); S.J. Connolly ed., *Kingdoms United?: Great Britain and Ireland since 1500. Integration and Diversity* (Dublin, 1999).

²² As Barnard has pointed out, the integrated approach appeared self-evident to S. R. Gardiner, see ‘Scotland and Ireland in the Stewart Monarchy’, in *Conquest and Union*, pp. 250-1. Critical evaluation of the figure of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, is of particular interest here, in that he has always been depicted as a man of at least two kingdoms. See Hugh O’Grady, *Strafford and Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1923); H. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1989) and most recently, J. F. Merritt ed., *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford 1621-41* (Cambridge, 1996) in which N. Canny, ‘The Attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: An exemplar of British History’, pp. 157-186, and J. Ohlmeyer, ‘Strafford, the “Londonderry Business” and the “New British History”’, pp. 209-229, are particularly valuable.

historians to treat British history as an aspect of English Historical Imperialism. Good.’²³

His optimism is well-founded. Yet behind such optimism shared by many in the field, there lurks an anxiety about the terms of the enterprise, a danger that the plethora of voices raised in the debate might lead to segregation rather than to dialogue and that, still, in the mainstream of historical scholarship, there are still impenetrable geographical borders.²⁴

This brings me to a blind-spot in recent scholarship that this thesis seeks to address. For until now, the study of seventeenth-century Ireland has also suffered from impenetrable disciplinary borders. While historians have happily plundered contemporary texts for information and military detail, they have paid little attention to the cultural clues inherent in these texts. At this point, then, it becomes an imperative to ask ‘what about literature?’ 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. While Pocock himself pioneered a sensitivity to the role of language in political history which has inspired many of the literary scholars working on the troubled mid-seventeenth century in England. Yet the territory of the ‘New British Historians’ is often defined in ‘historical’ rather than ‘literary’ terms.²⁵ This distinction in types of discourse is not my own; it recurs in the work of historians who come close to texts they perceive as ‘literary’. So Claire Jackson writes of Sir George Mackenzie’s romance *Aretina* ‘from the viewpoint of a historian of political ideas, rather

²³ J. Morrill, ‘Historical Introduction and Overview: The Un-English Civil War’, in *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*, pp. 1-17 (14).

²⁴ Pocock himself is sensitive to the danger of twentieth century historians writing ‘in a time of the breaking of nations and the unmaking of states’, see ‘The Atlantic Archipelago and the War of the Three Kingdoms’, in *The British Problem*, pp. 172-191 (178).

²⁵ Pocock calls himself a ‘historian of discourse’ in ‘The British Problem’, p. 184.

than a literary critic', and Michelle Ó Riordan in an article on Gaelic poetry of the mid-seventeenth century 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.'²⁶ In all of the multi-faceted investigations into seventeenth century Irish history above -- as social, economic, military, and intellectual historians add colour and context to the Irish wars -- scholars of English literature are notable only by their absence. Crudely put, none of the historical studies above includes the work of literary scholars of English; there is 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.²⁷ Critical engagement with texts in the Irish language -- in particular through the work of Ó Rahilly, Ó Riordan, and Ó Buachalla -- has made an important contribution to the multi-valent reading of the seventeenth century.²⁸ Yet when it comes to the primary sources addressed in this

²⁶ C. Jackson, 'The Paradoxical Virtue of the Historical Romance: Sir George Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660) and the Civil Wars', in *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*, pp. 205-220 (206); M. O'Riordan, ' "Political" Poems in the Mid Seventeenth Century Crisis', in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, pp. 112-127, (113fn.).

²⁷ Even the elementary question of why contemporary accounts -- especially the 'Aphorismal Discovery' -- are written in English rather than Irish or Latin has not been explicitly addressed. Forthcoming work by Raymond Gillespie on reading and writing in seventeenth century Ireland promises fascinating insight into both publishing and the social contexts of reading. In the last months of compiling this thesis, a number of the texts discussed here have been abducted by the Bodleian Exhibitions Department for an exhibition on the literature of the Irish Wars (from October 1999).

²⁸ See C. O'Rahilly ed., *Five Seventeenth-century Political Poems* (Dublin, 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 and New York, 1993), pp. 7-35; M. O'Riordan, 'The native Ulster *mentalité* as revealed in Gaelic sources, 1600-1650', in *Ulster 1641*, pp. 61-92 and " "Political" Poems in the Mid Seventeenth Century Crisis'. See also M. Cable, 'A Study of Intellectual Reaction and Continuity in Irish Bardic Poetry Composed during the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I' (D. Phil. Oxford, 1991). For the later Jacobite poetry, see E. Ó Ciardha, 'The Stuarts and Deliverance in Irish and Scots-Gaelic Poetry, 1690-1760', in *Kingdoms United?*, pp. 78-94.

thesis -- 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. 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 Edmund Spenser, his Irish texts and contexts, has become virtually a discipline in itself. His position as English administrator-poet in Ireland -- a situation which embodies 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.²⁹ However, such an interdisciplinary study of poetry and policy-making has only rarely stretched into the seventeenth century. *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660* makes a vital and stimulating

Work on seventeenth century Irish language historiography has perhaps been more successful at building bridges between the disciplines of history and literature, see B. Cunningham, 'Native Culture and Political Change in Ireland, 1580-1640', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie, eds, *Natives and Newcomers*, pp. 148-170; 'Seventeenth-Century Interpretations of the Past: The Case of Geoffrey Keating', *IHS*, 25 (1986), 116-28 and 'The Culture and Ideology of the Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain 1607-1650'. See also B. Bradshaw, 'Geoffrey Keating: apologist of Irish Ireland', in B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield and W. Maley eds, *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 166-190.

²⁹ See, for instance, P. Coughlan ed. *Spenser and Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cork, 1989); P. Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork, 1928); E. Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1994), pp. 266-269; D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, pp. 10-15; W. Maley *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity* (London, 1997); D. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the Renaissance* (London, 1984) 109-156. New work by Patricia Palmer adds the much neglected study of linguistic colonisation to the library of work on this period, 'The Grafted Tongue: Linguistic Colonisation and the Native Response in Sixteenth Century Ireland' (D. Phil. thesis, Oxon, 1998).

contribution to the cultural history of the period, placing literature at the centre of its investigation of English representations of Ireland. Indeed, Willy Maley's essay on Milton's reading of James Ware's edition of Spenser's *View* -- part of a growing interest in Milton's views on Ireland -- implies that Milton may be the key canonical figure for the opening up of the study of the 1640s and 50s in the way that Spenser has opened up the study of the 1590s. Yet the focus here remains on 'English representations of Ireland'.³⁰ In spite of these compelling insights into how Ireland was viewed from 'abroad', it nonetheless remains true that -- aside from the notable exception of the work of Patricia Coughlan -- there has been little attention given to English writing in Ireland in the mid-seventeenth century.³¹

Yet, as the best of recent literary scholarship on the English Revolution has shown, the study of writing, the skilled attention of the literary critic, must be reintegrated into historical research if we are to have a sense of the variety and versatility of religious belief, political agency, and self-expression in the period. The eye of the literary critic, brought to bear on the literary aspects of revolutionary writing from poetry to pamphlet, can clearly discern that the public and private spheres, the pens of government and of literature, are more than complementary; they are interwoven. The past twenty years have witnessed a steady increase in interest in the writings of the period, largely inspired by the work of Christopher Hill, who did much to restore the reading

³⁰ On Milton, see also for example D. Loewenstein, ' "An Ambiguous Monster": Representing Rebellion in Milton's Polemics and *Paradise Lost*', *HLQ*, 55 (1992), 295-315.

³¹ P. Coughlan, ' "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, 1990), pp. 205-226. See also her " "Enter Revenge": Henry Bunklend and *Cola's Fury*', *Theatre Research International*, 15 (1989), 1-4.

of literature to the historians' study.³² The works of Milton and Marvell, their position in the literary canon and their involvement in the political life of the Commonwealth, have subsequently been read as emblematic of the interplay of poetry and politics, and the wealth of material by their contemporaries -- by historians and commentators, journalists and politicians, soldiers, prophetesses, and wives of the Revolution -- received some attention. As the best of the studies on the period make clear, they all deserve still more, and not just for the nuggets of historical information they yield. For they also create and exercise language and forms for self-articulation: what we might term a political poetics.³³

The recent encyclopaedic -- though very differently motivated -- studies of the period by David Norbrook and Nigel Smith both build on this critical attention to the politics and poetics of the

³² See for example C. Hill, 'Literature and the English Revolution', in *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth Century England* (London and New York, 1990), pp. 195-217; 'Radical Prose in seventeenth century England: From Marprelate to the Levellers', *Essays in Criticism*, 32 (1982), 95-118; *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1965); *Milton and the English Revolution* (London, 1977). See also D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. pp. 1-22. Also on revisionism and the problem of terminology see A. Patterson, 'The very name of the game: theories of order and disorder', in *Literature and the English Civil War*, pp. 21-37.

³³ For a lucid overview of critical approaches to Milton's work see Annabel Patterson's 'Introduction' to *John Milton* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 1-23. For a spirited account of the neglect of revolution prose earlier this century, see J. Holstun's introduction to *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (London and Portland, 1992), pp. 1-11. He points out that even as New Criticism ruled the literary academy, key editions and studies were being produced elsewhere (5). A brief review of recent anthologies marks the increase in attention. See for instance, J. Frank, *Hobbled Pegasus: A Descriptive Bibliography of Minor English Poetry, 1641-1660* (Albuquerque, 1968); E. Graham et al., eds., *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings of Seventeenth Century Englishwomen* (London and New York, 1989); G. Greer et al., *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth Century Women's Verse* (New York and London, 1989); J. Raymond, *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (Moreton-in-Marsh, 1993) N. Smith, *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century* (London, 1983); M. Wilding, *Dragon's Teeth: Literature in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1987).

period, and promise to stimulate further growth in research.³⁴ Yet, once again, there is often a blindspot, when it comes to Ireland. While literary critics are happy to investigate *representations* of Ireland, they are often distinctly reluctant to *relocate* the texts they study in Ireland. In Martin Butler's excellent study of the politics of Caroline theatre, for instance, there is no indication that, when James Shirley disappears from the metropolitan stage, he has gone to work at the only permanent 'English' theatre outside London at the time -- the Werburgh Street Theatre in Wentworth's Dublin. Furthermore, even the best of critics seem at times reluctant to *reincorporate* Ireland into the English picture other than through the ubiquitous attention to the 'Irish Rebellion'. Annabel Patterson, in her thought-provoking and intelligent reading of the changing reception of Sidney's *Arcadia* in early modern England, for instance, makes no mention of the fact that the editions her seventeenth century readers perused ended with the 'Sixth Book' penned by Richard Bellings, later secretary to the Catholic Confederation in Ireland. And again, Deborah Shuger, in a recent article on what she refers to as the 'Irish tracts' of the Elizabethan years, offers a fine and subtle textual analysis and a convincing argument for their function as an educational tool for encouraging Northern English gentlemen in the colonial enterprise. However, she ignores the context of the Elizabethan Irish Wars. In Ireland at least, such tracts did not exist in a humanist educational vacuum; knowledge and power were given practical application and many died as a result.³⁵

³⁴ D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*; N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London, 1994).

³⁵ M. Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-42* (Cambridge, 1984); A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (London and Wisconsin, 1984), pp. 24-43; D. Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrats, and Other White Barbarians', *RQ*, 50 (1997), 494-525. See, however, Norbrook's use of texts from Ireland to illuminate Marvell's 'Horatian Ode', *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 245-249.

In a dangerous legacy, not only of the critical apparatus of new historicist and post-colonialist theories, but also the legacy of historical event, even the most sensitive readings are all too often finally recuperated to the binary opposites of oppressor and oppressed, conqueror and conquered. This is not a new problem. Many of the texts central to this thesis travel to the twentieth-century reader through the hands of the nineteenth-century editor. At a moment when Irish nationalism, Gladstone's Home Rule policy, and the figure of Charles Stuart Parnell came to dominate politics at the English metropolitan centre, editors and academics on both islands also became thoroughly embroiled in the business of defining the terms of the relationship between Ireland and England.³⁶ It is hardly surprising that in the age of the grand historical narrative, the accounts of Froude and Lecky should have claimed centre stage.³⁷ Yet as these canonical volumes appeared in England -- the *pro* and *contra* of Home Rule inscribed on their versions of the past -- in Dublin, a timely editorial resurrection of the archives was underway. In 1873, one year after the publication of Froude's history, two accounts of the Confederation and Cromwellian years were published in Dublin; E. Hogan's edition of an anonymous account by a 'British officer',

³⁶ The following overview owes much to Barnard, '1641: A Bibliographical Essay', in *Ulster 1641*, pp. 173-186. See also R.F. Foster, 'History and the Irish question', in *Paddy and Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (London, 1993), pp. 1-20 and more generally his *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), pp. 373-428. While Foster's chapters on the Confederation and Cromwellian years, and indeed the Ascendancy are peppered with references to Lecky, J. T. Gilbert appears only in the bibliographical essay, p. 646.

³⁷ J. A. Froude (1818-94) *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1872-74). W.E.H. Lecky (1838-1903), *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols (London, 1878-90) including five volumes on Irish history written to refute Froude later republished as *The History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 5 vols (London, 1892-96). For a trenchant examination of the interaction of historical writing and literature in the period, see Haydyn White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973).

and A. Hutton's translation of Aiazza's account of Rinuccini's years in Ireland.³⁸ As Lecky began to publish the first volumes of his history and to address the historiography and the legends surrounding the 1641 'Rebellion', J. T. Gilbert published two further contemporary accounts of the Confederation -- the anonymous 'Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction' and Richard Bellings' 'History of the Confederation' -- both at times almost buried under the weight of Gilbert's additional documentation.³⁹ As his biographer-wife, the novelist Rosa Mulholland Gilbert stated, her husband 'resolved to publish nothing on a darkened page of history unaccompanied by the printing of the incontrovertible document, nothing that could be rejected as the "partisan" writing of "a Jacobite and a Romanist"'.⁴⁰ While Hogan, Gilbert, and Prendergast edited the seventeenth century archive, they also constructed a genealogy -- troubled but irrefutable -- for Irish self-government. In the other camp, Mary Hickson also returned to the archives, to the remarkable collection of depositions gathered by the English administration in the wake of the 1641 rebellion, to remind the policymakers of the history of the untameable

³⁸ E. Hogan, ed., *The History of the Warr in Ireland from 1641 to 1653 by a British Officer of the Regiment of Sir John Clotworthy* (Dublin, 1873). Hogan's preface situates the text firmly in the contemporary historiographical battles, pp. I-xiv. See also G. Aiazza, *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G.B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo in the years 1645-1649*, trans. A. Hutton (Dublin, 1873). The Irish Manuscripts Commission, under whose banner much of this activity took place, was founded in 1869.

³⁹ The 'Aphorismical Discovery' is contained in J.T. Gilbert ed., *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652*, 3 vols (Dublin 1879-80); Bellings' account is in *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland 1641-9*, 7 vols (Dublin, 1882-9). See also the first general history of Confederate period, C.P. Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny* (London, 1882).

⁴⁰ R. Mulholland Gilbert, *Life of Sir John T. Gilbert* (London, 1905), p. 273. She reports also his satisfaction on completing these volumes and his declaration that 'They will never be able to blacken that dark period again', p. 278. For a selection of Gardiner's letters to Gilbert see *ibid.*, pp. 270-272. Gardiner also enlisted Gilbert for many of the Irish articles in the *DNB*.

nature of the Irish.⁴¹ Yet behind the vitriolic controversies surrounding the Irish archives at this time, there is a shared drive to edit: to unearth the contemporary eyewitness account, to represent the narrative of experience as the most credible form of historical documentation. Certainly, the seventeenth century was revived in a selective manner; its representation was, crucially, shaped by a late nineteenth century moment of political crisis in the on-going bilateral and colonial debate between England and Ireland. Yet if we return to the texts, if we attend to those who speak through them, and seek to unravel the cultural influences at work in their accounts, we may come closer to understanding the clamorous voices of four armies and thousands of would-be settlers in one small and economically underdeveloped island.

The thesis is divided into five chapters in three parts. The opening part (chapter one) performs, in effect, a methodological reading to introduce both the kinds of text and the methods of analysis which follow in the rest of the thesis; the second part (chapters two to four) focuses on accounts of the mid-seventeenth century from the different viewpoints of Old English, Old Irish, and new Cromwellian writers; the final part (chapter five) moves forward to the Exclusion Crisis and the historiographical contests of the dying generation who had experienced the conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century. This is followed by a brief conclusion.

The first chapter traces a lineage of the pen and the sword as linked instruments in the colonial

⁴¹ M. Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or the Massacres of 1641-42* (London, 1884). The forthright preface by Froude heralded Hickson's special qualifications for the job as a 'descendant of 1649'. The obsession of Hickson, and others with the 'key moment' of the 1641 'massacres' perpetuated an endless and circular debate about the 'truth' of 1641. Robert Dunlop argued that the 'Irish massacres' should be laid aside in favour of more worthwhile investigations of Irish history, see 'The depositions relating to the Irish massacres of 1641', *EHR*, I (1886), 741-3, and II (1887), 338-9. Predictably his article was greeted by vitriolic protest by Hickson; see Barnard, '1641: A Bibliographical Essay', p. 185.

project. Beginning with Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Art of War*, it considers the soldier-citizen and the relationship of writing and fighting in the quest for the *vita activa*. Tracing the development of the military handbook in English in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, I suggest that the genre attempts to bring order to the instability of war, particularly on the borders of the kingdom. As such, it is implicated in the cultural project of building a nascent English national identity. It is not so much preoccupied with the defeat of the enemy as with the definition and deliniation of one's own side. I then shift focus to Ireland, and the battle for identity in the colonial situation. Firstly, I compare the idea of Ireland in two military handbooks published at opposite ends of the period by two soldier-writers of opposing political interests: Gerrat Barry, an Old Irish captain who returned from military exile and fought for the Catholic Confederation, and Roger Boyle, later Lord Orrery, whose New English interests secured his position under both Cromwell and Charles II. Secondly, I explore how the language of the military handbook tranfers to the Dublin stage on the eve of the Irish rebellion, as James Shirley and Henry Burnell stage the politics of Irish identity.

In part two, chapters two, three, and four focus on representations of the years of the Catholic Confederation and English Republican and Protectorate rule, first by Irish writers and then by English. Chapter two focuses on the writings of Richard Bellings, Old English secretary to the Confederation. It situates his *History of the Confederation* within the broader context of his literary career of romance writing and poetry, and explores how the poetics of romance are inscribed in the structure of the *History*. Chapter three examines the anonymous *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*, an Old Irish account written by one who claims to be soldier and secretary to the Ulster commander, Owen Roe O'Neill. It explores the use of epic and bardic notions of the warrior hero, and the use of the aphorism, to structure an increasingly diverse and

impassioned narrative of defeat. While Bellings' account repudiates war and advocates the admission of the Old English into the civil administration of Ireland, the Old Irish narrative is articulated in thoroughly military and militant terms which bear comparison to those used by the emerging English Republic.

Chapter four marks a shift in both perspective and genre: it considers English writings on Ireland, and generically, moves away from the historical narrative to the reportage of war and the documentation of policy-making. Firstly, it traces some key elements of English representations of Ireland from the 1641 rebellion to the eve of the Cromwellian Campaigns in 1649; secondly, it examines reports of Cromwell's campaigns there -- his own writings and those of others -- as documents designed to bolster the new English Republic. Finally, I examine how the military language of conquest and separation shifts to concern itself with the business of settlement in Ireland through an exploration of the writings of Colonel Richard Lawrence. I examine how his rhetoric of separation, developed in his pamphlet debates on transplantation with Vincent Gookin, survives to inform his later treatise on the economic development of Ireland. This movement towards colonial nationalism results in a displacement of the rhetoric of warfare and conquest into a blueprint for successful settlement.

In part three, the fifth and final chapter considers the retrospective analyses of events in mid-seventeenth century Ireland as they are resurrected in the wake of the 'Popish Plot' and the Exclusion Crisis. In particular, it considers a number of histories of Ireland, promised at that time, but never delivered. Examining the public controversy and trial involving Ormond and Anglesey, and concerning the publication of Castlehaven's memoirs, it suggests that the historiography of Ireland is fiercely contested and that the drive to defend personal honour

renders the writing of history problematic. Through Anglesey's repeated attempts to write a history of Ireland, and through Castlehaven's reshaping of his text into the story of a professional soldier, the chapter concludes that Irish historiography continues to be contested in military terms.

The brief conclusion summarises the contention of the thesis that the historiography of mid-seventeenth century Ireland was shaped by those who fought there. For each of the interest groups involved -- Old English, Old Irish, New English, Cromwellian -- the Irish wars forced consideration of the *vita activa*, the twinned weapons of sword and pen. The events of 1689-91 and the establishment of the Protestant Ascendancy too often eclipse this earlier dialogue and recuperate the various voices to a more Anglocentric view of religious polarisation. The soldier's articulation of experience has, in historical terms, been pushed off-stage. It is, however, precisely on the stage that it becomes clear that the soldier's voice is embedded in a cultural poetics as well as a cultural history. As the Irish stage-soldier emerges as a literary character on the eighteenth century stage in the plays of Sheridan, Macklin, and others, the writings of their real-life military antecedents repay attention. For as this thesis illustrates, Ireland was no blank page for colonial practice, there are many who write -- and fight -- back. The arrival of Cromwell's army in Ireland, marks for some -- Barry, O'Neill -- a last act; for others -- Castlehaven, Bellings, Ormond, Orrery -- another episode in a long military career. For still others, -- Lawrence and Cromwell himself -- the encounter with Ireland marks the beginning of a complicated relationship with a strange, new, richly peopled land.

Part One

The road to Sligo. A spring morning. 1798. Going into battle. Do you remember, James? Two young gallants with pikes across their shoulders and the *Aeneid* in their pockets. ...By God, sir, we were magnificent. We marched as far as -- where was it? -- Glenties! All of twenty-three miles in one day. And it was there, in Phelan's pub, that we got homesick for Athens, just like Ulysses. The *desiderium nostrorum* -- the need for our own. Our *pietas*, James, was for older, quieter things. And that was the longest twenty-three miles back I ever made.

Brian Friel, *Translations*, in *Selected Plays* (London, 1990), pp. 445-6.

Chapter One

The Art of War

By skilful strokes of sword and pen
 A man may guide and govern men.
 Without their arte Man's man at most
 But skill in them makes man a hoste.

The notorious Elizabethan settler, Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, claimed, in a letter to his sons' tutor, that this was 'the only piece of poetry I ever thought worthie to commit to memory.'¹ In the early eighteenth century, an inventory of his grandson's library in Youghal listed only two books: 'A Book of Evidence: The History of all the Kings of England', and 'A Book of Exercise of Arms'.² Through this anonymous verse and these unidentified volumes we glimpse the tools of the English colonial administration which strengthened its hold on Ireland across the seventeenth century. If, elsewhere, literary convention often sought to separate the wielding of the sword and the pen, in Ireland -- that contested territory of the colonies and the traditional exercise ground of the 'younger sons' -- arms and letters belonged together. Marvell, when praising Cromwell's Irish campaigns, was adamant about their separation in the pursuit of the *vita activa*:

The forward youth that would appear
 Must now forsake his *Muses* dear,
 Nor in the Shadows sing
 His Numbers languishing.
 'Tis time to leave the Books in dust
 And oil th'unused Armours rust:³

¹ Cork MSS, quoted K. Lynch, *Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery* (Knoxville, 1965), p. 12.

² Nat. Lib. Dublin, MS 7195. See C.J.F. MacCarthy, 'A Youghal Library of 1707', *JCHAS*, lxxxiv (1967), 84-86. The 1677 inventory of Orrery's home does not include books, see E. MacLysaght, ed., *Calendar of the Orrery Papers* (Dublin, 1941), pp. 175-79.

³ A. Marvell, 'An *Horatian Ode* upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland', in D. Norbrook and H. Woodhuysen eds, *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse* (London, 1992),

Many other English soldier-authors of military handbooks protested that they too would rather leave pen behind, rather fight than write. But Boyle and his inheritors in Ireland recognised, in their study of both history and military discipline, that in the quest for good government, the arts of war and peace were never far apart. Indeed, as the texts discussed in this thesis illustrate time and time again, it was well nigh impossible for such men to separate the soldier from the civilian and the pen from the sword. Not only did soldiership and fortune-making sit together; colonial settlement and citizenship also called for military activity. English and Scottish settlers in the new plantations across the century were bound by their contracts of tenure to maintain militias who could defend their lands if the need arose.⁴ On the other side of the colonial divide, Old English and Old Irish soldiers and intellectuals, living in uneasy exile in continental Europe, did likewise, pursuing military training and the exercise of arms alongside the collection and authoring of histories. As Cunningham has argued, the Louvain cultural project was not an epilogue to the collapse of Irish Society but ‘a prologue for what was to come, ...the basic source-book of the emerging Irish Catholic Nation.’⁵ Further extending the definition of the Louvain cultural project, we recognise both arms and letters to be integral to the quest to return home to Ireland.

p. 166.

⁴ On the difficulties facing such military settlements, see R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* (Cork, 1985), pp. 29, 81-82, 231; J. Ohlmeyer, “‘Civilizinge of those rude partes’: Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s’, in N. Canny ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, I, *The Origins of Empire* (Oxford and New York, 1998), pp. 124-148; H. Morgan, ‘The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571-5’, *HJ*, xxviii (1987), 261-78.

⁵ B. Cunningham, ‘The Culture and Ideology of the Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain 1607-1650’, in C. Brady ed., *Ideology and the Historians* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 11-30 (20).

This chapter examines the pressure brought to bear on the opposition of arms and letters by the location of Ireland. It opens with a brief survey of the development of the military handbook in the English language in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Such handbooks prove to be part of a broader interrogation of the nature of English citizenship and the bearing of arms. The second section focuses on how the tensions between sword and pen animate the military handbooks produced by two very different writers from Ireland, the landless military exile, Gerrat Barry and the landed politician of the New English elite, Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery. The third section extends the preceding exploration into more literary territory, to the Dublin theatre in the year leading up to the Irish rebellion. In tracing the journey of a number of striking images from professional handbook to literary text, this chapter establishes a model for reading which will be used throughout the thesis. For it is in attending to the changing rhetorical shape and force of such figures that we can best understand how writers articulate the difficult transition from soldier to settler.

The chapter stages a series of journeys, geographical, hermeneutic, and generic. In it, the art of reading and writing the military travels from republican Rome to Renaissance Florence, from Renaissance England to seventeenth-century Ireland, and is inflected in each location by the particular concerns of the time and place. As the two examples by writers from Ireland illustrate, the military handbook became a means of making or avoiding history. The methods of reading and writing about war also shifted; between the study and the military camp, from the commonplace notebook of the general immersed in the classics, to the soldier of the New Model Army, drilled by his comrades in military and ideological warfare. Finally, the images of the military handbook moved to the more literary frame of romance and the tragicomedies of the emergent Dublin theatre. As they did so, they strained the

structures of literary genre, forcing authors to articulate their practice, to define their chosen literary territory.

1. The Art of the Military Handbook

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, inspired by the French Civil Wars and the Thirty Years War, large numbers of military handbooks were published throughout Europe.⁶ In prefaces and dedicatory letters, their authors modestly protested that, lacking literary credentials, they would prefer to be fighting, but had been driven to taking up the pen by lack of money, court cases over land, their friends, and illness; never by the muse. Yet these protestations are more trope than truth. For the handbooks all shared the educative aim of giving order and discipline to a profession which largely relied on combining skill and resources with luck. The act of composition was, therefore, an exemplary exercise in itself. The handbooks presented the fruits of past professional study -- of classical literature, of famous generals -- in an ordered and disciplined fashion, the better to influence future action. Historians have made extensive use of such handbooks in mapping the geographical, political, and economic impact of the wars in Europe; they have paid less attention to their rhetorical shape and their potential use as a vehicle for political thought. Yet the shift from soldier to writer, so denigrated in the prefaces, was in truth less a radical change of profession, than a juggling of the tools of civic virtue. If, as Thomas Fuller argues 'A Common-place-book contains many Notions in garrison, whence the owner may draw out an army into the field on competent warning', it is scarcely surprising that the practice of

⁶ See M. Cockle, *A Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642* (London, 1978). On the debate surrounding the impact of the 'military revolution' in Europe, see G. Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West* (Cambridge, 1996); D. Eltis, 'English Military Theory and the Military Revolution of the Sixteenth Century' (D. Phil., Oxford, 1991) and *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth Century Europe* (London, 1995).

reading for military action became a metaphor for reading itself.⁷

The alliance of pen and the sword, the dual skills of citizenship, found clearest -- and most infamous -- expression in the writings of the 'Citizein and Secretarie of Florence', Niccolò Machiavelli. This self-styled signature is from the dedication to the *Arte della guerra*, the only major work published during Machiavelli's lifetime, and the work which has received least critical attention in recent years.⁸ It is worth pausing to explore the context of its composition and publication. The appearance of the *Arte della guerra* marked Machiavelli's reintroduction to public life -- through the influence of its dedicatee, Lorenzo Strozzi -- after a long period of enforced retirement. It coincided also with his commission from Guilo de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII) to write a history of the Florentine republic, eventually published as the *Istorie Fiorentine*.⁹ Adopting two very different forms, Machiavelli wrote on the one hand to represent the past upheavals of his native city, and on the other to

⁷ T. Fuller, *The Holy State* (Cambridge, 1642), p. 176. See also P. Beal, "Notions in Garrison": The Seventeenth Century Commonplace Book', *The Renaissance English Text Society Newberry Lecture for 1987* (New York, 1987).

⁸ Machiavelli, *Arte della guerra* (Florence, 1521). References are to the Peter Whitehorne translation of 1560 in Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, ed., W. E. Henley (London, 1905), p. 13. J.G.A. Pocock laments this lack of attention in *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 183-218, see also pp. 49-82. S. Anglo argues that its military value is somewhat archaic in *Machiavelli: A Dissection* (London, 1969), pp. 129-157; F. Raab details English publications but focuses on *The Prince* and the *Discourses*, see *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation, 1500-1700* (London and Toronto, 1964), p. 52; V. Kahn's otherwise excellent study has little discussion of it, see *Machiavellian Rhetoric: From the Counter-Reformation to Milton* (Princeton, 1994). See also Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1978), I, 128-138.

⁹ The *Istorie Fiorentine* was presented to Clement VII in 1525 and published in 1531, four years after Machiavelli's death. References are to T.B. Esquire's translation of 1598 in Machiavelli, *The Florentine Histories*, ed., W.E. Henley (London, 1905).

influence Florence's military future. The *Arte della guerra* developed ideas from *The Prince* and the *Discorsi* to offer the clearest definition of Machiavelli's vision of the role of the military in preserving a stable republic.¹⁰ In essence, it situated the *virtù* of the republic in the citizen militia, rather than in the mercenary forces which Machiavelli so despised. The former, he argued, will always seek to end the war and return to family, business, and the stable running of the republic, while the latter will seek to prolong wars, tax the economy, and possibly turn tyrant on the city they serve. In the dedication, Machiavelli deplored the modern practice in which the soldier set himself apart from the civilian, and called instead for a return to the practice of the ancients, who united the two: 'there should nothing be founde more united, more confirmable, and that of necessitie ought to love so much the one the other, as these.'¹¹

There would seem to be little sense here of a separation between arms and the more civic pursuit of letters. Yet even as he drew up his blueprint for the citizen soldier, Machiavelli retained a particular and declared anxiety about his own business of writing. The *Arte della guerra*, like its sister volume, the *Istorie Fiorentini*, was a public work in two senses; it was published, and it dealt with the republic of Florence. Both works situated *virtù* in the strict

¹⁰ See N. Machiavelli, *The Prince and Other Political Writings* (Harmondsworth, 1998), pp. 77-88; *The Discourses* (Harmondsworth, 1998), pp. 291-383, 433-450. For Machiavelli in relation to other quattrocento military theorists, see C. Bayley, *War and Society in Renaissance Florence: the 'De Militia' of Leonardo Bruni* (Toronto, 1961), pp. 178-240. See also F. Chabod, trans. D. Moore, *Machiavelli and the Renaissance* (London, 1958), esp. pp. 30-125; F. Gilbert, 'Machiavelli and the Renaissance of the Art of War', in E. Earle ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton, 1952), pp. 3-25; M. Mallett, 'The theory and practice of warfare in Machiavelli's republic', in G. Bock, Q. Skinner and M. Viroli eds, *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 173-180.

¹¹ Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, p. 13.

maintenance of order and discipline in all aspects of the republican polity; and both figured writing as disruptive to that order. At the heart of the *Istorie Fiorentini*, Machiavelli -- like Plato in his vision of the Republic -- conceded that he could imagine 'no greater and more dangerous deceit' than the pursuit of letters:

Warre begetteth quiet, quiet occasioneth idlenesse. Idlenesse breedeth disorder, Disorder makethe ruine: Likewise of ruine groweth order, of order vertue, and of vertue, glorie with good fortune. It hath bene therefore by wise men observed, that learning followeth Arms, and in all Cities and Countries, Captains were before Philosophers for good and well governed Armes, having wonne victorie, of that victorie followeth quiet. And surely the courage of warlike mindes cannot with a more honest idlenesse, then the study of Letters, be corrupted; nor idleness by anie greater or more perilous craft enter Cities well governed.¹²

The very act of writing, the balance and rhythm of the prose here used to articulate imminent disaster, brought the disaster closer. In the *Istorie Fiorentini* the danger was to some degree alleviated, for in addressing the civil discords which other historians had contrived to ignore, Machiavelli hoped to offer valuable lessons for the future stability of the Republic:

if any reading be profitable for men that governe in Common-weales, it is that, which sheweth the occasions of hate and faction: to the end that being warned by harne of others, they may become wise, and continue themselves united.¹³

But what of the *Arte della guerra*? Was it not located in the dangerous territory of tempting the 'well-armed spirits' of military men to forsake the battlefield for the study? The answer lies in the role of the 'arte' -- writing as profession -- in the restoration and renewal of the republic. In the closing paragraph, speaking with the authority of the successful general, Fabrizio Colonna linked the renewal of military arts with that of other arts in the republic:

¹² Machiavelli, *The Florentine Histories*, pp. 221-22.

¹³ Ibid. 6. See G. Bock, 'Civil Discord in Machiavelli's *Istorie Fiorentine*', in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, pp. 181-202.

I would have you not to bee afraid, or mistrustfull, bicause this Province seemes to bee altogether given, to raise up againe the thynges dedde, as is seen by the perfeccion that poesie, paintying, and writing is now brought unto.¹⁴

Machiavelli sought to place himself in the frontline of this revival, fully engaging the rhetorical arts of humanism towards the longed-for renaissance. His *Arte* staged a classical symposium in the garden of a Florentine noble. Under the shade of ancient trees, a group of interested citizens interrogated and listened to the accomplished Papal commander Fabrizio Colonna as he gave them the benefit of his experience of and reflections on war.¹⁵ Alongside the listening citizens, Machiavelli's general reviews a variety of theories of war from Polybius, Vegetius, and other well-thumbed classical sources.¹⁶ As Colonna's speeches increasingly dominate the carefully constructed dialogue, the reader is drawn to concur on the importance of the civil militia in maintaining the power of the republic. As Machiavelli readily confessed, he was himself no soldier; rather it was the rhetorician's skill with metaphor and the memorable phrase that he brought to the task of defending the republic. Impressing on Strozzi the consequences of neglecting the *vita activa*, for example, Machiavelli offered the following image:

And likewise to the contrarie, the good orders without the souldiours help, no lesse or otherwise doe disorder, then the habitacion of a sumptuous and roiall palais, although it wer decte with gold and precious stones, when without

¹⁴ Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, pp. 231-32. The Ellis Farnsworth translation has 'sculpture' instead of 'writing', see Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, ed. N. Wood (New York, 1990), p. 212.

¹⁵ Colonna (d. 1520) was Papal captain and served both the French and the Spanish in Italy. The discussion takes place c. 1516 as Colonna travels from Lombardy to Rome.

¹⁶ On classical and medieval sources for the text, and for opposing conclusions as to its originality, see Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, ed. N. Wood, pp. xviii-xxv and S. Anglo, *Machiavelli: A Dissection*, pp. 129-157.

being covered, should not have wherewith to defend it from the raine.¹⁷

Such turns of phrase travelled far, and with the poetics travelled some measure of the politics. The metaphor resurfaced over a century later, in the preface to James Achesone's *The Military Garden*: 'All civill Lawes and orders, if there were no defence prepared to maintaine them, were not better than beautifull Palaces destitute of Roofes to hold out the violence of the storme.' There is no acknowledgement of Machiavelli's original, neither in regard to the specific, metaphorical palace, nor the general Machiavellian concern which Achesone also ventriloquized: 'Though Peace bee alwayes to bee desired, yet Warre is to bee provided for.'¹⁸ *The Military Garden* was both a handbook for training and a plea to the city of Edinburgh for the establishment of a military academy to enable Scotland -- and returning Scots soldiers like Achesone -- to capitalise on their growing military reputation in the Thirty Years War.¹⁹ That Machiavelli served as the silent authority for this appeal suggests that the *Arte della guerra* had, by this stage, become thoroughly embedded in military writing in English.

Of all Machiavelli's works, *The Arte of Warre*, in Peter Whitehorne's translation, had most immediate influence in late sixteenth century England. Dedicated 'To the moste highe, and

¹⁷ Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, p. 14.

¹⁸ J. Achesone, *The Military Garden* (Edinburgh, 1629), sig. *2r-v.

¹⁹ See also Sir Thomas Kellie, *Pallas Armata* (Edinburgh, 1627). Scottish generals who served in Ulster also wrote: see R. Munro, *Munro His expedition with the worthy Scots regiment ... levied in August 1626* (Hampton Court, 1636); Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, *Generall Lessley's Direction and Order for the exercising of Horse and Foot ... principally intended for the young sort of the militia* (London, 1642). See also forthcoming work by M. Glozier on the Scottish military handbook. Scotland's earliest contact with Machiavelli came via France, see Raab, *English Face of Machiavelli*, p. 53.

excellent princes, ELIZABETH by the Grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande', it ran to three editions, published in 1560, 1573, and 1588.²⁰ As others have illustrated, numerous readers of Machiavelli in English found his political models as articulated in *Il Principe* and the *Discorsi* simultaneously compelling and repellent. The dubious morality of his politics gave rise to the 'Machiavel', a new class of villain which stalked the Renaissance stage. Yet a number of authors such as Walter Raleigh, Francis Bacon, and -- as I shall return to in chapter three -- Robert Dallington, managed to walk the tightrope of reading; they cited Machiavelli's political wisdom but rejected (or ignored) the immorality of his framework for maintaining political power.²¹ *The Arte of Warre* slipped through the net of disapproval. Studied as a military handbook, its function as an educational tool lent it a guise of political -- and literary -- neutrality. The politics of this and other English military handbooks, however, were far from neutral. For in the late sixteenth century, *The Arte of Warre* was instrumental in England's effort to shake itself from isolation and to contemplate its role as Protestant nation in the counter-Reformation battle raging at its

²⁰ Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, p. 3. Whitehorne, 'a student at Graies Inn', had served in Turkey. His own treatise, *Certaine Waies for the Ordering of Souldiours in battelray* was printed alongside his translation. Cockle states that he was the first Englishman to write on these subjects, see Cockle, *Bibliography of Military Books*, pp. 9-11. Geoffrey Fenton's translation (via French) of Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia D'Italia*, also dedicated to Elizabeth, was published in 1579, as *The Historie of Guiccirdin, conteining the warres of Italie, reduced into English* (London, 1579), see chapter three, below.

²¹ English translations of these works were not published until much later: *The Discourses* (London, 1636) and *The Prince* (London, 1640) were both translated by Edward Dacres. On the English reception of Machiavelli, see Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli*, pp. 51-76; V. Kahn, *Machiavellian Rhetoric*, pp. 85-166; V. Lucciani, 'Bacon and Machiavelli', *Italica*, 24 (1947), 26-40, see esp. 32-35 on Bacon's applications to Ireland; and his 'Raleigh's *Discourse of War* and Machiavelli's *Discorsi*', *Mod. Phil.*, 46 (1948), 122-131; E. A. Greenlaw, 'The Influence of Machiavelli on Spenser', *Mod. Phil.*, 7 (1909), 187-202; C. Morris, 'Machiavelli's Reputation in Tudor England', *Il Pensiero Politico*, 2 (1969), 416-433; E. Meyer, 'Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama', *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, 1 (1897), 1-180.

borders. Years later, in 1651-52, John Milton also turned to Machiavelli for inspiration on how to absorb the newly conquered realms of Ireland and Scotland into the new English Republic. The 'notions in garrison' stored in his commonplace book at this time drew on both the *Discorsi* and *The Arte of Warre*.²² Across this period England had shifted from being a minor military power at the edge of conflict to the home of the renowned New Model Army, a force with a growing reputation in continental Europe. Its military language shifted too, from being dependent on European writers such as Machiavelli, to being the work of soldier-writers closer to home.

It is from the Low Countries campaigns that the first original English-language military handbooks appear in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. While these in a sense marked a step onwards from translation, they were still, as Cockle pointed out, 'a parasite' on foreign works, as English soldiers who gained their experience abroad frequently absorbed and regurgitated continental writings.²³ Such volumes both celebrated the general Protestant militant cause and engaged in the specific project of defining the Protestant English nation.²⁴ Ireland, already part of the grand military tour, increasingly became a

²² See B. Worden, 'Milton's Republicanism and the Tyranny of Heaven', in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, pp. 225-246.

²³ Cockle, *Bibliography of Military Books*, pp. xiv-xviii.

²⁴ See William Blandy, *The Castle ... shewing forth ... the martiall feats ... lately done by our English Nation, under the conduct of ... M. John Noris Generall of the Army of the States in Friesland* (London, 1581); J. Bingham, *The Exercise of the English in the service of the high and mighty Lords ... of the united Provinces in the Low Countries* (1616) was included in his *The Tactiks of Aelian* (London, 1616). Other volumes were of commemorative value, see J. Lingham, *A true relation of all English Captains and Lieutenants as have been slain in the Low Countries* (London, 1584) and Jacob de Gheyn, *The Exercise of Armes* (The Hague, 1619), published in four languages. For the ordering of arms on another colonial border see William Strachey, *For the Colony in Virginea Brittania*.

testing ground for this national project. In 1599, for instance, the Earl of Leicester's *Lawes and Orders of Warre* for the Low Countries were reissued for Essex's Irish campaign.²⁵

Alongside the military advice, some of Machiavelli's political thought was smuggled into the pages of would-be reformers of Ireland. In *Solon his Follie* (Oxford, 1594) Richard Beacon drew heavily -- without acknowledgement -- on *The Prince* and *The Discourses* for his proposals for the radical reform of 'Salamina' (Ireland).²⁶ Spenser's *View* has Irenius appear to acknowledge the import of ideas: 'And this (I remember) is worthily observed by Machiavel in his discourses upon Livie, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans

Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall (London, 1612). This development is complementary to many of the themes discussed in R. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London, 1992), yet he makes no mention of war-writing. Sidney explicitly, if ironically, linked poetry and horsemanship in the opening image of *A Defence of Poetry* (c. 1579-80) ed., J. Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1966).

²⁵ R. Dudley, Earl of Leicester, *Lawes and Ordinances set downe by Robert Earle of Leycester, the Queenes Maiesties Lieutenant and Captaine General of her armie and forces in the Lowe Countries* (London, 1586); *The Lawes and Orders of Warre established for the Good Conduct of the Service in Ireland* (London, 1599). The next *Lawes and Orders* published in English are again concerned with the margins and the troubles which lead to the civil war. See *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre established for the better conduct of the Service in the Northern parts by His Excellence The Earle of Northumberland* (London, 1640); Ormond, *The Lawes and Orders of Warre established for the good conduct of the service of Ireland* (Dublin, 1641); Earl of Essex, *Lawes and Orders of Warre established ... by his excellency The Earle of Essex, Lord generall of the forces raised by the Authority of the Parliament, for the defence of the King and Kingdom* (London, 1642); Castlehaven, *The Lawes and Orders of Warre ... established for the conduct of the Armie designed for the Expedition of Ulster* (Waterford, 1643), quoted Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, III, 74-85.

²⁶ Richard Beacon, *Solon His Follie: or a politique discourse, touching the reformation of common-weales conquered, declined or corrupted* (Oxford, 1594). See S. Anglo, 'A Machiavellian Solution to the Irish Problem: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594)', in E. Chaney and P. Mack eds, *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 153-164; M. Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 75-102; R. Beacon, *Solon his Follie* (1594), C. Carroll and V. Carey eds, (Binghamton, 1996), pp. xiii-xxv. For the broader Irish context, see C. Brady, 'The Road to the *View*: On the Decline of Reform Thought in Tudor Ireland', in *Spenser and Ireland*, pp. 25-45.

government, in giving absolute power to all their Councillors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwords dearely answeere.' But the title of Machiavelli's 'discourse' actually grants such powers not to Irenius' civil administrators, but to 'Army Commanders'. And in truth it was in strong military leaders -- first Grey, then Essex -- that Spenser placed his faith in the future of the colonial project.²⁷ Whilst it is clear that military policy absorbed such commentators, it remains the case that no military handbook arose from the English campaigns in Ireland.

Works dealing with the training of an English militia and national army, as opposed to an expeditionary force, were first published when England faced acute pressure to engage in Europe. In 1618, the Thirty Years War began when Catholic forces ousted the Elector Frederick and his wife, James I's daughter, Elizabeth, from the Palatinate.²⁸ In 1619, taking his title from Machiavelli and his inspiration from the nation, Edward Davies published *The Art of War and Englands Traynings*. His dedication to the then Prince Charles called for the drilling of the English youth, 'who (having reaped a large harvest of peace under the most peacefull Monarch in Europe, your most renowned Father) are very raw and altogether

²⁷ Spenser, *View*, p. 160; Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, pp. 381-383. See R. Mc Cabe, 'The Fate of Irena: Spenser and Political Violence', in *Spenser and Ireland*, pp. 109-125; L. Jardine, 'Encountering Ireland: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser, and the English Colonial Venture', in *Representing Ireland*, pp. 60-75 and with A. Grafton "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *P&P*, 129 (1990), pp. 30-78. On Spenser's military figures in *Colin Clout Comes Home Again* and *The Faerie Queen*, see D. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London, 1984), pp. 109-156.

²⁸ See G. Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London, 1997); E. Beller, *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia* (Oxford, 1928).

ignorant in most points of Militarie Exercise.’²⁹ Over the next decade, as debates and debacles over the nature of England’s involvement in the Thirty Years war continued, English military handbooks continued to roll off the presses. The story of these publications is of interest for two reasons; it tells both of growing popular support for war, and of the strengthening of parliamentary resistance to the monarchy.

In 1621, Parliament gave vent to popular anti-Spanish -- and anti-Catholic -- opinion in the Commons Petition which made the twin demands of war with Spain and a Protestant match for Prince Charles. James I’s infuriated dissolution of Parliament left him without financial backing for war and plunged him into protracted negotiations for a Spanish match for Charles. In 1623, Prince Charles and Buckingham set off on their impulsive pseudo-Romance escapade to visit and claim the Infanta in Spain. As Philip IV made higher and higher demands of the match -- including the toleration of Catholicism -- disillusion set in and the adventure ended badly. The slighted Prince and Buckingham returned to an England - - and a highly receptive populace -- bent on war with Spain. The way to war was prepared; this year also marked the first official government publication on military training.³⁰ In 1624, Parliament granted limited funds for war, but hedged the subsidies with conditions which restricted the Royal Prerogative. The search for further funding and diplomatic advantage

²⁹ Edward Davies, *The Art of War and Englands Traynings* (London, 1619), p. 3. This is the only English volume entitled ‘Art of War’, and a re-edition of his *Military Directions* (London, 1618).

³⁰ *Instructions for Musters and Armes... By order from the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsayle* (London, 1623). The next officially sanctioned military volumes appear on the verge of civil war, see *The Exercise of the English in the Militia of the Kingdome of England* (London, 1641); *The Exercise for young artillery men; or the militia of the Kingdome in its posture of warre* (London, 1642).

forced the French match of Charles and Henrietta-Maria shortly before the death of James in March, 1625. On his accession, Charles -- with Buckingham as Lord Admiral -- gave full backing to the war and announced that he would reclaim the Palatinate. Buckingham's enthusiasm and his study of war, however, were no substitute for experience. His military expeditions proved as unsuccessful as his romantic escapades. In Cadiz, La Rochelle and finally Ile de Rhé (1626-28), Buckingham made a series of disastrous miscalculations which both took their toll on his own popularity and destroyed support for the war effort. Buckingham's assassination in September 1628 by the disillusioned soldier, John Felton, was quickly followed by peace treaties with France (1629) and Spain (1630).³¹

As the mixture of high politics and Romance, of national and personal slights might suggest, the outburst of military interest at this time was highly coloured with literary bravura. The English military handbook remained uneasily poised between practical manual and the gentlemanly arts of humanist education. Francis Markham's *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (1622) and his brother Gervase Markham's later works -- *The Soldier's Accidence* (1625), *The Soldier's Grammar* (1626, second part, 1627) -- offered a model of studious soldiership, with the military represented as an acquired language. Notable by their absence were commemorative volumes dedicated to actual English military accomplishments of these years -- there were none worth celebrating. It was at the onset of the English Civil Wars that the English art of war moved from the study to the battlefield, as Parliament sought to use

³¹ On the continuing debate on the period, see for example T. Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-24* (Cambridge, 1989); C. Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-29* (Oxford, 1982). Of particular interest in the context of Wentworth's Lord Deputyship in Ireland, see also C. Russell, 'Sir Thomas Wentworth and the anti-Spanish sentiment' and R. Cust, 'Wentworth's "Change of Sides" in the 1620s', both in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth*, pp. 47-62, 63-80.

increasing literacy levels to turn inexperienced soldiers with little formal education into a well-drilled army of soldier-citizens. In the process, they transformed the hermeneutics of military reading. For, as the army chaplain knew, unsupervised reading was a danger, since with 'soldiers being usually dispersed in their quarters, they had such books to read when they had none to contradict them.'³²

From the early stages of the Civil Wars, Parliament attempted to regulate such activity and turn it to military profit through two pamphlets: *The Souldiers Catechism* and *The Souldiers Pocket Bible*, both running to two editions (London, 1643 and 1644). The former, according to the title page, was 'written for the Incouragement and Instruction of all that have taken up armes in this cause of God and his people; especially the common soldier.' Composed in question and answer form, it closely resembled contemporary religious catechisms; like them, it was designed for rote-learning by the most illiterate of soldiers, drilled by moderately literate comrades. The catechism was divided into two sections; the first was an exercise in ideology, formulated to supply the soldier with ready answers for those who questioned his motives for war, the second drilled the soldier-reader in the laws and orders of war. The guiding principles of the venture were soon set, the first question read: '*What profession are you of?* / I am a Christian and a soldier.' The soldier was first of all required to be 'religious and godly', then 'courageous', then 'skilful in the military profession'. The catechism stressed that Parliament fought, not against the King, but against his evil

³² R. Baxter, *Reliquae Baxterianae* (London, 1696), quoted in A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty, The Army Debates* (London, 1992), p. 389. On the Protestation Oath of 1642 as an indication of literacy levels, see R.S. Schofield, 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', in J. Goody ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 311-325.

counsellors, and justified the soldiers' cause as follows:

They are grossly mistaken which say the King is the highest power; Indeed he is the highest person in his Dominions, but the Lawes and Courts of the Kingdom are above him in power, and the King himself is limited and subject to the meanest Court in the Land: Therefore surely the High Court of Parliament must needs be the higher Power, which not to obey is to resist the Ordinance of God.³³

Such replies were powerful ideological weapons. Republishing the catechism in 1684 as a reminder of the horrors of rebellion against the King, John Turner, cited it as 'none of the meanest instruments in bringing His Royal Father to the block.'³⁴ While *The Souldiers Catechism* advocated the study of 'wisdom and policy' in war for officers and common soldiers alike, it also stressed that it was better to trust to God than to academic study and 'the arme of fleshe'. Its companion volume, *The Souldiers Pocket Bible*, combined military study with piety, presenting biblical rather than secular examples for successful warfare. Over one hundred biblical quotations, many taken from Psalms and Chronicles, are arranged under eighteen headings. All rehearse the victories of the Old Testament as examples for the New Model soldier. These pamphlets drilled many of the soldiers who later travelled with Cromwell to Ireland, indeed *The Souldiers Pocket Bible* may well have been what Ireton and his officers intended when, in 1651, they wrote to Cromwell in Scotland to ask for bibles to be sent to Ireland for the army.³⁵

³³ R. Ram, *The Souldiers Catechism*, p. 6. On reading and political ideas in the army, see L. Solt, *Saints in Arms: Puritanism and Democracy in Cromwell's Army* (London, 1959). On catechisms, see M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 211-13. See also the royalist parody, T. Swadlin, *The Soudliers Cathechisme* (London, 1645).

³⁴ J. Turner, ed., *The Souldiers Catechism* (London, 1684), p. 2.

³⁵ See J. Nickolls, ed., *Original Letters and Papers of State Addressed to Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1743), p. 70. On the distribution of these bibles in Dublin and Galway, see C.H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (London, 1962), p. 332. The introduction to a nineteenth

The Arte of Warre also travelled from Machiavelli's Florentine garden to the Ulster plantation on the eve of the English Civil War. The manuscript catalogue of Viscount Conway's library -- considerably more extensive and detailed than Boyle's -- lists two copies, one French and one Italian. This library, brought to Lisburn for safe-keeping as civil disruption in England mounted, was burnt, in spite of the best attempts of Conway's agent George Rawdon, when Irish 'rebels' attacked the Conway house at Brookhill in November 1641. Armagh Public Library also contains a copy of Whitehorne's 1588 translation autographed by Sir John Rawdon, the agent's great grandson, and, in turn, father of Francis Rawdon, the future 'Hastings of India'. We cannot be sure that Conway's library was ever unpacked. We might, however, imagine for a moment that George Rawdon -- patriarch of the English colonial dynasty -- on hearing of Phelim O'Neill's uprising, went to the still-sealed packages and chose from over two hundred and fifty volumes carefully catalogued under *ars militari*, that of Machiavelli.³⁶ He might have read of the benefits of a militia for cultivating civic duty in the plantation and that:

by this meanes, thoccasion of discords is taken awaie, and the occasion of union is prepared, and the provinces united and effeminated, gette utilitie and maintain union: the disunited and discencious doe agree and thesame their

century edition stated that five editions were produced for the American Federal armies; see F. Fry, ed., *The Souldiers Pocket Bible* (London, 1862).

³⁶ Armagh Public Library, MS *Tituli Catalogi Sequentis in Theologia*, c. 1639. The catalogue itself bears John Rawdon's signature (f. 9r). The copies listed are *L'Art de la guerre* (Paris, 1546) and *Dell'Arte della Guerra* (? , 1587), ff. 156r, 157r. There are two hundred and seventy one volumes listed under *Ars Militaris* (ff. 151r-159v), including Achesone's *The Military Garden* above (f. 156v). There are also over six hundred plays, over half of them English (ff. 264r-285r). On Conway's library, see M. De Wit, 'Reading as Pastime: the place of light literature in some gentlemen's libraries of the seventeenth century', in R. Myers and M. Harris eds, *"Property of a Gentleman": The Formation, Organisation, and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620-90* (Winchester, 1991), pp. 123-125; I. Roy, 'The Libraries of Edward, 2nd Viscount Conway, and Others: an Inventory and Valuation of 1643', *BIHS* (1968), 35-46.

fearsnesse, which is wont disordinately to worke, is tourned into publike utilitie.³⁷

Rawdon could also have made another choice; attempting to know his enemy, he might instead have reached for a further volume listed in the catalogue, *A Discourse of Military Discipline... Composed by Captaine Gerat Barry, Irish* (Brussels, 1634). In the third and final section, he would have found Barry's vision for the safe-keeping of a kingdom:

the strenghte of akingdome consisteth much in beinge well fortified, together with the quantitie and qualitie of his subiectes, and in the goode qualitie of his dominion and country. Those princes and Republiques are judged mighty and stronge, whiche in their kingdomes and states do mountaine goode religion, goode lawes and goode armes, and do exercise the same, and do injoy holsom ayre, fertill grounds and naturall strengthe.³⁸

Rawdon would have again found Machiavelli. Though Barry does not, in outlining his vision of 'good lawes and goode armes', acknowledge his source -- and may not indeed realise it -- he adopts the terms of *The Prince*.³⁹ The art of war was not only a discourse to be exercised on Ireland, for the Irish commander could answer back in a now shared a military language. Barry's highly sophisticated version of military discipline was a far cry from Henry Sidney's late sixteenth century version of the Irish kern as the slippery enemy who hides, ambushes, and flees as barbarians might, leaving him 'in a Kinde of actuall Warre, and continyuall Searche for the Rebels'.⁴⁰ Barry had more military experience than many Englishmen; his military involvement in the Thirty Years War made him fluent in both the art and the language of war.

³⁷ Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, p. 56.

³⁸ Barry, *Military Discipline*, p. 197. See Armagh MS *Tituli Catalogi in Sequentis in Theologia*, f.152v.

³⁹ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, p. 77.

⁴⁰ Henry Sidney, quoted in D. Baker 'Off the map: Charting uncertainty in Renaissance Ireland', in *Representing Ireland*, pp. 76-77; Spenser, *View*, p. 74.

We have established thus far that military handbooks were instrumental in the formation of the generations who fought in the English Civil Wars, and that they were as much about creating national identity as practising pike drills. Turning now to the military writings of Gerrat Barry alongside those of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, I want not so much to trace the influences of Machiavelli's text -- though the outline given above should enable readers to detect such influence where it is most clearly felt. Rather I want to examine in broader terms the formation of the citizen identity which Machiavelli places at the heart of his writings, in relation to the very different visions of nationhood and of Ireland which take shape in the work of the later writers. Colonel Gerrat Barry published two military volumes while an exiled soldier in the service of Spain -- *The Siege of Breda* (Louvain, 1627) and *A Discourse of Military Discipline* (Brussels, 1634). Seventeen years after the Restoration and two years before his death, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, published his own *Treatise of the Art of War: Dedicated to the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty* (London, 1677).⁴¹ The two writers differed hugely in terms of religion, landed status, political influence, and the nature of their attachment to Ireland. Barry, a landless military exile writing before the Irish Wars, attempted to write his way back from Europe, to create a new Irish nation of fellow soldier-citizens. Orrery, son of the New English magnate the First Earl of Cork, wrote some forty years later, from the relative security of a stable Protestant English rule in Ireland, having served as commander for both Cromwell and Charles II. His *Treatise* was located at the point of England's entry as a major power into the European scene. Yet in spite of all their

⁴¹ Two other military works deserve mention in the Irish context. The first, E. Walshe, *The Office and duety in fighting for our countrey* (London, 1545), was written to impress Old English loyalty on Henry VIII. See also D.B. Quinn, 'Edmund Walshe's "Conjectures" concerning the state of Ireland [1552]', *HJ*, 35 (1992), 303-322. The second, Wentworth's lost MS Art of War, is listed in Ormond's library catalogue in HMC, *Ormonde MSS.*, new series, vii, p.515.

differences, both were soldiers, both wrote about soldiering, and both negotiated their relationship to Ireland through their military writing. This is the common ground on which my exploration of their writing is based.

2. 'Captaine Gerat Barry, Irish' and the Foundations of Military Nationalism

Gerrat Barry left for Spain after the Irish defeat at Kinsale in 1601. In 1641 he returned to recruit a regiment for Spain from Wentworth's disbanded army. In the aftermath of the rebellion, he and his regiment were caught up in events and Barry was eventually appointed commander for the Confederate armies in Munster.⁴² *The Siege of Breda* and *Military Discipline* had made his veteran experience in the Low Countries -- under first Preston, then O'Neill -- public knowledge.⁴³ In both texts -- the first a practical history, the second a handbook for war -- Barry had a firm project in mind: both seek not only to train but also to persuade. His intention was that Ireland and the Irish military should be recognised as being located firmly in the frontline of the European counter-Reformation. As Cunningham has argued: 'it took the impetus of exile and the example of other continental scholars to spur the Irish [historians at Louvain] into action.'⁴⁴ Barry shared both the impetus and aim of their project; he wrote, then, to create the possibility of his own return to his homeland.

⁴² I am grateful to Pádraig Lenihan for making available his entry on Barry for the forthcoming Irish *DNB* and for his comments on an earlier paper on Barry.

⁴³ Cockle dismisses *Military Discipline* as 'a compilation of no great merit. The bad spelling is accounted for by the book having been printed abroad', *Bibliography of Military Books*, p. 102, also p. 89.

⁴⁴ Cunningham, 'Culture and Ideology', pp. 28-29. On the Irish military in exile see G. Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586-1621* (Dublin, 1992); R. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and the Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain (1618-68)* (Dublin, 1994).

In his dedication to *The Siege of Breda* Barry declared his intention 'to set forth in the English tongue' the details of what many saw as the single most important victory in the counter-Reformation campaigns in the Low Countries.⁴⁵ Whilst this turn of phrase might signal translation, Barry makes no direct reference to the fact that his text was translated from the Jesuit Hugo Hermanus' Latin account, *Obsidio Bredana*, published the previous year.⁴⁶ Nor does he mention the already existing English translation by an English Colonel of a regiment of horse who fought for Spain at Breda: *The Siege of Breda written in Latin by the R F Herman Hugo of the S of I translated into English by CHG* (London, 1627). Hermanus dedicated his account to Isabella; Barry silently translates this, before adding his own dedication to Spinola.⁴⁷ Both 'authors' celebrated the glory of the 'Catholique King of Spain', and the combination of great kingship and great military leadership which secured victory. 'CHG's' dedication shifted this emphasis, addressing his work not to the counter-Reformation leaders but 'To the souldiers of our nation in generall... professors of the Art military who, for the most part, are unskilful in the Latin tongue'. Wishing 'no other Reader then men of your profession who are only capable of making profit of it', he called on a tried and tested opposition in identifying himself as a fellow soldier, who had turned only reluctantly to translation: 'a workeman whose profession is the Pike not the Pen'.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Barry, *Siege of Breda*, sig. *. r.

⁴⁶ Hugo Hermanus, *Obsidio Bredana armis Philippi IIII Auspiciis Isabellae ductu Ambr. Spinolae Perfecta scribebat Hermannus Hugo Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp, 1626). He was also author of *De Militia Equestri antiqua et nova* (Antwerp, 1630). Barry's version reproduced all of the maps from the Hermanus edition, except the final one. While he translates the annotations of the first map into English (pp. 6-7), he leaves all others in Latin (e.g. pp. 10-11, 28-29).

⁴⁷ Hermanus, *Obsidio Bredana*, ff. A2r-A4r.

⁴⁸ CHG, *Siege of Breda*, sig. *. 1r-v.

Barry's educational project was different; his text does not oppose arms and letters in this way, nor does it deal so explicitly in professional language. The dedication to Spinola claims his motive to have been 'to enlighten my beloved [sic] countrymen with the Honour of thy Heroicall Acts'; he had written his account for 'other Captaines of my nation'.⁴⁹ Clearly, for Barry, the academic pursuit of professional translation was a means to an end: that of creating a national military identity. The 'Captaines' here mentioned serve to introduce the image of an 'Irish nation' fighting alongside the other counter-Reformation states involved in the siege, and Barry's one major deviation from Hugo's original text fleshes out the picture.⁵⁰ In the Latin original, the account of one particular sally on 16 September 1624 consists of a twelve-line sketch under the margin heading 'eruptio Bredanorum'. In CHG's translation the heading reads 'A sally made by the enemy... Count Isenburg giveth the enemy a repulse'.⁵¹ According to both, the main advantage gained by driving back the enemy sally was that Spinola's forces subsequently had time to complete their siege fortifications. In Barry's 'translation', however, this minor event is transformed from a log-book account to a full-scale celebration of Irish heroism by the insertion of three pages which detail his own role and the role of the Irish companies in the defeating the enemy sally.⁵² Barry's shoulder note reads: 'The bloody skirmish betwixt the enemy and the Irish'. The text itself tells of a counter-attack led by 'the faithful and vigilant Captaine Barri ...animating them [his men], and presenting first of all his owne person', and details the role played by Captain Preston,

⁴⁹ Barry, *Siege of Breda*, sig. *. Ijr-v.

⁵⁰ The first letter of CHG's text is decorated with fruit and flowers, Barry's with the more imperial fleurs de lys, CHG, *Siege of Breda*, Ar; Barry, *Siege of Breda*, p. 1.

⁵¹ Hugo, *Obsidio*, p. 28; CHG, *Siege of Breda*, p. 31.

⁵² Barry, *Siege of Breda*, pp. 33-36. He also inserts accounts of two further sallies involving his men at this point, pp. 36-38.

before summing up the event as ‘this greatest sallie that came out of Breda sence the first day till the last were defeated by onely the valor and brave condution of the five Irish companies before spoken of.’⁵³

Barry’s intervention shifts the emphasis of the Latin original in terms of both nationality and personality. These changes are more than cosmetic, for they fundamentally change the nature of the military activity in two ways. Firstly, in the Latin account, the driving back of the sally is essentially an unwelcome diversion from the ordered activities of siege warfare. In Barry’s account the sally becomes a battle in its own right -- a ‘skirmish’ with its own victory.

Secondly, in Barry’s version no link is made between the sally and the construction of the forts. He does include the drawings from the Latin original, but the reference to them simply follows after the incident -- ‘Redutes and fortes were built in the form wherof we represent in the precedent page.’⁵⁴ Giving the lie to Bellings’ later criticism of Barry as a commander too interested in the mechanics of war to notice the realities of Ireland, Barry proves here to be more interested in the recognition of Irish heroism than in the much vaunted educational value of the siege works at Breda. Moreover, in adding a specifically Irish history to the frame of translation, he alters the emphasis of the entire text. Confirming in a margin note his calculated assertion of national identity, he suggests that the repulsion of the enemy sally offers ‘evident proof of the affection and fidelitie of the Irish to his Catholicke Majestie.’⁵⁵

⁵³ Ibid. 35.

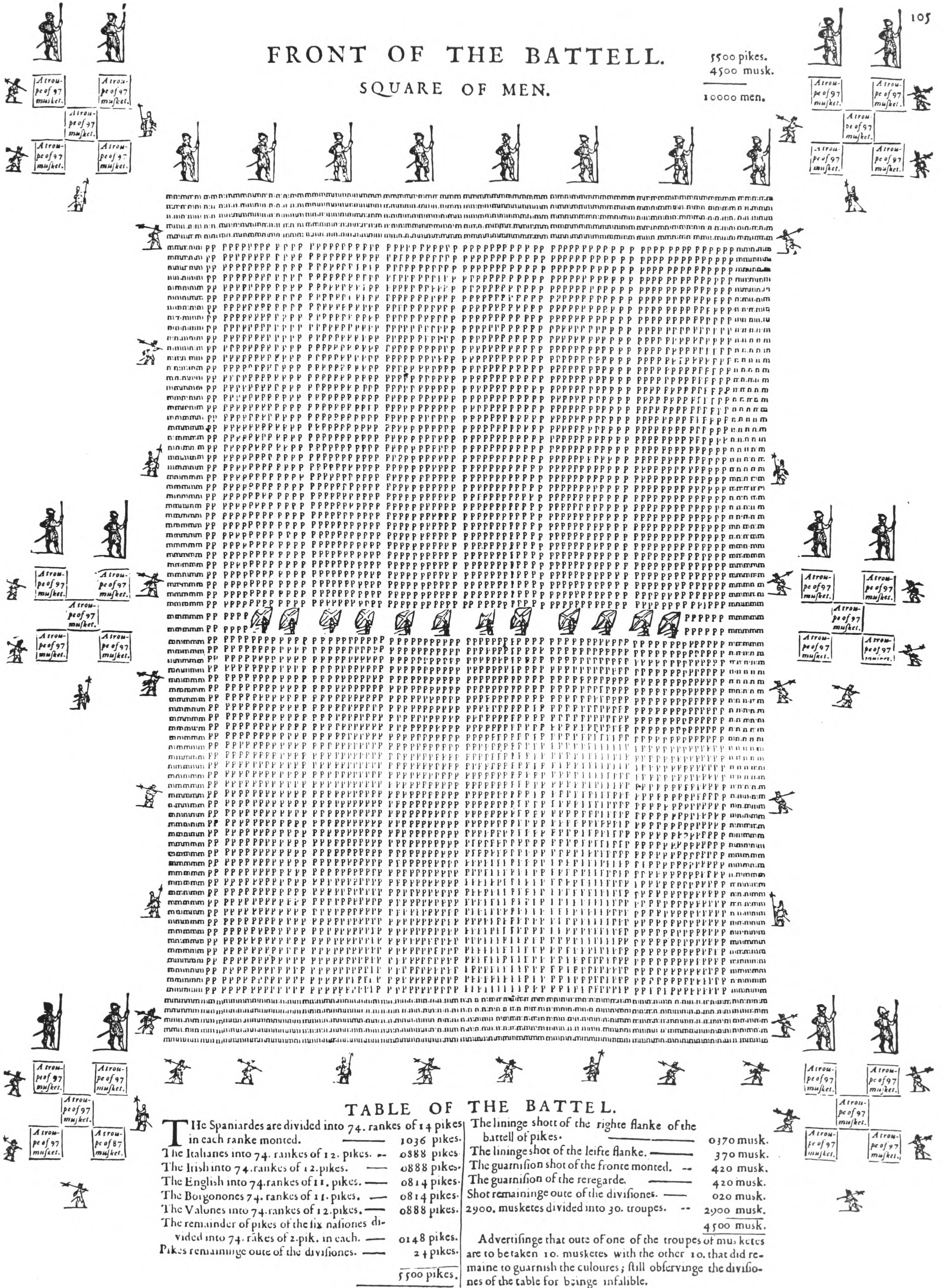
⁵⁴ Ibid. 38.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 36. The prickly issues of nationality and recognition are also of concern to CHG, when he points out that the Latin original does not give Henry, Earl of Oxford his due in reporting one particular sally, CHG, *Siege of Breda*, p. 116.

This gesture, and the publication of Barry's *Siege* not only placed the emergent Irish Nation firmly in the military frontline of the European counter-Reformation, it also elevated Barry's name alongside those of Spinola, Nassau, and Vere.

The date of his translation gave further weight to Barry's agenda of establishing a particular reputation for the Irish military. In the wake of the breakdown of Charles I's Spanish marriage negotiations, and as war between England and Spain looked inevitable, Owen O'Neill seized the opportunity to propose a Spanish-backed invasion of Ireland by the Irish regiments. From late 1626 to late 1627, O'Neill and Florence Conroy, Archbishop of Tuam, shuttled between the Infanta in the Low Countries and Philip IV in Spain seeking approval for the mission. O'Neill drafted a detailed proposal for the foundation of a 'Republic and Kingdom of Ireland', designed to accommodate the political differences between the Old English and Gaelic Irish, and between the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. Conroy was adamant that no English, Scot, or 'anglicised Irish' be involved in the expedition since he feared that the tensions between the groups would ruin the exploit. In late 1627, Philip IV first gave, then withdrew his support from the expedition in favour of a more conciliatory approach to the English.⁵⁶ When read in this context, Barry appears to be writing to ensure that the Irish cause and past valour was brought to the attention of the Spanish authorities. Certainly he intended that his text would be used by a new generation of Irish 'Captains' and generals; but, more than this, he hoped to put the Irish nation on the map, to situate the Irish military-in-exile at the heart of the European counter-Reformation.

⁵⁶ For documentation surrounding this episode, including the proposal for a republic in Ireland, see B. Jennings, *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, 1582-1700* (Dublin, 1964), pp. 211-236. Conroy insisted that 'no person of authority, or of outstanding ability, be allowed to accompany it from among the anglicised Irish' (214).



Barry's *Siege* ends with an *approbatio* and the seal of Louvain. The opening dedication to Spinola, the Louvain seal which concludes the text, and the image of the Infanta on the battlefield could be seen to represent the threefold recognition which Barry sought to create for his emerging Irish nation: military, Catholic Irish and appropriately Royal. To gain it, he needed to become a writer, rather than a translator -- to put himself in the picture while leaving out Hermanus, the originator of the text. He also needed to intervene in history by inserting incidents of Irish bravery in which he distinguished in himself as both author and commander. Soldiership, nationality, and self are placed yet more firmly to the fore in the title of his second work, *A Discourse of Military Discipline... Composed by Captaine Gerat Barry, Irish*. Barry's volume begins with two books dealing with the infantry, followed by a third -- that which refers to the 'good lawes and good armes' of Machiavelli -- concerning fireworks and fortifications. His examples draw both on recent campaigns and on standard classical sources, and at the heart of his rules, tables, calculations and battle formations, lies the enduring commonplace of the military handbook: the need for the commanding officer to be ready for anything. Like the authors of a multitude of early-modern military handbooks, Barry aims to compress and present the science of ordnance, mathematics, and gunpowder into a convenient and transportable form for the soldier who must be always at the ready -- 'specially in the lowe countries, where warres are dayly in exercise, and sundrie interprises, and brave exploites executed of a sodaine'.⁵⁷ Published two years after he was pensioned off from the Spanish service, the two variant dedications to his volume -- one English, one Spanish -- indicate the dual concern of sword and pen in Barry's plans for the future. The first, as signalled in the ornate frontispiece, is to David Barry, Earl of Barrymore and head of

⁵⁷ Barry, *Military Discipline*, p. 156.

the Barry connection, who was returned that same year to the first Wentworth parliament.⁵⁸

In what was perhaps a tentative approach for patronage or employment back in Ireland, Barry stressed the scholarly achievement of soldiership, representing himself as a man of letters as well as of arms:

Havinge tried my fortune in foraigne nationes, thies thirty three yeares in this my presente profession of armes... Duringe whiche time I have imployed my selfe in gatheringe notinge, and learninge out of many brave Auctors.⁵⁹

The other dedication -- also directed towards employment -- is considerably more military in tone. Addressed in Spanish 'Al Excellentissimo Señor Don Juan Claros de Gusmann, Marques de Fuentes, Comendador de Piedra Buena', it reprises Barry's earlier dual concerns: educating his fellow-countrymen in the military art and drawing the Irish 'nation' in exile closer into the counter-Reformation family. His experience:

Me ha movido de poner por escrito un Libro intitulado *El Arte militar* en lengua que entiendan los de mi Nacion, para enstruir y dar luce à muchos Cavalleros y Soldados Irlandeses, que viene llegâdo cada dia para servir à su Magestad... [there being] Ningun libro de la Milicia en lengua que entiende la gente visona de la nacion Irlandesa.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Barrymore's father, the elder David Fitzjames de Barry, took part in the Desmond Rebellion, but later gave his consistent support to the English throughout Elizabethan Irish wars. The younger Barrymore married the eldest daughter of the Earl of Cork and in later years repeatedly proved his 'New English' credentials. In 1639 he raised Irish troops for service in Scotland, reputedly enlisting Irish foster mothers as his recruiting agents. In 1642, Cork wrote to his wife that Barrymore had 'lately hanged forty three notable rebels for a breakfast', 25 August 1642. A few months later, a second letter from Cork to Ormond asked for his help in the care of Barrymore's widow and children, 7 October 1642, see T. Morrice, ed., *A Collection of the State Letters of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle* (London, 1742), p. 4. It appears that he was wounded in a skirmish in September 1642 and died some weeks after. Canny notes that his wife and children went to live with Lady Ranelagh in England where John Milton was their tutor, *The Upstart Earl*, p. 45.

⁵⁹ This is included in the copy in Christchurch, Cambridge (STC 1528), ff. a2r-v. See also the facsimile reproduction in Barry, *Military Discipline* (London, 1978).

⁶⁰ Barry, *Military Discipline*, f. a2v: 'moved me to write a book entitled *The Art of War* in the language understood by the men of my nation, to instruct and illuminate the many

In both dedications -- and both languages -- Barry sought to establish himself both as an employable soldier and as a writer of interest not only to the Irish but to all professional fighters. Yet even as he insisted on the universal application of his military skills, he stressed the distinctiveness of the Irish nation. If *The Siege at Breda* sought to intervene to write the Irish into history, *Military Discipline* sought to create a methodology for maintaining distance, for ensuring that, even in continental exile, the Irish nation remained pure. This concern for maintaining a sense of national individualism while demonstrating multinational counter-Reformation solidarity is graphically illustrated by Barry's detailed instructions for the arrangement of a multinational force in which the Irish take their place alongside Spanish, Italians, English, Burgundians and Walloons. He imagines:

A battel square of men framed of six nationes, and who they shall unconfusedlie fall into battell with grace and brevitie, dividinge to each nasion his parte of the vangarde, acordinge the number of men they give in relasion, as by the figure folowinge are orderly divided...⁶¹

Once again the Irish are situated in the vanguard of counter-Reformation nations; Barry's battle formation places Catholicism and nationalism on the frontline. Language, nation, and allegiance are choreographed on the page so as to allow his readers, however complex the mix of their languages and skills, 'to fall into battell of a suddaine without any crossinge or confusion, with the ensignes of each nation in the center of their pikes' (ibid. See figure 1).

Barry's carefully framed and highly trained Irish soldier did not quite translate into Irish territory. The returning exiles' experience of 'foraine discipline' served, if Richard Bellings

Irish knights and soldiers who arrive daily to serve his Majesty ... [there being] no military handbook available in a language understood by those of the Irish Nation.' [Trsl. mine.]

⁶¹ Ibid. 99, 105.

was to be believed, only to make them blind to the realities of war in Ireland. In a long digression to his *History of the Confederation*, Bellings detailed the mistakes made in military appointments in 1641-42, singling out Barry as a commander with no natural skill but rather:

accustomed to the warre of Flanders, where all engines and all provisions attend almost inseparably upon the army, he was now to follow the motions of an active warre, which, he might well presume, would call him now to the west, now to the east, and was not to relye for bread upon an infaillable providore, or expect a traine of artillery.⁶²

The anonymous author of *The Rise and Progress in Munster of the Rebellion 1642* shared Bellings scorn but with one important difference -- his vitriol was directed at Barry as author, as well as soldier. Caught dawdling in a loose encirclement of Cork in 1642, Barry merits only curt dismissal with linguistic flourish:

He is now retired to his privacy and desires us all to leave him -- and so must I -- to the framing of his 'laderiscoes, grandoes, fireworks, altissimoes, batriscoes, tormentabilities, faculations, trepidations, penetrandulas' and other strategems, the meaning whereof I omit for want of the words of art.⁶³

The dig here is double: not only does Barry fail to translate the military jargon of his handbooks into military action, the jargon itself is a jangle of meaningless nonsense which the reporter refuses to engage with. It appears that neither artful language nor the art of translation had any place on the new Irish battlefield. Having written his way back home, Barry found that his military career in Ireland fell silent. In his *Military Discipline*, when instructing the commander what to do when 'come to conqueste a foraigne countrie', Barry had specified two crucial elements for success: fidelity among the soldiers and avoidance of

⁶² Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 75. See also P. Lenihan, '“Celtic” Warfare in the 1640s', in *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*, pp. 116-140.

⁶³ H. Gillman, ed., 'The Rise and progress of the rebellion in Munster, 1642', *JCHAS*, ii (1896), 63-79 (70).

‘the wicked vice of invie.’⁶⁴ In coming ‘home’ to Ireland, and to the complicated political allegiances of the Confederation, Barry found himself somewhat adrift, his sense of national identity faltered, and the ‘vice of invie’ must have been hard to avoid. For others were now in power; like the Ulster commander, Owen Roe O’Neill, he was old, and not a favourite of the Old English, and after a fair amount of activity in the campaigning season of 1642, he was relieved of the Munster command by Castlehaven in 1643. Barry died in Limerick in 1647 having made no attempt to produce the definitive Art of War for, and in, Ireland.

3. Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery -- ‘Major General of Your Majesty’s Army in Ireland’

If Barry’s career can be glimpsed through occasional references and minor works on military training, Orrery’s was altogether more notorious, illustrious, and certainly more carefully documented. Langbaine described him as ‘An Irish Nobleman whose Abilities in Arts and Arms, have render’d him better known to this Nation, than any Character I can give him.’ Dryden, in his dedication of *The Rival Ladies* to Orrery, was lavish in his praise of his patron’s pen and respectful of his sword:

To speak of you as a Souldier, or a States-man, were only to betray my own Ignorance: and I could hope no better success from it, that that miserable *Rhetorician* had, who solemnly Declaim’d before *Hannibal* of the Conduct of Armies, and the Art of War.⁶⁵

More recent commentators have followed Dryden’s example, focusing on Orrery’s successful career as a Restoration dramatist, and, more rarely, on his (less well received) romance writing. Such criticism has cast Orrery as the remorseful royalist whose post-Restoration pen

⁶⁴ Barry, *Military Discipline*, pp. 157, 163.

⁶⁵ G. Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 27; Dryden, *The Rival Ladies*, in E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg Jnr eds, *The Works of John Dryden*, 19 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956-1989), viii, 98.

both confessed, and attempted to expiate, his Cromwellian sword.⁶⁶

In 1677, Orrery published *A Treatise of the Art of War*.⁶⁷ In his final retirement at Castle Martyr, he brought his pen to bear on swordsmanship not for the stage, but for the military training ground. In such a context, his *Treatise* deserves attention, for its publication suggested a reflection on Orrery's life as an English soldier and settler in Ireland which it did not quite deliver. Barry's military volumes were written in the early seventeenth century by a lowly captain to effect a future reentry into Irish affairs; Orrery's *Treatise* was written towards the end of the century by the second generation inheritor of a New English dynasty with considerable influence at court. The first Earl of Cork had developed his Elizabethan land acquisitions into extensive, profitable estates; he had also taken to heart the verse epigraph to this chapter and educated his sons as Englishmen of arms and letters. Orrery was sent to Trinity College, Dublin in 1630, aged nine; shortly afterwards, together with his brother and tutor, he was sent on a continental tour under Cork's insistence that they be 'bred in England and abroad in the world, and not to have their youth infected with the leaven of

⁶⁶ See W. Smith Clark II, ed., *The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery*, 2 vols (Cambridge Mass., 1937). See also N. Klein Maguire, 'The "whole truth" of Restoration Tragicomedy', in N. Klein Maguire ed., *Renaissance Tragicomedy: Explorations in Genre and Politics* (New York, 1987), pp. 217-240, and her *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy 1660-1671* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. pp. 164-189.

⁶⁷ The treatise mentions a second volume which appears not to have been completed. A second MS volume, dated 1676, is listed in Armagh Public Library, but it appears to be notes on the first. On a more practical note, concern about coastal defences following the Dutch Thames blockade in 1667 led Orrery to campaign for royal assent to construct a stone fortification at Kinsale. Work began under the architect William Robinson, before Orrery's death and in 1681, his old rival Ormond named it Charlesfort after Charles II.

Ireland'.⁶⁸

While Barry experienced the continent as a place of exile, for Orrery it was a carefully designed education for government involving a rigorous daily schedule of exercise and study.

But it was also during these years, and contrary to his father's very particular instructions, that Orrery had his first brush with the literary forms he would return to in later life.

Although Cork gave his daughter, Mary, Sidney's *Arcadia* to read when she was ten years old, his sons were strictly forbidden to read 'Playbooks comicall or tragicall', or romances.

While in continental Europe, the distance from his father's watchful eye allowed more freedom. The one reference Orrery made to romances is in an apology to his father, where he confessed to reading them at Saumur 'to passe a few lazy houres', and promised that he would not do so again.⁶⁹

Though romance and tragicomedy were to reemerge in Orrery's later life, events first called for the exercise of the sword. With impeccable timing, Orrery returned from his European travels on 23 October 1641, the day on which rebellion broke out in Ireland. This launched

⁶⁸ Quoted Canny, *The Upstart Earl*, p.71. Daughters, too, fared better abroad: 'Ireland holds no comparison with England for the education of a young lady, here being neither means to breed her well nor marry her well' (PRONI, Kildare Letter Book, 5), see Canny, *The Upstart Earl*, pp. 87-90. Biographical details for Orrery are drawn from Eustace Budgell, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Earl of Orrery And of the Family of the Boyles* (London, 1732); T. Morrice, *A Collection of the State Letters of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle* (London, 1742), and Lynch, *Roger Boyle*. The Budgell and Morrice publications coincide with the appearance of Thomas Carte, *Life of James, first Duke of Ormonde*, 3 vols. (London, 1735-36). All were concerned with preserving the honourable reputations of their sinuous subjects.

⁶⁹ See A. Grosart, ed., *The Lismore Papers*, 5 vols (London, 1886), IV, 217; Lismore MSS. 19, f. 76, quoted Lynch, *Roger Boyle*, p. 20.

him on a twenty year career which would see him be soldier and favourite of first Cromwell and then Charles II.⁷⁰ His involvement in Irish events was immediate; a letter from Orrery to his father in 1641 details an ambush he organised. He continued to serve in Ireland, first as deputy to Inchiquin in Munster and later -- as parliamentary suspicion of Inchiquin increased -- as his rival. During the period of the King's trial and execution in 1649/50, Orrery retired from public life to Somerset, where he began to write his romance, *Parthenissa*, and made secret preparations to join other Royalists in France. Morrice's reverential account of this period includes a plot-twist itself worthy of romance: Orrery's letters were intercepted and read, and Cromwell himself confronted Orrery as he journeyed through London, offering him a straightforward choice: the tower, or a command in the forthcoming Irish Campaigns. So, according to Robert Boyle, Orrery interrupted his writing of *Parthenissa* and travelled to Ireland in Cromwell's service, bringing many of Inchiquin's former soldiers to the parliamentary side.⁷¹ In Morrice's romance-biography, Orrery accepted the commission from Cromwell on condition that he 'should have no oaths or engagements laid upon him, nor should he be obliged to fight against any but the Irish.' Thus, by 'a singular providence', Morrice's Orrery proves able to maintain his aristocratic allegiance to the King, protect his interests in Ireland, and still remain aloof from the English Republic. While others, such as

⁷⁰ The paths of Roger and his younger brother, the scientist Robert Boyle, diverged sharply in 1641. Robert, aged fifteen, was in Geneva when the Irish rebellion broke out and remained abroad. The possibility of his joining the Dutch army was discussed, but he continued his tour in spite of the financial difficulties caused by the rebellion, returning to England in 1644. In the household of his sister, Lady Ranelagh, he met with John Drury, Samuel Hartlib, and other proponents of the new scientific learning. In spite of ventures into romance-writing -- see *The Martyrdom of Theodora* (London, 1687) -- he made science his career. See T. Birch ed., *The Works of Robert Boyle*, 5 vols (London, 1744); J.R. Jacob, *Robert Boyle and the English Revolution: A Study in Social and Intellectual Change* (New York, 1977).

⁷¹ Robert Boyle, *Works*, IV, 50.

Ireton were devoted to the cause, Orrery was subject to ‘the fetters of honour, artfully, and with some degree of kindness put upon him by Cromwell.’⁷²

After the Irish campaigns, Orrery remained a trusted advisor to Cromwell and served as governor of Scotland in 1655-56.⁷³ In Ireland, he was involved in the allocation of lands in the Cromwellian land settlement, while in England, in an effort to ensure future stability, he first proposed that Cromwell’s daughter should marry Charles II as a reconciliatory measure, and later that Cromwell should be crowned King. Both suggestions offered the ultimate solutions of Romance to the plot of war: Cromwell rejected both. The relations between the two men were not just political, for there are also indications of more personal links. Orrery saved Cromwell from an assassination attempt, an act for which Cromwell was enormously personally grateful.⁷⁴ Following Cromwell’s death, Orrery at first offered support for the Protectorate of his son, Richard. As his position became untenable, however, Orrery retired to Munster and from there worked with Coote and Monck to restore Charles II to the throne. Following the Restoration, Orrery successfully switched into royal favour, requesting that the King should: ‘...pass by what wee did when wee were not our selves, and to accept of what wee do now when wee are our selves.’⁷⁵ His political rehabilitation was solid: he was offered

⁷² Morrice, *State Letters of Roger Boyle*, pp. 17, iv.

⁷³ See N. Canny, ‘The Attempted Anglicisation of Ireland in the seventeenth century: An exemplar of British History’, in *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth*, pp. 157-186.

⁷⁴ Orrery, *Humble Petition and Advice* (London, 1657). In spite of the lack of documentary evidence, Budgell insisted ‘That the Lord Broghill kept up a *constant* Correspondence with King Charles the Second during his Exile’, *Memoirs*, sig.13v. Morrice cites Orrery’s deathbed conversation with Col. Michael Jones, who wanted to join forces with him for the king, as evidence of his on-going royalism, *State Letters*, p. 17. Cromwell’s would-be assassin was believed to be an Officer from the army in Ireland, *ibid.* 25.

⁷⁵ BL Sloane MS 1008 f.186r, cited N. Klein Maguire, ‘The “Whole Truth”’.

and declined the post of chancellor and his advice was sought on many matters of the day, including legislation against Catholicism and strategy in the Dutch Wars. This was accompanied by a literary rehabilitation. It began in the political sphere with Orrery's composition of the 'Declaration of Free Parliament' of 1660 and his engineering and drafting of the Act of Settlement for Ireland. These were followed by a panegyric on the Restoration of the King (now lost), and, most importantly, by the heroic dramas which earned him the King's literary patronage. Restored to his position as a Royal, loyal courtier, Orrery filled the dramatic world of the Restoration with larger-than-life military leaders and the ghosts of regicide.⁷⁶

Orrery's *Treatise of the Art of War*, was written during this period of royal favour, sometime between August 1676 and October 1677. It was not, however, written at court, but in Ireland, where it circulated in manuscript before publication. While the title harks back to Machiavelli, this accomplished military handbook, the work of the well-read aristocratic soldier who has studied the classical sources of warfare, was also very much a product of the times. Written to encourage Charles II to commit to war in Europe, the frontispiece entitled 'Carolus Ius Dei gratia Anglia, Scotia, Francia et Hibernia Rex' shows Charles II triumphant

⁷⁶ See especially *The Generall* (1661) and *Henry the fifth* (1664). Charles II wrote to Orrery, praising *The Generall*, a play which reenacts the regicide. In *A Vision* (1675) the headless ghost of Charles I actually walks the stage. Regicide -- and military glory -- also feature in *Mustapha* (1665) *The Black Prince* (1667) and *Tryphon* (1668). See N. Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration*, pp. 164-189. Her reading, though it does give useful insight into the political and military context of the dramas, at times overemphasises the resolution of Orrery's past through his drama, and discounts the disruption which, I argue, haunts the *Treatise*.

in the field.⁷⁷ This portrait battlefield was, as yet, hypothetical -- Charles II's only appearance on the field, at Worcester, had left little to glorify -- but Orrery's *Treatise* offered plenty of encouragement towards future success. In particular, he included a long report on the contemporary wars and the role of the French King, an 'Absolute Monarch, and having none in his Armies but such as depend on his Will.' The political resonance is clear. Louis has 'all the real advantages, which a Sovereign has, who makes War in person, against Enemies, which make War only by their generals.'⁷⁸ There is a strong rhetoric of persuasion at work in the *Treatise*; the English King must lead the way into war.

For Orrery this call to arms had a secondary effect, one which called for literary leadership. The *Treatise* formed part of Orrery's proposed national project to correct the lack of military handbooks written by Englishmen. Disregarding the embryonic tradition of military writing which we traced through the earlier part of the century, he referred only to Francis Vere's account of his involvement in the Low Country Campaigns from 1589-1601, not published until 1657.⁷⁹ Orrery called for a new, contemporary literature of war, for handbooks which were neither versions of the ancients, nor translations of European texts of the recent past, but written by fellow Englishmen of the time. In so doing, he allied the *Treatise* to the Restoration project of rebuilding the English (literary) language, while further suggesting in

⁷⁷ For Orrery, the compulsion to war is plain: 'Sir/ The Ultimate and Onely Legitimate End of War is, or at least ought to be, among Christians, The Obtaining of a Good and Lasting Peace', *Treatise*, f. ar. On the political background, see Schwoerer, *No Standing Armies!*, pp. 99-130.

⁷⁸ Orrey, *Treatise*, pp. 135, 133. For the digression on France, see pp. 135-147.

⁷⁹ Sir Francis Vere, *The Commentaries of Sr Francis Vere*, ed., William Dillingham (Cambridge, 1657). Cockle notes that manuscript copies were owned by the parliamentary commanders Fairfax and Skippon, *Bibliography of Military Books*, p.129.

his Preface that the King assist by ‘expressly Ordering’ his generals to write of their experience of war. It was crucial for generals to take up the pen because others can:

More Instructively read the Commentaries or Memorials of one famous General, written by himself than All the Relations of Battels, Victories, and Conquests, written by the ordinary Historians: For they tell us chiefly but the Events of Wars, rarely the true Methods, the Arts, and the Industries, by which they have been managed; when the knowledge of these, is exceedingly more useful, than the knowledge of those.⁸⁰

It is experience which makes writing valuable, and such experience is gained only through action. The implications of Orrery’s argument are clear: if they are to write well, the English must learn to fight.

The value of experience in Orrery’s *Treatise* proves, however, problematic. For his own military experience had been gained in a doubly charged situation -- under the command of Cromwell and in the disputed territory of Ireland. By his own definition, one might expect Orrery to have written the definitive manual for combatting the notoriously difficult Irish. Indeed Ireland continued to be problematic territory for Orrery at even the time of writing. For while he enjoyed royal favour in London, in Ireland his considerable power made him a threat to the Lord Lieutenants appointed there. In the late 1660s, Orrery was involved in Buckingham’s campaign which eventually cost Ormond the Lord Lieutenancy in 1669. In 1672, perhaps hoping to learn from his predecessors’ mistakes, the new Lord Lieutenant, Capell, Earl of Essex, stripped Orrery of his Presidency of Munster; he also struck at the military symbolism so dear to Orrery, ordering him to remove all fortifications and weaponry from his home including ‘5 little brass Drakes... wch we use to fyre drinkinge his Majts health on his Birthday or other solemnities.’ Clearly working relations were later restored for

⁸⁰ Orrery, *Treatise*, f. a2v. For rumours of Orrery’s history of Ireland see chapter five.

Orrery presented Essex with a manuscript copy of his *Treatise* when he left Ireland.⁸¹ That the new military manual should have sprung from the troublesome land which had been the thorn in the English military side throughout the century might have been recognised within the published text as particularly appropriate. It is not. Orrery's *Treatise* calls on references gleaned from classical sources, Raleigh, and contemporary reports from the continent, but rarely mentions Ireland. In contrast to Barry's over-attention to his own role in military events, Orrery's actions are most often suppressed. Despite the opening argument, the *Treatise* is more the product of the study than of experience, for in spite of the lapse of time and the Act of Oblivion, Orrery's exploits in Ireland were, at the moment of writing, still laden with the baggage of the Cromwellian years. His experience of war was not yet reducible to the technicality of manoeuvres, exercises, and strategies. The *Treatise* hung suspended between the European Wars of the late seventeenth century and the conquests of the Roman army, largely avoiding precisely what its soldier-author advocated others should write of: personal military experience.

For Orrery as for others, the art of writing war was a slippery matter, involving a continually shifting territory. It was 'as impossible to set down Standing Rules and Maxims, for making War, as to take the utmost height of one, who is still growing.' The trick was to prepare and exercise the soldier's faculty of reason so as to make the most of crucial moments: 'For though the Name of a Soldier is common; yet it is Rare to find the Thing itself.' In using Greek and Roman models to achieve this, Orrery was aware of anachronism but nonetheless argued the worth of his examples: 'And the Difference seems Little more, than between Old-

⁸¹ See Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke*, pp. 95-99; Lynch, *Roger Boyle*, pp. 136, 141, 221. Ormond also received a copy, *ibid*, 224.

fashion'd Plate, hammer'd into New; where though the Form is chang'd, yet the Substance remains.'⁸² The quest to train soldiers for all present and future eventualities, by drawing out the substance of past experience, motivated the organisation of Orrery's text. The section entitled 'The Disciplining of the Soldiery', for example, reversed the standard trope so as to figure the drive to bring order to war as the desire to bring order to the act of reading. Laying down the parameters both for himself as author, and for his reader, Orrery wrote that:

Since there are Printed Books also in English on this Subject, I shall refer the curious, and the unknowing therein, to those Books, and only apply my self to such things as I have not seen, or heard, hath hitherto been treated in our Language.... Yet I shall divide them into many distinct Heads, for the ease of the Reader; who commonly is better pleased to peruse many short Discourses, than one very long one; and every one, having a distinct title, is more readily turn'd unto, and found out.⁸³

The text on discipline therefore was itself a strongly disciplined text, designed for reference and application. As with Barry's instructions for maintaining discipline in enemy territory, the compulsion was towards internal order; if the successful reader-general can order his own knowledge and his own men, then control of the enemy will, it is to be hoped, follow. Like Barry, Orrery sought to draw up disciplined formations, but the strain of being endlessly flexible showed all too often.

Towards the end of the *Treatise*, for instance, the structure of the well-ordered reference text for useful application on the battlefield disintegrated as Orrery began to write of strategy -- the aspect of warfare most closely associated with study and reading. The long series of examples mixed the usual suspects of the European wars with classical figures. Thus an

⁸² Orrery, *Treatise*, pp. 2, 3.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 41.

account of Caesar's mistakes at Dirachium was followed by Essex's defeat of Prince Rupert near Gloucester (pp. 180-181); the Biblical example of Jereboam and Abijah -- used to illustrate the principle of ambush -- stood alongside an ambush foiled by the Swedes in 1632 (pp. 184-85). Gone are the proposed 'distinct Heads, for the ease of the Reader.' Little more than a jumble of fragments, the list suggests the raw material of the commonplace book, and hardly demonstrates the author's exercise of 'solid Reasons and Principles' in writing.⁸⁴

Urging his readers to exercise reason themselves, Orrery engaged them to 'by their own more illuminated Reasoning, do as the Spaniards did, though they ow'd the first discovery of America to Columbus, they ow'd the riches they derivd from it, to their own further improving, of what he had but laid the foundation.'⁸⁵ The comparison is confusing; it casts Orrery as a foreign colonial adventurer, and confuses the arts of war with the arts of settlement. But the vision of cultivation and improvement is used to illustrate the importance of studying the military arts and maintaining military discipline. For all the textual confusion, Orrery's message remains clear: the colonial project -- Spanish or English -- has the military continually at its heart.

What happens, then, to Orrery's involvement in the colonial project of the English Republic, his military activities during the Confederation, the Cromwellian Campaigns, and beyond? Glimpses are to be had through the writings of others; they surface only rarely in his state papers.⁸⁶ Orrery observed in the letter accompanying his gift of the *Treatise* to Essex that his

⁸⁴ Ibid. 185.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 206.

⁸⁶ Others' reports of Orrery's behaviour are often at variance with the desired models of the *Treatise*. See, for instance, N. French, *A Narrative of the settlement and sale*, critical

past experience in Ireland was a key impetus to writing. However, he located this impetus beyond the troubled years of the 1640s and 50s, explaining that it was the loss of a regiment at Kildare under Berkeley's Lord Lieutenancy which inspired him to write. In another letter to Essex, Orrery made a rare reference to the Cromwellian Campaigns, mentioning that, at the siege of Waterford, Ireton and he discussed military tactics, Ireton being 'not overknowing in books.'⁸⁷ These references, however, hovered around the *Treatise*. Within the text itself, Ireland remained only a shadowy presence. Orrery paid, for instance, particular attention to the difficulties of marching 'through Woods, or Copses or Moorish ground'; his discussion of the importance of military discipline hinted at the lessons of Cromwell's approach to Confederate territory: 'And I have known Countries which being ill us'd by the Soldiers of their own Party, but well by those of the Enemy, have therefore been friends to their Foes and Enemies to their Friends...for the People of the Countrey judge chiefly by their senses.' But he rarely named the land where he gained the experience which authorised him to write of 'the wars I was in.'⁸⁸

Orrery's *Treatise* refers to Ireland by name on just four occasions. Crucially, each of the incidents referred to is presented as an exception to the rules of war. Indeed the first two deal less with battle on the ground than with settlement and Restoration; they establish Orrery's

of Orrery throughout. From the period 1644-1649, only one letter survives, a pardon addressed to 'Lord Broghill' from Charles II (20 April 1649). Morrice blames the loss of correspondence from this period on the fire at Charleville of 1690; the letters -- 'utterly lost or so artfully secreted' -- have never been found, *State Letters*, p. xi.

⁸⁷ BL Stowe MS 212 f.272, Orrery to Essex, 20 July 1677. Both Ludlow and Ireton were continually suspicious of Boyle's motives.

⁸⁸Orrery, *Treatise*, pp. 62, 65-66, 190.

post-war credentials by locating both Ireland and Orrery within legitimate royal service. The first, in parentheses in the prefatory dedication, confirms Orrery's military authority to write '(when your Majesty had as much above my Desert, as Expectation, raised me by Your Letters Patents to be the Major General of your Majesties Army in Ireland).'⁸⁹ The second, again an exception to the rules of war, refers more directly to the Restoration settlement, and recuperates the 'War of Ireland' to the greater Royalist good. The Cromwellian Campaigns are represented, if not re-described, as anti-Irish campaigns undertaken in the English interest:

But yet I must say, That his Majesty King *Charles the Second*, has out-done therein, not only all his Royal Predecessors, but even all the *Greeks* and *Romans*, forasmuch as concerns the *English* Soldiery of *Ireland*; since he has not only given lands to the Maimed and Superannuated, but to all the rest, and to their Posterities for ever; And though the Major part of the Forces which reduced *Ireland*, did perform that Service and Conquer'd those Lands, under Usurpers, and during his Majesties absence; yet He most Royally confirm'd or more truly, Bestowed the Forfeited Lands, after his Return, on them, and their Heirs for ever.⁹⁰

Restored to military command, author both of the Act of Settlement, and of the first of a new generation of English military manuals, Orrery sought with both texts to exorcise the demons of his past. Yet, as two final references to Ireland confirm, his *Treatise* none the less remained haunted by the ghosts -- and the lessons -- of his own semi-legitimate Irish experience.

The first -- and only -- mention of Irish soldiers on the ground, relates an engagement with Irish pikemen in 1651, when 'I had the honour to command the *English* forces against the

⁸⁹ Ibid. Cr-v.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 16.

*Irish.*⁹¹ The experience was far from the normative English version of Irish soldiers who never stand to fight, only gaining their occasional, unjustified successes through knowledge of local terrain. These skilled pikemen stood their ground and inflicted severe damage. By implication, all Orrery's 'art' proved useless; Ireland and the Irish soldier were sites of unexpected superiority. Yet, as before, even this potentially discordant reference to Ireland is recuperated to Orrery's post-war conception of history, and of himself. He was firmly English, and the enemy -- no matter that they were confederate Royalists -- was firmly 'Irish'. The consequences of failure to maintain such clear demarcation between self and enemy lie behind the anxiety which animates the last mention of Ireland. Repeating the obsessive anxiety of Barry -- and Machiavelli -- that order and discipline be enforced in one's own ranks Orrery warns: 'for I have seen eminent Commanders there, when they came with Armies for the War of *Ireland*, so great Strangers to the Rules of it, as their Camps appeared to me to be like Fairs.'⁹² At once a trope of the military handbook and a personal memory, this is the only reference to Ireland in the *Treatise* to call explicitly on the language of witness: 'for I have seen'. Yet even as he acknowledges his part in the wars, Orrery stresses his own sense of difference and distinction, both from the enemies of the past, and from certain here unnamed 'eminent commanders' who conducted themselves less honourably than he, which is to say, as 'Strangers to the Rules' of war.

⁹¹ Ibid. 25. Orrery's report goes on: 'we had more Wounded and kill'd in that Charge, than the whole fight besides' (ibid).

⁹² Ibid. 129.

4. Defining literary territory

Henry Burnell's tragicomedy *Landgartha* was first performed at the Werburgh St Theatre, Dublin on St Patrick's Day 1641. It dramatised the endless cycle of wars between Denmark and Sweden, taking the Amazon warrior, Landgartha, as its heroine. Debates on the role of the military in war and in settlement shadow its scenes; one military image in particular repays attention.⁹³ In Act One, as Reyner, King of Denmark prepares to oust his erstwhile conqueror, Frollo, King of Sweden, he muses on the decline of the Swedish army during their occupation of Denmark:

This kingdome being more fatall unto them
Than *Capua* was to *Hannibal*.⁹⁴

In 1634, Gerrat Barry had used the same example to emphasise the dangers of letting military discipline slip in peacetime:

After this he [Hannibal] came to Capua a pleasante country of weomen and other comodities, and theyre gave him self and his army to repose in garisones a longe time, where he and they became idel and forgetfull of all military exercice, as thoughe they never had managed armes.⁹⁵

Burnell may or may not have studied Barry's military handbook; this was a much-cited military warning which he could have drawn from a number of sources. The consequences of the talented and ruthless general's failure to pursue his victory against Rome at Cannae, as Livy reported, were fatal: 'But it was too true that he had led one army into winter quarters at

⁹³ Burnell's first play, performed in 1637 and mentioned in the prologue to *Landgartha* (Dublin, 1641), does not survive. For Shirley's prologues for three lost plays for the period, *The Irish Gentleman*, *The Generall* and *The Toy*, see J. Shirley, *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, A. Dyce and W. Gifford eds, 6 vols (New York, 1966), VI, 491-92, 495-6, 494.

⁹⁴ Burnell, *Landgartha*, f. B3v.

⁹⁵ Barry, *Military Discipline*, p. 39.

Capua, and led out a different one.’⁹⁶ Machiavelli’s general-protagonist Colonna urged his military listeners ‘to imitate Cesar and not Aniball, whom staiying after that he had discomfited the Romans at Cannae, lost the Empire of Rome.’⁹⁷ For both Barry and Burnell, ‘Hannibal in Capua’ had transformed into figure; it not only signalled the consequences of letting down one’s military guard in war, it also crystallised the dangers of settlement. This same figure appeared in seventeenth century writings by Old Irish, Old English, New English, and Cromwellian settlers in Ireland, oscillating between military handbook and literary text. As this military example of the soldier who met his downfall in a foreign land makes the journey into drama and romance, it offers a useful point of interrogation into the notion of ‘homeland’ and the dangers and difficulties of writing the transition from soldier to settler.

For Barry, the mingling and distraction which undermined Hannibal’s discipline was a constant threat to the exiled Irish soldier. In response, he created a ‘military discipline’ to maintain the Irish nation pure through separation, distinction, and the sustaining of allegiance to the ‘homeland’. This obsession with order and discipline of the self was articulated in rules for rigid social order which ensured that the domestic dangers of settlement posed no threat to the military camp. Barry thus instructed career soldiers: ‘Let him not marry if he hopeth to acomplish well his obligationes, or to bee prefered.’ He went further, in his detailed legislation for every possible disruption, by including -- unusually for contemporary handbooks in English -- rules for the provision of camp prostitutes to maintain the

⁹⁶ Livy, *The War with Hannibal* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 224.

⁹⁷ Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, p. 140.

independence of the camp from its surroundings.⁹⁸ The silence Barry maintained when he did eventually reach home, and the contemptuous glances which ‘native’ commentators cast in his direction, suggested that Ireland proved to be less a homeland than a new embattled zone. The possibility of settlement was as far off as ever. At the other end of the century, the former Cromwellian officer Colonel Richard Lawrence returned to Hannibal in *The Interest of Ireland Stated* (Dublin, 1682), a treatise which formulated a blueprint for Ireland’s future economic development. Lawrence used ‘Hannibal in Capua’ to warn against moral laxity in settlement; the wine, women, and song which caused military decline also threatened the economic development of the latest, strongest, and most thoroughly Protestant English settlement of Ireland. Paraphrasing Livy, he reported ‘there lost he is [sic] Military Discipline.’ Complacency disrupted the civil as well as the military; the maintenance of military discipline, Lawrence insisted, was the only response.⁹⁹

Orrery’s *Treatise* also voiced anxiety about such complacency. Born to an established New English dynasty in Ireland, but with eyes fixed constantly on England, Orrery’s notion of homeland fell somewhere between that of Barry and of Lawrence. He cited not Hannibal but the Turkish Janissaries as his illustration of the dangers of treating his native land too much like home:

since when, their Emperors as it were began to mew themselves up in their Seraglios and that the *Janizaries*... were thereby settled Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, they became effeminate and consequently mutinous; for they not only addicted themselves

⁹⁸ Barry, *Military Discipline*, pp. 6, 143.

⁹⁹ R. Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland Stated*, pp. 66-67. See also chapter four.

to Trade, but also to Wine, and lastly to Marry.¹⁰⁰

Like Barry, Orrery used the example to exhort his military readers to discipline; he did so at some cost. As explored above, Orrery's ambiguous position as Cromwell's general was recuperable to a Royalist historical view -- he fought for the English against the Irish. But this recuperation essentially redefined the Wars of Ireland as a national quarrel between sister kingdoms, rather than as civil strife. It silently endowed the Irish with 'Nationhood' -- however rebellious -- and placed Orrery in a 'foreign' land. Orrery's aphorism -- and Machiavelli's -- 'the best way to prevent a War, is, that our Neighbours may see we are in a good condition to make it' may well have been placed in the *Treatise* to inspire Charles II to place England as a military power upon the European stage.¹⁰¹ But the term 'Neighbours' in this context did not simply conjure up neighbouring kingdoms; it also gestured towards the secret alliances and conspiracies which threaded through the narratives of the 1641 rebellion in Ireland where neighbourly Catholics rose against Protestant settlers who had let down their guard. Moreover these resonances were again particularly strong at the time of writing when Orrery was preoccupied with the threat of a French invasion of Ireland. His letter to an unnamed English Duke, dated 25 January 1677-8, conveyed the sense of life under constant, 'neighbourly' siege: 'Every market day there are 10 Irishmen to every one English soldier or inhabitant in every city in the province. The Irish can capture the garrisons when they like.'¹⁰² There are impossible internal borders at work both in Ireland, and in Orrery's *Treatise*. The implications for Orrery were clear: military discipline and careful separation of the soldier-

¹⁰⁰ Orrery, *Treatise*, p. 6. The Janissaries were the infantry of the Turkish standing army, made up of the tribute children of Christians under Turkish rule.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 22.

¹⁰² MacLysaght, *Calendar of the Orrery Papers*, pp. 193-94.

settler from native civilian lay at the heart of successful settlement.

When Orrery took on the cautionary tale of Hannibal directly, he did so not in his military handbook but in his romance, *Parthenissa*. This ‘idle fruit of some idle time’ was in fact begun in the thick of the second English Civil War, and, as noted above, was interrupted when Cromwell compelled him to join the Irish Campaigns.¹⁰³ The *Short Title Catalogue* listing for *Parthenissa* states that the first part was printed in Waterford in 1651, that is to say, very shortly after the city fell to the Cromwellians in August 1650. It is tempting to imagine Orrery revising his romance in Irish winter quarters; or likewise to imagine that, from a hugely compromised position in alliance with the newly established English Republic, Orrery was sending out an encoded literary signal to the Royalists in French exile. Sadly, since the Waterford press had until then only produced short declarations and annotations associated with war, it is hardly conceivable that it could suddenly produce a sizeable volume in campaign conditions. Nevertheless, the gestation of *Parthenissa* coincided with Orrery’s experience of the Irish Wars.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Orrery’s literary sources for his Romance were, as

¹⁰³ Orrery, *Parthenissa; A Romance in Four Parts* ([Waterford, 1651?] London, 1655). Preface to Part V. The *Treatise* was the product of Orrery’s ‘sickly time’, Dedication.

¹⁰⁴ References are to the 1655 edition. I have examined the editions listed as Waterford in both the British Library and the University of Austin, Texas. Neither bear any reference to Waterford. See however W. Sessions, *The First Printers in Waterford: Cork and Kilkenny pre 1700* (York, 1990). On romance as Royalist genre, see L. Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 72-112; A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (London and Wisconsin, 1984), pp. 159-202. Orrery was one of the first to adopt Madame de Scudéry’s romance models from the French, possibly suggesting a Royalist connection. It was dedicated Lady Northumberland -- Dorothy Sidney or ‘Sacharissa’ -- who was daughter to the Earl of Leicester, sister to Algernon Sidney, and to Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle, whom Orrery had supported during his short term as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, 1646-47. Like Edmund Waller before him, in dedicating his work to her, Orrery allied himself to the Sidney dynasty. See Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 72-73.

he revealed in the preface, the same historical sources as for his *Treatise*: 'Only in the second Punick Warre, I have followed exactly Polibius, & the Excellent Sir Walter Rawly in who's Generall History of the Worlde, I finde more Harmony then ever I did in any perticular History, of any part of it.' It is from Polybius's double-edged admiration of the talented but cruel Carthagenian general that Orrery drew his version of Hannibal.¹⁰⁵ His story, however, was set in a specifically Romance mode: Orrery's Hannibal failed as a general because he fell in love; he did not march on to Rome after victory at Cannae because 'he declin'd the Conquest of the World to conquer the unfortunat Izadora.'¹⁰⁶ Refusing to attack the city of her birth, he retreated to Capua, his fate already sealed before he re-entered the city. Love conquered the conqueror before his men deserted their military discipline. Moreover, the whole of Hannibal's Italian campaigns were subordinate to the main romance plot. The anxiety of 'Hannibal in Capua' is just another testing incident recounted by Izadora and Perolla, whose love story is, quite literally, on trial throughout Part I, Books IV and V.

Parthenissa -- like Burnell's *Landgartha* -- was conceived within the triangle of the study of history, the study of war, and the art of fiction. It was no easy territory to inhabit, complicated further, as it was, by contemporary politics. The combination of such stresses drew Orrery -- and, as we shall return to, Burnell -- to undertake a definition of his chosen genre. As a boy, the reading of romance had been transgressive, and he had disobeyed his father's prohibitions against it. In the Preface, transgression became educational; romance

¹⁰⁵ Orrery, *Parthenissa*, I, A2r. Polybius, *The Rise of The Roman Empire* (Harmondsworth, 1979), esp. pp. 386-403. See also Cromwell's remarks on Raleigh, chapter four, below.

¹⁰⁶ Orrery, *Parthenissa*, II, 63.

was a pleasant but exacting pathway to knowledge. In contrast to his *Treatise*, where his own experience was largely eclipsed, Orrery shaped his engagement with romance as a very personal tale of literary influence:

In the Perusall of those Bookes, I mett with the names, & some of the Actions, of those Hero's, whome I had heard off, in the Scoole; This gave me a passionate desire to separate the Truth from the Fixion, in the effecting whereof, I became as much a Freind to readeing, as I had bin an Enemy to it ...I shall not here tell you what Places I have intrench't upon, or borrowed of Truth, since that might silence a Curiossity, the raising whereof is one of my cheefest ends in writeing this Booke.¹⁰⁷

Reading is here transfigured into an art of war; the challenge of separating 'the Truth from the Fixion' is issued to the reader. It becomes a test of whether they are 'Enemy' or 'Freind'; whether or not they will follow unquestioningly the authorial lead through the meandering structure of *Parthenissa*.

From the arrival on the first page of 'a stranger richly Arm'd', the romance is dominated by tales of military exploits and highly stylised chivalric tournaments, centring on, and inspired by tales of love. Some of these battles carry more echoes of Orrery's Irish campaigns than his military handbook ever admitted. Orrery focuses on the border kingdoms of Parthia and Armenia and the encroaching threat of the Roman Empire; his Protean hero Artabanes meets with a historically impossible number of warrior heroes -- including both Hannibal and Spartacus the slave-rebel.¹⁰⁸ This tale of colonial wars is further complicated by domestic incident, as the opposing princes become the best of friends but are duty bound to obey self-

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. I, Av, A2v-Br.

¹⁰⁸ Orrery excused his chronology referring to Virgil's inclusion of Dido in the *Aeneid* 'to evidence I Err by a Famous and Authentique Example' (ibid. I, A2v). See Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, pp. 244-246.

interested kings. The borders of both duty and territory shift continually: also shifting are the borders between ‘truth and fixion’ -- terms which Orrery initially glosses as ‘History’ and ‘Romance.’ For *Parthenissa* sometimes appears to be an encoded contemporary history. In Artavades’ account of the fierce war between neighbouring kingdoms, for instance, the King of Armenia takes the Parthenian city of Offala, giving the inhabitants twenty-four hours to leave. The result is Cromwellian in its brutality:

For Artabazus Souldiers, whether to revenge their Companions deaths at the precedent Battell, or out of some dispute which happen’d betwixt those of the Army and the Garrison... put all that were in Offala as well Citizens and Souldiers most barbarously to the Sword ¹⁰⁹

There is here no direct reference to Orrery’s recent experiences in Ireland, but the specifics of dispute between the ‘Army and the Garrison’ could well be drawn from Drogheda, or Waterford, or Limerick -- ‘Offala’ and Offaly are not so far apart. Both the geographical and the historical sources for fictional combat in the romance are confused.

This territorial confusion was echoed in generic confusion, for Orrery’s lines of demarcation between history and romance were more shifting than rigid. He wrote in the grey area where genres overlap, and drew claim on the authority of fiction as well as truth:

Historyes are for the most Part but mixt Romances, and yet the Pure Romance Part, may be as Instructive as, if not more than, the Historicall; since ‘tis not the Truth of a wise Councill or Ingenious Designe which invites Men to an imitation thereof, but the Rationallity and Probability of it, whither it be reall or Imaginary; had the Histories of Caesar or Hanniball bin as meere a fable as they are the Contrary, we might yet have Deriv’d from thence as much instruction as wee now can, or doe. Besides, Romances tell us what may be, whereas true Historyes tell us what is, or has bin, now what may be, is more uncircumscrib’d than what is, or has bin, and consequently affoards a

¹⁰⁹ Orrery, *Parthenissa*, I, 89. See Robert Boyle, *Works*, VI, 50.

Larger Feild for instruction, and invention.¹¹⁰

The possibilities of interpretation, the encroachments of present controversy are neatly recuperated here to the discipline of his genre. When his readers challenge him on points of accuracy, his defence is simple, 'I Minde them, that I write a Romance, not a History'.¹¹¹

Henry Burnell demonstrated a similar trust in the power of genre, as he defended *Landgartha* from hostile critics in an appendix. Like Orrery's 'Preface' on Romance, this was a rare comment on tragicomedy, cited by Ristine as 'one of the very few expressions of the sort that the period affords'.¹¹² Burnell answered his critics:

To which kind of people (that know not what they say) I answer (omitting all other reasons:) that a Tragie-Comedy sho'd neither end Comically or Tragically, but betwixt both: which Decorum did my best to observe, not to goe against Art, to please the over-amorous. To the rest of bablers I despise any answer.¹¹³

Burnell's championing of 'Decorum' and 'Art' against the 'bablers' did little to redeem the rambling complex histories of war and settlement, love and apathy, which distorted the structure of *Landgartha*. Like Orrery, Burnell struggled with his chosen genre; also like

¹¹⁰ Orrery, *Parthenissa*, I, Br.

¹¹¹ Ibid. I, A2r.

¹¹² F. Ristine, *English Tragicomedy* (New York, 1910), p. 146. On the development of the genre of tragicomedy, see M. Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France and England* (Urbana, 1955); J. Hope and G. Mc Mullan eds, *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After* (London and New York, 1992); J. Shawcross, 'Tragicomedy as Genre, Past and Present', in *Renaissance Tragicomedy*, pp. 13-32. On tragicomedy during periods of political unrest and war, see P. Gethner, 'Affairs of State and French Tragicomedy', in *ibid*, pp. 177-195 and L. Potter 'The Tragicomedies of the Civil War and Commonwealth', in *ibid*, pp. 196-217; see also Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing*, pp. 72-112, although she neglects the links between the emergence of the term 'tragicomedy' among Royalists in the 1650s and its earlier use in the 1630s.

¹¹³ Burnell, *Landgartha*, f. Kv.

Orrery, he found that the urge to history encroached on his writing. Although Burnell appears to have understood the essentials of tragicomic form, he was unable to entwine them in a plot. This may be partly a matter of hasty construction since, if the epilogue is to be believed, he wrote *Landgartha* in two months. More importantly, it is a result of the impact of theme on form, for in truth Burnell wrote not a tragicomedy -- organised around a central intrigue --, but a history, recounting years of struggle. Rather than focus on a moment from the Danish wars -- one military victory, one love won -- he represented the cycle of conquest and reconquest. If one problem, or one central issue does lay at the heart of *Landgartha*, it is that which the ambiguity of Hannibal's position in Capua articulates: the question of how to manage the transition between war and settlement. It is a question whose terms bear further exploration in the political and theatrical context of Burnell's work in Ireland.

Landgartha was one of two 'Irish' plays written for and performed on the Dublin stage in 1639-40; the other was James Shirley's *St Patrick for Ireland*.¹¹⁴ The year marked both apex and end of the theatrical activity of Wentworth's Dublin; *St Patrick* was Shirley's last play before his return to England, and *Landgartha* was the last performance before increasing political tension forced the closure of the theatre. Studies of Wentworth's Lord Deputyship of Ireland have paid little attention to the broader cultural aspects of his project.¹¹⁵ For

¹¹⁴ J. Shirley, *St Patrick for Ireland: The First Part* (London, 1640). The prologue refers to a second part, but there is no record of either performance or publication. The play was first sent to Crook and Crook, Dublin for publication, then was withdrawn and sent to London.

¹¹⁵ Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, has no reference to the theatre or its key personnel; nor does Merritt, ed., *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth*. For crucial information on the theatre of this period, see Clark, *The Early Irish Stage*, and G. Duggan, *The Stage Irishman: A History of the Irish Play and Stage Characters from the Earliest Times* (Dublin, 1937). Forthcoming work by R. Gillespie on *Landgartha*, by A. Fletcher on theatre in early

Wentworth did much to ensure that the gentry of Dublin had their cultural as well as political entertainment. John Ogilby travelled to Ireland with the Wentworth household and, in 1635, became 'Historiographer to his Majesty'; also, unofficially, first Master of the Revels for Ireland, Ogilby built the Theatre Royal in Werburgh Street, Dublin. The only permanent theatre outside London before the Restoration, it had a short life, opening in 1637 and closing in early 1640, when it was 'spoiled and a cowhouse made of the stage.'¹¹⁶ In 1636, the fledgling theatre staged a major coup when Ogilby's university friend, James Shirley moved to Dublin to avoid an outbreak of plague in London.¹¹⁷ Shirley's previous literary gestures towards Ireland had regurgitated the stage-Irishman, and at first there was little indication

modern Ireland, and by J. Kerrigan on theatre in the three kingdoms promises both to elucidate and to increase debate in this area.

¹¹⁶ Quoted Clark, *The Early Irish Stage*, p. 27. The closure of the theatre, along with the impeachment and execution of Wentworth, caused Ogilby financial ruin. Yet immediately after the Restoration, Ogilby returned to Ireland and was, with Thomas Stanley, officially appointed Master of the Revels in 1662. They built a second theatre, in Smock Alley, which remained the central focus of Dublin theatre activity until its closure in 1786. Ogilby also built up a series of successful publishing houses in London, specialising during the 1650s in translations and after the Restoration in geography and topography. The lost play *The Merchant of Dublin* was ascribed to him, as was *Mr Ogilby's description of a trooper* (London, 1660). See M. Schuchard, *John Ogilby, 1600-76: Lebensbild eines Gentleman mit vielen Karrieren* (Hamburg, 1973); K. Van Erde, *John Ogilby and the Taste of his Times* (Folkestone, 1976).

¹¹⁷ Having left his position at St Alban's Grammar School, apparently as a result of his conversion to Catholicism, Shirley had established himself as a prolific playwright at the Cockpit Theatre and in Henrietta Maria's court circle. Arundel wrote to Strafford in Dublin praising Shirley's collaboration with Inigo Jones, *The Triumph of Peace*, staged by the Inns of Court in 1633/34 as an assertion of their loyalty to the Crown after the publication of Prynne's *Historiomastix*, quoted D. Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (London and New Haven, 1985), pp. 114-117. Shirley travelled to Ireland with Wentworth in November 1636 and returned to England in April 1640 where he took over the King's players following Massinger's death, see A.H. Stevenson, 'Shirley's Years in Ireland', *Review of English Studies* (1944), 19-26. See also A. Nason, *James Shirley, Dramatist: A Biographical and Critical Study* (New York, 1915). On *The Triumph of Peace*, see K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 214-222.

that, now resident in Ireland, he intended to change his views.¹¹⁸ He clearly viewed his time in Ireland as a temporary exile from the metropolitan centre, and concentrated on making cultural capital in London. There he published *The Royal Master* (London, 1638), lacing the liminary material with references to Irish dignitaries and painting a fine picture of courtly Ireland in the dedication to the Earl of Kildare: 'And when by the favour of the winds and Sea, I salute my Country againe, I shall report a story of the *Irish* honour, and hold my selfe not meanelly fortunate to have been written and receiv'd.'¹¹⁹

This esteemed 'Irish Honour' quickly wore thin. Shirley fell prey to the frustrations and anxieties of the exile and wrote with increasing impatience about both the city and its theatre-going public. In his 1637 prologue to *The Irish Gentleman*, the vocabulary of colonial improvement expressed Shirley's fear 'That wit, and soul-enriching poesy, / Transported hither, must like serpents die.'¹²⁰ And whereas *The Royal Master* hinted at an

¹¹⁸ See 'Upon the Prince's Birth' where the verse on Ireland's celebration of Charles II's birth reads: 'The valiant Irish, Cram-a cree, / It pledged hath / In usquebath, / And being in this jovial vein, / They made a bog even of their brain, / A joyful sight to see', Shirley, *Works*, VI, 424. *Hyde Park*, performed to celebrate the opening of the park in 1632, has a 'Teague', *ibid*, III, 456-541.

¹¹⁹ Shirley, *The Royal Master*, f. A2v. This was Shirley's first Dublin performance, 1637, 'Acted in the new Theatre in *Dublin*: And Before the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, in the Castle' titlepage. Shirley appeared to be under some form of patronage from George Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare. The volume included a number of dedicatory poems, including one by 'Ric. Belling' (*ibid*. f. A4r) and by Drury Cooper, an acquaintance from Gray's Inn. Other poems are by James Mervyn, Francis Butler, 'T.I.', W. Markham, W Smith, John Jacson, and John Ogilby (*ibid*. ff. A3r-B2r). See S. Burner, *James Shirley: A Study of Literary Coteries and Patronage in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1988), pp. 124-27.

¹²⁰ Shirley, *Works*, VI, 492. No other trace remains of the play. For the prologues to *No Wit nor Money*, *The Alchemist*, *The Irish Gentleman*, *No Wit to a Woman*'s first published in *Poems* (London, 1646), see *ibid*. 490-496. The 1639 prologue to Fletcher's *No wit nor money* extended the metaphor to audiences who hissed their disapproval: 'An English poet

Irish court, Shirley's prologue to Middleton's *No wit to a woman's* doubted that Dublin could even claim to be a city:

When he did live in England, he heard say,
That here were gentlemen, and lords; a few
Were bold to say, there were some ladies too:

...

But they do not appear, and missing these,
He says he'll not believe your chronicles
Hereafter, nor the maps, since all this while,
Dublin's invisible, and not Brasil.¹²¹

Tools used by the distant observer to discover the exotic -- the chronicles, the maps, the legends -- are of no use to the playwright on the ground when faced with an empty theatre in an unreceptive city. The particular frustration was that Dublin was foreign but not exotic, promising civilisation but not delivering civilised audiences.

Shirley's Dublin was not so much a courtly as a military culture: the social effects began to make themselves felt in both prologues and plays. The theatre was in direct competition with military parades and other colonial exotica for audiences: 'Were there a pageant now on foot, or some / Strange monster from Peru or Afric come / Men would throng to it.'¹²² Yet the theatre's military competitors were also its key audience, as Shirley's prologue to *The Generall* lamented:

There are some soldiers then, though but a few,
Will see the General before they go;

bade me tell you, when /He shall salute his native shore again/ He will report your stories, all this while/ False, and that you have serpents in this isle' (ibid. 490).

¹²¹ Ibid. VI, 493. The Werburgh Street theatre had between three and four hundred seats. The complete Castle circle would probably fill the theatre for one performance only.

¹²² Ibid. VI, 494. This prologue was possibly for Fletcher's *The Nightwalker* performed in 1639.

You're welcome. Players that have suffer'd since you came
 And wounded too in fortunes and in fame.
 Your drums and trumpets carried all the town
 Into the fields, and left them here to moan
 Their own sad tragedy, for want of men
 Enough to kill'em....¹²³

Dublin, it seems, preferred to watch 'real' soldiers drilling than 'player' soldiers falling in love. The military was not only undermining Shirley's audiences, however, it was also having a disastrous impact on the structure of his plays. For Shirley increasingly pandered to military taste, and the soldier -- usually the stuff of subplot -- was increasingly placed centre-stage. *The Opportunitie*, performed in 1637, had as its central characters two feckless soldiers, who stop off in Naples on their way to the German wars and become the centre of a complicated plot of mistaken identities.¹²⁴ In the same year, the main action of *Rosania or Love's Victory* was all but hijacked by the imperfectly integrated complex soldier-subplot in which an army captain teaches the city merchants a lesson in how to behave towards soldiers. In the prologue to *Rosania*, Shirley himself taught his spectators a reassuring lesson in the difference between art and life: 'Fear not the war, the victory is your's / The battle will be ended in two hours.'¹²⁵ Yet in response to military interest, and threatening if not the time limits, then the structural and thematic constraints of tragicomedy, Shirley's rebels were taking on dangerous lives of their own. In both *The Coronation* and *Rosania*, apparent rebels rising against newly-crowned queens turn out to be the true inheritors of the Crown. In the

¹²³ Ibid. VI, 495-96. *The Generall*, now lost, was performed in 1637.

¹²⁴ *The Opportunity* (London, 1640) was licensed in 1634 and performed in Dublin in 1637. See Shirley, *Works*, III, 367-454.

¹²⁵ *Rosania or Love's Victory*, probably the second of Shirley's plays performed in Dublin was first published under the English Republic as *The Doubtful Heir* (London, 1652). See Shirley, *Works*, IV, 275-362 (278).

former, Seleucus the military man appears pathologically attracted to rebellion. As both audience and Seleucus himself remain unaware of his claim to inheritance, he voices his growing discontent, resolving to act:

Why was I born to be a subject?
 ...I'll imagine then,
 I am a prince, or some brave thing on earth,
 And see what follows.¹²⁶

In both plays, the generic values of soldierly honour and blood title are ultimately upheld; but the victory is achieved only at considerable cost. For although social order is restored, the 'happy ending' to each play proves teeteringly precarious. In *Rosania*, in particular, the final scenes proceed at breakneck pace, whole 'invading' armies are not what they seem, and 'executioners' turn unlikely saviours. Ferdinand's final words, attempting to give retrospective clarity to the plot, are more hopeful than accurate:

Our story hath been full of change, but love
 Hath met a glorious victory, and tied
 Our souls together with most firm embraces.¹²⁷

St Patrick for Ireland bears the marks of similar generic and geographical strain, reflecting Shirley's understanding of himself as something of a cultural Hannibal in Capua. It is the only one of his works to place Ireland centre-stage: indeed, Shirley's editor Dyce remarked of his plays that 'it is remarkable that not one of them (unless we can except *St Patrick for Ireland*) has its foundation on British History.'¹²⁸ Shirley's choice of Irish theme is indeed 'British' in its conception. The 'St Patrick' of his title is no controversial Irish Catholic icon;

¹²⁶ Ibid, III, 506.

¹²⁷ Ibid, IV, 360.

¹²⁸ Ibid. I, lxiii.

rather he is the thoroughly English saint, bringer of civilisation to Irish shores, as found in the scholarly work of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh.¹²⁹ Like Burnell's *Landgartha*, the play has a complex and ultimately unconvincing structure, noted by various critics: it has been given the catch-all epithet of 'tragi-comical-historical-pastoral oleo', referred to as a 'curious medley', and summed up as a satire on bards and soldiers.¹³⁰ Its disjointed episodic structure does not deliver the slick plotting and happy-endings promised by tragicomedy. In barely connected subplots, an Irish prince uses a magic bracelet which renders the wearer invisible, first to woo, then to rape the princess Emeria; St Patrick prophesies that Ireland will become a land of saints and scholars and has a miraculous escape from a fire; Patrick's first convert Dichu, forced to become a hermit, is reunited with his sons; and later, while everyone sleeps, angels prophesy the future of Ireland.

Like the disjointed romances and tragicomedies discussed above, *St Patrick for Ireland* does have a thematic centre in that it remains throughout an exploration of the nature of conquest, and the quest for civilised settlement. In the first act, the King of Ireland, having been warned about the prophesied arrival of Patrick, prepares for military invasion:

... Are not
The havens strengthened, by the King's command
With souldiers, to watch that none arrive
With this suspicion?¹³¹

Shirley's Irish druids -- who served classical gods in classical temples -- also prepare for

¹²⁹ J. Ussher, *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently professed by the IRISH and BRITISH* (London, 1631).

¹³⁰ Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development*, p. 297; Ristine, *English Tragicomedy*, p. 137; Kavanagh, *The Irish Theatre*, p. 19.

¹³¹ Shirley, *St Patrick for Ireland*, A3r.

battle, believing that Patrick has no chance of defeating ‘those aetheriall troops, that wait/
Upon the Gods we serve.’¹³² The expected military assault however, does not happen, rather the chief tools of Patrick’s subversion prove to be rhetorical: ‘From his warme lips a streame shall flow, / To make rockes melt, and Churches grow.’¹³³ Yet Patrick also combines physical with rhetorical power, as a key conversion scene at court illustrates. Rodamant the Irish courtier who greets Patrick on his arrival, like the Bard who accompanies him -- the first to appear on stage on Dublin -- are both characters of feeble language. The Bard is a stage-Irish Gael and a terrible poet, as his song composed to welcome Patrick -- ‘Love is a bog, a deep bog, a wide bog / Love is a clog, a great clog, a close clog’ -- amply demonstrates.¹³⁴ Rodamant, meanwhile, muses long and incoherently on his love for the Queen. When the scheming Archimagus offers both Rodamant and Patrick a poisoned drink, it kills Rodamant but has no effect on Patrick. Patrick then converts the Queen to Christianity by reviving her protégé: his actions speak volumes.

As ‘conqueror’, Patrick’s actions wins allies by example rather than force, producing a land ripe for cultivation, civilisation, and letters. The princess Fedella appears to echo his approach when she speaks of loyalty:

I had rather hold my servant
By his owne love, that chaines his heart to mine,
Than all the bands of state.¹³⁵

But in Shirley’s dramatic world, not all the Irish are capable of such civilised thought.

¹³² Ibid. Br.

¹³³ Ibid. A4r.

¹³⁴ Ibid. D3r.

¹³⁵ Ibid. B4v.

Rodamant, for instance, remains a slippery subject, his untrustworthiness residing in his language, as his own literary critique of his speech on his love for the Queen makes clear:

What though I am no Lord, yet I am loyall.
 There's a gingle up on the letter, to shew if she will
 Give me but an inch, I'll take an ell; *Lord* and *loyall*.¹³⁶

Such slipperiness is also a feature of the play's final confrontation, that which takes place on stage between the druidic Irish Archimagus and Patrick. The Archimagus summons up all the venomous creatures to destroy Patrick one last time, and is accompanied by the daunting stage direction 'Enter Serpents, & c, creeping.'¹³⁷ Patrick expels them and proclaims the new Ireland:

from this time be
 This Island free from beasts of venomous natures:
 ...
 The traveller shall have no suspicion,
 Or fear, to measure with his wearied limbs
 The silent shades.¹³⁸

Following this, the King converts, and the recuperation of events to the tragicomic happy ending appears complete. But Patrick fundamentally mistrusts the King and recognises this as a temporary rather than ultimate victory. In the final words of the play, Ireland becomes a site of uncertain pauses, with the possibility of sequels and reversals; true narrative redemption is only possible in death:

...I suspect him still;
 But fear not, our good angels are still neer us:
 Death at the last can but untie our frailty;

¹³⁶ Ibid. F4v.

¹³⁷ Ibid. I3r.

¹³⁸ Ibid. I3r-v.

‘Twere happy for our holy faith to bleed,
The Blood of Martyrs is the Churches seed.¹³⁹

Ultimately, Patrick remains, in spite of his successes, very much the lone saint abroad, seeking to cultivate the natives but watching his back. In this essentially British version of conversion, Ireland remains untrustworthy territory. The uneasiness of the tragicomic ending proves, therefore, not so much a violation of form, as appropriate to the location. In the distinctions made between good and bad Irish, there those who will be civilised, and those who persist in the old ways; there are those who listen to the words of the Englishman, and those who do not. *St Patrick for Ireland* was far from being an ‘Irish’ play.

There is little doubt that Burnell’s *Landgartha* was intended as a reply to Shirley’s play. Although Burnell’s title did not proclaim so self-consciously Irish a subject, it was performed, according to the epilogue, on St Patrick’s Day 1641, as the first session of Charles I’s second Irish parliament began.¹⁴⁰ Shirley had, by then, returned to England, leaving the stage clear for the Old English Leinster man. Comparing the dedicatory poem of ‘Dru. Cooper’ in Shirley’s *The Royal Master* to that of Burnell’s anonymous English cousin in *Landgartha*, we gain some sense of the territorial battles being waged in literature at the time. While most of the poems to Shirley trot out the commonplace of the new dramatist rising from the dust of Jonson, Cooper gives it a distinctly Irish twist. It begins: ‘When Spencer reign’d sole Prince of Poets here’ and crowns Shirley the new Irish laureate pursuing the Elizabethan line of cultural service to the English crown:

¹³⁹ Ibid. I4r.

¹⁴⁰ Parliament sat from 16 March until Wentworth prorogued on 31 March to travel to London. On the parliament’s role in the collapse of Wentworth’s administration and his impeachment and execution, see Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp. 185-208.

*now Ben is dead and gone
Truly legitimate, Ireland is so just
To say, you rise the Phenix of his dust.*¹⁴¹

The poem to Burnell uses the same commonplace, but gives it a very particular Old English resonance:

And though thou *England* never saw'st: Yet, this
(Let others boast of there owne faculties,
Or being Sonne to *Johnson*) I dare say,
That thou art farre more like to *Ben*: then they
That lay clayme as heires to him, wrongfully:
For he survives now only, but in thee
And his owne lines; the rest degenerate.¹⁴²

This reversal of the term 'degenerate' -- applied to those who 'turn native' when they take up residence in Ireland -- gives a powerful sense of Old English claims on legitimacy. Amplified further within the poem by the vocabulary of heirs and lines, poetry and blood, it then expands to the role reversal of the prologue 'deliver'd by an Amazon with a Battle-Axe in her Hand'. The image of the Amazon carries strong echoes of the theatre of Henrietta Maria's circle to which Shirley had been attached. It suggests a cultural link between the Catholic circles of London and Dublin, and speaks of a shared sense of the necessity for appropriate military action.¹⁴³ Read in conjunction with the poem's celebration of legitimacy, the Amazon figure also takes on the particularly Old English connotation of the loyal and brave fighter on the margins of power -- the feminized sister-kingdom.

¹⁴¹ Shirley, *St Patrick for Ireland*, A3v.

¹⁴² Burnell, *Landgartha*, f. A3v.

¹⁴³ Ibid. A4v. On Henrietta Maria's court circle, see Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, pp. 25-54. Butler cites an occasion of Amazons appearing on stage in 'war-like habits' in the Oxford performance of *The Royal Slave*, p. 48. Butler's otherwise excellent study makes no mention of the Dublin stage.

While Burnell's drama might appear to be a last Old English attempt at *belles lettres*, a literary riposte to Shirley's courtly entertainment before war took over, it was, in fact, a drama already at war. For in 1639-40, military activity was high on the agenda as the continuing threat of war with Scotland turned Charles I's attention towards Ireland as a source of soldiers. In July 1640, Wentworth's highly controversial 'New Army' would assemble at Carrickfergus. While its senior officers were Protestant, the rank and file were, to general English consternation, largely Catholic.¹⁴⁴ This short-lived army would have long-reaching effect throughout the Civil War period. After his theatrical venture, Burnell joined the 'New Army', still later fought for the Catholic Confederation, and, in defeat, was transplanted under the terms of the Cromwellian settlement.¹⁴⁵ Back in England, Shirley joined the Earl of Newcastle's regiment to fight for the King in the Northern Campaigns.¹⁴⁶ Thus, although they joined battle as literary rivals for the Dublin stage, Burnell and Shirley both operated from within a cultural web which interrogated the social role of the military in

¹⁴⁴ See Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp. 187-189; J. Ohlmeyer, 'The Wars of religion, 1603-1660', p. 163.

¹⁴⁵ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, II, 213; J. O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland*, E. MacLysaght ed., (Shannon, [1894] 1969), p. 398.

¹⁴⁶ The dedications of Shirley's plays indicate his links to those who would later fight for the King. *The Opportunitie* (London, 1640) was dedicated to Captain Richard Owen who had accompanied Shirley to Ireland, served Wentworth in the Irish sea, and was involved in preparations for Wentworth's 'New Army'; he later escorted Henrietta Maria in her flight to France (f. Bbr); see Stevenson, 'Shirley's Years in Ireland'. *Love's Crueltie* was dedicated to Charles and George Porter, son and nephew of Endymion Porter. In 1641, the latter was suspected of having used the Royal seal to issue the much-vaunted 'warrant' for Phelim O'Neill's Ulster rebellion, *The Mystery of Iniquity* (London, 1642), p. 38. Although this rumour was false, Porter did later assist Glamorgan in getting a seal for his commission to treat with the Catholic Confederation in 1644. Porter died in exile in 1645. His nephew George was entrusted with a regiment of Wentworth's disbanded army for Spain in 1641 but never sailed. See G. Huxley, *Endymion Porter: The Life of A Courtier, 1587-1649* (London, 1959), pp. 249-266.

the years before war was to take over both kingdoms. This debate, to which their plays contribute, was a formative part of Old English cultural identity in the years before the Irish rebellion.

Burnell's complicated saga of an Amazon leader and her part in the wars between Sweden and Norway at first seems far removed from Old English concerns. Like Shirley's play, its action was based on 'an Ancient History' set in pre-Christian times. The tale of the Amazon Ladgerda, who accompanied Ragnar, King of Norway, to fight against the King of Sweden, was taken from Saxo Grammaticus's *Danish History*.¹⁴⁷ Grammaticus recounted how Ragnar fell in love with Ladgerda, accomplished the task she set him, married her, and fathered three children by her. Ragnar then fell in love again, divorced Ladgerda, and set about winning Thora. In spite of this rejection, Ladgerda, now herself remarried, came to Ragnor's aid when he later fought to suppress an uprising by the Jutes and Skanians, and played a crucial role in his victory. Her story ended abruptly when she returned home after this battle and murdered her second husband 'for this most presumptuous dame thought it pleasanter to rule without her husband than to share the throne with him.' Ragnar, however, went on to form a standing army and attack Britain. He eventually travelled to Ireland where he 'slew its king, Melbrik, besieged Dublin, which was filled with wealth of the barbarians, attacked it, and received its surrender.'¹⁴⁸ Burnell's *Landgartha* makes no reference to Ragnar's Irish connection; it also omits to mention the task which won Ragnar his second wife, namely that he drove out the

¹⁴⁷ Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History, Books I-IX*, trans. O. Elton (London, 1894), esp. pp. 363-379. The *History*, completed c. 1208, was one of Shakespeare's sources for *Hamlet*, see pp. 398-413.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 367, 379.

monstrous serpent which was plaguing her father's lands. To those who shared Burnell's cultural idiom, however, -- or to those who undertook some careful reconstruction -- Ragnar would figure as an alternative St Patrick figure to that recently staged by Shirley: a St Patrick who conquered not by religion, but by arms; who knew the value of military discipline and valued his allies.¹⁴⁹

As Burnell's play opens, the Swedish king, Frollo has become complacent. Landgartha and her Amazons join with Denmark against him, taking on the threatening aspect of the Medusa: 'Male-hearted Trayteresse, withall the curll'd knot / Of rebels that attend her.'¹⁵⁰ Frollo quickly eroticises the danger, imagining them as 'Unmartiall women fitter for night encounters.'¹⁵¹ The King of Denmark recognises in Frollo the faults of Hannibal, and it is small surprise when the Swede is defeated and slain by the Amazon, Scania. From the military victory which ends act one, the plot moves to peacetime. Common soldiers enjoy their freedom, and the presence of the Amazons improves the court, formerly 'but a Hell / Compar'd unto the Paradise of the Campe'.¹⁵² Against all Amazon and military rules, Landgartha enters a potentially disastrous domestic settlement, agreeing to marry the love-sick Denmark at some stage in the future. The third act protracts the view of court life

¹⁴⁹ The Irish poet Eoghan Ó Dubhthnigh, writing in the late sixteenth/ early seventeenth century casts the Reformation in Ireland in military terms, firmly claiming St Patrick as Irish: 'Cáiptín Luitér is beag neart 's Cáiptín Cailbhín nach cart glór', and later 'Padraig do ghénerál féin' ['Captain Luther of little power and Captain Calvin that is not worth honour', 'Patrick is your own general'], 'An t'Athruagh Creidimh', ['Changing Religion'] in Cuthbert Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* (BAC, 1967). My thanks to Patricia Palmer for this reference.

¹⁵⁰ Burnell, *Landgartha*, f. B2v.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* B4r.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* Dv.

between battles, presenting a semi-masque within the play. In an interlude of local Irish colour -- and in an echo of the officers' *Othello* performance with which this thesis opened -- Captain Hubha and the Irish Amazon Marfissa, team up to present an entertainment. In a highly stylised representation of classical mythology -- 'For want of sitting Actors here at Court; /The Warre and want of Money, is the cause on't' --, Marfissa echoes the stage Irish of the English theatre: 'An Irish Gowne tuck'd up to mid-legge, with a broad basket-hilt Sword on; hanging in a great Belt, Broags on her feet, her hayre dishevel'd, and a payre of long neck'd big rowll'd Spurs on her heels', she speaks a language rich with local colour: 'Her selfe dare not deny it, sir'. The comic pair round off the act with a dance: 'Here Hubba and Marfissa Dance the whip of Dunboyne merrily'.¹⁵³

The fourth act takes up the story of Landgartha again, at a point where the King has fallen out of love with her and returned to Denmark. As the soldiers undertake a rowdy parting pub-crawl, the Irish Marfissa, unlike Landgartha, steadfastly retains her Amazon vow of chastity, and so keeps her fellow masque-performer Hubha interested. In a further subplot, the Christian English men Harold and Eric bring news of the King's intended adultery with Vraena back in Denmark, and try to capitalise on the situation by offering to assist Landgartha against her former husband. The fifth act sees Landgartha refuse the Englishmens' offer. Although pregnant, abandoned, and grieving at the news of her husband's new love, she sends Scania and Marfissa to assist him in his battles. Her loyalty causes the King, who has fallen into the trap of military lethargy once occupied by Frollo, to repent. The Amazons reappear: 'As in first of the third Act; Battle axes withall', and once

¹⁵³ Ibid. E2r-F2v. The classical masque traces the origin of England, from Troy and the death of Hector, through the Brutus myth.

again earn the Danish victory.¹⁵⁴ As the play rushes headlong towards its close, the drive to happy resolution appears to take over. Even the defeated Harold and Eric, as they sleep, have a vision where Angels prophesy that their line will prosper in the future in England. The King's new mistress concedes both to Landgartha's prior claim and to popular opinion, and goes on a religious retreat. Yet, as with the tenuous ending of *St Patrick for Ireland*, the final resolution of the tragicomedy is never quite achieved. The key relationship, that of the emblematic husband and wife, of King and mistreated ally, remains unresolved. Landgartha leaves the stage with an ambiguous vision of the future:

And as for me (though yours:) I'll end my life,
An honest widdow, or forsaken wife.¹⁵⁵

Scania suggests the King should go after her. . . but not yet. As his former mistress leaves to undertake her voluntary expiation, the play ends with the King hovering, repentant and uncertain, on stage.

Burnell's play is severely flawed; neither his dramatic structure, nor his political message are immediately evident. Yet inherent in the play is an attempt to give courtly shape to Old English aspirations, and, in particular, to link their marginal position to loyal service of the English court. The play, for all its ancient Scandinavian setting, has a documentary immediacy in its theme and composition which consistently disrupts the literary model. For all his excising of the obvious Irish references in the original story, Burnell continually allows the concerns of the 'real' world to intrude into the theatrical, with the result that the play repeatedly tries to find a happy ending but is repeatedly drawn into the next episode of

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. H3v.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. E3r.

the story. As a result the suspense which the successful tragicomedy relies on -- the final revelation of birth, the arrival of the army, the finding of the father -- is lost. This is, as I have suggested, in large part due to his commitment to follow the chronology rather than the drama of history. Rather than entangle the various plots, the better to disentangle them in conclusion, Burnell presents them sequentially: first the conquest of Sweden, then the love plot, then the decline of Denmark, then the failure of love. This very diffusion of focus and serial representation of history produces the structural confusion of the play, and accounts for its inconclusive ending.

It also renders the play of particular interest in my exploration of the military and the theatre, for at the heart of *Landgartha* lies a problem of discipline -- literary and military. The literary interest of *Landgartha* is not simply that of historical context -- that it was the first play written in English by an Irish man, that it had touches of local colour, or that it formed part of a literary debate with Shirley about how, or how not, to represent Ireland on stage. For the play exhibits throughout an uneasy consciousness of the world beyond the stage. It takes as its themes the cycle of war and settlement, the anxiety of the degeneration of the warrior who settles down. These themes sit uneasily with the plotting and consciousness of tragicomedy, the business of masterfully tying up loose ends and silencing the critics. It is tempting to reduce the reading of the play to an analogous, postcolonial reading -- the feminised warrior of Ireland seeks to resolve her links with the invested power of England while resisting compromise and retaining integrity. But this is just one possible manifestation of an uneasiness which is equally to be found in images of the Old Irish seeking accommodation in Wentworth's Ireland, or the new-comer to the art of theatre adopting and using the tools of an established and thoroughly English trade, or, perhaps, the nervous author awaiting the verdict of the critics.

Part Two

Tógaim finne Ristríd Beiling
nach díth daoine, bia no éadaigh
na neart namhaid do bhain díobh Éire
ach iad féin do chaill ar a chéile

Séan ó Connail, 'Tuireamh na h-Éireann', c. 1654-69.

Oliver Cromwell is a cultured man
Though he's not fond of the drama.
'Buffún' he said 'I once read all *The Faerie Queene*
Or, to be more precise, I tried to.
Spenser had a little estate down in Cork
And he found peace there, deep, unending,
Like as his poem. But think of all the work
He put for years into these singing
Stanzas. That poem is one of England's glories.
Few Englishmen bother to read it now
Though much of it is still fresh as a berry
On a hedge in the middle of the Maharees.
I plan to spend next winter reading it aloud
To myself in my little estate down in Kerry.

B. Kennelly, 'Reading Aloud', in
Cromwell (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1987), p. 95

Ceann Uí Chonchubhair ar an Spéice
Transport, Transplant go Jamaica
D'éis ar cuireadh tar Sionainn fá dhaorbhruid
S'an mheid a fuair Pilib gan fille le sgéala.
Séan ó Connail, 'Tuireamh na h-Éireann'.¹

¹ Both quotations from 'The Dirge of Ireland' in C. O' Rahilly ed., *Five Political Poems*, p. 79. Translations: 'I cite Richard Bellings as my authority /that it was not lack of manpower, provisions, equipment/ or the strength of the enemy that took Ireland from them/ but they themselves lost it for each other' and 'The Head of O'Connor on the spike/ *Transport, transplant* go Jamaica/ After being banished across the Shannon in bondage/And those whom Philip has received have not yet returned with news.'

Chapter Two

The Romance of History: The Writings of Richard Bellings.

No History; or good Romance worth reading
Was yet by any of them writt, and spreading
In any part oth' world...¹

In the wake of the 1641 rebellion, New English fears of the 'degenerate' Old English Catholics seemed to be vindicated as the Palesmen joined in uneasy alliance with the Ulster rebels. From this unlikely partnership arose the Catholic Confederation which governed most of Ireland until the Cromwellian campaigns, and through which the Old English never ceased to assert their loyalty to the King. Two fiercely opposed manuscript historical accounts, both written after the fall of the Confederation, and both first edited by J. T. Gilbert in the late nineteenth century, survive as evidence of this troubled alliance. Richard Bellings' *History of the Confederation* tells the story from an Old English viewpoint; the anonymous *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction* recounts an Ulster Irish version. Moreover, since Gilbert's editions became standard texts, the fierceness of their opposition has coloured historiography of the period to the present day.² To some extent these texts shared historical landmarks with contemporaneous English texts; the battles of Edgehill, Marston Moor, Naseby, and Preston all featured here. However their political and geographical landscape diverged sharply -- it was staked out by the events of October 1641; the return of Irish veterans from the Thirty Years War; the continual tensions within the Confederation; the see-saw cessation negotiations with Ormond, as well as Glamorgan and Antrim, to raise Irish Catholic reinforcements for Charles I; the embassy of the papal nuncio, Rinuccini and his

¹ W. Mercer, *The Moderate Cavalier or the Soldiers Description of Ireland* (Cork, 1675) p. 19.

² For a recent challenge to the bilateral approach to the Confederation and a study of the role of the 'moderates' see Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*.

increasingly martial role. Indeed, both accounts represented the successes of Cromwell and the English parliament as rather peripheral to the frustrations of domestic policy in Ireland.³ The two histories differ not only in terms of political ideology but also in their poetics: the literary tools these historians use in their accounts are very different. I begin with the work of Richard Bellings whose writing career began by engaging with the quest of Old English in Ireland for political agency and later narrated the history of a social group in terminal decline. In both these tasks, he employed the poetics of romance.

The position of the Old English in relation to the English metropolitan centre was problematic across the century. In 1613, the production of Ben Jonson's *The Irish Masque* at court offered two possibilities of Irishness; the stage-Irish peasant, or the civilised English gentleman. Such representation admitted neither the political aspirations of the Old English aristocracy, nor any recognition that the Old English were part of its court audience. The exclusion drew comment from an observer:

the device (which was a mimical imitation of the Irish) was not so pleasing to many, which think it no time (as the case stands) to exasperate that nation by making it look ridiculous.⁴

On the verge of Civil War, in 1641, an anonymous poem sought to bring Old English loyalty to the attention of the King:

³ For closer examination of domestic concerns, see Ohlmeyer ed., *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* and Young, ed., *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*.

⁴ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 5 January 1614, quoted J. Briggs, *This Stage-Play World: Texts and Contexts, 1580-1625* (Oxford, 1997), p. 107. See also B. Jonson, *The Irish Masque at Court*, in C. H. Herford Percy and E. Simpson eds, *Works*, 11 vols (Oxford, 1941), viii, 397-405; D. Lindley, 'Embarrassing Ben: The Masques for Francis Howard', in *Renaissance Historicism: Selections from English Literary Renaissance* (Amherst Mass., 1987), 248-64.

*Most gracious Sovereigne, grant that we may have
 Our ancient Land and Faith; 'tis all we crave.
 Your English and your Scots, (not so content)
 Claime all that's Yours, by Act of Parliament,
 Their Tyrannie we hate: confesse your right:
 'Tis not 'gainst you, 'tis against them we fight.
 Whilst you were King, we were your Subjects: scorne,
 To be their Slaves; we're Fellow-Subjects borne.
 Heavens blesse your Majestie, encrease your Powers:
 You being your Selfe againe, we still are Yours.⁵*

The political rhetoric of both New English settler and English parliamentarian, however, very effectively confused and fused the Old English and 'meer Irish' into one Catholic enemy. In the face of this, such loyalty was a growing embarrassment to English Royalists. While they continued to seek Old English military aid throughout the 1640s, it was increasingly recognised that such alliances carried grave consequences in propaganda terms.

It seems highly likely that Richard Bellings had a hand in this anonymous poem. His later position as Secretary to the Catholic Confederation (1642-51) shows him well-placed; his literary career shows him well-qualified. For Bellings was poet, author of *The Sixth Book to the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (Dublin, 1624), associate of James Shirley in Wentworth's Dublin, correspondent and close associate of Ormond, and author of *The History of the Confederation* (c. 1673-74). Through this literary corpus speaks the compelling voice of the intellectual and would-be aristocrat, expressing the ebb and flow of Old English fortunes across the century. Details of Bellings' life and career are sketchy. We know, for example, that he died in 1677, but not when he was born; that his wife Margaret, daughter of Viscount Mountgarret, the Lord President of the Confederation, and grand-

⁵ Quoted in Captain George Wharton, *Bellum Hybernicae or Ireland's Warre Astrologically Demonstrated* (London, 1647), p. 28. See also chapter four, below.

daughter to Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, died in 1635; that Bellings' son, Richard, followed his father's profession, albeit in more propitious circumstances, becoming secretary to Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II, after the Restoration. The Bellings family were of pre-Reformation, Old English stock. Bellings' grandfather, Richard, and his father, Henry, had built up substantial estates in Leinster in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Bellings and his father continued the tradition, becoming involved in attempts by first Falkland and later Wentworth to arrest lands in Wicklow from the O'Byrnes.⁶ Bellings studied at Lincoln's Inn and was elected for Callan to the Irish Parliament in 1641, taking the seat from the Protestant Sir Thomas Warton. He was appointed secretary to the Confederation shortly after its formation in 1642, travelled to Rome and Paris as its ambassador in 1644-45, and returned to Ireland in the company of the papal nuncio, Rinuccini. He became increasingly disenchanted with the militant policies of the nuncio in the Irish Wars, and blamed him for accelerating the disintegration of the Confederation. In 1651 Bellings followed Ormond into Parisian exile, where he remained in his service. As the Irish wars shifted to a war of words and retribution in France, Bellings published a Latin vindication of his own part in the Confederation.⁷ After the Restoration, part of his lands

⁶ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, iv, 167-217. On Bellings' biography see also B. McGrath, 'A Biographical Dictionary of the Membership of the Irish House of Commons, 1640-41' (Ph. D., University of Dublin, 1997) pp. 63-64.

⁷ See *Innocentiae suae impetitae per Reverendissimum Fernensem Vindiciae* (Paris, 1652), thought to be by Bellings; *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniae authore Philopatro Irenaeo* is ascribed to Bellings in both the *DNB* and the editor's additions to James Ware's 'De Scriptoribus Hiberniae' in W. Harris ed., *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1784). In his discussion of the continuing arguments of the Confederation in continental exile, C. McNeill ascribes the latter, and possibly the former to Callaghan, 'Publications of Irish Interest published by Irish Authors on the Continent of Europe prior to the Eighteenth Century', *Bib. Soc. Ireland*, IV (1930), 1-29. See also P. Corish, 'Two Contemporary Historians of the Confederation of Kilkenny: John Lynch and Richard O'Ferrall', *IHS*, 8 (1952), 217-236.

were restored, with the assistance of Ormond, and Bellings retired to live near Dublin, where he produced his *History* in 1674 and died in 1677.

This fragmented biography of Bellings is gleaned largely from his own writings.⁸ Bellings' journey as author moves from the optimistic courtly exercise of *The Sixth Book* to his *History of the Confederation* written to vindicate the Old English role in past history at a moment when their present status was under assault. In this movement was inscribed the erosion not just of Old English political and military power across the century, but also of family standing. Richard Bellings, grandfather, had served Elizabeth as Solicitor General, his grandson witnessed the implementation of the Test Act, designed to bar Catholics from civil and military office, and his great grandson entered Royal employment, but forfeited the family name for that of Arundel. Throughout his career, Bellings wrote not to incite war, but to encourage the development of a civilised Ireland through aristocratic citizenship and settlement. His texts record the life of a young man who put his faith in the civilising effect of letters, poetry, and the law, who was pressurised in mid-life to take up arms in defence of his ideas of civility, and who ultimately returned to writing for posterity, first in the exile of defeat, and later in the retirement of old age. His literary career enacted the tension between sword and pen for the frustrated Old English aristocracy across the period.

1. The Order of Romance

It is certainly refreshing to find a work of *belles lettres* of this kind appearing midst the long wearisome list of controversial treatises, political and religious,

⁸ I am also indebted to Raymond Gillespie for making available his article, 'The Social Thought of Bellings', part of his forthcoming study on reading and writing in seventeenth century Ireland, and for discussion of the *History*.

sermons and tracts, which seemed to be the chief productions of the Dublin press during this century.⁹

In Dublin, 1624, Richard Bellings published in a slim quarto volume a selection of poems and *A Sixth Book to The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. By 1627, the title page of the London edition announced Sidney's *Arcadia* 'Whereunto is now added a sixth Booke, By R.B. of *Lincolnes Inne, Esq.*' This additional book was consistently appended in all subsequent editions throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ The final words of a text adopted by English Royalists from the outbreak of war until at least the King's execution fell therefore to Bellings -- at best a Catholic Confederate, at worst an Irish rebel.¹¹ I want first to resituate this text in its Irish context, and then to trace the concern for civil values which shaped Bellings' writings across the seventeenth century.

Bellings' *Sixth Book* opens where Sidney's narrative hung suspended: with Basilius' return to court, the celebration of the marriages which had been deferred throughout Sidney's *Arcadia*,

⁹ E. R. McC. Dix, *Catalogue of Early Dublin-Printed Books 1601-1700*, 5 vols (Dublin, 1897-1912), I, p. 12.

¹⁰ See B. Juel-Jensen, 'Sir Philip Sidney, 1554-1586: A Check-list of Early Editions of his Works', in D. Kay ed., *Sir Philip Sidney: An Anthology of Modern Criticism* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 289-314. The sixth book is included in the London editions of 1627, 1633, 1655, 1662, 1674, 1725, and the Dublin edition of 1739. Gilbert's *DNB* article follows James Ware's *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1639) in erroneously dating the first publication to the 1627 London edition. Unless otherwise stated, references are to Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, 1627), in which the separate titlepage for the 'Sixth Book' is dated 1628. This edition also includes 'Certaine Sonnets', 'The Defence of Poesie' and 'Astrophel and Stella'.

¹¹ On the shifting interpretation of Sidney's *Arcadia*, across the century, see Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, 24-43. The most famous example of the Royalist connections of the *Arcadia* was Charles I's quotation of Pamela's prayer in *Eikon Basilike*. Milton referred to this in *Eikonoklastes*, as 'a Prayer stol'n word for word from that Heathen fiction', see *The Works of John Milton*, 18 vols (New York, 1932-40), III, 362. On the perceived dangers of romance-reading in eighteenth century Ireland, see O'Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture*, pp. 14-16.

and a chivalric tournament to entertain the rejoicing subjects 'whose eyes were restored to the sight of long eclipsed Sovereignitie.'¹² This is not the only visual pleasure on offer as Bellings sets the scene with the view of the palace gardens which 'represented the delightfull mixture of a civill Wildernesse.' He also represents an ornament of the palace hall in a detailed ecphrasis of:

the choice rarenesse of far-fetcht Arras, in which the ingenious workeman, with the curious pensill of his little Needle, had limm'd the dumme records of reviv'd Antiquity... yet these many Stories did so stealingly succeed each other, that the most curious observers eye (though his admiration might dwell on each peece) could find no easy cause of stay, untill he had overlookt them all.¹³

This vision of ordered beauty and the detailed construction of a compelling historical narrative are, within the narrative, 'overlookt' by all but the narrator. For the participants, the arras is a background detail and the chivalric tournaments absorb their attention. For the reader, however, the description of the arras both betokens the self-conscious care behind Bellings' work and gestures towards future narrative satisfaction and fulfilment. Throughout the narrative, this drive to the completion, closure, and resolution of Sidney's tale is evident. In the course of Bellings' *Sixth Book*, the 'dead' rise, concealed identities are revealed, prophecies prove straightforward, and both private and public accounts of absence are woven together amicably to complete the narrative picture. War becomes a plotting device to facilitate the release of the knight from an impossible situation, and usurped lands are handed back to their rightful, resurrected owner in the civilised arena of the poetry contest. Narrative suspense, deviation, and deferral are laid aside in favour of narrative completion, recuperation, and satisfaction. In the end, all the company retire to the privacy of long-

¹² Sidney, *Arcadia*, p. 486.

¹³ Ibid. 487.

deferred marriage beds. Unlike Sidney, Bellings extends no invitation to a successor: his ending leaves Basilius and Gynecia ‘to the happy quiet of their after life.’¹⁴ Within the ‘grand narrative’, the constant ordering and reordering of the characters’ individual stories, the constant translation between private and public accounts, confirms both the sense of an ending and the presence of Bellings as author and finisher of the work.

Yet the book which Dix greeted with relief as ‘*belles lettres*’ is also seeking to complete a more political picture. If we are to understand that picture, and to gain some sense of what motivated Bellings to take up his pen to tie up the loose ends of Sidney’s *Arcadia*, we need to weave together some historical threads. For Bellings’ *Sixth Book* is an unlikely legacy of the Sidneys in Ireland, a dynasty there associated more with militant policy than poetry. Edited first by Fulke Greville and then by the Countess of Pembroke herself, the *Arcadia* was a thoroughly Protestant text, formed in response to Sidney’s hopes and despair of the Elizabethan era.¹⁵ Yet it falls into the transforming hands of a young Catholic Irish intellectual, who then strives to ‘complete’ the history. Bellings was, in part, answering Sidney’s own invitation. The closing lines of the 1593 *Arcadia* call for a literary successor to continue narration of the tales both of the various characters introduced in the course of the romance, and of future, unknown generations. It is a plea for open-ended continuation:

[that] the solemnities of these marriages, with the *Arcadian* pastorals, full of many comicall adventures hapning to those rurall lovers; the strange stories of *Artaxia* and *Plexirtus*, *Erona* and *Plangus*, *Helene* and *Amphialus*, with the

¹⁴ Ibid. 519.

¹⁵ In 1590, after Sidney’s death, Fulke Greville sought to publish the incomplete manuscripts of the *New Arcadia*. In 1593, the Countess of Pembroke fused the *New* and *Old* versions. This remained in circulation until the rediscovery of the manuscript version of the *Old Arcadia* in 1907.

wonderfull chances that befell them ...may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen in that, wherewith mine is already dulled.¹⁶

Bellings was not the first to take up the challenge; nor was he the last. Among others who continued the story were the ubiquitous Gervase Markham, an anonymous Royalist, and Anna Weamys. Bellings had probably read William Alexander's supplement, published in Dublin three years before, but while Alexander's version adds to the complications of the romance, Bellings' seeks very firmly to round off the narrative. Similarly, while Markham seeks to carry the story forward to future generations, Bellings restores and maintains the older generation -- King Basilius -- firmly back in power. Furthermore, where others seek primarily to continue the narrative, Bellings seeks to continue Sidney's form -- he is unique in including Eclogues in his continuation.¹⁷ Above all, Bellings seeks to restore stability to Sidney's Protestant romance. In Bellings' sequel-coda, long-deferred marriages are celebrated, long-absent monarchs return to courts, long-parted lovers are reunited, and usurped lands are voluntarily restored. Sidney's open-ended narrative is given a permanent happy-ever-after closure by a young Catholic experimenting with English poetry and prose in

¹⁶ Sidney, *Arcadia*, p. 482.

¹⁷ The 'exercise' of reading the *Arcadia*, and using it as a style manual, developed quickly, particularly at the Inns of Court. See, for example, the manual c. 1599, John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style*, ed. H. Hudson (Princeton, 1935). For the continuations, see G. Markham, *The English Arcadia*, (First part, 1607; Second, 1613); *The Historie of Arcadia* (anon; c. 1649); A. Weamys, *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia* (1651). Two shorter 'supplements' also appeared, each addressing inconsistencies in the 1593 edition: these were by William Alexander (1613 and later editions, including Dublin, 1621), and James Johnstoun (1638). Bellings' *Sixth Book*, integrated into future editions of the full *Arcadia*, influenced Weamys' text. See the introduction to P. Colborn Cullen ed., *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia* (Oxford and New York, 1994). See also J. Klein Morisson, 'Readers turned Writers: The Dynamics of the Sequels to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*' (Ph. D., Yale University, 1997). This engaging study of the poetics of a 'sub-genre' sets Bellings in an 'English versus Irish' framework, and so misjudges certain nuances of the the Old English situation.

Dublin.

In taking up Sidney in Ireland, Bellings was, as noted above, taking on a very specific political legacy. The links of Edmund Spenser, a member of the Sidney circle, with Ireland, have received much critical attention. Philip Sidney also maintained a strong interest in the English colonial venture there.¹⁸ His father, Henry Sidney, served twice as Elizabeth's Lord Deputy in Ireland and in 1576, Philip Sidney joined him briefly. His military enthusiasm, which would later become legendary in the wake of Sidney's exploits in the Low Countries with Leicester, was put to early use in the suppression of a rebellion by the Earl of Clanricard's sons.¹⁹ In September 1577, once again in England, Sidney took up his pen to compose his *Discourse on Irish Affairs* to be presented to the government.²⁰ Ten years earlier Elizabeth had written to Henry Sidney to request 'that some degrees be used to trayne the people from the unordinate tyranny of the Irish captens and to cause them seek and tast of the swetes of civile order and justice.'²¹ The Sidneys' response ignored Elizabeth's plea for demilitarisation, arguing instead for the imposition of a cess tax on the most loyal of her Irish subjects, the Old English Palesmen, in order to build up a standing army which would enable

¹⁸ See L. Jardine, 'Encountering Ireland: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser, and English colonial ventures', in *Representing Ireland*, pp. 60-75.

¹⁹ Henry Sidney was appointed undertreasurer in Ireland (1556), Lord Justice (1558), and Lord Deputy (1565-71 and 1575-78). Elizabeth's letters to him give rare insight into her views on Ireland, see T. Ó Laidhin ed., *Sidney State Papers 1565-70* (Dublin, 1962). For Sidney and the Clanricard rebellion see D. J. Baker, 'Off the Map: charting uncertainty in Renaissance Ireland', in *Representing Ireland*, pp. 76-92. Nicholas Lichefield dedicated his translation of Luis Gutierrez de la Vega's *De re militari* (London, 1582) to Philip Sidney.

²⁰ K. Duncan-Jones, K., and J. van Dorsten eds, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 1-13.

²¹ 'How to bring the Irysche to obedience', dated 6 July 1567, *Sidney State Papers 1565-70*, p. 76.

Elizabeth ‘by direct conquest to make the country hers, and so by one great heap of charges to purchase that which afterwards would well be countervail the principal.’ In a vision later amplified in Spenser’s *View*, and still later implemented by the English Republic, Sidney argued that funding an initial, complete military conquest would open up the Irish countryside for stable settlement by English soldiers. Economic stability would then follow as both the soldier-settlers and the now fully conquered Irish paid rents to the Crown. In this, the son echoes the father, for Henry Sidney saw military garrisons in Ireland as ‘in effect the only monuments of obedience and nurseries of civility in that land.’ To both these men, and to their circle, the initial military conquest was crucial to ensure the submission of the Irish and to extinguish their history. For as Philip writes: ‘until by time they find the sweetness of due subjection, it is impossible that any gentle means should put out the fresh remembrance of their lost liberty.’²²

The timing of this *Discourse* coincided with a period of literary and political rethinking in which Sidney completed his *Old Arcadia* and began work on the *New*, hoping to transform the pastoral romance into a more epic tale. Furthermore, his cultivation of his military reputation, like his interest in Ireland and the New World, was closely bound with his growing belief that the Protestant religion should be the guiding force for England’s foreign policy. It was a time when Ireland was clearly on his mind in other respects, making a brief appearance later in the controversial ‘Letter written by Sir Philip Sydney to Queen Elizabeth, touching her Marriage to Monsieur’(1579). As part of his protest against the projected match

²² Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose*, pp. 10-11; Henry Sidney in A. Collins ed., *Letters and Memorials of State* (London, 1746), pp. 20-1; Spenser’s *View* circulated in manuscript from 1596 and was first published by James Ware, dedicated to Wentworth, in 1633.

of the aging queen with the Catholic Duke of Anjou, Sidney calls on Bardic wisdom -- ‘But as they say the Irishmen are wont to tell them that die, “They are rich, they are faire; what need they to die?”’ Perhaps this was intended as a gentle reminder of the danger inherent in Catholic neighbours; it certainly signalled that Ireland was part of Sidney’s political and cultural vocabulary.²³

As Blair Worden has demonstrated, the concerns about Elizabeth’s successor and the proposed match with Anjou informed Sidney’s revision of the *Arcadia*: in the *New Arcadia* the threat to the stability of the Kingdom comes not from outside but from within. Civil war rather than foreign invasion is the new danger, and it is in this context that the complex character of Amphialus first appears in Books Two and Three. Worden offers convincing evidence for the identification of Cecropia, Amphialus’ mother, as Mary Queen of Scots and Helen of Corinth as Elizabeth. The first distills the dangers of Machiavellian politicking, the second exercises gentle rule and educates her court with the best of Humanist values. In the middle stands the complex figure of Amphialus, who, unaware of his mother’s machinations,

²³ Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose*, pp. 46-57, (46/7). Sidney also refers to Irish bards in *A Defence of Poetry* (c. 1580). Sidney was also busy on the continent at this time. In 1577, between his visit to Ireland and the writing of his *Discourse on Irish Affairs*, while on a diplomatic mission to Germany, he met with William of Orange, to discuss possible marriage to his eldest daughter. Elizabeth was furious at this direct affront to Spanish Catholic authority in the Low Countries, plans for the match faded, and Sidney eventually married Walsingham’s daughter. In September 1578, Henry Sidney left Ireland, almost bankrupted by the costs of his office there. John Derricke’s *The Image of Ireland* (London, 1581) was dedicated to him and sought to project a stately viceregal image of Sidney’s Lord deputyship. The more brutal side of Sidney’s term in office was preserved in Irish lore. For a rich examination of the period of composition of both the *Old* and *New Arcadias* see B. Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney’s ‘Arcadia’ and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven and London, 1996), esp. pp. 89-114, 172-183. Worden’s study amplifies H. R. Woodhuysen’s examination of references to the Leicester-Alençon rivalry in ‘Leicester’s Literary Patronage: A Study of the English Court 1578-1582’ (D. Phil., Oxon. 1980). See also R. McCoy, *Sir Philip Sidney: Rebellion in Arcadia* (Suffolk, 1979).

leads a rebellion against Basilius. It is a classic case of good arguments for military resistance used for bad end; in Sidney's terms, he draws from 'true commonplaces' only 'false applications'. Making his 'warlike preparations' in Book Three, Amphialus employs rhetoric as well as engineers:

hee caused a justification of this his action to bee written, whereof were sowed abroad many copies, which with some glosses of probability might indeede hide the fowlnesse of his treasons; and from the true commonplaces, fetch downe most false applications.²⁴

The military engagement of the third book amplifies the epic qualities of Sidney's revision, but with touches of irony: the battle is too carefully staged and crafted; Amphialus' bravery is carefully counterbalanced by Clinias' cowardice; the duel of Phalantus and Amphialus becomes a pastiche of chivalric courtesy. At the end of the book, Amphialus realises the error of his judgement and attempts suicide. His crisis is not simply one of morality, it is also a crisis of form, for Amphialus is consistently unable to match his civility with action, his pen with his sword. Thus, in the formalised duel with Phalantus, organised by an exchange of courteous letters, Amphialus finds his attention drawn away from the larger strategic picture of battle: the author of the song to his beloved Philoclea sits ill with the author of treacherous pamphlets.²⁵

In the 1593 version, which Bellings was familiar with, Amphialus is abandoned, close to death, at the end of Book Three. Helen bears him off to Corinth in search of doctors who

²⁴ Ibid. 241. On the influence of Huguenot theory on Sidney's Amphialus, see R. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: the Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 69-78. See also I. Ribner, 'Machiavelli and Sidney: The *Arcadia* of 1590', *Stud. Phil.*, 47 (1950), 152-172, and 'Machiavelli and Sidney's Discourse to the Queene's Majestie', *Italica*, 26 (1949), 177-87.

²⁵ Sidney, *Arcadia*, 255-259, 266-270.

could cure his apparently mortal wounds; his exit suspends him in the last act of a tragedy, and leaves the conflict of civility and military unresolved. This is precisely the moment to which Bellings returned almost thirty years later, choosing from Sidney's list of possible stories that of Amphialus and Helen. Approaching a canonical English Protestant text from Irish Catholic margins, Bellings intervenes at a point where the tension between military rebellion and the values of civility had taken their narrative toll. He was well aware of the ambition of his task as he introduced his work:

To strive to lessen the greatnesse of the attempt were to take away the glory of the Action. To adde to Sir Philip Sidney, I know is rashnesse; a fault pardonable in me, if custome might as well excuse the offence, as youth may prescribe in offending in this Kinde. That hee should undergoe that burden, whose mother-tongue differs as much from this language, as Irish from English; augments the danger of the enterprise, and gives your expectation, perhaps an assurance, what the event must be.

Anxiously summoning the Renaissance topoi of humility alongside the fruits of his reading and

education, he begged the reader's indulgence:

Yet let no man iudge wrongfully of my endeavours: I have added a limme to Apelles Picture, but my minde never entertain'd such vaine hopes, to think it of perfection sufficient to delude the eyes of the most vulgar, with the likenesse in the workmanship. No, no, I doe not follow Pythagoras his opinion of transmigrations: I am well assur'd divine Sidney's soule is not infus'd into me, whose Iudgement was onely able to finish, what his Invention was onely worthy to undertake. For this, courteous Reader, let it suffice I place Sir Philip Sidney's desert (even in mine owne esteeme) as farre beyond my endeavours, as the most fault-finding Censor can imagin this assay of mine, to come short of his Arcadia. Vale.
R.B.²⁶

In spite of his protests, Bellings' confidence in his art was apparent. The self-effacing

²⁶ Ibid. 485. Bellings does not, as J. Klein Morrison states, claim Irish as his mother-tongue. Bellings' mother-tongue may be a poorer English than Sidney's, but it is English nonetheless, and like other Old English, he disclaims his knowledge of Irish. See 'Readers turned Writers'.

statements here expressed did not undermine his worth as a writer -- for even as he appealed to youth and custom as his excuses, Bellings did not hesitate to add 'a limme to Apelles picture.'²⁷ Indeed, Bellings did more than add, he attempted to complete.

Bellings sought to carry forward Sidney's late sixteenth century moment to seventeenth century settlement. To understand the moment, it is necessary to revisit the period explored in chapter one, which saw an increase in the writing of English military handbooks, viewed this time from Ireland. The 1620s were for the Old English a time of cautious hope that England's changing position in Europe would admit them to fuller participation in civil and military life. Bellings signalled such anticipation in his dedication of his *Sixth Book* to Viscountess Falkland, Elizabeth Carey, wife of the Lord Deputy, Falkland, who served in Ireland from 1622-29.²⁸ The period of Falkland's service witnessed significant changes in both Bellings' life and the broader status of the Old English. It was a moment of optimism which had much to do with Royal matches such as that which Sidney had written to prevent in 1579. In 1622, Falkland was appointed Lord Deputy largely through the influence of the

²⁷ This echoes Greville's 'Dedication' from the 1590 *Arcadia*, which suggested that Sidney's purpose was 'to limn out ...exact pictures of every posture in the mind', quoted Worden, *The Sound of Virtue*, p. 359.

²⁸ The dedication is intriguing. Elizabeth Carey was herself an author. Bellings' poem 'On the Black Ophelia', in his *Sixth Book* (Dublin, 1624) suggests that he may have been familiar with her work. Carey was known for her knowledge of languages and interest in education. While in Ireland, she supported the development of industrial schools. In 1625, Falkland discovered that his wife had secretly converted to Catholicism at the age of about nineteen and she was despatched back to England. Before her death in 1629, she translated the works of Cardinal Du Perron, 'Monsieur le Convertisseur' -- her translation of his reply to James I's attack on his work was publicly burnt. She also composed lives of female saints and hymns to the Virgin. It is unlikely that Bellings knew of the Viscountess's Catholic links, but the connection remains intriguing.

Duke of Buckingham.²⁹ Initial attempts to enforce anti-Catholic legislation in Ireland were laid aside lest they jeopardise negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta. Things seemed to bode well. In the short term the Old English kept their priests, and in the longer term they would gain a Catholic advocate close to the throne. When the marriage plans fell into chaos in the wake of Charles and Buckingham's romantic escapade to Spain, hopes fell. They were quickly revived when, in 1625, Charles' marriage to the Catholic Henrietta Maria of France on his accession to the throne appeared to offer, once again, a 'happy ending' for the Irish Catholics. Careful diplomacy had triumphed over chaotic romantic adventure, and the Old English responded with similar political pragmatism. Not only did the marriage promise a close hearing for the Catholic cause, it also gave Ireland sudden strategic importance on the stage of the European Thirty Years War. As war between England and Spain grew more likely, Ireland's defence became crucial to England's safety; the spectre of Spanish invasion had haunted Ireland since the battle of Kinsale. In response to this crisis, more political and economic than romantic, the Old English began to broker their considerable financial power.

This brokering was to take on a specifically military significance. In 1625, following Parliament's refusal to pay for the defence of Ireland, and in the face of loud protests from the New English, the Old English offered to raise their own forces in return for the twenty six 'matters of grace and bounty' to be extended by Falkland on behalf of the Crown. When Falkland and the New English put up a strong resistance, the Old English negotiated directly with Whitehall. Through provision of a much-needed military, the Old English bought direct

²⁹ V. Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland*, pp. 193-194.

access to the centre of power. In return for the listed concessions of the 'Graces', they were to come up with three annual payments of £40 000 to ensure that Ireland did not become a drain on the English purse during the war years. They were also, crucially, allowed to enrol in the increased army for the protection of Ireland from invasion. In May 1628, Charles I called a Parliament to pass the 'Graces' as a Statute and, with old charges of disloyalty to the Crown put behind them, the political future of the Old English looked bright. In 1628, The Graces allowed the admission Old English law students to the Inns of Court in London. Bellings took advantage of the moment, referring in his debut publication to his own attendance at Lincoln's Inn in 1619.³⁰

Bellings' *Sixth Book* was, therefore, composed at a threshold moment when Old English interests were possibly to take on a European dimension.³¹ His desire for the restoration of stability is apparent in the structures and concerns of his sequel. Returning to the romance,

³⁰ See A. Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (London, 1966), *The Graces, 1625-41* (Dundalk, 1968); 'Ireland and the General Crisis', *P&P*, xlviii (1970), 79-99. On the training of Irish lawyers, see C. Kenny, *King's Inns and the Kingdom of Ireland: The Irish 'Inn of Court', 1541-1800* (Dublin, 1992). The suspicions of Fynes Morrison were echoed across the period: 'These English-Irish lawyers were always wont to study the common laws of England in the inns of court in London, and being all of the Roman religion (as the rest in Ireland) did so lurk in these inns of court as they never came to our churches... but having got a smack of the grounds of our law... returned to practise the law in Ireland', quoted Kenny, p. 52. See D. F. Cregan, 'Irish Catholic Admissions to the English Inns of Court, 1558-1625', *Irish Jurist*, v (1970), 95-114, and forthcoming work based on Cregan's research by Jane Ohlmeyer. The formation of the army and the political debate around the advantage of the Old English would dominate the 1630s and contribute to the eventual impeachment of Wentworth. See Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth Century Ireland*, esp. chapters 1 and 2, and Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp. 187-89.

³¹ On English literary and political reactions, especially the resounding success of Middleton's *A Game At Chess*, see T. Cogswell *The Blessed Revolution*, pp. 302-7, and J. Limon, *Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics 1623-24* (Cambridge, 1986).

we find that the ever imminent tournament and marriage celebrations are soon hijacked by the entrance of a page who announces that his master, the Naked Knight, wishes to fight for Helen, Queen of Corinth. The Queen herself, he informs the company to their consternation, is dead. At Basilius' request, the story of Helen's death is told by the page -- the resolution scenes of tournament and marriage are further deferred by another story as Bellings takes the plot on a new turn. Picking up the threads of Book Three of the 1593 *Arcadia*, the page recounts how a certain knight -- Amphialus -- injured in conflict by the Black Knight had been rescued by Helen. He then narrates a long tale of continually deferred cure, semi-conscious trances, and curtailed conversations between Amphialus and Helen. As these always unsatisfactory encounters progressed, the page narrates, Helen came to recognise that the words Amphialus addressed to her were in truth to 'his mistaken object'. He loved someone else (Philoclea), and her own love was unrequited.³² Realising that the lover's dialogue she sought was impossible, Helen left Amphialus with a healer to recover, and returned to her kingdom of Corinth. Here she found her lands usurped in her absence by Tenarus, at the instigation of her soldier-brother, Rinatus, and herself a prisoner awaiting execution. Here the page finishes his tale and his master, the Naked Knight, enters. His appearance, echoing the visual compulsion of the arras described earlier, offers a more graphic and explicit representation of death than either the preceding narration, or Helen's mere absence. He enters:

with Armour so lively representing nakednesse, wounded in so many places, (where the staunchlesse bloud, in the course the workman had allotted it, seem'd to drop destruction) that many thought a madnesse had possest him (so unarmed, so wounded) to present himselfe in such a tryall, where a surer defence, and a sounder body were more needfull. Before him went sixe, as

³² Sidney, *Arcadia*, p. 488.

Savages, bearing the Launces for his first courses.³³

This carefully worked nakedness framed by attendants who appear ‘as Savages’ echoed the performance of civilised wildness in Jonson’s *Irish Masque*, and earlier Elizabethan court spectacles.³⁴ But in this case the ‘nakedness’ of the knight becomes the key to restitution. For just after he retires, maintaining his graphical silence, Helen herself enters. She is, to the joy of the company, very much alive. Rather than narrate her story, how she came to be in that place, she tells how she travelled to Apollo’s temple and received a prophecy:

Hellen returne, a naked Knight shall finde
Rest for thy hopes, and quiet to thy minde.³⁵

On being told by the company that a Naked Knight is present, Helen rejects the possibility that he could be the answer to her prophecy since ‘it cannot be expected that *Apollo* would leave so plaine a way for us to tracke out the footsteps of his obscure mysteries.’³⁶ In view of the long digressions and adventures which the prophecy given to Basilius at the opening of the *Arcadia* produced, the reader is inclined to agree with Helen. It is too early in the narrative for the recognition scene which would reveal Amphialus and the Naked Knight to be one and the same and so end the romance. In spite of the consonance of prophecy and narrative, the stage seems to be set rather for a romance of mistaken identity and deferred recognitions. But deferral is not Bellings’ narrative intention here. The Naked Knight is called forth and Helen addresses him first as an *instrument* to the restoration of Amphialus.

³³ Ibid. 491-2.

³⁴ On Irish knights at the Elizabethan Accession Day tilts see Woodhuysen, ‘Leicester’s Literary Patronage’.

³⁵ Sidney, *Arcadia*, p. 493.

³⁶ Ibid. 494. Basilius, speaking from experience, warns her about the interpretation of prophecy: ‘it serves to beget nothing but matters of distrust, and labyrinths of errors, where the imagination a thousand waies may be led astray’ (ibid).

The still anonymous knight, still wearing his vivid armour, duly delivers a speech on the unworthiness of 'that knight' (Amphalius), further dissembling his own identity. He then swiftly abandons suspense, revealing that he is himself Amphialus, and that he loves Helen. He confesses his part in rebellion, and realises that the revelation of his identity must bring punishment for his role in 'the bloudie tragedy of a civill dissension in his divided State.'³⁷ Basilius, however, immediately offers his forgiveness.

So, on the eighth page of a thirty-two page book, the lovers are successfully reunited, Helen's prophecy is fulfilled, and the warrior-rebel is forgiven and reintegrated. The reader, awaiting further complication, instead receives simplification as the various stories of absence are woven together to complete the picture of what happened in the suspended time, while Helen had been 'dead'. At the company's insistence, Helen first completes the page's tale by telling how she escaped death at the hands of the nobles and the villain of the piece, Tenarus, that 'wise, but wicked instrument, whom he [the King] call'd his Ambassador, who laboured by the policie of his high reaching braine, and the secret practices of his undermining Gold.'³⁸ She had merely pretended to be dead in order to escape, and so that her body would be transported to Delphi. The two apparently dead bodies of Amphialus and Helen -- the two closing scenes of tragedy -- are, then, swiftly recuperated to the revival and resurrections of tragi-comedy. Once this public account of the Queen's journey is complete, Helen and Amphialus, the lovers, leave the company and go for walk in the 'civill Wildernesse' of the garden. After much silencing of words with kisses, Helen asks Amphialus to recount his

³⁷ Ibid. 495.

³⁸ Ibid. 498.

story, which he does, incorporating other characters from Sidney's closing lists of suggestions.³⁹ Returning us to the opening scene of Bellings' continuation, Amphialus reports that on hearing of Helen's 'death', he vowed to sacrifice himself to her memory using -- we infer -- the civilised forum of the chivalric tournament for his sacrifice. Following this private account, the lovers go in to supper and the Queen becomes the official, public channel of Amphialus' story, as she tells it to the company. Bellings takes care to reunite Amphialus and Helen *before* they are required to tell their story to others; he affords them the walk in the 'civill Wildernesse' to get their story straight with each other, from a point that is already happy-ever-after. The subsequent public account of their lives apart therefore becomes a history, told in the past tense, rather than a thriller in the uncertainty of the present, subject to interruption or correction by events. Supper is accompanied by the usual masques and Eclogues, although the celebrations do not last too long, as the newly weds want -- understandably, having been suspended in perpetual lust by Sidney -- to get to bed. In the course of the Eclogues, the shepherds debate who is to marry Kalydulus's daughter, and Pyrocles calls on Agelastus, an unknown shepherd who has remained aloof from the party, to speak. This Agelastus is immediately revealed by the narrator as the usurper Tenarus who, on completion of a poem on honour and ambition, throws himself at Helen's feet, and surrenders the usurped lands: '(finding in his owne practice for the Crowne, the *Corinthians* aptnesse to embrace change, and considering the powerfulnesse of his enemies).' After the celebrations, Helen and her husband return to Corinth and have a son within the year. All marriages and kingdoms are restored to future order and the writer, as already mentioned,

³⁹ Ibid. 501-513.

leaves the parent figures Basilus and Gynecia 'to the happy quiet of their after life.'⁴⁰

There is a politics as well as a poetics to this Romance; both are of closure, for Bellings here stages reintegration. Amphialus the misguided rebel is not only reintegrated into civil society, but takes a throne beside the best of rulers, and devotes his life to the prosperity of his country and the education of his subjects, now free from tyranny. Even the apparently unreconstructed and unredeemable villain Tenarus eventually finds 'the aptnesse to embrace change', submits, and is reintegrated. Certainly this restitution resonated with the Old English in general, and with Bellings as an individual, as they sought to become reintegrated into the government of Ireland. Bellings himself gestures towards the analogies. His references to the Irish and English languages in his prologue 'To the Reader', the 'civil Wildernesse', the bleeding, wounded armour of the Naked Knight, and his attendant 'Savages' all rework the stock imagery of the English colonial enterprise in Ireland. In presenting a repentant Amphialus ready to shoulder the burden of government, Bellings exorcised Sidney's spectres and restored courtly order to the Arcadian world. The future, for the (Old English) knights of Bellings' Ireland, appeared domestic and civil.

2. The Order of History

[I]f we continue a short time at this distance, I shall, by that way of advertisement I have proposed to myself to observe, furnish your Lordship with such a volume of narratives as may in time acquire the name of the annals of Ireland.⁴¹

Bellings opened his *Sixth Book* with the narrative version of an arras which seamlessly brought

⁴⁰ Ibid. 519. J. Klein Morrison reads interesting echoes of the Elizabethan policy of 'surrender and regrant' into Helen's treatment of Tenarus, see 'Readers turned Writers'.

⁴¹ Bellings to Ormond in Paris, 10 April 1651, in Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, VII, 367.

long-forgotten history to extraordinary life. Fifty years later, and at a time of much changed fortunes for the Old English, he completed a task which pushed his skills as poet and romance writer to their limit: the composition of his *History of the Confederation*. The image of the opening sentence of the later text exchanges the classical order of the arras for the fragmentation of the broken mirror, as Bellings sets out to narrate:

a warr of many parts, carried on under the notion of soe many interests, perplexed with such diversity of rents and divisions, among those who seemed to be of a side, as will transmitt to posterity observations perhaps as usefull, although not so memorable and full, as a war mannadged with more noise, greater power, and betweene Princes, whose very names may bespeake attention for their actions.⁴²

The narrative unity of the romance, at once complex and coherent, with its exemplary heroes and heroines, has disappeared. The order, harmony, and equilibrium resulting from a successfully plotted narrative; the compulsion towards a happy ending in which all loose threads are firmly tied together by a writer in firm control of his material; these are possible in retrospective romancing, but what of the writing of history? What sense of structural coherence survives the strain of incorporating events which remain unrelentingly outside the historian's control?

Bellings' account of the Confederation opens on 22 October 1641, the eve of the 1641 rebellion. It ends in 1649 with the words: 'but Cromwell having refreshed those he transported, and new modelled the army commanded by Colonel Jones, marched to Drogheda.'⁴³ This closing, ominous, epic ablative absolute heralds for Ireland yet another beginning of yet another end; an impending conquest by a determined General well-prepared for battle. Between the opening

⁴² Ibid. I, 1.

⁴³ Ibid. VII, 130. Cromwell's imminent arrival with well supplied troops is first mentioned on p. 127.

vision of chaos and the tragic certainty of ending, Bellings tells a complicated story which has more the flavour of picaresque novel than epic. Opening at a point of threshold, where the future of the Old English still appears redeemable, the *History* begins when the political stage had opened up for the younger generation, the beneficiaries of 'The Graces', trained in the skills of the pen and the sword.⁴⁴ Bellings, the playwright Henry Burnell, and the lawyer Patrick Darcy had trained at the Inns of Court, had been involved with the Werburgh Theatre, and had taken their places in the last Wentworth Parliament. Others -- like Bellings' younger brother Christopher -- had undertaken military training in the late 1620s, and were now highly accomplished soldiers with experience in Europe and the Thirty Years War. The 'golden moment' of opportunity soon passed, however, as the drift towards Civil War in England took on speed. New English reaction to the 1641 Rebellion forced the Old English into an uncomfortable alliance with the Gaelic Irish, one which, in Bellings' account, was based on shaky foundations from the outset: 'Thus distrust, aversion, force and feare united the two partyes which since the Conquest had at all times beene most opposit.'⁴⁵ The Old English found themselves increasingly alienated from English Royalism. Hopes of playing an active part in the English administration of Ireland were quashed and their newly acquired education was diverted to new tasks. Patrick Darcy, who was admitted to Middle Temple in 1617 and to King's Inn, Dublin in 1628, became a key figure in the drafting of the Oath of Association and the Constitutional arrangements of the Catholic Confederation. Bellings became first its secretary and, long years hence, its historian.

⁴⁴ The chief negotiators of 'The Graces' were fast disappearing from public life; Clanrickard and Fermoy died in 1635, Fingall in 1637, and Westmeath largely retired from politics in 1635-36. See Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 38.

It is useful at the outset to pause to consider who writes the *History*, when is it written, and who and what it is written for; for Bellings' *History* is a well-travelled and multi-layered account.⁴⁶

The simple answer to the first question is, of course, Richard Bellings. But Bellings is a man of many roles who, within the frame of the *History*, appears keen to preserve his anonymity; indeed Bellings is named at only one stage within the narrative.⁴⁷ He authorises the detail of the *History* with not the rhetoric of personal witness, but with his professional writerly title: Secretary to the Confederate Council at Kilkenny from 1642-1649. At the core of the narrative are the documents and meetings which Bellings collected and minuted. The secretary's account of domestic Irish events is broken to follow 'Bellings the ambassador' to Europe in 1644, as he seeks to elicit support for the Confederation from the newly elected Pope Innocent X. The work of 'Bellings the Historian', however, the moment of production of the narrative which weaves together a collection of reports and observations, is sited far beyond its defeatist close.

The *History* was composed long after the Restoration, at a point when the Old English position in Ireland was once again under threat. In 1672-74 tensions between the King and Parliament again rose, in a manner reminiscent of the 1620s. In 1673, Charles II was forced to call Parliament to deal with the fall out of the Dutch Wars, begun in 1672. Parliament swiftly undid the King's recent legislation, which had improved the situation of Catholics in England and

⁴⁶ Two manuscript versions of Bellings' *History* survive: the partial TCD MS 747, and the expanded annotated version owned by the Earl of Anglesey, BL Add MS 4763 ff. 36-89, Add Ms 4189 ff. 399-438. Gilbert's edition draws on both. At times his editorial mission of elucidation threatens to obscure the actual *History*; it occupies just over four hundred pages of the seven volumes.

⁴⁷ This is when he presents his account of his ambassadorship to Europe to the Council of January 1646/7 (see below). His name appears as signatory on a number of letters reproduced in the text.

Ireland and introduced the Test Act, thereby laying the foundations for the exclusion of Catholics from all positions of authority. Bellings forwarded the first book of his *History* to Ormond for comment in June 1674; he completed it by September.⁴⁸ In writing his *History* of the 1640s, Bellings undertook the task of undoing the Protestant historiography which merged all Irish Catholics into one grouping. He sought to distinguish the Old English from the Gaelic Irish, and the Royalist cause -- as represented by Ormond --, from the Catholic nationalism of the nuncio's war party. While he was certainly interested in ordering and accounting for the past, he also wrote to influence an increasingly uncertain future for the Old English. In approaching the *History*, it is important to maintain a sense of this dual perspective, for to do is recognise Bellings' profession of 'writer' as a constant throughout his narrative. It is this occupation which his text constantly foregrounds, largely ignoring his other profession -- which he rarely acknowledges -- that of soldier. Bellings shifts from romance-writer and poet to historian: along the way he takes on the roles of both secretary and foreign correspondent to the Confederation. Throughout this journey, the tropes and tricks he developed as a writer travel with him. For Bellings' *History* proves, above all, to enshrine the values which he restored to the *Arcadia* in his completion of the romance -- those of the civil over the martial. This is not simply a matter of content; it also a matter of aesthetics. For it was the chivalric literature with which Bellings began his writing life that equipped him with tools for the shaping of his monstrous *History*.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Bod MS Carte 243 ff. 113, 154-6 collects the correspondence. Gillespie's forthcoming study suggests that Bellings started work on the *History* in 1640-41.

⁴⁹ Romance and history were also fused in accounts of the Thirty Years War. The account of the battle of Wittstock in Hans von Grimmelhausen, *The Adventurous Simplicissimus* (1669) is taken from the 1629 German edition of the *Arcadia*; see Parker, *The Thirty Years War*, pp. 190-226.

I want to focus here on the representation of the military in the *History* and its relation to Bellings' writing of history. To do so is to focus on the poetics of the romance as they are brought to bear on an entangled history of war and political interest. I will explore three emblematic moments from the *History* when the pen and the sword, the civil and the martial coincide, and where Bellings shapes certain characters and images to give focus to his key narrative concerns -- family, religion, and inheritance. The first includes the only mention in the *History* of Bellings' own family, spoken of when he pauses in his account of the descent into civil war to tell the story of his younger soldier-brother, Christopher, and to forge the character of an appropriate military hero. The second moment occurs in the last pages of his narrative, as the Confederation hurtles towards collapse and Bellings turns the papal nuncio, Rinuccini, into his military villain. For Bellings figures Rinuccini as a dealer in cheap symbolism, encouraging the destructive urges of the Old Irish through false Catholicism -- and bad poetry. Finally, I want to outline how Bellings views his own role, that of the military historian, a role most apparent when the arts of cultivation and inscription are glimpsed through the chaos of war. In narrative terms, these very different moments -- the death of his brother, the false ceremony of his supposed spiritual representative, the destruction of cultivation -- each mark a pause from the work of history to consider the very personal aspects of loss. They are also emblematic moments, when the role of the writer in relation to that of the soldier is considered, and as such echo the structure of romance, by creating what Patricia Parker refers to as the 'embowered moment'.⁵⁰ In romance, this moment marks a pause for reflection in the never-ending quest which characterises the genre. In the context of a *History*, however, such emblematic self-reflection

⁵⁰ See Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton, 1979), and her *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 54-66.

carries within it the impotent tension of the writer who can report but not resolve, who can offer the possibility of ideal visions, but not the teleological structure to bring them to fruition.

A. A Military Hero

As he reaches the end of his account of the increasing unrest which follows the 1641 Rebellion, Bellings narrates how the Countess of Ormond, left behind by her husband in Kilkenny where she had offered protection to numerous displaced Protestants, finally leaves Ireland and travels to England with her children. This family departure prompts Bellings to a unique personal intervention in the narrative:

And since that voyage puts me in mind of some circumstances, wherein I am meself concerned, I hope the reader will not think it any great digression, if, in seeking to transferr to posterity the actions and counsells of other men, my affection and affliction doe pay some tribute to the memory of my deere brother, Colonell Christopher Bellings.⁵¹

There follows a six-page 'digression', a moment of family romance. While Richard Bellings had taken advantage of the new possibilities opening up for the Old English in the previous decades by taking up the profession of letters, Christopher took up the younger brother's lot, that of arms. Bellings tells us that his brother trained as a soldier in Ireland in the 1620s, then travelled to Flanders, where he served in the Irish regiments under Preston and Tyrconnell, and distinguished himself as a soldier before running out of money. After six months at the French court he then, through Richelieu's influence, gained command of a regiment of Irish soldiers from Wentworth's disbanded army. While on a mission from the French court to London, he was taken prisoner to the Tower, was eventually released, and returned to France. There he died as a result of a duelling wound inflicted by the trickery of a footman, but not before he had set a

⁵¹ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, pp. 58-64 (58). See also 'Warrant for Colonel Christopher Bellings', pp. 217-219.

fine example by taking up ‘the exercises of a good Christian’.⁵² Bellings notes that Richelieu sent not only his personal doctor but also money to help his brother in his final distress, and in closing his ‘digression’, he speaks with pride of his brother’s military achievements, more chivalric than war-like:

He had excellent skill at his weapon, and was so perfect in Mason’s way of closing, that, being (notwithstanding he had a great aversion to duells) called thrice to the field, he alwayes disarmed his adversary without being hurt.⁵³

This digressive story of Colonel Christopher Bellings is located at a crucial point in the narrative; the point at which the situation deteriorates beyond civil unrest into war. At the moment where it becomes clear that Bellings too must juggle with sword and pen, his brother’s story is inserted as an exemplary tale of the prudent soldier who knows when to change his profession, and where to practise it. Christopher Bellings, like many of the returning exiles, had pursued a military career in Europe. Unlike them, he made the shift from military man to ambassador, transferred his military skills to the courtly pastime of duelling when the time was right, and died only when tricked by an unworthy footman rather than outshone by an unworthy opponent. He is, for Bellings, a model of appropriate military behaviour.

This family memorial stands, moreover, at a point in Bellings’ narrative where the disruption of the domestic has catapulted the Old English into war. In the opening pages of the *History*, Bellings presents the genealogies of the four parties at war in Ireland, and offers a peaceful vision of their co-existence in the early seventeenth century:

The collonyes (setting aside their different tenets in matters of religion,) were as

⁵² Ibid. I, 63.

⁵³ Ibid. For a broader social context see J. Kelly, *‘That Damn’d Thing Called Honour’: Duelling in Ireland, 1570-1860* (Cork, 1995).

perfectly incorporated, and as firmly knitt together, as frequent marriages, dayly tyes of hospitality, and the mutuall bond betweene lord and tenant, could unite any people.⁵⁴

This 'incorporation' was disrupted by the events of October 1641. For some time, Bellings reports, the Old English attempted to use the civil strategies of Parliament as a possible scene for resolution. Being reluctant to follow the New English in resorting to the semantics of war rather than civil unrest, they 'made some difficulty to admit the words "trayterously and rebelliously" as noe way fitt for that milde sorte of remedy, which they were willing should be applied to those distempers.'⁵⁵ For Bellings, appropriate and authorised military action was still possible at this stage. Had the Dublin government allowed its commander, Ormond, to cross the Boyne in his pursuit of the Ulster 'rebels', the 'combustion' in the North might have been contained, the Old English might have remained neutral, and future complications would have been avoided. But in December 1641, when the Northern rebels cross the River Boyne -- 'which had beene in all ages since the Conquest as the Rubicon of the Pale'-- the situation, as Bellings narrates it, moves beyond peaceful settlement.⁵⁶ The Protestant Parliamentarians draw the battelines and the Old English Palesmen have no choice but to take sides. These decisions are made purely in the best interests of their property, as the success of the rebels 'made the Lords of the Pale to think of contracting friendship with them at whose mercy their persons, their estates and fortunes lay.'⁵⁷ It is at precisely this point that the Countess of Ormond leaves and

⁵⁴ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 2. See Gillespie, 'The Social Thought of Bellings' on the influence of Sir John Temple, *The Irish Rebellion* (London, 1646). This kinship of peaceful settlement is set against the shadow of the future death of the king, 'a paricide more barbarous than any former age could instance' (Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 5).

⁵⁵ Ibid. I, 31.

⁵⁶ Ibid. I, 24.

⁵⁷ Ibid. I, 34.

the narrative shifts to the reflective story of Christopher Bellings. When the brother-writer returns to his historical narrative from his 'digression' on his soldier-brother, the shift to full-scale war is inevitable. The loss is doubly felt: 'nothing was now wanted to make the dispersed bodyes of men appeare like an army and the begining of a formall warre, but the countenance of some man of authority, who might bring them to a head, and distribute them under the charge of officers.'⁵⁸

Even as Bellings marks the loss of his brother, the Old English begin the search for appropriate military models. It is not yet clearly a war on the scale of those in continental Europe -- a professional war for professional soldiers. It is instead a war of haphazard citizen-militia who seek to preserve their property. Thus for Bellings the local band raised by Muskerry to protect the settlements on his land seems appropriate to the situation:

a considerable body of men, armed but with skeins, darts, javelins, and pikes, who, although they were very unfitt to appeare in the field against a soldierlike enemy, yet, he [Muskerry] was confident, would prove a sufficient guard for defending his country, and resisting the attempts of a tumultuary route of loose fellowes, all ill-provided as they.⁵⁹

Of the martial alternative, proposed by the professional soldiery now present in and returning to Ireland, Bellings writes with scorn. As returning exiles, these men have no investment in preserving the peace of the previous forty years, and every investment in their profession. Many of these soldiers share the expertise and experience of Bellings' brother, but, unlike him, they are not content to stay away, to practise their profession on a more appropriate stage. Of Captains Fennell and Butler, Bellings remarks:

⁵⁸ Ibid. I, 64.

⁵⁹ Ibid. I, 68-69.

Those officers, by reason of the experience they had acquired abroad, managed all the martiall parts, sometimes with soe exact and rigourous a relation to the principles of foraine discipline... [on] a little stone house which in truth was not defensible.⁶⁰

Their 'foraine discipline' has made them blind to the realities of a domestic Irish war. For Bellings, the quality of the ideal warrior is not 'foraine discipline' but prudence, the ability to act appropriately to the situation. This transplantation of the activities of the European wars, inappropriate to Ireland, taints the profession of soldier.

The soldier is not the only profession under threat in this new field of war. Bellings' own profession -- the man of letters -- is similarly besieged. If he is to write rather than fight, he also looks for appropriate models. And if his narrative simplifies the conflicts of the Confederation into a battle between Old English and Native Irish, it also represents the battle as one of false words. The Ulstermen use overblown claims and treacherous documents to draw the Palesmen past the point of no return and into full-blown conflict. Phelim O'Neill claims to hold aloft a warrant from the King: 'because they meant the people should become drunke with their owne imaginations.' The Ulstermen use an effective propaganda team of untrustworthy writers to make the 'rebellion' seem irreversible: they 'strove to countenance their undertakings with all the fictions and artifices imaginable... receavyng letters, penned by themselves.. .importing the revolt of Limbricke, then of Waterforde.'⁶¹ Indeed, as Bellings describes it, the entire 1641 Rebellion has the atmosphere of an elaborate but sinister masque, complete with disguises and mysterious documents. It is a work of fiction which in turn echoes the confused fictional

⁶⁰ Ibid, I, 71. See chapter one for Bellings' scathing opinion of the appointment of Barry as Munster commander (ibid, I, 75).

⁶¹ Ibid. I, 17.

rebellion of Sidney's *Amphialus*.⁶² Within such a narrative of disruption and deception, Bellings' pause to tell the exemplary tale of his own brother has a double effect. He both presents his brother as a model of the prudent soldier and, in the very act of presentation, in this writing of genealogy, Bellings implies for himself a newly prudent profession -- that of Secretary and Historian. Bellings does fight on the ground in the Irish Wars of this period, but we must largely rely on others for accounts of this. As a writer, he fashions for himself the influential roles of historian, diplomat, and administrator, demonstrating as he does so the considerable power of a few well-placed, or indeed mis-placed words.

That Bellings himself was aware of this digression as a moment of tension between the differing poetics of romance and history is suggested by the alterations to the Trinity manuscript made -- according to Gilbert as the catalogue notes -- in Bellings' own hand. Three key incidents were removed by his pen: the first concerned the miraculous cure of his brother after an attack in Madrid, of which he wrote, then erased: 'he toulde those whoe attended him that he thought the blessed virgin (to whome he all his life bare asingular Devotion) appeared to him and tould him he shoulde not dye of these wounds.' In another cut, Bellings removed his memory of happier times when his brother used to hunt 'in the woodland parts of the Byrins Country' where he followed the hounds 'afoot with his gun.' The deletions remove the taints of degeneration -- the hint of superstitious Catholicism, the hint of the wild 'bog-trotting' Irish, and the contested lands of the O'Byrnes. The third silenced moment was, for this exploration of military writing, more interesting still, for Bellings removed a detailed report of a chance conversation with one 'M.

⁶² See also Phelim O'Neill's complicated masquerade to convince the Old English that he has a fully functional gunpowder factory at Drogheda. Bellings reports more useless play-acting by him and his men: 'severall councells of warre were held, rather to amuse the minds of men, than to forme any designe for carrying the towne' (ibid. I, 46).

Bollie' in a secretary's antechamber to an unnamed office in Paris. On being asked why, given his military experience, he had not joined the French army:

my brother answered him that he left Spaine upon designe to serve his own King and despaired not shortly to finde an occasion soe to doe, but that as for going into France, he had fedd on Spanish bread too long atime; to pull himself so suddenly into the service of the professional enemy of that Crowne, and that although he was free and asouldier of fortune, yet -- he conceived to pay somewhat to the memory of those among whome he was bredd [a soldiour] upp in that militarie dicipline.⁶³

Bellings recognised that his brother's own account of his career, even as it stressed his military loyalty, was prey to various accusations: that he was a wandering Irish soldier, thus either exile or mercenary; that he sprang from the Spanish-Irish ancestry so villified by the Elizabethans; finally, as his hesitancy between 'soldiour' and 'militarie dicipline' indicated, that he was of the battlefield rank and file, rather than the aristocratic officer class. What was lost in this expunging from the records was his brother's profession of loyalty to Charles I -- his Royalism was not enough to overcome his Irish reputation. It would seem that Bellings, the man of letters, who as romance-writer remodelled the pasts of Sidney's *Amphialus* and Helen, and who as historian incorporated his brother into historical events from which he was entirely absent, discovered that the making of the Old English hero was not as easy as the making of a native Irish villain.

B. A Military Villain

If Christopher Bellings figures, in his brother's re-edited version, as the military hero who uses his skills appropriately, and dies before he could exercise such prudence in Ireland, the papal nuncio, Rinuccini increasingly figures as the military villain of the *History*. Rinuccini, as Bellings has it, exercised his papal authority badly and, as the narrative progresses, juggled

⁶³TCD MS 747, ff. 239r-243r. For the sections removed, see ff. 240r-241r.

dangerously with the symbols of spiritual and temporal power. The official account of Rinuccini's embassy to Ireland included a report of his arrival from Paris in Kilkenny in 1645:

The whole course of this reception was arranged by Secretary Bellings, to whom, as lately come from Italy and cognizant of Italian customs the direction of these affairs was given.⁶⁴

This tantalizing, second-hand report is of a spectacle: we have no idea what language the performances took place in, let alone what was said. But the opening image of the entertainment is telling. Rinuccini was greeted outside the city by a 'band of fifty scholars, all however armed with pistols.'⁶⁵ If this image is read as emblematic of the culture of the Confederation, it was not simply a product of Bellings' observations of the Italian Courts, but also gestured towards the tragicomedies of Werburgh Street, to Burnell's Amazons turned wives and Shirley's rebels turned Kings.⁶⁶ It also recalled the twin interests of Amphialus, and indeed of his creator Sidney. It reminds us that Bellings was a soldier as well as a writer and that -- as it is sometimes easy to forget in Bellings' endless accounts of meetings and negotiations -- a war was in progress.

As the *History* -- and the war -- progresses, so too does the nuncio's questionable juggling of the symbols and instruments of power. In contrast to the pomp and ceremony of his carefully choreographed arrival in Kilkenny in 1645, the processional entrance of the nuncio and his party into Galway in 1648 disintegrated into civil unrest. They marched:

with cross borne before them, from St Nicholas' church to the market place, and, by their clamours and menaces of violence, had more than once already sought

⁶⁴ G. Aiazza, trans., A. Hutton, *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo in the Years 1645-1649* (Dublin, 1873), p. 92.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 90. For a close study of the nuncio and Church policy, see T. Ó hAnnracháin, "Far from terra firma".

⁶⁶ For more on these plays and figures, see chapter one, above.

to interrupt the proclaiming of it, were grown more insolent, and, as it often happened in such popular commotions, their force and power being measured by the noise they made, they seemed irresistible; while the magistrates and graver sorts of citizen endeavoured, without having recourse to arms, to prevent the mischiefs which intestine dissensions might have brought upon so rich and populous a town.⁶⁷

That this disruption occurred in Galway was particularly apposite to Bellings' Old English interests, for Galway was the Old English trade capital with strong links to mainland Europe, built on strong family dynasties. At the heart of successful and profitable Catholic settlement, then, the nuncio's insolence finds itself translated into the clamour of lawless action and the symbols of civic order are displaced. Rinuccini does not lead the assault in Bellings' account, but he was certainly implicated when 'A throng of them, rushing into the mayor's house, carried from thence the sword, the mace, and the rest of the badges of his office, and brought them to the nuncio.'⁶⁸

Towards the close of the *History*, Bellings describes a further ceremonial moment, which occurred in 1648, when the split in the Confederation between the nuncio's war party and the chiefly Old English peace party had become irreparable. It is, for Bellings, the climax of the nuncio's war-mongering. Having exercised the 'spiritual sword' of excommunication on all those who sided with the Council, Rinuccini now threatens to unleash 'the devouring sword.'⁶⁹ The moment is marked by the presentation to Owen O'Neill of a real sword, reputed to be that of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, who left Ireland at the Flight of the Earls. The giver was anxious to play

⁶⁷ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, VII, 94.

⁶⁸ Ibid. VII, 96.

⁶⁹ Ibid. VII, 24. This stands in contrast to the Council who have been labouring to 'keep the devouring sword from the throats of our wives and our children' (ibid. VII, 11).

up its symbolic value:

but the dean of Fermo, in imitation, it seems, of sir Phelim O'Neale, who, at the beginning of the rebellion in Ulster, produced an old patent with a seal as being the king's unquestionable warrant for his proceedings, had caused the hilt of this sword to be gilt, and also a crimson velvet scabbard with gilt bosses to be made for it at Paris; so as now, by chance, but one cross bar in the hilt of it, it appeared like a sword of authority, only that it was light, and probably made use of in those times for other purposes. However, the dean, who belike thought no name too sacred to be profaned for the advancement of a cause wherein the nuncio, his bishop and master, was embarked, gave it out publicly that the pope had sent that sword to general Owen O'Neale, but for what end, he left that to the people to decipher, and they were as various in their judgements of it as the multitude was in their conjectures who that person was whom the first conspirators in Ulster kept so private, and waited upon with so much ceremony and observance.⁷⁰

This performance offers Bellings an opportunity, once again, to exercise his skills as both reader and writer, proving how his own *History* can triumph over the bad poetry of others. The symbolic preparation and presentation of the sword crystallises the conflict of the Old English and the Old Irish, and confirms Rinuccini's role in Bellings' narrative as both spiritual and military villain. In particular, Bellings' collapsing comparison of the sword with Phelim O'Neill's 'Royal' warrant indicates his sense that this was not the first time that false symbols had appeared in Irish history.⁷¹ His task was now to decipher the real within this charade: to establish historical eyewitness account and to counter the superstition of false writers. For there was, in Bellings' eyes, a real threat behind the ceremony. The sword was a thinly disguised instrument of war, invested with a symbolic value which it was unfit to bear.

As ceremonial swords and symbols of authority were devalued and misused by the nuncio, so

⁷⁰ Ibid. VII, 98.

⁷¹ When Spenser arrived, with Lord Grey, in Ireland, the official inauguration ceremony cannot take place because the sword of state is being used to quell a rebellion in Munster, see P. Henley, *Spenser in Ireland*, p. 35.

too was the language of authority. In Galway, as noted above, the nuncio's party were a noisily incoherent threat to civil order. Elsewhere the nuncio himself engages in linguistic disruption, directly insulting Bellings' personal authority as secretary in the process.⁷² After the First Ormond Peace of 1646, for instance, the nuncio shocks the Confederation by denying that he has ever seen the agreed articles, and promptly issuing excommunications to all those who adhered to them. At this point, he becomes the undisputed villain of the *History*, disrupting Confederation proceedings, and issuing false documents and pronouncements. The excommunication -- Rinuccini's unexpected act of authorship and publication -- is followed by a silence which Bellings interprets as 'a mark of apprehension in the nuncio that busy pens would make it their task to discredit the authors of so unjustifiable a work as men took that declaration to be'.⁷³ As if to prove such apprehension justified, and in reply to the nuncio's illegitimate document, Bellings the official secretary produces -- with some glee -- a copy of the articles which the nuncio had both seen and inadvertently lent his signature to, since he had 'penned in the very words'.⁷⁴ The nuncio's indiscriminate wielding of his pen contrasts with that of Bellings, the paper warrior, unafraid to write and to stand by his writing. Indeed, Bellings' writing became his lifeline. As the Confederation collapsed, his documentation of the negotiations became obsessive, and the world of words took on martial violence in 'the contests which passed between the Council and the nuncio.'⁷⁵

⁷² Just before the presentation of the sword, the nuncio's General O'Neill burnt unopened letters from the Council: a clear and direct insult (Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, VII, 97).

⁷³ Ibid. VII, 79.

⁷⁴ Ibid. VII, 74.

⁷⁵ Ibid. VII, 67.

To return to the moment of the conferring of the sword on Owen O'Neill, we see such contests at work in the texture of the *History*, for even as he details Rinucinni's manipulation of symbolic language for military purposes, Bellings takes authorial revenge. He follows his account of the ceremony with the transcription of a poem composed to celebrate the occasion. The secretary and erstwhile poet did not temper his opinion on the skill manifest in the Latin poem:

And as there is no rare accident which wants some poetaster or other who must be dealing with it, so in this some pitiful fellow appears like himself in the ensuing bald, but bold verses:-

Siccine paulatim papalia dona recepit
 Gentis Oneliacae sanguinolenta manus,
 Phoenicus plumam comitis concessit O'Nello
 Papa, fuit volucris rara quod orbis Hugo,
 Eugenioque dedit mucronem iamque nepoti
 Ejus ut Alcides orbis et urbis erat.
 Tertium adhuc donum papale expectat O'Nellus
 Scilicet imperii perdita sceptrum sui.
 Cum sceptri commissa fuit custodia Papae
 Cur non commissas restituisset opes?⁷⁶

The ceremonial sword was swiftly celebrated in the language of the Church and the nuncio. It was transcribed as a prophetic, poetic moment of bardic clan history, where O'Neill is charged with the sword of war as a pathway to the sword of state. The 'sanguine' hands -- both optimistic and bloody -- pointed the way forward for the Old Irish. For Bellings, this visionary, poetic moment is unmasked as one falsely created by the nuncio, who 'was said to have countenanced this faction'; and 'faction' can be surely be read here with echoes of the twentieth century

⁷⁶ Gilbert offers the following translation: 'The sanguine hands of the O'Neallian sept/
 Have now receiv'd the papal gifts long kept./ Earl Hugh, to whom the phoenix plume was sent,/ Among the birds on earth most eminent;/ And to his nephew, Owen, the sword is come,/ The Hercules both of the world and Rome:/ And expect a further present, what?/ Th'imperial sceptre of O'Neale's lost state/ Left with the pope to keep, what reason then/ The pope should not restore the same again?', *ibid.* VII, 98-99.

genre.⁷⁷

Bellings -- so often accused in the *Aphorismical Discovery* as a 'lunaticall poet' -- here makes no mention of his other career, calling instead on the authority of the Historian. As a counterpoint to poor poetry, Bellings reports two other moments when the sword is sighted, first by a good bishop, then by a good historian -- himself. On the first of these occasions, the nuncio reputedly showed it to Plunkett, Bishop of Ardagh who was 'much troubled at his [Rinuccini's] expressions and the sight of the sword.' The Bishop, Bellings suggests, recognised both the power of interpretations which might be put on such a gift at such a time of unrest, and 'that this present would certainly justify whatsoever they will allege in prejudice of our association.' The second sighting of the sword, by Bellings himself, cast doubt on the entire episode he has just recounted: 'but sure I am that the sword was not given general Owen O Neale, for I saw it after the conclusion of the peace of [16]48 with my lord of Ormonde in the castle of Kilkenny.'⁷⁸ Eyewitness and authorised historian, Bellings here quells all possible doubt about others' readings of the gift of the sword. The fact is that it was safely with Ormond in Kilkenny -- the King's man held even the dubious symbols of authority. This recuperative move on Bellings' part is a negative image of that of the *Sixth Book*, where lands are restored in the midst of a poetry contest. For in the *History* the restoration of land proposed by the transcribed poem is false and insubstantial: O'Neill had, Bellings argues, no just claim, just as the 'poetaster' had no right to the title. The poem may have a lasting voice, it may attempt to carry the moment forward into a shaped and remembered history, but it is overtaken by the truth of 'History':

⁷⁷ Ibid, VII, 99.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Bellings' *History*. Bellings thus silences poetry, even as he reproduces it, so as to place himself within the narrative as trustworthy eyewitness. From this position -- at the centre of Confederate power, and alongside Ormond -- he contrasts himself with both poetaster and nuncio, the better to confirm his own identity as a truthful historian.

This is a recurrent move in the *History*. As the nuncio's villainy is exemplified by his careless and disruptive language, so Bellings' probity is evident in his adherence to the principles of order and truthful speech. It informs the various roles the characters are called on to play in the war of words, symbols and treacherous action which Bellings narrates. For if Rinuccini's abuse of language contrasts with Bellings' truthfulness, so too his dealings as a false ambassador are all the more clear in the contrastive light of Bellings' own actions. When Bellings sent the fifty armed scholars to greet Rinuccini in 1645, the two men were already old acquaintances, and already to some degree rival ambassadors. The section of the *History* relating to 1644 is interrupted by an account of the trip to Europe of an anonymous envoy of the Supreme Council -- as we discover later, Richard Bellings. As he earlier marked the moment of his appointment as secretary within the narrative, so here he marks this second opportunity to put his gentlemanly education to Confederation use. This shift from secretary to ambassador signals a geographical, chronological, and generic shift in the *History*, as Bellings effectively leaves Irish affairs in the lurch and in the hands of unnamed chroniclers until he returns. The text reminds us that we read events with Bellings' eyes:

yet I conceived it would be more acceptable to the reader, if he might receive the progress of those foreign affaires without interruption; and more proper for one who made it his designe to write a history, not a diary, to present it in this manner.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Ibid, III, 20. Gilbert notes that Plunkett and Darcy take over as secretaries (IV, ii).

There follows the account of Bellings' travels in Europe. For all its officious efficiency, it betrays the anxieties of a small fish in a very large sea. With uncertain credentials, Bellings represented a minor, troublesome country on the margins of the Catholic world, and his embassy proved to be infuriating in its deviations and diversions. 'This gentleman' set out to travel to the exiled Queen Henrietta Maria but was diverted to Mazarin. His dealings were placed under strain as he became increasingly aware of the tensions between France and Rome. The Pope, his own coffers drained by the Italian wars, eventually offered a fraction of the sum hoped for -- just fifteen thousand pounds -- and a promise to 'be mindfull of them.' While Bellings was aware that the Pope's blessing would result in 'the eyes of all Catholicke Princes being upon them', it was not quite the result he wanted: 'It grieved this gentleman that the fruites of so long a voyage should be no other than a returne of experience, and that the Supream Councell's magazin of hopes should be found so empty.'⁸⁰

Bellings travelled to Rome for crucial funds for the Confederate armies and came home with a nuncio and the 'returne of experience'. This knowledge of how things were done in other places was put to use in Kilkenny, but the effort put into the carefully choreographed ceremony belied the fact that Rinuccini was already a disappointment for Bellings.⁸¹ His embassy had enabled him to see the nuncio with European eyes, that is to say, on a stage other than Ireland. He knew that Rinuccini had wanted to be ambassador to France and that his appointment to Ireland was therefore a form of demotion -- even Rinuccini's enemies pitied him in this enforced exile to 'A

⁸⁰ Ibid, IV, 1-4 (2); IV, 3. Mazarin also offers no financial aid; Bellings blames the Low Countries campaigns for the lack of funding (IV, 4).

⁸¹ The distrust is mutual, as Rinuccini's own insistence on Bellings' accompanying him to Ireland indicates. Aiazza, *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini*, pp. 10, 59, 66, 80-84.

poore island so farre remote from Italy.’⁸² The *History* offers few clues as to why Rinuccini became a bad ambassador. Readers are left to infer that distance from Rome and the perceived centre of power perhaps gave the nuncio delusions of grandeur, so that he rejected continental European courtly life and sought to become a warrior hero. Or that he brought to Ireland the practices of the Thirty Years War, and conflict on a scale which was inappropriate to the land-owners who had a vested interest in maintaining their property. Bellings does note how Rinuccini grew intoxicated with the ‘unusual respects, such as he had not seen in other nations’, implying that the ‘Irishry’ -- his term for the Old Irish -- were largely to blame since they were ‘naturally inclyned to render very submiss observances to any ecclesiasticall person.’⁸³ Indeed as familiarity with this new exotic figure develops into contempt, it is Rinuccini’s European courtier ways which are singled out for criticism by the ‘Irishry’ as well as by the cultivated Bellings:

For besides that the object [the nuncio] was grown less rare, and that time had given to mens’ judgements, as to their eyes, respite to survey him, his precise exactness in the least formalities, the great distance between his composed reservedness and the open free-hearted nature of the Irish, lessened the esteem which the nation, at first sight, had for him; so as those qualities which gained him the reputation of an excellent courtier at Rome, did in some manner contribute to render him an useless Minister in Ireland and he discovered his aversion for peace not many days after his coming to Kilkenny.⁸⁴

In Bellings’ narrative, this inappropriate excess of courtliness is accompanied by that unhealthy disrespect for the civil role of the Confederation, inappropriate behaviour as an ambassador, and growing tendency to seek war which come to characterise the nuncio’s behaviour.⁸⁵ Rinuccini’s

⁸² Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, IV, 5.

⁸³ Ibid. VI, 5-6.

⁸⁴ Ibid. V, 10.

⁸⁵ Contrast Bellings’ approval of the Papal envoy Scarampi, who paid due respect to the civil government of the Council (ibid, I, 152-53).

slide from bad ambassador to worse accelerates in the wake of O'Neill's military success at Benburb in 1646, a victory which featured in the *Aphorismical Discovery* as a triumph of Irish warrior glory, but which Bellings despatches with brevity.⁸⁶ Even the fact that the victory, won in the name of the Confederation, put Ireland on the European map -- Bellings reports how the battle was financed by money from Rome and that, after the victory, the Pope sang a Te Deum at Sancta Maria Maior -- cannot halt this acceleration, as the *History* hurtles towards final defeat. For it was after this victory, Bellings reflected, that the martial concerns of the Old Irish and the nuncio increasingly disrupted the civil preoccupations of the Council; and it was this internal dissent which allowed Parliament to retain their foothold in Ireland, and eventually enabled Cromwell to join them. This 'end', viewed from the vantage point of the *History*'s composition in the 1670s, at a time when when Old English civil restoration was again under threat, collapsed present victory and future defeat so as to eclipse such apparently celebratory ceremonies as the Pope's sung mass. With reflection and prophecy confused, chronology develops a headlong rush which imprints itself on Bellings' sentences:

I am to enter upon the beginnings of those civil dissensions between the Supreame Council and the nuncio that layd the foundation of such perpetual animosities in the nation as involved them all in one common calamity, and are scarce yet, after a general desolation at home and some years of sad exile abroad, extinguished.⁸⁷

It is in the face of such threats to the principles by which he sought to shape his *History* that Bellings declares literary war on the man he considers responsible for laying the foundations of 'civil dissention'. The key moment of confrontation occurs in the wake of the disputed Ormond peace at the Kilkenny Council of 10 January 1646/7. Contrasting Rinuccini's actions at his first

⁸⁶ Ibid, V, 26-29. See also chapter three.

⁸⁷ Ibid. V, 33.

appearance at the Council in 1645 with his later words and gestures, Bellings, as will become clear, strips away the nuncio's veneer of ceremonial decorum, restating as he does so his own credentials as chosen representative of the confederate government, and model ambassador.

Secretary Bellings' particular despair is directed to the deterioration of the civil processes so carefully laid down by the first Council meeting. Back in 1645, Rinuccini had behaved before the Council with exemplary decorum and spoken of the possibility of cessation to ensure the best interests of the King. In 1646/7, however, he reduces the Council meeting to chaos by introducing inappropriate, unauthorised speech and encouraging disruption. Attempting to block Confederacy assent to the cessation, Rinuccini makes epic, heroic, and ultimately empty gestures towards his authority as derived from the Pope: 'He put them in mind of the great hopes conceived at Rome of their heroical actions.' Bellings knows such visions to be carefully calculated to inflame the nuncio's supporters: 'now these men, as a set of organ-pipes, a senseless and louder, depended for their squeaking, or being still, on the hand of another.'⁸⁸ Against this badly orchestrated cacaphony Bellings, the officially sanctioned secretary, attempts to introduce the order of written history. He produces before the Council the written account of his travels to Rome, including his own report on the Pope's statements on Ireland. This is not the first time that Bellings intervenes, or appears, in the events of the *History*. It is, however, the one occasion in the entire *History* when he is referred to by name: 'And Mr Richard Bellings... thereupon presented a paper wherein was contained the substance of his negotiation with the pope.'⁸⁹ His official ambassadorial appointment, his experience, and his writing move beyond

⁸⁸ Ibid. VII, 1-2.

⁸⁹ Ibid. VII, 3.

closet autobiography to signature. In a dramatic gesture which echoes the restorative accounts of Helen and Amphialus in the *Sixth Book to Arcadia*, Bellings' absence from Ireland is publicly accounted for and incorporated into the political dealings of the Council. For a moment, the written word silences the noisy uproar. Sadly for Bellings, his *History* narrates a world other than that of romance, and happy endings are not so easily found in the Council chamber. His carefully penned document receives scant attention. 'Premeditated and prudent discourses' lose out to the martial policies Bellings considers so inappropriate, and Rinuccini, the bad ambassador, along with the Gaelic Irish, drown the debate in gestures, bombast, and noise:

This was the reply given to the premeditated and prudent discourses of manie gentlemen, who thought the weight of the subject deserved more particular satisfaction to the arguments concerning it, and those sacred words a more rational interpretation; yet you must not wonder if it was cryed up, since he spoke it, who might command applause with waving his hat.⁹⁰

C. A Military Historian

So then the best of the historian is subject to the poet; for whatsoever action, or faction, whatsoever counsel, policy or war stratagem the historian is bound to recite, that may the poet (if he list) with his imitation make his own, beautifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting as it please him: having all, from Dante's heaven to his hell, under the authority of his pen.⁹¹

In writing his *History*, Bellings hoped to remind his post-Restoration readers of Old English civic values and of their loyalty to the Crown. To achieve this -- as illustrated above -- he constructed the Old Irish and the nuncio as disruptive, martial, and 'foreign' influences. The nuncio's party in Bellings' account wielded swords and words which were false and inappropriate; their noisy clamour echoed that of the incomprehensible Irish which rang through

⁹⁰ Ibid. VII, 5. Bellings' characterisation of the 'Irishry' as noisily incoherent echoes Elizabethan descriptions of the Irish, see P. Palmer, 'The Grafted Tongue'.

⁹¹ Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry* (c. 1580), in *Miscellaneous Prose*, p. 89.

in Elizabethan English accounts of Ireland. Bellings figured the Old English inheritance in Ireland as a civil force, located in the arts of cultivation, letters, and legal administration. It was, however, an embattled force, constantly undermined by the military interests of the Old Irish on one side and the New English on the other. Two moments from the *History* both illustrate this dynamic at work and offer further insights into Bellings' conception of the role of the historian, and of the function of History, in the creation of civil society.

The first, in early 1642, close to the opening of the narrative, when Bellings' Old English have been reluctantly plunged into war, forms part of the *History*'s account of a siege near Kilkenny, at Ballinekilly, described as a 'collony of English, planted there by Sir Ridgeway... Earle of Londonderry.'⁹² In the throes of narrating the Confederate campaigns, and in particular of Prestons' mismanagement of them, Bellings pauses to make detailed observations on the genealogy of the owner, on the exquisite yet practical design of the castle, and on the obvious evidence of work and cultivation in both the gardens and surrounding agricultural landscape. He also remarks that the fishponds of the garden have, at this time of crisis, been converted into water tanks. Onto this carefully painted landscape of proprietorial care and investment, of industrious cultivation of the Irish wilderness, he then projects an account of the siege, culminating in the imprint of war on the scene. In a gruesome vision, the dead and the living on both sides contemplate each other across a ruined landscape entirely of their own devising:

the besieged flung out into the camp the heads of some of the besiegers whom they had killed, and the beseigers staked up in the like manner some of the heads of the besieged in the sight of the castle.⁹³

⁹² Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 149.

⁹³ Ibid. I, 150.

Such bloody, martial detail is rare in Bellings' *History*. It fixes the reader's attention on a threshold moment, where the fruits of civil settlement and the investment of the property-owner are still a visible, viable alternative in the midst of the destruction of war. At once a nostalgic reminder of the loyal service of the Old English who joined with the Elizabethan settlers to defeat the native Irish and a resurrection of the ghosts of the late sixteenth century, the image recalls the devastation wreaked by the last major upset in land ownership:

There were many living who saw the Spaniards landed at Kinsale, and described the desolation of those times, but the feare of destroying the fruits of their labours, their howses, their gardens, and the improvment of forty yeares peace was not soe great an affliction to the minds of men as the apprehension of foraine invasion.⁹⁴

The second moment, taken from much later in the narrative, when the nuncio is disrupting the Confederation, is another scene of destruction which highlights by contrast the value of civil cultivation. In an interesting counterpoint to Rinuccini's first ceremonial arrival in Kilkenny and the fifty armed scholars, Ormond received an official welcome to the same city to celebrate the First Ormond Peace. The pace both of events and of the narrative at this stage is such that Bellings does not pause to describe the reception, reporting only that Ormond 'was received with that solemn pomp which is usual at such entries.'⁹⁵ Ormond moved on, Rinuccini's disruption of the Peace became both more vocal and more martial, and just two weeks later, the civic pomp of the reception was transformed into a scene of destruction which Bellings pauses -- briefly -- to describe. As monuments became transient, histories were made disposable, and family honour was erased. Bellings takes this rejection of the value of history personally, his anxiety is palpable:

⁹⁴ Ibid. I, 19.

⁹⁵ Ibid. VI, 17.

those who a fortnight before had employed both cost and invention in erecting statues and triumphal arches, adorned with inscriptions setting forth his [Ormond's] own actions and the trophies of his ancestors, were suddenly, as busy in pulling them down, and defacing the monuments of his solemn entry, lest the northern army, which could have easily mastered, might be incensed to their destruction. So fickle are the affections of men, and so subject to change is that to which we give the name of prosperity. Whence we may gather how fond their pursuit is, who, without regard to that immutable, incorruptible happiness which is fastened with those adamantine grapples of eternity, do lose themselves in quest of an object, whose permanency depends on the good liking of others, and cannot in true judgement be thought real, since it is transitory.⁹⁶

As social secretary of the Confederation, Bellings doubtless had a role in ensuring that Ormond's family history and genealogy were inscribed and displayed for all to see. However this writing of property and inheritance became subject to the readings of others, and hence to impermanence and destruction. Within Bellings' *History*, the broken ceremonial arches at Kilkenny -- like the severed heads at Ballinekilley -- stand as representative images of the fickleness of fortune and its disruption of the order and prosperity which he once worked both to create and to annotate.

Bellings' idea of the function of history is glimpsed in such moments; moments which he could still picture vividly at the moment of writing, many years after the event. In the first instance, Bellings wrote to maintain a record of the Old English inheritance, their cultivation of Ireland, and their distinction from the 'Irishry'. His descriptions of the legal structures and authority of the Confederation were intended to illustrate how the Old English sought to arrest the martial impetus, and his vision of a unified Confederation with the welfare of people -- and property -- at its heart relied, in the absence of the King, on 'that authority (which was as absolute as the full consent of the persons then mett could make it).'⁹⁷ Alongside this establishment of the authority

⁹⁶ Ibid. VI, 19-20.

⁹⁷ Ibid. I, 87. For Castlehaven's account of the establishing of the Confederation see chapter five, below.

of the Confederation sat the appointment of Bellings himself as its official author. Within the *History*, it is a carefully marked moment, involving a shift from past tense to future, and from chaos to order:

Thus having shoven you the face of the kingdome, disfigured with a thousand accidents... and having given you as cleere a light of those rude beginnings which laid the fondation of the warre of Ireland... I shall henceforth present you, in a lesse intricate manner, the results of a more settled Government, and the various conflicts of armyes and partyes formed and regulated by some better order of discipline.⁹⁸

This move from the ‘thousand accidents’ of the past to the ‘settled government’ of the future was further enacted in Bellings’ own resolution to preserve order and discipline in his account. For this signalled the further function of history, since at the moment of composition, Bellings wrote to influence the future, to remind those who would implement the anti-Catholic legislation of the Test Act of the difference between Old English and native Irish. Even as he proffered, at the opening of his *History*, a narrative of ‘rents and divisions’ as opposed to glorious battle accounts, he projected future lessons to be learned. If he were to achieve his ambition to illuminate the complexities of the Irish situation, order and precision in his account were essential to redress the balance. The authority conferred on him as Secretary was the key to his vision of authorship, offering protection from charges of partiality. The anonymous author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* equated all Bellings’ writing with poetry and thus with lies.⁹⁹ It was a charge that Bellings anticipated, particularly in the earlier stages of his *History*, introducing narrative signposts -- which we have followed -- to indicate how he self-consciously fashions his identity as Historian. The quest for balance in the face not only of contemporary critics but also -- perhaps more importantly -- those of unknown future generations is implicit in such self-

⁹⁸ Ibid. I, 86.

⁹⁹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, III, 204. See also chapter three.

consciousness. It is also made explicit in the text. At the foundation of the Confederation, Bellings offers an even-handed definition of his chosen form:

These passages I doe insert, lest, that having already mentioned some cruelties on the part of the Irish, I should be thought less indifferent if I should wholly omitt to write of the cruell effects of those animosities on the parte of the English, and if I should pass them all over in silence, History, which is the light of truth, and the witness of the times, might, justly accuse me who defrauded her of her principall end, which is to instruct posterity, that as shee layes before them noble actions to be a modell of their future conduct, soe shee transfers to them things exorbitantly cruell, that, looking with horror on the ugly shape which men's unbridled passions doe assume, they may pay some tribute to humanity and not become entirely savage in their severest actions.¹⁰⁰

Here the craft of history is a plastic art involving light and shape; it recalls the extra sculptural 'limme to Apelles picture' of Bellings' introduction to the *Sixth Book*. It also, within the *History* itself, marks a shift from its opening pages, where Bellings announces his intention to present Irish affairs within the Scottish and English context 'so we may bring all the light we are able to look clearlie into a structure full of hollow places and windings.'¹⁰¹ The change in Bellings' understanding of his form would suggest a change in his conception both of his own role, and that of history in relation to events and institutions. For as the Confederation took shape, so too Bellings found himself shaping history, rather than simply throwing light on the hollow places of a pre-existing structure; the *History* writer moved from annotator to agent.

Bellings' understanding of his own agency is clearer still when the moment of the *History*'s composition in the 1670s and his position of then increasing marginalisation are taken into account. From such a perspective, the sense that his was a literary rather than a martial role, that his job was to create a 'modell' out of an 'ugly shape' becomes the informing aesthetic of the

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 110-11.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. I, 5.

History. If his declared aim was ‘to instruct posterity’, then this ‘posterity’ turns out to be very specific: the future generations of an Irish Catholic nation. His hope was that the *History* would join the library which was once the source for his own education in civil affairs:

For being all men who, by reason of the constitution of the government att home, which excluded Catholickes from publicke imployments, were strangers to the management of State affairs, as they are regulated in later ages, by the sole interest of Princes, they intertained themselves with those principles of religion and honour, and the influences they had in those histories which they read, upon the actions of men, in the times of their forefathers.¹⁰²

This plea for full admission to the rights of civil settlement resonated as strongly in 1674 as it did in 1641. The snapshot of Ballinekilley, where the soldiers undid the work of the settlers, prefigured the gloomy end to the *History* when Cromwell arrived. From the Royalist loss of the first Civil War, Ireland lost the potential to be a partner-kingdom, becoming instead a subject land: subject to the soldier, to the economic needs of Whitehall, and -- Bellings implied -- to future scenes like that at Ballinekilley:

For there was little doubt, that in both cases Ireland was to be the reward of the accord, and the souldiers of fortune, both English and Scots, would be as forward to plant themselves in that kingdom, as the two nations, upon the conclusion of a firm peace, would be desirous to be freed from them.¹⁰³

For the Old English Confederates -- as for Bellings -- this shift was personal. It marked their decline from loyal protectors of the King to landless exiles. It placed the Old English outside the realm of civil influence and rejected their legacy of culture and cultivation.

Each of Bellings’ interventions into the otherwise scrupulously impersonal text of his *History*

¹⁰² Ibid. III, 20. Roger Moore’s speech on the first sitting of the Kilkenny Council echoes Bellings’ words here: ‘there can be noe greater marke of servitude than that there was order taken to keep us ignorant by obstructing the wayes to learning; ...our children cannot come to speake Latine without renouncing their spirituall dependance on the Roman Church’ (I, 36).

¹⁰³ Ibid. VI, 8.

discussed above -- the glimpse of family, of false swords through poetic words, of civilisation through war -- mark a pause in the midst of history, a moment of reflection which points towards Bellings' personal concerns and to his writerly identity. As the Confederation disintegrated and the *History* grew ever more fragmented, the signs and symbols which Bellings was once expert in -- indeed put his faith in -- were ever more subject to factional politics. In spite of his protestations that he was writing 'a history, not a Diary', Bellings did not produce the 'annals of Ireland' which he half-promised to Ormond in the epigraph above. Rather, Bellings interrogated the role of personal witness in his historical writing. From the death of his brother to the destruction of his carefully constructed homage to Ormond; from his inability to shape a happy ending for the Old English cause to the moment when he paid attention to poetry only to destroy it, Bellings was in search of a poetics of history which could preserve an Old English world which was fast slipping away. His only hope for the future was that his image of Ormond's shattered triumphal arches could still be presented by way of compensatory tribute to that same Ormond. Bellings' acute sense of the transitory fortunes of war, and of the fragility of civil society, might also have made him realise that though he was, at the moment of writing, out of favour, Ormond could yet be reinstated as Lord Deputy of Ireland.

3. The Last Word -- the soldier vindicated

Closure then is not a matter of completing a design; it fulfills no ideal proportions; it does not allow an intellectual order to expand to its uttermost limits. Closure in this case constitutes rather a recognition that the text belongs in the sphere of the other texts, the sphere of human society -- improvisatory, groundless, metamorphic, fictive, the sphere of tragic connotation where it finally places and joins its hero.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Greene, 'The End of Discourse in Machiavelli's *Prince*', in P. Parker and D. Quint, eds, *Literary Theory/ Renaissance Texts* (Baltimore, 1986) pp. 63-77 (77).

In 1624, with hopes of a bright future, Bellings took up his pen to complete Sidney's *Arcadia*, to restore Helen of Corinth to her Kingdom and Amphialus to his civic duty. In 1651, dependent on the charity of others, he laid down his pen as Secretary to the Confederation, and joined Ormond in France. The author who had hoped to write the process of civil settlement, had instead written his way to exile. Bellings took up his pen again in Paris in 1654 to publish a Latin defence of his role in the Confederacy; he took it up again in 1657, when he wrote false despatches from Ormond, ostensibly at Cleves, to Charles II, supplying an alibi while Ormond undertook a reconnaissance visit to Royalists in England; he took it up again in the early 1670s to compose his *History*.¹⁰⁵ There is one further literary episode to Bellings' story which broaches the question of literary and family inheritance. In 1661 the narrative poem *The Eighth Day* was published anonymously in London; it was just one poem in the steady stream of Royalist verse which followed the Restoration. A manuscript note in the copy in the National Library of Ireland notes that it was 'by Sir Rich Beling', adding -- in Irish -- that the copy had been bought in London for Archbishop Carpenter. The 'Sir' seems to identify the author as Bellings' son, but no other examples of his son's poetry are extant, while there are other examples of Bellings *père* being referred to as 'Sir'. Even if Bellings did not himself write the poem, it is tempting to imagine him offering quiet advice from the proportion of his restored estates in Killashee.¹⁰⁶ The connections are impossible to trace. In any case, the Bellings name is attached once again to the historian's earliest writerly profession, in a poem which imaginatively embraced a profession

¹⁰⁵ See Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke*, pp. 62-66.

¹⁰⁶ The anonymous poem apparently ran to two editions and was printed by John Redmayne. Wing lists three copies of the second edition (British Library, Huntington, and National Library, Dublin) and none of the first. On confusion at the Act of Settlement, see O'Hart, *The Irish and Anglo-Irish Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland*, ed., E. MacLysaght (Shannon, 1969), p. 483.

which he had elsewhere treated with ambivalence -- that of soldier.

In his *Sixth Book* Bellings sought to bring order to meandering romance with carefully orchestrated endings and finely wrought accounts of past adventures; in his *History of the Confederation*, he sought to bring order to political chaos by giving shape to troubled times. *The Eighth Day* turned attention to the future. As King and Country sought to reestablish order and reconstruct the court after twenty years of disruption, as legislation such as the 'Act of Indemnity and Oblivion' sought to write out the past, the opening lines announce the poet's movement from the concerns of immediate History: 'I Write not (least men curse our wretched Times) / Of right deprest, of high advanced crimes.'¹⁰⁷ His attention is directed beyond the present and its suspended retribution, to the ultimate narrative ending -- Judgement Day. In this vision of an incense-laden, yet apocalyptic future, the demons are drawn from recent experience. The history of the last days of earth, and the advance of the Antichrist, are recounted in terms which resonate -- and would have resonated for contemporary readers -- with reference to the territory of the *History*.¹⁰⁸ There are glimpses and echoes of the Irish rebellion as the growing horror disrupts the domesticity of settlement:

Alliance-bands, and friendships nearest tye,
The sacred Lawes of hospitalitie,
Protect not any; he, that lives alone,
Is ever farthest from destruction.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ [Bellings], *The Eighth Day*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ The rise of the 'new wolf', for example, recalls Cromwell's brand of spiritual patriotism: 'Sighes interrupt his words, tears dimme his eyes, / When he recounts his Nations miseries', *ibid.* 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 7. The term 'degenerate', evocative for Old English nobility, is used to refer to greedy landowners, p. 54.

From the vantage point of the final day, the poet surveys the past with masterly eye. The distinctly visual poetics recall the arras of the *Sixth Book* with its presentation of complex histories in a pictorial, legible form. Within this vision, a number of images of war stalk the poem. These are global, not simply drawing on Irish or English experience, but serve to locate war in broader terms both of geography and of historical perspective.¹¹⁰ Yet in spite of such visions of the destruction of war, the poet represents warriors as heroic figures. Like Amphialus when he first appears in Sidney's *Arcadia*, they take on epic proportions; unlike the Amphialus which Bellings completed, there is little sign of them returning to civilised settlement. The commanders called forth in *The Eighth Day* are the larger-than-life model leaders of the military handbook: 'Appear you Martialists who give fame wings,/ You props of kingdoms and support of Kings.'¹¹¹ Their success is also figured in the terms of the exemplary discipline of the military handbook: the well-organised army camp:

Rape, rapine and that base imperiousnesse
Practic'd or'e abject peasants, that excesse
Of smoak and drinking, and that foul-mouth'd War
Made against heaven by oaths were driven far
From your well ordered Camp, each private brest
Disdain'd to entertaine a meaner guest
Then unpolluted honour...¹¹²

Such order, of course, never materialised in the wars of Ireland as described in Bellings' *History*, which gave little attention to that 'well ordered camp' which so preoccupied the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*. Also missing from Bellings' largely aristocratic *History* was

¹¹⁰ The poet addresses, for example, a forlorn figure bearing a cross marked 'Europe', who wants to recount her history of the just and unjust wars she has suffered and encouraged: 'Y' have fought your treasure dry, and not your spleen, /Your Armies look like *Phantasmes*, not like men', *ibid.* 45.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 54.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

another spectre of war who figures strongly in the poem: the unpaid soldier:

The poor maim'd soldier, who through smoak and fire
 Reach't at the shadow of his promis'd hire,
 Who fought a righteous cause, fed on his own,
 Murmur'd at no command, and injur'd none;
 Who begg'd and unpittied of some proud grim Lord
 That holds his Lands by tenure of his Sword,
 Shall without check at this great muster-day
 Receive a glorious and perpetual pay.¹¹³

At the Judgement Day reckoning, then, the economics of war -- economics which so occupied Cromwell in his quest to conquer Ireland and so repay his debts -- are resolved. In contrast to these praises and just rewards heaped on military men, the poet had nothing but disdain for those he called the 'Sirens of the times' -- false poets who failed to speak of war: 'Why do you wrong this power? abuse this fire / Which should be holy and to heaven aspire?'¹¹⁴ The opening reverential invocation of the Muse, his choice of moral subject matter, already set the *Eighth Day* poet apart from such Siren poets. By allying his vocational poetry with the much-praised military men, he takes the distinction -- and the contrastive alliances -- further still. Towards the end of the poem, the profession of soldier -- tamed in the *Sixth Book*, silenced in the *History* -- is allied once again with that of legitimate poet, and with that of the historian: as the poetic vision of Judgement Day comes to an end, the professions of soldier and truthful writer are fused in vivid relief:

Yet now like one, who in a well-fought day
 Out of a heap of bodies crawles away,
 Who by degrees relates the bloody fight
 And slowly brings sad accidents in sight,
 Describing first the order of the men,
 The Armies motions, which part, how and when,
 Where the reserve was plac'd, the baggage laid,

¹¹³ Ibid. 58.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 62. See the first lines of the prologue to Shakespeare's *Henry V*.

How rude the shock was, whence the Cannon plaid,
 Then dies the field with blood, and dwells upon
 Wounds, death, and horror, flight, confusion;
 At length when he hath varied every form
 Of terror, to compleat the hideous storm,
 He tells the beaten Armies fate, and fall
 Of him by whom it stood, the Generall.¹¹⁵

The *dispositio* of this one, long sentence moves from the initial confusion of the soldier who crawls forth from the wreckage of defeat to the ordering of the eye-witness account, from the ‘heap of bodies’ to the creation of history. The pace of the account recalls in miniature the movement of Bellings’s own *History*; the poet relates first ‘by degrees’, bringing things ‘slowly... in sight’; from ‘order’ and ‘motions’ he then traces the swift shift to disjointed stacatto decline in ‘Wounds, death, and horror, flight, confusion’; and the attempt to narrate such chaos ends with the pronouncement of defeat. In the voice of the survivor, the poet weaves a compelling narrative for others who were not there to witness the events but who, he insists, need to know the truth. Yet despite the effort of narration, the account which Bellings the soldier-writer leaves the reader remains incomplete.

The language of the next few lines of the *Eighth Day* returns us to the *Sixth Book*, where Bellings had sought to ‘add a limbe to Apelles picture’; the work of the craftsman of the arras who had brought to life the ‘dumme records... of Antiquitie’ now, however, receives scant respect.¹¹⁶ Praising the good bishops who acted as guides in times of war and condemning the bad, Bellings writes: ‘Your Palace walls were not preserv’d from cold/ By antick stories wrought in silk, and gold.’ It is tempting to see in this a reference to the murals depicting his Embassy

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 67-8.

¹¹⁶ *Arcadia*, pp. 485, 487.

to Ireland which Rinuccini had painted in the Archepiscopal Palace on his return to Fermo and which, as Aiazza has noted, were destroyed by Cardinal Paracciani 'through ignorance or envy' in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁷ Rinuccini domesticated the complexities of history to produce a perfect image at a safe distance from those who would contest it. The soldier-poet also produces an image, but his articulates the impossibility of writing the present and the future -- it is that of the *Eighth Day*, and it is monstrous:

So reader, having made a weak assay
To draw the gyant-limbs of this great-day,
And search'd with dim blear'd eyes, and a short sight
That bottomlesse Abygge, that house of night,
I must at length this monsters chief part cast,
And say these torments must for ever last;¹¹⁸

Moreover, in his quest for truth, the poet himself has become monstrous, for while the sins of the past and the ultimate judgement of the future are fixed in the universe of *The Eighth Day*, while he can paint pictures in words to rival those of any arras or mural -- real or fictional, and outlasting either -- he knows that the unfolding present remains unknowable:

... But stay my Muse
Restrain thy flight, and let us disabuse
That reader who should think with earthly wings,
Thou could'st approach to pore upon those things;
Truth spake it, and the secret of this state
Lyes written in the close-clasp'd book of Fate¹¹⁹

At the end of the poem, after he has both imagined and postponed the final retribution for the sins of the world and the wars, the poet still finds the immediate future uncertain. Beyond the narrative control of either historian or poet, it remains -- literally in the poem -- a closed book.

¹¹⁷ *The Eighth Day*, p. 50. Aiazza, *The Embassy in Ireland of... Rinuccini*, p. x.

¹¹⁸ *The Eighth Day*, p. 68.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 76.

Chapter Three

The Epic of History: 'An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction'.

Sagest in the council was he, kindest in the hall:
 Sure we never won a battle -- 'twas Owen won them all.
 Had he lived -- had he lived, our dear country had been free;
 But he's dead -- but he's dead, and 'tis slaves we'll ever be.¹

Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, the Young Irelander and founder member of the *Nation*, Thomas Davis, staged his *Lament* in Ormond's camp, Waterford, on 10 November 1649. He reconstructed a scene of unanimous mourning for Ireland's warrior prince, treacherously poisoned by the English who feared that he would defeat Cromwell on the field. His figure of Owen O'Neill as heroic warrior martyr, mistreated by the English, has coloured later historical accounts and biographies.² The *Aphorismical Discovery* stages no such primal scene of national unity in tragedy. Like Davis, its anonymous author does mention the contemporary rumour that O'Neill died, not of gout, but of poison administered by Charles Coote. His real concern, however, is the poison within, the 'treasonable faction' of the Confederation, particularly the Ormondists, which prevents the hero of his narrative, General O'Neill, from achieving his military potential.³ The title of this Ulster Irish version of the Confederation years makes -- unlike that of Bellings' account -- no claim for 'History',

¹ Thomas Davis, *Lament for the death of Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill*, in B. Kennelly ed., *The Penguin Book of Irish Verse* (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 227-8.

² J. F. Taylor, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (London, 1896); T. S. Ó Cahán, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (London, 1968); E. O'Neill, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (Dublin, 1937) all draw heavily on the *Aphorismical Discovery* -- and on Thomas Davis -- for both detail and tone. The tone also creeps into the most recent study, valuable for its use of continental archives, see J. Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the Struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1984).

³ One manuscript version survives, see TCD MS 846. This is at the core of Gilbert's edition, with much additional documentation. References are to Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, and are given in the format: volume, part, page number. On the poisoning of O'Neill, see II, I, 43.

but for revelation; its passionate tone and style contrast with Bellings' desire for order and equilibrium. In the words of its meticulous editor, Gilbert:

The style is colloquial, humorous, declamatory, pathetic, occasionally obscure through effort at condensation...The narrative abounds in interesting, minute, and authentic details, not elsewhere so fully on record, in connection with the personages chiefly concerned in the transactions chronicled in its pages.⁴

Even this description gives only some hint of the double passions which motivate the account: intense loyalty to O'Neill as martial champion of the native Ulster Irish cause, and equally intense hatred for Ormond as a politicking courtier-soldier. If one of the effects of the emotional intensity at work in the writing of this narrative is to make heroes and villains of its characters, another, as I hope to demonstrate, is to bring its author at times closer into sympathy with his supposed enemy -- Cromwell and his English Republican forces -- than with his supposed allies, the Old English.

In the previous chapter, we examined the influence of the poetics of romance on Bellings' *History*. In this chapter I want to explore the literary tools which the anonymous author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* employs to give shape to his story. Like Bellings, he faces the historian's dilemma of writing in order to resurrect past events and make them live again in the act of reading, and, like Bellings, he faces the challenge of doing so from a position of defeat.⁵ This dual pressure produces a third: that of literary genre. For there is at the heart of the aphorismical account an unresolved tension. On the one hand, the author seeks to celebrate O'Neill as a quasi-chivalric warrior hero whose feats in battle demand the literary

⁴ Rosa Mulholland Gilbert, *The Life of Sir John T. Gilbert* (London, 1905), pp.269-70.

⁵ See D. Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, 1993), esp. pp. 97-209.

structures and resources of classical epic or of Bardic poetry; this calls on the poetics of fiction. On the other hand, he wishes to produce an ordered and damning account of the Ormondist faction and its role in the Confederation; a task which calls for the analytical tools of the historian. This tension, which can be considered one of genre, is further complicated by the force of event. For O'Neill, the epic hero, was old and ill when the author took up his pen; he died in mid-narrative, without having met the 'real' English enemy. Having lost his military hero, the author was forced to rely both on his own military credentials, and -- in a move akin to that which structures the military handbook -- on the borrowed authority of the classical example. It is this dual structure which I aim to investigate here, and which best characterises the 'aphorismical' form.

1. Soldiers and Poets

Bellings' *History* opened with the anxiety of representing 'a war of many parts'; towards the end of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, the anonymous author proudly states that he has accomplished his mission to produce an account 'which shall survive to future ages, as a monument and memoriall testimonie, or in Irish, *faluil*, of treasonable faction.'⁶ Yet, shortly after this vision of monumental completion, the manuscript disintegrates, as Gilbert concludes: 'The remainder of this page of the manuscript is illegible from decay, and with it ends/ THE APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY OF TREASONABLE FACTION.'⁷ This physical disintegration seems appropriate, given that the narrative structure of the envisaged *faluil* is already more fundamentally flawed. For the *Aphorismical Discovery* falls into two halves:

⁶ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, I, 1; *Contemporary History*, III, i, 134.

⁷ Ibid. III, i, 145.

the first centres on the warrior prince, O'Neill; the second on the growing religious faction within the Confederation. The first, epic, narrative is cut short by O'Neill's untimely death; the chronicle and apology for the 'Official' Catholic line unravels in a documentary survey of political bickering and military defeat. Throughout, the emotional charge of the narrative and the relentless progression of historical event strain at the leash of the aphorismal structure of the text. Broadly chronological, the account is divided into five books and nine hundred and ninety nine sections, almost all of them headed by a brief aphorism -- usually five to ten lines of text -- with the classical sources noted in the margin. While the aphorism is in English, it is often followed by a brief, authoritative quotation, usually in Latin. This aphorismal heading is then followed by an illustrative narrative from Catholic Confederation history. I shall return to the aphorismal structure in greater detail below. For the moment, I want to examine the anonymous author of -- and the idea of authorship and authority in -- this highly partisan and idiosyncratic text.

As the manuscript disintegrates, the final section is all aphorism and no explication. In a text littered with references to classical authorities, we have tantalisingly few clues to the author's identity. The manuscript address to the reader -- where he remarks that he was 'indifferent between both ancient and recent Irish herein concerned' -- has scrawled initials. These are glossed, by a later, unattributed note: '...by R. S. ...styling himself secretary to Owen Roe O Neal General of the Irish Rebels Army'.⁸ Gilbert's edition, its first appearance in print, traces the manuscript from its acquisition by John Madden at the Dublin College of Physicians in 1697, its passing to John Stearne, Protestant Bishop of Clougher's Library, and

⁸ TCD MS 846, f. 1r, and inner cover. Gilbert suggests the initials are either P.S. or N.S. *Contemporary History*, I, i, vii.

thence, in 1741, to Trinity College.⁹ Gilbert also reports that Thomas Carte consulted it when writing his biography of Ormond but stated: 'I could make no use of it, because it deserved no credit.'¹⁰ Otherwise, no information on readership, ownership, or circulation of the manuscript survives. A close perusal of the text suggests that some thought had been given to publication or circulation. The author announces to the reader that 'I have severall times disclaimed the publication of the Discoverie'; his use of O'Neill's Spanish title 'Don Eugenius ONEALE', in the dedication suggests that it was intended for a counter-Reformation European readership.¹¹ However, possible preparation for publication remains incomplete; while the first three books have extensive cross-referencing, this then becomes erratic.¹² In some sections the balance between aphorism and narrative suggests that the author intended to expand the latter in future revisions, whereas other sections are simply unfinished. A particularly vitriolic passage on Ormond, for example, seems to leave the author momentarily speechless, ending 'he is like the etc....'¹³ Probably composed on the continent after the final Confederate collapse in 1652, and -- given the respect for Cromwell and lack of reference to Charles II -- before the Restoration, the account gives few clues as to the precise time and place of its composition. Such clues as there are, are tantalising: the dedication to O'Neill explicitly addresses him as a living hero, suggesting that it was written before his death in 1649. The address to the Reader which follows, however, shifts the tense

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. III, i, li.

¹¹ Ibid. I, i, 10, 1.

¹² See for instance, *ibid.* I, i, 203-4.

¹³ Ibid. I, i, 180.

referring to him as the hero of the volume ‘while he breathed.’¹⁴ It may well have been intended for the continuing historical battle among Irish emigrés in Paris in the 1650s; yet this was a debate conducted mainly by the Old English, and in the European language of Latin.¹⁵ It seems at least probable that, like Bellings’ *History*, the *Aphorismical Discovery* has at its core notes and documentation gathered throughout the wars and expanded later in defeated exile.

The distinguishing feature of the *Aphorismical Discovery* is that it delivers a version of Gaelic Ulster history in singularly colloquial, fiery, if faulted, English. Like the later work of Nicholas French, Archbishop of Ferns, it seeks to influence English-speaking opinion on the villains of its account -- Ormond and the Old English.¹⁶ The Discoverer makes no attempt to conceal his contempt for their apologist and secretary, Richard Bellings, and his attack is couched in thoroughly literary terms. At his first appearance in the narrative, he is announced as ‘Richard Bellinge, poet’; an epithet later amended to ‘a lunaticall poet’.¹⁷ Bellings’ sin is double; he both misappropriates authority and misuses authorship. He constantly stresses his official position as secretary, but to an organisation which rejects the Papal authority of the nuncio. Most damningly, Bellings writes as a poet not a soldier. While the *History* narrates with pride Bellings service as ambassador for the Confederation, the *Aphorismical Discovery*

¹⁴ Ibid. I, i, 10.

¹⁵ See C. Mc Neill, ‘Publications of Irish Interest’.

¹⁶ N. French, *The Bleeding Iphegenia* (Louvain, 1675); *The Unkinde Deserter of Loyall Men and True Frinds* (Paris, 1676), *A Narrative of the Earl of Clarendon’s Settlement and Sale of Ireland* (Louvain, 1668). See also Bellings, *Innocentiae suae impetitae per Reverendissimum Fernensem Vindicae*. On French, see also chapter four.

¹⁷ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 52, 204.

tells a very different story. It has Bellings, while in Paris, mislead first Rinucinni, then Queen Henrietta Maria, by insisting that, in the wake of the Ormond cessation of 1643, Ireland is at peace. Convinced by his poetic skills, the Queen in turn voices the faction party line, using what the Discoverer calls ‘the inticinge perswation of feminean pallat’ to divert the masculine alternative of war. In this diversion of war from the battlefield to the boudoir, Bellings himself is said to have used the weapon of the written as well as the spoken word: ‘severall gassets both in printe and manuscripte appeered settinge this rotten and conterfeit warr, for true and reale.’¹⁸ The danger here is that poetical, fictional writing, sanctified by printing, can take on the official status of historical documentation. Bellings is singled out as a particularly shady dealer in language, as, for instance, when Kilkenny business is swiftly relayed to Ormond in Dublin, and ‘all the intelligence went thither in poetrie, as a dilcaminge [*sic.*] author said that y^e poets of the Supreame Councell were not sworne to secrecie but in proas, and not in myter or verse.’¹⁹

The poetic effeminacy of foreign ambassadors and the politicking lies of a scheming council are far removed from the literary world of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, peopled by straight-talking martial heroes, themselves returned from a very different continental experience -- General Owen Roe O’Neill and his ‘ould beaten souldiers’ returned from the Thirty Years War.²⁰ Though the anonymous note on the manuscript binding reads ‘styling himself

¹⁸ Ibid. I, i, 90.

¹⁹ Ibid. I, i, 52. Taylor attributes similar sentiments (without footnote) to O’Neill himself: ‘Belling is not traitor. Remember an oath is binding only in prose; and as Bellings only talks a kind of half-mad rhapsody, he breaks no vow’, *Owen Roe O’Neill*, pp. 134-35.

²⁰ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 43.

secretary to Owen Roe O'Neal', within the narrative itself the term 'secretary' is, rather, one of abuse, and is reserved for the despised Bellings. The Discoverer's authorial voice is quite different. At the outset, as he considers the task before him, he places at the heart of the *Aphorismical Discovery* the partisan voice of the committed soldier:

I must confesse my whole scope is onely the discoverie of faction, and not a whole historie of the proceedings of this warr, not that I want knowledge of the passadges, but as alienat from my beinge of sworde carier, doe researve the same to its genuine authors of better abilitie and leasure.²¹

If Bellings is singled out for particular attack, the strident, 'discovering' voice of the 'sword carier' is also placed more generally in opposition to the tumultuous untrustworthy clamourings of the 'treasonable faction' who deny Ireland its military strength and rightful inheritors. The author's contempt for Old English wordy politicians and barristers becomes ever more vicious, and his own language ever more colourful, as the Confederation collapses. Rather than send military aid to Ulster, for instance, the Leinster assembly sends 'one George Barnewall, a lumpe of the worste baristers, a toade in humaine shape, a Jewe in phisognomy, an athieste in religion, a broode of a relapsed spirit in behaviour, and a brother to Sir Richard Barnewall, that inticinge, attractive and allureinge-nequam spirit.'²² As the same assembly treat with the English Parliamentary forces in Gowran, 1652, the author spits characteristic fire against the Ormondist faction. Just before his diatribe ends in mid sentence, we glimpse his own ideal statesman, who negotiates only with sword in hand:

but now those Pygmeians of chiuallrie, those ante-politicians and abortiue statistes were not to acte anythinge sutable to proper honor, or commodious unto either kinge or nation, for all the politicke scriveners that euer handled such a subjecte did yelde as an infallible rule unto succeeding ages, that he that desireth peace of his enemye (be he either weaker or stronger) must haue

²¹ Ibid. I, i, 9.

²² Ibid. III, i, 25.

his buckler on, and his speare in rest, which is to be in armes and in posture of offense, otherwise his motion wilbe despised, his conditions unauaylable, his posture villipended, and his treatie neglected, all which did here hapen therfore --.²³

While the factionists place the pen and the sword at opposite ends of the spectrum, the author -- not unlike the first Earl of Cork in chapter one -- wields them in creative tension. The series of contrasts between the martial and the courtly-political crystallised here are telling -- words and action, cowardice and chivalry, self-interest and patriotism. Allied to the excessive wordiness of the poets and 'politick scriveners' is the frustration throughout the *Aphorismical Discovery* at Irish military weakness. The conundrum, which no doubt also perplexed Gerrat Barry, is that the Irish -- brave and accomplished soldiers abroad -- fail to make their warrior mark on native soil. This frustration produces in turn the author's own, wordy, vitriolic excess. Military failure is ascribed not to the soldiers, but to the factional politics of the Confederation. It is the 'Baristers, druggists and poets, the councill' who constantly frustrate O'Neill, these 'meere strangers to the arte militarie' who reject the Ulster veterans' skill in -- and lust for -- battle.²⁴ In the closing stages of the narrative, when O'Neill's death and the Nuncio's departure have left the Irish ill-equipped to challenge the 'real' generals of the Parliamentary forces, the author's incitements to action become ever more desperate. He decides 'to insert here certaine queres, pened by a Catholicke Englishman'; the first of the fifteen 'queries' asks:

Why you Irish, whoe in the warrs of Germany, Spaine, Fraunce, and Pollande have ever beene so famous and renowned, ...are now become so effeminat, sottish, and cowarde that first you treate and consulte rather of a

²³ Ibid. II, ii, 90.

²⁴ Ibid. I, i, 204.

dishonourable flight then of any manly resolution to combate?²⁵

The fear lurking behind the author's quotation is that which haunted Barry's military handbook: the loss of military discipline. As for Barry, the author's return to Ireland proved to be less a home-coming and more an uncomfortable sojourn in an alien land of politicians. The cautionary tale of Hannibal in Capua -- of the need to preserve military discipline in a 'foreign' land -- proves ironically appropriate to the experience of returning to fight at home.

While Bellings looked to the civil discourses of law and policy to give order to the Confederation, the *Aphorismical Discovery* looks to military order to counter the pernicious influence of the civil wordsmiths. As such, the account forms an interesting mirror-image to English parliamentary images of Ireland and the anxieties by which they construct a warrior force -- the focus of my next chapter. In the early stages of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, the conviction behind the 'manly resolution' of the Irish fighters is figured as firmly nationalistic: the author and his party are fighting for Ireland. In 1642, for example, one Captain Brian 'an Irishman borne, but a newe comer from Germany, where he proved a good souldier, a Protestant he was be profession' defects to the Irish army because he 'thought himselfe degenerat from a reall patriott if not adhered unto them.'²⁶ These twinned terms, 'degenerat' and 'patriott', deserve attention. Contemporary English writing on Ireland villified the 'degeneracy' of the Old English who had become more Irish than the Irish. Here

²⁵ Ibid. III, i, 176-78 (176). A contemporary French visitor remarked: 'They are better soldiers abroad than at home', see T. Crofton Croker ed., *The Tour of the French Traveller, M. De la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland A.D. 1644* (London, 1837), p. 43. Voltaire's later, similar remarks were hotly contested by Irish historians, see Bartlett, *A Military History of Ireland*, pp. 2-3.

²⁶ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 57-58. Ironically, his head was later displayed in Dublin as a traitor.

the ideal is not simply 'Englishness' but 'patriotism', a loyalty to one's own nation which overrides religious conviction, and is allied rather to ideas of rightful inheritance, custodianship, birth, and genealogy. The author judges his protagonists by such standards. Thus the dedication leaves us in no doubt about O'Neill's right to inherit and fitness to govern; his family history places him as a returning warrior Prince; his consistent loyalty to the broader European Catholic cause excuses the fact that he lived his life in exile and first visits Ireland when he is over sixty; his exile was martial and therefore justifiable as training and preparation for coming into his Irish inheritance.²⁷

Predictably, it is the Ormondist faction who are frequently cast in a context of family disloyalty to the Irish cause, when the link between birth and allegiance is troubled. In a letter from Preston's camp to the English parliamentary commander Col. Michael Jones in 1648, for example, the author claims that Preston and his men show their true English parliamentary colours by claiming common inheritance 'baptizing him and themselves with that title of Englishmen, British Nation or English extraction.' If the parameters for the definition of patriotism are those of Ormond and Castlehaven, 'to be reputed Englishmen of their said birth, though Irishmen by descente and education' then, as the author notes with a flourish, 'Owen Oneyll [is] more English then those.'²⁸ The author's definition of patriotism implies more than geography, it implies national and family loyalty; both are relentlessly faulted in the Ormondists. Thus, as we shall see more clearly in chapter five, Castlehaven's behaviour in delivering his father for trial is linked to his monstrous animosity towards the

²⁷ By contrast Phelim O'Neill, though he bears the family name, enters into degeneracy when he engages with the enemy and marries Thomas Preston's daughter in 1642.

²⁸ Ibid. I, i, 243-44.

rightful Ulster commander, O'Neill. The implication is like father, like son: 'Qualis arbor talis fructus'.²⁹ The same degeneracy runs through the Dillon family, though here disloyalty is extended to religion. The elder Dillon is 'a scismathicall and withered member of Holy Churche, and a true branche of the same bough as Martin Luther was off'; later his son is presented with almost Darwinian perspicacity as the poor imitation of a warrior hero: 'this counterfeite heroes and baboone in a velvet coat.'³⁰ Elsewhere, Inchiquin's vacillating position between Ormond and Parliament earn him the sobriquet 'Insichuyne, a degenerat Irish'. Not only is he personally corrupt, he also corrupts the purity of the Confederate army by introducing 'mercenarie forces, bred in the enemies bosome, strangers and stragglers, as well to nation as to religion, taken upp in England by the drum, ganopannes and beggerly men and sent over unto Ireland unto this Insichuyne.'³¹ Throughout, the Discoverer's silent aim is to define the true Irish fighter and to maintain his purity. In his drawing of the internal battlelines within the Confederate forces lies the fear of an impotent hybridity -- of the loss of discipline, that hallmark of the successful military.

This fear is given clearest articulation late in the narrative, in an impassioned speech delivered by a certain 'William Bourke Fitzjohn of Castlleckan' at the Loughrea assembly of November 1650. Like his aphorismical admirer, he does not mince his words:

I hope you will give me leave to tell me what nation you are. You have the precipitation of Frenchmen but not their charge; the slownesse and ambition of the Spaniards, but not their fortitude; the obstinacie of the Numantins, but not their resolution, whoe durst not call for a bit of bread to their wives

²⁹ Ibid. I, i, 145, 234.

³⁰ Ibid. I, i, 259.

³¹ Ibid. I, i, 174, 191.

before they presented them with a Romaines head, and yett you will present your ladies with phesants and pattridges and noe Round-heads. The perfidie of Scotts men, but not their hardinesse. The covetousnese of the Swisssers and Germaines, but not their valour. You must have your gelte in your pocketts before you fight. The bellies of a Hollander, for you have a 100 men to eate, but tenn hands to fight. Wee are the verie obstinat Jewes, but not their union. The tender backs of Englishmen, for you cannot march without scarlett and violett, not gott by their spoile, but not their policie. Truely wee are the verie obstinat Jewes, whoe denying the true Messias (*populus his durae cervicus est*) are merito by his uncontroable decree made the scorne of nations, and which is worste, to my grieve I saye it, wee are the dreggs of Israell and the lice of Jacob, soe forgettfull wee are of the Egiptian thraldome wee endured under the Pharaos of Dublin in the last peace, to whom wee did not onely moule their breeke at our owne proper charges, but at their pleasure had our haukes, doggs, horses, our wives and maidens to satisfy their lust.³²

This call for military action is singled out by the Discoverer for praise and quoted at length, for it seeks to restore a nation on its last legs to a sense of distinctive patriotism. But such rhetorical clarity is found at a point already beyond hope -- O'Neill is dead, the Nuncio has departed and Ormond will shortly leave Ireland; the speech is made to a small assembly of those who still hang on, and Ormond's successor, Clanricard, for one, finds it tedious. Instead of the inspirational simplicity of the general's speech on the battlefield, instead of Barry's vision of a disciplined fighting force, the speaker conjures up a fearsome spectre of degenerate luxury where the dangers of mingling and hybridity are shot through with images of sexual and national barter. The rhetorical shape of military failure -- with which the self-styled military author constantly battles -- is monstrous.

2. Constructing an Epic Hero

O'Neill is the undisputed hero of the *Aphorismical Discovery*. The author announces his self-imposed task at the outset as that of resurrecting through writing: 'An ardent desire I have to

³² Ibid. II, ii, 120-21. The speech is unusual for its inclusion of Irish language phrases.

make him live still in your memories, in whose greate hopes, while he breathed, all well-affected Catholicks lived.’³³ From the opening lines of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, the dedication to ‘Don Eugenius Oneale’, the author celebrates the warrior hero and his sept. The potted history of the O’Neills he offers jumps from 1609 -- the final scene of the Nine Years War and the beginning of exile -- to 1641, when O’Neill, the son who has never seen Ireland, but who has spent the intervening years in martial training, begins to make plans for his grand entrance. In the epic proportions of this absent hero we glimpse the challenge of the author’s task:

All the best sort of antiquarists and historiographers doe hould you for bloude
noe lesse than royall, in behaviour a prince, in armes Mars, in bounty
Alexander, in wisdom Salomon, in faithfullnesse David, in learninge
Euclydes, and in languages *Gaolglas*.³⁴

These are the glowing terms of Renaissance humanism and Biblical example. The figure of O’Neill as warrior-hero, as the Prince who exercises prudence in war as in peace, rises within the triangulated reference points of Mars, Alexander the Great, and King David. But there is also a distinctly local point of reference in the text -- the ‘*Gaolglas*’. It is a reference which both roots O’Neill to his Ulster origins and gestures towards his foreignness. For the author’s ‘*Gaolglas*’ approximates but does not translate the Irish *gallóglach* -- ‘foreign warrior’ -- the name given to the mercenaries from the Hebrides employed for centuries in Ulster. O’Neill’s military experience abroad has given him both the gift of languages and the shadow of the alien.

It is perhaps for this reason that the author, alongside his governing framework of classical

³³ Ibid. I, i, 10.

³⁴ Ibid. I, i, 8.

allusion, adopts a more distinctively Irish literary strategy. Having returned with his exiled leader, he acts as both celebrant of the O'Neill sept and memorialist of adversity: 'scarce could I omitte one branche of the whole relation of his storie, without marringe, and giving a rubb unto its genuine relish and proper veritie.'³⁵ He bears the historical and heroic responsibility, if not the skills and training, of that dying breed -- the bardic poet. As literary model, he has the Gaelic tales of Ulster; tales which in recent years had been revived and preserved in writing by exiled Irish intellectuals working on the continent. The precise links between such literary endeavours and the oral circulation of the tales among the Irish military communities who shared their exile must remain the subject of conjecture. One incident, however, indicates that stories of heroic Ulster warriors had currency in the camp. In 1626, Captain Sorley MacDonnell commissioned the friars of Louvain to transcribe the Old Irish manuscript accounts of the *Fianna*, and they were published that same year as *Duanaire Finn* or 'The Book of the Lays of Finn'.³⁶ The *Aphorismical Discovery* makes no reference to any such Irish sources or influences; indeed even the use of Irish language in this text is remarkably rare. Yet, even in the attempt to recast O'Neill as Renaissance Prince, his inheritance as prince of Ulster is never forgotten. In weaving his epic tale -- and in contrast to Bellings' concentration on Leinster, Munster, and Connaught -- the aphorismical author is ever-conscious of its peculiarly Ulster interest.

While the author is constantly diverted from his intended tale of epic glory by the intrusion of politics, there are numerous clues in the text to his desired military version of events. In

³⁵ Ibid. I, i, 173.

³⁶ *Duanaire Finn*, 3 vols (Louvain, 1626). See Henry, *The Irish Military Community*, p. 144.

1642, O'Neill arrived in Ireland along with the veterans who shared his 'Vulcanian forge and martial theater Flanders.'³⁷ Fresh from continental battlefields, their military skills and knowledge are honed for this, their ultimate battle for home territory.³⁸ Before the peace treaties with Ormond, this expertise seems to bring to Ireland the continental possibilities of gentlemanly warfare between equals, which brings authorial as well as military satisfaction. Of the 1645 siege of Duncannon, for instance, the author writes with evident relish: 'This was the verie best siedge that was yett in Ireland, most plentifull of all necessities, both of pay, ammunition, shuttlers, all kinde of liquor.'³⁹ O'Neill and his veterans inhabit a world of international soldiering where professional skill is both recognised and respected. This military world, though linked to the world of letters, is one where military authority rather than political word-twisting is the key to good authorship. When O'Neill arrives in Ulster, for example, his former continental rival Alexander Leslie is general of the Northern Scottish forces. Leslie's trail of skirmishes in the area can be read like a book: 'Owen Oneyll knew Leysly to be the author'. This authority legible in Leslie's art of war is then translated into an exchange of letters between the two generals which refer to their shared experience of the continental campaigns. O'Neill's straight-talking words are enough to both frighten Leslie off, and to recall him to his sense of duty. He instructs Leslie to 'abandon the kingdome and defend your owne native countrie', and, according to the author, 'As soon as Leysley receaved this letter, made himself readie for jorney went to Scotland and never after returned

³⁷ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 7. O'Neill's actions precede his arrival as he sends much-needed ammunition in advance (I, i, 42). See also J. Casway, 'Owen Roe O'Neill's return to Ireland in 1642: the diplomatic background', *Stud. Hib.*, 9 (1969), pp. 48-64.

³⁸ Captain Hugh Mc Phelim Byrne, for example, is expert on fortifications. Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, 23.

³⁹ *Ibid.* I, i, 103.

to Ireland.⁴⁰ Once again, soldiership and authoritative soldierly writing -- the sword and the pen -- prove to be the complementary tools of the warrior hero.

This strongly martial identity keeps O'Neill in the battlefield rather than at the Council. If not at war in Ulster, he is training for war, making a disciplined force out of the Ulstermen.⁴¹ When summoned to appear in the political centre of Kilkenny, he experiences only the frustrations of the soldier at court. The Council first delay military action then add insult to injury by appointing other commanders -- his arch rival Preston, Phelim O'Neill, Castlehaven -- over his head. In the midst of such political conniving, O'Neill is a fish out of water and quickly returns to his army, 'nowe wearie of being courter in Kilkenny.' Within the narrative, this is the first of many rejections of O'Neill's military prowess, where 'beardlesse boyes' and 'novices in the arte militarie' are given command over him.⁴² Not only is youth preferred to experience, but mercenary armies are preferred by the council to the Ulster army who have a vested interest in the welfare of the land and people. This care for his subjects fuses O'Neill the warrior with O'Neill the Prince: while Preston and the other armies play fast and loose with the local crops, for example, O'Neill behaves 'like a deere father to his children'. In a silent echo of Roman army practice, he employs his men to build roads during campaigns in Sligo, and the author admiringly remarks 'neither armie or other power either civill or martiall have attempted ever the like.'⁴³ O'Neill's princely virtues are further amplified

⁴⁰ Ibid. I, i, 44-45.

⁴¹ In a letter to Bourke, O'Neill described their behaviour as 'nothing better than animals', Jennings, *Wild Geese*, p. 507.

⁴² Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 55.

⁴³ Ibid. I, i, 151-52. This extended contrast with O'Neill's rival, Preston, is structured around an aphorism drawn from Polybius: that it is better to have sheep led by a lion than lions

through the aphorisms where his natural gifts are sharply contrasted with shortcomings in the factionists. For O'Neill has the most valuable of princely gifts: 'Ducius propria est, et unica virtus, prudentia.'⁴⁴ This 'prudence' -- the most valuable of all skills for military commanders -- features throughout the text. It is especially demonstrated in O'Neill's ability to lead, to control the plurality of voices in his army. At a point when 'the verie comon souldiers cried out for battle', O'Neill undertakes a military analysis of the situation and in a persuasive speech concludes that they should not give battle, for '(though the fortune of warr is variable and God onely giveth the victorie) ...what fooles then were we to comitt all this unto the sliperie hands of variable and inconstant fortune with soe much disadvantage.'⁴⁵ His decision may appear to conform to the English stereotype of the Irish who never stand to fight, but it is shown in context to be a rational one, clearly articulated, and with classical authority.

O'Neill's princely and military qualities were further invoked, by one 'C.M. Hiberno' in a text whose publication coincided with the arrival of the papal nuncio in Kilkenny: Cornelius O'Mahony's *Disputatio Apologetica de Iure regni Hiberniae*. This fiery pamphlet argued that the time had come for the Irish to cast out the 'haereticos Anglos' and appoint a Catholic King:

frangit et atollit vires in milite causa
Quae nisi iusta subest, excutit arma pudor.

The pamphlet further argued that Pope Urban's letter, 'Dilecto filio Eugenio Onello', sanctioned this action, which was a matter for arms not politics. O'Neill, a law-giver, but

led by a sheep (I, i, 153, 157).

⁴⁴ Ibid. I, i, 59. The authority cited is Aristotle's *Politics*.

⁴⁵ Ibid. I, i, 268-69.

most importantly, a military general, was the man prepared and ready to return Ireland to its rightful owners. The 'Exhortatio ad Catholicos' stressed that, in military terms, the time was ripe: 'Hiberni mei habetis optimos belli Duces in re militari versatos & fortissimos milites.' Buttressed by such battling rhetoric, O'Mahony imagined military action taken to extremes which the *Aphorismical Discovery* did not sanction. While the latter confined the use of legitimate military force to the battlefield, O'Mahony argued the case for the mass killing of Protestant settlers if necessary. Once again, differences in both geographical and generic location complicate the picture of the military scene: the pamphleteer's imagined view of conflict from a distance contrasts with that of the professional soldier on the ground. The Old English rejected the *Disputatio Apologetica* wholly: in the wake of the second Ormond peace, the Confederation made a show of publicly burning the book and Peter Walsh condemned it from the pulpit.⁴⁶

For the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, O'Neill is less a Catholic envoy whose time has come than a princely general in search of a battlefield and a decisive, historical victory. A large part of the 'discovery of treasonable faction' is the unmasking of the 'scismathicall and zeudo-Generalls' who conspire to deprive him of this opportunity.⁴⁷ The Battle of Benburb, 1646, comes closest to the desired paradigmatic contest, and the encounter with the Scottish forces under Munro thereby becomes the literary centrepiece of O'Neill's tale, the close-to-epic moment. Yet in the six manuscript pages devoted to Benburb, the literary

⁴⁶ [O'Mahony], *Disputatio Apologetica* (Frankfurt, 1645), pp. Av, 41-42, 124. See J. P. Conlan, 'Some Notes on the "Disputatio Apologetica"', *Bib. Soc. Ireland*, 6 (1995), 69-77; T. Ó Fiaich, 'Republicanism and Separatism in the Seventeenth Century', *Leachtaí Cholm Cillé*, ix, (1971), 74-87; Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill*, p. 201.

⁴⁷ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 231.

construction of the battle leaves little room for the historical detail of military combat which might have confirmed the importance of the event. The narrative tension is evident throughout: while the chivalric-epic structure dominates, the anxiety that this may be the only 'accurate' -- that is to say, pro-O'Neill -- version of events recorded is so frequently and urgently expressed that the desired epic structure is repeatedly displaced. O'Neill is figured as double champion, both of the Catholic church and of classical epic; he is granted both plenary indulgence and literary licence. The author disregards the advice of historians and authors of military handbooks who warn against inserting fictional speeches into historical accounts. Using the device of eyewitness report, he writes that O'Neill made 'a Caesar-like oration to this tune', addressing his men by the Irish formula, as 'my hearts of gould'. The speech makes epic assumptions both of the attentiveness of the army and of the classical literary education of the common soldier. Yet among the spirited allusions to Scipio and Hannibal, to Polybius and Plutarch, there are calls to 'our holy patron St Patrick', and an appeal articulated in language and imagery which will later be used to describe Cromwell's violations in Ireland:

Those that you see before your faces, there readie to spill your bloude, are those that prophane your churches, turned your aulters and sanctuaries to beastly mangers, to stewe houses and other barbarous uses; murdered and killed your friends and allies, both man, woman, and child; turned your sweete native countrie to desolation; all that was deere unto you is demolished by fire and sword.⁴⁸

The author's verbal picture of this potentially decisive scene includes the image, set in opposition to O'Neill's masterful incitement of his men to glory, of the Scottish General Munroe in mumbling consultation with his officers as to how to deal with this 'most experte

⁴⁸ Ibid. I, i, 112-113. O'Neill's speech accounts for a quarter of the description of Benburb (I, i, 111-117, TCD MS 846, ff. 120v-122r). Ó Cahán, in his highly romantic, military account, imagines this speech as a tactic to confuse Munro, *Owen Roe O'Neill*, pp. 216-217.

souldier'.⁴⁹

As the narrative moves from speeches to action with the advance of the 'warr-like' Irish army, the narrator shifts from his position of epic omniscience to incorporate the reports of other, anonymous authors. The phrase 'It was given out by prime authors, eyewitnesses that day that...' introduces the account of a hand-to-hand contest -- staged within the battle -- between O'Neill's son, Henry Roe, and Munro's (unnamed) son. From the studied martial discipline of the contrastive Generals, focus shifts, then, to a carefully framed tournament of heroes. Caught between the demands of modern military discipline and the literary convention of epic, the author displaces the chivalric ethos, elsewhere ascribed to O'Neill, to his son. The contest does not have official epic status as a battle of champions within the narrative, but the attention drawn to it by both author and O'Neill himself is noteworthy. 'Generall Neyll himself sawe his sonn in that single combat', and urges him onward accusing him of being 'a degenerat Neylle' if he does not win. This quasi-chivalric combat displaces the description of battle; in true epic -- and bardic -- tradition, the younger O'Neill's victory over the younger Munro is elided with the Irish victory in battle. Moreover, General O'Neill retains his stature as one of the new breed of strategically-minded, disciplined warrior-princes.⁵⁰

From this reported moment of familial and national victory, we return to the author's own version of events, and to an inventory of the dead and the loot. Rather than the expected

⁴⁹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 113.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* I, i, 114-15.

narration of victorious rejoicing among the troops, however, the account shifts perspective yet again: it moves to poetry. Like Bellings' inclusion of the Latin poem celebrating the sword given to O'Neill examined in chapter two, it is poetry at one remove. It is a popular song, of which no other trace remains, written by 'a certaine Homeric poet' to be sung 'to the tune of blewe bonnett and bobtaile'. The author presents it as a lascivious image of the women camp-followers who examine the naked corpses on the battlefield to find their 'quondam amorous bedfellowes':

While neere Benborbe, three diverse nations fought
And thundering Mars, to rage their captaines brought
The English, Irish, and the Scottish wives
Could not discearne their loves that lost their lives.
And when the mangled face could not be knownen,
They turned the stript dead bodies up and downe.
The tail behinde made knownen the English race,
The bleue chopt yarde bewrayed the Scottish face;
But where they founde non such, nor such strange signe,
The Irish woman said, the man is mine. (Finit).⁵¹

This is, within the text, the final, humorous yet haunting, image of O'Neill's long sought-for battle. There is no closing oration of praise for the general's conduct, no final pronouncement on the glory of the Irish victory. In generic terms, the account shifts from epic oration to street ballad, the anonymous author shifts from impassioned rhetorician to copyist. The expected crescendo falls away; and O'Neill himself is absent from the final scene. Indeed he has been all but absent since that initial speech, after which narrative attention switched to the interpolated, as it were unauthorised, not-quite-tournament of his nephew. From the reader's point of view, the moment of victory is overshadowed by the most memorable scene of the day, the women looking for their dead. This fragmentation of the epic moment is no narratorial error; indeed it proves symptomatic of the author's factional

⁵¹ Ibid. I, i, 116.

subject. For no sooner is the victory reported, than O'Neill is again at the mercy of the 'zeudo-generalls'. When he sends the colours taken at Benburb to the Kilkenny Council, rumours are spread that they are old colours taken in previous battles. When he asks for back-up to follow through on his victory, it is not forthcoming. While making his factional point, the author nonetheless fêtes Benburb long after the event. It was, he insists, a great victory and one of the few battles worth the name fought in Ireland; it was, in fact, the only occasion where O'Neill met the real, foreign enemy in field battle. As the victory is celebrated in the global frame of the counter-Reformation, the aphorismical author reports that O'Neill has earned the title 'Catholicke general'.⁵²

Others, however, will ensure that the battle is written out of the Confederate war. For O'Neill's heroic Catholic identity, here proven against the Scots, is increasingly undermined by his 'allies' in the Confederation. In 1648, after the nuncio's rejection of the second Ormond cessation, and after Preston in a series of military bungles loses Athlone, the frustrated O'Neill marches on Kilkenny and camps nearby. The *Aphorismical Discovery* views this march through the eyes of the townspeople; the march becomes that of the godly army, with twenty thousand soldiers causing panic and paralysis in the Confederate city: 'every one staringe in the face of other, knowinge not what best to do.' The guilty imaginations of the ungodly city transform the Ulster army into a supernatural force, impossible 'unlesse you did judge this Catholicke armie to be indued with that holy badge of glorified bodies, passibilitie.' O'Neill's heroism -- unflinchingly Catholic and military -- is

⁵² Ibid. I, i, 118, 123. For contemporary English reaction, see *A Bloody Fight at Blackwater in Ireland where almost 5000 Protestants are put to the Sword by the Rebels* (London, 1646).

brought to bear on the 'treasonable faction' of his allies 'soe fearfull, within theire stronge walls, flyinge from theire own shadowe, or a chymericall dreame, or some unchristian illusion of the Prestonians.'⁵³

To recap, then, in the aphorismical author's 'hero narrative' O'Neill has so far appeared as the honoured dedicatee, who is unfortunately already dead; the model prince who has no land and is dependant on a political structure which excludes him and will not authorise him to fight on their behalf; a warrior who is denied a worthy battlefield; a warrior, finally, whose one glorious victory is written out of the records and who is frustrated to the point of marching on his allies. Historic event and the treachery of those allies consistently foils the author's attempt to create heroic genre. Whereas Thomas Davis -- quoted in epigraph to this chapter -- was able to refashion O'Neill as a romantic nationalist hero in death, the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* is faced with a challenge -- to construct the death of a martyr-hero from an event which occurs too soon, and in a disappointingly unheroic manner. O'Neill's death occurs not on the battle field, nor at a climactic point on the narrative, but rather on 6 November 1649, in the fourth of five books, when he has been forced, for want of quarter, to split up his army, and before he has an opportunity to meet his worthy rival, Cromwell.⁵⁴ If the historical facts lack epic momentum, however, the mourning scene is given generic weight. Resonating with classical examples of mourning such as that of Dido for Aeneas, it calls on Apelles for visual representation: 'what a mourninge pencill did he bestowe ont.' This gentle echo of Bellings' addition of 'a limme to Apelles picture' in his

⁵³ Ibid. I, i, 248. This account echoes contemporary accounts of reactions to the 1641 rebellion, see chapter four.

⁵⁴ Ibid. II, i, 60-63.

introduction to the *Arcadia* is further amplified when the author refers to the mourning of Parthenia for her lover, Argalus, and her death at Amphialus' hand -- a tale which gestures towards the hero of Bellings' *Sixth Book*.⁵⁵

The author soon checks this impulse, however -- 'but to forgoe prophane stories and imitate the divine oracle in this tragicall scene of morninge' -- shifting instead to Biblical examples including David mourning Absalom, Jeremiah's grief, and Jesus' tears over both Jerusalem and Lazarus. Yet he still insists that these do not match up to his own grief at O'Neill's death, since 'all these were particular affections, mine is comon for the generall good.'⁵⁶ For O'Neill's death, the death of 'the choice champion of His Holinesse, Urban', is figured as that of Old Irish, Catholic Ireland. The long eulogy on the change of fortune it brings bears little relation to the history heretofore of O'Neill's frustrations with the Kilkenny Council and the skirmish battles and unsuccessful campaigns which have wasted his time and army resources. In thus eulogising its lost hero, the narrative cancels out much of its own detail and substance:

[He] never drewe his sworde, unto his dyinge day, other then in Catholicke religiousse defence. Ireland's fortune in his time was favourable, the church of God flourished, the militia, in emulation of his vertues, warrlicke, the enemie weake and declininge, the countrie plentifull. But now all things turned toppsie-torvy, as there is noe stay betweene the highest and lowest fortune, by his death the enemie is growen stronge and cruell, noe citty, forte or towne doe oppose him, noe church, monesterie, or religious house inhabited, the militia discouraged, dishearted, and growen coward, none to shewe his face in the field, for now the enemie doe not feare the naminge of Generall Owen Oneylle, which not longe before did sound like a thunderbolte

⁵⁵ Amphialus slays Parthenia by mistake in the rebellion of the third book in Sidney's *Arcadia*.

⁵⁶ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 60-61.

in his eares.⁵⁷

As General O'Neill becomes 'Owen Oneyll of hapie memorie' the text loses a central driving force; without him, the discipline of war disintegrates and the possibility of organised battle in continental European style deteriorates into political assemblies. It becomes a war of excommunication, entangled in protracted diplomatic negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine. As O'Bryan later writes in a letter to Ormond: 'The Ulster armie are broken in themselves, and devided without any heade.'⁵⁸

The epic-bardic narrative loses its central hero; the author struggles to find a replacement. Faced with such premature closure, his choices are limited: either he can take up the Catholic aspect of O'Neill's struggle and become the chronicler of the nuncio's party; or he can continue a dynastic history of the O'Neill sept in the Gaelic tradition. Neither offer wholly satisfactory replacements for the warrior epic. Not least since there was no obvious replacement for O'Neill himself: his martial successor, Macmahon, Bishop of Clougher, proves to be a disastrous general, leading the Ulster army to ruin at Scarifhollis in June 1650.⁵⁹ The second option, a continuing warrior history of the O'Neill family fighters appears more fruitful, even if none of his successors manage to combine the warrior with the princely virtues. Thus, when the Bishop of Clougher takes over O'Neill's army, Henry Roe, the son seen in action at Benburb, takes on the role of martial advisor. His martial pedigree echoes that of his father; his speech draws on the examples of Scipio Africanus, Hannibal,

⁵⁷ Ibid. II, i, 61.

⁵⁸ Ibid. II, i, 165.

⁵⁹ Ibid. II, i, 83-89.

Scanderberg, and Spinola. Henry Roe dissuades encounter, advising Macmahon's council of war not to commit to the fortune of field battle, to 'cede and give place unto practitioners', and to use the home advantage: 'to be dexter and not bomblers in this martiall discipline which cannot be otherwise acquired (like our pater noster, in a daie) other then by much labour, paine and effusion of bloude.'⁶⁰ In the ill-advised battle which follows, Henry Roe, though he appears as 'a lion amonge inferiour beastes', is nonetheless subject to the Bishop's 'peremptorie authority'.⁶¹ Ultimately he is taken prisoner by Charles Coote and beheaded. Henry Roe's final speech condemns Coote's action as against the laws of nation and arms. He still believes -- like the aphorismical author in whose text he speaks -- in an international community of soldiers where professional rather than confessional rules apply, but it is -- as both he and the author know -- an increasingly fragmented, unstable world:

Wee are both by the sympathy of deportment souldiers of fortune, whose constancie is never yett truely ballanced, whose extremities or extreames have never mette in one center, nor continuance did touche one period of well settled stabilitie.⁶²

In such a context, the history of the heroic continuance of the warrior sept defies the telling. Not even the success of Hugh Duff O'Neill against Cromwell at Clonmel can prevent the disintegration of the sept: 'This misfortunate tide of troubles and fates did overwhelme this brave familie of the Neylls in such a manner that the ebb of many yeares is not of force to restore them to their former beinge.'⁶³ The author amplifies this descent in family fortunes with the disintegration of Irish martial skill. On the one hand war, and the displacement of

⁶⁰ Ibid. II, ii, 85-86.

⁶¹ Ibid. II, ii, 86.

⁶² Ibid, II, i, 88.

⁶³ Ibid, II, i, 87. On Clonmel, see chapter four, below.

war as a site for historical event, becomes a central cause of degeneration. O'Neill's 'holie warr' is endangered by 'degenerate prelats, colde and tepide Catholickes' who negotiate cessations rather than fight.⁶⁴ Yet on the other hand, in the case of individual soldiers, the martial spirit engendered and emblematised by O'Neill proves tenacious to the end. The Ulster fighter Colonel Grace, for instance, persists, as do his twelve men, in refusing to join the capitulation; when Grace eventually accepts cessation and a pass for overseas, he returns to European military exile without compromising his martial credentials.⁶⁵ If the death of O'Neill threatens the epic model and modulates the narrative tone of heroism into one of despair, the martial spirit and military discipline of the Ulster army remain the only hope of narrative redemption. As the text progresses, however, the martial theme is fragmented and dispersed into momentary echoes of courageous action in a tale of irreversible defeat.

3. Constructing an Aphorismical Order

While events disrupt genre, and the structures of the author's wished-for epic falter beneath the death of O'Neill, the second structure governing the narrative persists in directing and sustaining the reader's attention. It is the 'aphorismical' framework of the 'discovery' which structures both the appearance and the reader's negotiation of the text. The aphorisms at the head of most of the nine hundred and ninety nine narrative sections rein in an increasingly diffuse, impassioned, and often confusing narrative. The division of the account into sections governed by aphorisms which are carefully authenticated from classical sources also encourages hermeneutical order. The parade of classical authority encourages the reader to

⁶⁴ Ibid, II, i, 188.

⁶⁵ Ibid, III, i, 130-132.

read for the resonance, to situate recent Irish history in a genealogy of learned commentary on political and martial event. But this is more than resonance; as history repeats itself, from republican Rome, to renaissance Florence, to seventeenth century Ireland, the reading of aphorismal order takes on the drive of prophesy fulfilled, of inescapable destiny. That this aphorismal authority becomes the governing structure for the anonymous author also suggests a certain intellectual insecurity, exacerbated by the fact that he is writing in the acquired, literary language of English. The impressively diverse classical authorities interwoven through the text often sit uneasily with the colloquial, oral, viciousness that rages throughout. Moreover while the text is littered with names familiar to military readers -- Lucan, Caesar, Vegetius, Polybius, Livy -- the identity of the author is obscured by the collective authority of the luminaries he invokes. It is through the process of scholarly *imitatio*, and the practise of quotation that the anonymous mouthpiece asserts his own authorship.⁶⁶

We are, once again, in the territory of reading for military action; for, as examined in chapter one, the art of rhetoric is closely related to the art of war. The art of reading to construct a persuasive argument, like the preparation for victory in battle, requires skilful use of available resources. Rudolphus Agricola, for instance, impressed on students the importance of organising their authorities with the precision of instruction for combat:

This practice is useful both in helping you to understand the strengths of these authors, and in discerning the varied methods of argumentation among them, as when sometimes they strike their adversaries with many arguments quickly joined together, as with frequent and continuous blows; and when their

⁶⁶ On the social implications of the renaissance commonplace book and the practice of 'gathering and framing', see M. Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth Century England* (Princeton, 1993).

argument has been copiously and broadly joined so that they equal the force of many with one blow; so that now they stab with their pointed wit, now they overthrow their opponent with their strength, now they make a judgement.⁶⁷

In parading his classical reading, the aphorismical author seeks to demonstrate that he has fought and won the reading battle, shaping ancient authorities for his present task. From an author not fully at home in the language he chooses to write his account, this is an impressive command of the library, and begs the question why he did not -- as other Irish apologists did - write in Latin.

There is, however, an unacknowledged layer of interpretation between the author and his classical sources. Gilbert notes in his preface that the author drew his aphorisms from Sir Robert Dallington's *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie: Amplified with authorities and exemplified with Historie, out of the first Quarterne of Fr Guicciardine* (London, [1613] 1629). He fails to reveal just how heavily the author relies on Dallington, without ever acknowledging his aphorismical source. Indeed the aphorisms are slavishly copied -- scarcely altered though in different order -- from Dallington's collection. Nor is the textual influence of Dallington confined to the aphorisms: the major part of the author's address to the reader is lifted verbatim from Dallington's preface and, for any given aphorism, the author's narrative often echoes Dallington's selected illustration from Guicciardini's *History*. Dallington's *Aphorismes* are clearly a copy text, a silent presence on the author's table as he composes his history. If Dallington 'amplifies' and 'exemplifies', his text clearly both informs and shapes the poetics of the Irish 'discovery'. It is a connection which deserves

⁶⁷ Rudolphus Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* (c. 1479), quoted Crane, *Framing Authority*, pp. 21-22. She also notes that Ralph Lever's *The Art of Reason* (London, 1573) was dedicated to Essex in the year which went to Ireland, p. 31.

closer attention.

The aphorismical structure of the text is not so much a function of the author's own experience as of commodified knowledge, lifted from the shelf of the military library. As Bellings adds to Sidney's *Arcadia*, so the aphorismical author takes his inspiration from another's text, supplementing history as he does so. In both instances, such textual resurrection is all the more striking because it is cross-confessional; once again, an Irish Catholic author adds to, and reinvents, an English Protestant text. For Dallington's early seventeenth century collection was originally intended for his patron Prince Henry, of whom militant Protestants had high hopes that he would take his place as a warrior prince in Europe. First published, however, in 1613, after Prince Henry's sudden death, it was dedicated to his brother 'Charles, prince of great Brittanie', who, as Dallington's opening words indicate, now found himself newly thrust into the limelight: 'Sir, All eyes are upon you'.⁶⁸ One of many texts written to encourage a break with James I's policies of reconciliation, and entry into the Continental campaigns, Dallington's *Aphorismes* amount to a call to arms. At great pains to prove his scholarly credentials, Dallington follows each aphorism first with a list of quotations in the original language of the authorities from which

⁶⁸ Dallington, *Aphorismes*, f. A3r. The manuscript in Northamptonshire Record Office, dated 1609, is dedicated to Prince Henry, Finch Hatton MSS F. H. 315. The 1613 edition contains as frontispiece a portrait of the young Prince Charles, omitted from the 1629 edition. In 1592, Dallington translated and published Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia: The Strife of Love in a Dreame* (New York, 1992). Again unlucky with his dedicatees, Essex was substituted for Sidney when the latter died. On Dallington's literary career and his movement from Prince Henry's to Prince Charles' household see K. J. Holtgen, 'Sir Robert Dallington: Author, Traveller, and Pioneer of Taste', *HLQ*, 47 (1984), 147-178. On the martial interests of Prince Henry's court see R. Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986); T. Marshall, "'That's the Misery of Peace": Representations of Martialism in the Jacobean Public Theatre, 1608-14', *The Seventeenth Century*, xiii (1998), 1-21, and 'The Tempest and the British Imperium in 1611', *HJ*, 41 (1998), 375-393.

it is distilled, and then with an illustrative narrative chosen from Guicciardini's *History*. This range of authorities casts a long shadow, and returning to the *Aphorismical Discovery*, we find not only the hidden presence of Dallington's handbook, but also that of a compatriot of Machiavelli, another writer and historian of the Florentine Republic -- Francesco Guicciardini and his history of the Italian wars. A further shadow cast on the text is that of the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, for Guicciardini's *History* was first translated into English from the French in the late sixteenth century, by Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of State for Ireland, and father-in-law of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork.⁶⁹ For the aphorismal discoverer, then, Guicciardini's *History* must have sounded all too familiar: it opens with disunion among (Italian) confederates and recounts 'civill discords which so long had blinded the notable wisdom of the Princes of Italy, to the great dishonour and scorne of the men of warre of that nation.'⁷⁰

In view of the author's support of the nuncio's military policies, his choice of Dallington's interpretation of Guicciardini is particularly interesting. For published together with Dallington's *Aphorismes* is 'A Brief Inference upon Guicciardine's Digression... forbidden the Impression, and effaced out of the Originall by the Inquisition.' Ostensibly replying to a 'Letter from an Honourable Friend', Dallington discusses excerpts from Guicciardini's condemnation of the Catholic church's over-involvement in 'Temporall and Ecclesiastiall

⁶⁹ G. Fenton, trans., *Historie of Guiccirdin* (London, 1579). Fenton also translated *A Discourse of the Civile Warres and Late Troubles in Fraunce, drawn into English* (London, 1570). On contemporary English readings of Guicciardini see V. Lucciani, 'Raleigh's Cabinet Council and Guicciardini's Aphorisms', *Stud. Phil.*, 46 (1949), 20-30, and 'Bacon and Guicciardini', *PMLA*, 62 (1950), 96-113.

⁷⁰ Fenton, *Historie of Guiccirdin*, p. 45.

jurisdiction.⁷¹ Commenting on the banned work, he insists on Guicciardini's faultless credentials: 'for this worthy Historian was one of her owne: a Catholicke in his profession, no man more: a reported of things he saw or knew, no man truer.' He was also 'a worthy Gentleman, of a noble house, learned in the Lawes, experienced in the greatest affaires, well read in the most approoved Authors.'⁷² The act of Church censorship against such impeccable authority, this official distortion of historical truth, is symptomatic of what leads Dallington to call for Protestant entry into the Continental wars. For Dallington is diametrically opposed to the Catholic Church's meddling in politics, not least since this is, in effect, the Protestant church's *raison d'être*: 'Our defection is therefore not from what she was, but from that she is; from the Authority she at last usurped, not from the Religion she at first received.'⁷³ For Dallington, the sin of the Catholic church is both martial and literary. It enters statecraft by usurping temporal authority, and then obliterates the evidence through censoring its own history. Whereas the Church neglects its function as custodian of the archives, Dallington brings lost texts of the past to light and declares war for the future:

let us all like true Israelites follow this our *Moses* out of that Egyptian bondage; let us joyne with the hearts of obedience and hands of assistance, in so just a quarrell, for so good a Prince, against so Imperious a Usurper.⁷⁴

In the light of this call for military action, the value of literary work fades. Dallington's closing sentence, echoing Ecclesiastes, gestures towards a laying down of the pen and a taking up of arms: 'there is none end in making many books, and much reading is a

⁷¹ Dallington, *Aphorismes*, 'Brief Inference' (separately paginated), titlepage and p. 5.

⁷² Ibid. 3, 25.

⁷³ Ibid. 42.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 45. On the keeping of sacred texts, see pp. 45-46.

wearinesse of the fleshe.’⁷⁵

How then does the aphorismical discoverer make use of Dallington’s militant Protestant argument for war to structure his militant Catholic history of faction? Certainly he draws on the *Aphorismes*’ carefully assembled storehouse of classical wisdom to validate his own literary endeavours, but the influence goes further. Dallington’s illustrative stories from Guicciardini structure the aphorismical author’s composition of the narrative of Irish history. Under the heading ‘The defect of vertue is comonly much worse then the excesse’, for instance, Dallington tells of how an offer of military help from Naples was rejected by the unreasonably furious prince Alphonso; in the Irish parallel, the Council reject Antrim’s offer of reinforcements.⁷⁶ Elsewhere, Dallington amplifies an aphorism on the need for just cause for war by the tale of an unwarranted naval attack foiled by a tempest; in the Irish narrative, the tempests are metaphorical -- the political storms of the Council.⁷⁷ As with the faulted epic structure which dies with O’Neill, however, the implicit echoes of renaissance Italy in seventeenth century Ireland are often strained, as a comparison of the opening narrative sections of Dallington and the *Aphorismical Discovery* illustrates:

About the yeare 1490, *Italy* the most glorious & goodliest countrie of *Europe*, stood in fairer tearmes of happinesse and prosperitie, then ever it had done since the first declination of the *Roman Empire*: she had enioyed the sweet fruites of a long peace: she was not subiect to any command, but of naturall *Italians*: full of people and riches...

In the yeare of grace, 1641, and in the month of October 21, the kingdome of Ireland, one of the best ilandes in Europe stoode in fairer tearmes of hapinesse

⁷⁵ Ibid. 61.

⁷⁶ Dallington, *Aphorismes*, p. 24; Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 89.

⁷⁷ Dallington, *Aphorismes*, pp. 197-98; Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 36.

and prosperitie then ever it had don these 500 yeares paste (beinge the time that the nation began to decline); she had enioyed the sweete fruits of a longe peace, full of people and riches, but comaunded by forraigners, and the majestie of religion eclysed...⁷⁸

In contrast to the ‘naturall Italians’, the ‘natural Irish’ are nowhere to be seen: O’Neill and the author have not yet returned from exile, the future tragedy already presses hard, and the invader disrupts the author’s sentences.

The similarities are striking, but the differences are more telling. And it is in the address to the reader that the knife-edge which the aphorismical author walks in his imitation of Dallington is most clearly apparent. As pointed out above, his impassioned desire to resurrect O’Neill in his writing rings clear: ‘an ardent desire I have to make him live still in your memories, in whose greate hopes, while he breathed, all well affected Catholicks lived.’ If, however, we remove the ‘ardent’ and replace the ‘well affected Catholicks’ with ‘gentle spirits’ we have Dallington’s wish to resurrect the dead Protestant warrior hero, Prince Henry.⁷⁹ The danger for the Irish imitator is that in resurrecting O’Neill, he also resurrects his Protestant counterpart; for this reason, the identity of his source is never revealed in the text. Indeed the suppression of the fact that this is an imitation would seem to motivate the one major -- and significant -- alteration in the metaphors which animate the prefaces of these texts. Dallington’s preface continues with a proud explanation of his studious purpose in assembling the classical wisdom of the text ‘because our masters in the art of warre doe teach us, that these are more readie for use, upon all sodiane occasion of service.’⁸⁰ The

⁷⁸ Dallington, *Aphorismes*, pp. 1-2; Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 1.

⁷⁹ Ibid. I, i, 10; Dallington, *Aphorismes*, f. A4r.

⁸⁰ Ibid. ff. A4 r-v.

aphorismical author, elsewhere so concerned with military prowess, cannot make so much of his reading without detracting from his own independent authorship. Resorting instead another profession, and to another metaphor, he likens himself to ‘the phisitian with his aphorisms’, the fruits of his labours are:

all combined in one couplement to invite your curious pallat. I have fetched from farr and neere those sweete druggs from the shopps of those exceedinge apothecaries to give a relish beyond its nature to those abominable viands, treason, and faction, leaste the poyson therof without such simples would cause a deadly vomit.⁸¹

This curative metaphor which attempts to contain the visceral image of the diseased body politic, displaces the well-trained warrior body and mind. Dallington’s combination of the arts of the pen and the sword, his vision of streamlined, disciplined study for victory is replaced by the image of the writer as wandering apothecary, whose exotica are brought to bear on an uncontrollable disease.

We do not know how or where the author came on his copy of Dallington. Perhaps it was acquired from an Irish veteran of the Low Countries campaigns, exiled once again to the continent after 1653; perhaps it was the ‘sworde carier’s’ own military handbook. The author never mentions his unmistakable source, and suppresses his appropriation of Guicciardini’s controversial digression and Dallington’s call of English Protestants to action. Rather, the anonymous author continues the process of textual appropriation, now absorbing the radical Protestant text into Irish Catholic history. Crucially, Dallington’s war cry and -- beyond that - - Guicciardini’s outlawed condemnation of the policies of the Catholic Church, are elided into a framework of learned classical reference, of proving that history -- and wisdom --

⁸¹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 10.

repeats itself. Whatever their confessional agenda, all the authors involved in this circulation of texts deal in common literary currency; all rely on the same principles and classical authorities of war; all aspire, albeit in different ways, to wield both sword and pen.

4. Defining Authority

The anonymous *Aphorismical Discovery* was written in defeat and, presumably, in continental exile. At the time of writing, the Old English still retained some hope of reintegration into the English administration, even if, like the younger Bellings, it is at the expense of the family name. For the Old Irish, however, the position seemed irredeemable. As we have seen, the aphorismical author exploits a double structure to buttress his account of those whose actions -- and inaction -- had shaped recent Irish history. But the effort to integrate the pedigrees of both bardic celebration and classical learning proves overwhelming; the text fragments, and even the twinned generic tools of bardic epic and classical aphorism are unable to contain the force of historical event. In particular, the author finds the ideal of a monumental, princely authority which embodies spiritual, temporal, and martial power impossible to sustain in his account of faction. Neither State nor Church prove to be satisfactory protagonists for the martial author. In response to their failure to convince by either rallying cry or example, he returns to his governing discourse of the sword. Working with a military scale of value in which enemies and allies alike are judged by their military achievements, the author scorns the 'treasonable faction' of his Confederate 'allies', and comes to respect the martial discipline of the 'enemy' New Model forces. As we shall see, in the clash of authorities and ideals which animates this cultural and military map of mid seventeenth century Ireland, it is not Ormond, but Cromwell who emerges as the heroic counterpart of O'Neill.

A. Political Authority

The ideal Prince figure so frequently referred to in the *Aphorismical Discovery* is not historically available to its author. Charles I remains remote, only interested in Ireland as a source for reinforcements; Charles II, in Paris, is accessible only through untrustworthy mediators, and eventually chooses Scotland over Ireland to reassert his claim to the throne; O'Neill -- the most eligible candidate in the author's eyes -- is first frustrated by intermediaries and then dies an untimely death. None of the other Confederates are represented as remotely qualified for such leadership. The opening aphorism addresses -- as noted above -- the need for a cure of the body politic; the narrative proper, finding no such cure, can only detail the effects of the disease from which the increasingly monstrous body suffers.⁸² When Ormond returns to Kilkenny to celebrate the 1648 cessation, for instance, the Supreme Council takes on hideous physical shape:

You terrifie poore simple soules with that name of Supream Councell, to the viewe of the worlde, wanting both heade and right legg, the spirituall and some collaterall members, and soe doe now consiste with the onely trunke, with the gutts and excrements to make up that seeminge bodie.⁸³

Still later, the further deterioration from Supreme Council to Leinster assembly is further decried, now as the dubious triumph of language over deformity: 'The poore convocation of a fewe withered members of Linster province is by them baptized under the heroicke name of assemblye.'⁸⁴ Throughout the narrative, the Confederate's 'seeminge' body-politic figures the monstrous alternative to the healthy, but sadly absent, warrior body, equipped to think and decide, act, and fight.

⁸² Ibid. I, i, 11.

⁸³ Ibid. I, i, 283.

⁸⁴ Ibid, III, i, 43.

If the Confederation lacks a figurehead, it also lacks political and geographical structure. The Irish capital, Dublin, is occupied by the English throughout the period, and the Confederate capital shifts with the site of the talks from Kilkenny to Wexford. Later, the crumbling Confederation is literally driven West to Galway, the last town before the Atlantic. This shifting headquarters would be acceptable in military action. It is unacceptable as a site of political non-action. For the Confederates of the *Aphorismical Discovery* rarely fight; they are more likely to be seen wielding the pen than the sword, exhibiting a general over-confidence in language. Judging his heroes by the impact of their military achievement, the author judges his villains by their abuse of language. At one end of his scale of linguistic authority are his own painstaking transcriptions of the official Latin communications of the Church. At the other are the whispered rumours which circulate among jealous factionists about O'Neill. The Kilkenny Council quickly becomes the location of both faction and fiction for the author. The effete Court to O'Neill's manly Ulster battlefield, it has more in common with the military tragicomedies of the Werburgh Street Theatre than the military discipline of the camp. For at this distance from battle -- a distance not only geographical, but also social and linguistic -- war is waged in mere words and masques rather than with swords and scars. Thus, when Preston returns from the continent and is appointed general over O'Neill he is fêted by:

daily invitations, feasts and banquetts with the varietie as well of pallatinticinge dishes, as of gratulatorie poems, civill and martiall representations of comedies and stage playes with mightie content... not once calling to minde the bleedinge woundes of Ulster bearinge on its shoulders, the blunt of all the power of bloudie Mars in Ireland.⁸⁵

As the narrative progresses, particularly as Ormond becomes an ally, the Council are

⁸⁵ Ibid. I, i, 46. After O'Neill's death, Preston compounds the offence when he, not Brian Roe O'Neill, is chosen to be commander (II, i, 171).

increasingly identified with their pastimes, and the theatrical metaphor reigns. They perfect the art of 'politicall temporizers', turning from audience to players and confirming the aphorism: 'for upon the theater of publicke imployment either in peace or warr, the actors must of necessitie weare vizards, and change them in every scene.'⁸⁶ As the apparent preoccupation with cessations and political negotiations increases, the Council become more clearly 'meere strangers to the arte militarie.' They are identified with the wordy professions, despised by the author as 'Illiterat, without the least qualification, in any art or science, onely of the mechanicall of druggists, baristers, pedlars and poets, altogether laymen.' Their misuse of language, infecting even the 1648 Oath of Association, confirms the dangers outlined in the accompanying aphorism: 'by equivocations and mentall reservations makinge it like a Gipsies knott, fast or loose, at their pleasure.'⁸⁷

This linguistic licence is linked to the most destructive force to be found in the *Aphorismical Discovery* -- dishonour. Bellings and others later make much of 'honour' as a defining characteristic of Ormond; here Ormond and the Confederation are damned by the offence of dishonour as it trangresses the martial: 'as dishonourable actions are greatest blemishes in those that are honorable by bloude or profession (as gentlmen or souldiers).' For all the criticism meted out to Council members in general, it is O'Neill's martial rivals who are characterised as the prime offenders against the honour code. Preston and Castlehaven earn particular contempt for their undeserved promotion as generals. Preston -- O'Neill's long standing rival from the years of the European campaigns -- is quite simply a bad soldier. His

⁸⁶ Ibid. I, i, 182. The author reverses the sense of the aphorism which states the necessity of dissemblance for the good of the state.

⁸⁷ Ibid. I, i, 204, 225, 189.

appointment is political, and he is given command despite ‘never experimenting the extremitie of want or warr in his owne person.’⁸⁸ His undisciplined military camp at Katarlagh (Carlow) in 1646-7 echoes the pseudo-court at Kilkenny:

the campe was more like a marte then it proper, soe many brave cavalliers, such feastes and banquetts, such invitations, jolitie and pastime, such huntings and sports, such a markett of all venable wares, that Kilkeny could not affoorde better.⁸⁹

Preston makes basic mistakes in choosing his battle sites, gets lost in Irish bogs, yet even when he loses disastrously, he still wins the praise of the Confederates. The author reports with irony that his post 1648 cessation skirmish with innocent Ulster civilians in Westmeath was ‘the first field that Preston ever gott in Ireland.’⁹⁰

Preston is a long-standing enemy. The new arrival Castlehaven quickly takes his place as the villain of the piece when the Council give him, not O’Neill, the Ulster command. ‘[M]ore venterous than souldierlike’, Castlehaven is ‘instrument of sedition, subornation, faction, and treachery’. The account of his 1643 Ulster expedition makes it clear that no love will be lost between the Ulster leaders. Castlehaven’s bad management of the army keeps them starving, loses the all-important cattle, and loses County Armagh, and when O’Neill accuses him before the Kilkenny Council, Castlehaven is found guilty, but no action is taken.⁹¹ Against O’Neill’s martial objections to Castlehaven, the author places Castlehaven’s irrational hatred for O’Neill and his kind. So, when Castlehaven has one of his Ulster captains unjustly

⁸⁸ Ibid. I, i, 234, 153-54.

⁸⁹ Ibid. I, i, 150.

⁹⁰ Ibid. I, i, 209.

⁹¹ Ibid. I, i, 65, 83-89.

executed, the margin notes 'Castlehaven's rancor to the Irish' and passes on the report that Castlehaven said: 'I would wish, said he, with all my hearte, this were the last of that Irish scepte.' The hatred is returned, and continues down the family line: when Ormond despatches Castlehaven in response to Hugh Duff O'Neill's request for aid to Limerick (1651), O'Neill first shuts the city gates to him, stating that 'corrupte stuff he had plentie already.'⁹²

The offences of unworthy soldiers such as Preston and Castlehaven pale, however, beside those of Ormond, the subject of the author's most bitter attacks. His frustration grows along with the list of Ormond's misdeeds. When Ormond appoints the traitor Robert Talbot to defend Athlone in 1650, he explodes with the aid of scripture:

Psal. 113 O, all seeing God, how are the Irish soe mould-blinde
that they canot see those abuses, though visible unto all
Europe; eyes they have and cannott see, witt and
cannott understande, tongues and cannott speake, a
warrlike nation heretofore, now are soe cowardly
growne to that vile and abjecte condition that they
tremble at every thinge that sudainely hapneth.⁹³

In view of the intricate picture of 'treasonable faction' which the author constructs around Ormond, such anger with his compatriot witnesses and readers is understandable. The very legitimacy of Ormond's appointment as Lord Lieutenant is questioned, with the suggestion that, in 1641, Ormond duped the King by not joining with Phelim O'Neill's rebellion: 'thus Ormond cheated the Irish in the verie embrion of their affaires.'⁹⁴ The aphorisms linked to

⁹² Ibid. II, i, 94, 113. Castlehaven and his *Memoirs* are discussed in chapter five, below.

⁹³ Ibid. II, i, 98.

⁹⁴ Ibid. I, i, 21.

Ormond present him politicking for personal good rather than for the good of the state. He is an example of the perennial Irish curse: the self-seeking English landlord, with big ambitions to rule. At the 1643 cessation, for example, Ormond receives luxurious tribute while the poor starve: 'the wayes full of beoffes, muttuns, hoggs, turkisse, geese, capons, feasons, and all kinde of kitchin stuffe, goinge to Ormond.' While other Confederates have at least some military experience, Ormond is 'a man of small deservinge in martiall affaires.' Instead, ceremony and overblown language are his tools; at one stage he assumes an almost royal removal: 'he thought not it sutable to his greatnesse to admitte those to his presence but spoke by writtinge once in twentie-four howres.' In 1649, when he has the superior strength to capture Dublin from Jones and the Parliament forces, he is all talk: 'Ormonds intended action is bruted in all the corners of this kingdome by heraulds.'⁹⁵ The 'intended action', however, is never realised. Only after Cromwell has landed and swiftly covered the ground from Drogheda to Trim does Ormond make an approach -- too late -- to the dying O'Neill.

Not only is Ormond a poor soldier, he also espouses a Protestantism which vacillates between Presbyterian and Puritan. From the earliest meetings at Kilkenny, Ormond's party is labelled 'his Presbyterian factione'. On Ormond's return from France, the author transcribes a letter sent by one Major Mortimer in France to O'Neill. Mortimer outlines Ormond's links to the French Huguenots and warns that 'The Puritants of England with their adherents, are noe more for kinge, then the Great Turke, however they Ormond and Digby coloured it with large promises.' The second Ormond peace places his Protestantism in full public view, in both literary and martial terms. First, he 'now by a publicke printe instrument did openly

⁹⁵ Ibid. I, i, 74, 143, 92; II, i, 23.

sweare to uphold, maintaine, and propagate, the Puritant and Protestant religion to his power and best endeavour'; secondly he enforced this by loosing on Kilkenny his poorly disciplined, Protestant army: 'all the Irish there was packed out of doores, and reddcoate-Puritants introduced, to garde both cittie gates, castle, and his Excellencies persone.'⁹⁶ The author's history of Ormond's family -- from the links of the Earl of Ormond with James I -- is designed to show great reliance on the king for his position on Ireland. Now Ormond, like the Parliamentarians in England, is upsetting the social order: 'But noe sooner did this tyrannizing Ormonde handle the helme of this unfortunat-fluctuating kingdome, but turned all these blessinges topsi-turvy.' As the narrative progresses, the author's descriptions of Ormond combine the worst stereotypes of excess of both Cavalier and Roundhead, until, in the last outpost of Clanricard's home at Loughrea, he is shown: 'carroushinge and playinge vast summs of money every night... more like cogging gamsters resortinge, then the civill presence of a Lord-Leutenant... a secte of love familie... a Nero and monster of all civill behaviour and government.'⁹⁷

When Ormond finally leaves Ireland in December 1650, he performs his last act of 'treasonable faction' by handing over to the Earl of Clanricard, an action described by the author as: 'Judas kisse to our Saviour'. Clanricard himself is damningly described as: 'a Markesse by creation, a peere of two kingdomes by indemnitie, a gentlman by descente, a Catholicke by religion, a Generall of an armie by apointment.' He continues the Ormond

⁹⁶ Ibid. I, i, 76, 212, 282-283.

⁹⁷ Ibid. I, i, 295; II, i, 99-100. The 'topsi-turvy' image often recurs, see *ibid.* I, i, 76; II, i, 188. It is, of course the governing image in C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972).

legacy by shunning the martial and pursuing political self-interest. According to the author, in his own region of Connaught, Clanricard divides and thereby weakens the army: 'to nourish mutinie and division amonge both souldier and cittizen, to disable the native colonells and gentrie to defende their owne birth right.'⁹⁸ In his negotiations for overseas aid from the Duke of Lorraine, he misleads, and promised results never materialise. Like Ormond, he deals in a conspiracy of letters, tending to words and speeches rather than action. In a letter to the Earl of Westmeath about the defence of Galway, for example, Clanricard gives little thought to military action:

I have now almost finished my foraigne dispatches, and hope the midle of the nexte weeke to be in the heade of an armie that will overnumber Sir Charles Coote, and maye possibly have as much courage as himself, and when I have putt them in the best order I can, I shall prepare myself to encounter the Assembly with learned orations.⁹⁹

From beginning to end, therefore, Ormond and the Confederation privilege words over deeds, the political over the military, lies over truth. They are at best a slippery ally; any authority which they claim to represent and exercise is complicated by self-interest and couched in untrustworthy language. In one sense they do serve the author's cause -- the attributes of O'Neill, the nuncio, and the Ulster cause he espouses are defined and clarified in opposition to their shortcomings. But rather than being the Catholic allies they might have been, the Confederates prove tainted with Ormond's turncoat Protestantism; they are the enemy within.

⁹⁸ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 117; I, i, 237; II, i, 160.

⁹⁹ Ibid. III, i, 8.

B. Religious authority

Its greate pittie, those abortive statistes, were not sent ambassadours to the Courte of France, to teache the Christian kinge the way to governe France, not by Cardinall Richlieue or Cardinall Masarin, the memorable prelates and statistes of this age, but by a secte of lay factionists, who might shoe sedition, raise factions, raigne Caesars, and deceipher Pompeyes.¹⁰⁰

In this bitter comment on the pragmatic approach of the Old English to the Church's role in temporal power, we glimpse the author's frustration at the Confederation's treatment of the nuncio and his martial campaign in Ireland. Not only do the Old English abuse the language of politics, they grow evermore distant from the official Catholic Church. The first aphorism for 1642, drawing its authority from Pliny, Tacitus, and Lucan, states: 'Noe causes are warrantable for the undertakinge of a warr, if justice be not one of the quorum.' The 1642 Declaration and Oath of the Confederation which follows articulates such a 'Just Cause'. Fully underwritten by the Catholic clergy, it also unites spiritual and temporal authority behind the war effort. Furthermore, the Oath provides a personal and collective creed for Catholic emancipation within the Monarchy; it combines Catholic faith with loyalty to an apparently sympathetic English monarch. While Bellings' account situates the new Confederate order in the endorsement of legal definitions and voting procedures, the *Aphorismical Discovery* situates it in the return of O'Neill. Until then, the author reports: 'neither civill or martiall government was extant, but everyone runinge a particular score.' O'Neill's arrival amplifies the 'Just Cause' by the vital addition of martial force. In global terms, the religious dimension of the war is also intensified by the return of this explicitly Catholic general, from the explicitly religious continental wars. The confused unrest of the early 1640s is thereby given name and international status; it becomes 'the Catholicke warr

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. I, i, 218.

of Ireland (as every foraigne nation tearmed it).’ This clarity dominates accounts of the early campaigns; the Irish are right, the battlelines are clear, and so ‘God did fight for the Irish, killinge his [Ormond’s] men of warr by famine and native disease.’ The nuncio’s arrival gives papal endorsement to the unification of might and right in the Catholic cause. The immediate benefits are felt as plenary indulgence is granted to O’Neill’s army. After a skirmish near Bunratty in 1645, for example, the body of one Lieutenant-Colonel Barnaby Geoghegan, is duly carried ‘accordinge to the reits of holy Church and militarie discipline to Libricke.’¹⁰¹ By 1651, however, the paper battles of cessations and excommunications have split the Confederation; at the Loughrea Council, a long overdue attempt is made to reaffirm the religious grounds at the heart of the war. In language which most closely echoes the providential thinking of Cromwell and his New Model officers, the council are called to recognise that: ‘The drawinge sworde of God killed us and not the enemie.’ By the end of the narrative, as Colonel Grace surrenders and defeat becomes inevitable for the Catholic cause, the author struggles to reconcile this destruction with both his religious beliefs and his narrative structure: ‘to verifie our Aphorisme, this distruction was decreede by higher power, therefore not resistable.’¹⁰²

This is the broad outline of the disintegration of the Catholic unity initially proposed by the Confederation. The author charts it in careful, highly charged detail, which at times distracts him from narrating the real business in hand: the waging of war. His account of Cromwell’s taking of Drogheda, for example, is cut short to report how Sir Richard Blake had issued

¹⁰¹ Ibid. I, i, 36, 79, 60, 108.

¹⁰² Ibid. III, i, 123, 118. See also I, i, 6.

eighteen charges of treason against the nuncio in Galway. Quoting the charges in full, and announcing the nuncio's departure, he describes Blake's actions as 'More rigourous then Q. Elizabethhe.' Clearly, once again, the enemy of the Catholic cause is the enemy within, rather than the conqueror from without.¹⁰³ After O'Neill's death, the author makes a transition from celebrant of the individual champion to defender and chronicler of the official Catholic Church. Attendant on this shift from celebration of the warrior hero to that of an institution is a modulation in tone from grand epic narrative to obsessive documentation of the facts. O'Neill's death renders the Church more vulnerable to contamination from the politicking Council and thus intensifies the author's sense of his own responsibility to preserve the truth of events for posterity. As the Council accelerates its linguistic and political offences against the Catholic faith, the appalled author documents the corruption and decline of the alliance from the 1642 Oath of Association -- the symbolic statement of Catholic interest -- to the 1648 cessation with the detested Lord Inchiquin. This is the last straw; as Ormond and the Confederation 'doe now shake hands with him that hath his dyed with the bloude of many priests and inocent religious.'¹⁰⁴ Inchiquin's heinous crime at Cashel forgotten, he is recuperated to the assembly by a newly redrafted Oath of Association to be sworn by all involved in the cessation. The author can barely contain himself at the indignity done to his 'Catholicke Generall':

He and all his officers must apeere in Kilkeny to sweare an oathe, unto poets, baristers and drugists (and such an oath farr irreligious then any ever was penned by King Henry the Eight or Queene Elizabeth for supreamacie).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Ibid. II, i, 51. On Drogheda, see pp. 48-50.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. I, i, 190.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. I, i, 205.

This cessation gives birth to a second monster, at once literary and religious: in the absence of a hero, and as the end approaches, the villains proliferate. If Bellings bears the brunt of the author's bile as Ormond's poetical servant, Peter Walsh is fiercely attacked as his priest. Like Bellings, the chief sin of this 'Protestant English slutts son' is his use of unauthorised language. As the Council's counter-propagandist, he produces unauthorised texts and proclamations which contribute to the collapse of the Catholic Irish cause. Attempting to prove that the 1648 cessation is lawful, Walsh and his 'clergie faction' produce the 'Queres' using the senile Bishop of Ossery as a front. To match their illegitimate use of language -- the author reports -- they make a copy of official church seals, proving still further the corruption of the religious authorities, who act: 'by martiall and civill sworde rather then by any spirituall power.'¹⁰⁶ In the largely paper battle between the nuncio and Confederate clerics, Walsh argues 'that license of superiours for the aprobaton of printinge bookes in time of warr, or other trouble is needlesse, especially if such printe instruments doe tend to the settlement of government.'¹⁰⁷ The aphorismical author gives such arguments short shrift:

How malitious the Catholicke that penns such illusive offers to seduce ignorant and inovent men, thinkinge, what is here said, to be somethinge, whereas really is nihil onely repetition of words... noe scruple of the fearfull sworde of excommunication, too often sheathed against them.¹⁰⁸

In all this proliferation of letters and false preachers, the Council both profanes the church and fails to fight. As the declaration of Excommunication forcefully put it: 'sacraments,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, II, i, 1-2. For the 'Queres', see I, i, 271-79.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. II, i, 10.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. I, i, 285. For the post-Restoration clash of Walsh and Orrery, see P. Walsh, *A Letter desiring a just and mercifull regard of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland* (Dublin, 1662), and Orrery, *An Answer to a scandalous letter subscribed by Peter Walsh* (London, 1662) and *The Irish Colours Displayed in a reply of an English Protestant to a late letter of an Irish Roman Catholick* (London, 1662).

sacrifices, and all things holy prophaned... armies and greate numbers of souldiers by them maintained, and the enemy not fought withall'. For the author, true religion is, in the words of the aphorism, 'conservative to the state'. The 'factious clergy', who make the terms of such true religion all the clearer by contrast, are disruptive: 'all tendinge to the totall destruction of religion in Ireland, more than ever Luther have don in Germany for soe shorte a time.'¹⁰⁹

C. A Worthy Enemy

If O'Neill's heroism is made more evident by the contrastive hypocrisy of his allies, it also demands an equally heroic opponent. The declared quest of the *Aphorismical Discovery* to unmask 'treasonable faction' at times threatens to neglect this much-needed warrior opposition. Reserving his worst judgements for O'Neill's so-called allies, the author often demonstrates little concern for the 'official' opponents of the conflict: the Scottish and English generals of Parliament -- Leslie and Munro, and later Jones, Cromwell, and Ireton. When they do appear in the text, however, they bring a rare gravity to the account, for as professional 'foreign' military leaders they represent the kind of properly martial enemy which O'Neill's position demands. In the early campaigns, the presence of Generals Leslie and Munro lends respectability to the Irish battlefields, placing them in a global European and counter-Reformation context. Moreover, the generals share O'Neill's military experience, recognise the professional hallmarks of each others' campaigns, and respect each others' reputations. In the later stages, the Cromwellian campaigns bring the generals of the New Model Army to Irish soil under the banner of the English Republic. Again their

¹⁰⁹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 103, 187. For the full declaration, see I, i, 100-106.

reputation travels before them, both for military skill, and for that powerful fusion of political and religious conviction which the Confederates, in the author's view, so devalue. As explored above, the confrontation with Munro at Benburb is the only opportunity for O'Neill to prove his military skill. A meeting with Leslie comes tantalisingly close to another such moment, but the Scottish general leaves shortly after O'Neill arrives. O'Neill further fails to meet Jones in battle, and dies before confronting either Cromwell or Ireton. This produces an interesting dilemma in this text so dedicated to military ideals and martial action. For following the death of O'Neill, as the Confederation crumbles around the author, it is his rightful opponents, the Parliamentary generals, who prove to be the most obvious successors to the O'Neill military mantle. The military discipline of these leaders, which so contrasts with the ungoverned politicking of the factionists, identifies them -- in the absence of a living Irish General -- as the clearest substitute martial heroes of the narrative.

Colonel Michael Jones, commander of the Parliamentary forces in Ireland since 1647, earns the author's early respect: in both martial and civil terms, his qualities are described in terms which echo those attached elsewhere to O'Neill. After Jones's defeat of Ormond at Rathmines (2 August 1649), they are even spoken of in the same sentence: 'of three rich fields that were won in Ireland, Benborbe, Linchill, and this he had two, but none fought as Benborbe.'¹¹⁰ Jones also echoes O'Neill's princely attributes; he is described as 'this prudent governor'. Ormond and his captains, on the other hand, turn the honourable theatre of war into a cheap replica. In the camp at Finglass, he behaves:

more like a comedian actinge a tragedie on a stage with his borrowed feathers,
or self-conceited-bank-rout-courtier shewing his trashes, with many

¹¹⁰ Ibid. II, i, 46.

unnaturall and counterfeite motions, more like a civill marte of Indian wares then a martiall theater of warrlicke discipline... All his objecte in this busines was the exposinge of the Irish to the sworde.¹¹¹

The political context for this descriptive *rapprochement* of O'Neill and Jones, and their stark contrast to Ormond, deserves further attention. For it is inflected by the negotiation of two incompatible cessations: Ormond's attempt to persuade Jones to join in the second Ormond peace, and the temporary cessations agreed by O'Neill with the Parliamentary generals Monck and Coote. The first is treated at length, and with ridicule, by the author in his commentary on the exchange of letters between Ormond and Jones. The second is not mentioned by name, merely gestured towards when O'Neill aids Coote at Derry. Yet at this point within the text the author's military concerns bring him into line with contemporary republican opinion regarding the royalist resistance in Ireland.

Turning first to the correspondence of Ormond and Jones, we find that the Second Ormond Peace, declared a few days before Charles I's execution united the Catholic Confederation -- with the important exclusion of O'Neill and the nuncio's supporters -- with Lord Inchiquin of Munster, Sir George Munro's Scottish forces in the North, and Ormond's Protestant forces in an alliance against Parliament. In the weeks following, Ormond first sent John Barry to negotiate, and then wrote a series of letters to Jones, to persuade him to join them. In spite of the precarious position of the parliamentary forces in Ireland -- Jones in Dublin, Coote under siege in Derry, Monck in North Antrim -- Jones remained resolute. The aphorismical author defines this battle of persuasion in by now characteristic terms: in the face of the 'sophisticall intimations and groundlesse offers of Ormond and his colloquinge faction', Jones issues 'a

¹¹¹ Ibid. II, i, 43-44.

flatt deniall.’¹¹² It is a characterisation echoed by a more famous commentator on the same correspondence: the newly appointed pensman of the English Republic, John Milton.

Milton’s *Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels* was published in May 1649. Written at the request of the Council of State, the pamphlet was part of a drive, which we shall return to in chapter four, to defend and promote the newly formed Commonwealth. The proposed Cromwellian Campaign for Ireland was part of this movement, and Milton wrote to pave the way.¹¹³ The publication itself consists of a number of reproduced texts -- Ormond’s speech at Kilkenny on the conclusion of peace, and the correspondence of Ormond and Jones -- accompanied by a concluding commentary. In the main, Milton follows the tried and trusted formula of letting the letter-writers speak for themselves.¹¹⁴ In this drawing of literary battlelines, it is Jones and Milton who speak with one language; their terms are of military solution within a religious framework. Thus Jones replies to Ormond’s overtures to join him: ‘Nor can I understand how the Protestant Religion should bee settled and restored to its purite by an Armie of Papists.’¹¹⁵ In an additional letter, included in Gilbert’s edition,

¹¹² Ibid. I, i, 183.

¹¹³ See J. Milton, *Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the letter of Col. Jones and the Representation of the Presbytery at Belfast* (London, 1649), in *Works*, vi, 181-271. Milton terms the peace ‘One of his [Charles I’s] last Masterpieces’, p. 243.

¹¹⁴ The best known example was the capture and publication of Charles I’s letters to the Queen after Naseby in *The King’s Cabinet Opened* (1645), see Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, pp. 203-232, esp. 209-10. Public opinion was particularly outraged by the King’s plans to join with the Irish. *Three Intercepted Letters* (London, 1649) contained letters from Charles Stuart ‘son to the late King’, Digby, and Daniel Munro to Ormond, also concerning Irish help. In *Observations*, Milton’s note ‘To the Reader’ recalls both pamphlets: ‘his father call’s it an extreme necessitie which drove him to confederate with the *Irish* rebels; but the Son blushes not to call it a great good worke’, *Works*, vi, 243.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. iv, p. 232.

Jones eventually silences Ormond with voice of a soldier:

I therefore desire your Lordship would be pleased for the future not in this kinde to trouble yourself for me any further, this being a dispute to be decided by the sworde not by the penn.¹¹⁶

The aphorismical author -- whose reproduction of sections of the correspondence was most likely drawn from Milton's publication -- surely applauded his acid commentary, which condemns Ormond as a 'Windy Railer' who sends Jones 'a long digression of evill and reproachfull language.'¹¹⁷ For Milton, Ireland is the site of final Royalist resistance in a semi-foreign land and Ormond is 'in the head of a mixt rabble, part Papists, part fugitives, and part savages.'¹¹⁸

That the anonymous Catholic author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* finds himself in agreement with the most famous spokesman of the English Republic at this point suggests -- once again -- that a military language which deplores circuitous politicking is shared by a cross-confessional community of 'souldiers and scholars'. Indeed, the author makes explicit this 'imagined community' of military readers when he reviews Ormond's behaviour at the siege of Dublin: '(I speake to souldiers and schollers, whoe I supose to be capable of this reason).'¹¹⁹ This shared language returns us to the second treaty mentioned above but silenced in the *Aphorismical Discovery* -- that between O'Neill and the Parliamentary forces.

¹¹⁶ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, ii, 17.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. II, i, 14-17; Milton, *Works*, vi, 255, 248. For a stinging attack on Jones' prose style see Edward Walsingham's letter to Jones appended to *A Letter from Sir Lewis Dye to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle* (The Hague, 1650). Walsingham travelled to Ireland as secretary to Lord Digby in 1648, and later dedicated to Ormond his *Arcana Aulica, or Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims, for the Statesman and Courtier* (London, 1652).

¹¹⁸ Milton, *Works*, vi, 254.

¹¹⁹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 45.

On 8 May 1649, a few weeks before Milton's *Observations* appeared and the Commonwealth was declared, George Monk signed a three month cessation with O'Neill. The treaty, later also extended to Charles Coote, was a well-guarded secret. The *Propositions* for the truce, published in London and Cork in April, then slip from view, reemerging in London only long after the event and from an official parliamentary position of censure.¹²⁰ As the terms apparently 'granted' in the treaty might suggest, the agreement was too good to be true; they included freedom of religion, an Act of Oblivion for acts of violence committed since 1641, and -- of particular appeal in the light of O'Neill's frustration with the Confederation -- a parliamentary army command for O'Neill 'befitting his worth and quality.'¹²¹ The 'truce' proved to be a stalling manoeuvre, designed to buy time for Cromwell to quell dissent in the English forces and to prepare his Irish campaigns. For a short time, however, the cessation placed O'Neill on the parliamentary side with Jones, Monk, and even the despised Coote, against his erstwhile Confederation allies.

Contemporary English reaction when the news became public suggests just how unlikely this alliance was. It attracted, for instance, the attention of a newly emerging Royalist satirical press, and, some two two weeks after Cromwell landed in Ireland, *The Man in the Moon*

¹²⁰ *Propositions of Owen Roe O'Neill to Col Monk* (London, 25 April 1649); *Propositions of Owen Roe O'Neill to Col Monk with a letter of a Gentleman at Dundalk* (Cork, 25 April 1649); *Propositions of Owen Roe O'Neill and the Three Month cessation* (Cork, 6 July 1649). The treaties are outlined and officially condemned in *The True State of the transactions of the Colonel George Monk with Owen-Roe-Mac-Art-O-Neal* (London, 15 August 1649) and *A True Relation of the Transactions Between Sir Charles Coot Kt, Lord President of Connaught in Ireland and Owen Roe O'Neal* (London, 28 August 1649). See also J. Casway, 'George Monk and the controversial Catholic Truce of 1649', *Stud. Hib.*, 16 (1976), 54-72; Gentles, *The New Model Army*, pp. 355-56; Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, vii-xiii.

¹²¹ *The True State of the transactions of the Colonel George Monk with Owen-Roe-Mac-Art-O-Neal* (1649), p. 4.

opened with ironic doggerel:

Rejoyce, rejoyce ye Roundheads all
Feast, Drink and after Shoot:
The Irish Rebels needs must fall,
When Oneal joyns with Coote.¹²²

The ghost of Ben Jonson -- previously revived in the Werburgh Street theatre -- was again resurrected in the pamphlet drama, *A Bartholomew Fairing* -- whose title page announced that it was 'NEW, NEW, NEW, sent from the Raised Siege before DUBLIN, As a Preparatory PRESENT to the great Thanksgiving Day'. In Act III of the drama, Mr Tryall and Mr Wollastone, Independent Committee men, discuss recent events:

Mr Tr. I was afraid of *Ireland* once, I gave it
For an unwholsome air, *Bogs* and *Quagmires*,
But *Collonell Jones* hath clear'd it again,
With the States Thunder, *Powder* and *Money*
Mr Wool. It was a plot of *Crumwels* all this while
(And *Munck* will justifie it) to loose so much:
To make the businesse seeming desperate,
To his eternall honour to restore it.¹²³

The *Aphorismical Discovery*, however, makes no clear reference to either parliamentary truce. The representation of Jones as warrior and governor may be less due to his perceived actual qualities, than a function of the fact that he is in negotiation with the narrative's hero, O'Neill. Indeed the author is careful to point out that Jones is vehemently anti-Catholic, that 'Owen Oneylle should not be deluded', and that he should be dissuaded from entering into any 'treatie which there is not power to grant.'¹²⁴ Silencing any official agreement, and thus

¹²² *The Man in the Moon* (August 30-September 5 1649), p. 1. See J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 180-183.

¹²³ *A Bartholomew Fairing* (London, 30 August 1649), p. 10. Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was first published in 1641.

¹²⁴ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 15-16. The author also reminds O'Neill and his readers that Michael Jones was brother of notoriously anti-Catholic Henry Jones, protestant

avoiding discussion of the possible effects of contamination from conversation with the enemy, the narrative sustains its own representation of Jones as the respected military man, the clearly Protestant and foreign opponent. The detested New English parliamentary general, Sir Charles Coote, earns a very different treatment. His betrayal of O'Neill represents the climax of the aphorismical author's Coote family history of anti-Irish stage villainy. In 1641-42, Charles Coote the elder rejoices in killing Irish women and children; he argues that Irish men should be gelded and Irish women have their breasts cut off to prevent the production and nourishing of any future generations; he finally dies a mysterious death just after his son, Richard, uses a Marian image for firewood.¹²⁵ When Coote approaches O'Neill for aid in his defence of Derry, he does so because he does not trust Ormond, and O'Neill makes a strategic military decision -- never criticised by the author -- to help. He gains thereby much-needed ammunition. From this point in the *Aphorismical Discovery's* version of events, the narrative enters the territory of epic fiction. At a banquet apparently given to thank O'Neill, Coote in fact gives O'Neill a slow-acting poison which eventually causes his death. O'Neill, as the idiom strikingly puts it, 'for never after was his owne man.'¹²⁶

Bishop of Clougher and author of *A Relation of the beginnings and proceedings of the rebellion in the county of Cavan* (London, 1642), and *A remonstrance of divers remarkable passages concerning the Church and kingdome of Ireland* (London, 1642).

¹²⁵ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, i, 13, 31-32. For a similar portrayal of Coote, see H. Burkehead, *Cola's Furie or Lirenda's Miserie* (Kilkenny, 1646).

¹²⁶ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 41-42. O'Neill's son, Henry Roe is later 'by the unchristian and tigrish doome of that thrice-cruell butcher and humaine bloode sucker, Sir Charles, beheaded', *ibid*, II, i, 88. This stands in contrast to Ireton's treatment of Hugh Duff O'Neill, taken prisoner after the fall of Limerick.

This brings us, finally, to Cromwell, the arch-villain of Irish history, who features in the *Aphorismical Discovery* as something of a paradox: the terrible hero. He first enters the text in section 567, and leaves, when recalled to England, in section 616: the nine month campaign in Ireland takes up just fifty of the nine hundred and ninety nine sections of the narrative. Indeed three of these (588-90) are wholly devoted to the death of O'Neill, and, as referred to above, the author often breaks off his reporting of Cromwell's relentless advance to concern himself with the nuncio's failing fortunes on the west coast. In the brief space he occupies, Cromwell takes Drogheda, Trim, Wicklow, Wexford, Ross, and arrives at Waterford before Ormond's ever retreating defences. As the aphorisms used to describe his advance declare, Cromwell is the only worthy martial opponent for O'Neill; as the contrastive rhetoric according to which the narrative is structured makes clear, the most powerful counter-example to this new Lord-Lieutenant is the unworthy Lord-Lieutenant, Ormond. There is little room to doubt the author's opinion:

Wee have here offered unto our viewe two greate commaunders, the one a domesticke, the other a foraigner; the one noted at home and abroad with a swip-chemny-character of perfidie and impeachment of covenant, the other a powerful majestie to comaunde, and an awfull countenance to execute.¹²⁷

Cromwell's progress through the country is achieved with almost supernatural ease and swiftness. At Drogheda, he and his men 'with rage and inhumaine crueltie, resolved never to give quarter (accordinge orders)'; he arrives at Wicklow 'not hearde off untill there... upon sight gott the forte there'; other garrisons similarly fall 'on sight'.¹²⁸ While Waterford refuses to open to Ormond, demanding trustworthy, Ulster reinforcements, Cromwell's own martial prowess is further identified with O'Neill's through a third link in the exemplary chain:

¹²⁷ Ibid. II, i, 48.

¹²⁸ Ibid. II, i, 49, 54.

‘Hitherto is verified in Cromwell what Plutarch writeth of Caesar, *veni, vidi, vici*.’¹²⁹

That the dead O’Neill cannot meet Cromwell on the battlefield is, to the author, tragic; that Ormond, with double Cromwell’s numbers, fails to give him battle is inexcusable. In the face of the English martial advance, Ormond retreats. In O’Neill’s absence, it is left to the common soldiers of the Ulster army to declare this ‘an inexpressible blemish unto the Irish nation... not to shewe their valor, soe much spoken off, in foraigne countries unto a handfull of insulting enemy.’¹³⁰ In frustration, the author resorts to the tools of his literary trade, reporting a heavily loaded, surrogate encounter, mediated by art:

While Cromwell did continue in Rosse he lodged in the Soveraignes house, one Francis Dormer, where did hang a picture of My Lord of Ormonds; Cromwell, gazing on it, asked whoe it was that it represented? Being tould, said, that the man whom the picture concerned was more like a hunts-man then any way a souldier, which was most true, and the verie party soe inclined by education and nature.¹³¹

We cannot be exactly sure of the portrait Cromwell gazed on; we are, however -- in this aphorismically mediated representation of the scene -- led to imagine the military general gazing on the courtier. Surviving portraits of Cromwell show him in military pose, usually in armour, whereas those of Ormond foreground the signs and symbols of civil honour; he is more likely to be shown bearing a sword of state than of war. It is the decorations of Knight of the Garter -- conferred by Charles from his Parisian exile just as Cromwell began his onslaught on Ireland -- which feature prominently later portraits of Ormond made when he

¹²⁹ Ibid. II, i, 56-57. For O’Neill as ‘This Caesarian Generall’, see II, i, 228. See Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 247-49.

¹³⁰ Ibid. II, i, 55-56.

¹³¹ Ibid. II, i, 55.

became Lord Deputy at the Restoration.¹³²

This reflective encounter, far from the battlefield, gives a glimpse of Cromwell, unsure of his enemy's identity, and face to face with cavalier portraits in a strange and foreign land. For the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* it is a confirming moment; it echoes and amplifies his own unfailing contempt for Ormond as both governor and soldier. It also confirms that great soldiers speak a common language. O'Neill, Cromwell, and the other parliamentary commanders all speak the language of military success; they do so in terms amplified by the resonances of the classical authorities of Dallington's aphorisms. Theirs is a language which reaches beyond confessional barriers to structure military discipline, and to shape the narratives they tell, both of conquest and, as here, of defeat at the hands of 'treasonable faction.'

¹³² All portraits and busts of Cromwell in the National Portrait Gallery are 'in armour'. Those of Ormond are post-Restoration, the only known pre-Restoration portrait by Egmont, being in private possession at Claydon House, illustrated in the frontispiece to the first volume of Lady Burghclere, *Life of James, first Duke of Ormond*, 2 vols (London, 1912). See D. Piper, ed., *Catalogue of the Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, 1625-1714* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 92-94, 258-59. On the cultivation of Cromwell's military image, see S. Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649-1653* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 85-118.

Chapter Four

'England Turned Ireland'- Documenting the Cromwellian Campaigns and Settlement

On 15 August 1649, at the head of a force of one hundred and thirty ships, ten thousand men, four thousand horses, and provided with copious supplies, Cromwell landed in Ireland.¹ It is impossible to write such a sentence without acknowledging the apocryphal weight borne by the event. This is not simply a burden accumulated in the endless subsequent rehearsals in folklore, histories, biographies, and political rallies.² The moment was also recognised by contemporary commentators; Bellings, having recorded the moment, put down his pen, recognising that his *History* need go no further; the aphorismical swordsman, with mingled horror and admiration, documented the march of this new Caesar across 'a nation already rent and distracted.'³ As the meticulous, at times infuriatingly lengthy, preparations for the Irish campaigns illustrated, Cromwell himself recognised the importance of his military task. For he had a threefold mission; firstly, to uphold his own personal reputation as a military commander after a year fraught with army disquiet and outright revolt; secondly, to impress the military credentials of the fledgling English Republic on the national and international stage; thirdly, to settle a financial score, for Ireland was needed as payment in the settling of

¹ Gentles, *The New Model Army*, p. 356.

² See, for instance, D.M.R. Easson, *The Curse of Cromwell* (London, 1971); P. Berrisford Ellis, *Hell or Connaught!: The Cromwellian Colonisation of Ireland, 1652-1660* (Belfast, 1975). For an analysis of the influence of nineteenth century readings on later perceptions of Cromwell, see Barnard, 'Irish images of Cromwell' and Ivan Roots, 'Carlyle's Cromwell', both in *Images of Cromwell*, pp. 180-206; 74-95. For a powerfully suggestive exploration of Cromwell's place in the Irish literary imagination, see B. Kennelly, *Cromwell* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1992). The figure of Cromwell has tended to dominate accounts of the Republic and Protectorate. Among the many biographies, see F. Guizot, *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1874); S. R. Gardiner, *Oliver Cromwell*, (London, 1899); A. Woolrych, *Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford, 1964); A. Fraser, *Cromwell, Our Chief of Men* (St Albans, 1975); C. Hill, *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London, 1990).

³ Gilbert, *Irish Confederation*, VII, 130, and *Contemporary History*, II, i, 51.

debts to the adventurers and soldiers who had financed the road to the Republic. It is a moment which begs -- repeatedly -- to be unravelled.

In this chapter, in an effort both to re-assess the importance of this moment and to measure its impact on the subsequent language of settlement, we cross to yet another side of the battlelines. For the student of English literature, this offers perhaps a more familiar view than that thus far presented in this study: the 'colonial' view of Ireland through English eyes. This shift in perspective is accompanied by a shift in generic focus. For the writings discussed in this chapter are not the reflective, historical narratives of Richard Bellings and his aphorismal counterpart. Rather they belong to the literary business of shaping popular opinion, reporting war, and making policy. Part of the journalistic fragmentation of the mid-seventeenth century, many of the texts are drawn from the literary ephemera which captured the imagination of the collector, George Thomason.⁴ Others, designed to shape and influence the newly re-conquered Ireland, belong to the then-emerging library of writing from Ireland in English, the literature of colonial nationalism. This chapter examines three distinct groups of texts -- the often anonymous, highly politicised figurings of the Irish enemy; the official communications of the figurehead of the Republic, Oliver Cromwell; the strategies for settlement penned by the soldier-turned-statesman, Richard Lawrence. In reading them, I explore how Ireland and the Irish were constructed from a distance as the military enemy of England, how that notion of Ireland shifted when the Cromwellian campaigns came to Irish

⁴ See *Catalogue of the pamphlets, books, newspapers and manuscripts relating to the Civil War... collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661*, 2 vols (London, 1908). For a stimulating reading of their present day equivalent see T. Paulin 'The Fuse and the Fire: Northern Protestant Oratory and Writing', in his *Writing to the Moment: Selected Critical Essays 1980-1996* (London, 1996), pp. 85-94.

shores, and how those Cromwellian soldiers who stayed behind allowed a militarised conception of the 'Irish enemy' to infect and inflect the emerging language of settlement. Cromwell himself spent just nine months in Ireland, where he made a strident policy statement for the new English Republic on both the domestic and the foreign stage; he also made a legendary impact on Ireland's history. Lawrence, less well known, first fought with the New Model Army in Ireland, then remained there beyond the Restoration, making it his home. In a series of pamphlets and treatises on the settling of Ireland, Lawrence articulated the geographical shift from the reading of Ireland from a distance to the experience of Ireland as home. It is a literature of plantation and settlement which clings to its military roots.

As Cromwell landed in Ireland, the new English Commonwealth had much to prove. Its birth on 19 May 1649 -- some three and a half months after the execution of Charles I -- had not been easy. On the home front, a mutinous army was only finally suppressed at Burford days before the Commonwealth was declared.⁵ Abroad, the new regime suffered its first casualty when Isaac Dorislaus, lawyer for the King's prosecution and recently appointed Commonwealth ambassador to The Hague, was assassinated by Royalists on 12 May. His funeral on 14 June was designed to show that the Commonwealth was a military power to be reckoned with.⁶ Just nine days afterwards, Cromwell finally accepted the appointment as leader of that military power for the expedition to Ireland; his mission was to maintain for

⁵ On 7 June, one banquet celebrated both the suppression of the mutiny and the departure for Ireland, see W.C. Abbott ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 3 vols (Oxford,[1939] 1988), ii, 78-79.

⁶ See *CSP Dom. (1649-50)*, p. 164. See P. Alessandra Macciono and M. Mostert, 'Isaac Dorislaus (1595-1649): The Career of a Dutch Scholar in England', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1981-84), 419-70.

the Commonwealth 'That kingdom ...reduced into so great straits.'⁷ Cromwell's only trip to Ireland was also his first and only trip beyond Britain. As an adventurer with claims on Irish lands, he had a personal stake in the campaign's success. More pressingly, however, the Irish campaign bore the weight of the Commonwealth's future: military success was necessary to ensure that -- to anticipate Harrington's vision -- Ireland became a place where 'every citizen will, in time, have his villa.'⁸ Cromwell's own military career was carved from inauspicious beginnings. Unlike many of the commanders serving in Ireland, he had none of the professional military experience of the Thirty Years War, indeed he did not start his soldierly career until his forties. His performance at Marston Moor earned him the reputation of a 'natural soldier'; his role in consolidating the New Model Army -- in particular his own cavalry, the Ironsides -- proved that he was also an administrator and tactician.⁹ We have little indication that Cromwell made an academic study of war -- we know that he valued Raleigh's *History of the World* and might infer that he shared Raleigh's praise for the yeoman as soldier. More immediately apparent was the influence of the Swedish General, Gustavus Adolphus, on both the ethos and tactics of the New Model Army. This Swedish

⁷ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 82.

⁸ J. Harrington, *Oceana and Other Works*, ed. J. Toland (London, 1771), p. 103.

⁹ Between 1642 and 1646 Cromwell spent only twenty out of two hundred weeks at Westminster, the rest of the time he was on campaign, see A. Woolrych, 'Cromwell as a soldier', in J. Morrill ed., *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 93-118. On the political background to military reorganisation, see Gentles, *The New Model Army*, pp. 1-27; see also M. Kishlansky's more revisionist account, *The Rise of the New Model Army*, and his 'Ideology and Politics in the Parliamentary Armies, 1645-9', in J. Morrill ed., *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649* (London, 1982), pp. 163-184. See also Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, and with G. Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1940). It was the only aspect of Cromwell's achievement which Dryden found consistently praiseworthy, see 'Heroic Stanzas to the Glorious Memory of Cromwell', in *Works*, I, pp. 11-16, esp. Sts 13-17.

model had particular resonance as Cromwell's first campaign for the new Republic placed the identity of the emerging nation -- protestant, military, and economic -- at its heart.¹⁰

The Irish campaign was located on the borders of domestic and nascent foreign Commonwealth policy. In a complex intertwining of English religious right, national superiority, and personal financial interest, the very terms of republican citizenship were at stake. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, for instance, warned 'my Lord of Ormond': 'If you say "Caesar or nothing" they say "a republick or nothing."' The Caesarian epithet so favoured by the aphorismal discoverer for O'Neill, was of course problematic when applied to the leader of a Commonwealth rooted in the Roman republican model. It did, however, encapsulate Cromwell's military reputation, and perhaps his military ambition. For when Henry Vane organised the sale of Charles I's art collection to raise money for the new Commonwealth in 1649, Cromwell reserved Montegna's *Triumph of Julius Caesar* for his apartments at Hampton Court.¹¹

Yet rather than sail into the Irish harbour with guns blazing, looking simply to come, see, and conquer, Cromwell, on his arrival, took time to establish -- in speech and on paper -- the terms for his nine-month sojourn. On the quayside, according to contemporary reports,

¹⁰ On Raleigh, see below. See T.A. Dodge, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of the Art of War* (London, 1996), pp. 421-436; E. Ringmar, *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 145ff.

¹¹ See *The Moderate Intelligencer*, July 5-12 (London, 1649), on the departure of the forces from London, 10 July 1649; Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 56-57; Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Plunder of the Arts in the Seventeenth Century', in *From Counter Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London, 1992), pp. 113-130. On contemporary representations of Cromwell as Caesar, see Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 229-31, 261-263, 299-325.

Cromwell 'with his hat in his hand, made a most sweet and plausible speech', to the assembled Protestant citizens, promising to 'restore them all to their just liberty and property'. This call to restoration was, in effect, a call to arms, to join Parliament in what he termed 'the great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, and the rest of their adherents and confederates.' It was, moreover, allied to a second work, governed by the 'divine providence' of God -- 'the propagating of the Gospel of Christ.'¹² One week later, Cromwell's *Declaration to the City of Dublin* published abroad his intention to avenge 'the rage and cruelty of a bloody enemy' and established a framework of martial law and military discipline for the achievement of that goal. While the 'bloody enemy' remained amorphous and undefined, the *Declaration* made the rules for Cromwell's supporters quite clear: offenders were to be 'Severely punished by the said articles of war.'¹³ This was amplified by a further *Declaration*, published the following day and regulating the relations -- particularly of trade -- between the army and 'Country People'. This personal order from Cromwell warned soldiers 'not to do any wrong or violence toward Country People, or persons whatsoever, unless they be actually in arms or office with the Enemy.'¹⁴

This, then, was the rhetorical cocktail with which Cromwell articulated the military task in hand -- 'divine providence' and 'barbarous and bloody-thirsty Irish'; 'Liberty and property'

¹² See Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs*, 4 vols (London, 1853), iii, 92. Whitelocke's son accompanied Cromwell to Ireland. See also Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 107-8.

¹³ Ibid. ii, 110-11, dated 23 August 1649.

¹⁴ *This Declaration is appointed to be printed and published throughout all Ireland* (24 August 1649), ibid, ii, 112. Two further *Proclamations* later reinforce this, published in Cork, 27 October and 8 December 1649, see Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 293.

THE ENGLISH IRISH SOVLEDIER

With his new Discipline, new Armes, Old Stomacke, and new taken pillage : who had rather Eat than Fight. 30

If any Souldate
think I do appeare,
In this strange Armes
and posture, as a jeere,
Let him advance up to me
he shall see,
He stop his mouth,
and we wil both agree.

Our Skirmish ended,
our Enemies fled or slain
Pillage wee cry then,
for the Souldiers gaine,
And this compleat Artillery
I have got,
The best of Souldiers,
I think, hateth not.

My Martiall Armes
deale I amongst my foes,
With this I charged stand
gainst hungers blowes ;
This is Munition
if a Souldier Jacke,
He fights like *John a dreams*,
or Lents thin Jacke.

All safe and cleare,
my true Armes rest a while,
And welcome pillage,
you have foes to foile ;
This Pot, my Helmet,
must not be forsaken,
For loe I seiz'd it
full of Hens and Bacon.

Rebels for Rebels drest it,
but our hor rost,
Made them to live.

And better that to kille,
then stay for Pullits,
And have their bellies
cram'd with leaden bullets.

This fowle my Feather is,
who wins most fame,
To weare a pretty Duck,
he need not shame :
This Spit my well charg'd
Musket, with a Goose,
Now cryes come eat me,
let your stomachs loose.



This Dripping pan's my
target, and this Hartichoke
My Basket-hilted blade,
can make 'em smoake,
And make them slash & cut,
who most Home puts,
He most my fury
sheath into his gus.

This Forke my Rest is,
and my Bandaleers
Canary Bottles,
that can quell base feares,
And make us quaffe downe
danger, if this not doe,
What is it then can raise
a spirit into fearfull men.

This Match are links
to light down to my belly
Wherin are darksom chinks
as I may tell yee,
Or Sallages, or Puddings,
choose you which,
An excellent Needle,
Hungers wounds to stitch.

These my Supporters,
garter'd with black pots,
Can Steele the nose,
& purg the brain of plots;
These tofts my shoelstrings,
stept in this strong fog,
Is abl of themselves
to foxe a Dog.

These Armes being vanisht,
once againe appeare
A true and valiant Souldier
As you were ;
But if this wants,
and that we have no biting
In our best Armour
we make sorry fighting.

FINIS.



Printed at London for R. Wood,
and A. Cor. 1642.

Figure 2.

and martial law. The first pair of twinned rhetorical frameworks -- the securing and prosyletising of the Protestant religion and the obliteration of the 'barbarian' -- has received more attention than the second. For the latter pair are the political terms of the new Republic; echoing the language of the mutinous army at home who sought confirmation of their status as citizens. In voicing them, Cromwell extended the principles of English citizenship to Ireland, to the furthest reaches of the English jurisdiction; in fusing them with martial law, he made it clear that the offer was open only to the loyal.

To gain some sense of the force, and the subsequent impact of this offer in the writings of others such as Lawrence, we need to leave Cromwell poised on the dock in order to retrace the development of these terms across the period of the English Civil Wars. We need, that is, to explore English representations of Ireland from the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in 1641 to the eve of the Cromwellian Campaigns in 1649.

1. Writing the Enemy - 1641-1649

In late 1641, as Bellings and the Old English decided whether they should join the Ulster uprising and as O'Neill and his aphorismical biographer began their journey home to Ireland, fourteen year old Joseph Lister sat in a church in the North of England listening to a sermon by Mr Elleana Wards. The service was suddenly interrupted by one John Sugan:

'Friends' said he 'we are all as good as dead men, for the Irish Rebels are coming; they are come as far as Rochdale and Littlebrough, and the Batings. And will be at Halifax and Bradford shortly.'¹⁵

The preacher beat a hasty retreat; the congregation headed for home in some trepidation

¹⁵ T. Wright, ed., *The Autobiography of Joseph Lister of Bradford in Yorkshire* (London, 1842), pp. 6-8.

since, Lister wrote, they ‘knew not but Incarnate Devils and Death would be there before us.’ In Suga’s litany of familiar place-names made strange by imagined invasion, we glimpse the impact of the Irish rebellion on the English popular imagination. In both conversation and the new tide of print, images of Ireland were invading England; both truth and geographical borders were subject to distortion. As a second diarist, Captain John Hodgson, noted ‘That noise of the dreadful massacre in Ireland startled many and constrained them to whet their swords.’ It was, he reflected, ‘a time the nation was filled with rumours.’¹⁶ As Lister’s imaginative moment of panic eloquently conveyed, such rumours rendered anything possible. To his huge relief, however, what they found on their way home was not ‘Incarnate Devils and Death’ but a sorry group of Protestant refugees from Ulster.

The Irish rebellion was one of the most effective of weapons in the propaganda arsenal of the parliamentary cause. Early reports, as others have documented, were swiftly and inextricably interwoven with the international threat of Catholicism and the domestic threat of civil war in England.¹⁷ New parliamentary spin-doctors wove complex accounts to foster equally

¹⁶ Sir Henry Slingsby, *Original Memoirs written during the Great Civil War being the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby and Memoirs of Capt. Hodgson*, ed. Sir Walter Scott (Edinburgh, 1806), pp. 93, 89.

¹⁷ See K. Lindley, ‘The Impact of the 1641 Rebellion upon England and Wales’, *IHS*, 28 (1972-3), 143-76; Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, pp. 80-126, and forthcoming work by Sabina Sharkey. Selected reading from the on-going debate on the origins of civil war includes C. Hill, ed., *The English Revolution 1640: Three Essays* (London, 1940); R. Cust and A. Hughes eds, *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (London, 1989). J. Morrill, *The Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630-1648* (London and New York [1976], 1999); C. Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies* (Oxford, 1991). On the specific impact of events in Ireland see Mac Cuarta ed., *Ulster 1641*; N. Canny, ‘What really happened in Ireland in 1641?’, in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, pp. 24-42; A. Clarke, ‘The Genesis of the Ulster Rising of 1641’, in P. Roebuck ed., *Plantation to Partition: Essays in Ulster History in Honour of J. L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 29-45;

complex popular fears. For this was no black and white morality tale of Irish rebels rising against England; Phelim O'Neill first encouraged rumours of Charles I's complicity, then the parliamentary interest quickly figured the rebellion as the fruition of a plot by Wentworth and Charles I to arm the Irish Catholics and enforce Catholicism on England. This version of events found its way into the Reverend J. Ward's diary-entry on the rebellion: 'itts strongly reported they had the broad seal for itt, some think by the queen's secret procurement, but itt's hard to accuse majestie.' Joseph Lister's diary quickly fused the imagery of Irish rebels and English royalists; he described the King, 'vast numbers of wicked and bloody Papists about him, with arms, riding up and down swearing and cursing like so many devils.'¹⁸ As tension between Parliament and the King grew, Parliament played on the ghoulish threat of the Irish rebels to recruit an army; one which would eventually be deployed not in Ireland but in the imminent Civil War. While the Adventurers' Act and the Military Ordinance laid the financial and legal framework for the proposed undertaking, the recruitment campaign was fuelled by frequent reports of 'the enemies encreasing, and like Hydra's heads appearing everywhere more and more.'¹⁹

J. Reeve, 'Secret Alliance and Protestant Agitation in the two kingdoms: the early Caroline background to the Irish Rebellion of 1641', in I. Gentles, J. Morrill and B. Worden eds, *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 19-35.

¹⁸ C. Severn, ed., *Diary of the Reverend J. Ward, 1641-1678* (London, 1839), p.125; Wright, ed., *Autobiography of Joseph Lister*, p. 13. See also C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983).

¹⁹ *God's Providence to the distressed Protestants in Ireland* (London, 2 February, 1641), p. 4. News of the rebellion -- 'as great as the Gun-powder Treason' -- was delivered to Parliament on 5 November, *The Last Newes from Ireland being a Relation of the Hostile and bloody proceedings of the Rebellious Papists there at Present* (London, 1641), p. 2; on the gunpowder plot link, see also Colonel Rouse's lurid report *God's Vengeance Upon the Rebels in Ireland* (London, 14 December 1641) and Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 12. The Grand Remonstrance was published on 22 November and presented to the King on 1 December. The Adventurers Act was passed on 19 March and the Military

That Great Expedition for Ireland By way of underwriting proposed by both Houses of Parliament, and Graciously assented unto by his Majesty is here Vindicated was published in 1642, its title indicating the complexities of political manoeuvring at this stage. The text itself draws on a number of rhetorical strategies to impress the necessity of the project. That revenge should be taken on the Irish is taken as read: 'These Irish *Esaues* have long expected such a day though like burnt children they dreaded the fire, but a wolfe whether hectic, fearful, or furious is still a wolfe.'²⁰ The discourse of religious right also structures the argument as the scriptural references in the shoulder-notes illustrates. Yet the pamphlet is anxious to redefine what it perceives as Irish terms: 'this warre is not meerly as they would make the world beleeve, a warre of Religion, but mixt with other considerations.'²¹ As the reference to Esau's usurping of his brother's birthright suggests, land is the chief of these 'other considerations'. Undertaken under the clarion call 'Let us defend *Aras & Focos*, our Region, our Religion, rather at a distance than at home', the text self-consciously echoes 'the old Proverbe. He that will *England* win with *Ireland* must begin.' In this project, formulated in the terms of the colonial policies of the Roman Republic, drawn from Tacitus and filtered through Machiavelli, the investment of the soldier -- the new colonial citizen -- is considered vital:

Ordinance on 5 May 1642, reinforced by the Doubling Ordinance, 1643. See also *The Propositions made by the Citye of London for the Raising of a Million of Mony for the Quick subduing of the bloody Rebels in Ireland* (London, 1642). A lost play, *The Irish Rebellion*, was performed in London in 1642, see Butler, *Theatre in Crisis*, pp. 234-35. In spite of all efforts, the projected expedition remained undersubscribed, see K. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land: The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 30-75.

²⁰ *That Great Expedition... here Vindicated* (London, 1642), p. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.* 6.

The warre will not coole between one supplie and another; the great and inferiour Officers will themselves become adventurers, which is a consideration of great weight, able to inspire valour into a pale-livered coward when (as *Tacitus* said of *Catalines* Souldiers) *Divitas decus gloriam libertatem patriam in dextris portunt*: When men bear their countrey, their riches, their portions, and their hopes in their right hands.

With the soldier-citizen at the forefront of the proposed expedition, the text insists, 'I doubt not speedily to find another England in Ireland'. 'Another England' not least since the defeated Irish were to be excluded from the new colony.²² The *Great Expedition*'s author also considers his proposals sanctioned by the laws of war: firstly, the war is just since 'the Irish are not called to account for Religion, but for robberies, rapes, murthers, treasons' and secondly, they are charged with 'the native and hereditary love of the *Irish* to the *Spaniard*, as the root from whence they spring', a loyalty which makes Ireland a frontline in the Thirty Years War. Ultimately, therefore, Ireland was forfeit since 'Spoiles in a just War and Escheats of rebellious Subjects were ever held lawfull, it was *Israel's* legacy to *Joseph*.'²³ The models of classical republicanism and religious right are fused and sanctioned by martial law; a national, colonial, military interest is invoked for the protection and reclamation of Ireland. In a mirror image of the English soldier who combines might with right, the Irish stand as political manipulators, encouraged by the foreign interests of Rome and their legendary Spanish-Milesian origins.

While such concrete political proposals shaped Ireland as a colonial problem, to be settled to the advancement of the Kingdom, the metaphorical threat of Ireland as a location of barbaric

²² Ibid. 5. This policy was modelled on the Romans' punishment of the rebellious Ligurgians; it is further authorised by the Machiavellian gloss 'as the *Florentine* said, they may never hatch them [their plots], being so far from their nests' (ibid. 12).

²³ Ibid. 9, 6, 14.

wildness was invading English literary and territorial borders. Distinct battleline divisions of the English and Irish forces were confused, for instance, when Sir William Parsons wrote from Ireland: 'It is marvellous to see how spiritfull our soldiers that have health are, while we are not able to put shooes on their feet, clothes on their backe, or meat in their bellies.' His image was dangerously close to the still-surviving Elizabethan stereotype of the cloaked and barefoot Irish kern who lived on shamrock and bonnyclabber.²⁴ Meanwhile in England, even as the broadsheet *The English Irish Soldier... who had rather Eate than fight* (London, 1642) satirised its subject's cowardice and greed, it presented no wild Irish kern. Rather this ridiculous figure was ultimately recognisable on English roads and to English readers as a cavalier (See figure 2). The textual boundaries which separated Ireland from England were, in the growing pamphlet literature of the Civil War, dangerously porous. That Ireland was less a geographical location, or indeed a military problem elsewhere, and more a metaphor for domestic chaos is brought home most strikingly in the title of the pamphlet *Marleborowes Miseries or England turned Ireland, by the Lord Digby and Daniel O'Neale* (London, 1642). Attempting to define their attackers, the citizen-authors of Marlborough resorted to Irish comparisons: 'but indeed we have heard that this same pretence the Rebels in *Ireland* had all this last yeare; that they were for the King, and by the Kings Authority they did all that they did in *Ireland*.' The process of definition -- of naming and shaming -- continued: 'the *English* Rebels (the Cavaleeres I meane).' At their head Lord Digby, the hybrid Royalist Daniel O'Neill, and the arch-villain, Prince Rupert, form a threatening triumvirate of foreign and Royalist interest on English shores.²⁵

²⁴ *A Letter written from Sir William Parsons, one of the Lord Chief Justices of Ireland to Sir Robert Pye* (London, 1642), p. 3.

²⁵ *Marleborowes Miseries*, p. 4.

As Ormond's eventual cessation with the Catholic Confederation supplied Irish troops for the King's English campaigns, literary transgression became geographical transgression. Joseph Lister's panic as the enemy appeared on his doorstep was amplified as the 'Irish rebels' -- a term encompassing all Royalists from Ireland -- arrived on the English stage. Some sought to defend the alliance: 'Philerenus' in *Mercurius Hibernicus: or A Discourse of the late Insurrection in Ireland* (Bristol, 1644), proclaiming himself distinct from the 'mongrell race of Mercuries lately sprung up', insisted that the King looked on his Irish recruits 'not...as Papists, but as his Subjects, not upon their Religion but their allegiance.'²⁶ Another *Mercurius Hibernicus* was less tolerant, parading the trial of the rebel Lord Maguire amongst a mish-mash of long-standing stereotypes of Irish wildness as evidence of 'that mortal Plague of Rebellion, which is not to be cured but by the sword.' He particularly criticised the Irish Bard and his tendency 'to sing of all the bloody Battels and Conquests that their Ancestors and forr-fathers have done, which spurreth on the Rebels more eagerly to follow their fathers steps.'²⁷ In Ireland, the earnest Irish Protestant poet, Edmund Calver, appeared to rise to the bardic challenge in *A Looking Glasse of the World or the Plundered Man in Ireland*, reminding England that revenge was still to be had for the rebellion and that the profits from the cultivation of Ireland would be great.²⁸

²⁶ *Mercurius Hibernicus* (Bristol, 1644), f. A2r, p. 25.

²⁷ *Mercurius Hibernicus or The Irish Mercurie* (London, 1645 [MS note on Thomason copy states 'Feb. 14 1644']), pp. 6, 3.

²⁸ E. Calver, *A Looking Glasse of the World or the Plundered Man in Ireland* (London, 1644). Ireland appears only in the first verse, the rest of the poem praises civilisation.

Other parliamentary pens were quick to make political mileage of the Irish incursion, producing a flood of demonic images to complement the campaign for Parliamentary military reorganisation.²⁹ *The Devills White Boyes or A Mixture of Malicious Malignants* (London, 1644), for example, a scathingly anti-Royalist and anti-Catholic pamphlet, listed the diabolical weapons of the cavalier in an often incoherent stream of close type. Its author saved the work of the 'Irish Devills' for the bottom of his loathsome sack: 'the very worst of all, the bottome of bottomlesse Popery and cruelty, Heads, Armes, Leggs, feet, and whole quarters of men, women, and children butcher'd by the Rebels in *Ireland*.'³⁰ Treading more subtly, *A New Invention or a paire of Cristall Spectacles* (London, 1644) led the reader by the twists and turns of irony to condemn the new Royalist alliance: 'let us joyne with those honest Irish, faithfully Papists, and other loyall followers of his Majestie, and so make an end of these unnaturall warres an unnatural way.'³¹ Published amongst such anti-Irish propaganda, *Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons... one commanding that no Officer or Souldier either by Sea or Land shall give any Quarter to any Irishman, or to any Papist borne in Ireland which shall be taken in Armes against the Parliament* (London, 26 October 1644) struck an ominously formal note. The following year at Naseby, as the victorious Parliament captured and published the King's letters seeking new Irish reinforcements from

²⁹ The reinforcements, negotiated in late 1643 while Royalist fortunes were good, arrived in England shortly before Parliament's military fortunes turned with Cromwell's decisive presence at Marsden Moor, July 1644. From this point, the long slow process of creating the New Model Army began, see Gentles, *The New Model Army*, pp. 1-27.

³⁰ *The Devills White Boyes* (London, 1644), pp. 5, 8.

³¹ *A New Invention or a paire of Cristall Spectacles* (London, 1644), p. 2. See S. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 157-59. *The Souldiers Language* (London, 1644) makes similar use of irony as two English Royalists discuss their new Irish allies.

Ormond, this ordinance licenced the indiscriminate slaughter of Irish camp-followers there.³²

As Parliament's victory in the first Civil War became clear, the possibility of an Irish campaign grew, as did the literary instigation. Popular astrologers proclaimed the historical inevitability of Ireland's subjugation. In 1645, William Lilly reinterpreted the ancient Irish prophecy of Tyrone's defeat of the English, in light of their recent support of the King: 'Oh, all you Irish, behold your owne destruction prophesied of by your owne Prophet, if you ever assist his Majesty against the Parliament.' In 1646, John Booker replied to an Irish almanack, voicing his distaste for the 'venomous and serpentine people.' Writing on St Patrick's Day, he announced that:

The horrid Murthers and cruell slaughters by them committed upon many thousands of English Protestants, whose bloud cryes for vengeance, doe authorise me Astrologically to pronounce a fearefull doome of fire, Sword, Plague and Famine to follow that bloody Nation.³³

The policy-makers at Westminster also wrote of Ireland's past in order to shape its future. In January 1646, Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle, was appointed Commander-in-chief of the

³² See *A More Exact and Perfect Relation of the Great Victory in Naisby Field* (London, 1645), p. 5; [H. Parker and T. May] *The King's Cabinet Opened*, pp. 16-20.

³³ W. Lilly, *A Collection of Ancient and Modern Prophecies* (London, 1645), p. 11; J. Booker, *A Bloody Irish Almanack : or Rebellious and Bloody Ireland discovered* (London, 1646), pp. 41, 10. 'The Manapian Almanack' [Waterford, 1646] he referred to is no longer extant. The Royalist captain, George Wharton, in turn refuted Booker, arguing that the Irish had good reason to fight 'for the preservation of their Religion, Lives and Liberties', *Bellum Hybernicae*, pp. 27-28. See E. Evans, *Historical and Bibliographical Account of Almanacks, Directories and c. published in Ireland from the sixteenth century* (Blackrock, 1976). Such almanacks echoed earlier interpretations of the 1641 rebellion; see, for example, *The Mathematicall Divine, shewing The present Miseries of Germany, England and Ireland* (London, 1642). James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, was later, in the early days of the 'Popish Plot', said to have prophesied both the rebellion and the King's execution, see *Strange and Remarkable Prophecies and Predictions of the Holy, Learned and excellent James Ussher* (London, 1678).

proposed expedition; in April -- one month before Charles surrendered to the Scots -- he was also appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for one year. In the same month, Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* appeared, closely followed that year by Adam Meredith's *Ormond's Curtain Drawn*, and *The Irish Massacre*, attributed to Henry Parker. This literary trio -- in particular *The Irish Rebellion* -- deserve attention. For while Lisle's appointment suffered from Inchiquin's interference and was not renewed, such texts were to animate militant English attitudes to Ireland for some time to come.³⁴ Almost forty years later, Colonel Richard Lawrence, a leading proponent of transplantation, recommended *The Irish Rebellion* as essential reading, not as a private exercise but as a public institution. Silently invoking the status enjoyed by John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Lawrence pronounced it: 'A Book worth the chaining to every Churches Desk, and reading over once a year by every family to prevent that stupidity that is overgrowing the minds of too many Protestants.'³⁵

What then was the secret of Temple's long-term success? *The Irish Rebellion* synchronises three important literary strands in contemporary English representation of Ireland: it both reiterates and develops Spenserian thought on Ireland; it rearticulates the hysteria of contemporary popular pamphlets; and it asserts the incontrovertible value of Temple's own

³⁴ Sir John Temple, *The Irish Rebellion or an Historie* (London, 1646); Adam Meredith, *Ormond's Curtain Drawn: in a short discourse concerning Ireland* (London, Oct. 1646); Henry Parker, *The Irish Massacre. Or a true narrative of the unparallell'd cruelties exercised in Ireland* (London, after Sept. 1646). The latter two are incomplete. For a compelling overview of the activities of the Northumberland-Lisle group see J. Adamson, 'Strafford's ghost: the British context of Viscount Lisle's lieutenancy of Ireland', in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, pp. 128-159. Adamson suggests that Temple edited, if not wrote, *Ormond's Curtain Drawn* (p. 140).

³⁵ Richard Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth stated* (Dublin, 1682), p. 84. See below.

experience as a member of the Dublin administration. In terms which echo -- often alarmingly -- those of Lilly and Booker, he produces in the guise of a history, a newly militant English manifesto for Ireland. The value placed on historical truth in the text is crucial, as Temple's attack on false historians makes clear:

the sin of these men is perpetuated after their disease, they speak when they are dead, make false infusions into every Age and court every new person that shall many years after cast his eyes upon their story to give belief to their lyes.³⁶

To authenticate his own account, Temple draws examples from the 1641 depositions, and transcribes official proclamations and correspondence; in his broader historical narrative of English involvement in Ireland, he draws on recognised sources such as Spenser, Gerald of Wales, and Camden.³⁷ Broadly speaking, Temple's argument follows Spenser's insofar as he deems military conquest necessary to reclaim Ireland. Writing fifty years later, however, he cannot agree that this cleared the way for civilisation, for Temple had seen history repeat itself. His description of the effects of peaceful settlement under James I echo Spenser's description of the degeneration of the Old English in both metaphor and message:

Nay, they had made as it were a kinde of mutuall transmigration into each others manners, many English being strangely degenerated into *Irish* affections and customes, and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparell, and decent manner of living in their private houses.³⁸

The return of the metaphors -- as much as the resurgence of rebellion -- both confirms and

³⁶ Temple, *The Irish Rebellion* (1646), ff. a3r-v. In the vein of Sidney, Temple cited as historical model Du Plessis's plans, outlined in a letter to Languet, for an (unrealised) contemporary history of France, f. a2v.

³⁷ Ibid. 2-9.

³⁸ Ibid. 14-15. See Spenser, *View*, pp. 69-70.

contradicts Spenser's theories of incorporation; the Elizabethan military conquest was not severe enough, the process of civilising had not worked.

Temple urges a more thoroughly military solution, citing the 1642 expedition as a model. Interestingly, this military success had removed the dangerous rumours and conversation which so characterised the 'mutuall transmigration' of settlement. After this military action, English readers and soldiers could 'no longer be abused with the fabulous reports of the great strength or numbers which with much advantage they had long made use of.'³⁹ To prevent the recurrence of rebellion, Temple takes the military solution further, advocating that a 'wall of separation' be established between English and Irish. Like that of Spenser, Temple's use of the term 'Irish' includes, indeed villifies, the Old English. Indeed, as Temple illustrates by quoting the *Declaration* issued in the wake of the rebellion, the Old English -- by their own conversation -- condemn themselves: 'by the words, *Irish Papists*, We intended only such of the old meer Irish in the Province of Ulster as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this Treason and others which adhere to them.' In this semantic game, by joining the rebels, the Old English classify themselves alongside the 'meer Irish' as 'Papist' and 'degenerate'. Moreover, the manoeuvre suggests that Spenser was influencing not only metaphor but also policy; it replicates Spenser's plan for reducing the Munster rebels.⁴⁰

The influence of Spenser's *View* -- this time formal -- is also legible in Meredith's *Ormond's*

³⁹ Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, second section (separately paginated), p. 54; he mentioned that the few Old English 'common souldiers' who joined them fought well, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 37-38; see also second section, pp. 18-30. Spenser, *View*, pp. 100-102. For Bellings' account, see chapter two.

Curtain drawn. Like the *View*, it was written as a dialogue, but the structural differences are telling. It involves not two but three interlocutors: Decius, feared dead in the Irish rebellion, but who appears in London; Civilis, an English 'person of reputation', and Marcus, his friend. Decius dominates the dialogue with his narrative of experience of the rebellion -- one which closely echoes Temple's version. Unlike Irenius' interlocutor Eudoxus in Spenser's *View*, both Civilis and Marcus are remarkably well-informed about events, though shocked by the new details. They are moved by Decius' tale of the loss of his family and their sufferings 'in the pawes of Lyons and Tygers, or what is worse, ...in the hands of wilde men.'⁴¹ Most importantly -- but most frustratingly for the dialogic structure -- they are all agreed that the Irish are 'a people not to be ruled but with a rod of iron.' This agreement is 'staged' as Civilis gets carried away in his condemnations:

CIVILIS HAD proceeded further, had not his friend MARCUS merrily pulled him by the sleeve, and told him he forgot himselfe, since his Adversary had long since laid down the cudgell, and the onely ground of the digression was blown away with the first breath.⁴²

This is not a text which encourages digression, even to tell of the incredible feats of bravery of Charles Coote in the weeks after the rebellion. As Decius recognised 'If I were able to expresse to you, I might very well be thought to speak a piece of *Romanse*.'⁴³ Rather it is a text for clarification, consensus, and military action; indeed, the only clarification required is the true picture of Ormond's treachery, which Decius duly delivers. Ormond is 'a thief within the house', his loyalties Irish, his business, 'to save and protect his beloved Country-

⁴¹ Meredith, *Ormond's Curtain drawn*, p. 3. The Irish are also likened to the 'Savage Cannibals of the Indies' (ibid).

⁴² Ibid. 7.

⁴³ Ibid. 11.

men from the revengefull armes of the *English*.' Even before the incomplete text breaks off, the battlelines are clearly drawn: Decius, Civilis, and Marcus are ready to take up arms with Lisle.⁴⁴

Rather than draw on Spenser's literary models -- indeed, resisting any idea of the literary, as its author, Parker, writes 'But I must not frame a meere narrative, or play the Historian' -- *The Irish Massacre* draws on Temple's obsession with the authentic. Largely composed of a transcription of Lord Maguire's confession in the Tower, it breaks off before Parker's commentary on it develops at any length.⁴⁵ The interest lies in the introduction, for it locates the proposed action in Ireland in the context of the good of the 'common weale'. Parker explains that the reasons for the rebellion were 'not religious, but politicke'; it was inspired by 'Popery' which 'labours to infuse and insinuate these fragments of *Machiavell*.' He takes as his index and impetus the will of 'the diffuse body of the people' to freedom, a framework which brings him dangerously close to the Irish rebels: 'The Irish now murder us for aspiring to that liberty, which they themselves claime with lesse moderation then we doe.'⁴⁶ But the nature of Parker's 'common weale' is clear: it is poised to underwrite Cromwell's offer to extend English Protestant citizenship to Ireland.

Each of the three texts clearly defines the battlelines of the wished-for Irish expedition. Read together, they articulate the contemporary poetics of revenge: narratives of experience

⁴⁴ Ibid. 17. The text ends on p. 32.

⁴⁵ Parker, *The Irish Massacre*, p. 4; Maguire's confession, pp. 4-20. The text ends on p. 22.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 4, 3, 2.

confirm the barbarousness of the Irish; the authority of past commentators is recognised and updated; politically motivated attacks on the Protestant religion call for military action; the English 'common weale' offers citizenship to those who offer loyalty, and a 'wall of separation' to those who would transgress. Returning, for a moment, to Cromwell on the quayside, we recognise his literary arsenal. Indeed, Temple and company were forced to wait until 1649 for the conquest they wrote for to materialise. Although Colonel Michael Jones arrived in Dublin in 1647, no reinforcements followed. Instead New Model Army energies were absorbed, first in political action and debate which sought to articulate citizenship and address the role of the army in the reformed nation, and later in the second Civil War.⁴⁷ Ireland was sidelined but not forgotten; it was the subject of an unprecedented number of maps and itineraries, published in England and intended to open up the Irish countryside for settlers, adventurers, and soldiers. To adopt the terms of the later Commonwealth cartographer, Sir William Petty, the 'anatomising' of Ireland was underway. For such publications had an agenda of political and military subjection, and cried out for revenge. *A Guide for Strangers to the Kingdom of Ireland* (London, 1647) for example, included as an appendix a 'True Relation of the Bloody massacres'. And *A Discourse concerning the Affaires of Ireland* (London, 1650) -- more discourse than map -- lamented on the first page the decline of the (Machiavellian) 'Art of keeping that which the sword bequeaths.'⁴⁸

⁴⁷ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with these powerful events. For the general background, see Gentles, *The New Model Army*, pp. 140-265; see also Woodhouse, ed., *Puritanism and Liberty*; A. Woolrych, *Soldiers and Statesmen: the General Council of the Army and its Debates, 1647-48* (Oxford, 1986).

⁴⁸ See also the London publications: *A Book containing the Great and Small Towns of Ireland* (1647); *Ireland or A Booke* (1647); *Book of the Names* (1653); J. Woodhouse, *The Map of Ireland* (1653); *A New Booke of Mapps* (1655); *Discourses Political and Moral of the Conveniency and Justice of Reserving some Lands in Ireland towards satisfying the Arrears and publique faith of England* (1653) also includes a map. H. G. Fordham remarks that, after

The outbreak of the second Civil War in 1648 postponed once again the implementation of military knowledge implicit in such maps. In his poem *Hyberniae Lachrymae*, Payne Fisher - formerly an officer in the Ulster regiment of Sir John Clotworthy, the poem's dedicatee -- decried such postponement and made a dramatic plea to his muse (and his reader) to contemplate Ireland and 'Spread forth thy expanded armes, and strive to swim / in thine own teares.' The poem described an Ireland wracked by rebellion, war and famine and wondered 'Shall she pine thus unpiti'd, shall her grieve / Thus dayly finde a voyce, but no reliefe.' Fisher placed his faith in -- and directed his call to -- the military: 'And the time will come (if Souldiers may divine) / To worke their ruine that have thus wrought thine.'⁴⁹

The second Civil War saw little aid from an Irish Confederation, preoccupied with splits in its own ranks. The second Ormond peace was eventually concluded on 17 January 1648/9; the King was executed on 30 January. High on the agenda of the emerging Commonwealth was the pressing need to settle the claims of the soldiers and adventurers using conquered

this flurry, no more are published until 1723: 'Road Books and Itineraries of Ireland, 1647-1850', *Bib. Soc. Ireland*, ii (1923), 65-76. See also *The History... of the Down Survey by Doctor William Petty*, ed., T. Larcom (Dublin, 1851); W. Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London, 1691) and my 'Terms of Endearment: Textual Politics in the work of William Petty and Sir Edmund Spenser' (M.A. thesis, University of Ulster, 1993).

⁴⁹ P. Fisher, *Hyberniae Lachrymae, Or a sad contemplation on the Bleeding Condition of IRELAND* (London, 1648). See the shorter version, 'The Cryes of Vlster', BL Add. MS 19 863, ff. 7-9. On Fisher's later career as poet of the Republic and Protectorate see Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 231-238. For a less sentimental view than Fisher's of the postponement of relief see Clement Walker, *The History of Independency* (London, 1648). In this version of 'Independent' England, Ireland was 'purposely kept in a starving condition' as part of a grand plan to build up a colonial power-base at the expense of the centre of government: 'If their hopes faile in Ireland, they have *New-England, Bermudas, Barbados, the Carybi Isles, the Isle of Providence, Eleutheria, Lygonia*, and other places to retreat to, and lay up the spoiles of England in', pp. 38, 67. See also Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena: the Second Part* (London, 1646), p. 27.

Irish land. Plans for an Irish expedition were discussed as early as December 1648; less than a month after the execution of the King, the organising committee for the Irish expedition harnessed the energies of Cromwell, Vane, Marten, Colonel Jones, and Thomas Scot.⁵⁰ Even as army unrest at home monopolised parliament's attention, extensive preparations were made for despatching the army abroad. *Zions thankfull Ecchoes*, a poem by Edward Calver, from the Independent churches of Ireland echoed Fisher's earlier long-suffering despair, but had a faith that the new administration would undertake relief. It was a poem intended for the army rather than the preacher, with sections addressed to Parliament, the Lord Fairfax, and finally 'To the English Commanders and Souldiers assigned for the reliefe of Ireland'. In them Calver put his trust, in spite of their hesitation:

No, Noble Warriors, Christian Souldiers know,
I do you better estimation owe;
I cannot construe your intentions bad,
Who so good Christian Discipline have had.⁵¹

For the individual soldier, Ireland was again a cause of hesitation: a limited number of the New Model Army were to join the Irish expedition; the rest would be disbanded. This choice placed Ireland at the heart of army political debate and eventual mutiny. Army agitators insisted that the suggested disbanding of the army was a violation of the Solemn Engagement which stated that the army could not divide until justice and liberty in England was secure. Before a soldier could travel to Ireland, therefore, his rights as an English citizen must be clear. Agitators and soldiers together campaigned for home security first, conquest 'abroad'

⁵⁰ Gentles, *The New Model Army*, p. 350. For Vane's support of the Irish campaigns see J. Adamson and H. Folland, *Sir Harry Vane His Life and Times 1613-1662* (Toronto, 1973), pp. 160-62.

⁵¹ E. Calver, *Zions thankfull Ecchoes from the Clifts of Ireland. Or the little Church of Christ in Ireland, warbling out her humble and gratefull addresses to her Elder Sister in England* (London, 1649), pp. 18, 24.

later.

Leveller-influenced arguments against the expedition to Ireland have attracted substantial attention in recent years, as has the Independent response. Carlin in particular has argued persuasively that, in the response to Leveller resistance, the Independents sought to redefine their mission not just in religious, but also in colonial terms, as a war against the barbarians.⁵² As I have demonstrated above, Irish barbarity was a constant topos in literature since 1641, indeed the image drew on the authority of Elizabethan commentators. What is clear, what the Leveller sympathies and recent readings of them demonstrate, is that the Irish were by 1649 thought to be the subject of a thorough, military solution. Even though the impassioned plea of the anonymous pamphlet, *The Souldiers Demand*, appeared to speak from a different age, it still spoke to a military theme:

What have we to do with Ireland, to fight and murther a people and nation ...which have done us no harm, only deeper to put our hands in blood with [the officer's] own? We have waded too far in that crimson stream (already) of innocent and Christian blood.⁵³

But it is important to recognise, in the structure of the sentences, the domestic foundation of the protest. For the 'innocent blood' referred to is not necessarily, or not only, Irish: it is also that of English soldiers whose political expectations from the Civil Wars were not yet

⁵² See N. Carlin, 'Ireland and Natural Man in 1649', in F. Barker ed., *Europe and its Others* (Colchester, 1985), ii, 91-111; 'The Levellers and the Conquest of Ireland in 1649', *HJ*, 30 (1987), 269-88; 'Extreme or Mainstream?: the English Independents and the Cromwellian reconquest of Ireland, 1649-1651', in *Representing Ireland*, pp. 209-226; ed., *Certain Queries propounded to the Consideration of such as were intended for the service of Ireland* (London, 1992). See also C. Durston, "'Let Ireland be quiet': opposition in England to the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland", *HWJ*, 21 (1986), 105-12; S. Barber, 'Scotland and Ireland under the Commonwealth: a question of loyalty', in *Conquest and Union*, pp. 195-221.

⁵³ Gentles, *The New Model Army*, p. 331.

realised and who saw the Irish campaigns as ‘a design to ruin and break this army in pieces.’⁵⁴

To focus on the Leveller discontent, and on their definition of Ireland, is to throw into vivid relief both the complexity of the term ‘Irish’ at this time and the emotional charge with which it had been invested in the course of the 1640s. For at stake here, on the eve of reconquest, was not so much a campaign against the ‘Irish’, but a redefinition of the term ‘Irish’ to mean ‘an enemy of the Republic’. In the struggle towards Commonwealth, the territory of Ireland occupied a strange position. It was unfailingly identified as legally part of England, yet portrayed as barbarous and foreign; the proposed expedition was figured as part of a Protestant crusade, yet by 1649 the ‘Irish’ foes were Royalist rather than uncomplicatedly Catholic. Such tensions beg the question whether -- in the eyes of the new Commonwealth -- Ireland was a matter of domestic or foreign policy. Was Ireland -- to stretch a much interrogated phrase -- kingdom, integral part of the English Republic, or colony?⁵⁵ As part of a republic based on the Roman model, Ireland lay somewhere in the middle. The mutinous soldiers of 1649 echoed the earlier *Apology of the Common Souldiers* (London, 1647), also written under threat of disbandment, which claimed that the army was acutely aware of ‘the bleeding condition of Ireland, crying aloud for a brotherly assistance’

⁵⁴ ‘Letter from the Army Agitators to the Officers’, quoted Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army*, p. 204.

⁵⁵ See N. Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988). In two otherwise engaging recent works on the Commonwealth’s foreign policy, the possibility for adopting the case of Ireland as a comparative model has been little explored, see S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: ideologies and the making of English foreign policy 1650-68* (Cambridge, 1996); T. Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (New York and London, 1995).

but refused to go there until their own 'just rights and liberties' had been secured.⁵⁶ In their protest the 'common souldiers' of both 1647 and 1649 echoed -- consciously or not -- Machiavelli's thoughts on the citizen-soldier and the hired fighter. As Edward Sexby argued at the Putney debates, unless they were constitutionally inscribed as citizens at the heart of the emerging Republic, they were retrospectively cheated: 'If we had not a right to the kingdom, we were mere mercenary soldiers.'⁵⁷

May 1649 was notable for three events: England was officially declared a Commonwealth, the Leveller Army mutiny was crushed at Burford, and Milton published *Observations on the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels*.⁵⁸ All three promised clarification; Ireland featured in all three. The establishment of the Commonwealth called for a clarification of its policy on Ireland and the Council of State commissioned writers -- in particular John Milton and Theo Waring -- to prepare the terms for justified military action. Waring -- formerly employed in gathering the 1641 depositions -- styled the coming campaign as an extension of the English Civil War to the furthest reaches of the new Commonwealth, an expedition 'Towards restauration, and recomposing of the then deformed and adulterated English.'⁵⁹ Milton's

⁵⁶ *Apology of the Common Souldiers*, pp. 2-4.

⁵⁷ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, p. 69.

⁵⁸ Milton, *Works*, vi, pp. 181-271. C. Canino's recent article on images of the Irish rebellion in *Paradise Lost* half-heartedly engages with the 'Observations', but shows a poor grasp of historical context 'The Discourse of Hell: *Paradise Lost* and the Irish Rebellion', *MQ*, 32 (1998), 15-38. For background to the mutiny see Gentles, *The New Model Army*, pp. 315-349.

⁵⁹ T. Waring, *An Answer to certain seditious and Jesuitical Queres* (London, 1651), pp. 23, 26. Although commissioned in 1649, the pamphlet -- as indicated by fulsome dedication to Cromwell and Ireton -- appeared when the campaigns were well advanced. For a fuller discussion of Waring, see Carlin 'Extreme or Mainstream?', and her *Certaine Queries*.

Observations proposed a still more military version of reform. Like Temple, he advocated not just military conquest but subsequent militarised settlement, arguing that past Irish behaviour 'renders them who by their endlesse treasons and revolts have deserv'd to hold no Parlament at all, but to be govern'd by Edicts and Garrisons.' Again Milton's implied definition of 'Irish' deserves attention. With the prospect of having two officially appointed Lord-Lieutenants in Ireland in the near future -- Cromwell and Ormond -- Milton dismissed the Ormond family achievements: 'thir Irish exploits the widest scene of their glory.' In this tarring of Ormond with the 'Irish' brush, in his attack on the Presbytery of Belfast who demonstrated 'the unsufferable insolency of upstarts', Milton effectively defined as 'Irish' all those who resisted English (Commonwealth) order. With the declaration of the Commonwealth, Ireland was cast as the site of Royalist resistance in a semi-foreign land. Milton's rhetoric of 'punishment' for the 'rebels' included all those who stood against the new Commonwealth.⁶⁰

The first news of military success from Ireland further clarified the military and literary terms in which England would view Ireland for the duration of the Cromwellian campaigns. Jones' unexpected defeat of Ormond's forces at Rathmines was celebrated by both soldier and poet. Jones the soldier, praising God's providence, celebrated 'the restoring of the English Interest, which from their first footing in Ireland was never in so low a condition, as at that very instant.' He also, in Machiavellian mode, spurred on future action: 'this being the time, and the occasion being now offered for a full ending of this War, by its vigorous

⁶⁰ Milton, *Works*, vi, 244, 252, 254, 269. Ormond's invitation to the exiled Charles was first issued on 22 January, and later 28 June 1649, see Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, i, 13, 92.

prosecution.’⁶¹ In England, George Wither’s poem *Carmen Eucharisticon* celebrated the first victory of the republic. The titlepage heralded ‘the routing of a numerous Army of Irish Rebels’ and within the poem itself the distinctly military -- even St George-like -- figure of Jones routs the enemy with apocalyptic precision:

Mich’el, and his *Angells*, there
Threw their *Dragon-Cavaliere*
With his *Angells*, from our sphere.

The ‘*Dragon-Cavaliere*’, depicted in the poem and led by the drunken, gambling Ormond and Taafe, is a composite enemy of the republic, kin to Milton’s ‘mixt rabble’:

The fool’d *Welsh*, the faithlesse *Scot*,
And our *English* mis-begot,
Joyning in an *Irish Plot*,
Sought to root us from the Land.⁶²

This ‘Irish Plot’, it seems, has the power to turn all of the misguided in the ‘three kingdoms’ into ‘Irish’, that is to say, figures for rebellion and dissent. Nor does this displacement -- at once geographical and political -- only feature in the rhetoric of the emergent laureates of the republic. The royalist broadsheet satire *The Loyall Subjects Jubilee, or Cromwell’s Farewell to England, being a poem on his advancing to Ireland* (London, 1649) saw the forthcoming campaigns as Cromwell’s nemesis:

His *Exits* come, *Ireland* the Stage must be
Where he must act his latest Tragedie.
...
May they horses founder, they Souldiers weary grow

⁶¹ *Lieutenant General Jones Letter to the Councel of State of a great Victory* (London, 11 August 1649), p. 5.

⁶² G. Wither, *Carmen Eucharisticon: A Private Thank-Oblation* (London, 29 August 1649) p. 2. The second half of the five-page poem is devoted to earlier parliamentary victories. See also *Ormond’s Breakfast, or a true relation of the sally and skirmish* (Dublin, 1649). For Royalist satire on the same victory see *The Speech of Philip Herbert... passing an Act for a Day of Thanksgiving for Colonel Jones’ Victory over the Irish* (London, 1649).

Upon their march they can no further goe,
 Or if march upon the *Irish* sight,
 Take to their heels, and finely give thee flight,
 And may this noise of their most eager running,
 Still make thee think that *Charles* the IIs comming
 To claime his due with a victorious hand
 And purge all Rebels from his English land

The Irish soldiers in this poem exist only as a terrifying image; for the English Royalist verser cannot, it seems, bring himself to imagine Irish men in the same fighting force as Englishmen, cannot even imagine the Irish as fighters. He can, however, reverse Milton's rhetoric of rebellion. This allows him to figure Cromwell and his men as 'Irish' in their cowardice and their 'most eager running', and to wish not only for an end to the Republic but also for a Restoration of order as Charles II, rendering the Irish redundant, leads the charge.

2. Reading Cromwell's Enemies -- 1649-1651

And truly there is no fear of the strength and combination of enemies round
 about, nor of slanderous tongues at home.
 Cromwell to Lenthall, Cashel, 15 February 1649/50.⁶³

The legend of Cromwell was not the sole property of Irish readers. Writers of the republic swiftly gave mythical proportion to Cromwell's masterful resolution of the Irish problem. Marvell proclaimed Ireland to be reconquered by the work of a single commander well-versed in military discipline:

And now the *Irish* are asham'd
 To see themselves in one Year tam'd:
 So much one Man can do,
 That does both act and know.

With Ireland -- for the purpose of the panegyric at least -- done and dusted, the poem points

⁶³ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 215.

the way forward to the next commonwealth project: Scotland.⁶⁴ By 1654, Milton had also transformed the campaign into an epic battle by an epic general: 'All Ireland was lost, with the exception only of one city, when you transported an army, and immediately, in a single battle, broke the power of the Irish.'⁶⁵

Returning to Cromwell on the quayside, however, we do not yet find the Imperial figure of these later representations of the Republic and Protectorate. Rather, we find the military commander of the new Republic with a long out-standing job to do, and, as demonstrated above, the literary way to victory well-prepared. The English forces were not only equipped with superior arms but also, courtesy of their Republican writers, with a highly mediated view of Ireland, a militarised vision of the enemy designed to inspire military confidence. Such images, however, quickly showed the strain. Cromwell's often-quoted reflection on the notorious massacre at Drogheda begs to be reread in the light of the images of the 'Irish' evolved between 1641 and 1649 and traced above:

I am persuaded that this is the righteous Judgement of God upon these Barbarous wretches who have so imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such Actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The Officers and Soldiers of this Garrison were the flower of all their Army; and their great expectation was, that our

⁶⁴ A. Marvell, 'An Horatian Ode', in Norbrook and Woodhuysen eds, *Renaissance Verse*, pp. 166-169, ll. 73-76. For a compelling analysis of the poem see Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 245-27; see also B. Worden, 'Andrew Marvell, Oliver Cromwell, and the Horatian Ode', in K. Sharpe and S. Zwicker, eds, *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987), pp. 147-80.

⁶⁵ Milton, *Defensio Secunda* (London, 1654), in *Works*, viii, p. 219. See Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, pp. 331-37.

attempting this place would put fair to ruin us.⁶⁶

For there is, in Cromwell's self-persuasion, much rhetorical work in extracting himself from 'remorse and regret.' His terms for the enemy shift from 'Barbarous wretches' to 'officers and soldiers' to 'the flower of all their army'; that is to say, the enemy shift from the rebels who ran undisciplined riot in the Ulster countryside, to a disciplined, military garrison, to, finally, worthy opponents, and thus a significant victory. The Cromwellian image of the enemy hovered -- as it did in the texts discussed above -- between the Elizabethan notion of the Irish kern in an uncultivated and treacherous landscape and a well-disciplined (English, Royalist) force in a well-fortified garrison.

The reality of mid-seventeenth century Ireland was -- Cromwell's words make plain -- more complicated than Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* had his readers believe. At Drogheda, English Royalists suffered brutalities intended for 'Barbarous wretches'; Colonel Berne, his protestant regiment, and the former governor of Reading, Sir Arthur Aston, were killed there. Cromwell's sentences, even as they drew on the received vocabulary of Ireland, began to enact his discovery of the real place. Ultimately, he recuperated his confusion to the familiar, public discourse of divine providence; but even this was complex in that the first reference to God in the letter noted the possibility of defeat -- 'the courage God was pleased to give the defenders.' In a reflective act of reading and interpretation -- 'And now give me leave to say

⁶⁶ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 127. Cromwell's letter to Lenthall, dated Dublin, 17 September 1649, was published together with Venables' report, *Letters from Ireland* (London, 2 October 1649). This proclaimed 1 November a day of thanksgiving. Other contemporary accounts of Drogheda include Colonel Hewson's letter in *Perfect Occurrences* 28 Sept-4 Oct 1649; M. Stace, ed., *Cromwelliana* (Westminster, 1810), p. 64; C. H. Firth, ed., *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1894), i, 233-4. See also Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, i, 115-23, and J. G. Simms, 'Cromwell at Drogheda, 1649', *Irish Sword*, 11 (1974), 212-221.

how it comes to pass that this work is wrought...' -- Cromwell reported with wonder how the Papists who celebrated mass in St Peter's Protestant church were burnt to death in the steeple. The geography of the attack is rendered doubly symbolic: disputed territory is reclaimed, Ireland is re-turned England. Moreover this happens -- in Cromwell's reading -- 'Not by power, or might, but by the spirit of God.' This scriptural recuperation of the chaos of Drogheda into one symbolic event echoes across the centuries. Yet in contemporary reports, it is Cromwell's military rather than his religious terminology which echoes. For in Sir Lewis Dye's account, intended for the Earl of Newcastle and the King, Cromwell's phraseology resonated as he described the destruction of the 'flower of the Irish army.' Cromwell's letters, it would seem, supplied both sides with literary ammunition; but the words 'Irish' or 'Ireland' do not occur -- or are avoided -- in his report. It is an action of military necessity against the 'enemy'; Cromwell's list of the dead remains a military list. It is left to the Royalist reporter to define this 'enemy' as 'Irish'.⁶⁷

That Cromwell had a keen interest in the art of writing war was already clear from his reports on the Civil War campaigns in England. But his was not the only pen at work in Ireland. The historical consensus has been that, while Cromwell recruited pamphlet writers for his Scottish Campaign, for his Irish campaign, he recruited preachers.⁶⁸ Less attention has been given to the more secular literary reinforcements recruited by the Republic, for Ireland. The tools and personnel were in place to create a home from home. The Hartlib associate Gerald

⁶⁷ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 126, 127-28. *A Letter from Sir Lewis Dye to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle* (The Hague, 10 July 1650), p. 24.

⁶⁸ See S. Barber, 'Scotland and Ireland under the Commonwealth'. On the role of the army chaplains John Owen, Hugh Peters, and Jenkin Lloyd, see Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp. 96-98. On the general role of the chaplains, see Solt, *Saints in Arms*.

Boate was appointed physician to the army in 1649 and served at the Dublin hospital until his death in 1650. His compilation, *Ireland's Naturall History* (London, 1652) -- a paean to the potential of Ireland for profitable civilisation --, was published posthumously by Hartlib.⁶⁹ Two further members of the expedition team were also writers of reputation: Henry Parker was appointed secretary to the army; Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, later Earl of Orrery, was made master of the ordnance.

Henry Parker had a considerable reputation as a radical political thinker and writer for the parliamentary cause. His public career began in the heady days of 1641, when -- in the wake of the Irish rebellion and continued domestic unrest -- he was heavily involved in the Militia Bill controversy in 1641-42, forcefully arguing against a standing army and for parliamentary control of the forces. As outlined above, he published his own contribution to the Temple-Lisle school, *The Irish Massacre* (1646). He also worked with the Republican poet and translator Thomas May to expose Charles I's intentions to join with the Irish in *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645); more recently the two had collaborated on legislation against scandalous publications, designed to prevent future Leveller subversion of the Commonwealth. His defence of the Republic's action in restoring order to the disordered monarchy, *The True Portraiture of the Kings of England*, was published in 1650. In 1651, he

⁶⁹ For the Hartlib interest in Ireland and the role of the Boate brothers see Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp. 213-48; 'The Hartlib circle and the origins of the Dublin Philosophical Society', *IHS*, 19 (1974), 56-71; 'The Hartlib Circle and the Cult and Culture of improvement in Ireland', in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie, and T. Raylor eds, *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 281-297.

published *The Chief Affairs of Ireland* and died in Ireland in 1652.⁷⁰

Roger Boyle, as explored in chapter one, was recruited for his local and military expertise. Boyle's more courtly literary pursuits were not likely to appeal to the Council of State, but I suggest that he had a direct influence on Cromwell's thought on Ireland -- particularly on the long-standing Munster plantations. On 5 March 1650, Cromwell's account of the capitulation of Cahir castle remarked: 'It cost the Earl of Essex, as I am informed, about eight weeks siege with his arms and artillery.' On 2 April, in a personal letter to his son Richard sent from Carrick-on-suir, he instructed him to: 'Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raughleye's History: it's a body of history, and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of story.'⁷¹ This is the only explicit reference Cromwell ever made to his reading outside of the scriptures and deserves attention in its immediate location, in the territory of Roger Boyle, who used the same volume for his romance and his military handbook. Both letters were written after winter quarters spent in Raleigh's Irish 'hometown', Youghal. It is tempting to imagine Boyle prompting Cromwell to read Raleigh, and even Harrington's account of Essex's campaigns. The signs are that Cromwell was not only engaged on a

⁷⁰ See H. Parker, *Observations upon some of His Majestie's Late Answers and Expresses* (London, 1642). For the ensuing pamphlet debate, see W. Haller, ed., *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-1647*, 3 vols (New York, 1934), i, 24-27; Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 68-69; Schowrer, *No Standing Armies!*, pp. 33-50; Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, pp. 98-101. See also M. Judson, 'Henry Parker and the Theory of Parliamentary Supremacy', in *Essays in History and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 138-67; W. K. Jordan, *Men of Substance: A Study of the Thought of Two English Revolutionaries, Henry Parker and Henry Robinson* (Chicago, 1942); M. Mendle, *Henry Parker and the English Civil War: The Political Thought of the Public's 'Privado'* (Cambridge, 1995). See also H. Parker, *Scotland's Holy War* (London, 1649).

⁷¹ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 218, 236. Abbott notes that Essex took four days, not eight weeks.

military campaign, but that he was also constructing his own 'body of History': an Elizabethan tradition of English settlement in Ireland. That this inheritance in Munster should involve Raleigh and Essex, two military figures -- both well-versed in Machiavelli's thoughts on colonisation and both troublesome to monarchy -- seems appropriate.⁷² That Henry Parker, the radical theorist of the military power of Parliament was also involved in the enterprise, reminds us that both pen and sword were wielded in this campaign to turn Ireland to England.

In what follows, I examine what happened to Cromwell's writing of war and in particular to Cromwellian perceptions of the enemy when his forces arrived on Irish shores. I do so through three selections from the official reports and declarations, summons and articles of siege, and private letters to friends and colleagues, which make up the large volume of Cromwell's own writings from Ireland. The first text to be considered, the often-quoted *A Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, For the Undeceiving of a deluded and seduced People* (Cork and London, 1650) was the official response to the declarations issued by the convention of the Irish Catholic clergy at Clonmacnoise. It was the only one of Cromwell's writings from the campaigns to be fully published in both England and Ireland. The second is an official report to the Speaker sent from winter quarters in Cork and dated 19 December 1649. It was published in England in January in heavily edited form. The third text

⁷² See Barnard, 'Irish Images of Cromwell'. See also on the *History of the World*, A. Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People* (London, 1997), pp. 22-59. S. Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia, 1998) makes rather disappointing comparisons with Raleigh's activities in Ireland. To complete Cromwell's reconstruction of the Elizabethan Munster landscape, it is noteworthy that he later personally intervened during the land settlement to try to preserve Kilcolman for Edmund Spenser's (Catholic) grandson, see Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, iii, 238; iv, 437.

does not exist among Cromwell's writings; it concerns, rather, an incident about which Cromwell was silent: the severe military setback he suffered at Clonmel, shortly before his departure for England. Through this close study of Cromwell's words -- and his silence -- I want to shift focus from English images of Ireland and the 'Irish' enemy to English images of Cromwell in Ireland. To pay such close attention to the terms in which the campaign is both articulated and silenced is not to deny the 'effusion of blood' which lay behind such accounts. Rather it is to examine how the manipulation of events for an English readership enhanced Cromwell's military credentials and produced more effective propaganda for the colonial project in Ireland.

Cromwell's *Declaration... For the Undeceiving of deluded and seduced people* was his lengthiest, most rhetorically accomplished, and subsequently most quoted publication of the period. Published in both Ireland and London, it was, in effect, Cromwell's first state paper for the extended Republic.⁷³ The *Declaration* drew clear battlelines: it declared war on all those who adhered to the Clonmacnoise declaration of 'War upon the interest of their Church, his Majesty, and the Nation.' Also clear -- as frequently cited -- was the anti-Catholicism of a text which, having announced its intention to subject 'the Divers Declarations and Acts of the Popish Prelates and Clergy' to 'a particular survey', swiftly turned into a tirade emphatically addressed to the the clergy themselves: 'It was your pride that begat this expression and it is for filthy lucre's sake that you keep it up.' As Cromwell's systematic attack on the meddling of the Catholic Church in temporal affairs continued, it

⁷³ It was published in Cork in January and the London edition was dated 21 March, 1650, see *ibid*, ii, 196-205. The Clonmacnoise declarations were published, with a covering note from Cromwell, in *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 25-31, see Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, I, ii, 329-330.

found a second addressee, namely, 'such Protestants as may incline to you'. The text spoke to the conscience of those who joined the Catholics to fight under the banner -- Cromwell's term is 'figleaf of pretence' -- of Royalism. Finally, the *Declaration* culminates in an offer of amnesty both to the 'Private soldier' who 'shall live peaceably and honestly at their private homes' and to the 'nobility, gentry and commons of Ireland as have not been actors in this rebellion.' These various addressees, then, were the 'deluded and seduced People' of the title. But the text merits closer attention. For this revisitation and regalanising of the definition of the 'enemy' was designed to resound in England as well as Ireland. There is, I suggest, a further, unacknowledged addressee in the *Declaration* -- also by implication 'deluded and seduced' -- namely the increasingly unsettled factions at home.⁷⁴

In early December 1649, as the Clonmacnoise conventicle issued their resolutions, the exiled Charles was in Jersey, on his way to join Ormond in Ireland. Ormond, however, had already despatched the first of two reports indicating the hopelessness of the Royalist position there, reports which did not reach Charles until January 1650.⁷⁵ In writing and publishing the *Declaration* in Cork in early January, Cromwell seized the opportunity to 'simplify' the enemy by splitting the fragile Royalist alliance of Protestant and Catholic in Ireland and bringing those loyal to England into the Republican fold. Cromwell's offer of amnesty in his

⁷⁴ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 196, 197, 205. The amnesty echoed the indemnity offered in Cromwell's *To the English Officers in Cork and Youghal* (Ross, c. 14 November 1649). The 'voluntary' declaration of the Munster commanders for Parliament -- actually long-prepared by Cromwell -- was a propaganda coup. Cromwell rewarded their 'renewed sense of the English Parliamentary and Protestant interest (to the prejudice whereof they had formerly been drawn and deluded)', *ibid.* 161-62.

⁷⁵ T. Carte ed., *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers concerning the Affairs of England from the year 1641 to 1660*, 2 vols (London, 1739), ii, 416-417, dated 30 November and 15 December.

Declaration was coupled with a blistering interrogation of the Clonmacnoise definition of the term ‘enemy’. The passage merits quotation in full:

Who is it created this common enemy? I suppose you mean Englishmen. The English! Remember, ye hypocrites, Ireland was once united to England. Englishmen had good inheritances which many of them purchased with their money; they or their ancestors, from many of you and your ancestors. They had good leases from Irishmen for long time to come; great stocks thereupon; houses and plantations erected at their cost and charge. They lived peaceably and honestly amongst you. You had generally equal benefit of the protection of England with them, and equal justice from the laws, saving what was necessary for the State (out of reasons of State) to put upon some few people apt to rebel upon the instigation of such as you. You broke this union! You, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre (without respect of sex or age) that ever the sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace, and when, through the example of English industry, through commerce and traffic, that which was in the natives’ hands was better to them than if all Ireland had been in their possession, and not an Englishman in it.⁷⁶

This rehearsal of the tropes of the golden age of Jacobean settlement and the spectres of 1641 revives the idiom of Temple’s *The Irish Rebellion* and of his literary partners. Under an investigation of the term ‘enemy’, the discourse of the long propaganda war against Ireland is resurrected. The clear battleline between ‘Irish rebels’ and the ‘English State’ is restored after the confusion of a hybrid Royalist foe.

Yet even as the *Declaration* consciously problematised language, proclaiming its intention to define the terms of the enemy, it was forced to revisit and redefine the terms of the English Republic. As it did so, it gave a tantalising glimpse of the circulation of texts and terms in the wars of seventeenth-century Ireland, an indication of the scribbled manuscript and ‘word-of-mouth’ culture of which only fragments survive. For after Drogheda and Wexford, the term ‘massacre’ -- so long the sobriquet of the 1641 rebellion -- was flung back at the English with

⁷⁶ Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 198.

new, Cromwellian currency. His counter-attack invoked the laws of war:

But well; your words are, ‘massacre, destroy and banish’. Good now: give us an instance of one man since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed or banished; concerning the two first of which justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done.⁷⁷

The war, waged in Ireland, was also waged in the English language, in terms which circulated from army to army. At the heart of this circulation lay the most-quoted paragraph of Cromwell’s *Declaration*:

“For that which you mention concerning liberty of religion, I meddle not with any man’s conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, Where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of.”⁷⁸

The quotation-marks within the text are important; for this is Cromwell quoting the Catholic Clergy’s declaration’s quotation of Cromwell’s summons to Sir Lucas Taaffe, the governor of Ross, 19 October 1649.⁷⁹ Although he did not notice it, apparently relying on the Catholic declaration for his words, Cromwell here quoted mis-quotation. For his original letter did not include the word ‘religion’, but ‘conscience’. In the midst of such a patently anti-Catholic tirade, this may seem a minor detail to pick up on, but the distinction between ‘religion’ and ‘conscience’ was precisely the pivot for much of the political debate around the Parliamentary Civil Wars. It is a distinction which also structures Cromwell’s *Declaration* and which spoke to the Republic at home. If the rhetorical force of the address belongs to Cromwell and his fellow sermonisers, the hand of Henry Parker may also be inferred. For the

⁷⁷ Ibid. ii, 203.

⁷⁸ Ibid. ii, 201.

⁷⁹ Ibid. ii, 146. Cromwell sent a copy of Sinnott, governor of Wexford’s, proposals for surrender, including the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, to Parliament ‘for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudency of the man’, *ibid.* ii, 142.

Declaration, more than a definition of the Irish enemy of the Republic, is carefully structured as a reminder of the values of the English Republic itself. It was, moreover, timely; for even as the assimilation of Ireland to the Commonwealth grew evermore likely, resistance to the Republic at home was becoming evermore strident. Indeed, in a widely published letter Cromwell had previously attempted to use his success in Ireland to silence the dissent of those 'that are now in the place of government':

That these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethern on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarrings and heart-burnings among the children? And if it will not yet be received that these are the Seals of Gods Approbation of your great change of Government, which indeed was no more yours than these Victories and Successes are ours; yet let them with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgements and mighty works of God.⁸⁰

In the *Declaration*, alongside the religious invective against the Catholic church, a second discourse was invoked -- possibly influenced by Parker -- to address such dissent in England. At its heart lay a vision of a golden -- yet retrievable -- age, which the muddling of religion and statecraft had destroyed. The condemnation of a church 'Where so Antichristian and dividing a term as Clergy and Laity is given and received' formed part of a discourse of on-going revolution, designed to appeal to veteran English reformers of the early 1640s:

Arbitrary power men begin to be weary of, in Kings and Churchmen; their juggle between them to uphold civil and ecclesiastical tyranny begins to be transparent. Some have cast off both, and hope by the grace of God to keep so. Others are at it!⁸¹

⁸⁰ Ibid. 173-74, dated [Waterford] 25 November 1649, published as *A Letter from the Right Honourable, The Lord Lieutenant for Ireland to ...Lenthall* (London, 12 December 1649); *Een Brief van Cromwell* (Rotterdam, 1649). The House issued the first of many calls for Cromwell's return on 4 January 1650, see Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 193.

⁸¹ Ibid. ii, 200. See also Cromwell's personal letter to John Sadler -- formerly Parker's colleague as secretary to the house -- requesting that he serve as a magistrate in Munster, *ibid.* 186-187, dated Cork, 31 December 1649. The letter sought 'a way of doing justice

The Irish Catholic Bishops -- like Charles I and his bishops before them -- stood accused not only of the abuse of political power 'that you might bridle, saddle and ride them [the people] at leisure', but also of the mystification of language: 'You keep the Word of God from them; and instead thereof give them senseless orders and traditions.' Invoking the all-too-familiar spectres of the counter-Reformation and continental intervention, Cromwell called for clarity: 'But what Majesty is it you mean? Is it France, or Spain, or Scotland? Speak plainly!'. Chastising the villainous Catholic clergy, and appealing to the hesitant Protestant, Cromwell tried his own plain-speaking. He restated his mission in Ireland in the language of war and of liberty; it was a language addressed as much to the army at home as it was to the 'deluded and seduced' of Ireland:

We come to break the power of a company of lawless rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society; whose principles (the world hath experience of) are, to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come (by the assistance of God) to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a nation where we have an undoubted right to it; -- wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits, to use liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms.⁸²

The intention to refurbish an England in Ireland went hand in hand with the desire to restore liberty to England. This 'liberty' included that of conscience, carefully defined at the heart of the *Declaration* as the Republican alternative to the hated spectre of statist religion:

What thoughts they have in matters of religion in their own breasts I cannot reach; but think it my duty, of they walk honestly and peaceably, not to cause them in the least to suffer for the same, but shall endeavour to walk patiently and in love towards them, to see if at any time it shall please God to give them

amongst these poor people ...who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as, I believe, any people in that which we call Christendom' (ibid, ii, 187).

⁸² Ibid. 197, 201, 199, 205.

a better mind.⁸³

The lines of the New Republic were thereby drawn. It admitted 'honest and peaceful' citizens and excluded Catholicism along with other state religions; it embraced the loyal citizen in Ireland, as in England, and celebrated an 'Irish' history which stretched only as far as the Elizabethan plantations; it relied on the soldierly defence of colonial settlement. In the *Declaration's* forceful revival and reformulation of the threat of the Catholic church in Ireland, the English thirst for a clarity in the colonisation process was satisfied. It was published in England on 21 March, less than a week before Kilkenny, the former Confederate capital, fell to Cromwell; the message of the military -- and literary -- invincibility of the Republic rang loud.

Yet while this particular *Declaration* was proclaimed both in Cork and London, other of Cromwell's writings had a more stormy journey home. During the English campaigns, Cromwell's battle reports had been occasionally edited. In the most notable example, Parliament suppressed from his report on the fall of Bristol his euphoric, final paragraph on freedom of conscience and how Protestants of all kinds had fought together.⁸⁴ Five years later, while the *Declaration* published the same freedom of conscience on both sides of the Irish channel, other aspects of the Irish campaigns fell subject to the editor's pen. Cromwell's last letter to Lenthall before he entered winter quarters in Youghal was dated Cork, 19 December 1649. The version published in London in early January was approximately half

⁸³ Ibid. ii, 202.

⁸⁴ See *Lieut: General Cromwells Letter of the Taking the city of Bristoll* (London, 1645), the official version, and *The Conclusion of Lieut: General Cromwells Letter to the House of Commons concerning the taking of Bristoll* (London, 1645), separately published by the Independents.

the length of the original.⁸⁵ Some cuts are minor: Colonel Jones' death on 10 December, for example, was ascribed to 'a [pestilent and contagious spotted] fever'. The signs of physical infection were not the only danger to be suppressed in the troubled capital; signs of emotional distress were likewise removed, and Cromwell's obvious emotion at the loss of Jones, his kinsman Oliver Cromwell, other friends, and comrades-in-arms had no place in the edited version. Nor, it appeared, was there any room for gratitude to men of dubious background and loyalties; the blue pen removed Cromwell's substantial praise of Roger Boyle, then Lord Broghill, and his military gains in Munster, along with his request that Parliament reward him for his service.⁸⁶

The fiercest cuts -- most of the first paragraph and three substantial paragraphs preceding the last of the letter -- removed any real cause for anxiety about the army's condition. The omitted text included Cromwell's urgent plea that Parliament should not rest on their laurels, otherwise 'that which should enable to finish and perfect may be withdrawn and slackened to the prejudice of public interest.' Very different concepts of 'public interest' were at play, it would appear, in Cork and in London. Cromwell's detailed summary of the state of affairs in Ireland included the most thorough breakdown of the enemy to appear in any of his reports:

[...At the present, O'Neale's party are in full conjunction with the Earl of Ormond, by which they contribute the assistance of near seven thousand effective horse and foot, these being the eldest sons of the Church of Rome, most cried up and confided in by the clergy.

⁸⁵ The original version is from House of Lords MSS, see *Seventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners*, Appendix, p. 73; for the published version see, *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 4-11 (London, 1650). See Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 176-179 where words removed from the original for publication are in parentheses, [...].

⁸⁶ Ibid. ii, 177. Broghill was shortly after granted Muskerry's estate until his own were regained, *ibid.* ii, 193.

The rest of the army consists of the old English-Irish, some protestants, some papists and other Popish Irish, who are carried by the interests of Ormond, Clanrickarde, Castlehaven, Muskery, Taaff and other old English and Irish, both lords and gentlemen, who are able to bring, and have already in the field, very considerable numbers of bodies of men not to be neglected upon any human-confidence, or under-valued...]

Cromwell's complex understanding of the enemy, acquired on the ground, rendered a continuing belief in the 'barbarous Irish' impossible to sustain. The very fact of the detail in turn rendered it unfit for English consumption: the description of the enemy, the threat of foreign aid to an evermore 'purely popish' interest, the naval threat offshore, all were removed with a stroke of the editor's pen. Left behind for publication was a very different text which -- once again -- exalted the English interest, protestant, and colonial. The removal of the carefully documented threats and the personal distress changed the text in various ways. Firstly, the force of religious reference intensified: the English reader experienced a series of parliamentary gains captured by God, rather than by the military skill of generals such as Broghill. Secondly, with the removal of his generals, Cromwell acquired a newly heroic stature and the 'We', which in the original referred to his 'crazy company', instead swelled to include the reader in a victorious march across Ireland. Finally, the enemy which crumbled before Cromwell and his English reader was indistinct. The vacuum left by the removal of the above confederation from the text was filled by old, familiar spectres and the image of the enemy as 'barbarous Irish' was quietly preserved. The London editors ensured that Cromwell's last report before entering winter quarters addressed the English reader in terms of carefully sculpted triumph. Written in Ireland, but rewritten in England, it proclaimed, with much greater volume than Cromwell's original, 'A public day of thanksgiving throughout your territories in Ireland.'⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Ibid. ii, 178.

The idea that news should be edited, and that bad news in particular had no place at home, is enacted by the last of the texts. Cromwell wrote nowhere of his near defeat at the siege of Clonmel. This may simply be because his attention had moved to the next battlefield, but the omission is, nonetheless, significant, for Clonmel was, in Gentles' words, 'the severest check of his military career'.⁸⁸ Cromwell's near conqueror was the Irish commander, and former Spanish captain, Hugh Duff O'Neill. Reduced to defending a city without ammunition, with no hope of reinforcements from a fractured Confederation, Duff O'Neill resorted to strategy. On 16 May 1650, Cromwell's army marched into the breach and were ambushed in a trap built by the soldiers and citizens of Clonmel. Cromwell's men were channelled into a long alley, with walls constructed of rubbish, and were pelted from above with stones, timber, and muskets with little ammunition. A thousand men were immediately trapped inside the breach; Cromwell -- waiting for his men to open the gates to the city -- continued to send in more men for four hours. It was estimated -- possibly over-estimated -- that between one thousand five hundred and two thousand were killed, about the same number of soldiers and civilians as were killed in Wexford. In a final humiliating twist, while Cromwell agreed conditions with the governor of the town, Duff O'Neill and his men slipped away in the middle of the night to Limerick.

Accounts by contemporary supporters of the Republic gave little space to the moment.

Ludlow remarked that 'It something troubled the commanders to be thus overreached; but

⁸⁸ Gentles, *The New Model Army*, p. 373. Cromwell's last report from Carrick-on-suir, dated 2 April -- the same day as he instructed his son to read Raleigh's 'body of history' -- detailed the capture of Kilkenny, and ended with the prospect of his return to England, *Letter from the Lord Lieutenant to Lenthall* (London, 13 April 1650); see Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 231-235.

conditions being granted, they thought it their duty to keep them with the town.' In the official, celebratory version of the Irish campaigns, it appeared in the long list of two hundred and thirty four military triumphs simply as '215. Clonmel taken.'⁸⁹ An anonymous account by a 'British Officer' of a Northern Presbyterian regiment, however, offered a more fulsome representation of Cromwell's 'trouble'. In a scene which reportedly took place outside the walls of Clonmel the next morning, we find both the voice and the military reputation of Cromwell powerfully represented. At the conclusion of the siege, the Mayor, Michael White came out to negotiate terms of surrender to which Cromwell readily agreed:

After which Cromwell asked him if Hugh Duff O'Neill knew of his coming out, to which he Answered he did not, for that he was gone two hours after Night fell with all his men, at which Cromwell started and frowned at him and said "You knave, have you served me so and did not tell me so before". To which the Mayor replied, if his Excellency had demanded the question, he would tell him. Then he asked him what Duff O'Neill was; to which the Mayor replied that he was an oversea soldier, born in Spain; on which Cromwell said: "G-d D--n You, and your oversea!" and desired the Mayor to give the Paper back again. To which the other answered that he hoped his Excellency would not break his conditions or take them from him, which was not the repute his Excellency had, but to perform whatsoever he had promised. On which Cromwell was somewhat calm but said in a fury "By G--above he would follow that Hugh Duff O'Neill wheresoever he went."⁹⁰

A number of familiar tropes are at work -- and are re-worked -- in this highly dramatised report. The disappearing Irish fighter, impossible to engage in a standing fight and a constant frustration to English settlers in early modern Ireland, is both present and transformed

⁸⁹ Firth ed., *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, i, 238; *A History or Brief Chronicle of the Chief Matters of the Irish Warres* (London, 1650), quoted Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, V, 157-167 (166). For other accounts of Clonmel, see *ibid*, IV, 412-414, and on the negotiations see Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, ii, 245-253.

⁹⁰ E. Hogan, ed., *The History of the Warr of Ireland from 1641 to 1653 by a British Officer of the Regiment of Sir John Clotworthy* (Dublin, 1873), p. 111. As detailed in the preface (i-vi), the edition is of a transcript made c. 1750 of an anonymous manuscript dated 1685. Hogan's titlepage quotes verse by Payne Fisher (see above) who served in Clotworthy's regiment in the early 1640s.

‘oversea’ into a military strategist, skilled -- if unconventionally so -- in garrison warfare. Cromwell, himself ‘oversea’, is recognisable as the figure common in Royalist propaganda - his curses and frustration as ungodly as the next man’s. In both battle and negotiations, this Cromwell misreads the situation. The supposedly clarifying move -- away from the heat of battle and into the territory of language and negotiation, terms and treaties -- proves deceptive. Cromwell ultimately gets neither what he bargained for, nor whom he thought he was bargaining with. This was not the last time Cromwell and Duff O’Neill were to meet; nor was the author of the *History of the Warr of Ireland* the only anonymous author to record and interpret their dealings. For the *Aphorismical Discovery* tells how events at Clonmel had a sequel, one which confirmed both the mutual respect of military men, and demonstrated a certain poetic justice. When Cromwell finally found himself faced with the captured Duff O’Neill he had vowed to hound, he returned him ‘oversea’, granted him passage to Spain, and ‘recommended... him for a good soldier.’⁹¹

Dramatising the earlier moment of non-encounter with the disappearing, ‘oversea’ soldier at Clonmel, the ‘British Officer’ represents Cromwell doing battle with his own legend. The mayor -- calling on Cromwell’s reputation for fair play -- also calls his bluff. Later in his text the anonymous northern Presbyterian author stresses that the moment itself was no legend, that he had taken care to listen to both sides of the story. Yet even as he argued its authenticity, he betrayed a number of related facts about his own history and about the historiography of mid-seventeenth century Ireland. The first is that he was not an eye witness to the events he narrates: ‘The relation I had not only from some Officers and Soldiers of the

⁹¹ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, ii, 137.

Beseigers, but also from the Beseiged.’ From the moment of writing, the anonymous *History of the Warr of Ireland* plunges into the battleground of contemporary historiography; the author makes it clear that he not only fights and writes, he also reads and contests. As keen to unpick the term ‘Rebels’ as he was to interrogate Cromwell’s military reputation and the reputation of the English historians who left it unchallenged, he writes:

Yet Mr Philipps this Historiographer, in his continuation of Baker’s History, in his relation of Irish Transactions [in] the last Warrs, has not a word to say of the Siege or Storm, neither of such a man as Hugh Duff O’Neill; but passes by him in silence, as he passed by him that defeated the Scottish Army at Benburb, as if he never heard of Owen Roe MacArt O’Neill; but he often names and reiterates the Rebells of Ireland; but never heard of a Rebellion or Rebells in England or Scotland, but all Republicans. So-

Let partiall pens be memorised with shame,
And ne’er deserve a memorable good fame.⁹²

Offering yet another angle from which to read the complex allegiances united in Ireland under the Royalist cause, the Northern Presbyterian ‘British Officer’ here demonstrates his military respect for the Ulster O’Neills. He further betrays the fact that, even on the eve of the first anniversary of the declaration of the Republic, outside the walls of Clonmel, the legend of ‘Cromwell in Ireland’ was already disputed, and was already forcing Cromwell’s own hand. Cromwell himself remained silent on Clonmel, and the detail of the event was suppressed in the usual parliamentary sources. He shortly afterwards left for England where celebrations of the military hero’s return and preparations for the next campaign in Scotland wiped Ireland -- for the moment -- from the map. In the midst of the euphoria, it was left to the Royalist satire of *The Man on the Moon* to highlight the omission.⁹³

⁹² Hogan, ed., *History of the Warr of Ireland*, p. 112. See also preface, i-xiv.

⁹³ *The Man in the Moon*, 29 May-5 June, 1650. On the celebrations of Cromwell’s returns from Ireland and Scotland see Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic*, pp. 72-75.

3. Rewriting Ireland -- Richard Lawrence and the art of settlement

Each private man shall there be a Freeholder
And Gentleman to boot is ev'ry soldier.⁹⁴

In 1682, over thirty years after his arrival as commander of horse under Cromwell, Colonel Richard Lawrence died in Ireland. In the same year *The Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth Stated* by 'Richard Lawrence, Esq.' was published in Dublin. The titlepage signalled a number of changes from his two earlier works published during the Cromwellian Protectorate -- *The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated* (London, 1655), and *England's Great INTEREST in the Well-Planting of Ireland with English People discussed* (Dublin, 1656). England's 'Interest' had shifted to that of Ireland itself, and the question of plantation had been replaced by 'Trade and Wealth'. The place of publication, Dublin, further indicated Lawrence's intention to engage the emerging reading public of the Protestant Ascendancy, to pass on his hard-earned yet hardly used knowledge to the next generation in Ireland. Transforming himself from 'Colonel' to 'Esquire', Lawrence appeared to have made the transition from soldier to settler, to have survived the Restoration to become a veteran of the Cromwellian settlement. In a final gesture, he dedicated his economic treatise to James Butler, Earl of Ossory, grandson and heir to the title of Lawrence's erstwhile hated Royalist enemy, the Duke of Ormond.⁹⁵

Such changes only hint at the details of Lawrence's story. This gravitation towards the

⁹⁴ Mercer, *The Moderate Cavalier*, p. 9.

⁹⁵ James Butler (1665-1745) had recently succeeded to the Earldom on the unexpected death of his father, Thomas Butler (1634-1680), also celebrated in Lawrence's treatise. On the second Duke of Ormond's subsequent Jacobite career see Barnard ed., *The Dukes of Ormond*, forthcoming.

Ormond household, distinguished for honourable civil and military service to the King, was a far cry from the militant republicanism of Lawrence's earlier career. His curious journey tempts the reader to sympathise with the former Irish Royalist and Catholic Bishop of Ferns, the exiled Nicholas French, who remarked with some bitterness:

It is indeed a most wonderful conveniency to dispossess the ancient Proprietor who fought for the King, and give his Estate to a fanatique Souldier who fought for *Cromwel*.⁹⁶

Lawrence served for Parliament first in Manchester's -- and later in the New Model -- army. In 1649, he made a smooth transition to serving the Republic; his signature appeared on the warrant for the King's execution. Shortly afterwards, he travelled with Cromwell to Ireland, and in February 1650/51 Ireton granted him a commission to settle the city of Waterford with one thousand two hundred English soldiers, a work which began with the order for Catholics to leave the city. Coincident with Lawrence's appointment as governor of Waterford was his conversion to Baptism by the preacher Thomas Patient, and throughout the 1650s, the city developed a reputation for religious radicalism. Lawrence's influence on the republican and protectorate settlement of Ireland extended beyond the city walls as he became one of a number of Anabaptist military men so influential with Lord Deputy Fleetwood.⁹⁷ He served on various committees, including those supervising the transplantation and William Petty's survey of Ireland. Yet, in spite of his Republican credentials and his implication in the

⁹⁶ N. French, *Narrative of the Earl of Clarendons Settlement*, p. 17. French, the Catholic Bishop of Ferns, a veteran of the Confederation, published a number of critical tracts on Ormond and the Restoration settlements before his death, still in exile, in 1678. See also chapter three.

⁹⁷ *Propositions approved of and granted by the Lord Deputy of Ireland to Colonel Richard Laurence* (London, 1650/1). See Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp. 53-54, 101. On the Baptist influence on the settlement, see *ibid.* pp. 98-105; D. St John Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland 1649-1661* (Oxford [1912], 1969), pp. 57-80; P. Kilroy, 'Radical Religion in Ireland, 1641-1660', in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, pp. 201-217.

regicide, Lawrence survived the Restoration and was closely involved in official efforts to ensure that the Cromwellian land settlement in Ireland remained untouched. Although his own record as a business man was far from impressive, he later served on Ormond's Council for Trade.⁹⁸

In this, the final section on the Cromwellian years, I want to explore their legacy through certain writings of Lawrence, the soldier-turned-settler. For Lawrence documented this attempted transition in a number of publications. Some of his texts -- those which feature in the pamphlet war with Vincent Gookin on transplantation -- have been well read; others have slipped from view. In rereading two of Lawrence's less well-known texts -- *The Antichristian Presbyter or, Antichrist Transformed* (London, 1647) and *The Interest of Ireland* -- I want to explore the survival and the continued habit of military writing and reading, as they inform the new economic discourse of post-war civil settlement. Unlike, for example, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Lawrence did not burn his writings at the Restoration. The reason was clear: his writings on Ireland, even those which advocated the most radical transplantation of the Irish population still had their readers in the late seventeenth century. For while Lawrence's pamphlets traced his shift in professional discourse from soldier, to policy maker, to economic theorist, at their core was a technology and methodology of separation and distinction. His writings can be seen to perpetuate, beyond the wars, the attempts to define and categorise the 'enemy' outlined in the first two sections of this chapter. As this

⁹⁸ Lawrence served on a standing committee for general consideration of the settlement along with Roger Boyle, Hardress Waller, and Colonel Sankey. He was also involved in the Officer's Petition of March 1655, see *Mercurius Politicus*, March 1655, quoted S. R. Gardiner, *The Transplantation to Connaught* (London, 1899), pp. 24-27. See also A. Clarke, '1659 and the Road to Restoration', in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation*, pp. 242, 244.

concluding section will demonstrate, the texts also negotiate with surprising ease the transition from the discourse of military discipline to that of colonial nationalism in Ireland.

Thanks in part to his pamphlet war with Vincent Gookin concerning transplantation, Lawrence is notorious for advocating the thorough separation of the English from the Irish in settlement. On 14 October 1653, the Commissioners for Ireland -- Lord Deputy Fleetwood, Miles Corbett, Edmund Ludlow, and John Jones -- published a declaration which translated the idea of transplantation, formed in a legislative loophole, into a meticulous plan for action.⁹⁹ It smacked of the military handbook, transposing the laws and orders of the military camp onto civil settlement, and echoing Petty's obsession with clarification and categorisation. The declaration sought to legislate for every eventuality of transplantation -- women married to English Protestants before December 1650 were exempt provided they 'renounce popery and profess the Protestant religion'; anyone lingering outside the designated territory without an official pass would be 'reputed as spies and enemies, and are for the same offence to be tried by martial law and suffer death'; lists were to be drawn up

⁹⁹ For the text of the declaration see Gardiner, *Transplantation*, pp. 11-16. The discovery of the Gookin and Lawrence pamphlets in the King's Inn Library, Dublin, lay at the core of J. P. Prendergast's *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (London, [1865] 1996), pp. xviii-xix; the clearest summary of the multi-layered legal documentation and pamphlet debate remains Gardiner's *The Transplantation to Connaught*. Using Petty's contemporary figures for the population of Ireland, Gardiner calculated that under the Act of Settlement, 12 August 1652, at least eighty thousand men were liable to die under the the qualifications of Irish 'delinquents', pp. 3-4. For the fullest statistical analysis of the transplantation, see R. C. Symington *The Transplantation to Connaught, 1654-58* (Shannon, 1970), esp. pp. vii-xxviii. On the particular fate of the Cromwellian settlers see Bottigheimer, *English Money, Irish Land*. On the English political background see S. Barber, 'Irish Undercurrents to the Politics of April 1653', *HR*, 65 (1992), 315-35. See also E. Ó Ciardha, 'Tories and Moss troopers in Scotland and Ireland in the Interregnum: a political dimension', in *Celtic Dimensions*, pp.146-149. I am particularly grateful to Dr Patricia Coughlan for making available her valuable article 'Counter-Currents in Colonial Discourse: The Political Thought of Vincent and Daniel Gookin', in Ohlmeyer ed., (Yale University Press, forthcoming).

detailing ‘the age, stature, colour of hair, and other marks of distinction’ as well as the property of those transplanted; standard, official certificates were to be issued and details entered into the ‘entry book’ using ‘words not figures’.¹⁰⁰ The faith here invested in the power of words to define, denote, and control was enormous. Just as the ‘entry book’ prevented cheating by describing the Irish in a language they supposedly did not understand, so the detail of the declaration was designed to prevent exception, to avoid subversion of the grand transplantation plan. It was likely that, even at the moment of declaration, as a contemporary letter stated, ‘Tis not intended that any should be sent into Connaught but proprietors and soldiers.’¹⁰¹ Yet whether the instructions moved from paper to practice or not, the method of outlining practice on paper was telling. For every detail imbued it with the terrible weight of an absolute statement of both fantasy and intent. It formulated a military desire for order, clarity, and regulation; the recourse to ‘martial law’ firmly situated transplantation and ‘civil’ settlement as a still-military project.

Such were the terms which Lawrence adopted in his later pamphlets. However, his passion for distinction had its roots elsewhere. *The Antichristian Presbyter*, Lawrence’s 1647 call to continued arms, began with a detailed account of the Antichrist’s ability to transform itself

¹⁰⁰ Gardiner, *Transplantation*, 12-13. See H. Ireton, *A Declaration and Proclamation [sic]... concerning the present hand of God in the Visitation of the Plague* (Cork and London, 1650); for his proclamation against marriages -- later reissued in Scotland -- see Firth, *Cromwell’s Army*, pp. 300-3. See also the definition of the loyal soldier: ‘And rather than marry an Irish wife / Will Batchellers remain for the tearme of life / And for Religion, had rather than Papists / Be anything’, Mercer, *The Moderate Cavalier*, p. 23. On miscegenation see also Spenser, *View*, p. 71.

¹⁰¹ Gardiner, *Transplantation*, p. 19, possibly written by Lawrence himself. Lawrence himself recommended exemptions for the Wexford widow, Anne White, who had helped English soldiers and for Elinor Butler and Lady Grace Talbot, see Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 40, 220-21, 225-26.

into different disguises at different times. Tracing its various incarnations through the ages -- Pope, Jesuit, Mary Tudor -- Lawrence eventually reached its present form. Calling on 'four Champions of these times' -- Pryn, Bastwick, Burton, and Lilburne -- he demanded: 'Ask them if the Antichrist cannot persecute as well in the shape of a Protestant as a Papist' before exposing that 'This cunning Sophister' had turned Protestant. The Antichrist was now the Presbyterian and 'for fear he should not be neer enough to the King he was crept into bed to him.' Of particular interest to Lawrence was the disruption this 'cunning Sophister' posed in his own realm of experience as military commander. There, the Presbyterian wreaked havoc, insisting that religion was at the root of any perceived discrimination:

If there were but a Garrison slighted, or Souldiers disbanded, where the *Parliament* conceives them uselesse to the Kingdome, they are told, it is, because they are Presbyterians.
If there be but an Officer cashiered in the Army for the most wild misdemeanour that can be committed, be it Drunkennesse, or Swearing, or whoring, or plundering, & c. he cries out, it is because he is a Presbyterian.¹⁰²

With this disruption of military discipline and general confusion of authority, new and dangerous alliances threatened to emerge; alliances heavily inflected by the literature of the 1641 rebellion. Lawrence projected the fearful possibility of a Presbyterian Royalism where the Scots, the French, and 'our *Catholike Brethern in Ireland*' became allies: 'Nay further, what kind of *Presbyter* Government shall we have settled by the *Irish* Rebels think ye; for they must come to assist you in that precious work too.'¹⁰³ '*Irish* Rebels' -- literary shorthand for deception and murderous intent under a thin veneer of civility -- articulated well Lawrence's vision of disguise and assimilation, of the enemy masquerading as ally, of unholy

¹⁰² Lawrence, *The Antichristian Presbyter*, pp. 5, 2, 3, 9. Possibly based on a sermon, it took as its text Revelations 13: 11, 13, on the appearance of the beast.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 8, 13.

alliances created in the margins which attack the centre. Lawrence's postscript summed up his work: 'My end in penning of it, is onely this, to let all *Syons* friends, see that the enemies of their peace have no such way to destroy them, as to become something like unto them.'¹⁰⁴ *The Anti-Christian Presbyterian* was motivated by the need to define, identify, and, above all, isolate the enemy in order to preserve a disciplined public sphere. Such was the writing, fighting apparatus which Lawrence carried with him to Irish shores, where, after his exercise of the sword, his pen was put to work on the vexed question of transplantation. Indeed, in what might be seen as a sequel, the first transplantation order of 13 July 1653 was issued neither to native Irish nor Old English, but to Ulster Presbyterians.¹⁰⁵

It was precisely Lawrence's obsession with separation which the Old Protestant Cork settler, Vincent Gookin, focused on when he took up his pen to argue for the incorporation of the Irish into a mixed land settlement. Gookin's was a unique voice in this plea for moderation. Unlike Lawrence, his credentials were thoroughly civil; although Surveyor-General of Ireland in the 1650s, he never held a military post there. His considerable rhetorical skill suggests a legal training although -- like Coughlan -- I have been unable to find any record of it. He was not the first of his family to write on Ireland. In 1634, Gookin's father wrote an open letter, circulated under Wentworth -- sadly no longer extant -- , which was described as 'a most bitter invective against the whole nation, natives, Old English, New English, Papists, Protestants, Captains, Soldiers, and all.' Its reception forced Gookin Senior to leave the country, never to return.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 18.

¹⁰⁵ Gardiner, *Transplantation*, pp. 7-8.

His son Vincent adopted a more accommodating attitude. His involvement in contemporary politics -- he was a member of the 1653 and 1654 parliaments -- suggested that he was a political moderate, with substantial investments in Cork which occasionally brought him into conflict with that local dynasty -- the Boyles.¹⁰⁶ Yet for all his civil qualifications, in *The Great Case of Transplantation Discussed* (London, January 1655) published anonymously, Gookin adopted the cause of the military to articulate the disadvantages of transplantation. His second pamphlet, *The Author and Case of Transplanting the Irish into Connaught Vindicated from the unjust Aspersions of Col Richard Lawrence* (London, May 1655) launched -- as the title suggests -- a more personal attack on Lawrence in distinctly military terms. In the rhetorical battle over Irish land, Gookin summoned all his resources to appeal both to the soldier-settler in Ireland and the soldier-reader in England. His moderate -- yet still Spenserian -- approach addressed the new custodians of the Irish landscape, the common soldier. Although his first 'anonymous' pamphlet was 'Humbly tendered to every individual member of Parliament by a well wisher to the good of the Commonwealth of England', it also more implicitly appealed to 'The Souldiers (there) exhausted with indefatigable labours, [who] hope now for eternal rest.'¹⁰⁷ Gookin's case against transplantation hinged on the fact that, thanks to these soldiers' efforts, the Irish were now a thoroughly defeated people. As he saw, it Lawrence's push for transplantation, and transplantation's push of the Irish to the margins beyond the English Protestant garrison-settlement, would reinforce rather

¹⁰⁶ On Gookin senior, see *DNB*; on Vincent Gookin see Coughlan, 'Counter-currents in Colonial Discourse'; see also Barnard, 'Lord Broghill, Vincent Gookin and the Cork Elections of 1659', *EHR*, 88 (1988), 352-365. On Gookin's influence with Cromwell, see Gardiner, *Transplantation*, p. 21. See also Gookin's 'Ancient Protestant's Petition' written in support of Henry Cromwell (21 October 1656).

¹⁰⁷ Gookin, *The Great Case*, titlepage, p. 29. On the possible involvement of Petty in this pamphlet, see Gardiner, *Transplantation*, p. 23.

than destroy the enemy. It would sanction Connaught as a virtual military academy where the Irish, having nothing to lose, would turn rebel tory and history would be repeated:

this is the way to have an Army to compell them, I [sic], this is the way to have an Army, nay to have two Armies, one more than we would (of the Enemies) and then perhaps to have one less then we would again, never a one of our friends. Surely more English Souldiers have perisht by this Country, then the Sword of the Irish. They are more afraid of Tories then Armies, and Woods and Boggs then Camps where; It will be harder to find them then vanquish them; And when will this wild war be finished? Ireland Planted? Inhabitants unburthened. Souldiers settled? At this rate who will be able to stir abroad for fear, to live at home for want?.¹⁰⁸

Lawrence's proposals would produce a monstrous military body, swelling to fill the unsupervised and uncharted territory of the west; a dangerously reproductive, feminized threat to order, grown monstrous beyond any of Spenser's corrupting fostermothers: 'The knitting again like Worms their divided septs and amities which are now cut in sunder ...a Hydra so pregnant with mischievous heads.' Gookin's Ireland, the product of a policy of incorporation, would, by contrast, be both holy -- a restored 'Island of Saints' -- and industriously domestic -- a house to be reconstructed with 'art and industry... required to build it.'¹⁰⁹

Declaring his own identity in *The Author and Case ...Vindicated*, Gookin transformed the debate from an argument about transplantation into a dramatic textual commentary, a battle of literary champions. 'Forced' into Lawrence's military territory, Gookin made himself rhetorically at home:

But it may be he does this as a Souldier likewise, who having now drawn down his Artillery to play on me, threw up this blinde work before, for their

¹⁰⁸ Gookin, *The Great Case*, p. 25. See also O'Ciardha, 'Tories and Moss-troopers'.

¹⁰⁹ Gookin, *The Great Case*, pp. 26-27, 31.

security... But now, Arm, Arm; The Alarme is given, the enemy is near.¹¹⁰

This militant rhetorician attacked Lawrence with a two-fold charge -- he was both bad soldier and bad writer. Both accusations were linked to Lawrence's new position as Irish landowner: his intellectual pretension mirrored his social climbing and he had become a grandee, 'a Landprizado that is in his Livery'; he was also, Gookin hinted, turning Irish. When Gookin wrote: 'But now *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*; The Historian throws away his Gown, and the Collonel draws his Sword, he is Polemical as well as Practical', the theatrical moment bore the shadow of the notorious Irish cloak, worn to conceal wicked intentions.¹¹¹ But, most of all, Lawrence was a bad reader. Accusing him of incoherent argument, Gookin chose his image with care: 'Just as if Collonel *Laurence* should in a quarrel draw his Sword, and then looking about him, ask, what's the matter?'¹¹² In a reversal of perspective, Lawrence the inadequate swordsman becomes a metaphor for Lawrence the unconvincing pensman. What is more, Gookin implied, Lawrence was also, as a bad soldierly reader, restricting his reading to official documents and so unable to make disciplined use of the 'notions in garrison' explored in chapter one: 'Observe, That though you may perceive Collonel *Laurence* to be a very learned man by the many Books he quotes in his Tract (as the *Act of Settlement, Further Instructions, Orders & c.*) Yet he has been very unhappy in his apprehension of them.' In particular, Gookin argued, Lawrence used and abused Irish history in an uneducated and uneducational manner, relying on emotion rather than study: 'in the entrance of his History (*Pag. 2*) he invokes memory and understanding (as the Poets do their Muse).' Lawrence's

¹¹⁰ Gookin, *The Author and Case ... Vindicated*, p. 36.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 7, 33. See Spenser, *View*, pp. 56-58.

¹¹² Gookin, *The Author and Case... Vindicated*, p. 42.

refusal to engage with others -- that is with Gookin -- left him stuck on the battlefield, with a reading practice enmeshed in confrontation. Lawrence's writing, in turn, became a self-perpetuating stasis, a weapon for the enemy: 'The rest of his work... is only a short Catechism composed by him from *pag.* 20. to *pag.* 26. for the *Irish* to learn as they travel to *Connaught*.'¹¹³

On paper -- in the rhetorical arena -- Gookin did silence Lawrence; he and his argument were dissected, dismembered, surrounded, and choked in a text which enacted the policy of incorporation which Gookin advocated and which Lawrence most feared. Lawrence, on the other hand, had ignored, not countered, Gookin's arguments against transplantation -- 'He is so eager on Transplantation, that he transplants my very book.' Since Lawrence had, moreover, abandoned those soldiers whose interests he should have protected, Gookin suggested another career path for his opponent, one which would make better use of his skills:

He has a notable Metaphysical head (it seems) thus to be able to abstract things; if he were a Chymist he would either finde out the Philosophers stone, or knock out his brains against it, he's so good at separation.¹¹⁴

We return, then, to 1682, to the volume which apparently proved Lawrence's transition from 'Fanatique soldier' to 'New Proprietor', and confirmed his incorporation into the ruling elite.

The Interest of Ireland announced a double intention, reflected in the book's two volumes: firstly, to reveal the causes of Ireland's poverty -- 'not only the grand Robbers of its Treasure,

¹¹³ Ibid. 27, 19, 55.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 18, 56.

but the lesser Theeves that creep in at every window, and pilfer every House, and pick every pocket'; secondly, to promote economic improvement.¹¹⁵ Lawrence's focus also demanded that he, in turn, influence the reading habits of those who governed Ireland. Arguing against those who would have Ossory believe that 'Mercantile and Mechanick Studies are below your Dignity', Lawrence located them as the basis of his mature, civil, and literate society:

The despising the Study of Mechanick Arts is only the product of Romantick Fancies, who more esteem the Composer of Plays than the Inventers of Works, though they are no more useful in a Commonwealth than fiddlers in a Country Parish to incite to Idleness and Debauchery.¹¹⁶

For Lawrence's new trade and industry, the necessary skills for his new Ireland combined books with practice, as he reassured Ossory: 'Sir, it is not the Art of the Tradesman, but the knowledge of the Statesman I recommend to your Study.' As encouragement, Lawrence offered the heroic example of the soldier turned industrious statesman: 'our brave Prince *Rupert* hath increas'd not lessen'd his Fame in the Field of *Mars*, by sullyng his hands and smutting his Face in the forge of *Vulcan*.'¹¹⁷ In this vision of soldiers turned industrialists, Lawrence appeared to have left Gookin's charge of bad reader behind, to have embraced the art of study for practical use. But what, we might ask, of Lawrence's talent for separation? An exploration of Lawrence's use in the text of poetry, in particular George Herbert's *The Temple*, and of history, in particular that by now familiar volume, John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion*, demonstrates that his talent for separation and self-authenticating reading was still very much alive in the new economic order.

¹¹⁵ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, sig. *. 3v. As Lawrence himself points out, the pagination is erratic, see his table of contents for Part II. Printing was a relatively new industry in Dublin. Page numbers are given as they appear on the page in question.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. *.4v, *.6v-7r.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. *.8r, *.6r-v.

Poetry appeared in two forms in Lawrence's treatise: firstly, he made extensive use of George Herbert's poetry in both dedication and first volume of his treatise; secondly, he included seven pages of poetry drawn from contemporary pamphlets extolling the heroic and military virtues of Ossory's father, Thomas Butler.¹¹⁸ While drama, as apparent in the above quotation, was a social evil for 'Romantick fancies' useful only as a metaphor for self-fashioning, poetry, it appeared, could complement the study of the 'Mechanick Arts' as a rigorous force for self-discipline.¹¹⁹ The choice of Herbert, both as reading material and as referent, situated Lawrence in a long line of readers who employed his poetry as a moralising force for faith and industry. Nor did Lawrence allow poetry to divert him too far from the reforming work in hand; his references to Herbert were almost all drawn from the first poem of *The Temple*, 'The Church Porch; Perirrhanterium'. This overtly didactic poem was a telling referent for Lawrence's crusade against the moral vices which retarded Ireland's economic improvement; its series of imperatives to the reader worked to the end of moral improvement:

Harken unto a Verser, who may chance
Rhyme thee to good, and make a bait of pleasure.
A verse may find him, who a sermon flies,

¹¹⁸ Lawrence included poets as well as warriors and politicians in his list of examples for imitation -- Juvenal and Herbert rank alongside Henry Wootton, Prince Rupert and Robert, Earl of Leicester, see *ibid.* **.2v-3r. The poetry on Butler, included in the 'Epistle Dedicatory', is 'pick'd out of the several Prints upon his greatly lamented Death', *ibid.* **.5v-9v (sig. *.5r). This poetry was, therefore part of the literary activity around the 'Popish Plot', see F. C. Francis, ed., *Narcissus Luttrell's Popish Plot Catalogues* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 13-14 and chapter five, below.

¹¹⁹ Although Lawrence was dismissive of plays, he quoted from 'Orinda', Katherine Philipps, who translated Corneille's *Pompey* for the Dublin Restoration stage while Ormond was Lord Lieutenant, Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, sig. *.7v-8r; ii, 113. I am currently working on an article on French translations at the Smock Alley theatre, 1660-1680.

And turn delight into a sacrifice.¹²⁰

Moreover, as Stanley Fish has demonstrated, this 'rhyming to good' was formal as well as moral. His compelling analysis of *The Temple* argues that the poems are self-consciously composed on the Aristotelian catechistic model; that the poems -- in particular 'The Church Porch' -- draw the reader, by questioning, to a revisiting of received knowledge, and thence to a reaffirmation of faith and strengthening of resolve.¹²¹ The catechistic model chimed well with Lawrence's former literary endeavours. As examined in chapter one, this model structured both *The Souldier's Bible* and *The Souldier's Cathechism*, tools for promoting both ideological literacy and military purpose among the New Model Army, of which Lawrence had been a reading, writing member. It recalled, moreover, Gookin's ridicule that Lawrence's diatribe against the Irish functioned as 'a short catechism ...for the Irish to learn as they travel to Connaught.'¹²² In choosing 'The Church Porch', first as his own reading material, and then as a structuring element in his own writing, Lawrence placed himself, once again, in a cycle of formative and affirmative reading. He also used quotation from Herbert as authority rather than illustration. Not simply the morality, but also the working tools of that morality, the language and imagery of 'The Church Porch' affirmed Lawrence's

¹²⁰ J. Tobin ed., *George Herbert: The Complete English Poems* (London, 1991), p. 6. Thirteen editions of *The Temple* were published between 1633 and 1695. Lawrence's copy might also have included Izaak Walton's eulogy *The Life of Mr George Herbert*, first included in the tenth edition (1674). See A. Allison, *Four Metaphysical Poets: George Herbert, Richard Crashaw, Henry Vaughan, Andrew Marvell* (London, 1973). Both Winstanley and Baxter read and commentated on the metaphysical poets and John Wesley would later turn Herbert's poems into hymns for the Methodist church.

¹²¹ See S. Fish, *The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing* (Los Angeles and London, 1978). See also D. Shugar, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 91-119.

¹²² Gookin, *The Author and Case*, p. 55.

project to eradicate the moral dangers which threatened economic success. For while Herbert often articulated his moral transactions in commercial terms -- ‘Think heav’n a better bargain, than to give / Only thy single market-money for it --’, for Lawrence, individual moral sins were also economic.¹²³ Anticipating Jonathan Swift, for instance, Lawrence argued that over-dressing was not simply a feature of ‘the most God-provoking Sin of Pride’ and ‘the great allurements to those abominable Adulteries’; it also, in a continuing chain reaction, increased imports and upset the market for home-grown cloth.¹²⁴ It was clear that only certain kinds of literature could be accommodated to the new economic vision -- the courtly masque is a diversion, instructive poetry is a conversion. ‘The Church Porch’ favoured social responsibility and clear moral choice.

Poetry and the exploitation of poetry should -- as Lawrence confirmed to Ossory -- inspire by example: ‘which is the design of annexing these Poems to this Epistle to provoke your Lordship to imitation.’¹²⁵ The ‘annexing’ of poetry published on Thomas Butler’s death to ‘provoke... imitation’ also deserves attention, as Lawrence embraced commemorative verse. Compared to *The Temple*, Lawrence’s choice of poems on Butler were more classically epic in intention, with elegaic rhyming couplets celebrating dynasty and heritage, statesmanship and military prowess in formal mode. Butler, and the Ormond dynasty, took on monumental significance in a turbulent history: ‘In Ormond’s Heir the last firm Link he bears / Of one

¹²³ Tobin, ed., *George Herbert*, p. 18.

¹²⁴ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, ii, 26, 28. See Jonathan Swift, *The Drapier’s Letters* (Dublin, 1724), published shortly after his edition of *The Works of Sir William Temple*, 2 vols (London, 1720). Swift joined Trinity College, Dublin in 1682, the year Lawrence’s work was published.

¹²⁵ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, sig. +.1r.

unbroken Chain drawn thro' 4 hundred years'.¹²⁶ The poetry chosen also returned Lawrence to the territory of war and the military: Butler's victory at Mons was figured as the victory of individual courage over the well-drilled, over-trained, and -- crucially -- well-read continental armies:

*A foe who with his Arts of war prepar'd
Batt'ries and Trenches, and all Natures guard
Encamp'd with all the advantage of the Field
Did only to victorious Courage yield*

The victory for Flanders -- '*The Belgick Lyon from his toyl set free,/ And the long plagues of War dispell'd by thee*' -- boded well, it was implied, for Ireland's future. Ossory's victory was, moreover, a national one: '*Heer Ossory, let Mons thy deeds proclaim/ And sing an English Generals deathless fame.*'¹²⁷

But here, we glimpse a long-standing anxiety, the double bind of Lawrence, one of those in the latest generation of English-Irish residents, who celebrates English military bravery, yet argues for Irish economic interest. For Butler, unmistakable patriotism over-rode the personal -- '*Yet lov'd his Country more than he lov'd fame.*'¹²⁸ Lawrence himself, however, sat between two stools. The title of his volume located his 'Interest' in Ireland; in the poetry, however, Ireland became a metaphor for military frustration, in that Butler's fame, as immortalised in Lawrence's verses, would last '*Till Ireland it selfe become / To its own*

¹²⁶ Ibid. **.5r.

¹²⁷ Ibid. **.6r-v. Dryden echoed this military vision in his attack on Monmouth and Shaftesbury towards the end of the Popish Plot: 'By sea, by land, thy matchless worth was known; / Arms thy delight, and war was all thy own, *Absalom and Achitophel* (London, 1681), see Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke*, pp. 118-120.

¹²⁸ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, sig. **.8r.

Woods and Bogs a Tomb'.¹²⁹ The image -- charged with the stereotypes of fighting in the Irish landscape -- was simultaneously an affirmation of the eternal and a gesture of defeat. Thus, even as Lawrence trusted to the power of poetry to preserve military reputation and render the dead immortal, his quotation located him in an unfinished war, somewhere between English and Irish interest.

If the poetry Lawrence reads and cites attempts to regulate, yet simultaneously problematises, the situation of the settler, what then of history, in particular Irish history and Temple's *The Irish Rebellion*? Here too, Lawrence found himself and his new economic vision caught in a double bind. On the one hand, Lawrence believed that the lessons of Ireland's past should be kept constantly in view by the newest generations of Protestant settlers. On the other, he continually pressed for a new beginning both national -- an economic rebirth for Ireland -- and personal. These national and personal histories stood at times in awkward conflict, not least since the latter involved the repression of his involvement in the Commonwealth. On the level of national history, however, one thing seemed clear: if the English in Ireland were to avoid the fate of Hannibal in Capua, history had to be kept alive, constantly exercised to define and redefine the ever-present enemy. Even as Lawrence described the peaceful settlement under James I and Charles I as Halcyon Days, he indicated a sub-current of formative fear:

Yet we must consider the former frequent interruptions of its Peace were not so worn out of memory but that the aged in the succeeding Generations would be discoursing of their former suffering to their Children and younger Neighbours, which continued a fear and jealousie in the minds of the

¹²⁹ Ibid. +.1v.

*English.*¹³⁰

Memory and narration were essential for the education and preparation of successive generations of settlers for the possibility of war. Yet constant reminders of the future possibility of war were detrimental to economic development, and Lawrence despaired of ‘the unsettledness of the minds of the people; for a people iniured to War, rather dispose their minds to idleness and rapine, than innocent Industry; and what is quickly so gained, is usually as soon spent in riot and excess.’¹³¹ Nonetheless Lawrence himself could not quite forget history, nor lay the ghost of rebellion to rest; indeed the authority of history structured his case for development: ‘I addicted myself to the study both of Books and Men of the best and longest experience in the civil Constitution of Ireland.’¹³² His reading, however, was once again selective; his accounts of unrest omitted his own past, even his own past writings. The undercurrents of Lawrence’s personal history were strong; he detailed in the dedication the frustrations of his past work in Ireland, referring to his thirty three years of service in Ireland -- ‘one third of my time in a publick capacity in Civil as well as Military Affairs.’ Yet the book was categorically presented as the product of the post-Restoration years, of thorough study and civil service to the state. In the text proper, Lawrence used ‘war’ as metaphor, a convenient term for the upheaval of 1641-1660, begging that he: ‘may spare troubling you with an account why *Ireland* was not improved in Trade and Wealth; for thirteen years of the nineteen were spent in violent and bloody War, and that monster devours every thing but it self.’¹³³

¹³⁰ Ibid, i, 2.

¹³¹ Ibid, i, 5.

¹³² Ibid. +.3v.

¹³³ Ibid, i, 4.

This chronology, silently uniting personal and national history, situated Lawrence in a long line of English settlers in Ireland who -- repeatedly -- pronounced the military past over and announced the dawn of a new utopian peace. For Petty, the birth of Ireland dated from the Act of Settlement of 1652, an event coinciding with the date of his own arrival there; for Lawrence it coincided with the instigation of transplantation. The next 'new' Ireland proposed by Lawrence in 1682 dated from the Restoration, from his own transition to respectability, endorsed by the King, and the forgetting of his non-Royalist past. Praising the lineage of Ossory and the Ormond's earlier attempts at economic reform, he insisted that 'Ireland was never capable of it until the year 1660.'¹³⁴ In rewriting his own history, Lawrence came to a new understanding of the place of history in the formation of the 'new' nation. From the position of arguing in the liminary material that history should take care of itself and that attention should be turned to the future, from the convenient omissions of his own particular military history in Ireland, Lawrence moved to advocate that *The Irish Rebellion*, one of his own key influences, be placed in all churches in Ireland.¹³⁵ To institutionalise reading in this way was neither to forgive nor forget. The texts and images which throughout the 1640s had turned Ireland into a threat to England and a country to be conquered and 'turned-England' had survived through Civil War, Republic, Protectorate and Restoration. Metaphors had turned into methodologies and reading had become a method for not settling, for not forgetting one's enemies.

The Interest of Ireland seeks, then, to define the 'new' enemy for the new economic

¹³⁴ Ibid. **.1v. Petty writes of Ireland as 'a political animal who is scarce twenty years old', *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London, 1691) Preface.

¹³⁵ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, i, 84.

battleground. It does so with the aid of the next generation of the Temple family: Sir William Temple and his *Observation on the Trade of Holland*.¹³⁶ In this shared discourse of the colonial expansion of republics, Lawrence quotes and agrees with Temple -- and implicitly with Machiavelli -- that the origins of trade are close to the origins of war - ‘*great multitudes of People crowded into a small compass of land.*’¹³⁷ Moreover, the models for trade and war are also closely linked in Lawrence’s twinned projects for a citizen’s army and an Irish national bank. The choice of the Dutch Republic as a model for Ireland was significant: once the site of religious wars, it was now the European model for trade and economic strength. For Lawrence, this was centred on domestic involvement -- ‘there is hardly a servant in a Merchants family, but have their small Adventure in their masters’ -- and on religion -- ‘*Englands and Hollands true Religion and potent Trade came together, God grant they never go together.*’¹³⁸ Protestantism and trade, the twinned essential components of success, reinforced by communal interest and investment; such were the desired elements for Lawrence’s new Irish order. The metaphors used to express it are thoroughly military:

A stragling Trade managed by particular persons, each striving to advance his private Interest, though to the ruine of the Trade in general, and obstructing it in other particulars, can no more make a Country flourish in Trade, than a stragling Army without Discipline and Order can preserve its peace.¹³⁹

But the military also moved beyond metaphor, for Lawrence’s construction of the united

¹³⁶ See also W. Temple, ‘An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland. Written to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom’ (July 1673), in *Miscellanea* (London, 1697), pp. 97-146.

¹³⁷ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, i, 6. He also adopted as models the African, Canary, and Dutch East India companies, where the colonial war enterprise had been transformed into the ‘commonweal’ trade enterprise, see for example, *ibid.* **.1r-v.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 5, 23.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 20.

Protestant Irish economic interest required the arming of its citizens to resist its clear and villified enemy -- the Jesuits and their Irish supporters.¹⁴⁰ The proposed establishment of this army brought Lawrence dangerously close to the military mistakes he had formerly denounced -- the arming of the English settlers in Ireland. As Lawrence knew from his schooling in literature on Ireland, the chief threat from Ireland -- viewed from England -- in the past came from 'the degenerate *English*... for although their Minds and Manners were degenerated, they had so much *English* Blood left in their Veins, as gave them *English* Courage and Resolution.'¹⁴¹ The key difference, for Lawrence in 1682, lay in the land settlement of the 1650s which had brought young soldiers, well-trained in military discipline, to colonise the shores; with them had come the real possibility of a pure citizen's army. Echoing Petty's writings on the breeding of new citizens for the Commonwealth, he proposed the introduction of laws against single life -- men should marry by 25, women by 22 or be taxed, the proceeds being used by the government to support orphans. This legislation would reinforce military capability -- 'an English Breed for the Countries Defence' -- founded on domestic industry and solidity: 'Marriage would necessitate them to become House-keepers.'¹⁴² Lawrence's case relied heavily on Spenser's *View*; he quoted, for example, Irenius's advocacy of establishing garrisons to govern settlement and to combat the Irish 'flying enemy'. He also quoted Livy on the Roman conquest of Sicily, to impress the importance of military officers having thorough domestic knowledge of their territory.¹⁴³ But

¹⁴⁰ Lawrence particularly villified the Jesuits, including a long section and supplement on '*Jesuits, their inhumane bloody principles from their own authors*', *ibid*, ii, 193-271.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, ii, 76.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, ii, 97-[99]. See W. Petty, 'Of Marriage' (c. 1685), in *The Petty Papers*, ii, pp. 50-51.

¹⁴³ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, ii, 114, 120.

Lawrence also went further, for this was to be not an *English* army, but an army of English-in-Ireland. Blood allegiance and shared interest were both of vital importance to its success:

1000 men raised for the Defence of *Ireland* of its own Inhabitants is worth two (for the suppressing a Rebellion) of new raised men out of *England*... [who have] no motive to encourage them, nor Interest to fight for, but Honor and Profit.¹⁴⁴

From the same origins of domestic stability and an ordered citizenry came the second institution for Lawrence's new Ireland. The establishment of an Irish national bank was, he argued, a priority in the creation of the new trade-warrior body. Drawing on William Temple, he presented an extensive case for the establishment of a bank 'founded upon undoubted visible Credit', whose business was to protect Irish interest at home and promote it on the international stage. Moreover, if the citizen's army dealt with Irish military incursions, the national bank would deal with the second Irish enemy:

for whilst the poorer sort of people have nothing but a miserable life to lose, the Boggs and Rodes will be pestered with *Tories*; want increaseth discontent, and that puts men upon desperate ways for relief, which this *Bank* will prevent.¹⁴⁵

Merchants could trade without physical danger; credit notes and the centralisation of capital would starve the *tories* out of existence where Spenser's enforced famine and proposed transplantation had failed. Yet even as Lawrence proposed his new economic strategy for separation, the old threats of disorder crept into his economic discipline. For just as Irish soldiers were never true soldiers but rebels and *tories*, so Irish traders were parasites on the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, ii, 118. Lawrence included a list of the chief governors of Ireland is divided into two columns -- English and Irish, 'Irish' being defined as 'interested persons.' Thus Henry II is 'Irish'. His listing for Fitzwilliams (1588, 'English') and Perrott (1584, 'Irish') share the gloss: 'Both blamed for suffering the Irish first to be trained up in arms', *ibid*, ii, 122-155 (150).

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, ii, 3, 12.

new order: '*Ireland* breeds Merchants as Beggars do lice, from its poverty and idleness.'

Those who lived outside respectable, state-sanctioned Protestant trade would become, in effect, economic tories. Once again, through the establishment of a national bank, Lawrence invoked a legislation of separation, this time against Irish pedlars and shopkeepers, the new outsiders who broke the disciplinary code of the economic camp.¹⁴⁶

The military discipline of the New Model Army was, then, alive and thriving in Lawrence's new home. His position as settler was less secure than the cover to his book signalled. In closing, I want to illustrate further the shifting territory of the soldier-settler in Ireland with two moments from *The Interest of Ireland*, both of which subject military language to fresh interrogation. The first is a moment of uncertain metaphor when Lawrence, discussing the economic drain of Ireland on England, stressed his profession of writer by pointing out his literary tools. Referring to the Irish as 'Cannibals', he further dissected his use of the term: 'these eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of the *English*, in a metaphorical sense.' A few pages later, with no reference to his earlier use, the metaphor of cannibalism transformed to incident. Writing of the plague of 1652-53, Lawrence stated: 'I have been credibly informed they have digged Corps out of the Grave to eat'; he then went on to report an officer's story of seeing, through a cottage window, old women and children eating a corpse.¹⁴⁷ One might pause to wonder who exactly his 'credible informants' were. For this slide between metaphor, rumour, and report recycled earlier versions of Irish cannibalism, from Geraldus

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, I, 8 ; ii, 1-46, '*Of Banks and Corporation Trade*'. Alongside tories and pedlars, Lawrence places priests who wilfully live outside the domestic: 'a company of vagrant beggerly fellows, who having nothing to lose, nor any families to provide for. Would hazard the lives and fortunes of others that have both', ibid, ii, 89.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, ii, 82, 86-7.

Cambrensis through Spenser, Campion, and Davies to Temple. This image of (particularly female) cannibalism went with the literary territory. It confirmed the English image of the Irish as barbaric, as outside of natural law, and as therefore deserving of conquest. It was an image belonging to war.

Nicholas French, writing from continental exile, gave 'Cannibalism' a different metaphorical slant, one which belonged to the changing geography of settlement. The English settler in Ireland, he implied, became Irish in the sight of the English; the settler house was always already built on sand:

If this *Cannibal* English interest, gives no better quarter to the children of *English* in *Ireland*, what can strangers expect? Nay what assurance can be had for the posterity of those very Adventurers and Souldiers, that after an age or two, they shall not be likewise devoured, or displaced to make room for a new swarm of English planters, upon the account of securing a new English interest.¹⁴⁸

Precisely this anxiety was present in the second moment from Lawrence's *The Interest of Ireland*, one which resurrected a trope familiar from chapter one -- the decline of Hannibal's armies in Capua. For Lawrence, the old threats to military discipline, the moral laxity of civilian leisure, now threatened Ireland's economic development. Warning against complacency in what -- for Lawrence -- remained a war situation, he included a lengthy summary of Livy's report of the Roman general Marsellus's speech before battle with Hannibal:

that Capua was another Cannae unto Hannibal: there died his warlike prowess, there lost he his Military Discipline, there was the glorious fame of former days buried, there the hope of future time was forever suppressed and

¹⁴⁸ French, *Narrative of the Earl of Clarendon's Settlement*, pp. 23-24.

stifled.¹⁴⁹

In the survival and repetition of this image, we read the precariousness of Lawrence's experience of his own situation: the uncertain territory between soldier and settler, between English and Irish interest. Both cannibal and Hannibal spoke of the anxiety of incorporation and degeneration. Both called for the careful distinction of and separation from the enemy.

Yet, implicit in Lawrence's reinforcement of Ireland's new Protestant and economic credentials was an emergent national identity, as signalled in his chapter-heading which aimed 'to assert Irelands Interest in its own Government.'¹⁵⁰ While his definition of 'Ireland' was a colonial one, referring to all those who are (Protestant Anglo-) Irish by birth, Lawrence called for recognition of the colony as an equal partner of the kingdom. He drew on the biblical example of Paul, born in a Roman colony but embraced as a Roman citizen, as an index of Irish allegiance; he attacked the vice of absenteeism, an abnegation of national duty in favour of money and fame by those 'rather encouraged to transport themselves for the sake of publick Impleys, either Civil or Military'.¹⁵¹ Crucially, for Lawrence, his centre of interest and influence has changed. In the 1650s Lawrence, himself 'newly raised' from England, had fiercely argued the dangers of degeneration; by 1682 his perspective -- and his citizenship -- had shifted. He had made the territory of degeneration his home, and had shaped its borders with the discourse of military discipline.

¹⁴⁹ Lawrence, *The Interest of Ireland*, ii, 66-67.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, ii, 96.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, ii, 117, 96.

4. Dramatising Settlement

In 1661/62 Richard Head offered a dramatic representation of the endless shifting territory of new settlement in Ireland in a private Dublin performance of *Hic et Ubique; or the Humours of Dublin*.¹⁵² In England, Head was well known for his picaresque tales of life on the road such as *The English Rogue* (1665), *Proteus Redivivus, or the Art of Wheedling or Insinuation* (1675), and *The Invincible Captain Sir Frederic Fightalk* (1672). He also had experience of the 'dangerous' territory of Ireland; he was, according to Langbaine, 'the Son of a Clergy-man who was murther'd in the deplorable massacre of Ireland.'¹⁵³ *Hic et Ubique* adapts Head's usual literary form, for the precarious Irish stage; the five acts are divided into twenty three meandering scenes, a series of loosely linked episodes in which the generally unsavoury characters -- English adventurers just arrived, or recently arrived in Dublin -- lie, cheat, and steal their way through each others' lives. The plot -- such as it is -- details their induction into the domestic; the happy marriages and not-so-happy reuniting of spouses with which the play ends. The general theme is set in the prologue when Musiphilus interrupts Momus, and the two stage a battle of generic self-consciousness, trying to define what kind of literary world they are operating in. The prologue descends into a fight in which Musiphilus announces prophetically: 'Here's no Utopian stories.'

The adventurers, fresh from London, do indeed find Ireland very different to the new

¹⁵² It was published in London in 1663, the same year as as Katherine Philips' *Pompey*. The play is sub-titled 'A Comedy, Acted Privately with general applause by Richard Head gent'.

¹⁵³ Langbaine, *Lives of the Dramatick Poets*, p. 246. The *DNB* confirms that Head Snr was killed in Carrickfergus the 1641 rebellion and dates Head's life 1637? - 1686?. It also notes that he was a friend of Winstanley's.

promised land of colonial advertisement literature. Rather, Dublin is a city offering no jobs where ‘Whole ships of fools daily arriving vainly imagin the contrary’, and where people are therefore thrown back on their wits.¹⁵⁴ The new arrivals, however, are no innocents; their names speak volumes: Hopewell, Bankrupt, Contriver, Trustall, and the two wandering comrades Phantastick and Hic et Ubique. This mixture of adventurers, criminals, con-men, and professional travellers is welcomed to Dublin by (slightly) older hands. Peregrine gives them a shrewd introduction to Dublin society, announcing that:

The generality of *Dublins* Inhabitants may justly boast of as great a measure of civility as the greatest pretenders thereunto elsewhere, only their losses and crosses has so refin’d their wits, that they are become the best oeconomick Politicians.¹⁵⁵

Peregrine’s shrewd assessment is borne out by the example of Alderman Thrivewell, one of an earlier band of adventurers, who had made his fortune from his pub and his sideline of supplying whores to the military. In short, Thrivewell had learned to fight the locals on their own -- distinctly military -- terms: ‘those that live heer are all old Soldiers, and such you know, fight cunningly.’¹⁵⁶

But not all of Head’s soldiers make the happy transition to domestic life. The aptly named Colonel Kiltory, who unfailingly appears with his stage-Irish servant ‘Patrick’, tries to make the adjustment to life without war and to ‘study what it is to be a man again.’ He summarises his own predicament beautifully:

Whilst I was scouring the Mountains and skipping the Boggs, not sparing the

¹⁵⁴Head, *Hic et Ubique*, p. 40. Early chapters of *The English Rogue* are set in Dublin.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

very spawn of rebellion I had none of these qualms... But since Mrs *Peace* came acquainted with us, she has perswaded us to change our Headpiece for a soft pillow, the ground (covered with the spangled Canopy of Heaven) for a down-bed, and that's nought too without a wench.¹⁵⁷

To rectify the situation, Kiltory turns his attention to Thrivewell's daughter, Cassandra.

There he has a rival, the newly arrived Contriver, treated with some suspicion as a man with a commercial bee in his bonnet: 'he is to have a Patent for the sole transportation of Boggs and Loughs of Irish growth into foreign parts.' His dreams for draining Irish bogs in the manner of the fens -- a Hartlib circle obsession -- earn him the title 'Lord Drainbog'.¹⁵⁸ In fact, he proves to be a con-man, who convinces Alderman Thrivewell not only to invest in the bogus scheme, but also to offer his daughter in marriage. Again, Contriver himself offers the best synopsis of his character, confirming as he does so, the fenland echoes of Cromwell:

I am now clearly of the belief, my mother's imagination was strongly fixt on *Oliver* or *Mazarine*, when she conceiv'd me, or that she long'd to eat five or six leaves of *Machiavel*'s politick discourses.¹⁵⁹

Kiltory does his best to adapt his old military skills to his new domestic situation: 'my only battery shall be loving Artillery, perswasive arguments.'¹⁶⁰ Cassandra, however, soundly rejects his insistent advances. Undeterred, Kiltory switches his attentions to the recent arrival Mrs Hopewell, who agrees to marry him only after he signs over his hard-earned lands. When Kiltory does so, Mrs Hopewell reveals she is already married, and he is left landless and wifeless. In spite of Thrivewell's well-informed attempts to find a loophole in the land settlement -- 'Col. Is this Debenture-land, or are you onely an Adventurer: if so, you may

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 7.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 4, 22.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 46.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. 6.

come in among the forty nine men' -- Kiltory is forced to pay Mrs Hopewell two hundred pounds a year in return for the return of his lands.¹⁶¹

The positioning of Kiltory on the Irish scene is telling. He has been in Ireland for some time, but has failed to develop either the entrepreneurial skills of Thrivewell, or the outright villainy of Contriver. He fails to get the domestic bliss he wishes for, and almost loses his hard-earned home in the attempt. He is, furthermore, placed in close proximity to the only native Irish figure in the play. Patrick not only bears the brunt of Kiltory's anger, he is also a mirror for Kiltory's worst attributes; Kiltory may insult Patrick as a 'Bog-trotting Beetlehead', but it is *he* who has just been fooled by Mrs Hopewell.¹⁶² Kiltory eventually engineers a lucky financial escape, but he is left with Patrick rather than a wife. In the end it is the prudent Peregrine -- always optimistic that one will find civil people -- who gets Cassandra.

However stereotyped the characters are, the grain of truth at their core resonates. *Hic et Ubique* captured the mood of transience in the Dublin of the 1650s and 60s, with the waves of arrivals and new settlers moving through the city. These characters were not the administrators of Dublin Castle, who lived connected to London and to court; rather they were fugitives, running up new debts and seeking ever more opportunities for cheating. Their victims were not the native Irish -- by this stage they provided only comic relief -- but the previous wave of settlers, those who had been in Ireland slightly longer, and who had (only

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 57.

¹⁶² Ibid. 43.

just) forgotten the metropolitan drive to exploit. The underlying question the play poses, seems to be how long do you have to stay in Ireland before either 'going native' or, like Kiltory, being tarred with the same brush as the 'native'.

The writings of Lawrence, explored above, are very far from comic drama; rather he became one of Peregrine's 'best oeconomick Politicians.' Yet he shared common ground with Head's undesirables. Consistent throughout Lawrence's career was his faith in the possibility of new beginnings -- the Cromwellian settlement, the Restoration, Ormond's Lord Deputyship, the foundation of the bank, the new Irish standing army. It was an optimism apparent in the various waves of settlement in Ireland throughout the century, as each batch of new arrivals sought to engender its own foundation myths; an optimism initially evident too, in William Mercer's poem, *The Moderate Cavalier*. Writing in 1675, with the clarity of hindsight, Mercer summarises the early expectations of settlement in the Irish promised land: 'Each private man shall there be a Freeholder / And Gentleman to boot is ev'ry soldier.' Alongside this search for the new start there runs a consistency of military reference which shapes both individual action and civil policy. The fictional Kiltory adapted his fortification skills to love-making; Lawrence carried his literary inheritance from army to trade council; the 'moderate cavalier' soldier sought to turn gentleman-farmer. In this no-man's land between military action and military metaphor, however, Irish cannibals and Irish 'cannibal interest' were scarcely distinguishable. The ghoulish 'Irish enemy', imagined and feared in 1641, remained firmly in place. The life span was brief for any English settler in Ireland who let down his military guard. Mercer's poetic plea to the 'Protestant Nobility, Gentry and Soldiery of Ireland', written fifteen long years after the Restoration, still pleads for the recognition of soldiers' land claims in Munster. The initial optimism shifts to a bleak

historical summary of what actually happened to the 'Utopian Story':

Some private Soldiers were by their Commanders
 Chous'd of their Land and Pack'd away to *Flanders*
 And he that would not goe, but thought to stay
 And live on's Land, they found another way
 To make him weary of it, by Law Suits
 Against him to commence, wherby the fruits
 Of all his hopes, his labour and his Land;
 He spends at Law, his Captaine to withstand
 Weary'd at Law, to purchase Peace at last
 He sells his Land; and then that danger's past.¹⁶³

In the movement of this poem is inscribed the personal soldier stories which lie behind the statistics of the Cromwellian settlement analysed and computerised by Bottigheimer.

¹⁶³Mercer, *The Moderate Cavalier*, pp. 9, 12. The pamphlet includes a 'Dialogue for Soldier and Echo', which resurrects the link between the 1641 rebellion and the Gunpowder plot.

Part Three

I have entertained a brief ambition of writing and compiling at my leisure (with what I thought the many advantages of having been on the entire scene, sufficiently in the midst of, and previous to, it, and feeling that I could do justice in spirit to both sides, and now that ten years have passed away, and compiling about as much as is known of the onus of it all as ever will be known) the History of the War in a great volume or several volumes.

Walt Whitman to John Redpath, 1873, on his unrealised history of the U.S. Civil War, in W. Lowenfes ed., *Walt Whitman's Civil War* (New York, 1960), p.12.

Chapter Five

'Relating the truth of Things past': histories and memoirs of Ireland

In the 'Preface' to his 'Generall History of Ireland' Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey, announced with pride:

[I] have at length ...brought it to such a conclusion as I hope may bespeake acceptance of my industry and affection to my native countrey and this kingdome and be a groundwork for a better pen if it afford no other fruit... by the failing of materials in some ages, the contexture will be but ragged and interrupted in many places, yet I will presume to say that from the time the English had first footing in that kingdome in Henry the Seconds raigne downewards, there is not yet extant so full and cleere an account of Ireland as is now exhibited to the world.

Sadly, Anglesey's account was far from 'full and cleere'; indeed this 'Preface' -- merely a scribbled draft with a confusion of tenses -- was the most complete part of the proposed history. For it exists only in the form of a collection of notes and half-finished sections bound together under the title *Heads and Memorandums for an intended History of Ireland by Arthur Earl of Anglesey. All written with his own hand*. In a gesture of wishful foreclosure at the end of the bundled papers, Anglesey imagined that his monstrous work had been accomplished, and set out to draft the liminary material. The first of these pages announced 'The Generall History of Ireland from the first footsteps thereof in Antiquity to this time Endeavoured by the R.H.A.E. of A. ...The Epistle dedicatory'. The rest of the page is blank; the preface cited above occupies the reverse side of this otherwise blank sheet. With its blank pages, frantic scribbling, and endless self-admonishing notes, Anglesey's manuscript stands as an eloquent testament to the difficulties of putting seventeenth century Irish history down on paper.¹

¹ BL Add. MS 4816, ff. 27r, 26r, for the full draft of the preface, see ff. 26r-33r. The British Library also houses Anglesey's annotated copies of Bellings' *History*, BL Add. MS 4763, ff. 35-89, 4819 ff. 399-438, and of *Vindiciae Catholiorum* (Paris, 1650), attr. to Bellings.

Anglesey's project, conceived of as a 'History of Ireland' in three volumes, never materialised in print. It did, however, take on a strangely concrete form when it became itself a focus of historical event:

Consider that I have been now above 20 yeares gathering materials for this building of my history and that there is yet little of ye fabrick reared, it is time now to fall to the work wth more constancy and diligence since Deus nobis hac fecit.²

What 'act of God', then, turned a rather nebulous project, contemplated at leisure, into an urgent task? The dating of the manuscript, 1680-83, suggests a double impetus: firstly, it was a general response to the hysteria of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis where, once again, the perceived 'Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government', to adopt the terms of Marvell, resurrected the spectres of the Irish rebellion.³ Secondly, it was a more particular response to the very public and personalised feud between Anglesey and Ormond, a confrontation which centred on the controversial *Memoirs* of the Earl of Castlehaven and which cost Anglesey his position as Lord Privy Seal. In both the general and the particular crisis, the open wounds of mid-seventeenth century Ireland continued to fester forty years on, as Charles II and his court moved towards absolutism, and the politicians of the age began to align themselves along what would soon become the party lines of Whig and Tory. Recent scholarship on the period has done much to relocate the Exclusion Crisis in relation to events earlier in the century rather than to view the moment from an eighteenth century perspective

² BL Add. MS. 4816, f. 2v., dated June 25 [1683]. The *DNB* lists Anglesey's *The History of the Late Commotions and Troubles in Ireland* as 'lost'.

³ [A. Marvell] *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (London, 1677). For the explosion of pamphlets around the 'Popish Plot' see Francis ed., *Narcissus Luttrell's Popish Plot Catalogues*; see also M. Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 375-393; and J. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972).

as the birth of party politics. Few historians, however, have paid more than lip-service to the debates concerning the recent history of Ireland which flared up at this time. These debates are the subject of my final chapter.⁴

Elsewhere, I have placed marginal texts at the centre of this study; this chapter circles around a number of non-existent texts, that is to say, a number of histories of Ireland promised, sometimes partly prepared, but never delivered. From 1675 onwards, Edmund Borlase, Castlehaven, Anglesey, Ormond, and Ormond's biographer, Robert Southwell, all attempted to write the recent Irish past. While the texts they produce certainly enact the political factions of the late seventeenth century, they are also the last words of a dying generation, veterans of the mid-seventeenth century wars in Ireland, England, and continental Europe.⁵ In these versions of, and disputes about, the past, the relation of memoir to history, and of personal witness to authoritative account was of crucial importance. The battle for the ownership of the terms of Irish history which they fought was, of course, also being waged on other fronts. In respect of English history, in particular, the number of diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, even personalised legal pleadings appearing in the wake of the English Civil

⁴ The more monumental 'Whig' history such as J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis* (Oxford, 1961) has recently been challenged and complicated by, among others, J. Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge, 1991), see esp. pp. 3-82, and Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*. See also P. Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-7* (Cambridge, 1989). D.R. Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689: A Study in the Perpetuation and Tempering of Parliamentarianism* (New Jersey, 1969) is of particular interest in locating Anglesey's non-conformist motivation. Only Lacey mentions Anglesey's contest with Ormond, but he makes no mention of the Irish context, pp. 153-54. A forthcoming article by M. Perceval-Maxwell will elucidate the connections of Robert Southwell, appointed by Ormond to write a biography at the time of the trial. See Bod. MS Carte 10 544, R. Southwell's, 'Some of the Earle of Angleseyes Errours detected.'

⁵ Borlase, d. 1682, Castlehaven, d. 1684, Anglesey, d. 1686, Ormond, d. 1688.

War suggests that the disparate voices published in pamphlets throughout the period refused to let their own version of past events be silenced.⁶ Others, however, were more cautious about speaking out, as the example of the best known and most extensive history of the period illustrates: Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. For Clarendon's *History*, while it placed the personal memoir at the heart of 'History', combining autobiography with an astute and highly politicised account of events, also sought to produce a dispassionate, retrospective overview.⁷ His choice of literary model is telling, for it returns us to the territory of chapter one, the 'notions in garrison' of the commonplace book and the writings -- between history and warfare -- of Machiavelli:

If all Historyes were written by as wise men as Machiavell, and the true groundes & originalls of all diseases to the State observed, and their remedies, surely ther neede little more wisdom for governors, than a dispassyoned and sober perusill of those Storyes.⁸

Clarendon's ideal 'Historyes' were composed of 'Storyes'; but if personal experience and observation were to be at once constructive and instructive in the writing of history, some distance of time was, he insisted, necessary. His own history should only come to light when 'the passion and the fury of this time shall be forgotten.'⁹ Clarendon's *The True Historical*

⁶ See F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640* (Westport, 1976). He argues that historiography shifted radically after the Restoration, as historians attempted to recuperate the disparate accounts of a time of faction and factional literacy into a single narrative.

⁷ On the composition of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, see M. Watson Brownley, *Clarendon and the Rhetoric of Historical Form* (Philadelphia, 1985). H. Trevor-Roper is keen to stress that Clarendon wrote only when unable to participate in affairs of state, and that his 'memoirs' were undertaken in the enforced exile following his impeachment when he had no access to state papers, 'Clarendon and the Practice of History', in *Milton and Clarendon: Two Papers on Seventeenth Century English Historiography* (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 21-50.

⁸ Bod. MS Clarendon 126, f. 59.

⁹ Quoted Trevor-Roper, *Milton and Clarendon*, p. 24.

Narrative of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England was printed in 1702-04; his *History of the Irish Rebellion* was not published until 1721. From this vantage point, it looked back on traumatic events some seventy five years past -- as we might view the events of World War One. In Clarendon's work, the battle of Newark, the negotiations with Lorraine, the contentious events of 1641, all were mediated by the living from the texts of the dead. In the works discussed in this chapter, the living wrote of their own experience, publicly contested the history of events in which they had themselves played a part, and did so in intensely troubled times.

1. 'The records of your own memories.'¹⁰

That the rival versions of the recent past which circulated in the heated climate of the late seventeenth century were unlikely to receive the 'sober perusal' which Clarendon desired is suggested in the address to the reader of Edmund Borlase's *The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion* (London, 1680):

It was my happiness (I must acknowledge) to meet with a Manuscript, whence I was supplied with much of the latter part of this History, tho' a part of it was so weav'd, as if Justice could not have been done to some, without something of others, which we had reason to wave, and if there be any obstinacy in that Particular, we are ready to clear the Truth.¹¹

Borlase was born in Ireland, educated at Trinity, studied medicine at Leiden and, at the time of writing his history, was a doctor in Chester. His family connections to Ireland were strong;

¹⁰ See Clarendon's speech to the House of Lords, 19 May 1662: 'I am sure, you are all good Historians. And need only to resort to the records of your own Memories'. *Journals of the House of Lords, Beginning Anno Duodecimo Caroli Secundi, 1660*, 11, 476. See also E. Cooke, *Memorabilia* (London, 1681).

¹¹ Borlase, *History of the Execrable Rebellion*, p. 7.

his brother John was in the army there; his father, along with William Parsons, Adam Loftus, and that other committed historian, John Temple, had been a chief proponent of the radical protestant Dublin administration.¹² There is no evidence that Edmund Borlase followed in his father's or his brother's military footsteps; rather his militancy was poured into his writings on Ireland, in effect, into a defence of the legacy of the Protestant soldier turned administrator. Both *The Reduction of Ireland* (London, 1675) and, issued in the wake of the 'Popish Plot', the *History of the Execrable Rebellion*, were fairly slavish imitations of the militant Protestant texts of the 1640s. The influence of his father's colleague, Temple, on Borlase's writing was particularly clear, as was his allegiance in the changes he made to the 'Manuscript' cited above. 'English Rebels', for instance, became 'English Parliament': it was with this and other such alterations that sections of Clarendon's *History* first found their way into print.¹³

Published histories found swift rebuttal. The Earl of Castlehaven, writing also in 1680, introduces his *Memoirs* to the reader as follows:

Being one day in St Paul's Churchyard and amongst the Stationers, some Books fell into my hands lately set forth: Histories of the Rebellion begun in Ireland in the year 1641

In them, Castlehaven discovers, he stands accused of 'acting as a confederate Catholick,

¹² John Borlase (1576-1648) was a fine example of the Elizabethan soldier turned colonial administrator. He fought in the Low Countries under Elizabeth, took part in Vere's expedition to the Palatinate in 1620, and fought in the United Provinces in 1626. Returning to Ireland, Wentworth appointed him Master of Ordnance in 1633 and in 1640 he was appointed Lord Justice, *DNB*.

¹³ See R. McGillivray, 'Edmund Borlase, Historian of the Irish Rebellion', *Stud. Hib.*, 9 (1969), 86-92. He notes that the extreme nature of the *History* caused the publisher to disown his publication and to expect that the twenty six copies sent for sale in Ireland would be returned.

which in plain English is as a Rebel.'¹⁴ Behind Castlehaven's anonymous 'Histories' lies a name: Edmund Borlase. Or so Borlase himself would have the reader believe, when, in his *Brief Reflections on the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs.... By which the Government at that time, and the Justice of the Crown since are Vindicated from Aspersions cast on Both* (London, 1682), he claims that Castlehaven had written his 'Rhapsodie of Fictions and Untruths' in an effort to obscure the truth of Borlase's own, named work:

*If he had seriously read as well as (amongst the Stationers in Saint Paul's Churchyard) took into his hands the Histories of the Execrable Irish Rebellion begun the 23 of Octob. 1641 he would not afterwards have exposed his Memoirs.*¹⁵

In particular, Castlehaven had, in his account of events in Ireland in 1641-3, slandered the memory of Borlase's father, John Borlase, then Lord Chief Justice. Writing the *Brief Reflections* to defend his father's reputation from a writer who had -- as we shall return to below -- notoriously condemned his own father to death, Borlase sought to counter Castlehaven's false charges, and to draw out the truth from the *Memoirs*. Like Gookin in his reply to Lawrence's attack, he did so by performing a selective textual commentary, addressing point by point key incidents from Castlehaven's text, quoting them in italics, then delivering his commentary. This commentary centres on the charge that Borlase senior, in rejecting military assistance from a loyal subject, had failed to make a crucial distinction, and had involved himself in -- as Castlehaven's quoted words have it -- '*the promiscuous killing of Rebels and Subjects.*'¹⁶ Borlase's contrary version of events had been well-rehearsed in

¹⁴ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1680), f. a3r.

¹⁵ Borlase, *Brief Reflections*, ff. A4r, A3r. The only clue in the published text to the identity of the writer are the initials 'EB' on the dedication to the King. See also BL MS Sloane 1015.

¹⁶ Borlase, *Brief Reflections*, p. 15.

his sources: the 1641 rebellion was the cause of both the English and the Irish wars; the danger posed by ‘The Earl of *Strafford*’s new raised Army of 8000 in *Ireland*’ and its armed Catholics was critical; ‘Popish Lawyers’ were the ‘principle instruments’ of trouble. All of which led him to concur with the well-worn impossibility of distinguishing the ‘Rebel’ from the ‘Subject’ in Ireland’.¹⁷ Even with the advantage of hindsight, the distinction, to Borlase’s mind, continued to be impossible.

If the Irish ‘rebel’ could not be distinguished from the Irish ‘subject’, the distinction between good and bad history became, for Borlase, both personal quest, and moral imperative. His *Brief Reflections* followed the dedication to the King with an impassioned address *To the Reader*, in which Borlase advocated the value of reading and writing history. Taking to task the bad readers ‘willing to palliate, rather than detect the Villainy of that Age’, he made clear his own credentials as a ‘good reader’: well-versed in the writings of his historiographical foes, he is none the less clear as to their lack of real value.¹⁸ In his *History*, Borlase had referred to Bellings, for instance, calling him ‘RB the zealous Nuncionist’. The *Brief Reflections* turned Bellings into ‘an Author of the Conspiracy’ and, in castigating Castlehaven for at one point ‘assum[ing] the Bleeding *Iphigenia*’s Language’, demonstrated Borlase’s familiarity with the writings of Nicholas French.¹⁹ Irish pens were only part of the danger. For Borlase saw -- even in the relative peace following the Restoration -- that consensus had not been restored as some former combattants had rejected ‘the favour of the

¹⁷ Ibid. 17, 35, 48-49.

¹⁸ Ibid. A3v.

¹⁹ Borlase, *History*, p. 5; *Brief Reflections*, pp. 59, 27; the latter reference was to Bellings as author of *Vindiciae Catholicorum*, and to French’s *Bleeding Iphigenie* (Louvain, 1675).

Act of Settlement ...capitulating with their Swords in their hands, as did the *Irish*'.²⁰

In the face of such insidious histories and historians, and with the danger of rebellion still present, Borlase fervently insisted that the reader school himself in good history. His own *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion* was the recommended starting point. Yet even Borlase's public position of calling for vengeance was not impregnable in the contemporary climate of public trials and private ruminations. His *Brief Reflections* dissected Castlehaven's narrative, and were themselves subjected to attack in turn. A reluctant dialogue had opened, and just as Borlase's *History* in a sense produced Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, so Castlehaven's *Memoirs* in turn produced a new version of Borlase's *History*. The British Library houses a copy of the *History* interleaved with the author's manuscript notes for a revised edition, which was intended, amongst other things, to force the undeclared battle between the rival historians into open conflict. To the titlepage, the author for the first time added his name 'By Edmund Borlase Esq. M.D.'; and to the index of the first edition, he added as a heading -- with a list of fifteen references -- the name of his enemy, 'Castlehaven'. Some of these entries concern factual information: for example, Borlase gleaned considerable detail of the formal aspects of the Confederation, including a description of its seal from the *Memoirs*.²¹ Other references, however, go beyond historical detail, as Borlase effectively writes Castlehaven into his *History* as a (disreputable) character. For instance, details of Castlehaven's capitulation to the 1643 cessation -- not mentioned at all in Borlase's first edition, but given substantial attention in the *Memoirs* -- are inserted

²⁰ Borlase, *Brief Reflections*, p. 61.

²¹ BL MS Stowe 82, ff. 6r, 340r, 9v.

with the reference: 'See Castlehaven's *Memoirs* p. 32 to 34'.²² These revisions were never published -- the open conflict Borlase wished for was to take place on a different stage -- but in the cross-currents of contemporary debates on recent Irish history, the *Memoirs* had been added to the bibliography, and Borlase's literary rival, Castlehaven, took his place in the historian's *dramatis personae*.

Borlase's determination to see silenced what he perceived as an insidious 'rebel' version of Irish history paved the way to a larger scale controversy. In a letter to Anglesey dated 16 August 1680, he respectfully requested the Earl's help in his campaign:

I haveing seen my Ld Castlehaven's Memoirs humbly beseech your Ldship's censure thereon, They seeming to me (after 28 years silence) to cast a Calumny on the Government then, and I suspect with no good Intention, though I referr that to your Lordship's Opinion.²³

Anglesey's response, the anonymous *Letter from a Person of HONOUR in the COUNTRY* (London, 1681), transposed a minor skirmish between Borlase and Castlehaven from the literary sidelines to the heart of the Court. At Borlase's entreaty, Anglesey took up his pen and addressed the publication of Castlehaven's *Memoirs*. Writing to Castlehaven as friend and peer, he expressed his consternation at the untimely appearance in print of what should have remained a private exchange of information concerning Irish history. Castlehaven thus stood scolded, but the true force of Anglesey's attack was directed not towards the defeated Confederate general, but at Ormond -- now for the third time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.²⁴

²² Ibid. 112r.

²³ BL Add. 22 548 f. 93.

²⁴ Their clash resurrected old animosities. In 1645, Anglesey, a Presbyterian, was sent by Parliament to prevent Ormond negotiating a cessation with Munro and the Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster. In 1647, Anglesey was appointed to negotiate with Ormond and oversee his

The *Letter* quickly discarded its supposed anonymity: Anglesey's pride in his Irish background rendered the identity of the author transparent.²⁵ His New English settler lineage confirmed no common ground with Castlehaven; rather, it signalled a renewal of hostilities with Ormond. The battleground may have shifted from the Irish Wars to the printing houses of London, thanks to Castlehaven's appearance in print, but the vigour remained: 'I am confident that the heat of a Battle would be less formidable to you then the Paper Warre you must expect to be assaulted with.'²⁶ The assault began by contesting Castlehaven's dedication to the King. Anglesey situated its author, although a peer of the realm, rather, in fine Irish tradition, as a manipulator of the word:

For I do charitably believe, as your Lordship affirms upon your word, that they do not contain a lie or a mistake to your knowledge, yet I must positively aver,

deliverance of Dublin to Parliament. After the Restoration, Anglesey was briefly in alliance with Ossory and the Ormond interest in his opposition to Buckingham's Cattle Act of 1666. However, Buckingham pressurised him into joining the campaign which eventually ousted Clarendon in 1667 and removed Ormond from his second term as Viceroy in 1669. Nonetheless, in 1679, as rumours of the Irish dimension to the Popish plot swelled and Algernon Sidney, for example, wrote that 'Ireland is in extreme disorder, by the Duke of Ormond's negligence, and favour to the Irish'; Anglesey demurred. See Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke*, pp. 95-99; and A. Sidney's letter to Savile, June 1679, quoted Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis*, p. 150.

²⁵ Anglesey, *Letter from a Person of HONOUR*, pp. 4-5. Anglesey's great grandfather, Sir John Perrot served as Lord President of Munster and later Lord Deputy under Elizabeth. He earned a reputation for fierceness in his suppression of the first Desmond Rebellion and for his dogged determination to introduce English law and land settlement particularly in Ulster. Anglesey's father, Lord Mountnorris, served as Secretary of State under James I. His name was involved in the Long Parliament's case against Wentworth. The fact that Wentworth had resorted to martial law to courtmartial and condemn Mountnorris to death for insubordination was quoted as a prime example of his arbitrary government. Mountnorris survived to serve again as Secretary of State under Henry Cromwell. See Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp. 11-14, 35-41, 70-72. Anglesey himself was born in Ireland, left in 1624 to be educated at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, and then undertook a European tour. Rather like Orrery, he returned, in 1640, to a country on the brink of rebellion. At the Restoration, Anglesey was appointed Vice Treasurer and Receiver General for Ireland and awarded Irish lands previously granted to Ludlow and Jones by the Cromwellian Settlement, as well as an English peerage.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 7.

and it is my part to make it good, that the Relation wants the most material and pregnant Truths in the principal part thereof, and of most consequence to the Publick.²⁷

Anglesey's attack on Castlehaven recycled many of the Protestant literary tropes on Ireland.

To the reiterated vision of the golden days of Stuart settlement before 1641, he added his own personal gloss: when he had lent his silverware to a 'Popish Priest' in Wexford for the entertainment of the Bishop of Ferns, he got it all back safely. But the 'papist' intervention in 1641 led to a reversal of civility: 'the generality of that Nation turning barbarous and wild *Irish* again.'²⁸ This new barbarity rendered incongruous such images of domestic largesse, as Anglesey specifically attacked Castlehaven for his inappropriate entertainment of Antrim and the Duchess of Buckingham (both 'papists'): it was, he argued 'an ill time for Feasting and Jollity, when stript, and almost starved *English*, came flying by your Gate every day from the Rebels Cruelty.'²⁹

Anglesey also rehearsed the by now familiar criticisms of the Old English. Following Temple and Borlase, he rejected the Old English distinction between the 'rebellion' of 1641 and the legally constituted military action of the Confederation: they joined with the rebels when they 'should have distinguished from a just and lawful War, but do not.' Anglesey condemned, in particular, the Old English manipulation of words: their petition is 'an ill way to acquaint the King with their pretended grievances, La main a lespe.' The words of the Confederation's Oath of Association were, he argued, similarly laden with violent intent: 'there is not a word

²⁷ Ibid. 29.

²⁸ Ibid. 31, 33.

²⁹ Ibid. 36.

but breathes high treason (except the first thirteen lines, which set up the kings Name and Authority only in pageantry and mockery, to be crucified and contradicted by all that follows ...).³⁰ Anglesey, like Borlase, allied this misuse of language with a misuse of education, blaming the ‘*Irish Popish Lawyers*’:

without whose Council and Abilities (having had their Education in the inns of Court of *England*) they had never come out of that Chaos of Confusion where they were at first, or reduced their Affairs to such a consistency, but had been quickly mastered.³¹

Their English-taught articulacy gave a seductive legalistic formality to the proceedings of the Confederation, which had convinced Castlehaven, but which Anglesey dismissed as ‘cobweb pretense.’³² This triumph of form over content was applicable not just to his account of the Confederation, but to the *Memoirs* as a whole, which Anglesey dismissed as ‘more history than justification.’³³ For, as he reproached Castlehaven on his specific failure to engage in the Battle of Kilrush, one might have expected more in terms of his military and aristocratic honour: ‘you were a Spectator from your own House of a Battle wherein the Crown lay at stake, ...yet (though a Peer of both Kingdoms) you would be no Actor.’³⁴

So far, Anglesey’s thoughts on Old English degeneration were unlikely to spark controversy; in the final section of his *Letter*, however, he resurrected one of the more forgotten traits of

³⁰ Ibid. 40, 52.

³¹ Ibid. 56.

³² Ibid. 54.

³³ Ibid. 59.

³⁴ Ibid. 44. Anglesey reminds him in his final signature, with some irony, that they are themselves peers: ‘with the assurance of my being (saving in the *Irish Confederacy and Matter of Religion*), My Lord, Your Lordships Affectionate Friend And servant’, *ibid.* 75.

the Temple-Borlase literary legacy, the criticism of Ormond earlier articulated in *Ormonds Curtain Drawn*. Anglesey's final pages implied that Ormond's links with the Confederation - - forged in the name of Royalism -- were too close for comfort, that the legality of his cessations with the 'rebels' designed to further war against English subjects was questionable; and that he gained considerable personal profit from the campaigns.³⁵

Promising to put the record straight, Anglesey resolved:

to hasten out the last part of the general History of *Ireland* first (Wherein I shall so impartially make first relation beyond all possibility of contradiction, that I doubt not your Lordship will reflect with remorse upon what you have done and written, wherein I differ from you, and the world will know exactly the truth of that sad story).³⁶

Ormond waited until the summer of 1682 before entering this war of letters by publishing a brief and business-like reply to Anglesey.³⁷ Following Ormond's entry into the battle, the skirmish between Borlase and Castlehaven was effectively forgotten; the larger scale fight was now between the rival careers, histories, and allegiances of Ormond and Anglesey. The timing of Ormond's intervention deserves attention. By 1682, his position was once again relatively stable after a rocky ride during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis.³⁸ In the wake of the last dissolution of Parliament in 1681, however, Anglesey, although still Lord Privy Seal, found himself increasingly isolated as the Anglican and 'Tory' interest reestablished

³⁵ Ibid. 59-75.

³⁶ Ibid. 70.

³⁷ *A Letter from his Grace James Duke of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland In Answer to the Right Honourable Arthur, Earl of Anglesey Lord Privy-Seal, his Observations and Reflections upon the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoires, Concerning the Rebellion of Ireland* (London, 1682).

³⁸ Beckett, *The Cavalier Duke*, pp. 113-124.

itself at court. Surrounded by political enemies, he found that his *Letter from a person of HONOUR* was criticised not so much for its assault on Castlehaven, but for its attack on Ormond, and, by implication, on the memory of Charles I. Notwithstanding his precarious position, Anglesey wrote his *True Account of the State of the Government and Kingdom*, which criticised James for not conforming to the Church, and argued that harassment of the Exclusion Parliament members should stop.³⁹ The *True Account* remained unpublished for some years, but in the meantime Anglesey gently reminded a wider audience of the recent history of parliament by publishing someone else's account of the troubled years: Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs* (London, 1682).⁴⁰

Ormond's reply ignored Castlehaven and his memoirs, and shifted the full focus of his attack to the clearly vulnerable Anglesey. Ormond first offered Anglesey the gentleman's way out, suggesting that the anonymous letter must have been by an imposter since 'It deduces Consequences, raises Inferences, and scatters Glances injurious to the memory of the Dead and the honour of some Living.'⁴¹ He then went -- politely -- for the jugular, stating that he

³⁹ See Anglesey's Diary, 1673-84, BL Add. MS, 18 730, ff. 95-96. It was dated 27 April 1682, but not published until later *The earl of Anglesey's state of government & kingdom* (London 1694). At the Restoration, Anglesey used his influence to protect former republican associates, including Milton. During the 'Exclusion crisis', as well as trying to persuade the King not to dissolve the three parliaments, he continued to use his position to alleviate growing pressure on dissenters. See Anglesey's earlier diary, BL Add. MS 40 860; Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics*, pp. 459-463; forthcoming work by David Norbrook on Lucy Hutchinson.

⁴⁰ See B. Worden's review, 'The 'Diary' of Bulstrode Whitelocke', *EHR.*, 108 (1993), 122-134. In 1693, Sir Peter Pett published *The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Arthur Earl of Anglesey late Lord Privy Seal Intermixt with Moral, Political and Historical Observations* (London, 1693). Anglesey's son-in-law contested their authenticity and they were judged to be spurious, see D. Greene, 'The Authenticity of the Earl of Anglesey's Memoirs', *Bodleian Library Record*, ix (1978), 351-356.

⁴¹ Ormond, *Letter*, p. 3.

had been reserving judgement until he had read Anglesey's promised, elusive 'Compleat History':

The delay of your Publishing that History and the consideration of your Lordship's Age and mine, are the occasions of this Letter, whereby I inform you, that as no man now alive is better able than I am to give an account of the Principal Transactions during the Rebellion in *Ireland*; so no man is possessed of more Authentick Commissions, Instruments and Papers, all which or transcripts of them, you might have Commanded, before you set forth your Reflections.⁴²

The attack was pointed; it shifted the terms of the contest to authority and authenticity, documentation and experience. Anglesey took pride in his study and had accumulated one of the most substantial libraries of the period.⁴³ Ormond's archives, by contrast, were the correspondence and official archives of experience; they laid claim to Irish territory, not just by inheritance, but by profession. Thus, although published in London, his letter is dated 'Dublin 12 November 1681', a reminder that while Ormond was absorbed in the business of present-day Ireland, Anglesey, the would-be historian in London with leisure to write, was threatening to make of Irish affairs -- yet again -- a work of fiction:

If after this Offer your Lordship shall proceed to the Conclusion and Publication of your History, and not accept of it, I must before-hand Appeal from you, as from an Incompetent Judge of my Actions, and a partially engaged and an unfaithful Historian.⁴⁴

Ormond's letter elicited a swift response. The *Letter from the Right Honourable Arthur Earl*

⁴² Ibid. 4.

⁴³ See *Bibliotheca Angleseiana, Sive Catalogus Variorum Librorum in Quavis Lingua [et] Facultate Insignium* (London, 1686). Anglesey's position as Privy Seal allowed him access to restricted books and a number of volumes were removed before the sale, including Richard Baxter's sermons and a French translation of Milton's *Iconoclastes*. See Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics*, p. 463. Forthcoming work by Annabel Patterson will shed further light on Anglesey's collection. See also below.

⁴⁴ Ormond, *Letter* p. 4. On Jones, see chapter four.

of Anglesey in Answer to his Grace the Duke of Ormond's Letter of November the 12th 1681

(London, 1682) countered Ormond's criticism of its author's ability to write history from a distance with an attack on Ormond's rhetorical style. Anglesey's arguments had, he protested, been 'only most Satyrically burlesqued and my intentions in the writing of them most unnaturally misinterpreted and misjudged.'⁴⁵ Against such overwrought misinterpretation, and echoing Colonel Michael Jones' earlier correspondence with Ormond, Anglesey presented his straightforward statements and devotion to truth:

by giving the reverse of your Graces strain'd and erroneus Affirmations by my plain and true Negatives.... I do therefore absolutely deny that I affirm any Matters of fact positively in that Book, which are easily or authentically (or at all) to be disproved.⁴⁶

In his morally compelling devotion to Truth, Anglesey set himself up as narrator rather than judge, storyteller rather than law-giver: 'I never intended by relating the truth of things past to become a Judge of your Graces, or any other man's actions but *Res gestas Narrare* for the information, correction, and instruction of this Age and Posterity.'⁴⁷ His quest for truth as it is narrated in the *Letter* ends with a series of pointed requests: he asks Ormond for information on the negotiations of cessation whose authority he still contests, and on Glamorgan's contentious mission to Ireland. Thus even as he appeared to acknowledge the need to consult Ormond's archive of experience, Anglesey continued to propose himself as the authoritative, truthful Historian, and to stake his future on the elusive 'Generall History.'

⁴⁵ Anglesey, *Letter from... Anglesey*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 6.

2. Public Trials and Private Pains

The word *Tory*'s of *Irish* Extraction,
 'Tis a Legacy they have left here,
 They came here in their Brogues,
 And have acted like Rogues,
 In endeavouring to learn us to Swear.
 Those Papists, I may rather say Atheists,
 Was sent with a Sham to the Town,
 To Swear one Plot up and another Plot down.
 With a thick *Irish* Air, like the same that they Swear,
 Contradiction in every Line;
 But this I conclude, their understanding's not good,
 Their Reason's left in *Ireland* behind.⁴⁸

It is difficult, without knowing the tune, to fully appreciate the skill of this topical poet. The sentiment, however, is not so hard to grasp. While this was being sung in the tavern, Anglesey and Ormond were, in the summer of 1682, becoming engaged in a rather more courtly battle over the terms of honour and Irish identity. Until this point, the Ormond-Anglesey controversy -- itself arising out of the Borlase-Castlehaven skirmish -- had been a pamphlet battle. With Ormond back in London, having returned in May 1682, it became both more urgent and more public. Their pamphlet and judicial battle features in legal history as a key case in the development of libel action. It received the full attention of the Privy Council and required the King's personal intervention before the case eventually led to Anglesey's dismissal from the Privy Seal.⁴⁹ Seen in the context of the debate as outlined thus far in this chapter, however, it is clear that the case did not simply interrogate historical fact where the

⁴⁸ *A New Ballad with the Definition of the Word Tory* (London, 1682), reproduced in Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*, p. 150. The ballad calls for unity of the Church of England and Presbyterians 'against the common foe.'

⁴⁹ *The Earl of Castlehaven's Review, or his Memoirs ... with Lord Anglesey's Letter* (Dublin, 1815) reproduces the texts and frames them with an early nineteenth century view of the controversy. The text used of Castlehaven's *Memoirs* is hybrid, but takes the 1684 edition as its copy text.

troubled history of Ireland was concerned: it also placed the terms of Irish identity, and the arguments concerning the validity of the personal account which had informed both the pamphlet battles and tavern songs, on public trial, centre-stage, at court.

The fullest contemporary account of this process was the anonymous *True Account of the Wole Proceedings Betwixt his Grace James Duke of Ormond And the Right. Honor. Arthur Earl of Anglesey* (London, 1682). In the manner of the best military handbooks, the author returned the discourse of history to the battlefield:

As every inferiour Soldier may learn Skill and Address by seeing two Generals engage in the sight of their Armies, so certainly this Paper Battel between these Great Ones may be of use to all sorts of men that have the least grain of that commendable Ambition to propound to themselves the greatest Examples.... They may be compared to Caesar, writing the Commentaries of his own Enterprises.⁵⁰

We do not have to read far to identify the anonymous author as Anglesey himself, as ‘Truth’, already writ large in the title, takes on early significance in framing the text:

I am sure that the Earl of Anglesey made a most noble Declaration, fit to be written in Letters of Gold; *Truth* says he *being the greatest and best friend, I had rather one or several Persons and families should be under the consequence of its impartiality, than that the English Nation and Protestant Religion should suffer by a timorous unworthy concealing or with-holding any part of it.*⁵¹

Indeed, it is the voice of Anglesey which rings clear throughout the *True Account* as it details the few crucial weeks of the hearings. Ormond’s accusation against Anglesey’s account of his behaviour in the wars, lodged with the King, reiterated, amongst other points, that Anglesey had never asked to borrow his materials ‘in the course of above Twenty years free

⁵⁰ Anglesey, *True Account*, ff. Ar-v.

⁵¹ Ibid. For Anglesey’s use of ‘anonymity’ see also his ‘obituary’ which slips into the first person, Bod. MS Clarendon 92, f. 169.

and friendly Acquaintance and Correspondence.’⁵² He had, Ormond suggested, only recently done so since his *Letter* had come under attack: all of which cast doubt on Anglesey’s characterisation of himself as the well-informed historian who was preparing the definitive if elusive ‘History of Ireland’. On 17 June 1682, appearing before the King at Whitehall, Anglesey -- in spite of his gout -- presented his version of events. Protesting that the whole incident sprang from ‘the meer Accident of the Earl of Castlehaven’s sending his Printed Memoirs to the Earl then at Blethingdon in Oxfordshire’, he pleaded the circumstances of writing as his excuse. The first *Letter* had, he said, been written as a spur of the moment response to Castlehaven’s *Memoirs*, when he ‘upon a bare Old Memory without the help of Writings or Notes immediately put pen to paper.’⁵³ He further protested that he had earlier asked Ormond’s letter keeper for documents concerning his carriage in the wars, but had never received any. In spite of this setback, Anglesey continued to pursue his intention to produce the History and to dedicate it to the King.⁵⁴ His identity as authoritative historian, guaranteed by his forthcoming publication, was thus still key to his defence.

His general declaration of intent, to outline the ‘British and Protestant Interest’ at some unspecified future date, soon took on immediacy, however, as the King ordered Anglesey to return to Hampton Court on 13 July 1682, to reply once again to Ormond’s accusations. Anglesey, forced to commit his vague promises of a ‘Generall History’ to a written refutation, resorted once again to the material in his original *Letter*, presenting a textual

⁵² Anglesey, *True Account*, p. 1.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 5-6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 7-8.

analysis of Castlehaven's *Memoirs* -- a list of page references to, and comments on Castlehaven's text, followed by seven points of contention, which focused on his account of the Ormond cessations. At the point of judgement, when the King found against him, it is Anglesey's voice which reverberates as the hero of this *True Account*:

I should with less Concern, have seen a dagger at my old faithfull heart, then to have Received the wound I have from your Royal hand, after three and Twenty years faithfull and diligent service under great Trusts.⁵⁵

Anglesey's 'anonymous' pamphlet told the truth of his downfall, casting Ormond as the villain and himself as the hero. It was a far from politically neutral truth and in the midst of this 'paper battel', the call to arms was never far distant. To reinforce his point, the 'anonymous' author -- 'to fill up this last page' -- appended a letter from the Bishop of Winchester to Anglesey on the need to keep out Popery. The call to military action echoed from the page: 'But it will never be done when it is done by writing, or answering of Books *pro* and *con* of which there will never be an end.'⁵⁶

While personal reputation was thus on public trial, in his private study, Anglesey sought to fulfill the promise of his first published letter, reiterated in his reply to Ormond, and most recently promised before the King. The manuscript notes to his history show how, in response to public pressure, he turned his original project for a three volume history of Ireland back to front and resolved 'To hasten out the last part of the generall History of Ireland.'⁵⁷ The stresses and strains of his project and its public profile reverberate through the

⁵⁵ Ibid. 5-6. This dates Anglesey's royal service from just before the Restoration.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 27.

⁵⁷ Anglesey, *Letter from a Person of Honour*, p. 38.

aborted narratives, chapter outlines, nagging notes, and work schedules which are gathered together in the still manuscript *Heads and Memorandums*. The work seemed potentially endless:

Finding this work painefull and that though I have been divers yeares upon it, and more preparing materials and putting in writing from time to time my owne Remarques and observations; it goes on slow by and is as yet but a skeleton of History.⁵⁸

Under the pressure of the trial, an almost journalistic urgency took over as Anglesey, first hounded by Ormond, and then humiliated by the judgement against him, abandoned his 'Generall History' for a teleological fixation on a few crucial -- and contested -- years in the 1640s.

Public events at the time of writing had a decisive impact on the manuscript notes; they informed the shape of Anglesey's projected history: 'Abstract of the Third Part of the Generall History of Ireland contayning principally An Account of that Barbarous and Bloody Rebellion wch broake out in that kingdom The 23rd day of October. 1641', for instance, was 'Begun at Bletchingdon August 8 1681', that is to say, shortly after the history was promised in the original *Letter from a Person of Honour*.⁵⁹ Some weeks later, and with little visible results of work in the meantime, Anglesey noted his resolution of 1 September 1681 to work on the 'History' for four hours each day except Sunday. Having resolved to account for his own time, he also changed narrative strategy, embarking on the drafting of a 'diurnall or Annual table or Account thereof, not estimative only as Borlase hath done, but exact and

⁵⁸ BL Add. 4816, f. 15r, dated 1 September 1681.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Some indication of his historical detachment is given in the shoulder note by the 23 October: 'black and flagilious.'

particular, that the whole expense may demonstrative by appeare.’⁶⁰ The promised monumental history turned to an obsession with quantification, schedules, and lists. The teleology of his own historical thinking, as well as those from whom he derived his information is written large on the following pages. For in the month-by-month breakdown of events, the heading October 1641 is crammed full of notes, November has a few, and December nothing at all. The ‘exact and compleat History’ rapidly turned into a journalistic account of a few days; October 1641, the spectre of the parliamentary pamphlets of the 1640s, and most recently of the literature of the Popish Plot, once again, took on apocalyptic shape.

Under these combined pressures, Anglesey’s work schedule and ‘Diurnall’ seems to have fallen apart. The focus remained firmly on the 1640s, but the projected table of events was abandoned in favour of a more rhetorically-based project, countering the versions of others in a draft pamphlet or section of the history headed: ‘An Answer to the Irish false and scandalous pretences in impudent justification of the Execrable Rebellion of Octob 23 1641 Begun July 23 1683.’ His self-imposed instruction here was to ‘Gather together in this book all their obiections and pretences / And confute them seriatim.’ The scribblings which follow take on the writings of John Lynch, Peter Walsh, and Castlehaven, and Anglesey’s counter-attack is heavily laced with references and quotations from Borlase and Temple. The draft pamphlet situated itself in the thick of the historiographical battles over Ireland’s recent past, but the complete rebuttal of all opposing views which it imagines undertaking remained

⁶⁰ Ibid.

beyond his grasp.⁶¹

History, table of events, pamphlet rebuttal; all three generic attempts disintegrate. The endless work of organisation and reformulation took its toll; the notes offer increasingly despairing glimpses of Anglesey at work as he reviewed and revised his work programme, sorted and re-sorted his documents. His efforts seemed only to produce new work. So Anglesey's note to himself -- 'Remember to begin to tack all the passages of Ireland together as soon as may be leaving spaces for transitions & coherences & observations demonstratively arriving' -- appears on the same page as a reminder of the gaps in his study, in a 'Memdum for bookes printed or manuscript to be gotten out of Ireland.'⁶² The desire to marshall all the possible evidence before constructing any sort of narrative history results in the major part of the manuscript being taken up with Anglesey's remarks on how the History might eventually appear. Living the doctoral student's nightmare, he found that the quest for the whole picture led only to more notes on new and as yet unresearched archives -- 'Get from the Earl of Leicester all his memorialls of Ireland'; it led also to reminders of the old battles with Ormond:

If I come short in any materiall particulars it must be imputed to the hindrances I have received and the denyall of those assistances I have sought and been promised by some who have made great use and many brags of their pretended and spetious services [-being-] and yet are more afraid of having the

⁶¹ Ibid. f. 19r. The note for the 'Answer' are scattered between ff. 19r-25r. The catalogue of Anglesey's library includes J. Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, and J. Temple, *The Irish Rebellion*, E. Borlase, *History of the Execrable Rebellion*, as well as works by Peter Walsh, Orrery, and Bellings cited above, see *Bibliotheca Angleseiana*.

⁶² BL Add. MS 4816, f. 14r.

world know the truth of things then I dare be.⁶³

Anglesey's attempts to outline the sweep of Ireland's 'exact and compleat History' from the earliest days in the end add up to a collection of largely empty pages with scattered notes, headings, and dates. These gaps are annotated by work programmes which are then revised and rewritten. Even the draft 'Preface' with which this chapter opened quickly breaks off into 'Heads for my Preface to the Generall History of Ireland', dated June 26 1683 -- almost a year after his enforced retirement from office.⁶⁴

Throughout these fragments of frustration Anglesey somehow sustained faith in the possibility of delivering the 'Truth' of Irish history. He resolved, for instance, in the section entitled 'Heads for my Preface to the Irish Rebellion History', to 'center in measured truth fearing no mans frownes nor seekeing to gaine any patrons knowing well that all lovers of truth will be led by the lovelynesse and beuty thereof.'⁶⁵ In another section, he reminded himself: 'I doe not in my history call the Irish by vile names but decipher their actions according to the truth', and in this very public quest for truth he resolved to adopt literary models thoroughly identified with earlier Parliamentary sentiments: 'Take the pattern of my history from Tacitus and Walter Raleigh's both so esteemed by the Readers.'⁶⁶ Yet his is also, in the end, a very personal project, and he finds himself sustained, in the defence of his

⁶³ Ibid. 34r, 28r. In spite of his earlier, bitter quarrel with Orrery over lands, Anglesey wrote to Orrery's widow, requesting that she send him another often referred to but also apparently non-existent history, 'written' by Orrery in the years before his death. She did not. See Lynch, *Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery*, pp. 142-44.

⁶⁴ BL Add. MS 4816, f. 28r.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 30r, dated February 12 1680.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 35v, dated below, 24 September [1681].

own honourable credentials in the face of Ormond's attacks, not only by literary forbears, but also by his own more personal heritage:

Gather into one sheet though in severall times what part my Great Grandfather Perott my Grandfather Annesley my father Lord Mountnorris & my selfe have had in the warrs and businesse of Irelande.⁶⁷

The Annesley heir was not the only one to retire to the study to prepare his ammunition for public confrontation; nor are his manuscripts the only surviving private traces of these 'Paper Battles'. The published version of Ormond's letter to Anglesey was just four pages long. Its brevity and terseness, however, belie the attention which Ormond brought to Anglesey's first attack in what appears to be a series of manuscript drafts of his reply.⁶⁸ Two lines of argument pursued in the manuscript versions are notable by their absence in the published letter: firstly, Ormond's engagement with Castlehaven's *Memoirs* and Anglesey's commentary on them; secondly, his development of his attack on Anglesey's style into an articulation of Anglesey's infringement of soldierly honour. Both deserve further scrutiny.

In a long section of the manuscript notes, omitted in publication, Ormond fought back, refuting the charges of Anglesey's *Letter*, and insinuating that his fervently pro-Protestant attack was actually a measure of self preservation, since he had fallen under suspicion of involvement with the radical, Mr Dangerfield.⁶⁹ Ormond also offered some measure of defence for Castlehaven, agreeing that his good intentions were badly received by the English

⁶⁷ Ibid. 2v, dated June 25 1683,.

⁶⁸ 'Answer of Duke of Ormond's to Earle of Castlehaven', BL Add. MS. 34 770 [actually to Anglesey].

⁶⁹ Ibid. 14r-v.

administration in Dublin in 1641, and praising him for his attempts to convince the Confederation to aid the King. In contrast to his own well-informed and fair defence, Ormond criticised Anglesey's duplicitous 'friendship':

when you promist to treat him en Gentilhomme et en Amis, whereas if you had been managing evidence against him at the Barr, I doe not see how you could have urged his Crymes lesse ingreviously or with more Asperity, not reflected with more bitternesse upon his actions.⁷⁰

The battlefield may have shifted to one of judicious penmanship, but for Ormond it remained a battlefield: 'I must say a pen is a dangerous weapon in your Lo'ps hand, if you neither know nor care who you wound with it.'⁷¹ Not only was Anglesey's untrained pen responsible for 'notorious forgerys and downright lyes', it had also, in attacking Ormond, given credit where it was not due. The would-be historian had strayed beyond his self-appointed discipline to produce partisan poetry:

If it be true that you gave noe order for printing it, it shoulde seeme my Lord of Castlehaven was soe delighted with the Courage and Conduct you allow him in the Warr, that he tooke it for a Panegyrick and got it publisht for his owne renowne.⁷²

By contrast, Ormond drew on tropes familiar from chapter one, protesting the soldier's reluctance to take up the pen: 'I should spare my selfe a great deale of paine (for such writing is to one who was never educated to the pen).'⁷³ Presenting a genealogy of his family's -- and his own -- military accomplishments in Ireland, Ormond styled himself carefully as the general which Anglesey never was. Defending his behaviour during the wars, in particular his negotiations with the Irish, he adopted the discourse of the military handbook, situating not

⁷⁰ Ibid. 16r.

⁷¹ Ibid. 13r.

⁷² Ibid. 12v, 13r.

⁷³ Ibid. 17r.

only his actions and but also his responsibility within a frame of studied military discipline: 'I will not deny but that the Commander of an Army is to answer for the abuse or the imprudent use of the making of cessations or Truces.'⁷⁴

Like Anglesey's 'Generall History', however, Ormond's soldierly references exist only in draft form. In the published letter they were -- crucially -- silenced. This silence is also connected to the second silence, one which has also been, thus far, largely maintained in this chapter, and which the next section seeks to remedy: all mention of Castlehaven and his *Memoirs* was erased from Ormond's published reply. Moreover, whereas Anglesey cited his reading of the *Memoirs* in his defence, Castlehaven himself was all but forgotten in the *True Account*. He is not altogether absent from the account, as we have seen: at Whitehall on the 17 June, Anglesey prefaced his speech by wondering why Ormond was attacking him rather than Castlehaven in person, and indeed, Castlehaven was 'called in several times and questioned'. Yet while the proceedings were elsewhere reported in detail, no record was made of Castlehaven's words on these occasions, nor was his presence noted at any other time in the course of the trial. When the *Memoirs* were eventually 'Judged to be a scandalous Libel against the Government', no action was taken to enforce the decision.⁷⁵

Anglesey's defeat was temporary; the virtual disappearance of Castlehaven and his *Memoirs* from the scene was, however, a more lasting sign of the removal of Old English concerns in the debate concerning recent Irish history. For it demonstrates that the terms of 'Irishness'

⁷⁴ Ibid. 23v.

⁷⁵ Anglesey, *True Account*, pp. 5-6, 24.

were now indistinguishable from arguments concerning forms of English Protestant rule in Ireland. The book which sparked off the argument which led to the high-profile Anglesey-Ormond trial, like the man whose work it was, had lost any real significance this new field of conflict. It is from this point of loss that I now want to step back, to consider in some detail the Earl of Castlehaven's *Memoirs*.

3. From Remonstrance to Memoirs: Castlehaven's Unwritten History

The Memoir's [sic] of JAMES Lord AUDLEY Earl of CASTLEHAVEN, HIS Engagement and Carriage in the WARS of IRELAND, From the Year 1642 to the Year 1651 (London, 1680)

was prefixed by a dedication to the king and an address to the reader which proudly declared the author's intention to add in the future an appendix 'presenting in short the state of Ireland, from the year of the World 1756. To the year of Christ, 1652. where among other things, he shall find the true original causes of the late rebellion thoroughly discovered.'⁷⁶ In 1681, a second edition was published which did indeed have an appendix, but not that which readers of the first edition might have expected. The title-page read: *Memoires ...with an APPENDIX, Relating Wars abroad that he hath either seen or known; with some OBSERVATIONS on the whole* (London, 1681). The reason for this, as Castlehaven explained 'To the Reader', was that his self-imposed task had grown out of all proportion:

The Appendix I promised, in short representing the State of *Ireland*, is grown into such a bulk, that it comes out a Book by it self, so that in its place, by way of Appendix I give you what I have seen, and that came within the compass of my knowledge of Wars abroad, I being of the Armies, though not present on

⁷⁶ Ibid. a2v.

*every occasion; Also some Observations on the whole.*⁷⁷

Instead of the initially proposed history of Ireland, the revised edition offered a geographical broadening and a subjective narrowing of the account. Castlehaven moved to the continent and to autobiography, leaving his reader to look forward not just to an appendix, but to an entire 'Book by it self' on Irish history. Published three years later, in the year of Castlehaven's death, the third edition -- *The Earl of Castlehaven's Review or his Memoirs of his Engagement and Carriage in the IRISH WARS Enlarged and corrected with an appendix and postscript* (London, 1684) -- not only failed to deliver either appendix or companion volume, but failed even to mention the projected history of Ireland. Like Anglesey, Castlehaven had been swamped by the task. Unlike Anglesey, he appears to have left no manuscript drafts from which we might gain some sense of what that 'History' might have been, or from which to chart the stages of its dissolution.

It is to the *Memoirs*, in their three differing versions, that we must turn for glimpses of Castlehaven's preoccupations, for even as he abandoned his project for a history, he reinvented his own story in print. In four years and three editions his text changed shape substantially. The first edition consisted of one hundred and thirty six pages of text on Ireland, sub-divided into sections with detailed summary headings.⁷⁸ The second edition also carried the dedication to the King, with the addition of a brief remark on the appendix. To the first edition were added five pages of insertions and a two page 'advertisement' -- a veiled response to Anglesey's *Letter from a Person of Honour*. In it Castlehaven effectively

⁷⁷ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1681), sig. *.2r-v.

⁷⁸ The first of these sections corresponds closely Castlehaven's earlier *Remonstrance* (Waterford, 1643), see below.

denied the authority of the first edition by reasserting the moment which prompted him to take up the pen: he acted from the 'great trouble I had to see my Papers, though Printed, exposed in a Book before I had well perused them and finished what I intended to write.'⁷⁹

This 'advertisement' was followed by a seventy nine page appendix on Castlehaven's career as a professional soldier. The first section detailed Castlehaven's involvement in campaigns across Europe, while the final twenty two pages of 'Observations' amounted to a collection of military maxims -- a nascent 'Art of War'. The additions to the third edition -- which had no dedication either to King or Reader -- appeared less dramatic. But there were crucial formal alterations signalled in the change of title -- *The Earl of Castlehaven's Review or his Memoirs of his Engagement and Carriage in the IRISH WARS Enlarged and corrected with an appendix and postscript*. Several shifts of emphasis were apparent here: the author's name was pre-eminent, and his text was now a *Review*; dates were omitted, and Ireland was less the place whose history the author would one day narrate, than the location of his military exploits. The soldier was also now an established writer, and the editorial process of reviewing, enlarging, and -- most importantly -- correcting his text was also signalled in the title. The form of the main body of text was correspondingly altered from a series of self-contained, easily referenced sections, to a continuous narrative occupying one hundred and seventy seven pages of print. This narrative was followed by a seventy three page appendix, the final section of which further polished the 'Observations', shaping them towards a military handbook.

I enumerate these alterations to illustrate that in the course of the three editions

⁷⁹ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1681), 'Advertisement', f. K4r.

Castlehaven's initial intention of writing a *Memoir* with a 'State of Ireland' attached fundamentally altered -- was indeed disavowed. Instead he produced a military 'Review' covering his entire soldierly experience, home and away. Furthermore, he began to synthesise this experience into an Art of War, shifting as he did so the formal and generic context of his textual 'engagement' with Ireland from history to military memoir with handbook attached. It is possible to read this shift as an attempt to confirm his own personal honour -- in the midst of the attacks of Borlase and Anglesey outlined above -- in terms that are both English and aristocratic. Yet other allegiances also seem to be at work. The evolution of the *Memoirs* reveals more than just another 'failed' attempt to write the definitive history of Ireland. For Castlehaven's apparent failure proves to be a function of the tension between the professional soldier's desire to tell a personal story and the pressure placed upon him to become a spokesperson for a wider family allegiance: the Old English Catholic cause. In an attempt to resolve the tension between the private and the public voice, Castlehaven turned increasingly towards the exemplary professional narrative: the soldier's story. It is precisely this narrative which the 'Paper battles' of court politics discussed earlier in this chapter sought so studiously to avoid.

James Touchet, third Earl of Castlehaven (1617-84), was descended from an Old English Catholic family ennobled after their service at Kinsale in 1601. In his expanding *Memoirs*, his involvement in the Irish Wars were represented as just one incident in the busy soldier's career. Having gained his military training in Europe, Castlehaven first encountered Owen Roe O'Neill at his capitulation of Arras as they fought on opposing sides in the Thirty Years War. On returning to Ireland he was appointed by the Confederation as Commander, first in Munster where he took over from Gerrat Barry, and then in Ulster where, according to the

Aphorismical Discovery, he usurped the rightful place of O'Neill. After his rather mediocre service in Ireland, he returned to the continent to serve Spain; after the Restoration he fought for England in the Dutch Wars. As late as 1683, when he was sixty six years old, it was rumoured that he was to lead other volunteers to join the Catholic Holy War in Hungary. While this last rumour must be seen in context of contemporary anti-Catholic feeling, it is clear that Castlehaven still had credence as a soldier just a year before his death.

His reputation was, however, not only that of a soldier. In 1630-31, the trial of his father, the second Earl of Castlehaven, had been a public and Court scandal. The second Earl was accused of sodomising his servants and of encouraging them to rape his wife, Anne Stanley, and her daughter by her first marriage, Elizabeth Brydges. Particularly scandalous was the fact that it was James himself, now married to Elizabeth Brydges, who requested that Charles I should prosecute his father for this disruption of propriety in his own household. At the trial in April 1631, before a jury of his peers, his father maintained that he was the victim of a conspiracy cooked up by his adulterous wife and greedy son for personal gain. The accused Earl was supported by his sister, the prophetess Lady Eleanor Douglas, whose pamphlet *Woe to the House* (Amsterdam, 1633) cast Anne Stanley as Jezebel in the story of Naboth's Vineyard.⁸⁰ Even after he was sentenced to execution, the second Earl refused to confess or ask for mercy, but resolutely maintained his story and protested his honour right to the scaffold. This steadfast defence led to much speculation after his death on the motives of his

⁸⁰ Eleanor Douglas's first husband was Sir John Davies, lawyer and author of *A Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued* (London, 1612). On possible echoes of the Castlehaven trial in Milton's *Comus*, see Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 258.

son who inherited the title on his father's execution.⁸¹

If James, third Earl of Castlehaven, gained a title, however, it appears that he lost a family. The ramifications of his decision to invite the King into his family to solve a domestic crisis were to disrupt the rest of his life. He and his wife were never successfully reconciled after the trial, and he left England to pursue a nomadic soldierly career before eventually dying childless in 1684.⁸² Neither did the wider public easily forget the scandal. The trial raised its head sporadically across the remainder of the century, particularly at moments of anti-Catholic fever in 1642, 1679 and 1699.⁸³ Even from a pro-Catholic angle, the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* used the trial to vent his particular venom for the general who stole O'Neill's command. For him, the alleged sins of Castlehaven *père* are overshadowed by those of Castlehaven *fils* in that the latter acted unforgivably and unnaturally in condemning his father to death. This original sin of disloyalty was -- the author lamented -- endlessly reiterated by Castlehaven in his Irish campaigns.⁸⁴

⁸¹ See C. Herrup, '“To Pluck Bright Honour from the Pale-faced Moon”: Gender and Honour in the Castlehaven Story', *TRHS*, 6 (1994), 137-160; 'The Patriarch at Home: The Trial of the second Earl of Castlehaven for Rape and Sodomy', *HWJ*, 41 (1996), 1-18. Herrup's interesting readings of the trial in relation to codes of aristocratic honour and the order of the patriarchal household speak of Castlehaven's 'degeneracy' but do not suggest any Irish connotations to this term.

⁸² This, in spite of the fact that on the foundation of the Catholic Confederation, Castlehaven found himself at the centre of a formidable new 'family' of Irish connections. He was connected to both Ormond and Mountgarret through his sisters' marriages.

⁸³ See *The Arraignment and Conviction of Mervin lord Audley, earle of Castlehaven* (London, 1642), *The Trial of the lord Audley, earl of Castlehaven* (London, 1679), and *The Tryall and Condemnation of Mervin, lord Audley earl of Castle-haven* (London, 1699).

⁸⁴ Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, II, i, 145. When he was sent by the Confederation to help Hugh Duff O'Neill in Limerick (1651), Duff O'Neill shut the city gates stating that 'corrupt stuff he had enough already', *ibid.* II, ii, 113.

In such a climate of public curiosity, suspicion, and at times outright hostility, Castlehaven turned to documentation and autobiography as a means of self-justification. This urge was apparent already at the time of the trial when, on the indictment of the Earl in 1631, Castlehaven wrote to his father:

Pardon me (my Lord)... if on this monstrous change of a father to an enemy, I stand upon my guard, and from you appeal unto the father of our country, the King's majesty. That hope to find him a father, when my own forsakes me is now under God, my only comfort.⁸⁵

From this moment, Castlehaven's writings were not intended for his family -- he had none to speak of -- but were designed as a public monument. Indeed, from this point on, Castlehaven's documentation of his life continued to seek the approving paternal authority of the King. The next 'letter' to his adopted regal father, *A Remonstrance of the Rights Honourable James Earle of Castlehaven and Lord Audley concerning his imprisonment in Dublin, and escape from thence*, was published in Waterford in 1643. In the wake of the 1641 rebellion, particularly given his presence in Ireland at the time, Castlehaven's loyalty to the Crown had come into question. The publication of *The Arraignment and Conviction* in 1642 suggests that ghosts from his English past were also being marshalled for the attack on his Irish present. Dedicated 'To the Kings most Excellent Majestie', Castlehaven's *Remonstrance* reflected this danger with a characteristically Irish anxiety about distance from the metropolitan centre:

by the Iustices and some ministers of State here, our actions are daily misrepresented to your Majestie and through theirs and the Art of their friends in England all meanes are deprived us, either by Petition or Verball Relation, to vindicate ourselves and charge them.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Quoted Herrup, 'The Patriarch at home', p. 117.

⁸⁶ Castlehaven, *Remonstrance*, pp. 5-6.

Putting the record straight, the *Remonstrance* detailed Castlehaven's repeated attempts to serve the English administration against the 'Rebels', his subsequent imprisonment, his realisation that the Dublin administration worked against the King's interests, and his subsequent decision to escape. Castlehaven took pains throughout to stress his military credentials; he was particularly indignant when the Lord Justices, Borlase and Temple, rejected his offer of aid, informing him: 'That the Character I bare of Papist made me incapable of Trust nay even of Armes to defend my own House from Robbers.'⁸⁷

This was the moment of rejection, resurrected subsequent to Castlehaven's first edition of his *Memoirs*, which became the particular focus of Edmund Borlase's attack. Returning to it in 1680, Castlehaven pressed his point further, claiming, as noted above, that 'The Officers and Soldiers did not take care enough to distinguish between rebels and subjects; but killed in many places promiscuously.'⁸⁸ As a counterpoint to such indiscriminate thinking, Castlehaven recounted the careful consideration behind his own decision to serve the Confederation. When he ended up in Kilkenny after his escape from prison, his intentions were clear: 'I was sent for to this Council to tell my Story, which I did. And then being askt what I intended to do: I answer'd, To get into France, and so to *England*.'⁸⁹ When they suggested that, as travel was impossible, he should join them instead, he considered it for a few days, studied the model of government and the Oath of Association, and eventually agreed. This pause was crucial, for Castlehaven, representing himself as having based his

⁸⁷ Ibid. 8.

⁸⁸ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1680), p. 12. On the failure of the Restoration Act of Settlement to recognise the key distinction, see p. 81.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 17.

decision not on religious affiliation, but on legally sanctioned royalism, took substantial care to persuade the reader of the Confederation's legitimacy.⁹⁰ The *Memoirs* recount in careful detail the Confederation's protocol and procedure, defining them in relation to English practice: 'We had many learned in Law amongst us, whom we encouraged to keep us, as near the old Government as might be, holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.'⁹¹ Yet the 'We' of this sentence is the exception rather than the rule, for Castlehaven's affection for the Confederation remained tinged with distance. From the first moment of writing, he was *in* but never quite *of* the grouping. In the midst of all his constitutional conviction, Castlehaven's motives for joining them remained essentially personal and pressurised:

Whether Anger or Revenge did not incline me to it as much as any other consideration, I cannot resolve. This I well remember, that I consider'd how I had been used and seen my house burning as I pass'd by: besides that I was a light man, with no Charge, and not any hopes of redress from the King, who was then engaged in an Intestine War.⁹²

In this tension between legal justification and self-determination of his action, began Castlehaven's shaping of the soldier's story. This soldier-memoir, which Castlehaven sought to perfect as he revised and edited his *Memoirs*, was shaped by the experience of the gentleman soldier of fortune, and by the ideology of aristocratic chivalry. Castlehaven treated

⁹⁰ For a narrative example of Castlehaven as law-enforcer first and Catholic second see his arrest of pro-nuncio priests to restore law, order, and military control to the Mayor and Major of Kilkenny in 1648, *ibid.* 89-90, 93-4.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 22. Castlehaven acknowledges the legal shortcomings of the Confederation, 'We were not in the case to bring to Justice those that begun the Rebellion. But I never saw any of them esteemed or advanced', *ibid.* 23. He uses the detail of voting procedure to confirm that he was fairly chosen over O'Neill as general, *ibid.* 40-1. More recent commentators have relied heavily on Castlehaven's account of procedure, see T. L. Coonan, *The Irish Catholic Confederacy and the Puritan Revolution* (Dublin, 1954).

⁹² *Ibid.* 22. Castlehaven stresses that his military service for the Confederation began with 'an Action of Charity' when he rescued people from the rebels from Birr. He stresses also that they appeal to him as an 'Englishman', Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, (1680), p. 23.

the Confederation as he might any benevolent foreign prince who employed him to fight their cause. The report of his last military engagement on their behalf at Youghal acknowledged the Confederation ‘whose kindness and confidence in me, I shall never forget, but acknowledge it wherever I am.’⁹³ Ireland, at this stage in the narrative his *Memoirs* traced, represented not the central, contentious location which defined Castlehaven’s identity, but just another opportunity for honourable employment on the circuit of European warfare.

4. Distinction and Honour: A Return to the Art of War

Castlehaven’s concern with military priorities and his own military career was, as outlined above, already apparent in the *Remonstrance*. Returning to it for a moment we find an early indication of later troubles: Castlehaven’s indignation at Borlase and Temple’s rejection of his offer of help was compounded by the fact that it landed him not on the battlefield, but in court. Imprisoned for High Treason, Castlehaven had realised the extent of the threat from the twin agencies of law and war: ‘The King himself I found pursued with Pen and Sword’.⁹⁴ Faced with the choice between legal representation and martial action, he had chosen the sword:

Here I tooke my resolution, with God’s helpe, not to die tamely butchered, & so to have my innocencie smothered, but to preserve my life (I hoped) more to the honour of God and service of King Charles, and that by escape.⁹⁵

⁹³ Ibid. 70.

⁹⁴ Castlehaven, *Remonstrance*, pp. 16, 19. Castlehaven made no connection between his own trial and that of his father. He did, however, refer to another unjust trial of nobility: ‘As I stood considering my case, a passage in the Earle of Strafford’s tryal occurred to my memory’, *ibid.* 18.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 21.

Unable to travel to join the King's forces in England, because Loftus pursued him and burnt his house and property, he had joined the Confederation. In military terms, their actions were unproblematic for Castlehaven: he believed 'that their taking up Armes was but naturall as to defend themselves & theirs from those aforesaid barbarous cruelties.' Yet alongside the Confederation Oath of Allegiance, Castlehaven took pains to transcribe his own personal royal and chivalric motto 'Sagittae tuae acutae in cordis inimicorum Regiis'.⁹⁶ The *Remonstrance*, then is clear that, even when fighting in Ireland, Castlehaven had raised his banner for the King.

The first edition of the *Memoirs* revised this picture somewhat by making some gestures towards placing Castlehaven's soldier credentials in a broader framework. This decision to fight for the Confederation was located in the context of his earlier service in the Thirty Years War, and his early resolution to a soldierly vocation: 'In short my Inclinations were to War, and so intended to make it my Trade, by putting myself into the Service of some foreign Prince.'⁹⁷ The *Memoirs*' account of the Ulster campaign (1643) detailed the characteristic frustrations of the soldier accustomed to continental warfare and confronted with the scattered Confederation regiments who disappear 'into little Villages and odd houses; never seeing an Officer until the next Campagne.' His sense for the detail of military action produced the occasional striking image such as that of 'the Horse, so haggled out in riding

⁹⁶ Ibid. 21, 22.

⁹⁷ Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, (1680), p.4.

up and down to see their friends, that they seem'd hardly able to draw their legs after them.'⁹⁸

In the closing stages of the 1680 edition, Castlehaven, at Ormond's request, delivered to Clanricard an account of the military state of Ireland; while in Galway, news of the Royalist defeat at Worcester reached him. By the time he had travelled to Brest, bearing a commission from Clanricard for aid from France, Castlehaven's attention had already shifted -- almost with relief -- to his old haunts and to continental, highly ordered battlefields: 'But the truth of it is, that the King of France's Affairs were at that time so much in disorder, by reason of the Civil War, that nothing could be done.'⁹⁹

It was in the 1681 edition of the *Memoirs* that the location of the Thirty Years war and the profession of soldier, occasionally evident in the earlier text, sprang forth as the explicit framework for Castlehaven's narrative. For it was here that he published his '*APPENDIX, relating the wars abroad that he hath either seen or known.*' As his soldier voice developed, the narrative of the 'Irish wars' flowed seamlessly into the next campaign. The shift in emphasis signalled by the appendix was not only geographical, it was also generic. For the text hung suspended somewhere between chivalric romance and epic, diary and military handbook. It opened in 1638 with Castlehaven in Rome, receiving a letter from Charles I requesting aid against Scotland. In a journey worthy of a chivalric romance, Castlehaven returned home to fight for his King. On the way he not only fell in with other armies and took inadvertent part in other sieges, he also saved Henrietta Maria's sister, the Duchess of Savoy, in Turin. At her request, he carried as a token to her sister in England, a bullet which had just

⁹⁸ Ibid. 42, 43. Elsewhere he gives vivid accounts of 'rabble' armies of 'boys' armed with pickaxes, *ibid*, 62, 64.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 116, 129, 131.

missed her as she stood at her window while a skirmish took place outside.¹⁰⁰ When, after his many hazardous adventures across the continent, Castlehaven eventually reached Berwick, he found that peace had been already concluded: he had (just) missed the action, and had to make do with viewing the armies.

That his narrative remains a soldier's story throughout is evident from the lack of information he supplies on what happened between the wars. England at peace had little interest for Castlehaven: 'After this I passed my time as well as I could at home, til in the year 1640, the King of France besieged Arras.' It was there that he had his first encounter with his later Confederate 'ally' -- '(Owen Roe O'neal, afterwards General of the Province of *Ulster* for the Irish in *Ireland*, commanded within)'.¹⁰¹ Following this, he skimmed over Ireland in a sentence as he returned home: 'where I had some Estate, and whilst I was there, broke forth the Rebellion of 1641. which kept me in War and trouble till the peace of 1646. then I went For *France* as is seen in the Memoires.' There he stayed 'till 1651 that all was lost, *Cromwel* Conquerour of the three Kingdoms, and the King fled to *France*.'¹⁰² As Castlehaven followed his King, joining the service of the Prince of Condé, the narrative switched to an account of sieges and battles, with much more detail of time, place, and geography as well as fortifications, circumvallations, and bastions than anything offered by the Irish campaigns. The connection between speaking this military language and professional success appeared clear. For while Ireland brought only frustration, his

¹⁰⁰ Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, (1681), appendix, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 2-3, 4.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 4-5, 6.

continental narration documented Castlehaven's rapid professional progress. With pride he reported that, by February 1654: 'I had the particular command of nine or ten Regiments of *Irish*, making five thousand men.'¹⁰³

Once again, on the suspension of arms in Europe in November 1659, Castlehaven's narrative was also suspended. His life in peacetime remained uncharted. The *Memoirs* made no mention of life at the restored English court, of the political events in England which surrounded the Restoration of Charles II, let alone of his own political allegiances. The narrative took up again only when Castlehaven's military, rather than civil, career resumed:

After this there being no more War, but on the contrary a settled quiet in this part of the world; I followed the King and his Court till the year 1667, that the French invaded *Flanders*, then I was sent thither by his Majesty with 2400 men.¹⁰⁴

The narrative of his involvement in the European campaigns ended with the ratification of peace in 1678. Even with the benefit of hindsight, no reference was made to the fact that this was the year of the Popish Plot, or that Borlase was publishing his versions of Irish history. He noted only that a treaty ratified on 21 September 1678 'put all in quiet.'¹⁰⁵

While Castlehaven's accounts of the European Wars in the *Appendix* seemed to draw on a literary tradition of the writing of war -- memoirs, fortification handbooks, siege diaries and, occasionally, romances -- his account of Ireland in the *Memoirs* was less assured. While there was the occasional welcome exception such as Duncannon -- 'I will relate the particulars of

¹⁰³ Ibid. 9-11, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 21.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 52.

this Siege, because the only in form that I saw in Ireland'¹⁰⁶ -- for the most part, Ireland drew him into new narrative territories. While on the one hand he carefully documented the legal foundations of the Confederation, on the other, the soldier of his narrative continued to cultivate a detachment from politics, even ideology. Although militarily engaged as a Confederate commander, Castlehaven stressed his disengagement from the larger strategic picture: 'The particular actings between the Armies, I must leave to those That know better: for I was seldom with them, but imployed up and down as you see.'¹⁰⁷ Rather, Castlehaven developed the persona of the aristocratic 'cavalier' who saw soldiering -- particularly in Ireland -- as an extension of hunting and country sports. Compared to the wealth of military detail and science in the later appendix, the studied nonchalance of the *Memoirs* themselves spoke anachronistically to an older school of chivalric heroes.

In this vein, even as -- in an effort to persuade the reader of the rightness of his choice -- he represented himself as attentive to the legal details of the Confederation, he also sustained the image of himself having simply 'engaged myself to run a fortune with them.' The 'fortune' referred to was not, of course, a mercenary business, but the assurance of gentlemanly independence.¹⁰⁸ The expertise he was to demonstrate in Ireland proved to be the product more of past aristocratic leisure than of any formal military training: 'I was much favoured in these my first undertakings by having been in my youth a great Hunter in those parts of Deer, Wolves and Foxes.'¹⁰⁹ His metaphors for action fused hunting and military arts

¹⁰⁶ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1680), p. 55. See also chapter three above.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 102.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 20.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 23.

as they assessed the strengths of his position as commander: 'In my beginning I was a great Party-man. But considering myself and my Soldiers but young beginners, I meddled with nothing that was not almost sure: remembering that young Hawks must be entred on weak game.'¹¹⁰ Indeed, his passion for hunting continued throughout the conflict, often saving him in the narrative from implication in potentially embarrassing political decisions. Thus, in his ill-fated mission to aid Hugh Duff O'Neill in Limerick, he was simply following Confederation orders: 'Now after a while that I had diverted my self a Hunting, I repaired to Limbrick.'¹¹¹

Castlehaven's cultivation of the persona of the gentleman-at-arms not only prevented him dwelling on difficult encounters, it also brought him on more than one occasion closer into an alliance which the *Memoirs* proudly documented -- with the honourable cavalier, the Duke of Ormond. So, for instance, an episode which took place in 1649 was introduced by Castlehaven as follows: 'I, having nothing to do, went one morning early a Fox-hunting, as I was accustomed all the winter.'¹¹² Similarly out hunting that morning was Castlehaven's fellow titled land-owner in Ireland, Ormond. Their chance meeting on the hunting ground brought their shared aristocratic codes into interesting confrontation with the military codes of a recent arrival on the Irish scene -- Oliver Cromwell. Ormond informed Castlehaven of a plot, engineered by the Machiavellian strategist Cromwell, for the betrayal of Kilkenny by one Captain Tickell. Tested against an aristocratic code of honour, Cromwell was found

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 133.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 96.

¹¹² Ibid. 103.

wanting; in gentlemanly conversation, Cromwell's behaviour was found to be other than that of a gentleman. This first test of Cromwell's behaviour on the hunting ground was later repeated -- and a similar judgement made -- on the battlefield. After the engagement at Athy, Castlehaven, the European general accustomed to international codes of war, made Cromwell a present of his prisoners and wrote to suggest that he respond in kind. Instead, Cromwell had both officers and 'mutinous' soldiers shot at Gowran. Such behaviour went beyond the infringement of the laws and orders of war in the field, it was a direct insult to gentlemanly honour; as Castlehaven succinctly put it: 'he little valued my Civility'.¹¹³

It was to this shared 'Civility' with Ormond that Castlehaven's *Memoirs* -- at the moment of their writing and rewriting -- appealed. His strong loyalty to Ormond undoubtedly had more to do with Ormond's position as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and increasingly Tory profile at the time of his *writing* than with the complexities of the Confederation at the time of the *action* of the *Memoirs*.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, writing long after the events, Castlehaven appeared to cherish those moments which confirmed a connection between the two gentlemen. One such moment, which took place even as irreparable splits threatened the Confederation in the wake of the First Ormond Peace, deserves closer attention:

Lord Castlehaven sent to the Nuncio; but in vain. He advises the Lord Lieutenant to March back to Dublin with all speed: waits on his Excellency all along: and carries the Sword before him through that city.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Ibid. 107. See Cromwell's comments on Ormond's portrait in the *Aphorismical Discovery*, chapter three above.

¹¹⁴ Castlehaven has particular soldierly respect for Ormond's son, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, 'who was one of the bravest men of his time', *Memoirs* (1681), Appendix, p. 50, see also pp. 48-50, 55 and chapter four above.

¹¹⁵ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1680), p. 70.

So runs the chapter heading, anticipating a moment of ceremonial grandeur which contrasts sharply with the surrounding narrative of frustration and retreat. The pomp was on precarious ground: shortly afterwards, the same sword was delivered to Parliament's representative, Anglesey, in defeat and capitulation. Yet for a moment, Castlehaven, bearer of the ceremonial Sword of office, was symbolically allied with the King's just cause and with Ormond, the King's representative in the English administrative capital of Ireland. Reflecting on his investment by Ormond, he savoured the memory:

I can give no reason for it (besides his own goodness) other than that, I had been always a promoter of the Peace and the only of the Confederate Catholicks, that came with him and never left him in these his Adventures.¹¹⁶

Well might he wonder, for this is a rare moment in the narrative when Castlehaven's Royal allegiance and military profession sit easily together. That sword and law were here allied in a procession, rather than on the battlefield, had particular chivalric resonance. It was a literary alliance, casting Castlehaven as Ormond's faithful companion in the 'Adventures' of a Romance, and it occurred in the territory of Ireland where such moments of recognition, even for the most professional of soldiers, were rare. It was emblematic of the aristocratic, faithful, and professional servant of the King which Castlehaven's *Memoirs* -- in all their changing shapes -- sought to capture and frame.

Ormond left Ireland for France in December 1650 and Castlehaven's text marks his departure with admiration: 'I doubt not but he shall remain in Story, as he deserves, a Fixed-star, by the light of which others may walk in his steps.'¹¹⁷ It is unclear whether this is a thought

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 75.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 79.

Castlehaven had expressed at the time, or at the time of writing. What is clear is that this location of Ormond 'in Story' rather than in history is crucial. For it was through the drafting and redrafting of his own life-story, his abandoning of the project for a history, and his careful negotiation with the claims of his Old English heritage that Castlehaven, the newly modelled professional soldier, managed to stay one step ahead of prosecution. Though he stepped forth in print as the veteran soldier, it was in continental battlefields that this soldierly character was most clearly at home; that is to say, in a territory where civility and military education were recognised and rewarded. Ireland figured as a land of inversion, where both the career and the autobiography of an otherwise compelling and professionally convincing soldier were placed under inordinate stress. There, Ormond did him the honour of allowing him to carry the symbolic sword of Royalist power into Dublin, but it was an impotent symbol; Castlehaven offered to Cromwell the international military code of a gentleman and it was rejected; the Old English to whom he felt indebted welcomed him, but fought a losing battle. Even as he cultivated the voice of the professional soldier, his Irish experiences sounded a cracked note.

It is in this context that Borlase's repeated accusation that Castlehaven was an apologist for the Old English deserves attention one further, and final, time. In the first edition of the *Memoirs*, as we have seen, Castlehaven appeared to regard the apologetic and personal aspects of his writing as separate. The representation of the Old English would, he promised, be the subject of an historical appendix. The personal and particular were thereby affirmed as the subject of the *Memoirs* proper. The dedication to the King consequently employed the terms not so much of confessional and political allegiance as of personal honour: 'For I pass

them on my Word not to contain a Lie, or a mistake, to my Knowledge.’¹¹⁸ The address ‘To the Reader’ announced his intention to refute ‘some Histories’ (including those of Borlase, as we have seen) which described him as a Confederate Catholic: ‘to draw from the world some compassion, my case being singular.’¹¹⁹ But even as he gestured towards the possibility of an appendix which might extend that acceptance to other Irishmen, the *Memoirs* were primarily to be a narrative of exception, designed to prove Castlehaven’s ‘singular’ honour.

By the third edition, although all mention of the projected volume of Irish history had been silenced, Castlehaven appeared to have come full circle. The controversy surrounding the earlier editions, in which he had pursued his ‘singular’ story, had returned him to a compulsion towards providing a historical context for individual action: his personal *Memoirs* could, he realised, no longer stand without some form of apology for his Old English allies. This doubly embattled position led now not to an appendix, nor to a separate volume, but to an ‘introduction’ which replaced the addresses to the King and to the reader of earlier editions and informed the narrative as a whole:

I find myself under a necessity to say something in my own Defence, by setting forth the truth of my own story, in as brief and plain a method as possible, to obviate the false and Malicious Calumnies of these forging Scribblers. But before I go farther, I must desire the Reader to make some difference between the first beginners of the Irish Rebellion, and those that afterwards carried on the War under the title of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.¹²⁰

His original plea for ‘singular’ compassion had receded. The narrative opened with a fierce

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 1.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. av.

¹²⁰ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1684), p. 5.

attack on those ‘forging Scribblers’ who would keep up a war of words and attrition even after the real wars are long over:

Of all the Practices used of late to Involve the Nation in a General Combustion, and once more to set us all together by the Ears, as nothing is more unchristian, so none can be of more dangerous Consequence to the Publick, than the People’s rubbing up old Sores; and Reproaching one another (when they promise to Reform and become Peaceable Subjects) with their past Crimes, or with the Names of Parties and Factions, to keep the Breach still on foot.¹²¹

Praising the intent of the ‘Act of Oblivion’, he contrasted it with the actual ‘Licentiousness of this Libelling Age’ and the intention of those ‘whose Charity extends no further than their interest.’¹²² Such attacks, Castlehaven recognised, were more than personal; as anti-Catholic feeling continued to seethe, they were lethal. As the distinction between Old English and native Irish faded across the seventeenth century, and the label ‘rebel’ was applied to both, Castlehaven found himself on the wrong side of the English-Irish textual battle. Arguing against others’ versions of the past as they were articulated in the dangerous present, he stressed the need for a clear distinction between fact and fiction. Singling out for particular condemnation the reprinting of the depositions of the 1641 Rebellion around the time of the Popish Plot, he stated that: ‘they have so strangely misrepresented to the World, and with such Fictions and Invectives traduced the whole Nation, that wherever they are believed, an Irish-man can pass for no other than a Monster in Nature.’¹²³

Tarred with the same monstrous brush, Castlehaven sought to place the events in Ireland in

¹²¹ Ibid. 2.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid. 3.

their broader historical context, to relate them to his professional experience as a soldier in the European Wars:

But when their Neighbour-Nations were at least equally Criminal; 'tis no more equity in man to rail against them in particular, than 'tis Prudence in a Magistrate to shut up only one House when the Plague is Universal.¹²⁴

Yet this gesture towards his professional past only served to draw him still further into explanations of the Old English cause, since to describe events in this way was to redefine the 'rebels' as a legitimate army in a legitimate field of conflict. The effort to argue the force of distinctions between 'Rebel' and 'Confederate', like that between 'Rebel' and 'Subject', distinctions which Borlase -- and Anglesey, and others like them -- steadfastly refused to admit, created the tension between personal narrative and apologetic history which animated Castlehaven's account. As the debate moved on to other issues, other terms, such distinctions remained central to the old soldier's sense of aristocratic honour, and central to his military self-definition, 'reviewed, enlarged, and corrected' in the course of the three editions of his *Memoirs*.

One final episode in Castlehaven's writing career squares the circle, and brings our own reading of his text back to the military handbooks of chapter one. In the last section of his 1681 appendix on the 'wars abroad' Castlehaven began to draft his own general 'observations' on war. This move placed him in a long line of generals, from Caesar onwards, who turned their soldier experience towards the education of new soldiers. Many of Castlehaven's observations were commonplace in the military handbooks of the time, others

¹²⁴ Ibid.

deserve special attention in the light of his experiences in service to the Confederation.¹²⁵ In particular, two of the twenty five observations -- the first and the last --, articulated the strain between words and action which resonated through the accounts of the Confederation period discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Castlehaven's first observation discussed the advantage of having a Prince command the army rather than a Confederation with a 'generalissimo'. His vivid image of the difficulties of multiple leadership echoed the laments of his bitterest critic, the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*: words and politics impede action and delay the drama for 'when they are come to the place of Acting, all must be called together again, where they seldom or never agree what is to be done.'¹²⁶ In the twenty fifth, and final observation, however, it is implied that words might also have a more useful role. In the 1681 edition, the point explicitly referred to Ireland as a theatre of learning, of recollection, and the gathering of useful knowledge. It also echoed more than a century of English thoughts on the wildness, and ineffectiveness, of Irish fighters:

25. I shall conclude my Observations, with a thing that I have been curious in noting, that bloody men are little esteemed in Armies, and for the most part have no true Courage; that their ends are generally fatal, and sometimes caught in the snares they laid for others; those that have been all along in the Wars of *Ireland* can give good testimony of this, if they recollect themselves.¹²⁷

The idea of 'testimony' and 'recollection' is central here. Like Orrery in his appeal to the King that he should compel his generals to write of their experiences, Castlehaven makes a plea for memory, for the personal, eyewitness account. The 1684 edition tells a slightly different story. Bruised and battered from the attacks levelled at his *Memoirs*, witness to the

¹²⁵ Castlehaven, *Memoirs* (1681), 'Observations', pp. 57-78.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 57-8, 59. This is by far the longest of the 'Observations'.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 77-78.

Anglesey-Ormond confrontation, and to what Anglesey termed its ‘two Generals engaged in the sight of their Armies’, Castlehaven omitted this observation and its call to ‘recollection’ from the list, and his pretended project to write a comprehensive history of Ireland disappeared with it.

On the shelf of uncompleted projects on Ireland, Castlehaven’s History joined that of Anglesey. The definitive English language History of the Confederation and Interregnum in Ireland had yet to be published, the ground was still fresh and contested. Anglesey’s will to omniscience and completion resonates through his notes; Castlehaven’s rare first person narrative of the Irish Wars lacks the missing jigsaw piece -- a history which could validate Confederation claims; Orrery’s elusive manuscript History cannot be found at his death; Borlase’s so-titled *History* takes its discordancy from Temple, its evidence from the depositions, and silences all others; the exiled Old English remnants of the Confederacy do battle in Latin texts, or pen their elegaic accounts on continental Europe. As Castlehaven’s soldier narrative is dismissed in a libel battle, we catch a glimpse of the continued conviction of the veterans, reviewing their involvement in history. They do so at a point of constitutional crisis where history seems to some determined to repeat itself; when the old threats of Papism are republished in new forms, and old questions of accession are again looming. Just a few years beyond their horizons -- and those of this thesis -- Ireland will become a European battleground that Castlehaven for one, would be proud to add to his itinerary, to his story.

In place of the repeatedly promised, ‘full and cleere’ histories then, what remained? Anglesey the statesman left behind a bundled collection of jottings and half-finished outlines;

Castlehaven the military man left behind a soldier's *Memoir* and the beginnings of an Art of War. And what of Ormond? In spite of his frequent references to the documentation available on his own career, it took the reverent shaping of Thomas Carte to make a *Life of James, late Duke of Ormonde* (London, 1747). As seen in chapter three, Carte rejected the *Aphorismical Discovery* as a useless source, nor does his account of Ormond's actions during the 1640s make any mention of the confrontation with Anglesey around Castlehaven's *Memoirs*. Instead, Carte shifts the geographical centre to England, places Ormond's negotiations with the Irish 'rebels' in the overriding context of aiding the King, and ends that particular episode with the King's defeat at Naseby. He does, however, draw lines of alliance which are familiar from Castlehaven's account; which may indeed refer to it. Parsons and Borlase, for instance, are characterised as 'men of low extraction', whom Carte blames for the fact that the Old English Palesmen joined with the Ulster Gaelic Irish in 1641/42.¹²⁸ He argues for the very same aristocratic distinction that Castlehaven had been so determined to sustain some years before: 'But there were still in the Army of the Papists, Men of great Rank and Reputation, who still retained their duty to the King.'¹²⁹ For all these possible echoes of Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, neither these, nor their author are ever mentioned by name. The soldier's voice is once again silenced.

¹²⁸ Carte, *Life of ...Ormonde*, p. 57.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 77.

Conclusion

‘I was afraid. The military phase was over. This was new territory.’¹

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

In this Conditions [sic] 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 rouling 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 Cavalier in question is the narrator of *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, published anonymously in 1720 and later attributed to Daniel Defoe.² Defoe himself was born in 1660, the year of the Restoration, well after the events his fictional cavalier ‘experiences’; indeed in the very same year in which, the titlepage tells us, the ‘manuscript’ was ‘found’. In putting on the uniform of soldier-writer, Defoe both deceives his readers into believing that they are being told the ‘truth of things past’ and exploits the literary value of testimony.³ Defoe, as fictional memorialist, becomes himself a reader and a shaper of history, ventriloquising other people’s

¹ Peter Taylor interview on a released prisoner’s reaction to the announcement of the 1994 ceasefires, BBC, 1997.

² Defoe, *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (Oxford, 1981), p. 261. The titlepage announces that it is: ‘A Military Journal/ of/ The *WARS* in GERMANY/ AND/ The *WARS* in ENGLAND/ From the Year 1632, to the Year 1648./ Written Threescore Years ago by an English Gentleman who served first in the Army of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the glorious King of *Sweden*, till his Death; and after that, in the Royal Army of King *Charles* the First, from the Beginning of the Rebellion, to the End of that War.’

³ On Anglesey’s ‘Relating the truth of things past’, see chapter five above.

versions of events, making 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 super-witness, a *mémoire extraordinaire* of military times past.⁴

The fictional Cavalier 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. On route, Defoe's soldier delivers 'eyewitness' accounts of the people and places of history. Serving in the Imperial Army under Count Tilly, he watches with horror the massacres at Magdeburg from the safe vantage point of a Fort on the other side of the Elbe. 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 to the homeground of the English Civil Wars. In the course of the narrative, he meets and converses with -- amongst 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.

Memoirs of a Cavalier is not the only fictional memoir of a soldier hero published

⁴ A. W. Secord, 'The Origins of Defoe's *Memoirs of a Cavalier*', in Robert Drury's *Journal and Other Studies* (Urbana, 1961), pp. 72-133. Secord traces Defoe's historical sources to the *Life of Cardinal Richlieu* (1695), the *Swedish Intelligencer*, Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (1702-4), Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1698-99) and Whitelocke's *Memorials* (1682). He also traces the influence of the military memoir to Dannett's translation of Philip de Commynes biography (1596), Du Fossé's *Memoirs of the Sieur de Pontis* (1676) translated by Charles Cotton and most intriguingly to Gatien de Courtilz's *Memoires de M. d'Artagnan* (Paris, 1700), a source for Dumas's later novel.

anonymously and later attributed to Defoe. *Captain Singleton* (1720), *Colonel Jack* (1722) and Defoe's other journal-based fictions narrate the 'experiences' of men and women on the move, journeying through unsavoury yet tantalising terrain, testing the boundaries of endurance as well as decency, leading the reader to places and cases she may care to read of, but may not care to tread.⁵ In literary terms, the narratives mark a step towards the vicarious pleasures and the moral experience of novel-reading; but the form also keeps a tight hold on the educative value placed on History.⁶ *Memoirs of a Cavalier* was a tremendously popular book, running to seven editions in the eighteenth century. The popularity of this narrative, and those of Defoe's other adventurous Captains, testifies to the appeal of the soldier's story, of accounts of war and adventure delivered with the authority and resonance of the individual voice. From a front-row seat, the reader leads a vicarious life of soldierly honour and bravery; donning, alongside Defoe himself, the costume of the first person narrator, the soldier-reader witnesses and -- crucially -- survives historical event.

Yet, Defoe's fictional Cavalier never quite makes it to Ireland. The island remains a brooding presence at the edge of his -- and consequently the reader's -- map.⁷ There are limits and boundaries, even to fictional experience, in English Literature. The horrors of defeat and the flight by sea which the Cavalier has already experienced are nothing compared to the projected horrors of that rebel-possessed land. Historically speaking, it was entirely

⁵ See also, for example, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Moll Flanders*, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (both 1722), and *Roxana* (1724).

⁶ See M. Mc Keon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore, 1987).

⁷ If this is true of his fictional narrator it is also true of Defoe's factual writing -- he too stops short of the journey to Ireland in his *Tour through the whole island of Great Britain* (1724-26).

plausible that, in 1646, Ireland was the best place for Defoe's Cavalier to flee to, for the Royalist forces there were united under the recent Ormond peace. But his term 'Rebels' admits no such discrimination. Viewed from 1720, and within the field of English Literature, it would appear that Ireland in 1646 was -- and always had been -- a land where 'Rebels [had] possession of every place.'⁸

Defoe's Cavalier did not make the journey to Ireland. There was, however, considerable literary traffic in the opposite direction, for eighteenth century English drama became home to the Irish soldier. Colonel Careless, Colonel Blunt, Captain O'Blunder, Sir Lucius O'Trigger, Sir Callaghan O'Brallaghan all made the journey to England.⁹ In the hands of the English playwright, the Irish soldier became a fortune-hunter and a spendthrift, a gambler with rather dubious warrior credentials. In the hands of the Irish playwright, however, from the tentative, displaced commentary of George Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* (1706), through Thomas Sheridan's *The Brave Irishman or Captain O'Blunder* (1743), to his son Richard Sheridan's duelling and controversial Sir Lucius O'Trigger in *The Rivals* (1774), the Irish soldier maintained a fundamental truth and honesty at heart.

This brief glimpse of the manifestations of the military in eighteenth century literature in the

⁸ Defoe, *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, p. 261.

⁹ The characters appear as follows: Careless and Blunt, in Sir Robert Howard's *The Committee or The Faithful Irishman* (1662); O'Blunder in Thomas Sheridan's *The Brave Irishman; or Captain O'Blunder* (1743, published 1754); Sir Lucius O'Trigger in Richard Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1774); Sir Callaghan O'Brallaghan 'a wild Irish, Prussian, hard-headed soldier' in Charles Macklin's *Love à la mode* (1759). Major O'Flaherty in Richard Cumberland's *The West Indian* (1771) is a further example of the subversion of the reckless Captain role. The Irish soldier also appears on the French stage with Major Bégearass in Beaumarchais's *La mère coupable* (1791).

English language must remain, within the bounds of this conclusion, a promise of future study. In this thesis, I set out to contest both the retrospective ‘experience’ of cavaliers such as Defoe’s, and the military roots of the stage Irish soldier by re-reading the English writings of a number of soldiers who fought in Ireland and by relocating them in their seventeenth century contexts. In doing so, I sought to avoid the simplifying move which recuperates the mid-seventeenth century into a story of English literature versus Irish history. Ireland at this time needs to be re-assessed, and recognised as a territory in which the terms of identity -- be they military, political, historical or literary -- were not so much given as fiercely contested. Central to these debates was the often travestied voice of the soldier. As it attempts to listen for the soldier’s voice in the din of mid-seventeenth century battles, this thesis necessarily locates itself on a number of generic battlelines: most evidently those which divide history from literature; romance from documentation. The language and culture of the military infected and inflected that of settlement in Ireland in the seventeenth century. In tracing the movements of military rhetoric and martial figures, we become more keenly aware of the struggle for ownership of the English language by the many Irish writers of the time. In the process, and in attempting to listen to all sides of the military story, we gain a clearer insight both into the character of the emerging voice of Anglo-Irish literature and into the relation of that body of writing to the English literary experience.

In part one, I set out the terms for this investigation by reading military handbooks not for their regulations on pike drills, but for the politics and the rhetoric behind their quest for military order. Having established that the English military handbook evolved on the edges of the Kingdom and in response to the need to define England as a fighting protestant nation, I then focused on two English-language handbooks by soldiers involved in the wars of

Ireland. Written from two very different perspectives, these texts demonstrate that narratives and professional discourse supposedly based on the raw materials of experience were in fact subject to careful rhetorical shaping. This is most evident in the writers' relationship to 'Irishness' and to their own connections with Irish history. On the one hand, as Barry sought to return to his homeland, moments from European history were invested with Irish national pride; on the other, as Orrery sought to avoid personal and political embarrassment, his own Irish history and provenance were suppressed. The poetics of the military handbook also made its presence felt in more self-avowedly literary texts. Orrery and Burnell, under figurative siege, demonstrate how this poetics plays itself out in Ireland: the first writes to define the borders of romance, the second, those of tragicomedy. Finally, in a reading of two plays performed shortly before events of 1641 turned all activity towards war, I explored how this debate about martial and generic borders found its way onto the Dublin stage. As both Shirley and Burnell demonstrate, the social dynamics of the colony, the rights of its subjects to full participation in military and civil government were live questions not only for the metropolitan centre of London, they also engaged the citizens and soldiers of mid-seventeenth century Ireland.

Having performed this journey from the soldier's voice to the stage, having demonstrated the interpenetration of literary and military culture in the period, I turned in the second part of the thesis to explore accounts of the Confederate and Cromwellian years written by those who fought in the Irish wars. I began with an unlikely soldier-author, Richard Bellings, secretary to the Catholic Confederation; a lawyer who put extraordinary faith in the civilising power of the pen. Yet Bellings' pen frequently found itself in opposition to the swords around him. In his completion of Sidney's *Arcadia* and in the drafting of his *History of the*

Confederation, Bellings sought to tame the military elements which threatened to disrupt his narrative, and to present in their place a model for appropriate military behaviour within a governing discourse of civility and the law. The Restoration poem *The Eighth Day* -- tantalisingly linked to Bellings through his son -- makes explicitly identifies the work of the poet with that of the defeated soldier. Having used the tools of both romance and history to give voice to the failing fortunes of the Old English across the century, Bellings the soldier-poet survives the battlefield with a poetic vision of future retribution. In contrast to Bellings, the anonymous author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* openly declared his military credentials -- as well as his scorn for Bellings and his party -- from the outset of his complex, vitriolic account. The third chapter of the thesis explored the generic frames which this military author adopted to structure his narrative, even as the stresses and strains of actual historical event threatened to tear his authorial vision apart. As his epic fails and his warrior general dies, the frustrated author relies increasingly on his borrowed aphorismical structure. It became apparent that, just as Richard Bellings had once approached a canonical protestant text -- Sidney's *Arcadia* -- from the Irish margins, so the anonymous aphorismical author silently constructed his own literary and military supplement. His adoption of Robert Dallington's *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie* as model not only provided the classical glosses to his account; it also radically shaped his narrative method. In adopting and adapting the military terms of English protestantism, the aphorismical discoverer also came dangerously close to an understanding dialogue with the latest inheritors of that discourse: his sworn enemies, Cromwell and the English.

The fourth chapter revisited the years of the Confederation, this time from a different perspective, that of viewing events in Ireland from England. Recognising that this was

perhaps a more familiar perspective to those schooled both in English literature and in post-colonial theory, I set about dismantling some of the myths and metaphors which the English used to describe the Irish enemy. In particular, I illustrated the terms in which the Irish ‘threat’ was resurrected at key moments of domestic crisis throughout the Civil Wars. The spectre of Irish rebellion, kept alive by poets and pamphleteers, ensured that when the time came for Civil War debts to be reclaimed -- when the soldiers demanded their arrears of pay and the adventurers claimed their land entitlements -- Ireland could be ‘cashed in’ with the fullest support of the English public. Moreover, when the Cromwellian campaigns eventually set about the business of converting Ireland into financial currency, the newly established Republic found a second useful currency in Ireland: the propaganda of providence. As my exploration of Cromwell’s reports on the campaigns illustrated, the new Republic profited in many ways from its military successes in Ireland, not the least of which was the use of fame abroad to quell faction at home. The notion of the ‘Irish’ enemy, so carefully cultivated throughout the Civil Wars, was kept intact and little effort was made to distinguish between Royalist and Irish as enemies of the Republic. As a longer-term result, Cromwellian soldier-settlers continued to consider themselves to be living under siege in an alien and barbaric land. As the later writings of Richard Lawrence illustrate, this sustained a military outlook which was to infuse the language and projects of economic development in Ireland for some time to come. The drawing up of colonial battlelines led also to the growing discourse of colonial nationalism, and to the articulation of an embattled position between two administrative centres -- Dublin and London.

Having read Lawrence in the Ireland of the 1680s, I then returned in the final section of the thesis to contemporary London, in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis, and to the ‘paper battles’

raging there over Irish history and past military conduct. Recreating the complicated series of interconnected pamphlet debates which placed Anglesey, Ormond, and Irish history under the King's judgmental eye, I sought to look behind the scenes of the very public trial. The central question posed by this chapter was why, when a number of English language histories of Ireland were promised at this time, when a number of well-placed veterans of mid-seventeenth century Ireland took up their pens to reply to the Confederation historians writing in latin on the continent, no such histories were delivered. Instead, public events were inscribed in Anglesey's increasingly frustrated manuscript project, and in the changing shape of Castlehaven's military *Memoirs*. Even as new political contests resurrected the century's earlier wars at the metropolitan centre, Irish history became a subject which it was impossible to write about with impunity. As Castlehaven sought to extract himself from controversy, he returned to the forms explored in the first chapter of the thesis: in the military memoir and the art of war, he found -- with some irony -- the only possible way to speak of Irish history. He returned to old forms and rescripted the soldier's story.

Barry's imagining of a triumphant return of an Irish force from continental exile to Irish settlement; Orrery's careful suppression of his military career in Ireland; the elderly Castlehaven's reflection on his international career as a soldier: in the course of the seventeenth century the English military handbook, in these very different Irish hands, served in turn as a literary tool for resolution towards military repatriation, for incitement to more clearly defined wars, and as a rationalisation of military defeat. The language and concerns of the military manual written in English by soldiers involved in Ireland had also travelled far beyond the soldier's library shelf, for they shaped the terms of the historian, the romancer, the playwright, and the poet as they all wielded both sword and pen. To return to the soldier-

writers of seventeenth century Ireland, to unravel the entanglement of military event and military metaphor is not simply to unearth the documentary roots of later literary soldiers, or to explain the inspiration behind the stage Irish captains. It is to recognise that the seventeenth century saw an Irish battle for ownership of the English language; a battle which involves writing as well as fighting. This battle for the terms of settlement is one of infinite repetition. For the epigraph to this conclusion enacts, even as it voices, a fear. It is the fear which opened the thesis as Irish officers returning from war gave voice to Othello's fears about giving up his profession: that the shift from the 'military phase' is not simply a matter of laying down one's weapons, it is also a matter of disengaging from a language which has been shaped by the experience and study of war, a culture which has the military enscribed within it.

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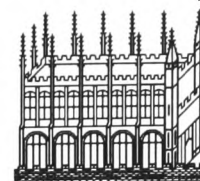
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